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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.

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X.—*On the Fate of Henry Brooke, tenth Lord Cobham.*

By JOHN GREEN WALLER, *Esq.*

Read December 6, 1877.

THE baronial family of Cobham took its name from the pretty village in Kent, four miles from Gravesend on the one side, and about the same distance from Rochester on the other. As early as the twelfth century it was of importance, but from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century it was one of the most powerful in the south of England. There were several off-shoots from the main stem, distinguished by the following manorial titles, viz. Roundal, Beluncle, Blackburgh, Chafford, Gatewayke, and Sterborough. There were four baronies by writ, viz. Cobham of Cobham, Roundal, Chafford, and Sterborough. The most important offices in the county of Kent were constantly in their hands, including the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports and that of Constable of Rochester Castle. The first Baron de Cobham, named Henry, was summoned to Parliament in 1313: no other of the name appears in the main stem until he whose fate I am about to consider. Of the off-shoots the most considerable was that of Sterborough in Surrey: Sir Reginald, the first baron, being the most eminent of the Cobham family. A hero of Crecy and Poitiers, one of the few brilliant warriors enrolled among the early Knights of the Garter, we must refer to the pages of Froissart if we would acquaint ourselves with the details of his career in the field, and in the councils of Edward III.

Returning, however, to the main stem, which more concerns our present inquiry, we find a contemporary of Sir Reginald, and his relative, scarcely less eminent. This was John de Cobham, third baron of that name, often distinguished locally as the "founder," because, in 1362, he founded a college of priests at Cobham, remains of which buildings yet exist in an ancient hall and some almshouses. He was without doubt one of the most influential barons of his time, and we find him associated with the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, and others in opposing the reckless courses of Richard II.

He married Margaret Courtenay, the daughter of Hugh, Earl of Devonshire, and by her had one child, a daughter, whose name was Joan. She was married to Sir John de la Pole, died in or before 1388-9, during the lifetime of her father, and lies buried in Chrishall Church, Essex, where still remains a monumental brass to the memory of herself and husband. She also left an only child and daughter, born about 1370, called, after herself, Joan, and this child became heir to the great Cobham barony. Her career must have been remarkable, at least in one sense, as she became the wife of five husbands. The first was Sir Robert Hemenhale of the county of Norfolk, and she must have been a youthful bride, as, when her husband died in 1391, she was still under age. Her second husband was Sir Reginald Braybrook, of a well-known family in the fourteenth century. If she was his wife, as I believe, as early as 1394, she could then have been but twenty-three years old. She bore him three children, two sons, named Robert and Reginald, evidently after her two husbands,^a both of whom died in infancy, and one daughter, again named Joan, and who, as we shall see, conveyed in her person the Cobham barony to the house of Brooke. Sir Reginald died at Middleburgh in Flanders on September 20, 1405, and the great heiress, doubtless besieged by suitors, was not allowed long to wear the habiliments of woe. Her next husband was Sir Nicholas Hawberk, probably a mere soldier of fortune: a man of knightly prowess, which he displayed in a tournament in Smithfield in 1393. By him she had one son named John, who died an infant, and her married life with Sir Nicholas was early brought to an end by his decease at Cowling Castle, Oct. 9, 1407. Scarcely three months later, viz. January 1407-8, her grandfather, John, the aged Lord of Cobham, died, and thus the thrice-widowed lady became in her own right the Baroness of Cobham.

Nor could she again long have worn the "customary suits of solemn black," for, two years later, her next and fourth husband, the celebrated Sir John Oldecastle, was summoned to Parliament, *jure uxoris*, on the 26th Oct. 1409, and, in the following year, an indenture was made by him and Lady Joan on the one part, and by Sir Thomas Brooke of Somerseshire on the other, to marry her daughter Joan to Thomas, son of the latter, before the feast of Pentecost next ensuing. The terrible tragedy enacted in front of St. Giles's Hospital on Christmas Day, 1417, closed the life of this Lord of Cobham; and his story has been told with all the venom of bigoted malice. A cloud now rested over the Cobham barony, and I am unable to say at what time Lady Joan took to herself her last

^a Possibly Robert was called after Robert Braybrook, Bishop of London.

and fifth husband, Sir John Harpeden. He was of good knightly family, connected in descent with that of Mortimer, and also with the Cobhams of Sterborough. He survived her five years, dying in 1438, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where, in the north ambulatory of the choir, yet remains a monumental brass to his memory.^a The inscription is lost, but four shields of arms display his descent and alliance; the last coat, his own, being modestly placed on the sinister side.

Lady Joan died on the feast of St. Hilary the Bishop, Jan. 13th, 1433-4. Her monumental brass in Cobham church is placed between those of her second and third husbands, Sir Reginald Braybrook and Sir Nicholas Hawberk. Together they may rank amongst the most beautiful brasses of English workmanship. Her own is remarkable for its elegant simplicity; it represents her in widow's costume, with a numerous family of ten children, six sons and four daughters, grouped at her feet: six escutcheons of arms, of most instructive heraldry, show her descent, her alliance with Sir Reginald, and that of her daughter and heir to the son of Sir Thomas Brooke, and the inscription at her feet merely tells us that she was Lady of Cobham and the wife of Sir Reginald Braybrook.

Sir John Harpeden was never summoned to Parliament, nor indeed was Sir Thomas Brooke, who married the heiress of Cobham. A large family of fourteen was the offspring of this union, and his son Edward and grandson John became successively Lords of Cobham and were staunch adherents of the house of York. The date of the latter's decease has been so misconceived and has led to so much error, that it may be well here, at once and for all, to determine that question. His brass in Cobham chancel commemorates as well his second wife, Margaret Nevil, daughter of Lord Abergavenny, who died Sept. 30, 1506: but the date of his decease is left blank, a very common circumstance, showing that the monument was erected during his life and that the date was never filled in. Strange to say, the date of his wife's death has been applied to him, and Sir Harris Nicolas, in his *Synopsis of the Peerage*, has not only adopted this error without inquiry, but, still worse, has made it the basis of a great blunder. Finding Sir John still summoned to Parliament after 1506, he assumes that for years the king's writs were issued to his son Thomas in his name.^b Had he only thought it worth while to have consulted the *Inquisitiones Post Mortem*, he would have discovered that Sir John died March 9th, 1511-12.

^a The date of his death is usually given as 1457, but it is proved by an inquisition to have taken place 8 May, 1438.

^b On one occasion a mistake was made, as in the summons of 12 Nov. 7 Hen. VIII. 1515.

The next of the Cobham Barons who commands particular attention was the grandson of the above, George Brooke, whose splendid monument in Cobham chancel is the last memorial to a Lord of Cobham; his numerous family of ten sons and four daughters are represented kneeling around it, in all the blaze of heraldic pomp.* It is his grandson Henry to whose fate I now propose to direct your attention, and in whom the ancient barony, by writ, became extinguished.

It has gone forth to the world, and, as yet, is part of our domestic history, that Henry Brooke, tenth Lord Cobham, attainted of treason 1^o James I., after lying many years in the Tower, was permitted to walk out, and died in extreme misery and want, in a wretched hovel in the Minories, in 1619. That such a story should find its way into the Romance of the Peerage is natural enough, and that the author should cling to it may be well understood. But that it should be reproduced by an acute lawyer, a magistrate, whose office and whose education would lead him to examine into facts and to sift evidence, in a work professedly, from its nature, critical, without any comment, as in Jardine's *Criminal Trials* (i. 477), is certainly remarkable as showing the persistency of error. For, granting that he had no evidence to the contrary, the circumstances are strange and unusual, and warrant suspicion as to their truth, even if they do not positively command us to inquire into the evidence by which they are supported.

The story has been repeated again and again. It occurs in the histories of Kent, Prince's *Worthies of Devon* (art. Raleigh), Aikins' *Life of James*, &c. but it owes its origin to two writers, Francis Osborne and Sir Anthony Weldon.

The first, in a book entitled "*Historical Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth and King James I. Lond. 8^o, 1658*" (p. 11), relates it in these rambling words. Speaking of James, he says: "At his assumption to the throne, the Lord Gray, Lord Cobham, and Sir Walter Raleigh (professed enemies to the late Earl of Essex, and no weak instruments in his destruction), fell into a treason of a like depth with his; and so improbable to hurt others, or benefit themselves, that if ever folly was capable of the title, or pity due to innocence, theirs might claim so large share as not possible to be too severely condemned, or slightly enough punished. Yet, as shallow as it was, the Lord Gray could never wade through it, but died in the Tower, though Cobham did, but to such a liberty as only afforded him the choyce of a place to starve in, all his land being formerly confiscated and begg'd: so, as myself heard William Earl of Pembroke relate

* I have given fuller accounts of the earlier barons and their tombs in memoirs printed in the *Archæologia Cantiana*, xi. 49; xii. 113.

with much regret towards him (though in his life his opposer, in exasperating the old Queen against him in relation to a juvenile lapse, for which he was by her committed to the Fleet), that he dyed in a roome, ascended by a ladder, at a poore woman's house in the Minorics, formerly his landeresse, rather of hunger than any more naturall disease. Thus miserable was his fate, in meeting with a prince so inconsiderately profuse to strangers that he forgot the owner, not leaving him wherewithal to buy bread; an impiety not found amongst Infidels, who ever deemed it less injustice to take away life then the meanes to maintaine it."

Sir Anthony Weldon, in his *Court and Character of King James*, Lond. 12^o, 1650 (p. 38), states the fact with a more bitter feeling; he says, "his death as base, for he dyed lousie for want of apparell and linnen: and had starved, had not a trencher-scraper, some time his servant in Court, releevd him with scraps, in whose house he dyed, being so poore a house as he was forced to creep up a ladder into a little hole to his chamber; which was a strange judgement and unpresidented, that a man of 7,000*l.* per annum, and of a personall estate of 30,000*l.*, of all which the King was cheated of what should have escheated to him, that he could not give him any maintenance, as in all cases the King doth, unlesse out of his owne revenue of the Crowne, which was the occasion of this Lord's want: his wife being very rich, would not give him the crums that fell from her table; and this was a just judgement of God on him."

Of what value are the statements of this ribald monger of court scandal, who speaks so glibly of the "just judgments of God," I shall presently show, and it is unnecessary to call your attention to the discrepency in these two versions. Only one writer of the same period has questioned its truth, viz. Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, who, in his "*Court of King James*" (ed. Brewer, 1839, i. 69), says, "that Cobham should live and die so miserably as is related, and that his wife should be so unnatural as not to relieve him 'with the crumbs that fell from her table,' and that the King should be cheated of all his estate, these things are not credible." The author of the *Romance of the Peerage* quotes this writer only to discredit him, calling him "easy Bishop Goodman;" perhaps the term may apply more correctly to himself.

To the testimony of such writers as Osborne and Weldon no weight attaches; the first only speaks of his narrative as "traditional," and, although the latter calls himself an "eye and care witness" of what he relates, he gives no corroborative evidenee; in fact, neither authors have any other value than as stating their own personal views on the events of the time. Both were inimical to

James. Moreover, as regards the question of Lord Cobham's fate, it must be remembered that a whole generation had passed away; even members of the Brooke family, then living, could know little but what was traditional concerning one dead thirty years before, and who, previously to that, had been upwards of fifteen years dead to the outer world. In fact, a prisoner of state is exactly in the position of one about whom almost any story might get afloat. Cut off from communion with the world, he lives, but is not of it, and is soon forgotten even by his friends. If after his death a tale is told of him, few can test the truth of it, and those that can care not for the trouble; it then passes current, and becomes history.

In opposition to this story, I shall prove, that Lord Cobham had an ample allowance as prisoner in the Tower; that six months before his death he was in the Tower seriously ill, probably paralysed; and that the King was not cheated of what accrued to him from the attainder. The probability is that he died in the Tower, it being so stated in a pedigree attached to the abstract of the title to some portion of the estates, which were conveyed by Sir John Brooke (created Lord Cobham by patent in 1645, and who died in 1659) to the Duke of Lennox and Richmond,^a and a legal document of the character alluded to must be held conclusive. The traditional story of Osborne and Weldon is indeed of later date, as the above-named transaction must have taken place some years before either work was published. But, before I enter more minutely into the matter, it is necessary to give a brief sketch of Lord Cobham's career.

Henry Brooke was the second son of Sir William Brooke, ninth Lord Cobham, and, Maximilian the eldest having died young, he succeeded to the barony on the death of his father in 1596-7, being then thirty-two years old. No one could have entered life with more brilliant prospects. In his blood were represented many noble and historic names. The vast estates of the family had been constantly on the increase, and an addition was made to them by Queen Elizabeth in 1564 of St. Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury. At her court, indeed, the lords of Cobham were in high favour, and she had honoured his father, Sir William, on two occasions with a visit to Cobham Hall, where she was entertained with much magnificence. Without any great ability and still less personal character, he nevertheless fell in naturally, as it were, to those honours, which his ancestors had so often enjoyed. In 1597 he was made Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, an office of more importance in those days, and one which even now is generally reserved for those who have done great service to the state. He was installed

^a In the possession of F. C. Brooke, Esq.

on St. Bartholomew's Day (1598) at Canterbury, "at which ceremonious solemnities were assembled almost 4,000 horse, and he kept the feast very magnificently, and spent 26 oxen, with all other provision sutable."^a The following year he was installed Knight of the Garter, as his father and grandfather before him; and here his honours and good luck seem to have culminated. So great a favourite of fortune, and yet in his prime of youthful manhood, it will not be a matter of wonder that the ladies of the court considered him as a matrimonial prize, and that the young lord of Cobham was the subject of much speculation. The prize fell to Frances, daughter of the Earl of Nottingham, and widow of Henry, Earl of Kildare. She was a warm-hearted woman, but of strong passions and of a violent temper, yet there is no doubt that she had conceived for Lord Cobham a powerful affection.^b Although the marriage was spoken of as early as 1599,^c it did not take place until 1601, though the contract was made before the Queen in February, 1600.^d It does not appear to have been one of good omen, for it is thus alluded to in a letter of the time: "The Lord Cobham hath married the lady of Kildare, but I hear of no great agreement."^e It was not a happy marriage, but the union was destined to be soon abruptly dissolved.

In this age of Court intrigue and political plotting, Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh (who had been his father's friend) took the same side. They were both the enemies of the unfortunate Earl of Essex. At the attack upon Essex House in 1601 Lord Cobham took part, and afterwards sat as one of his peers on the trial, little thinking then how soon his own turn was to come. It is extremely probable that this enmity to Essex was the shadow cast before, a warning of the event fatal to himself. Between Essex and James of Scotland a warm friendship subsisted, and when the latter ascended the throne of England the enemies of that nobleman soon felt his displeasure. Sir Robert Cecil, however, brother-in-law of Lord Cobham, had adroitly made his peace with the new sovereign, an incident eminently characteristic of this crafty statesman. Osborne, whose sympathies are evidently with Sir Walter Raleigh, states that he, Lord Cobham, Sir John Fortescue, and others, were for having articles drawn up in respect to the new monarch, and this of itself, if true, would be quite sufficient to influence the King against them.

James was no sooner upon the throne than there arose those plots against

^a Letters written by John Chamberlain. Camden Society, 1861, p. 18.

^b Secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil. Edinb. 1766, p. 89.

^c Letters written by John Chamberlain, p. 40.

^d *Ibid.* p. 65.

^e *Ibid.* p. 109.

him which is comprehend or unravel is one of the most difficult tasks in English history. In the phraseology of the time, they were known as the Treasons of the Bye and the Main—the Priests' Treason (or the Surprising Treason), and the Spanish Treason. It was the Treason of the Main, or Spanish Treason, in which Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh are said to have plotted, and, if we are to believe his accusers, the latter was the soul of the conspiracy. What was the Spanish Treason? Rushworth, writing fifty years afterwards, tells us "it was a dark kind of treason, and that in his time the veil still rested upon it." We may safely come to a similar conclusion; it is so dark an affair that, after two centuries of light, we grope our way hopelessly. What is, however, but too clear, is the strong party passion of men who hesitated at nothing that could prostrate a political foe, and also the unhappy fate of the actors in these so-called conspiracies. My own study of the question leads me to the conclusion that there is no evidence which would bear cross-examination, and I am inclined to say, as Dr. Lingard does, of the Priests' Treason, "that the absurdity of this scheme is its own refutation." I feel myself happy, however, that these much-debated questions do not require any discussion on my part, as they are not material to the subject into which I am about to enter. It is sufficient for us to know the fate of those engaged, and we will assume their guilt, that our argument may not be mixed up with that question.

The Priests' Treason, so called from two Catholic priests, Watson and Clarke, said to have been its promoters, was to surprise the person of the King. In this George Brooke, Lord Cobham's brother, Sir Griffin Markham, and Lord Grey of Wilton, were joint actors, and Lord Cobham was said to be privy to it. As before mentioned, Cobham and Raleigh were the actors in the conspiracy of the Main or Spanish Treason. These unfortunate men were tried and found guilty, and Raleigh's trial, from the eminence of his character, and also from the able defence which he made, has excited mostly the attention of English historians. We cannot rise from its perusal without a sentiment of disgust, and a feeling that it remains a blot upon our history.

The two priests suffered the extremity of the law, with all its attendant barbarities; George Brooke was beheaded at Winchester; and Lords Cobham and Grey and Sir Griffin Markham were one cold morning in November, 1603, brought upon the scaffold at Winchester Castle, Sir Walter Raleigh looking on from the window of his prison; and after being severally played with, as the pike when hooked by the angler, with the bitterness of death before their eyes, received the commutation of their sentence. Those who have read James's letter to the

Council, wherein he glorifies himself on his royal mercy, and have also read the narrative of an eye-witness^a of the scene enacted upon the scaffold, will understand and appreciate his character.

We have now to state their fate. Sir Griffin Markham was banished the realm, and died abroad. The young Lord Grey of Wilton, he who could have met his death as a bridegroom would meet his bride, died after eleven years' confinement in the Tower, his high spirit utterly crushed. Sir Walter Raleigh's fate is well known. Posterity will ever regard his execution as a crime. The fate of Lord Cobham then is the question in debate, and alone remains to be settled.

He and Sir Walter Raleigh were conducted back to the Tower, December 16, 1603,^b and henceforth Lord Cobham, like most of the unfortunate men condemned to imprisonment for life, became as one dead to the outer world. Let us withdraw the veil a little and see what went on in his prison.

At first he, and his friends without, entertained a hope of his freedom. In some letters, which he addressed to his brother-in-law Cecil, we find him importuning, though somewhat faintly, for his assistance in this matter.

To divert his mind from the sad prospect of a life-long imprisonment he set himself to the translation of Seneca's treatises, *De Providentia*, *De Ira*, *De Tranquillitate*, *De Vita Beata*, and *De Paupertate*. It is probable that he may have had some taste for classical study, for there is a letter written by him to Sir Robert Cotton, 12th January, 1602-3,^c asking for the loan of "my lord Essex notations of Cornelius Tacitus." One of these translations, *De Providentia*, is extant, and now in the possession of Francis Capper Brooke, Esq. of Ufford, Suffolk. It is a small volume, measuring rather over five inches in length by three in width, bound in blue velvet, now much faded, and written in a remarkably neat, precise, and legible hand, most likely by a professional scribe.

This translation (as were the others also) is dedicated to Cecil, thus :

To my very good Lord and brother in law the Lo: viscount Crambourne his Matie
principall Secretarie.

This booke de prouidentia amongst others of Seneecas works I made choiee to translate. I confess in my life, except the scripture, I neuer read any thing that so fealngly, and so rightly moued me, truly to consider the uanity of this world; this great comefort in reading of it I have found y^t my thoughts being distraeted, and many times forgetting reson (that I haue had cause is not unkuowne) this booke hath setled my opinion, made mee see the weaknes and frailty of my thoughts, giuing me this comfourt y^t where God loues he chastiseth; the Author was a heathen, and

^a *Archæologia*, XXI. 170.

^b See *Proc. Soc. Ant.* 2d S. i. 62.

^c Cott. MS. Vesp. F. xiii. f. 285.

in reuerence of God to him unknowne, whom we Christians truly and sincerely know, attributed all happines to y^e true worshiping of him; how nere he comes to true divinity y^e work itself expresseth. My Lo: Keeper Bacon was a great reader of Seneca, and this booke de prouidentia he most oftneſt did read, his course of life shewed y^t he imprinted the subiect of it in his minde, whose memorie in this kingdom will neuer be forgotten, for in former times to his end there was never any more worthy: I haue translated it to pass my time withall, as y^e best comfort I could giue myself. To your Lo: I present it, not as a booke dedicatory, but as y^t I presume will please you, in that I being uoide of comfort can comfort my minde in learning to forsake that which hath forsaken mee, others by discourse, I out of profe know y^t this world with y^e vanities thereof is but transitory, and God whome we most neglect doth only aid us, and to winn us he doth punish us, thereby we are taught merely to follow him, for uaine is y^e help of man.

From my hart I wish your Lo: all hapines, and so I wish that sometime you will thinck of mee yo^r pore frinde and free mee if it may be.

Your Lo: very louing
brother in lawe

[1604 or 1605.]

HENRY COBHAM.

In a letter docketed July 24, 1605,^a he sends other of the treatises translated, and writes much in a similar strain. "I know it will content you (he says) y^t now in my misfortune I spend not my tyme frutleas, but pas it away in comforting my mynd," and alludes to his hope of liberty; "my libertie I reco^mend to y^r Los: I am bound vnto you for y^r favour in y^t you wish it and y^t you will giu me your best furtherans;" and he ends, "I will pray to God to hasten y^t tyme and encourag you to undertak so charitable a dead to healp a powr man out of prison.

"Y^r Lo. brother in lawe
"humbly to comaund
"H. BROOKE."

Thus then did he pass away the early days of his imprisonment; let us now see as to its nature. This we get out of a letter from Sir William Waade, the newly-appointed Lieutenant of the Tower, with whom Lord Cobham seems frequently to have quarrelled, and to have got himself into disgrace.^b This, however, most likely occurred with nearly all the prisoners.

The letter, dated August 19, 1605, is addressed to Cecil now Earl of Salisbury, and says,^c "The Lo: Cobham hath one servant more than is allowed in the warrant.

^a Lansdowne MSS. 89, No. 46.

^b See a letter from Sir William Waade, August 17, 1605, Addit. MSS. 6178, f. 449.

^c Excerpts from Burghley papers, Addit. MSS. 6178, f. 453.

“ For access it is open and there come ordinarily unto him many of all sorts not warranted by any l^{rs} I have scene.

“ For libertie the dore of the prison where he is, towards the leads, is not shut all the day, nor the dore at the other end of the leads by which any may have access unto him. Besides, there is another dore upon the leades thorow the lodgings of the Lieutenant lately made, w^{ch} stood open, by wich by a private staires many came and wente until it was observed.

“ The prison dore to the leades I leave open the day-time, one of the other two dores out of the leades I have caused to be shut up, and the other I leave open, but appoint one to watch there. There is another dore at the end of a paire of staires, to the hill-wards, which is at times opened for bringing of victuals, and other necessary occasions for him,” &c.

By this we see Lord Cobham's treatment was not that of a Bastille, it was not strict nor close confinement, and he was attended by his servants like a gentleman. I shall now show that he had an ample allowance for his maintenance out of the Treasury.

In Mr. F. C. Brooke's collection is a series of letters, written by Lord Cobham from the Tower, to the Lord Treasurer for the time being, with one or two exceptions. All these letters have one purpose, and are couched in the same language. The earlier ones ^a are addressed to Lord Salisbury, but no longer make any reference to cherished hopes of liberty. Time has reconciled or convinced him of the hopeless condition in which he is placed. They are formal applications for his quarterly and monthly allowances, the first being 25*l.* the last 32*l.* making 516*l.* per annum. The following is a sample :

May It pleas y^r l^{rs}:

This 13 of Junne my monthly allowens, being 32 p., is now deau vnto me. I humbly pray y^r l^{rs}: to tak order y^t it may be payed, and y^t this berer Thomas Morgayn my seruant may receaue it, and so I humbly tak my leau. From y^e Toure 13 of Junn 1609.

Y^r l^{rs}: brother in lawe

humbly to commaund

HEN. BROOKE.

He has now, it will be seen, relinquished the name of Cobham, that of the barony, and it is plain Henry Brooke until after Salisbury's death ; for this there

^a There may be earlier letters than those preserved in this collection. I speak only of those I have seen.

was probably a reason, for to the new Lord Treasurer, the Duke of Suffolk, he renews his signature as Lord Cobham, and so after to his death. In 1615 the handwriting of these letters is much deteriorated, the neat hand is now slovenly, but on 28th August, 1616, his signature is remarkable for the unintelligible manner in which "Henry" is written, and he was probably ill. Let me here remind you that he had now been twelve years a prisoner. The succeeding letters improve, but some are evidently not written by himself. On the 5th of May, 1618, are two letters, one as usual to the Lord Treasurer, another, and a very important one in this inquiry, is endorsed—

To the right wo^{ll} my verie louinge ffreind S^r John Bingley, knight, Auditor of the Tellers of his Ma^{ties} receiptes.

I giue you hartie thanks for yo^r kindnes to me in helpinge me to my monthly allowance weh was due vnto me the 9th of March last past, for I vnderstoode you tooke yt vpp for me, I entreat yo^u to afforde me the like Curtesy and to lett me have this monthes allowance, weh was due unto me the 4 of this present month of May, and what you shall thincke fitt I will allowe out of it. I pray helpe me to it at this time for I am into affence and haue not one penney in my purse to giue my physicōns their fees nor my selfe foode. So assuringe my selfe of y^{o^r} accustomed fauor herein, I committ yo^u to Gods holy protect'on.

Yo^r very louing Freind,
HENRY COBHAM.

Tower the 5th of May, 1618.

We see by this, as also by other letters, that Lord Cobham did not let time slip before he demanded his money, for it was only due the day before. Either this may argue a somewhat thriftless management, or that the exactions of the prison were heavy. We see, also, that poor Lord Cobham had to pay for the friendly services of the Worshipful Sir John Bingley, knight. But what is most important in this letter is the allusion to his physicians, as it shows him to be in ill health. The last letter that we know of his from the Tower is dated July 13, 1618. It is a demand as usual for his allowance: it is not written by him though signed, and this signature is all but unintelligible. There is an attempt at his old precision, but it is written with extreme difficulty, as by a paralysed hand.

Let us now go to the Records, and we find various entries in the Calendar of State Papers bearing upon and in corroboration of the above.

In 1616 there was a rumour of the probability of Lord Cobham's release as well as that of Sir Walter Raleigh. But it never came, though the next year Sir Walter went on his expedition to Guiana, which turned out so fatally for

him. He sailed from Plymouth, June 12th, 1617.^a Shortly after Lord Cobham “for the bettering of his healthe had his Majestie’s leave to go to Bathe attended by his keeper. In his returne, being as he conceived throughlie cured of his maladie, was at Hungerford surprized with a dead palsey: frome thence with difficultie he was carried alyve unto Odiam, Sir Edward Moore’s house; he is yett livinge but nott like to continew many dayes.” This information we get from a gazette letter from George Lord Carew to Sir Thomas Roe.^b The event is placed under September 1617.

Sir Edward More had married Lord Cobham’s sister Frances, twin with Elizabeth, who married Sir Robert Cecil, and widow of Lord Stourton. Here then we have a proof that he was not entirely deserted by friends, in itself sufficient to throw doubt upon the story of his miserable end.

From this attack Lord Cobham sufficiently recovered to be enabled to return to the Tower, as appears from the letter already alluded to, dated July 13th, 1618. In this month he petitioned the Councel to move the King to allow him liberty to take the air for his health, Mr. Frederick, the King’s surgeon, to certify his weak state.^c

Here we lose all trace of him as a living man. If he revived it was but a short respite, for he died January 24th, 1619, as appears by the following entry.^d

Lady } By order dated 25 January 1618 [1619 N.S.] To Elizabeth, Lady Brough, assignee
Brough) of Henry Brooke, late Lord Cobham, late prisoner in the Tower, deceased, as well the sum of 109*l.* upon his allowance of 8*l.* the week, for his maintenance, payable monthly, and due for 3 months, 1 week, and 5 days, of the number of 28 days to the month, begun the 21st of October, 1618, and ended 24th of the present January, 1618, on which day his Lordship died, as also the sum of 25*l.* upon his allowance of 100*l.* for apparel, physic, &c. payable quarterly, and due for the quarter ended at the feast of the Birth of our Lord God last past, 1618.

By writ, dated 25th January, 1608, and the last of July, 1618 £134 0 0

It is clear from this document that money not spent by Lord Cobham of his ordinary allowance was returned to his assignee. This would seem to show that he was not at least within the verge of the Tower at the time of his death, and

^a Letters from Lord Carew to Sir Thomas Roe, Camden Society, 1860, p. 111.

^b *Ibid.* p. 122.

^c Calendar of State Papers (Domestic Series), 1618, p. 561.

^d Devon, Issues of the Exchequer, p. 224. Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of the 5th Lord Borough or Burgh, was widow of George Brooke. The writ of Jan. 25, 1608-9, sanctioned the allowance being paid to Lord Cobham’s assignee for the time being.

therefore this may have given some colour to the fable that he died wretchedly in the Minories. But, as I have shown that he was seriously ill, the statement that he died of starvation and "not of natural disease" cannot for one moment stand any longer as a part of our history. Neither can that part of the tale remain, that he had no allowance from the Treasury.^a

Before Lord Cobham's death the Lieutenant of the Tower had seized to the King's use 1,000 volumes of books of all learning and languages, which had been the solace of his imprisonment, and which Sir Thomas Wilson proposed should be transferred to the King's library.^b Yet, strange to say, we are told that his body lay unburied for want of money; but the statement is made only four days after his decease.^c It also states he died a Papist. Of the Lady Kildare, his widow, nothing is said at this time. She was living at Cobham Hall, and it seems as if she took no notice whatever of the unfortunate man who was her husband and in whose house she lived. So far the part of the story which relates to her cannot be denied.

But I have not done yet with Osborne and Weldon, for none of their assertions are so unfortunate as that which maintains that the King was cheated of the estate. The will of George Lord Cobham, dated March 31st, 1552,^d made an elaborate settlement of the estates, entailing them on the next heir, with remainder in the usual manner. The King, therefore, by the law of the land, could only be entitled to a life interest in the Cobham domains. Possibly this consideration may have had much to do with the royal mercy. No sooner, therefore, did he become possessed than he immediately began to realize. And, for this purpose, he entered into a bargain of a cruel, even if of a legal character. Unfortunately the next heir was the son of George Brooke, who was executed at Winchester,—a poor friendless child, of tender age, unable to assert his own rights before the law, and deserted by those near to him in blood, whose duty it was to aid him.

The transaction to which I allude was entered into with Duke Brooke, the son of an uncle of Lord Cobham, and the next in succession, if George Brooke's children were debarred by attain of blood. This appears from the answer by the

^a See also Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 34, for payments in 1606.

^b *Calendar of State Papers*, Nov. 2, 1618, p. 590.

^c *State Papers, Dom. Jas. I.* vol. 105, Letter from Sir Thomas Wynne to Sir D. Carleton, dated 28 Jan. 1618-19. "My Lord Cobham is dead and lyeth unburied as yeat for want of money; he died a papist."

^d *Harl. Chart.* 57. H. 7; perhaps a superseded will, for Dugdale (*Baronage*, ii. 282) gives the date of the will as Jan. 13, 1557-8.

King to the "Humble petition of Duke Brooke, of Temple Combe, Esq. and in consideration of £4,269 on the 4th of May, 1605, and £3,250 on the 8th of November, 1605, and £3,250 on the 4th of May, 1606, by the said Duke Brooke paid, we grant," &c. Then follows a recital of the manors, &c. making in all ninety-one items. So here we find the King, in two years after the attainder, is proceeding to realize on the estates seized.

The recipient did not live long in possession of the property thus acquired, but died without issue May 27th, 1606, only twenty-three days after the time fixed for his last payment. On the 25th of October, 1607, Charles Brooke, his brother, had a renewal of this grant by the King, but on what terms I do not find. Whilst the property was in his hands he parted with several manors to Cecil, then Earl of Salisbury, for £5,000, as well as to others. He died April 5th, 1610.

It is remarkable that the unfortunate prisoner was living out those who were enjoying and scattering his estates. But now comes another part of the story very pregnant with reflection: viz. the restoration in blood of the children of George Brooke, attainted. These were William, his son and heir, and two daughters, Frances and Elizabeth.^a This took place in 1610, between six and seven years after their father's execution, when they were therefore rising to the age of puberty. An express proviso was, however, made, that this did not enable them to enter into any of the property which was their father's, nor into that of Henry Lord Cobham; nor could William Brooke take the title of Lord of Cobham without the King's especial grace, and this was never accorded to him. It is not a matter for surprise, then, when some thirty years afterwards, in the great Civil War, we find Sir William Brooke fighting on the side of the Parliament, and meeting his death on the field of Newbury, 1643, or through wounds there received.

But it must surely be questionable if the King had the right to set aside the will of George Lord Cobham, for it is clearly shown by the instruments drawn up by the lawyers respecting the sale of property by John Brooke, created Lord Cobham by patent, to the Duke of Lenox and Richmond, that they considered the will and entail in force, notwithstanding the attainder, as it is constantly cited, and the death of all who could claim under it duly proved. It seems probable that James, with the connivance of Cecil, who bought some of the estates of Charles Brooke, used or abused the law, and threw such obstacles in the way of the rightful heir as rendered any process against the crown hopeless.

I have thus shown that every single allegation by Weldon and Osborne is

^a Statute 7 Jac. I. iv. pt. 2, p. 1155.

unfounded; but there is one point yet in doubt and obscurity. Where was Lord Cobham buried? At Cobham the registers do not carry us back so far. Those in the Tower have not his name; he was therefore not buried there. Search has been made at Odiham without success, and at Aldgate also, as well as at Trinity, Minorities, by the Tower, but no entry has been found.

In conclusion, I think we may fairly say that, although Henry Lord Cobham did not die in the miserable manner that has been stated, yet no one could more truly use those words which Dante puts into the mouth of Francesca of Rimini, "No greater grief than the remembrance of a happy time in misery."

"Nessun maggior dolore
Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
Nella miseria."

Dante, Inferno, Canto 5.

*Description of the fac-similes of the Autographs of George, William, and
Henry, Lords Cobham. (Plate VIII.)*

No. 1. Signature of George Brooke, Lord Cobham, to an order of Privy Council to "deliver unto Polidorus Vergilius three hundred crownes after v^s the crowne," dated at Westminster, 9 Nov. 1551.

All his signatures are precise and unvarying, and have a vertical stroke through the G.

No. 2. Signature of William Brooke, Lord Cobham, 20 February, 1571-2.

This, though having all the characteristics of his autograph, is remarkable for some extra flourishes.

No. 3. This, of the same, may be called the typical signature, and is followed with singular precision, which was, perhaps, studied as a rule by official persons. It is attached to an autograph letter "for the queens Ma^{ties} affayres," 8 Jan. 1587-8.

No. 4. This, also of William, Lord Cobham, though following closely the general form, wants the underline of the flourish which usually completes the W., and possibly similar omissions have occurred in documents at Coventry and Hythe, leading experts of the Record Office to read the W. as ff. It is necessary therefore to give proof that this is the signature of Lord Cobham. It is appended to a lease granted jointly by himself and his wife Frances on the 3rd of June, 1592, signed and sealed by both. No. 5 is a fac-simile of the signature of the latter. His arms of twelve quarterings are attached to the deed, and hers also, the simple arms of Newton.

As there is a fatal tendency in all errors, especially when under an official stamp, to maintain their ground, it is necessary to give them a disproof. In the first Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, London, 1870, p. 100, col. 2, is a letter from the Privy Council, stated to be signed by Christopher Hatton, W. Burghley, F. Cobham, C. Howard, and J. Fortescue. In the Fourth Report of the same, part i. p. 438, col. 2, a document at Hythe is described as

1

Cobham

2

~~Cobham~~

February 25/1

3

Cobham

4

Cobham

5

Cobham

6

Henry Cobham

7

Henry Cobham

8

H Brooke

9

Henry Cobham

10

Henry Cobham

COBHAM SIGNATURES.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1880.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO LITH. LONDON. S. E.



“a letter beautifully written from *Sir Francis Cobham*, addressed to my lovinge fryndes the mayor, jurats, and commons of the town and port of Hythe in reference to Thomas Bodyly, the munificent founder of the Bodleian Library, and saying ‘I have receaved answer from the courte whereby I am requyred to reco’mende unto you Thomas Bodyly to be chosen by you for a Burgesse to the Parliament, wth some other p’sone of your owne towne.’” This is stated by Mr. Riley to be signed “F. Cobham,” and interpreted to be written by Sir Francis.

The easiest answer to the above is, that there was no such a person as Sir Francis Cobham. No one on the Privy Council, but Sir William, Lord Cobham, had the right to sign himself “Cobham,” and no other person but he, as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, could possibly have interfered, as from the Court, in the choosing of representatives for Hythe, a Cinque Port town. But Canon Scott Robertson goes far beyond even the experts of the Royal Commission. In his notes on the will of William Lord Cobham, published in *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xi. p. 202, he says, “Frances, Lady Cobham, may perhaps have taken an unusual part in assisting her lord in the discharge of his many public duties. The corporation of Hythe possesses a letter, dated 1584, bearing his gartered seal of twelve gatherings, but, says Mr. H. T. Riley, signed ‘F. Cobham.’ The same signature appears upon a council letter, among the archives of Coventry. Mr. F. C. Brooke, however, thinks that the official experts misread these signatures.”

How far it is probable that the wife of a Privy Councillor should sign her name in place of her husband amongst others of the council, whose names are above given, need scarcely be discussed. Nor is it very probable that the wife of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports should have conveyed to the corporation authorities of Hythe, in her own name, an order received by her from the Court as to the election of a Burgess to Parliament. However, the question is completely set at rest by the comparison of her own autograph and that of her husband on the same deed. Mr. Brooke, having compared the signature on the Hythe letter with that of Sir William on the document of 1592, testifies to its being identical, and to their agreement with other signatures of the same Lord Cobham in his possession.

No. 6. Signature of Henry, Lord Cobham, August 8, 1601.

No. 7. Signature of above, cir. 1605, when in the Tower, put to the preface of his translation of Seneca de Providentia, addressed “To my very good Lord and brother-in-law the Lo: viscount Crambourne his Ma^{ties} principall Secretarie.”

No. 8. Signature as “Henry Brooke,” March 26, 1609, to a letter praying “to give direction for y^e payment of 25*l.* du now at our lady for my quarterag.”

No. 9. Ditto from the Tower to a similar letter, August 28, 1616.

No. 10. Ditto to his last letter from the Tower on July 13, 1618.

It may be added that these fac-similes are all taken from documents in the possession of F. C. Brooke, Esq. of Ufford.

XI.—*On an Ebony Pax bearing the Legend of St. Veronica.* By PROF. DR.
GEORGE STEPHENS, F.S.A. *London and Edinburgh.*

Read February 14, 1878.

In the early Church the *kiss of peace*, the simplest of all symbolisms, was a holy ceremony in public worship reverently kept up. Its use lingered on to the Middle Ages. In the twelfth century, when the separation of the sexes began to fall away, the custom came in of the priest kissing a carved ornament instead of his brother-minister, and this in its turn was saluted by the whole congregation. This substitute of any material, costly or simple, even of wood or glass, and generally small in size, after use was returned to the altar. In the West it bore many names—the *Pax*, *Osculatorium*, *Deosculatorium Pacis*, *Osculare*, *Tabula Pacis*, *Asser ad Pacem*, *Paxillum*, *Paxilla*, *Porte-Paix*, *Porte-pax*, *Pax-brede*, *Pakys-bred*, *Pax-bord*, and so on.

In England we are not sure that it was introduced before the thirteenth century. It continued among us down to the Reformation, and even in the Reformed Church itself, but afterwards disappeared. It is now extinct also in the Roman Church, with some exceptions. "The custom of giving the kiss of peace before the communion, in the more solemn service of the Roman Catholic Church called the *High Mass*, is still kept up among the officiating clergy, as likewise among the men and the women of the different religious orders. It is performed by the parties placing their hands upon each others shoulders and bringing their left cheeks nearly in contact with each other."^a Thus its use is very circumscribed, and it is most perfunctorily performed.

Such small articles of church furniture as the pax would usually be melted down or otherwise destroyed. Specimens, indeed, are found in some of our

^a Milner, in *Archæologia*, vol. XX., London, 1824, p. 535.



EBONY PAX BEARING THE LEGEND OF ST. VERONICA.

Full size.

European museums, but they are not many. Several have been preserved as examples of high art. One, probably from the fifteenth century, is figured to illustrate the paper "On the Use of the Pax in the Roman Catholic Church," by the Rev. John Milner, D.D., F.S.A.* This piece is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high by about 2 inches broad, of silver, bluntly pointed at the top, and has a projecting leaf or handle behind, on which it might rest nearly upright when placed on the altar. It is about $\frac{1}{4}$ th of an inch thick, and is the more perfect of two such then existing in the north of England. On it are embossed the Crucifixion, the Virgin below on one side, and St. John on the other. At the foot of the rod are a skull and bones.

In the *Archæological Journal*, vol. ii., London, 1846, p. 149, is engraved a second specimen, apparently from the last quarter of the fifteenth century. It is preserved in New College, Oxford, is of silver parcel gilt, about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $3\frac{1}{10}$ inches, with a handle. To Albert Way's excellent article thereon, as well as to the paper of Mr. Milner, I refer my readers for further information.

Every pax known to me is carved with some scene from the life of Christ, or bears the figure of some saint. I have never seen or heard of one with any subject from the Apocryphal Gospels. The one here engraved (Plate IX.) is the first of this class, as far as I know.

It is here given full size, chemityped by Professor Magnus Petersen, the distinguished Danish antiquarian artist. As we see, it slopes off on each side, being about 1 inch thick in the centre. I added it to my museum in March 1877, by purchase at Copenhagen. It is impossible to say whether or no it be of Danish workmanship, for such things wander strangely about, but I know no reason to the contrary. It is deeply and boldly cut in the hard wood, and is in excellent preservation.

The scene is from the Cross-fastening. The principal figure, Christ, is under a tree on his way to Calvary. Behind, on the left, is Saint Veronica (or Berenice), usually looked on as the woman who had an issue of blood twelve years, and who came near Jesus, and touching his garment was healed. In his last painful march to death she had pitied our Lord, and reached him her veil or kerchief, with which to wipe his bleeding face. When he gave it back, it bore the impress of his features, and became the *Vera Icon*, the miraculous portrait. It is here held by St. Thaddeus, on the front left of Christ. The Saviour, apparently, is pointing to

* *Archæologia*, vol. XX., London, 1824, p. 535. Pl. 24.

this, and saying to his mother, who is on her knees to the right, "See what this woman hath done for me!"

This touching and poetical fable is of great antiquity, was widely known in the Middle Ages, often used in works of art, and is even now not quite forgotten. It was further employed in connection with the legend of Abgarus, whom St. Thaddeus healed by the help of this Veronica veil, as some traditions assert; though others say it was carried by Velosianus to Rome and there cured "Tiberius, the Emperor."

These stories underwent continual modification, as they passed from mouth to mouth, or from copyist to copyist. Thus, in the charming old-English poetical homily, "De Abgaro Rege," by Archbishop Ælfric, of York (A.D. 1023—1051), the Apostle Thaddeus heals Abgarus at Christ's command, by merely touching him:—^a

Tatheus cwæð þa gyt
to þam wanhalan cyninge:
Forði ic sette mine hand
on þæs Hælendes naman
ofer þe untrumne!
And he swa dyde,
and se cyning weard ge-hæled sona,
swa he hine hrepode,
fram callum his untrumnyssum,
þe he ær on þrowode.

*Spake now Tatheus
to the sickly sovereign:
"My hand therefore lay I,
in the name of the Healer,
on thy wasted body!"*
*When, as he did so,
the King was straight whole,
thus cur'd and cleansed
of all the sicknesses
he erewhile suffer'd.*

In other versions again, as in old-Swedish,^b Abgarus in his zeal to see Christ, sent his own painter to Jerusalem to take a portrait of the healer. But the Divine face was too bright for the eyes of the artist, and the Saviour pressed his own kerchief over his countenance, and gave it to the errander stamped with the Heaven-King's image.

This is the first pax found in Scandinavia. Its date would seem to be late in the fifteenth century, but it shows no peculiarity of dress or style which can exactly fix where or when it was produced.

^a G. Stephens. *Tvende Old-Engelske Digte*. (Indbydelsesskrift til Kjöbenhavns Universitets Fest, 1853, 4to.), p. 19.

^b G. Stephens. *Ett Forn-Svenskt Legendarium*, vol. i. Stockholm, 1847. 8vo., p. 232.

XII.—*Notes on Little Horkesley Church, Essex.* By CLEMENTS ROBERT MARK-
HAM, Esq., C.B., F.R.S., F.S.A.

Read February 7, 1878.

THE church of Little Horkesley has long been sorely in need of thorough repair, and its sepulchral monuments give it a special claim to the attention of antiquaries. They are alike interesting for their antiquity and for the beauty of some of the uninjured brasses. Moreover, they serve to illustrate the history of the place during several centuries. They are the landmarks of local history, giving it accuracy and precision through the names and dates they supply; and they also display the styles of art which prevailed during successive ages. From all these points of view their preservation, and the due maintenance and restoration of the church which contains them, must be a matter of interest to all who desire to secure the safety of national monuments.

The two parishes of Great and Little Horkesley are on the northern border of Essex, reaching to the banks of the river Stour, which separates Essex from Suffolk. They extend along the crest overlooking the Stour valley, and down to the river bank on one side, while on the other they occupy the table land, for a considerable area, between the rivers Stour and Colne. Great Horkesley is very much the largest of the two parishes, covering an area of 3,084 acres. The portion to the south is flat, though well wooded and cultivated, but where the valley of the Stour is overlooked the scenery is very beautiful. It was this scenery which inspired the pencils of Gainsborough and Constable, both natives of the valley.

The name of Horkesley has been variously explained. Morant thought that the original name was *Horse-ley*—the “horse pasture,” or else *Horks-ley* (*hork* being “dirt” or “moist”). A more probable derivation is from *Hor-caes-ley*: *hor* being a boundary, *caes* a camp, *ley* meadows, “the fields about the boundary camp.” This camp would be either upon what is now Horkesley Hill, overlooking Suffolk, the country of the Icenii, or at a site near Pitchberry Wood.

The name of Horkesley does not occur in Domesday Book, because both parishes were then included in the lordship of Nayland, which, at the time of the famous survey, belonged to the great Sweyn of Essex. Under Sweyn a man named Godebold possessed Little Horkesley in the days of Edward the Confessor, and he was the founder of the first family of Horkesley.

In the reign of Henry I. Robert Fitz-Godbold and his wife Beatrix, the niece of Turold, founded a priory at Little Horkesley, to the honour of St. Peter, for Cluniac monks. In their foundation-charter the pious couple say that they have given certain churches to the priory of St. Mary at Thetford on condition that the prior should send as many monks to serve God in the church of St. Peter of Horkesley as the place could conveniently maintain. For their subsistence Robert and Beatrix assigned the church of Wiston in Suffolk, a moiety of the church at Boxted with the tithes from Robert's domain in that parish, and the tithes from land given to Beatrix by her uncle Turold. The monks were to be free from the jurisdiction of Thetford priory, but were to pay it half a mark of silver annually as a recognition. Charters of confirmation were given by Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, by Gilbert, Bishop of London, and afterwards by the great-grandson of the founders. The monks of Little Horkesley had to perform services regularly in their own church, and one of their number had to go down into the valley of the Stour and across the river to do the duty at Wiston church.* The priory stood on the north side of Horkesley church. In the time of Edward II. its annual revenue amounted only to 17*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.*

The descendants of Godebold took the name of Horkesley, and flourished for six generations. Walter de Horkesley held the manor of King Henry III.; his son was Sir Robert, and his grandson Sir William de Horkesley. The latter held the manor with the advowson of the priory; but in 1324 he passed them by fine, after the deaths of himself and his wife Emma, to Robert de Swinburne and his heirs. Sir William de Horkesley died childless in 1332, and his nephew, John de Ross, was his heir, and died in 1375. Thus the family of Horkesley, the descendants of Godebold, became extinct.

Three statues in Little Horkesley church must be referred to the Horkesley family. These effigies are admirably carved in chestnut, and are of colossal proportions. Two are figures of cross-legged knights, seven feet ten inches and seven feet seven inches long, and the third is a female figure seven feet ten inches long. The knights are in complete suits of mail, with long surcoats. The larger

* In 1854 the Rev. Charles Birch, Rector of Wiston, found a Burgundian florin of Charles the Bold under the church-path at Wiston, about a foot and a-half below the surface. It may have been dropped by one of the monks from Little Horkesley Priory.

one is somewhat mutilated. The other has the hands joined in prayer, a shield on the left arm, a short sword, and with the feet resting on a lion.* These very curious monuments had long been neglected. They are now placed in suitable recumbent positions in the chapel on the south side of the chancel. They are centuries older than the present fabric, and are the sole memorials of the first Horkesley family. The oldest portion of the church is the lower part of the tower and its arches, which may possibly date from the foundation of the priory.

The second family was that of Swinborne, which flourished at Little Horkesley from 1332 to 1430. Robert de Swinborne was succeeded by his son William, who married Philippa, daughter of Sir Richard Gernon. William Swinborne is believed to have been the founder of the present church. Morant says that this appears from the glass windows as they were in 1570. There is an altar-tomb under a low arch on the south side of the chancel, which is said to be that of the founder, but every atom of the brass with which it was once adorned has been picked out. A window on the north side of the nave may be referred to this date, but it is not in its original position. It may have been the east window. There is also an opening in the north wall of the chancel, which appears to have once contained a window, probably of the same date.

Sir Robert Swinborne succeeded his father William, the founder of the church, and married a great heiress, Joan, daughter of Sir John Botetort, by Joan, daughter of Sir John Gernon, and related to Philippa Gernon, the wife of his father, William Swinborne. Sir Robert thus married his cousin. He died on the 19th of October, 1391, and was buried in the chancel, leaving a large family. His five sons were Thomas, Richard, John, Jeffrey, and Andrew. Of his daughters, Alice married John Helion of Bumstead-Helion, and Margery married Nicolas Berners of Codham Hall. John and Andrew Swinborne were also buried in the chancel.

Sir Thomas Swinborne, son and heir of Sir Robert, was a great captain in the French wars. He was mayor of Bordeaux and constable of the castle of Fronsac in Guienne. Sir Thomas died on August 9th, 1412, and was buried by the side of his father. A splendid altar-tomb of stone was built over their graves, upon which are placed two figures in brass of the size of life, each under light and very beautiful triple canopies, and on lateral shafts are hung the escutcheons of Swinborne, Gernon, Erpingham, Cornard, and another, destroyed. Both figures are in helmets and plate armour, with short surcoats, swords, and misericorde daggers,

* A small engraving representing these effigies appeared in *Excursions in the County of Essex*, 12mo. London, 1819, vol. ii. p. 178.

hands joined in prayer, and the spurred feet resting on lions. But there are slight differences in the details which very clearly mark the changes in fashion between the days of the father and those of the son. The father has a gorget of mail, an embroidered sword-belt, and vandyked edges to the surcoat like that on the monument of John III. of Brittany (1341) at Ploermel. The sword-belt has R. and S. alternately in circles, with a monogram of R.S. in a larger circle as a clasp. The son has no mail armour; the narrower sword-belt comes diagonally from the hip, and there are circular palettes at the shoulder and elbow-joints of the armour. He wears a collar of SS. and on the palettes of his armour are crosses of St. George. Round the edge of the tomb there is the following inscription:—

Icey gist mons' Robert Swynborne Seignour de Horkesley petite Ce morust le iour de seinte ffeve lan du grace mill' ccc quatvint; unlsisme de qy alme Amen. [Icey] gist Mons'. Thomas Swynborne, fils du dit Monsr. Robt. Swynborne s' de Mammys, Haut de Burdeur et capitaigne de ffronsah. Ce mourst en la veile de Saint Laurence l'an du gee mill:cccxiij. del alme de qy dieu eyt pitee et mereys. Amen. Amen.

Nearly the whole of the brass of this splendid tomb is preserved.^a The tomb is now under the easternmost arch of the nave.

In the south aisle there is a monument to two other Swinbornes, brothers of Sir Thomas, which was also formerly ornamented with two effigies in brass.^b The circumscription is as follows:—

Hic iacent Johannes Swynbourne et Andreas Swynbourne frater eius qui vero Johannes obiit in vigilia Sancti Georgii anno domini millmo cccc xxx et diei Andreas obiit in vigilia Sancti Gregorii anno domini millmo cccc xviij quor' animas ppetuet deus Ame.

The last Swinborne was this John, who died childless on the 22nd of April, 1430. There is another curious brass of a lady tied up in a shroud with the face showing, about 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches long. The inscription is lost, but the person commemorated is Katherine Leventhorp, who died 1502. The examples of shrouded figures in brass, mentioned by Haines, are of dates from 1431 to 1530.

The inheritance of Little Horkesley came to Margery, sister of Sir Thomas Swinborne and wife of Nicholas Berners, who died in 1441. Their daughter Catherine brought it to the Fynderne family, by her marriage with Sir William Fynderne, who died in 1462. Their son, also Sir William, inherited Little Horkesley and died in 1515. He was followed by another William, and the last of the family was Thomas Fynderne of Little Horkesley, who died childless in

^a A careful engraving of these brasses is published in Waller's *Monumental Brasses*; see also Suckling's *Essex*, and Boutell's *Monumental Brasses*, p. 55.

^b Engraved in the publications of the Antiquarian Etching Club, vol. iii. pl. 9.

1523. Thus the Fyndernes were there during four generations, from 1441 to 1523.

The last Fynderne married Bridget, daughter of Sir William Waldegrave, a lady whose home was not far off, at Smallbridge in the valley of the Stour. Thomas Fynderne died on the 10th of March, 1523, and his widow married secondly the second Lord Marney of Layer Marney. She died on September 30th, 1549, and ordered in her will that upon her tomb there should be three pictures of brass, one of herself without any coat armour, and upon her right side the picture of the Lord Marney, her last husband, in his coat armour, and upon her left side the picture of her husband Fynderne in his coat armour. This desire was complied with; and the three brass effigies are on a marble gravestone, formerly an altar-tomb, now in the centre of the chancel aisle.^a Both the male figures are in surcoats of their arms. Lord Marney has on his surcoat and both sleeves the Marney coat (a lion rampant guardant) quartering two other coats. The head rests on a helmet with a cap of maintenance and the crest, and his feet are on a guardant lion. Thomas Fynderne also has the arms (Argent, a chevron between three cross-crosslets fitchée sable) on his surcoat and two sleeves, his head on a helmet with the crest, and his feet on ground with flowers. The injunction of Lady Marney as regards the absence of coat armour on her effigy has not been followed. Her head, with an elaborate coiffure, rests on a tasseled pillow, and a mantle fastened across the chest by long tasseled bands reaching to the ground has on it the arms of Waldegrave (Party per pale argent and gules) quartering another coat. Over the heads of the effigies two shields with the arms of each husband impaled, and the following inscription:--

Here under lyethe Dame Brygete Marney, late the wyffe of John Lorde Marney and sometyme wyffe to Mr. Thomas Fynderne Esquyer, and decessyde the xxxth day of September in the yere of our lorde God m.cccc.lxix.

John Lord Marney, the lady's second husband, died in April 1525, only two years after the death of Mr. Fynderne, whom she must have mourned for but a very short time. She remained a widow for 24 years, and appears to have lived at Little Horkesley, where she had jointure lands. She had no children, and therefore the Fynderne family became extinct.

Of the church founded by the Swinborne family little remains. There is a Decorated window in the north wall of the present church of the date of about 1350, already mentioned, and a pointed doorway; and the Horkesley and Swinborne tombs must have been in the earlier building.

^a They are engraved in Suckling's *Essex*.

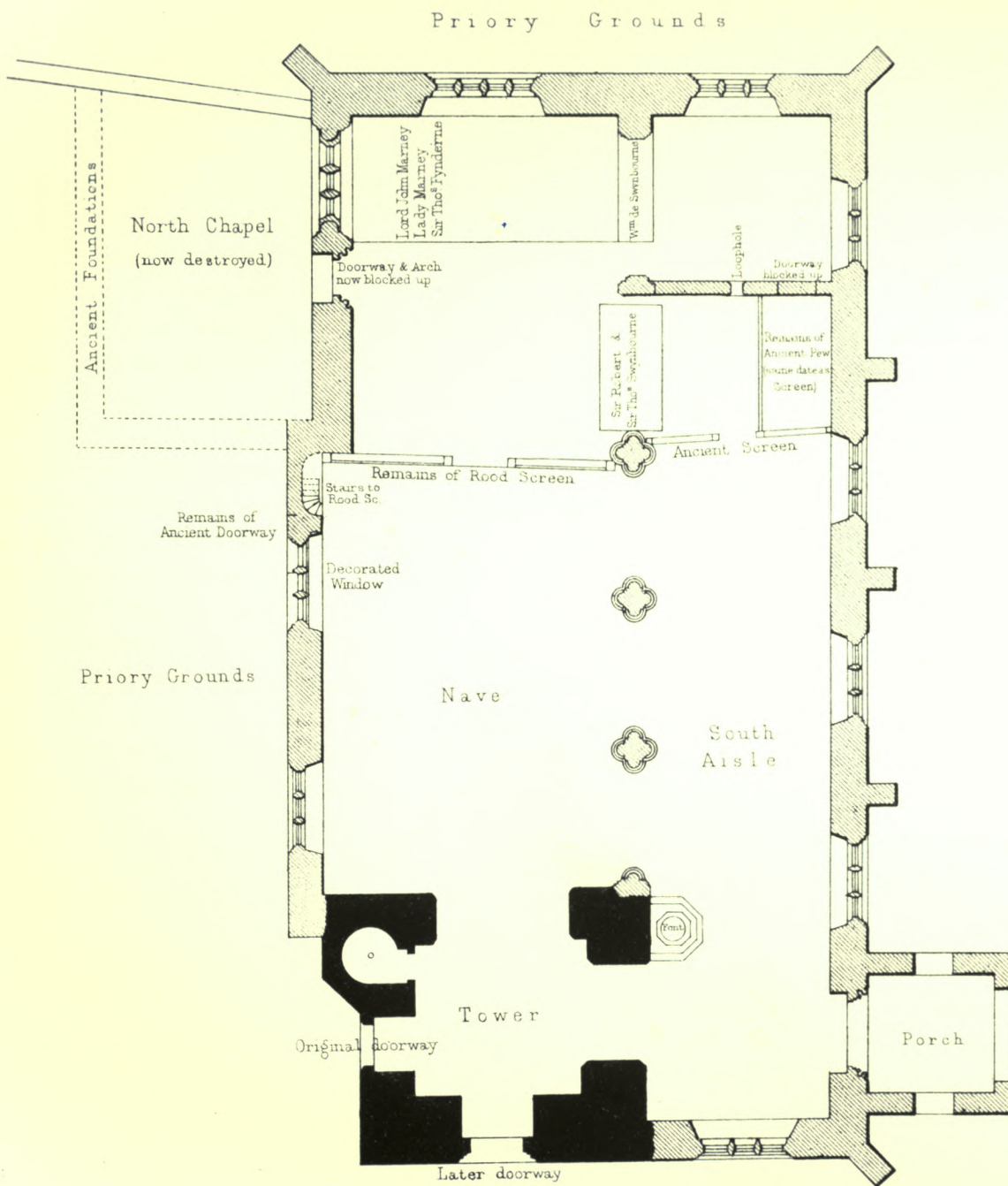
But the present church of Little Horkesley is more than a century later, and was probably built in the days of Sir William Fynderne. It consists of a nave, chancel, and south aisle, and a low square tower, all in the Perpendicular style of architecture. (See plan, Plate X.) In the east window there are four lights, an unusual feature, but the Perpendicular tracery has been destroyed. The aisle is separated from the nave by an arcade of four arches, and there are four Perpendicular windows on the south wall, the second from the west having a niche in the side of the wall. There are small bits of stained glass with the letters B and M in yellow often repeated within circles of blue and green, and in the west end window W and S. At the east end of the aisle there is a Perpendicular window of three lights; and in the upper opening in the tracery at each angle is the sun in splendour, in yellow glass. This was the cognizance of King Edward IV. and is often met with in churches of his time. It therefore fixes the date of the window, and probably of the present church.

About a dozen tessellated tiles have been found, some with roses and others with geometric patterns—a circle containing two intersecting triangles with smaller circles.

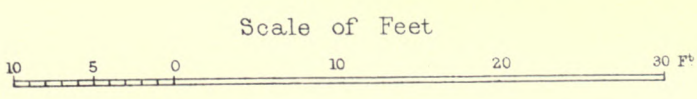
The north side of the church needs careful study. It was on this side, close to the wall, that the priory stood,—where a farmhouse called the “Priory” now takes its place. This circumstance, and arrangements for communication between the priory and the church, probably explain some peculiarities in the north wall.

In the north wall of the nave there are two windows. One, on the west side, is in the Perpendicular style, similar to those in the rest of the church. But the other is a decorated window with three lights and tracery above, which is evidently not in its original position, for there is a pointed doorway in the wall on its eastern side, bricked up, and the lower angle of the window cuts into it. Inside there is a niche, in a later style than the window, in the east side of it, and in the thickness of the wall. Close to the window, and at the point where the bricked-up doorway would have opened into the church, there is a steep stair in the thickness of the wall, which once no doubt led to a roodloft dividing the nave from the chancel. It seems clear that the pointed doorway was there before the stairway, and before the Decorated window in its present position. Part of the wall between the door and the east end of the nave is of thin bricks laid in herring-bone fashion.

The north wall of the chancel is also peculiar. First there is a high pointed arch which had been bricked up. On one side it would appear by the continuous line as if it had reached the ground and was a doorway. But on the



GROUND PLAN.



C.F. Kell Lith. London.

CHURCH OF S.S. PETER & PAUL, LITTLE HORKESLEY.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1881.



other side the line is not continuous below the height where the sill of a window might have come. Next to it there is a late Perpendicular doorway with a square head, also bricked up, but with the stonework intact. Between this doorway and the east end a second arch intervenes with pillars, which opened to a side chapel, the foundations of which have been found.

It seems probable that the pointed door was the entrance from the priory into the first church; that on the building of the later church the north wall was partly preserved, but that a new door to the priory was made from the chancel; a roodloft with a stair necessitating the bricking-up of the old door; and that a Decorated window from the older building was inserted in the north wall, overlapping the doorway. There are remains of the rood-screen, and also an ancient screen in the aisle.

The possession of Little Horkesley on the extinction of the Fynderne family reverted to a descendant of Alice, the younger sister of Sir Thomas Swinborne, who married John Helion. Their granddaughter Isabel married Humphrey Tyrrel of Warley, and had a daughter, Anne Tyrrel, who became the heiress of Little Horkesley, as third cousin and next of kin to Thomas Fynderne. She married Sir Roger Wentworth, and died in 1534, leaving two sons—Sir John Wentworth, who died in 1567, and Henry. This was a branch of the Wentworths of Nettlestead, Sir Roger having been a nephew of Sir Philip Wentworth of Nettlestead.

Little Horkesley priory was one of the small monasteries which Cardinal Wolsey obtained leave from the Pope to suppress in 1525, in order to appropriate the revenues to his new college at Oxford. The total revenues only amounted to 27*l.* 7*s.* 11*d.* Upon the Cardinal's *premunire* it escheated to the Crown, but Sir Roger Wentworth claimed to be the representative of the founder by right of his wife. In 1554 the priory site and lands were, however, sold to Sir John Huddleston, who resold them to one Roger Parkes, who again sold them in 1577 to John Ball. Eventually, after passing through several hands, they were bought by Mr. James Joseclyn, who built a house on the site of the priory in Morant's time, about 1746. The "Priory" farm still belongs to the Joseclyn family.

Sir John Wentworth, of Little Horkesley, who died in 1575, had an only daughter and heir by his wife Anne, daughter of John Bettenham, of Pluckley, in Kent. This was Anne, who married first Sir Hugh Rich, of Gosfield, and secondly, Henry FitzAlan, Lord Maltravers, who died at Brussels in 1556, aged nineteen, during his father's lifetime. Lady Maltravers had no children. She lived generally at Gosfield, and there she received Queen Elizabeth during her

progress in August 1561. The Queen came from Helmingham, near Ipswich, to Gosfield, and probably passed through Horkesley on her way. Lady Maltravers died in 1580, and was succeeded by her cousin John, son of Henry Wentworth, who lived for some time at Little Horkesley, and died in 1588. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Christopher St. Lawrence, Lord Howth; and his son Sir John Wentworth sold the Little Horkesley estate in 1617 to Sir Humphrey Winch.

From 1322 to 1617, a period of nearly 300 years, Little Horkesley had gone by descent to the families of Swinborne from 1322 to 1418, Fynderne from 1418 to 1523, and Wentworth from 1523 to 1617. In 1617 it was for the first time alienated, and it passed through several hands.

A very curious lectern made up from old pieces of carved wood probably belongs to the period of the Wentworths. The stand is carved with some elaboration, and the desk is fitted so that it can be raised and lowered at pleasure.

Onslow Winch, son of Sir Humphrey, jointly with Judith his wife, sold Little Horkesley in 1630 to Sir John Denham, whose son, Sir John Denham, the poet, forfeited the estate for his adherence to Charles II. The Parliamentary Commissioners put it up for sale, and it was bought by George Wither for 3,230*l.* 9*s.* 7*d.*; but in 1661 it was finally purchased by Azariah Husbands, Esq. son of James Husbands, of Wormbridge, in Herefordshire.

The first Sir John Denham, of Little Horkesley, was Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland, and his son John was born at Dublin in 1615. In 1631 the son was sent to Oxford, where, as Johnson tells us, he was considered "as a dreamy young man, given more to dice and cards than study." He had nearly ruined himself by gambling when the Civil War broke out, but he also acquired a high reputation as a poet by his publication of "The Sophy" and of "Cooper's Hill." Adhering to the royal cause he followed the fortunes of Charles II. on the Continent, and his estates were sold to satisfy his creditors. At the Restoration he was one of the Knights of the Bath created before the coronation, and became Sir John Denham, K.B. His last production was an excellent poem on the death of his friend Cowley, whom he did not long survive, dying on March 19th, 1668.

Two other families appear as owning property in Little Horkesley in the days of the Wentworths and Denhams. The Lynnes were seated at Westwood, in this parish, from before 1616 to the end of the last century. William Lynne of Westwood was buried at Little Horkesley in 1616, John Lynne in 1680, Jacob Lynne in 1708, the widow of Thomas Howth Lynne in 1772, and Nicholas Garrard Lynne of Westwood in 1777. Westwood afterwards became the property of Colonel Watson, whose two daughters married respectively Major Rooke of West-

wood and the Rev. Blair Warren of Little Horkesley. From the Rookes Westwood passed to Mr. Leveson Gower, and it is now the property of Mr. MacAndrew.

The Sadlers have been established both in Great and Little Horkesley for upwards of three centuries. In the Survey of Little Horkesley of the time of Henry VIII., now in the Chapter House at Westminster, William Sadler is mentioned as owning a close called "Thikkette," and other land. Christopher Sadler was buried at Great Horkesley in 1625. His son, Christopher Sadler, was the rector's churchwarden in 1635, and died in 1698. His son, William, had a son William, baptized in 1706. Another Christopher Sadler was buried in 1741. In Morant's time (1746) George and Joseph Sadler had estates in Great Horkesley. On October 4th, 1763, Miss Mary Sadler was married to the Rev. John Carr, curate of Great Horkesley. George Sadler, of Little Horkesley, born in 1760, married Harriet, daughter of the Rev. Titus Stebbing, rector of Tattingstone, in Suffolk, who died in 1794. The Rev. William Sadler was born in 1764, and died in 1837, leaving a son, the late William Stebbing Sadler, Esq., of Old House, Great Horkesley. His son, Robert Stebbing Sadler, Esq., is now of Old House. His cousin, Major George Stebbing Sadler, of the Grove, Great Horkesley, died in 1869, leaving a daughter, Clara, married to the Rev. John Weir, incumbent of Little Horkesley.

Azariah Husbands, Esq., of Little Horkesley, married Elizabeth, daughter of John Feilden, Esq., of Barrow Court, in Hampshire, and widow of Richard Knight, Esq., of Chawton, near Alton. He died on April 5th, 1666, and she on October 24th, 1684, leaving three children, Edward, Mary, and Anne. There are monuments to Mrs. Husbands (with the arms of Feilden impaling Knight and Husbands), and to her daughter Elizabeth, who died on November 25th, 1732, aged 78.

Edward Husbands, the son, inherited the estate of Little Horkesley Hall. He was first of Queen's, then of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He married first, Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund Coleman of Ipswich, who died in 1687, and was buried in the chancel; and secondly, Ann, daughter of Thomas Burroughs of Ipswich. By his second wife he had seven children. He rebuilt the mansion-house near the church, called Horkesley Hall, and died in 1736, aged 79.

James Husbands, the eldest surviving son, was Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, LL.D., rector of Ashdon and Fordham, and vicar of Little Horkesley. He married Mary Sindrey of Cambridge, and died childless in 1749. There are mural monuments to the memory of Azariah Husbands, and of his grandson, the Rev. James Husbands, LL.D.

No stipend appears to have been reserved for maintaining a minister after the

dispersion of the monks, on the ground probably of exemption "*propter visitationem*" to the priory under 4 Henry IV., cap. 12.^a Dr. Husbands left to the living what he thought to be the amount of the small tithes of the parish, about 41*l.* a year, but his will was disputed. His father, Edward Husbands, Esq., gave 200*l.*, to which have been added seven other sums of 200*l.* each from Queen Anne's Bounty in 1721, 1750, 1754, 1786, 1792, 1816, and 1829, and with this fund an estate has been purchased at South Haningfield. The value of Little Horkesley is given in the Clergy List as 80*l.* a year, and there is no house. Dr. Husbands, leaving no children, entailed his estate upon the daughter of his sister Anne, who married Richard Gideon Glanville, of Elmeset. This daughter, named Anne Gideon Glanville, married Dr. William Blair, M.D., of Lavenham, in Suffolk. Their son, Edward James Husbands Blair, of Little Horkesley Hall, died unmarried in 1824, aged 63. He was succeeded in the estate by his two sisters, Sarah Sindrey Warren, widow of the Rev. William Hamilton Warren, and Margaret Blair. After their deaths the Rev. J. C. Blair Warren, surviving son of Mrs. Sarah Sindrey Warren, succeeded to Little Horkesley Hall. He was also vicar of Little Horkesley from 1826 until his death on January 8th, 1856. The house built by Mr. Edward Husbands was pulled down by the Warrens, and a modern mansion-house was substituted. Mr. Warren married a daughter of Colonel Watson, of Westwood, but had no children.

Little Horkesley Hall is now the property of Thomas Bourdillon, Esq., and the Rev. John Weir is incumbent of the parish.

The church is a good specimen of Perpendicular architecture of the close of the fifteenth century, but it has long been in sore need of thorough repair. The work of restoration is about to be undertaken, through the liberality of Mr. Bourdillon, who furnished the bulk of the sum required, the rest being made up by subscriptions.^b

Wooden effigies are rare, the material of which they are made being so liable to decay. A certain number of them, however, have been preserved, and I have thought that it might be of interest to append a list of such as are known to me, including some that have been lately destroyed. Some account of them has been given by Gough in the introduction to the two portions of his *Sepulchral Monuments*. A notice of them has also appeared in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xviii. p. 74, and a few notices are scattered through vols. vii.—ix. of *Notes and Queries*.^c

^a Confirming the Act of 15 Rich. II. cap. 6, providing for the maintenance of vicars in the appropriation of benefices.

^b The work has since been executed by Mr. Blomfield as architect, and was completed in 1878.

^c See also *Transactions of Essex Archæological Society*, iv. 117.

LIST OF WOODEN EFFIGIES IN ENGLAND.

Places.	Number of Effigies.	Descriptions.	Authorities.
BERKSHIRE.			
Burfield - - -	1	Cross-legged - - - -	Gough, I. xcix.; Lysons, <i>Mag. Brit.</i> 210
Englefield - - -	1	Lady; early 14th century - -	Gough, I. xeviii.; Lysons, 209
Sparsholt - - -	3	Man in armour; two ladies on altar-tombs	Gough, I. xeviii.; Lysons, 209; <i>Notes and Queries</i> , viii. 255
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.			
Clifton Reynes - -	4	Simon de Borard, cross-legged, and wife, c. 1270; Ralph de Reynes, cross-legged, and wife, c. 1310	Lysons, <i>Mag. Brit.</i> 490; Lipscomb, iv. 120; <i>Notes and Queries</i> , viii. 455. Both engraved, <i>Arch. Journ.</i> xi. 149, 152
BRECON.			
Brecon, St. John's -	1	Reginald de Braose (destroyed) -	Jones, <i>Brecon</i> , i. 128, ii. 34; <i>Arch. Journ.</i> xviii. 75
CAMBRIDGESHIRE.			
Hildersham - - -	2	Sir Robert Bnsteler, cross-legged, and wife	Lysons, <i>Mag. Brit.</i> 66, 211
CUMBERLAND.			
Millom - - - -	1	Armour, 14th century - - -	Lysons, <i>Mag. Brit.</i> cxcvi.
Ousby - - - -	1	Armour - - - -	Gough, II. cx.; Lysons, <i>Mag. Brit.</i> cxcvi.
St. Bees - - - -	1	Anthony, Lord Lucey, 41 Edw. III.	Gough, II. cx.; Hutchinson, ii. 41; Nicholson and Burn, ii. 41; Lysons, cxcvii.
DERBYSHIRE.			
Derby, All Saints -	1	Ecclesiastic (removed to crypt) -	Glover, Pt. I, vol. ii. 495
DEVONSHIRE.			
West Downe - - -	2	John de Stowford, Chief Baron of Exchequer, 19 Edw. III. (lost), wife remaining	<i>Arch. Journ.</i> xviii. 75; Lysons, <i>Mag. Brit.</i> cccxxxiii. 168
DURHAM.			
Ancland, St. Andrew's	1	Pollard (?), cross-legged - - -	Hutchinson, iii. 330; Pennant, <i>Tour in Scotland</i> , iii. 344; <i>Arch. Journ.</i> xviii. 74.
Brancepeth - - -	2	Earl of Westmoreland and wife -	Hutchinson, iii. 314
Durham, St. Giles	1	John Heath, in armour, c. 1590 -	<i>Notes and Queries</i> , viii. 180
Greatham Hospital	1	Man in gown (destroyed?) - - -	Gough, II. cx. Engraved, <i>Genl. Mag.</i> Dec. 1788, p. 1046
Staindrop - - -	2	Henry, Earl of Westmoreland, and wife, 1564	Gough, I. xcix Engraved, <i>Ant. Repertory</i> , iii. 302
ESSEX.			
Danbury - - - -	2	Cross-legged - - - -	Morant, ii. 30. Engraved, Strutt, i. xlv. xlvii.
Earl's Colne - - -	3	Cross-legged (destroyed) - - -	Morant, ii. 213; Wright's <i>Essex</i> , i. 424
Elmstead - - - -	1	Cross-legged - - - -	Morant, i. 445; Wright, ii. 760; <i>Arch. Journ.</i> xviii. 74
Little Baddow - - -	2	Ladies, 14th century - - - -	<i>Arch. Journ.</i> * xviii. 74
Little Horkesley - -	3	Two cross-legged; one lady - - -	Suckling's <i>Essex</i> ; <i>Arch. Journ.</i> i. 70; <i>Notes and Queries</i> , vii. 607. Engraved, <i>Excursions in Essex</i> , ii. 178
Little Leighs - - -	1	Ecclesiastic, c. 1350 - - - -	<i>Arch. Journ.</i> xviii. 73; <i>Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.</i> ii. 167
Messing - - - -	1	William de Messing (destroyed) -	Gough, I. xeviii.; Suckling, 130; <i>Arch. Journ.</i> xviii. 74
GLOUCESTERSHIRE.			
Gloucester Cathedral	1	Robert, Duke of Normandy - - -	Gough, I. xeviii.
HEREFORDSHIRE.			
Clifford - - - -	1	Monastic figure - - - -	<i>Arch. Journ.</i> xviii. 75
Much Marcle - - -	1	Cross-legged, in gown - - - -	Gough, II. cxi.; <i>Arch. Journ.</i> xviii. 75
ISLE OF WIGHT.			
Brading - - - -	2	Man in Armour and wife, temp. Eliz.	Englefield, 96; Barbers's <i>Guide</i> , 1850, p. 28, 29
KENT.			
Canterbury Cathedral	1	Archbishop Peckham - - - -	Gough, I. xeviii
Goodhurst - - - -	2	Sir . . . Culpeper and wife, 1537	Gough, I. xcix.; II. cxi.; <i>Genl. Mag.</i> Sept. 1785, p. 679
LINCOLNSHIRE.			
Deeping Market - -	1	Sir Baldwin Wake, cross-legged, 1311	Gough, II. cx.

* The name of the church is erroneously given as Little Boden. The Rev. W. B. Ady, Rector of Little Baddow, has been good enough to inform me that the effigies are in the south wall of the church, and what was evidently a chantry; they are supposed to be two sisters of Sir Hugh de Badewe who are known to have founded a church near Sir Hugh's mansion at Great Baddow.

Little Horkesley Church.

Places.	Number of Effgies.	Descriptions.	Authorities.
MIDDLESEX. Westminster Abbey -	2	William de Valence; King Henry V. (foundations for metal plates)	Gough, I. xcvi. ; II. 63. Engraved, Gough, Stothard, &c.
MONMOUTHSHIRE. Abergavenny - -	1	George, Lord Cantilupe, 1273, cross-legged	Gough, I. xcix. ; Coxe, p. 192. Engraved, <i>Ancient Monuments at Abergavenny</i> , by O. Morgan, 1872, Pl. i.
NORFOLK. Banham - - -	1	Sir Hugh Bardolph ? - - -	Gough, I. xcvi. ; <i>Notes and Queries</i> , viii. 179. Engraved, Blomefield, i. 355
Fersfield - - -	1	Sir R. du Bois, cross-legged, 1311	Blomefield, i. 104. Engraved, Gough I. 79, and by Stothard
South Acre - - -	1	Sir Roger Harsick - - -	Gough I. xcvi. ; Blomefield vi. 84
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE. Alderton - - -	1	Sir William de Combemartyn, cross-legged, c. 1318	Gough, II. ex. ; Baker, ii. 122. Engraved, Hartshorne, <i>Mon. Effgies of Northants.</i>
Ashton - - -	1	Sir Philip le Low, c. 1320, cross-legged	Gough, II. ex. Engraved, Hartshorne
Braybrooke - - -	1	Sir Thomas le Latymer, 1334, cross-legged	<i>Arch. Jour.</i> xviii. 75. Engraved, Hartshorne
Cold Higham - - -	1	Hawyse de Keynes, c. 1330 - - -	Engraved, Hartshorne
Dodwood - - -	1	Sir John de Pateshull, 1350, cross-legged	Engraved, Hartshorne
Gayton - - -	1	Sir Philip de Gayton, 1316, cross-legged	Baker, ii. 281 ; <i>Arch. Jour.</i> xviii. 75. Engraved, Hartshorne
Holdenby - - -	1	Man in gown (destroyed) - - -	Gough, II. ex. ; Bridges, i. 529; Baker, i. 210
Paulerspury - - -	2	Sir Lawrence de Pavely and wife, c. 1330	Gough, II. ex. ; Baker, 207. Engraved, Hartshorne
Woodford - - -	2	Sir Walter de Treylli, cross-legged, and wife, c. 1290	Engraved, Gough, II. cvi. Pl. iv. and Hartshorne
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE. Ratcliffe-on-Trent - -	1	Stephen de Ratcliffe - - -	Thoroton, 185, 187 ; <i>Arch. Journ.</i> xviii. 75
Laxton - - -	1	Lady, a de Everingham, c. 1300 -	<i>Arch. Journ.</i> xviii. 75. Letter, C. G. S. Foljambe
RUTLAND. Ashwell - - -	1	Cross-legged - - - -	<i>Arch. Journ.</i> xviii. 75 ; <i>Notes and Queries</i> , vii. 528
Tickencote - - -	1	Cross-legged ? - - - -	Whitaker, <i>Loidis et Elmetis</i> , 323 ; <i>Blore's Rutland</i> , 74 ; <i>Notes and Queries</i> , vii. 528
SHROPSHIRE. Berrington - - -	1	Armour, 13th century - - -	Eyton, <i>Shropshire</i> , vi. 282
Barford - - -	1	Armour, c. 1500 - - -	<i>Notes and Queries</i> , ix. 62
Pitchford - - -	1	Sir John de Pichford, 1285, cross-legged	<i>Arch. Journ.</i> xviii. 75. Engraved, Eyton, vi. 282
SOMERSETSHIRE. Chew Magna - - -	1	Sir . . . Hauteville, c. 1330 -	Gough II. cxi. ; Collinson, ii. 108 ; <i>Notes and Queries</i> , viii. 604. Engraved, <i>Arch. Journ.</i> xiv. 158
Norton Midsomer - -	1	Armour - - - -	Gough II. cxi.
SUFFOLK. Boxted - - -	2	William Poley and wife, 1587 -	<i>Notes and Queries</i> , ix. 457 ; <i>Davy's Coll.</i> (B. M.) MS. 19077, f. 124
Bures - - -	1	Sir John Cornard, cross-legged -	Gough, I. xcvi. ; <i>Davy's Coll.</i> 19077, f. 170
Heveningham - - -	3	Sir John Heveningham and wife, and another in armour (lost)	Gough, I. xcix. ; <i>Davy's Coll.</i> 19081, f. 64, 65
Wingfield - - -	2	Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, and wife, 1415	Gough, I. xcix. ; <i>Davy's Coll.</i> 19092, f. 399
SURREY. Southwark, St. Saviour's	1	Cross-legged - - - -	Gough, I. xcix. ; Manning and Bray, iii. 573 ; Brayley, v. 364. Engraved, Grose, <i>Ant.</i> pref. pl. iii. fig. 2
SUSSEX. Slyndon - - -	1	Armour, temp. Hen. VIII. - - -	Gough, II. cx. ; Dallaway, <i>Western Sussex</i> , i. 151
YORKSHIRE. Allerton Mauleverer -	2	Cross-legged - - - -	Hargrove, <i>Hist. of Knaresbrough</i> (1832), p. 281
Thornhill - - -	3	Sir John Saville and two wives, 1529	Allen, <i>Yorkshire</i> , iii. 302 ; <i>Notes and Queries</i> , vii. 528. Engraved, Whitaker, <i>Loidis et Elmetis</i> , 322

XIII.—*On the Depositions of the Remains of Katharine de Valois, Queen of Henry V., in Westminster Abbey. By the Very Rev. ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D., Dean of Westminster, F.R.S., F.S.A.*

Read January 31, 1878.

BEFORE I begin to read this paper I must apologise to the Society of Antiquaries for its mode of composition.

In the controversies respecting the origin of the Homeric poems, which have raised so much attention of late in connection with Dr. Schliemann's discoveries, there was a theory started amongst scholars that Homer was not the author of the Iliad and Odyssey, but, as the word might imply in the original, "the man who joined or weaved together" the various poems supplied to him by other persons, which, from this stitching or joining process, were called Rhapsodies. This theory has of late years in England—partly under the influence of a celebrated political personage—fallen into discredit. But the present paper is an exact example of the process in question. I am on this occasion but the "Homerus," the compiler, who has woven together the fragments communicated to him. On this, as on similar occasions when I have addressed you, I have been but the mouthpiece of a distinguished company of Rhapsodists, whose names are well known to you: Mr. Doyne Bell, Secretary to Her Majesty's Privy Purse, the chief living authority on all questions of English royal interments in the Abbey or elsewhere; Mr. George Scharf, the chief living authority on all questions of likeness or portraiture: Mr. Poole, our master mason, the chief living depositary of the traditions of Westminster Abbey. These, and others whose names will appear as we proceed, are the real authors of this paper, and the critical sagacity of this audience, or possibly of this learned Society in some distant age, will be exercised in endeavouring to discover the ownership of the particular portions.

Few spots in Westminster Abbey have a more peculiar interest, both historical and architectural, than the chantry of Henry V. It marks the site of the ancient reliquary of the church; it was founded in accordance with his will, signed by him at Southampton just before his embarkation for France; it is built in the form of his initial letter; it is filled with his trophies; it is an expression in stone of the devotion by which the Lancastrian princes endeavoured to compensate for their defective title to the crown; each one of them, and they only, having established such chantries:—Henry IV., at Canterbury; Henry V., at Westminster; Henry VI., at Cambridge and Eton; Henry VII. (if we may term him a Lancastrian), in the famous chapel that bears his name. Of all the sepulchres in the Abbey it is the largest in extent, and the most elaborate in its details. It bridges over, as by a natural isthmus, the gulf between the mediæval and modern history of the Abbey.

It is curious that in the early part of the last century this interesting chapel was left in the midst of the Abbey, so neglected, unexplored, and almost unknown, that Dart, writing about 1723, says:—"There was likewise a chantry founded in this church for the soul of Henry V., which his son, Henry VI., endowed with land. This chantry is over the chapel in which that prince lies buried, wherein they tell us is his shield and sword, and other warlike furniture. It is not unlikely the altar there may be still standing, being so obscure a place as might likely pass the notice of the reformers, having two ascents to it, one on each side the iron screen. But I could not satisfy my curiosity in this respect, being informed that the sacrist some years since dying suddenly in the night the key was lost, and the choir have never since had one made to it." ^a Dart subsequently adds, "By the help of a ladder I have—since writing that—sealed the walls of this chantry chapel. On the inside of those walls are presses of wainscot, with shelves and folding doors, very neat. There are in all six, viz. four each side, *i. e.*, the lining of these side walls; and on each side of the altar is one smaller. The altar is ascended by two steps; one crosses the chapel from the extremes of the side presses, and the other nearer the altar, which is broken away. The places where it was fastened to the wall are visible." ^b

The chantry has undergone several changes since that time, but it is only quite recently that, in the general improvements of the Abbey, attention was called to a slab in the floor, which upon examination proved to be that belonging to the old altar described by Dart as broken away. The five crosses upon it were distinctly

^a Dart, i. 45.

^b *Ibid.* i. 63.

visible. It was doubtless this table of the altar of the Annunciation^a that was first placed in the chapel of relics at the entrance to the Lady Chapel of King Henry III. When King Henry VI. erected the tomb and this chantry to the memory of his father King Henry V. it was made the altar-table of this chantry. When the Reformation came, the altar was removed and partly destroyed, but the table was made part of the floor, when several of the ancient tiles were removed in order to receive it, and there it has remained for more than three centuries. Its edges were found to be moulded as for an altar-table; it had not been deliberately destroyed, but it appeared that after it had been placed on the floor it had been broken into twenty pieces by the action of fire, of which the marks still remain. When this was done is quite unknown; possibly in the disorders of the great Civil War; more probably on the occasion of the lighting of some fire for warmth or cooking during the long hours of one of the coronations.

The restoration of this altar-slab to its proper place suggested the suitability of this spot for the resting-place of one who was specially connected with this chapel, and whose remains by a series of strange misfortunes had been long deprived of a sepulture worthy of her rank and of her eventful history.

Katharine de Valois, the "Kate" of Shakespeare, was born in 1401, married to Henry V. in 1420, crowned in the Abbey in 1421, gave birth to Henry VI. in 1422, then married Owen Tudor, and, after bearing him three children, died at Bermondsey Abbey on the 2nd or 3rd January, 1437-8, "where," says Sandford, "she either took sanctuary, or for devotion repaired."^b

On the 8th of February 1438 her body was conveyed by water to the collegiate church of St. Katharine, near the Tower of London, of which foundation she as Queen Consort of England had been patroness. A funeral service was performed there, and she was then carried to St. Paul's Cathedral, where another service was held. The final funeral celebration was in Westminster Abbey, where, as the first royal interment in the Lady Chapel, she was probably buried in front of the altar. The prominent position of her tomb is indicated in the following passage in the deposition of John Ashby^c (1460-1) concerning the sepulture of King Henry VI., when that King came to the Abbey to select his own burial-place. No suitable spot could be found in the chapel of St. Edward; and "so he went in to our Lady Chapelle of the same chirche, and there beheld the tombe of Quene Kateryne, modre to the saide King Henry the VI. And ther it was spoken and devysed by the saide persones that the saide tombe of Quene Kateryne myghte be

^a See Will of Henry V. (Rymer, ix. 289).

^b Sandford, p. 285.

^c Memorials of Westminster, by Dean Stanley (1869), p. 600.

removed some dele lower, and to be more honorable apparellyd then it was. And after that doone a tombe for the seide King Henry the VI. to be sett betwixt his seid moder's tombe and the aulter of the same Our Lady Chapelle." No decision was then arrived at, and another suggestion was adopted for the tomb of Henry VI.; and the tomb of his mother, "dishonorably apparelled," remained until in 1502 Henry VII. pulled down the Lady Chapel in order to erect the present structure, when "her body was taken up, and, the coffin being decayed, it was put in a wooden chest, and placed near her husband's tomb in the east end of the Friars (as Stowe calls it)."^a

In Henry VIIIth's will, dated Canterbury, the 10th of April, the twenty-third year of his reign (1508),^b is the following reference to her interment: "In our monastery at Westminster resteth St. Edward, &c. &c. and diverse other of our noble progenitors and blood, and specially the body of our graunt dame of right noble memorie, Quene Kateryne, wif to King Henry the Vth, and daughter to King Charles of France, &c. our bodie therefore to be buried within the same monastery, that is to saie, in the chapell where our saide graunt dame laye buried, the which chapell we have begoune to buylde of newe in the honour of our blessed Lady."

In 1631 Weever, in his *Funeral Monuments*, referring to Westminster Abbey, writes: "Katharine, Queen of England, lieth here, in a chest or coffin with a loose cover, to be seen and handled of any who will much desire it; and that by her own appointment (as he who showeth the tombes will tell you by tradition), in regard of her disobedience to her husband for being delivered of her son, Henry VI., at Windsore, the place which he forbad. But the truth is that she being first buried in Our Ladies Chappell here, in this church, her corps was taken up, when as Henry VII. laid the foundation of that admirable structure, his chappell royall, which have ever since so remained, and never re-buried." Sandford, writing in 1662, says, "She remaineth still above ground in a coffin of boards, near the sepulchre of Henry V., her first husband, by her erected in the chapel of the Kings, the figure of which coffin is marked with the letter B in the 289th page of this book." On reference to this engraving (by Gaywood) it will be observed that the coffin is lying on the south side of the King's tomb.

The following characteristic entry in Pepys's *Diary* records what he saw upon the occasion of his visit to the Abbey: "23 February, 1668-9. To Westminster Abbey, and there did see all the tombs very finely, having one with us

^a Dart, ii. 39.

^b Henry VII. died 21 April, 1509.

alone, there being other company this day to see the tombs, it being Shrove Tuesday. And here we did see, by particular favour, the body of Queen Katharine of Valois; and I had the upper part of her body in my hands, and I did kiss her mouth,^a reflecting upon it that I did kiss a Queene, and this was my birthday, thirty-six years old, that I did kiss a Queene. But here this man, who seems to understand well, tells me that that saying is not true that she was never buried, for she was buried; only, when Henry VII. built his chapel, she was taken up and laid in this wooden coffin; but I did there see that in it the body was buried in a leaden one, which remains under the body to this day." Fuller, in his *Church History*, book iv. thus alludes to the tradition of the cause of Queen Katharine having never been buried: "Her body lies at this day unburied in a loose coffin at Westminster, lately showed to such as desire it, and there dependeth a story thereon. There was an old prophesie among the English (observed by foreigners to be the greatest prophesy-mongers, and whilst the Devil knows their diet they shall never want a dish to please the palate) that an English Prince, born at Windsor, should be unfortunate in losing what his father had acquired. Whereupon King Henry forbad Queen Katharine, big with childe, to be delivered there, who out of the corrupt principle, 'Nitimur in vetitum,' and affecting her father before her husband, was there brought to bed of King Henry VI., in whose reign the fair victories woven by his father's valour were by cowardice, carelessness, and contentions, unraveled to nothing. Report, the greatest (though not the truest) author, avoucheth that sensible of her fault in disobeying her husband it was her own desire and pleasure that her body should never be buried. If so, it is pity but that woman (especially a Queen) should have her will therein, whose dust doth preach a sermon of duty to feminine, and of mortality to all, beholders. But this story is told otherwise by other authors, namely, that she was buried near her husband, King Henry V. under a fair tombe, where she had a large epitaph, and continued in her grave some years, until King Henry VII., laying the foundation of a new chapel, caused her corps to be taken up; but why her great-grandchild^b did not order it to be re-interred is not recorded. If done by casualty and neglect very strange, and stranger if out of design."

In 1681 Keepe writes, "On the south side of this tomb (of Henry V.) is a

^a "You have witchcraft on your lips, Kate: there is more eloquence in a sugar touch of them than in the tongues of the French Council."—Henry V. act 5, scene 2.

^b Henry VIII.

wooden chest or coffin, wherein part of the skeleton and parched body of Katharine Valois, from the waist upwards, is to be seen, of whom many fabulous stories are reported for her lying here; but the truth is that when Henry VII. caused the old chapel of Our Lady (at the entrance^a whereof this Queen was interred) to be pulled down, the workmen finding her coffin among others to be well nigh perished and decayed, what remained of her body was taken then and placed in this capsula nigh her husband, where it hath continued ever since, which is not frequently shown to any but as an especial favour by some of the chief officers of the church.”^b

In 1711 Crull records, “Part of her skeleton is still to be seen in a wooden chest standing on the south side of her husband’s monument.” Dart writes in 1723, “Her body was taken up, and the coffin being decayed it was put in a wooden chest and placed near her husband’s tomb at the east end of the Fryers, where it has ever since continued to be seen, the bones being firmly united and thinly clothed with flesh like scrapings of tanned leather, a view fit to represent to us the end of beauty, greatness, and what else sublunary things we boast.”^c

Noorthouck, in his History of London, published in 1773, mentions “That near the tomb of Henry V. lie the remains of Katharine, his consort, in a wooden chest.”

Gough, in his Sepulchral Monuments,^d states that when the Queen’s body was taken up “the coffin being decayed was put into a wooden chest and placed near her husband’s tomb at the east end of the Fryers, where it continued ever since, the bones firmly united and the flesh and skin dried up like tanned leather. Of late years the Westminster scholars amused themselves with tearing it to pieces; and one in particular, who bore a principal character in the police of India, lies under the imputation of having contributed in an especial manner to that havoc. I can just remember seeing some shapeless mass of the mummy of a whitish colour. It is now under lock and key near her husband’s tomb, waiting for the next opening of the royal vault^e for her last repose.”

So it lay till the time of Dean Thomas, when, according to Neale, in 1776, (the year of the death and funeral of the first Duchess of Northumberland, when the Percy vault was constructed in the chapel of St. Nicholas,) the opportunity was taken of placing the coffin of Queen Katharine out of sight in the adjacent vault of Sir George Villiers and his wife the Countess of Buckingham. There, from

^a Query “entrance.” See Ashby’s deposition, *ante*, p. 283.

^b Keepe, p. 155.

^c Dart, ii. 39.

^d Gough, ii. 115.

^e George II.’s vault was then the royal vault.

Neale's statement, it was believed to be, but, as the vault could only be reached through that of the Percies, no access could be had to the coffin of the Queen, and there was no absolute certainty as to the possibility of finding or verifying it.

It was within a few days after the determination to take the first opportunity of inspecting this temporary place of sepulture that the occasion was furnished by the death of Lord Henry Percy. In accordance with the long prescriptive right of that illustrious house, the funeral took place in the family vault in the chapel of St. Nicholas on the 7th of December, 1877. At the same time the permission of Her Majesty the Queen for the removal of the remains of her royal ancestress to the chantry of King Henry V. was graciously accorded.

In the evening after the funeral, the Percy vault was entered, the wall of separation was found, and, when pierced with a hole sufficient to illuminate the Villiers' vault, there was seen resting on the top of a pile of coffins on the south side the box or chest which Neale had stated to be deposited there, and the first syllable of Queen Katharine's name was legible upon a leaden plate; the hole was then closed up and the discovery was communicated to the Dean.

Early on Saturday, the 8th of December, 1877, the Dean, Canon Farrar, and Mr. Doyne Bell, met in the chapel of St. Nicholas; the Percy vault was opened, and a portion of the wall of separation was removed, so as to allow a coffin to pass through the wall. This wall was found to be of the thickness of one brick, instead of three (as was shown on a plan of the Percy vault belonging to the Duke of Northumberland), so that the opening was made with great facility. Through this aperture there was visible the chest containing the remains of the Queen. It was lying on the south side, close to the south wall, and was immediately under the effigy of the Countess of Buckingham. The bare lead coffin on which it rested inclined over towards the south, and this subsidence had thrown the chest close up against the damp wall.* This contact had communicated so much moisture to the wooden chest that its substance was quite altered, and had become like a pulp of considerable softness, so that by its own weight it had broken into several pieces. The side which was away from the wall was less decayed, and maintained its form and substance; the edges of sheet-lead could be felt through the apertures of the wood.

It was at first feared that this rottenness of the wood would prevent the pos-

* This dampness was occasioned by the insufficient ventilation of the Villiers' vault. The vaults in the Abbey are usually remarkable for their dryness and good construction.

sibility of the chest being removed in an entire condition, and at the first attempt to raise it there was a sound like the breaking up of the whole mass; this was however found to be caused by the adhesion to the lead coffin beneath, and on striking the wooden bottom it appeared tolerably hard and sound. The chest being thus loosened from its resting-place was then tilted up slightly and a broad plank was gradually slid underneath it; this afforded a good strong bottom; an upright plank was then screwed on to the side, and this gave strength sufficient to enable the chest to be removed. Two of the attendants were then able to move it gently and lift it along through the Percy vault, so that it could be raised and passed out on to the floor of the chapel above. This operation took some time, and required extreme caution, as the space was very limited, the openings were narrow, and it was necessary that the chest should be kept in a horizontal position in consequence of its rotten condition. Being thus safely raised in its cradle, it was placed upon a stand which had been previously prepared. The rotten pieces of wood were gradually and gently lifted off, together with the one large piece to which a leaden inscription plate was attached, and the remains of Queen Katherine were then exposed to view. Mr. Bell proceeded at once to make an examination of the contents of the coffin, and Mr. George Scharf, to whom the Dean had telegraphed, arrived very shortly afterwards. The coffin was a rectangular box of elm plank, 4 feet 6 inches in length and 1 foot 8 inches in width, and about 1 foot in depth. Upon the box was fastened with four screws a leaden plate, 12 inches square, upon which was the following inscription:—

Katharine Valois.

Queen to King Henry V.

1437.

Deposited in this chapel

of St. Nicholas by Benjn. Fidoe,

Clerk of the Works

of Westminster Abbey,

1778.^a

Although great care had been used in lifting the box the lid had fallen into upwards of twenty fragments; and it was remarkable that, although when first seen lying in the Villiers' vault it appeared even when touched to be tolerably firm and sound in parts, yet in an hour or two after it had been raised the

^a This differs from Neale, ii. 89, who gives the date 1776. 1778 is correct, as it is the date when the Percy vault was completed.

action of the air seemed to produce a remarkable change in its substance, and it gradually fell to pieces.

It had been made out of rough elm-plank, which had not even been planed, as the timber merchant's marks were remaining upon it, and the box itself was merely nailed together in the roughest manner; the lid had been fastened down with six iron screws. Most probably it was not even prepared to contain the remains of the Queen, and had been previously used for some other purpose, as it appeared to have had hinges on one side, and the strip of lead on which the remains lay had evidently been curled round (independently of the effect of corrosion) and cut in order to make it fit into the box.

Very possibly when the Queen's remains were exhumed in 1502 her wooden coffin was found to have perished, but her body, being wrapped in thick cere-cloth, remained entire. A portion of the old lead from the roof of the Lady Chapel, which had been then just removed, was appropriated, after rough cutting, as a sheet on which to extend the body, which was then placed in a new chest by her husband's tomb, there to await its deposition in a more appropriate receptacle by some succeeding monarch.^a There, however, it remained until Benjamin Fidoe removed the first decaying and open chest, and then, by clumsy handling, shortened and distorted the body in order to place it in a chest measuring only 4 feet 6 inches in length.

The upper part of the body, as might have been surmised from the accounts of Pepys, Crull, Dart, Gough, &c. already quoted, was found to have been very much disturbed, and several portions are missing. Not more than half of the skull and only a few ribs and vertebræ remain; two bones of the right arm are also missing, but the lower portion of the body was very perfect. The legs were lying in an undisturbed condition; they had been wrapped in probably as many as twelve folds of cere-cloth, which had retained them in the same position as when the Queen was first buried; the left arm and hand were also quite perfect. Upon these limbs the skin and the muscles beneath were visible, and the latter became more defined as the moisture which had penetrated the chest became absorbed by exposure to the air. The leg-bones measured: femur, 1 foot 4 inches; tibia, 1 foot 2 inches; from which it may be concluded that the Queen was about

^a This strip of lead had never formed part of a complete inclosure of lead; it is and has always been a flat sheet of lead; its edges are cut jaggedly and irregularly, and there is a seam which runs longitudinally down the middle of it. This soldered seam throughout the full length of the sheet, $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, may have been an original seam in the old lead, or it may have been made by joining together two strips of the old lead.

5 feet 6 inches to 5 feet 7 inches in height—a tall woman; she had also long arms. The form of the foot and ankle, which were small, seemed extremely graceful. The left knee-cap had fallen out of its place, but it is believed that this was only during the removal from the Percy vault.

The remains of the upper part of the body were few, and were found in a very irregular position. The skull was lying on the pelvis; the two scapulæ were identified, but only one rib-bone was to be found. An irregular mass, covered with dried skin, containing all the vertebræ of the neck, lay below the skull. The skull itself appeared to have suffered much injury, and had also been somewhat crushed by the corroded lead which had curled over upon it; it is small and well-formed; the lower and also the upper jaw were missing. The skull and some other bones showed signs of much corrosion, and bore evidence that lime had been thrown upon them; lime was also observed upon some fragments of skin and flesh.

At the upper end of the sheet of lead there was a thick cushion, upon which the head had originally rested. This was partly enveloped in the cere-cloth, and was formed of some coarse woollen-woven material, and had been covered with silk, some fragments of which still remained upon it.*

The clerk of the works had prepared some additional planking, which could be screwed on to the "cradle" without shaking it, thus forming a complete box. As soon as Mr. George Scharf had made some drawings of the remains this box was closed up, and at half-past 4 o'clock it was transferred to the chantry chapel of King Henry V.

Mr. Doyne Bell writes: "It was a striking and impressive scene, which I shall ever remember, and which at the time it was impossible to view without some feeling of emotion. The daylight had quite faded, and we were alone in the darkened Abbey. Two workmen took up the box containing the Queen's remains, and followed Mr. Poole and the clerk of the works; the latter, carrying in his hand one small lantern to light us, led the way out of St. Nicholas' chapel to the north side of the chantry chapel. Mr. George Scharf and myself followed, no one else was present, and we seemed unconsciously and silently to fall into a sort of processional order. I remarked to him 'We are attending the Queen's third funeral.' Not a word was said as we passed slowly round the ambulatory in the darkness. My mind reverted to those gorgeous ceremonials in which during her lifetime this Queen had taken part within these same walls. Her own coronation by

* The only piece of any size that could be lifted up was taken out and presented to her Majesty the Queen.

Archbishop Chichele; the splendid funeral services celebrated over the body of her warrior husband; the coronation of her youthful son; and lastly her own funeral in the Lady Chapel. These I contrasted with the subsequent neglect and ill-treatment of her remains, until in 1778, when they had doubtless with little or no ceremony been placed in the vault where we had just found them.^a We then passed up the turret-stair into the chantry, when the box was slung up and laid in front of the altar-table.”

A new chest to receive the Queen's remains was now prepared. It is of English oak, one inch thick, the angles dovetailed, the top and bottom rebated to take the sides and ends; it is finely wrought and carefully finished. One side was left free, and this was taken out, so that on the 18th of December the leaden tray was slid into it without shaking a fragment of the remains which rested on it; the side was then fixed and screwed on firmly. Upon the lid was fastened the lead-plate of Benjamin Fidoe, and a new plate was also attached to it, bearing the following inscription: “The former chest, which for 99 years had decayed in the Villiers' vault in the chapel of St. Nicholas, was removed thence, and this new chest including the Royal remains, was, with the sanction of Queen Victoria, placed here in this chauntry of King Henry V. by Thomas Wright, clerk of works at Westminster Abbey, in the presence of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster, A.D. 1878.”

The altar-slab had been raised from the floor of the chantry, and placed in position against the wall. In order to arrange for its permanent fixing, and to complete the form of the altar-tomb, Sir Gilbert Scott suggested that the sides should be formed of three slabs of grey marble, the surface being smoothed but not polished, so that it should, when completed, somewhat resemble the tomb of King Edward I.

In order to place the chest completely under the altar-table it was necessary to withdraw a stone from the east wall, so as to form a recess, twelve inches in depth; this stone was then transferred to the front, and placed so as to serve for a support to the head of the chest, thus making the best possible use of it. A slab of slate was then inserted, the one end resting in the east wall and the other in a notch cut in this stone. Upon this slab were placed four small squares of marble, one inch in thickness, in order to prevent the contact of the entire surfaces of the

^a The absence of the names of any of the higher officials of the Abbey upon the leaden coffin-plate seems to indicate that Benjamin Fidoe, the clerk of the works, undertook the removal without any of them being present.

wooden chest with the slate slab, and to allow for a free passage of air between them.

The three slabs of grey marble for the sides and front of the altar-tomb, which had been previously prepared, were brought into position. On the front slab was incised the following inscription—

Sub hac tabula
(altari olim hujusce sacelli)
diu prostrata, igne confracta,
requiescunt tandem,
varias post vices,
hic demum jussu Victoriae Reginae deposita,
ossa Catharinae de Valois,
Filiae Caroli Sexti, Franciae Regis,
Uxoris Henrici Quinti,
Matris Henrici Sexti,
Aviae Henrici Septimi.
Nata mcccc. Coronata mccccxli. Mortua mccccxxxviii.

At the four corners of the front slab were carved within trefoils,—1, The arms of England; 2, The flaming cresset of Henry V.; 3, The white hart of Richard II.; 4, The swan crowned and chained of Henry IV.,—these three badges being repeated from those which are upon the cornice above the altar. A diaper pattern formed of the fleur-de-lys, and a cross within a lozenge, which is copied from the maniple on the brass effigy of John of Waltham, bishop of Salisbury, formed a border to the slab.

All was in readiness when, on the 29th of January, 1878, as recorded in the following memorandum in the Abbey records, the chest was raised to its resting-place under the altar-tomb:—

“The coffin was placed in the niche prepared for it by the clerk of the works and the master mason, in the presence of the dean, the chapter clerk, and Mr. Doyne Bell, at noon this morning, and the front altar-slab was finally closed over it in the presence of the dean at four o’clock this afternoon.”

The choice of this resting-place for Queen Katharine is, it is believed, in accordance with the requirement of the peculiar circumstances of the case.

The continuance of the remains in an obscure vault, unknown, unrecorded even in the register of the Abbey, was evidently unsuitable. If removed thence they might perhaps have been placed either in the royal vault of George II. or in the vacant space beside her husband. But the Georgian vault is so exclusively devoted to the princes of a later dynasty that there would have been an incon-

venience in the intrusion of the French princess ; and in the changed conditions of the Abbey the space by Henry V.'s tomb, where the body was formerly exposed, has become necessary for the thoroughfare of the vast crowds of visitors. There seemed, moreover, to be an incongruity in the creation at this late period of a new royal monument for one who departed four centuries ago. The spot where her remains now repose is beneath a venerable monument of ancient days, recently rescued from oblivion, and which else would have had no present use. Its selection is justified by the analogy of the burial of King Edward VI. beneath the ancient altar of Henry VII.'s chapel, and of his sister Queen Mary under the broken altars of the surrounding chapel. Queen Katharine rests in the chapel erected, if not by herself, at least under her auspices, to her husband's memory, and over the tomb to which she herself supplied the now mutilated effigy. Over her, tower on one side the trophies of the victory by which King Henry won her for his wife ; on the other side, the images which belong to the devotional feeling peculiar to his time ; in the centre, the group of the Annunciation, which gives the altar its name, flanked by the ancient Kings, probably Edward the Confessor, founder of the Abbey, and of Arthur, who by Henry V., and in his time, was brought forward as the ideal and typical King of Britain ; and on the two extremities St. George the patron saint of England, and St. Denys the patron saint of her native country, the outward and visible sign that her husband was the first sovereign of England who was also King of France. Here she rests in the midst of the royal sepulchres ; yet, in conformity with the obscurity into which she fell, withdrawn from them, after vicissitudes in death equal to her vicissitudes in life, midway between the older Plantagenets and the later Tudors,—the missing link which unites the earlier and the later history of England together. Wife of the fifth Henry, conqueror of Agincourt ; mother by him of the unfortunate sixth Henry, who inherited from her it may be her own father's insanity ; grandmother, by her Welsh husband, of the seventh Henry, by whose extraordinary family the English Church and nation were established on their present basis, and from whose children the present reigning family derives its hereditary right to the English Crown.

It is the latest royal tomb in the Abbey, and, though long delayed, it has been thought that the singular and romantic history of a French Princess and an English Queen should at length be brought to an honourable end. *Requiescat in pace.*

APPENDIX.

Report by GEORGE SCHARF, Esq., F.S.A., Keeper and Secretary to the National Portrait Gallery, upon first seeing the Remains.

The recently discovered remains of Queen Katharine of Valois have suffered extensively from damp, and are still quite moist and fragile. The exposed bones break under the slightest touch like wet sand that has caked. The muscles attached to the arms and legs are porous; but remain tough, and have a spongy elasticity.

The upper and lower limbs, owing to the removal of the vertebral column, and nearly all the ribs, have been brought side by side on the same level.

The blade-bones and collar-bones (only one of the latter visible) have been mixed up with the pelvis, and the left hand reaches to below the knees.

The front part of the skull appears to have crumbled entirely away, but the back part still rests on a silken cushion of rough texture. The styloid processes of the skull are singularly perfect, and quite hard to the touch.

Several rings of cartilage may be detected among the *débris* of wood, bone, and cere-cloth, which fill the bottom of the leaden receptacle.

GEORGE SCHARF,

Keeper and Secretary to the National Portrait Gallery.

10th December, 1877.

. It may be added, that, on again seeing these remains after the lapse of many days, I found their condition very much changed, owing in a great degree to the dry atmosphere to which they had been removed. The general colour had completely altered, the forms appeared more sharply defined, and the texture of the bones perfectly hardened.

G. S.

Report by CHARLES SANGSTER, Esq., M.R.C.S.

The bones, as I saw them, were lying on a sheet of lead, and inclosed in a wooden box.

The skull was lying on the left side, and the parts nearest the pillow or cushion had escaped the action of lime.

The right parietal, temporal, and right half of frontal bones, were entirely destroyed by lime

(leaving a large hole), and the bone, to the extent of an inch all round this opening, was in a crumbling condition, and gave way easily to the touch.

The features were scarcely discernible. The upper and lower jaws, nasal and (malar) bones, were absent; in fact, all the bones of the face were wanting. The rest of the skull was in good preservation, even the styloid processes being present, the left measuring an inch and a half; the right was broken. Immediately below the skull were the seven cervical and first dorsal vertebrae, all in position (the atlas and axis being perfect, but detached from the skull); then came first rib and the upper piece of sternum or breast-bone. All the other ribs were missing.

On the left of the skull was seen the left innominate bone (of the pelvis) in a good condition, wanting only the (raucens) of ischium and pubes, and lying on this bone was the upper half of left scapula (or ramus blade-bone), also the left humerus (or arm-bone) turned round with the elbow socket in front; the radius and ulna (or fore-arm) were perfect and in position, also presenting the back view; the carpus and metacarpus were perfect; the phalanges (or fingers) were absent.

The left femur (or thigh-bone) was seen lying by the side and internal to the humerus, the head of the bone being just external to the acetabulum of the innominate bone (or close to its original socket). This bone was perfect both in shape and position.

Tibia and fibula (or leg-bones) were attached to the lower end of the femur, lying in their original position. The foot was quite perfect, with the toes turned outwards, and entangled somewhat in eere-cloth.

The muscles of the calf were still attached to the bones, and assumed the form of dried strips of leather. The tendons passing under the inner ankle to the sole of the foot were quite perfect.

The left patella (or knee-cap) was lying just below the knee-joint on the outer side.

On the right of the skull was seen the right femur, the shaft of which was considerably destroyed by lime. Immediately internal to the femur was the right humerus, showing the back view, and internal to that was the right scapula, very perfect, and on the scapula was lying the right clavicle.

Below the humerus was the upper third of right ulna; the remainder of fore-arm and hand were missing. Tibia and fibula were *in situ*, and, like the left, had remnants of muscles attached to them.

The foot was disjunct, and the toes had all fallen apart.

Amongst the remains, not a single tooth was found.

Measurements of Long Bones.

Humerus, 1 foot $\frac{1}{2}$ inch; radius, $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches; ulna, $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches; femur, 1 foot 4 inches; tibia, 1 foot 2 inches.

Bones Missing.

Both superior and inferior maxilla.

Right parietal and temporal bones.

Right half of frontal bone.

Both nasal and malar bones.

Left clavicle.

Sternum except the upper piece.

All the ribs except the first.
Lower half of left scapula.
Right radius and half of ulna.
Right carpus and metacarpus.
Eleven dorsal and all lumbar vertebræ.
Right innominate bone.
Sacrum and coccyx.
Right patella.

CHAS. SANGSTER, M.R.C.S., &c.

148, Lambeth Road, 30th January, 1878.

XIV.—*Edmund of Langley and his Tomb.* By JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L.,
V.P., F.R.S.

Read March 21, 1878.

IN the month of November, 1877, in consequence of an alteration in the internal arrangements of the chancel of King's Langley church, it was determined to remove the altar-tomb of Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, from the position which it had held during the last three centuries in the chancel, to one in a new memorial chapel, constructed at the east end of the north aisle of the church.

The President of this Society was unfortunately unable to attend, but, in company with the architect in charge of the works, Mr. Joseph Clarke, F.S.A., the Rev. H. W. Hodgson the vicar, and others, I was present at the opening of the tomb. From observations made some years ago by Mr. Brandon it was reported to contain a leaden coffin, and was found in fact to do so; but, in addition, it proved to have deposited within it the greater part of two skeletons, not in coffins, but buried in loam and gravel, with which the tomb was filled up to the level of the plinth. The upper part contained rubble of Totternhoe stone. Before entering into any further details it will be well to give some short history of King's Langley, its royal palace and priory, from the church of which latter the tomb of Edmund of Langley was removed shortly after the Reformation, and erected in the parish church, to be again removed by nineteenth-century restorers.

When Domesday Book was compiled Langley had not attained to its royal prefix. It then formed part of the Terra Comitum Moriton, and was rated at one hide and a half. It contained two mills of sixteen shillings a year rent, sixteen carucates of arable land, and three of meadow, common of pasture for cattle, and wood to feed two hundred and forty hogs. It was valued at forty shillings by the year, though in the time of the Confessor it had been worth eight pounds. There is no mention of a priest, and no part of the existing parish church appears

to be of earlier date than the fourteenth century. An earlier building must however probably have existed.

Earl Morton, or, more properly speaking, Robert Earl of Cornwall, was a brother, by the mother's side, to William the Conqueror, and received large grants of lands in England, amounting in all to about nine hundred manors. His son William, not content with the Earldom of Cornwall and that of Moreton or Mortagne, in Normandy, claimed from Henry I. the Earldom of Kent, and being refused, raised a rebellion in Normandy. This led to the seizure by the king of all his possessions in England, and Langley thus became one of the royal manors.

In investigating its history care is requisite not to confound Child's, Chilterne, or King's Langley, with either Langley Marish in Buckinghamshire or Langley near Whichwood Forest in Oxfordshire, both of which were royal manors. Nor must King's Langley be confounded with the adjacent parish of Lees, or Abbot's Langley, which belonged to the abbey of St. Alban. There seems also to be a Langley in Yorkshire,^a where Richard II.^b placed three priests to pray for the soul of Sir Ralph de Stafford, eldest son of the Earl of Stafford, who had been murdered by the King's half-brother, John Holland; as well as Langley in Norfolk, where there was a religious house.

The abbey of St. Alban possessed, however, some little property in King's Langley, and, indeed, at different times laid claim to more. About the end of the eleventh century we find Paul,^c the fourteenth abbot, who had managed to recover several properties which had been alienated from the abbey, vainly endeavouring to regain a certain *raccasterium* or dairy-farm at Childe Langley. The owner, whose name is not mentioned, may have been the Radulfus who held under Earl Morton, but whoever he was he was fortified by the royal favour. The name of the place, Childe Langley, which is probably the same as Chikern, and possibly connected with the vicinity of the parish to the Chiltern Hills, is cited by the chronicler as confirming the right of the abbey to it, because the manor of Childwick, recovered by Paul, had received its name from its being

^a Dugdale places this Langley in Yorkshire, but the Rev. C. F. R. Palmer regards it as being King's Langley. This gentleman has, since my Paper was read, published three interesting articles on the Friars Preachers of King's Langley, in the nineteenth volume of the Reliquary, to which I would refer those who desire to know more of the history of this foundation. In revising my paper for the press I have ventured to make use of one or two of the details collected by Mr. Palmer.

^b Rot. Pat. 11 Ric. II. p. 1. Dugdale, Baron. vol. i. p. 162.

^c Walsingham, Gest. Abb. Mon. S. Alb. 1867, vol. i. p. 54.

devoted to the feeding of the younger monks, who lived on a milk diet—"ad alimenta monachorum juniorum lacticiniis alendorum, unde Childewica nuncupatur."

As already stated, the manor of Chiltern Langley came into the hands of Henry I., but it was not until the time of Henry III. that any royal seat is said to have been erected here, and for this I can find no other authority than that of Chauncy.^a

Local traditions, indeed, speak familiarly of King John's Palace, but in the Itinerary,^b which, with the exception of four years, enables us to say where this king was on any given day of his reign, there is no record of his having once visited Langley, though he may have passed through it on his way from Berkhamsted to Windsor on April 4, 1216.

There is a letter extant of Edward I.^c soliciting the prayers of the faithful on behalf of the soul of Alexander, King of Scotland, which concludes—"Teste meipso apud Langelegam xvij die Aprilis, anno regni nostro xiiij^o (1286)," but it has been doubted whether this Langelega is not Langley near Colnbrook in Buckinghamshire, where the family of Edward is said to have spent seventeen weeks in the eighteenth year of his reign, 1290. The expenses of their sojourn are set forth in a paper in the *Archæologia*^d by the late Mr. Samuel Lysons, but his identification of the locality of the Langley mentioned in the accounts cannot be accepted as correct. One reason is, that many of the places from which various articles of consumption were procured seem nearer to King's Langley than to Langley in Bucks. For instance Isenhamsted or Chenies, to which place beer and wine, and other articles, were sent, is but little more than four miles from King's Langley, while it is twelve as the crow flies from Langley Marish. It is, however, true that there was a royal palace at Chenies, so that the sending might as reasonably be expected to take place from one Langley as the other. On the other hand the manor of Langley Marish does not appear to have come into possession of the Crown until the reign of Edward I., and it would not otherwise appear to have been a royal residence until the time of Henry VII., who granted it to his Queen.

Certain it is that four years after the date of these accounts, in 1294, the long sojourn of Edward's family at Langley and St. Albans caused great complaint in the neighbouring towns on account of the scarcity and dearness of provisions

^a *Hist. of Herts*, p. 543.

^b *Archæologia*, vol. XXII. p. 128.

^c *Letters from Northern Registers*, 1873, p. 85.

^d Vol. XV. p. 350.

caused by their consumption. The complaint is recorded in the *Annals of Dunstable*,^a and can only refer to King's Langley. The annalist says that in that year the market of Dunstable, and other markets, and the whole country round about, suffered from the long stay which Edward, the King's son, made at St. Albans and Langley, for two hundred dishes a-day were insufficient for his kitchen, and whatever he required for himself or his retinue he took without paying the price. His servants carried off all the victuals brought to market, and even cheese and eggs, and whatever was on sale, or was hidden in the townsmen's houses, and not for sale, and they hardly left any one even a tally. They took bread and beer from the bakers and brewsters, and if they had none they were compelled to make both bread and beer.

Again, in the year 1299 we find Edward I. and his second wife, Margaret of France, entertaining a large company at Langley. They were still almost in their honeymoon, having been married on the 12th of September (Sandford says the 8th), and on the 1st of November, All Saints Day, they had invited the Bishop of Norwich, the Abbot of St. Albans, the Count of Savoy, and not a few others, to Langley, where they celebrated the feast with all pomp, and the next day, that of All Souls, the King went to St. Albans, where he stayed but one night, and the next morning, after hearing the Mass of St. Alban, together with his nobles, he besought the blessing of the saint, and the daily prayers of all present, for his welfare on his journey to Scotland, on which he at once started.

In after-years King's Langley seems to have been a favourite residence with Edward II., and he it was who took the house of the Friars Preachers, which, according to Weever, had been founded by "Roger" son of Robert Helle, an English baron," under his especial protection. As Tanner and Clutterbuck have pointed out, there is some mistake here on Weever's part, who, they think, has confounded the priory of the Friars Preachers here with the Præmonstratensian abbey of Langley, in Norfolk, a matrix of the seal of which was exhibited to this Society in 1833.^c

Chauney also has fallen into an error in attributing the grants made by Edward II. in favour of this priory to his father Edward I. Tanner,^d however, speaks of Edward I. as one of the benefactors to the house.

Of Edward II. there are several Letters Patent relating to this foundation. One bears date 20th December in the second year of his reign (1308), by which he

^a *Annales Monast.* vol. iii. 1866, p. 393.

^c *Archæologia*, vol. XXV. p. 617.

^b Weever's *Fun. Mon.* p. 588.

^d Tanner, *Notitia Monast.* 1787.

gave it a garden on the south side of the parish church, with twenty-seven perches of land adjoining, and another is dated on the 28th March in the fifth year of his reign (1312). In the latter he says, that in pursuance of a vow, while in peril of death, he wishes to found in his park at Langley a house for the Friars Preachers for the daily celebration of mass for the soul of himself and those of his ancestors, towards which he grants them seven hundred marks.^a In other letters dated June 3, in his ninth year (1316), he grants to the brethren the manor house of Langley, the closes adjoining, together with the vesture of Chip-perville Wood for fuel and other necessaries. The conventual church^b was consecrated by the Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1312. Edward II. appears to have been at Langley in the winter of 1314, as two letters dated from Langley on the 15th of December in that year are preserved in the cartulary of the monastery of St. Peter at Gloucester.^c Two others of this King's letters published in Rymer's *Fœdera*^d bear reference to Langley. They are dated in 1318 and 1319 and addressed to the Pope, and in them Edward proposes to found a house of Sisters of the Order of Friars Preachers, and states that he has sent brother Richard de Briton and Andrew de Aslakeby to make all necessary arrangements.

Another instance of the attachment of Edward II. to this spot is to be found in the fact of his having made the church of the Friars Preachers the last resting-place of his unfortunate favourite, Piers de Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall. The infatuation of the King towards so undeserving an object seems to have been unbounded, and no one reading his history can wonder at the counsel of the astute bystander at Warwick, who advised the nobles who had taken Gaveston prisoner that "it would be a great folly to take him to the King, and after having been at such charge and trouble to catch him to hazard the losing him again."^e He was in accordance with this counsel beheaded at Blacklow, near Warwick, in 1312, and his body was carried away by the Friars Preachers and kept at Oxford for more than two years, when the King ordered it to be translated to his manor of Langley and there to be honourably buried in the church of the Friars Preachers, whom Walsingham says he had there established to say masses for the soul of Piers and for those of his own royal ancestors.

^a Clutterbuck speaks of seventy only, but in error. See Clutterbuck's *Herts*, vol. i. p. 431.

^b Clutterbuck, vol. i. p. 432.

^c 1867, pp. 278, 279.

^d Vol. iii. 1727, pp. 709, 753.

^e Th. Walsingh. *Hist. Ang.* 1863, vol. i. p. 133. Dugdale's *Baronage*, vol. ii. p. 44. Joh. de Trokewe, *Ann.* 1866, p. 77.

The burial of Gaveston took place on the octave of St. John the Evangelist (January 3rd) 1315.^a The King, the Archbishop of Canterbury, four other bishops, and numerous abbots and ecclesiastics, were present; and, though it is said that but few nobles cared to attend, yet the Earls of Norfolk^b and Pembroke, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer,^c the Mayor of London, about five barons and some fifty knights, did honour to the occasion.

Trokelowe relates that the body of Gaveston had been preserved with balsam and spices (*balsamo et aromate conditum*), and this pious care on the part of the brethren was, as already recorded, amply repaid by the King.

It seems in the highest degree probable that some monument was erected to his memory; but no trace of it now exists. The altar-tomb of the second Sir Ralph Verney,^d who died on the 6th of July, 1528, and was buried in King's Langley church, was, however, in former times popularly believed to be Gaveston's monument.

As to Edward himself, it need hardly be said that after his deposition in January 1326 he was murdered at Berkeley Castle, and his body buried without pomp in the abbey church of St. Peter at Gloucester, now the cathedral, where Edward III. erected a monument to his memory.

At the end of the reign of Edward II.^e the number of the friars was a hundred, but, owing to the retrenchment found necessary by his successor, Edward III. in April, 1327, fixed their number at thirteen only, which in 1337 was raised to twenty.^f

In the early part of the reign of this King the manor of King's Langley was granted for life to his mother, Isabella, for it is recorded that in the days of Richard de Wallingford,^g twenty-eighth abbot of St. Albans, 1326-35, he recovered by process against Queen Isabella, who held the manor of Langley by gift from the King, a rent of twenty shillings in respect of the mill of Ralph Chendut in Langley. In the Bill or Supplication this mill is called "le molyn du Petite Langele," and is said to have "come to be in the manor of our Lord the King as of the purchase of Alianor, formerly Queen of England, grandmother of our Lord

^a T. Walsingham, vol. i. p. 143. Rishanger, 1865, p. 432.

^b Dugdale's Baronage, p. 144.

^c Trokelowe, Annales, 1866, p. 88.

^d Verney Papers, Camden Soc. 1852, p. 48.

^e Reliquary, vol. xix. p. 76. Exit. Scac. 1 Ed. III. m. 1.

^f Exit. Scac. Pasch. 11 Ed. III. m. 5.

^g Walsingham, Gest. Abb. S. Albani, 1867, vol. ii. p. 266 *et seqq.*

the King that now is," and that the rent had been paid up to the third year of Edward II. Its value was found by a jury to be forty-six shillings and eight pence beyond the twenty shillings payable to the abbot, and an order was made upon Isabella for the payment of this latter sum in March, 1334. The mandate to the Exchequer for the arrears states that she held the mill for life by grant from the King, and presumably this was as part of the manor. It seems probable that this Little Langley has its modern representative in the hamlet of Hunton Bridge.

Isabella did not die until 1357, but on the 2nd of February, 1341, Edward III. was staying at Langley,^a as is shown by the date of a royal mandate, and in the summer of that same year, on the 5th of June,^b his Queen, Philippa, gave birth there to his fifth son, Edmund, who was hence distinguished as "of Langley." As Walsingham says, *Nominatus est autem puer, "Edmundus de Langleya."* The rejoicings at his birth were great, for Philippa's last child, Blanche de la Tour, had died an infant in the previous year, the same in which she was born. A tournament was held in honour of Edmund's birth,^c and the abbot of St. Albans, Michael de Mentmore, was summoned to celebrate the rite of baptism, John Earl of Warren, Richard Earl of Arundel, and the abbot himself, being the godfathers. Shortly afterwards the Queen herself visited St. Albans, and there at her churching offered a cloth of gold of great value.

The early days of Edmund were probably passed at Langley, where from time to time the Court resided. There is extant a letter of his father's respecting the bailiwick of the warren at St. Albans,^d dated from Langley, on March 30th, 1358; and in February, 1364, we find the abbot of Saint Albans^e extinguishing a corrody or claim for the maintenance of some servant or nominee of the King in the abbey, by the grant of certain lands in Abbot's Langley and King's Langley. In the Release mention is made of the park and of the lands of late inclosed by the King with palings, and some topographical details are given, which are perhaps of more interest to the local antiquary than to most of the Fellows of this Society. Nor was the house of the Friars Preachers neglected by Edward III.,^f who, in testimony of his affection to the foundation of his royal

^a Walsingham, *Gest. Abb. S. Alb.* vol. ii. p. 334.

^b Walsingham, *Hist. Ang.* vol. i. p. 253. *Ypodigma Neust.* p. 281. *Chron. Ang.* 1874, p. 12.

^c Walsingham, *Gest. Abb. Mon. S. Alb.* vol. ii. pp. 366, 379.

^d *Op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 101.

^e *Op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 113.

^f *Rot. Pat.* 51 Ed. III. "unum ciphum de mazer vocat' le Edward."

father, gave them a mazer-cup called Edward, and thirty-nine other mazer-cups, with a particular injunction that they should never be alienated from this house.

In 1358^a Edward III. had already granted to the prior of the Friars of Childerlangley a right of way through his park at that place, and in 1366^b he had endowed the rectors of Chilternelangle with ten marks in perpetuity issuing out of his royal manor.

In 1360, also, he had relieved the prior and brethren from certain repairs. Moreover in his will^c he directs that a certain house and buildings should be constructed "in the convent of the Friars Preachers at Langeley, of our foundation," as had been arranged. He also provides for an addition of twenty persons to the convent, each with a stipend of ten marks a year, who are to pray "for our health while we live, and for our soul when we are withdrawn from this light," and for the soul of our dearest consort Philippa, of illustrious memory, late Queen of England, and for the good estate of our children who survive, and the souls of those that are defunct.

Edward of Angoulême,^d the eldest son of the Black Prince, died in Gascony in 1372, and is said to have been brought to England and to have been buried in this church.

To return to Edmund of Langley, son of Edward III. In 1359^e he accompanied his father and his three surviving elder brothers, Edward, Lionel, and John, to France, and after a victorious campaign, ending with the treaty of Chartres, returned with the French hostages to England in November, 1360. In 1362,^f Edmund, being twenty one years of age, was created Earl of Cambridge, and was shortly afterwards made a knight of the garter. In the same year we find a marriage proposed for him with the widowed daughter and heiress of the Count of Flanders, which, however, was broken off by the influence of the French king in 1364.^g For an account of the various visits of Edmund to the scene of war in France the reader must be referred to the gossiping pages of Froissart. I must here content myself with mentioning only the more remarkable occurrences of his by no means uneventful life.

^a Rot. Pat. 32 Ed. III. pt. 1.

^b Rot. Pat. 49 Ed. III. pt. 1.

^c Nichols's Royal Wills, p. 60.

^d Reliquary, vol. xix. p. 211. Rot. Pat. 13 Ric. II. p. 3, m. 28.

^e Froissart, 1857, vol. i. pp. 269, 291.

^f Walsingham, Hist. Ang. vol. i. p. 297. Ypod. Neust. p. 307. Sandford, General Hist. p. 375.

^g Ypod. Neust. p. 309. Hist. Ang. vol. i. p. 301.

In 1372,^a with his elder brother, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, he returned to England from Gascony, and they brought with them the two daughters of Pedro the Cruel, King of Castille and Leon, of whom John had married the elder, Constance, in 1369, and Edmund took to wife Isabel, the younger, of whom I shall have more to say shortly, soon after his arrival in England. In 1374 he was joined with his brother, the Duke of Lancaster, in the lieutenancy of France; in 1376 he was appointed Constable of Dover Castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports; and on the death of Edward III. in 1377, he, in company with the Duke of Lancaster, and other lords spiritual and temporal, was named as one of the commissioners for managing the affairs of the realm during the minority of his nephew, Richard II., then about eleven years of age. In 1381 he proceeded at the head of an army to Portugal, in aid of his brother John against the King of Castille. He was accompanied by his wife and eldest son, who though under ten years of age was betrothed to Beatrice, an equally youthful daughter of the King of Portugal; and, as Froissart observes, "young as the married couple were they were both laid in the same bed."^b

According to Harding, Edmund was wounded in battle in this campaign:—

At which Battail, Duke John of Gaunt indede
 And his Brother Edmond then fought full sore
 Were never twoo better Knightes then thei indede
 That better faught upon a feld afore.
 It was but grace that thei escaped thore
 Thei putte theimselfes so far furth, ay in prees
 That wounded were thei bothe full sore, no lees.

In 1385^c Edmund was created Duke of York, and in 1391^d we find him with the Duke of Lancaster sent in great state to Amiens to treat for a peace with the King of France. In 1394,^e and also in a later year during Richard II.'s absence in Ireland, he was appointed Custos of England, in which capacity he summoned a Parliament in London early in 1395. In 1399 he was appointed Regent for the third time, and appears to have been present at the abdication or deposition of his nephew, Richard, and at the coronation of his other nephew,

^a Ypod. Neust. p. 318. Coll. of a Lond. Citizen, Camd. Soc. 1876, p. 89.

^b Book ii. ch. 84.

^c Ypod. Neust. p. 342.

^d Froissart, book iv. ch. 36.

^e Walsingham, Hist. Ang. vol. ii. p. 216. Ypod. Neust. p. 368.

Henry IV. Though occasionally attending at Court, he seems after the death of Richard, in September, 1399, to have spent much of his time in retirement at Langley, where he died on August 1, 1402,^a and was buried near the body of his first wife, Isabel, who had died early in 1393. Later in the same year he had married Joan, daughter of Thomas Holand, Earl of Kent, who survived him. Before proceeding further with the history of Edmund of Langley and that of his wives, the first of whom at all events was buried at King's Langley, it will be well to trace the connection of Richard II. with the palace and priory, and continue the history of the two latter until the one passed out of royal possession and the other was suppressed.

Whether any of the youthful days of Richard II. were spent at Langley is uncertain; the first mention which I find of his being there is on April 18, 1389.

In 1392^b he kept Christmas here in a magnificent manner, his Queen, Anne, being present as well as four bishops, four earls, one duke (Edmund of York), several of the gentry, and fifteen ladies. In 1396^c he again kept Christmas at Langley, where he was joined by John of Gaunt, on his return from Aquitaine. In the few troubled years that followed, the King does not appear to have made any stay at Langley of sufficient importance to be recorded by the chroniclers. It will be remembered that it is in a garden at Langley that Shakspeare places the scene of Richard's Queen first hearing the report of her husband's downfall.^d It may perhaps be added that there is considerable poetical licence in this, as Richard's first wife Anne had been dead for some years, and his second wife Isabel of France was not above ten years of age, and was under the care of the Duchesses of Lancaster and Gloucester, never having lived with her husband. After the murder of Richard, in February 1400, at Pomfret Castle, his corpse, after being embalmed and exposed to view for three days in Saint Paul's, was brought to the church of the Friars Preachers at Langley, and there buried.^e The bishop of Chester, the abbots of St. Albans and of Waltham, performed the last offices, none of the nobility being present nor any crowd of people, nor, as Walsingham adds, was there any one to invite those who took part in the ceremony to a repast after their labours.

^a Trokelowe, Ann. Hen. IV. 1866, p. 344. Ypod. Neust. p. 395.

^b Walsingham, Hist. Ang. vol. ii. p. 204.

^c Hist. Ang. vol. ii. p. 219. Trokelowe, Ann. Rich. II. 1866, p. 188.

^d Rich. II. act iii. sc. 4.

^e Walsingham, Hist. Ang. vol. ii. p. 246.

His body, however, was not destined to repose for many years in the place of its burial, for in 1414 it was removed by Henry V. with great pomp to the abbey of Westminster,^a and there re-interred in the presence of the King, who founded a chantry to say mass weekly for his soul, and honoured his body with a noble monument.

Richard was thus, as Camden observes, “requitèd by way of amends with a brasen tombe for the losse of a kingdome.”

At Langle byryde fryste, soo stode the eas,
Aftyr to Wymynster his body earyd was.^b

Or, as another poet has put it, “*Quomodo Rex Henricus Quintus Transtulit corpus Regis Ricardi Secundi à Langle ad Westmonasterium.*”^c

Inde sepultura Regis translata Ricardi
Solemni curâ per Regem fit Leopardi
A Langaleya corpus Regale levatur
Et eum Reginâ tunc in Westmynstre locatur

It may, in passing, be remarked that it was under Richard II. the poet Geoffrey Chaucer held the appointment of Clerk of the King's Works at the Palace of Westminster, the Tower of London, the Castles of Wallingford and Berkhamsted, as well as at various royal manors, including that of Childerlangley. The deed notifying the appointment of his successor, dated in 1391, mentions also “*logias nostras infra parcos nostros de Claryndon, Eltham, Childerlangley et Fekenham.*”^d This lodge at Langley was probably the building which stood within a moated square near the river, at a spot now known as Little London, where some years ago numerous encaustic tiles were dug up. The palings of the park in the time of Edward III. seem to have begun at the water of Gateseye, now the river Gade, in which however there is now no island. I had always regarded this name of Little London as a term of derision applied to the remains of a diminutive building, but I now find that the name is of considerable antiquity, and that we have here an instance of the survival of a local appellation by tradition, where of the building to which it was originally applied it may be said, “*etiam periere ruinæ.*”

In the Patent Rolls of the thirty-fourth year of Edward III. (1360) mention is made of the “*domos et edificia manerii de Childer Langele de Parvâ London.*”

^a *Op. cit.* p. 297. Wilh. Wyrcester Ann. 1864, vol. ii. pt. 11, p. 747.

^b Coll. of a Lond. Citizen, Camd. Soc. p. 53.

^c *Versus Rhythnici de H. V.*, 1858, p. 72.

^d *Archæologia*, vol. XXXIV. p. 45.

and in 1372,^a “Rex commisit Willelmo Streete, custodiam parci Regalis de Childern Langele et logii Regalis de Parvâ London in eodem parco,” to hold the keepership for life at the daily wages of fourpence and a cask of Gascony wine once a year.

In the same year Henry de Maunnesfield was appointed clerik of the works, “apud manerium Regale de Chilternlangeleye and Littellondon cum clausurâ parci ibidem.”

Of the presence at Langley of Edward Duke of York, eldest son of Edmund, there is no record. Notwithstanding his attempted treason to Henry IV., which was revealed by his own father, he was, shortly after the death of Edmund, reinstated in the royal favour, and allowed to enjoy his patrimonial estate, of which a right to occupy the royal demesnes at Langley may be assumed to have formed part. He was killed at Agincourt in 1415, and was succeeded in his dignities by his nephew Richard, only son of Richard of Coningsburgh, Earl of Cambridge, the second son of Edmund of Langley, to whom not improbably any rights connected with this place descended.

In 1466^c King Edward IV. gave to Thomas Betts, prior of the priory of King's Langley, and his successors for ever, to hold in pure and perpetual alms, a certain park called Home Park, the Fryar's Wood with the same park, and other property. The bulk of the manor remained, however, in the Crown, and in 1528^d King Henry VIII. conferred it on Queen Katharine his consort for the term of her natural life. After her divorce he in like manner in 1534 granted the manor and its appurtenances to Queen Anna (Bullen), whom he had married towards the end of 1532. There is, however, no record of either of these unfortunate victims of the King's scrupulous conscience and unsettled affections ever having resided here, or even having visited the place.

I may notice that the first instance I have met with of the place being called King's Langley is in the Exchequer Rolls of the first year of Henry V. (1413), the Easter of which year the King spent at Langley.

Of the royal palace at King's Langley but little more can be said. With its demesnes it continued vested in the Crown until the middle of the seventeenth century.^e James I. in 1610 gave to Prince Henry the park and chace thereto

^a Exch. Rolls, 46 Ed. III. Rot. 26. Rot. Pat. ejusd. anni.

^b Exch. Rolls, 46 Ed. III. Rot. 40.

^c Chauncy, Hist. of Herts, p. 545. Clutterbuck, vol. i. p. 432.

^d Chauncy says Henry VII. and speaks of Queen Katharine as his consort. I have given the date as 20 Hen. VIII.

^e Clutterbuck, *l. c.* p. 433, where is also a survey of the park made in 1558.

belonging, and after his decease to Prince Charles. The latter, after he ascended the throne, conveyed the park—then estimated to contain six hundred and sixty-seven acres—to Sir Charles Morrison for a term of ninety-nine years, reserving a rent of 37*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum, and subsequently granted him the reversion in fee farm, through whom it came into the possession of the Earls of Essex, in whom also the fee farm rent eventually merged.

Of the palace itself the merest fragment remains, and Salmon,^a whose work was published in 1728, passes the palace over with the remark, "Here the rubbish of royalty exists." In Elizabeth's time, 1591, the gatehouse and part of the palace or manor-house seem to have been still standing. What little now remains is on the left of the road leading up the hill from the village, and can hardly be part of any of the principal buildings.

Returning to the priory, we hear of no more royal benefactions to it after the time of Edward IV., though both Henry IV.^b and Henry VI. granted ample confirmations of former endowments. At the dissolution of monasteries in 1538^c it was found to be in the enjoyment of larger revenues than any other house of Friars Preachers in England, being valued at 127*l.* 14*s.* 0½*d.*, or, as Dugdale says, 150*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*

In 1557, under Philip and Mary, all the houses and the site of the priory were restored, according to Tanner, to a prioress and nuns, but in 1559 the whole reverted to Queen Elizabeth, who, in her sixteenth year, granted the site to Edward Grimston.^d Chauncy,^e however, says that the site was not disposed of until the time of James I., who settled it upon Edward Newport and another, reserving a yearly rent of 20*d.* He adds that it afterwards came into the possession of William Houlke and his heirs, who demolished the house and the buildings belonging to the same. Notwithstanding this demolition some portion of the building still remains, which goes by the name of King John's bakehouse, and probably formed part of the offices of the priory. This is engraved by Clutterbuck as the old palace.

In 1557^f it appears to have been in part dilapidated, as in that year six fadders of lead from the south aisle, and seven from the Lady Chapel and Revestiary, were taken for making the water conduit from Blackmore Park to Windsor Castle.

^a Hist. of Herts, p. 113.

^b Rot. Pat. 1 Hen. IV. pt. 2; 3 Hen. VI. pt. 1.

^c Tanner, Not. Mon. 1787.

^d Tanner, *ubi sup.*

^e Ants. of Hert's, p. 545. See also Morden, Spec. Brit. ed. 1730, p. 1002.

^f Reliquary, vol. xix. p. 218. Ashmole MSS. No. 1125, fol. 70.

Of the church itself nothing remains above ground. In 1591 it was "ruinated," and some thirty-five years ago the greater part of its foundations were dug up, but I believe that no plan of the building exists, unless possibly our distinguished Fellow, Sir Gilbert Scott, now, alas! no more, who saw some of the foundations exposed, and was able to trace the cruciform outline of the church, may have preserved any notes upon the subject. At Mr. Betts's farm on Langley Hill may be seen the Purbeck marble base of one of the columns, and two others are re-erected in the garden of the house on Langley Hill now occupied by Mr. Lemon. The section of the column is square, with semi-circular shafts at the angles and in the middle of each side.

A field near the site of the priory is still known as the Friars' Wood. A notice and a woodcut of the seal of the priory, together with some observations on its connection with the priory at Dartford, will be found in the Proceedings of this Society.^a

To return to the more immediate subject of this paper. I have already mentioned that Isabel of Castille, the first wife of Edmund of Langley, died early in 1393. She had, by authority and special licence of her husband, declared her will^b on December 6, 1382, and thereby bequeathed her body to be buried wheresoever her husband and the King might appoint. On the day of her death a hundred trentals and a hundred sauters were to be said for her soul, and four priests, or one at least, were to sing for her by the space of four years. Upon the day of her burial her best horse was to be delivered for her mortuary. She bequeathed to the King her heart of pearls; to the Duke of Lancaster, a tablet of jasper, given her by the King of Armenia; to her son Edward, her crown, to remain to his heirs; to Constance le Despencer, her daughter, a fret of pearls; to the Duchess of Gloucester, her tablet of gold with images, and also her sauter with the arms of Northampton; and to the King the residue of her goods, in trust that he should allow his godson Richard, her younger son, an annuity of 500 marks for life, a trust which the King, out of the great respect he bore to her, accepted.

She was buried in the church of the Friars Preachers at Langley, where probably both she and her husband were residing at the time of her death.

Edmund of Langley in his will,^c bearing date November 25, 1400, makes touching mention of her. "Primerement jeo estre et devise m'alme a Dieu qi la

^a 2nd Ser. vol. vi. p. 400.

^b Dugdale's Baroage, vol. ii. p. 155. Sandford's Geneal. Hist. p. 378.

^c Nichols's Royal Wills, p. 187.

fourma et a la benoite vierge Marie et a touz les seints et seintes de paradis. Et moun corps a giser a Langelee pres de ma tresame Isabelle jadyz ma compaigne qe Dieux assoille." He died, as already mentioned, on the 1st of August, 1402.* "*Ubi spiravit, ibi expiravit*—Langley was the place of his birth and also of his death," and no doubt his desire of being laid by the side of his first wife, Isabel, was duly accomplished. As will subsequently be seen, there is very great probability of the monument now to be described having been erected in the lifetime of Edmund, and under his own superintendence. He had by his will appointed that two priests should be provided for the perpetual performance of Divine service for his soul and for the souls of all his lineage, and had arranged for the cost of his interment; but, unlike his brother the Black Prince, he left no special directions as to his monument—possibly because no such directions were in his case necessary, if one monument was to serve both for himself and his first wife.

This monument is an altar-tomb, which appears to have been originally decorated with twenty shields of arms, seven on each side and three at each end. At the time of its removal from the church of the Friars Preachers it was rebuilt against the north wall of the chancel of the parish church, and upon the then existing pavement of square glazed tiles, which were left undisturbed. Only a part of the tomb projected westward beyond the chancel wall, and the workmen who re-erected the tomb seem to have omitted to replace some parts of the monument, which, owing to the new position, were to be hidden from view. Two of the slabs, bearing shields which would have gone against the eastern wall, were placed on that part of the side of the tomb which projected beyond the north wall of the chancel, and the whole of the shields from one side of the tomb are wanting. It might have been thought that the tomb in its original position stood with a part of the side against a wall or pillar so that the complete number of shields never existed on that side, but the foliation of the alabaster slabs bearing the shields to be subsequently described is returned at one end of the tomb, and either the upper or the lower of the Purbeck mouldings extends over the whole length of the monument within about twenty inches.

Not only are several portions of one side and end of the monument wanting, but the upper slab of Purbeck marble which now covers it does not appear to have originally belonged to it, but to have been the altar-slab either of the parish church or of the Friars' church on the hill. Of the five consecration crosses,

* Sandford's General Hist. p. 377.

only three remain, and that in the centre suggests that the original length of the slab must have been 10 feet, instead of 7 feet 3 inches as it is at present.

Though this upper slab, therefore, formed no part of the original tomb, another slab exists in the church, which may not improbably be that which was originally the top of the monument. This slab until the recent alterations in the church was placed below the Verney tomb, already mentioned, and at the time when this paper was read had not sufficiently attracted my attention. As has already been pointed out by Mr. Cussans,^a its dimensions are 7 feet 3 inches in length and 3 feet 3 inches in breadth, the dimensions of the tomb being about 6 feet 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 2 feet 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. This slab would overhang 4 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches at both sides and ends, and "it is certainly more than a fortuitous coincidence that the proportions of the two should be identical to the eighth of an inch."

The slab has been incised for the insertion of a brass, the studs for retaining which are still in position. The figure has been that of a lady with tight sleeves, her hands on her breast, and her head resting on a square cushion, with a tassel at each corner, and must have closely resembled that of a lady of the Stourton family in Sawtry church, Huntingdonshire.^b

Mr. Cussans's theory is that at, or perhaps shortly before, the removal of the tomb from the old church the brass was stolen, and that when the tomb was brought to the present church those who had the charge of the work having at their disposal a smooth polished altar-slab, for which they had no use, laid it over the tomb in place of the defaced original, being also perhaps actuated by some lingering veneration for the old altar-stone.

The monument, which now stands north and south instead of east and west as formerly, has been carefully re-erected for the second time by Mr. Joseph Clarke, F.S.A., in a small chapel expressly built to contain it, at the east end of the north aisle of the church.

In this chapel, which has been constructed at the expense of Mr. Arthur H. Longman, of Shendish, the eastern window, with the arms of her present Majesty and those of most of her royal ancestors which appear upon the monument, has been contributed by the Queen.

The total height of the tomb is about 3 feet 10 inches, and it consists of the following members:—

1. A base, about 7 feet 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and about 3 feet 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, and 9 inches high, formed of Totternhoe or Caen stone, the upper surface bevelled where it projects beyond the course above.

^a History of Herts, Dacorum Hund. p. 206.

^b Boutell's Mon. Brasses, A.D. 1404.

2. A course of Purbeck marble, about 8 inches thick, with a bold beaded ogee moulding worked in it. This course is imperfect.

3. A course of alabaster, about 5 inches thick, the face ornamented with sunk quatrefoils, eighteen on the side and seven at each end. Part of this also is wanting at one end and one side.

4. Above this is another course of Purbeck marble, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, forming a beaded ogee moulding. Part of this is also wanting.

5. Upon this rests the main body of the tomb, consisting of alabaster, 15 inches high, and divided on the side into seven eight-foiled compartments, and at the ends into three, which are ten-foiled. In the centre of each is a shield with armorial bearings, as subsequently described. The whole of one side is wanting. The dimensions of the tomb at this part are 6 feet $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 2 feet $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

6. Upon this rests the upper slab of Purbeck marble, about 5 inches thick, the lower $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches of which are chamfered off along one side and one end of the tomb, the other end and side being left rough. As already observed, this is not the original slab, but part of a former altar. The arms on the shields which still remain are as follows, beginning with the eastern shield on what is now the north end.

North End.

1st shield. A cross fleurie between five martlets—Edward the Confessor.

2nd „ France ancient and England quarterly—Richard II. ?

3rd „ Three crowns, two and one—St. Edmund.

Side.

1st shield. Double-headed eagle displayed—Wenceslaus, Emperor and King of Bohemia.

2nd „ France ancient and England quarterly, a label of three points—Edward Prince of Wales.

3rd „ As No. 2, but each point of the label charged with a canton—Lionel Duke of Clarence.

4th „ France ancient and England quarterly, a label of three points, each charged with as many torteaux, impaling Castille and Leon—Isabel of Castille, wife of Edmund of Langley, Duke of York.

5th „ As No. 2, but three torteaux on each point of the label—Edmund of Langley.

6th „ France ancient and England quarterly, within a bordure—Thomas Duke of Gloucester.

7th shield. France ancient and England quarterly, a label of five points, on the two on the dexter side three ermine spots, on the others as many fleurs-de-lis—Henry of Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford, afterwards King Henry IV.

South End.

1st shield. Three lions passant guardant, within a bordure—Holland Earl of Kent.

2nd ,, Three lions passant guardant, within a bordure, charged with fleurs-de-lis—Holland Duke of Exeter and Earl of Huntingdon.^a

3rd ,, A lion rampant—Fitz-Alan Earl of Arundel, maternal grandfather of Joan de Holland.

Unfortunately the labels on most of the shields are so much rubbed that the differential charges upon them are now in most cases invisible. Slight protuberances can, however, be still felt at the spots where the cantons and roundels formerly existed, and there can be no doubt that the drawing made by Sandford^b in July 1664, from which I have filled in some details in the foregoing description, is correct. The fleur-de-lis on the bordure of the shield of Holland Duke of Exeter are perfectly preserved, owing to their having been protected by a coat of plaster.^c The only other shield on which these minute brisures can be distinguished is the seventh on the side, on which the ermine spots of Brittany, borne by John of Gaunt, the father of Henry of Bolingbroke, and the fleur-de-lis of Henry Duke of Lancaster, his maternal grandfather, may still be discerned on the label.^d

The presence of this shield upon the monument affords the strongest presumption of its having been erected before the accession of Henry IV. to the throne, and consequently during the lifetime of Edmund of Langley. Indeed, if it be true that the label with these particular brisures was in use by Henry only from February 3, 1399,^e until the 30th September following, that is to say, from the death of John of Gaunt until his own accession to the throne, this monument must have been erected within that period.

The late Mr. W. S. Walford, F.S.A., to whose kindness I am much indebted, called my attention to a roll of arms of the reign of Richard II. published by Willemt in 1834, and which there appears reason for regarding as not being of

^a Engraved in Boutell's Heraldry, 2nd ed. p. 224, fig. 475.

^b *Geneal. Hist.* p. 377.

^c Engraved in Boutell's Heraldry, 2nd ed. pl. lxx. fig. 477a, p. 224.

^d Engraved in Boutell's Heraldry, 2nd ed. p. 228, fig. 486.

^e Boutell's Heraldry, 2nd ed. p. 218.

later date than 1397. In this roll the label of Henry Earl of Derby is described as charged in the same manner as that on this shield. Under any circumstances the arms thus differenced could hardly have been placed on the tomb after the accession of Henry to the crown.

Mr. Walford^a has also shown that in the early part of the life of Edmund the label on his shield was counter-compony, in allusion to much of the Warenne property having been granted to him, and has suggested that the torteaux which he subsequently adopted may have in some manner borne reference to his Castilian alliance. Menestrier attributes the torteaux to alliance with the house of Courtenay, and Nisbet to one with the ancient Earldom of Cornwall, both of which views Mr. Walford regards as erroneous. As to the connection with the Warren property, I may observe that the Warrens, Earls of Surrey, were at one time also Earls of Boulogne, the arms of which earldom are—Or, three torteaux.

Edmund had already been married to his second wife, Joan de Holand, in 1393, and the shields of arms on what is now the south end of the tomb bear reference to this alliance,—the arms of her father the Earl of Kent, her uncle the Duke of Exeter, and her maternal grandfather the Earl of Arundel, being represented.

The shields at the north end are such as might appear on any English royal tomb from the reign of Edward III. to that of Henry IV., while in the centre of the side are the arms of Edmund impaling those of his first wife, Isabel of Castille. On either side are shields of other members of the royal family, including those of Richard II.'s brother-in-law, the Emperor Wenceslaus, Edmund's own arms, and those of his three brothers—the Black Prince and the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, John Duke of Lancaster being represented by Henry of Bolingbroke. From the size of the tomb it can hardly have been intended to carry two recumbent figures on the upper slab, much less three, and this affords another argument for regarding the slab with the female figure as having formed the original top.

The erection of monuments during the lifetime of one of those whose deaths they were to commemorate was by no means of uncommon occurrence, and we can well imagine Edmund taking pleasure in erecting this costly monument to the memory of himself and his "tres ame Isabele," near whom, in accordance with his will, his body was to lie.

It was not every one who, like Edmund's elder brother, the Black Prince, could give minute directions in his will as to the character of his monument,

^a Arch. Inst. Jour. vol. vii. p. 165.

with the certainty of their being obeyed. Many a one seems to have followed the Roman example of erecting a monument *SIBI ET CONIVGI SVO* or to have acted like the Yorkshire Diogenes who records on his monument^a *SIBI VIVVS FECIT*.

We have a good contemporary example of the practice in a monument in Kellshull church, in this same county of Hertford.

Under the effigies of a man and woman in brass are the following lines :^b—

Here lyth the bones of Rychard Adane and Maryon his wyff
 God graunt her soules euerlasting lyff
 The whiche Rychard dyed—————
 In the yere of our Lord m^occcc^o.—————
 The which Richard Adane as y yow say
 Leyd here thys stone, be hys lyff day,
 The yer of our Lord was thane truly
 m^occcc^o fyve and thrytty.
 Man the behovethe ofte to have in mynde
 That thou geuest w^t thyn honde, that shalt thou fynde,
 For wommen ben slowful and chyldren bey unkynde,
 Executors bey covoytous and kepe all that they fynde.
 For our bothe soules unto the Trinyte seyethe a paternoster for charite.

There are no badges or other heraldic devices on the monument of Edmund besides the shields. An engraving of the tomb from a drawing made in 1664 is given by Sandford.^c Another is published in the *Beauties of England and Wales*, and a third in a Paper on the Two Langleys, by the Rev. Richard Gee, published by the St. Albans Architectural and Archæological Society in 1853. Gough^d has described the monument, and says it is most likely that Edmund's body and that of his consort Isabel were left behind in the Friary church.

On the floor, near the tomb, are several encaustic tiles, which, like the tomb itself, have been brought from the church of the Friars Preachers, although in far more modern times. They are for the most part ornamented with geometrical designs, though the three lions of England appear upon some of them, in some cases occupying the whole field, in others confined within a shield. A fesse between two chevrons appears on another tile, but whether these are the arms of the Fitzwalters, or of some of the other old families which bore these ordinaries, I am unable to say.

^a Camden's Brit. Gough's ed. vol. iii. p. 242.

^b Clutterbuck's Herts, vol. iii. p. 538. Haines's Mon. Brasses, p. clxxx.

^c Sandford's Geneal. Hist. p. 377.

^d Sepulchral Monuments, vol. ii. p. 11.

The date at which the tomb was brought into the parish church is uncertain. If Tanner is correct as to the site of the priory having been granted to Edward Grimston in 1574, it seems probable that the removal may have taken place about that year, but no record of the event is chronicled in the parish register of the time, which is still in existence.

It is by no means improbable that the removal was made under direct orders from the Queen, for in the case of Edward^a and Richard, Dukes of York, the son and grandson of Edmund, both of whom were buried at Fotheringhay, we find that at the time of the destruction of the chancel of the church their bones, together with the body of Cecily Neville, Duchess of York, which was "lapped in lead," were removed and reburied by command of Elizabeth, though but a "meane monument of plaister wrought with the trowell," "very homely and farre unfitting so noble Princes," was erected over them.^b

I have at the outset stated that in the earth with which the lower part of the monument of Edmund of Langley was filled there was a leaden coffin, or rather a human body "lapped in lead," and the greater part of the remains of two human skeletons. Together with these bones were a considerable number of iron nails and some fragments of wood, so that possibly when first deposited within the monument they were encased in wooden chests.

I must now attempt to identify the occupants of the tomb, and attention will naturally be directed in the first instance to the leaden coffin. This had evidently been opened at the upper end for about half its length and resoldered, probably at the time of the first removal of the tomb. On again cutting open the lead and turning it back, a skeleton was exposed to view with every bone in position, from which the inference may be drawn that at the time of its being deposited within the monument the body must have been in a fair state of preservation, and that it had originally been embalmed or cased in some manner, though now, owing to the access of air and moisture from the outer wall of the church, through holes where the lead had decayed, almost all the fleshy part had disappeared. There still remained upon the head a considerable quantity of flaxen hair. No ornaments of any kind were visible. If any such had originally been placed within the leaden case they must have been removed when it was opened for the first time.

This body was not, as was originally expected, that of Edmund of Langley, but that of a young woman of about the age of thirty, as determined by Professor Rolleston, F.R.S., who obligingly came to King's Langley to examine the

^a Sandford's *Geneal. Hist.* p. 392.

^b Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman*, ed. 1634, p. 169.

remains, and whose report upon them I append. Judging mainly from the appearance of the teeth, I was at the time inclined to assign a somewhat less age, and to regard the remains as those of a lady of about five-and-twenty.

But whether the age was twenty-five or thirty this body cannot be that of Isabel of Castille, the first wife of Edmund, for, as she was born about 1355, and died in 1394, she must have been upon the verge of forty. I borrow this date of 1355 from Miss Emily S. Holt,^a but as Isabel was married early in 1372, and her eldest son appears to have been born in the following year, she may have been somewhat older.

Nor can the body well be that of Joan, the second wife of Edmund; she was the third or fourth child of Thomas Earl of Kent, who married in 1364, and she must therefore probably have been born before 1370, though Miss Holt gives 1383 as the date of her birth. If so, she was but ten years of age when she married Edmund of Langley in 1393, he being then in his fifty-third year. She died childless about 1434, after marrying three other successive husbands, and, apart from the improbability of her fourth husband sending her back to be buried alongside of her first, was at the lowest computation fifty-one years old when she died. Her second husband, whom she married in 1409,^b was William Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, her third, whom she married about 1410, was Henry Lord Scrope, and her fourth and last Henry Bromflet, Lord de Vesel.

Nor can it be Constance le Despeneer, Countess of Gloucester, the only daughter of Edmund and Isabel, who was born about 1374, and died on the 28th November, 1416—though, being at that time in disgrace with the King, she did not receive honourable burial until 1420, when she was interred in Reading Abbey. It would be out of place here to enter into her eventful history. Suffice it to say that she cannot be the occupant of the leaden coffin. Not only was Constance buried elsewhere, but she was at her death at least ten years older than the occupant of the coffin.

It has struck me as possible that these remains may be those of Anne Mortimer, daughter of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, first wife of Richard of Coningsburgh, Earl of Cambridge, the second son of Edmund of Langley. This is, however, the merest conjecture, as I can at present find no record of the exact date of her death nor of the place of her burial. She was, however, born on December 27, 1388,^c and is thought to have married in 1408. She certainly died some time before 1415, in the August of which year her husband was beheaded at Southampton. For at that time he was already married to his

^a The White Rose of Langley, Hist. App. p. 342.

^b Rot. Pat. 10 Hen. IV. pt. 2.

^c Dugdale's Baron. of Eng. vol. i. p. 151.

second wife, Maud, daughter of Thomas Lord Clifford, by whom he left no children. If Anne had died in 1413 or 1414 she would have been about twenty-five or twenty-six years of age, which would well correspond, according to my view, with the age of the occupant of the leaden coffin. Could it be proved that this was the body of Anne it would, if possible, enhance the interest attaching to this tomb, as not only was she the grandmother of Edward IV. but a great-great-grandchild of Edward III., of whom her husband was a grandchild only, and she therefore, like Edmund of Langley and Isabel of Castille, formed a direct link in the chain between the Norman William and our own beloved Queen. But, after all, I have no evidence of Anne Mortimer having been buried at Langley, and there may be evidence of her having been buried elsewhere.

Turning now to the bones which were laid along side of the coffin, the first point that will strike the ordinary observer is, that they were not themselves contained in any coffin, though possibly from the remains of wood and nails which were found with them they may have been contained in some wooden coffers or receptacles when placed within the monument.

The absence of a coffin may be due either to the corpse having been originally interred without any such protection, or to its having been merely of wood, which had decayed before the removal of the bones to their new resting-place. At the end of the twelfth century^a it was considered an innovation of Warren, the twentieth abbot of St. Albans, when he ordered the bodies of the monks to be in future buried in stone sepulchres, instead of being merely placed beneath the sod; but even then the general practice, from the abbots downwards, was to bury the bodies without any other covering than their usual attire.

So late as the time of Elizabeth it seems to have been the custom to bury in the ground with winding-sheets only.^b Both Henry I. and his daughter, the Empress Maud, were sewn up in bull or ox hides and thus buried; and even in later times it would appear as if many, even of the highest rank, were after death merely cased or wrapped in cere-cloth and then buried in their robes. Although Richard II. was encased in lead all but his face, yet in his will^c he provides that his body should, after royal fashion, be clothed in velvet or white satin, and also be thus interred with a gilt crown and sceptre, but without any gems, though on his finger he was to have a ring with a precious stone in it of the value of twenty marks. From the extremely interesting account of the

^a Matt. Paris, Vita, p. 95, ed. 1639. See Gough, Sep. Mon. vol. i. p. 51.

^b Hearne, Spicil. ad Gul. Neubrig. p. 796, quoted by Gough, Sep. Mon. p. 61.

^c Nichols's Royal Wills, p. 194.

opening of the tomb of Edward I. in Westminster Abbey, communicated to this Society by Sir Joseph Ayloffe, Bart., in 1774,^a it appears that the body of that King, wrapped in royal robes and with all the attributes of royalty, had been laid in a coffin cut out of a solid block of Purbeck marble, with a lid three inches thick, the upper surface of which was in contact with the covering slab of the altar-tomb. Such a coffin could not have been portable, and must be regarded rather in the light of a grave than of a coffin properly so called. The effigies which were carried in procession in so many of our royal funerals point to the time when the bodies of the deceased monarchs were themselves robed in a similar manner, and were carried openly before the people. That of Edward I. may have been made in order to be placed upon his altar-tomb, where, according to Langtoft,^b it must have lain for some time—

From Waltham before-said to Westmyster thei him brought,
Besides his fadre he is laid in a tomb well wrought,
Of marble is the stone, and putreid there he lies.

In the case of Henry V., whose body was embalmed in France and inclosed in a leaden coffin, the effigy, which was made of cuir bouilli, was placed above the coffin, and did duty for the real corpse until both arrived at St. Paul's.

Oddly enough, in the re-interment of the descendants of Edmund at Fotheringhay, the bones only of Richard Duke of York and of his son the Earl of Rutland are recorded to have been taken up, but with them was the body of the Duchess Cecily,^c the wife of the former, which was lapped in lead.

In the tomb at Langley it is still uncertain who was the lady whose body was thus protected. Let us now see whether there is any better chance of identifying the two other persons whose bones were also in the tomb.

One of these, according to Professor Rolleston, is that of a woman about 4 feet 6 inches or 4 feet 8 inches in stature, and between thirty-five and forty-five years of age. Were it not for the condition of the skull Professor Rolleston would have assigned an age nearer thirty. So far, therefore, as age is concerned, these remains may well be those of Isabel of Castille, the first wife of Edmund of Langley, near whom he desired to be buried, and whose bones would in all probability have been removed from the Priory church at the same time as the tomb. Her age, as will be seen, was about thirty-eight.

^a *Archæologia*, vol. III. p. 376.

^b *Chron.* vol. ii. p. 341. Cited in *Archæologia*, vol. III. p. 386.

^c *Sandford's Geneal. Hist.* p. 392.

Isabel was the third daughter of Pedro, surnamed the Cruel, King of Castille and Leon, and is said to have been born at Morales or Tordesillas in 1355.^a When, in 1365, Pedro fled before his rebel brother from Seville to Bayonne, he was accompanied by his third wife, Juana, and his daughters Constance and Isabel. They did not return to Seville until 1368, after the victory of Navaréta, and in 1369 they were again removed to Bayonne, where, in the autumn of that year, they heard of the disastrous battle of Montiel, and of the violent death of their father.^b At that time John of Gaunt, who was then a widower, was staying in Bordeaux, and it being represented to him that it would be a charitable deed to comfort and advise damsels who were daughters of a king, especially when in such a pitiable state, and also that it would be a very noble match for him, as he or his heirs would be Kings of Castille, his pity and ambition consented, and he married the elder sister, Constance, without delay, at a village called Rochefort, between Bordeaux and Bayonne.

Isabel remained with her sister and accompanied her and her husband to England, arriving at Southampton soon after Michaelmas, 1371, whence they proceeded to Windsor, where they were received with great joy and feasting by Edward III. Early in 1372 Edmund of Langley, who had come with them from Bordeaux, followed the example of John of Gaunt, and married the second of the Spanish princesses. Isabel appears to have made him a devoted wife, accompanying him in his expedition to Portugal in 1381, where she remained until they returned together in 1382, in which year, as already mentioned, she declared her will. In her late years she seems to have suffered from want of money, having in October 1390 had 100*l.* given her, and shortly before her death, early in 1393, she had borrowed 400*l.* from her brother-in-law the Duke of Lancaster. Her jewels, however, appear to have sold for 666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

In person she must have been small, and in her manners lively. Walsingham describes her as a "mulier mollis et delicata sed in fine ut fertur satis paenitens et conversa." The well-formed slightly dolichocephalic skull in the tomb appeared to me such as when covered with flesh, skin, and hair, must have looked both intelligent and pleasing. There appeared some trace of embalmment upon the skull, and I think we may safely accept it as that of Isabel of Castille, whose bones are now again restored to the tomb under which she was originally buried in state, "for she was a king's daughter."

^a For many of these particulars I am indebted to Miss Emily S. Holt, "The White Rose of Langley," p. 342.

^b Froissart book i. chap. 301.

The peculiarities in the lower canine tooth, and in the humeri, mentioned by Professor Rolleston are somewhat remarkable. Of the whole of the jaws of every period, and of almost every variety of the human species, available in the ethnological series in the Oxford Museum for examination, only seven present bifid canine fangs, and only one belonged to a modern civilised race.^a In the same manner the humerus perforated in the olecranic fossa is now somewhat exceptional in Europe: it is only found in about 4 per cent. of the bodies in the Paris cemeteries, while in some burial-places of the neolithic age it occurs on 15 or even 25 per cent. of the arm-bones.^b It does not, I believe, occur in so large a proportion as even 4 per cent. in England, and it would be interesting to ascertain whether either of the peculiarities in the tooth or arm is more prevalent in Spain than in England.

It is, however, full time to turn to the last of the three persons whose remains were found in this tomb, and there can, I think, be little doubt that we have in the bones of the powerful man which lay outside the coffin those of Edmund of Langley, Duke of York. The age assigned to this man by Professor Rolleston is somewhere between fifty-five and sixty-five, and, as has already been seen, Edmund was in his sixty-second year at the time of his death in 1402. His height must have been about 5 feet 8 inches, and he must have been a man of a powerful frame, though, from what Professor Rolleston says, somewhat crippled in his latter days.

The appearance of the skull with its sloping forehead was not at first sight calculated to convey an impression of great mental power in the man who owned it; and, indeed, in the lifetime of Edmund there were those who regarded him as being "but of weak understanding;"^c but the many important posts which he filled, and filled with credit, prove that he must have possessed more ability than possibly his appearance might indicate. The slope of the forehead may however be correlated with the powerfully developed and heavy lower jaw, as Professor Rolleston^d has observed. Though less ambitious than John of Gaunt, and probably than the Duke of Gloucester, he possessed all the reckless bravery for which the sons of Edward III. were distinguished, and his hot-headed valour may not have contributed to improve his repute for understanding. In 1379,

^a Greenwell's *British Barrows*, p. 706.

^b Broca, Address to French Assoc. Journ. Anthrop. Inst. vol. vii. p. 198. See also Busk in *Trans. Intern. Cong. of Preh. Arch.* Norwich, 1868, p. 159.

^c Froissart, book iv. ch. 73.

^d Greenwell's *British Barrows*, p. 584.

when as Earl of Cambridge he was at the siege of St. Malo, with the French on one side and the English on the other of the tidal river, the two armies were day after day drawn up in battle array, each wishing the other to be taken at a disadvantage while crossing the river. At last the patience of Edmund was exhausted, and Froissart records^a that he declared with an oath that if these displays continued without any further advance made towards a battle he would engage the French himself, whatever might be the consequence, and actually dashed into the river, crying, "Let those who love me follow me, for I am going to engage." The Duke of Lancaster, looking on, observed to a Hainault squire, "Gerard, see how my brother ventures; he shows the French by his example his willingness for the combat, but they have no such inclination." The returning tide seems to have prevented the English engaging in the rash action to which Edmund tried to excite them.

At the siege of Limoges^b we find him singling out Sir Hugh de la Roche with whom to engage in single combat, while the Duke of Lancaster fought with Sir John de Villemur; and the Black Prince, who had just permitted the massacre of three thousand men, women, and children within the town, looked on from his carriage, and so much enjoyed the fight "that his heart was softened and his anger appeased."

But, however impetuous he may have been, Edmund was not wanting in natural shrewdness. Besides his device of the White Rose, which was destined afterwards to play such an important part in English history, he also, as Camden says,^c "bare for an Imprese a Fauleon in a fetterlocke, implying that hee was locked vp from all hope and possibility of the Kingdome, when his brethren beganne to aspire thereunto. Whereupon he asked on a time his sonnes, when he sawe them beholding this device set vp in a window, what was Latine for a fetter-locke? Whereat when the yong gentlemen studied, the father said, Well, if you cannot tell me, I will tell you: *Hic, hæc, hoc, taceatis*, as advising them to be silent and quiet, and therewithall said, *Yet God knoweth what may come to passe hereafter.* This," adds Camden, "his great Grandchilde, King Edward the Fourth, reported, when hee commanded that his yonger sonne Richard Duke of Yorke should vse this device with the fetter-locke opened."

Whatever, too, may have been Edmund's weakness in some respects, this "loyal father of a treacherous son" showed a Roman fortitude in discovering

^a Book ii. chap. 18.

^b Froissart, book i. ch. 290.

^c Remains, ed. 1614, p. 215.

Aumerle's treason to Henry IV., an incident of which Shakspeare has made such effective use.

Altogether we may look back upon these bones as being the remains of one of England's worthies, who though "neither the father nor the grandfather" of a king, nor one who derived any right in the Crown to his successors, yet had the blessing of the Patriarch, for kings descended from his loins, who from him as their source and original derived their appellation of Kings of England of the Royal House of York."

APPENDIX A.

ACCOUNT OF SKELETONS EXAMINED AT KING'S LANGLEY, NOVEMBER 22, 1877.

By Professor GEORGE ROLLESTON, M.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.

I examined three skeletons at King's Langley, November 22, 1877. Of these one was the skeleton of a powerful man, considerably past the middle period of life; a second was the skeleton of a woman, as far as I could judge, between thirty-five and forty years of age; the third had belonged to a younger woman, whose age, however, could not have been very far from thirty, and possibly on the wrong side of that year. The bones of the first two had got somewhat intermingled; those of the third had been kept safely apart from intermixture in a leaden coffin.

1. The skull belonging to the male skeleton had the sloping forehead, the vertical parieto-occipital region, the large processes for the insertion of muscles, the large mastoids, and the great weight so commonly observed in brachycephalic crania of powerful men. The line of the sagittal suture was beset with osseous up-growths, and there was only one *foramen emissarium*. The tendency to excessive ossificatory deposit was manifested even more strikingly by the gluing together of five of the lower dorsal vertebrae by a stalagmite-like effusion of bony matter on the anterior surfaces of their centra. One cervical vertebra had been similarly affected, some remarks on the nature of which *exostosis* may be found at pp. 695, *seq.* of "British Barrows." Some bony structures—consisting of a harder exterior shell, sometimes of a cylindrical shape, sometimes more flattened and rib-like, with irregularly-shaped masses in their interior, not unlike in form to masses of osteodentine, and connected with various parts of their inner periphery, but by no means filling it entirely up—were found mingled up with these bones, and I think they must have been irregularly ossified costal cartilages. There was one piece amongst them which looked like the lower end of a sternum, much compressed from side to side, with the facets for the reception of the mesial ends of the costal cartilages upon it, as well as portions of

* Sandford's Geneal. Hist. p. 377

these still in relation with it. They had been, however, so much distorted that it is not quite possible to be sure on this point. The appearances, however, are very much such as might have been produced by wounds received in front, where wounds were usually received by Plantagenets, either in battle, or, as described in Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, in tournaments.

But in spite of this abundance of bony deposit, or perhaps rather in correlation with the hampering *anchylosis* of the vertebræ, the bones of the limbs had their angles and muscular processes rounded and smoothed as though by atrophy and recoil from their former proportions. The girth of the shaft of the femur, immediately above the setting on of the condyles, was 6·8 inches, but the ridges for the muscles were very much smoothed down into the general contour of the bone. The chin and lower jaw were powerfully developed. The front teeth were small in size and crammed together, and many of the back teeth lost. Still the retention of the front teeth and the good development of the lower jaw and chin, coupled with the length and breadth of the facial region (for which see the appended measurements), must have given a commanding expression to the old man who owned this skull, unless the soft parts were considerably different from those usually found to clothe such a facial skeleton.

The age of the owner of this skeleton was somewhere between fifty-eight and sixty-five. I should not feel myself justified in adopting any less wide limit within which I should put the year of his death. He died a fine old man, an object of interest to his neighbours and friends, I make little doubt, and an object of some sympathy also, as the crippled condition of his later years must have formed a touching contrast to the strength and vigour which he certainly possessed, and possibly, or even judging from the bones alone probably, may have made strong and vigorous use of in his youth and manhood. It is possible to be exact as to the state of his teeth if it is not possible to be exact as to the year of his death; and as I suppose it is certain that he died before the discovery of America put potatoes at our disposal, and enabled us to substitute them, in part at least, for some other and harder articles of diet, it may be interesting to put this on record. In the lower jaw, then, three molars had been lost during life, two on one side and one on the other, and one pre-molar was carious. In the upper jaw the molars had been lost during life, and two pre-molars were carious. Many a man of sixty-five has as good set of teeth as this in the year 1877.

Twenty-two iron nails were mixed up with these bones, as were also some fragments of oak-wood.

A piece of coarse textile fabric, with some hair of a greyish-red in colour adhering to it, was also found with them.

Measurements of Male Skull and Bones found lying outside of Leaden Coffin.

Extreme length	6·7"	Lower jaw, interangular diameter	4·1"
Extreme breadth	5·8"	Width of ramus	1·5"
Vertical height	5·7"	Height of symphysis	1·45"
Absolute height	5·5"	Height from level of lower border to	
Minimum frontal width	3·9"	apex of coronoid, or to that of articular	
Maximum frontal width	5·2"	surface, which are nearly on same	
Frontal arc	5·5"	level	3·2"
Parietal arc	5·2"	Circumference	20·9"
Occipital arc	4·2"	Basi-cranial axis	3·8"
Facial length	3·2"	Femur, length	18·8"
Facial breadth	5·2"	Tibia, ,,	14·8"
Basio-subnasal length	3·4"	Humerus, ,,	13·5"
Basio-alveolar line	3·5"	Clavicles, ,,	5·7"
Width of nose	·95"	Girth of femur shaft just above condyles .	6·8"
Height of orbit	1·7"	Cephalic index: Length to breadth .	86
Width of orbit	1·6"	Stature	5' 8"

The bones are very large, but the muscular ridges are not very sharply marked.

II. The second skeleton, which was more or less mixed up with the first, belonged to a woman of from 4 feet 6 inches to 4 feet 8 inches in stature, and between thirty-five and forty-five years of age.

As regards the sex of the skeleton, the verticality of the forehead, the sharpness of the supra-orbital borders, and the absence of supra-ciliary ridges above them, together with the smallness of the mastoid processes and of the lower jaw, leave no doubt as to the skull; and we were more or less justified accordingly in assigning to it the trunk and limb-bones in this collection which bore a female character.

As regards the age of the skeleton, the skull sutures were nearly all entirely obliterated, all indeed more or less, except the squamous. The other sutures in the body were completely ankylosed, with the partial exception of the suture between the first and second vertebra of the sacrum, a suture, however, which does not normally become obliterated before thirty years of age, and which very readily becomes opened again by any posthumous maceration. In this case this suture was not open, but its position was indicated by a tumid line which skeletons of persons past middle life do not retain. The wisdom teeth were all present; of those in the upper jaw the one on the right side was apparently only just through the socket, whilst that on the other (left) side had a large cavity which had led to the covering of the fang and closure superiorly of the pulp cavity by periosteal deposit. The two lower jaw wisdom teeth were little worn, but the one on the right side would have wanted the full evolution of the corresponding tooth above to bring it under wear, and the decay of the left upper wisdom tooth would have prevented it from coming into play against the left lower. There was also some appearance of diseased action on the articular surface of the left half of the lower jaw, which renders the indications furnished by the teeth and

jaws somewhat less certain than they usually are. And it may be added as a confirmation of this that the right lower jaw canine presented the rare anomaly of a bifid root, for a discussion of which see "British Barrows," p. 707. Each humerus had the olecranic fossa perforated. This latter circumstance, coupled with the condition of the cranial sutures, inclines me to think that the real age of the owner of this skeleton was really somewhat greater than that (thirty, namely) which the condition of the sutures of the limb and trunk-bones by themselves necessitate us to accept.

The muscular ridges at the angle of the lower jaw are prominently marked, but the collar-bones are feeble and little curved, and we shall probably be right in thinking that the owner of this skeleton was a person of no very great muscular strength any more than of great stature, as the appended measurements show. Some dark-coloured substance, apparently mummified matter, was adherent to the skull in the right temporal fossa.

Measurements of Female Skull and Bones found lying at side of Leaden Coffin.

Extreme length	7·2"	Basio-subnasal length	3·25"
Extreme breadth	5·5"	Basio-alveolar line	3·5"
Vertical height	5·8"	Height of orbit	1·45"
Absolute height	5·6"	Width of orbit	1·47"
Minimum frontal width	3·5"	Width of nose	·95"
Maximum frontal width	4·4"	Circumference	20·5"
Frontal arc	5·1"	Basio-cranial axis	3·7"
Parietal arc	5·4"	Femur length	15·9"
Occipital arc	4·8"	Tibia length	12·9"
Facial length	2·6"	Cephalic index: Length to breadth	76
Facial breadth (approx.)	4·4"	Stature	4' 10"

III. In a leaden coffin bearing marks of having been recently soldered up with as yet unoxidized lead, as found after again unsoldering it, was the skeleton of a woman of about thirty years of age, a little over, probably, rather than under that age, with some auburn hair still remaining, though detached from the skull.

As regards the sex, the indications furnished by the skeletal and cranial bones, both alike, were unmistakable; the clavicles were long and but little curved, the left measuring in a straight line from one end to the other 6 inches; whilst the other long bones furnished evidence equally or more than equally decisive to the same effect. In the skull, the sharp supra-orbital borders, and the slight development of the supra-ciliary ridges, together with the smallness of the mastoids, told in the same direction, as did also the unfavourable relation of height to breadth. The general outlines of the calvaria were globose, though the entire circumference was not great. The wisdom tooth was absent in the lower jaw on the left, and one pre-molar was similarly absent on the right side.

As regards the age, I considered the persistence of a trace of the ankylosis of the crista to the ilium to indicate that the age of the owner of the skeleton was about thirty, and I have a dim recollection, but not absolute certainty, that a considerable trace of the suture between the first

and second vertebra of the sacrum was still persistent. Certainly, I was clear at the time that this skeleton belonged to a person who had died younger than the owner of the other female skeleton examined here by me.

But unhappily I have not by me precise notes of the condition of any other bones besides those here mentioned and measured.

Measures of Skull and Bones in Leaden Coffin.

Extreme length	6·8"	Length of face	4·8"
Extreme breadth	5·35"	Orbital height	1·4"
Vertical height	5·5"	Orbital width	1·45"
Absolute height	5·3"	Width of nose	1·0"
Minimum frontal width	3·6"	Lower jaw (interangular diameter)	3·7"
Maximum frontal width	4·7"	Width of ramus	1·2"
Frontal arc	5·0"	Depth of chin	1·2"
Parietal arc	4·5"	Circumference of skull	19·7"
Occipital arc	4·5"	Femur length	18·2"
Facial length	2·7"	Tibia length	14·3"
Naso-frontal length	2·05"	Cephalic index : Length to breadth	78
Basi-cranial axis	3·8"	Stature	5' 6"
Basio-subnasal length	3·4"		

XV.—*Account of further Excavations at Silchester.* By the Rev. JAMES GERALD JOYCE, B.A., F.S.A., Rector of Stratfieldsaye and Rural Dean.

Read May 9, 1867.

ON May 18, 1865, I had the pleasure of reading to this Society a paper upon certain excavations which have been carried on at Silchester by His Grace the Duke of Wellington.^a Since that date the area uncovered has been considerably extended, and the excavations have attracted a very general interest among those who are skilled in English archæology. In addressing you at present, I only resume the thread of a statement already commenced, and, in order to clear the ground for the information I propose now to bring under your notice, I shall go back to a few leading particulars which were then stated.^b

The excavations, for distinctness and facility of reference, have been numbered under the name of blocks. Three blocks of Roman buildings were exposed at the date of my previous paper, two of them completely and one partially. These blocks of buildings were designated by the order of time in which they had been originally discovered, as Nos. I. II. and III. Nos. I. and III. were fully described, as well as the articles they contained. No. II. had been only partially uncovered, and the portions laid open up to that date had proved in some respects very unsatisfactory; in consequence of this only a cursory description was then supplied, in the hope that a more careful and more extensive search for other portions of the same structure would yield a more fruitful return, and this

^a Archæologia, vol. XL, pp. 403—416.

^b This communication and the next were returned to the Author, who intended to incorporate them together. Owing partly to bad health and his lamented death on June 28, 1878, this intention remained unfulfilled. The Society is indebted to his widow, the Hon. Mrs. Joyce, for preparing them for the press, together with the illustrations in the accompanying plates.

expectation has been amply fulfilled. To complete the description of Block II. will be the principal object of this statement.

In the early part of the year 1866 a fourth block was added to the three formerly excavated, but when compared with the others it has proved much less interesting. I shall dismiss this at once. The walls were traceable, though badly built; the rooms which were uncovered were sufficiently marked, but the floors gone except a few patches here and there, just enough to indicate the original level. The examination of this site, though uninteresting, was however pursued with some care, to the extent of laying open an area of 110 feet in length by 36 feet in width. The rooms opened were five in number, one having contained a small hypocaust; they were at the end of a gallery or corridor 90 feet long. A fragment of very poor mosaic was the only trophy discovered here to reward the search. Of this Block IV. a measured plan was made, but it may well be consigned to oblivion. Since then the excavation described already as Block I. has been filled in and the ground used for agriculture.

The excavation of a fifth and most important block of buildings has been commenced. This differs I believe in some essential points from any Roman edifice known in England, and possesses some points of extreme interest. It is beyond question the Ancient Forum of this curious city. It yet remains, ruined as it is, to this hour a conspicuous and significant memorial of that wonderful people who carried their own order and discipline to the ends of the world. I propose in this paper to complete, I might almost say to supply, the description of Block II. in detail, and to indicate some of the leading characteristics of Block V.

The Roman house which will chiefly occupy us at present is numbered as Block II.; it was discovered on November 7th, 1864, a few days after the first commencement of the works. The discovery was not accidental; the line of a small street, running at right angles with the great North Road, had been previously ascertained by prolonging the direction of the northern wall of the first house opened.

The point of intersection where this minor street cuts the great road across was ascertained, allowance was made for the width of the streets, and a corner house at each side was searched for, and both were found. The one we are now about to examine was the earlier discovered of these two, and, as it ultimately proved, by far the more important; to this therefore the name of Block II. was given, and to the other that of Block III. This latter has been already described in my previous paper, as its excavation was completed a long time before that of its opposite neighbour.

It should be borne in mind that this house stood at angles where two

streets crossed, or rather where a street crossed the main road. It was a mansion of extraordinary size for a Roman house, and it will appear particularly so if we remember that it stood in the heart of a town. Its importance is marked not alone by its dimensions but also by its nearness to the Forum. From the quoign of this mansion at its south-west corner the distance along the great North Road which it faced, to the quoign of the Forum at its north-west corner, was but 355 feet English measure, not quite 120 yards. There is little doubt that it was the great house next to that public edifice, for in this space there could scarcely have been any other private dwelling of equal size and consequence; the great London *Via* passed here between this mansion and the Forum, and in the same space (in this 120 yards) stood also a temple, or, if not a temple, certainly an altar and a precinct to the Hercules of the Segontiaci. This house in fact bore the same relation on the north to the point where the great *Viae* crossed each other that the Forum did on the south. These facts of course give a somewhat unusual interest to Block II., but the interest will be materially enhanced by an accurate acquaintance with the dwelling itself.

The general plan of this house has from time to time been enlarged, but it always remained throughout the same in arrangement. It has a certain resemblance to the houses of Pompeii, though not precisely agreeing with any of them. There is the same central quadrangular space, and the rooms disposed around it. The Pompeian houses have very seldom a *vestibulum* or recessed space between the street and the entrance, nor had this; they however generally had an *atrium* with its *impluvium* in the centre, but this feature (if it had a place at any stage of the existence of this dwelling) certainly cannot be traced now. It does not appear unlikely that the climate influenced the general arrangement of houses in this country; and possibly at Silchester, where houses were on a very lofty elevation of ground, and exposed to winter winds from many quarters, an *atrium* would have invited a greater amount of ventilation in the windows and chambers than would have conduced to either comfort or health. The nearest approach in general arrangement to the house now under consideration will be found perhaps in the celebrated villa of Woodchester. The quadrangle at Woodchester, which had the principal rooms disposed round three of its sides, is not unlike what I am describing.

The principal front of this mansion, thus placed along the great Northern Road 120 yards from the Forum, and hard by the precinct of Hercules, looked almost due west, and measured more than 150 feet in length. Another face looked north and extended along the minor street 108 feet.

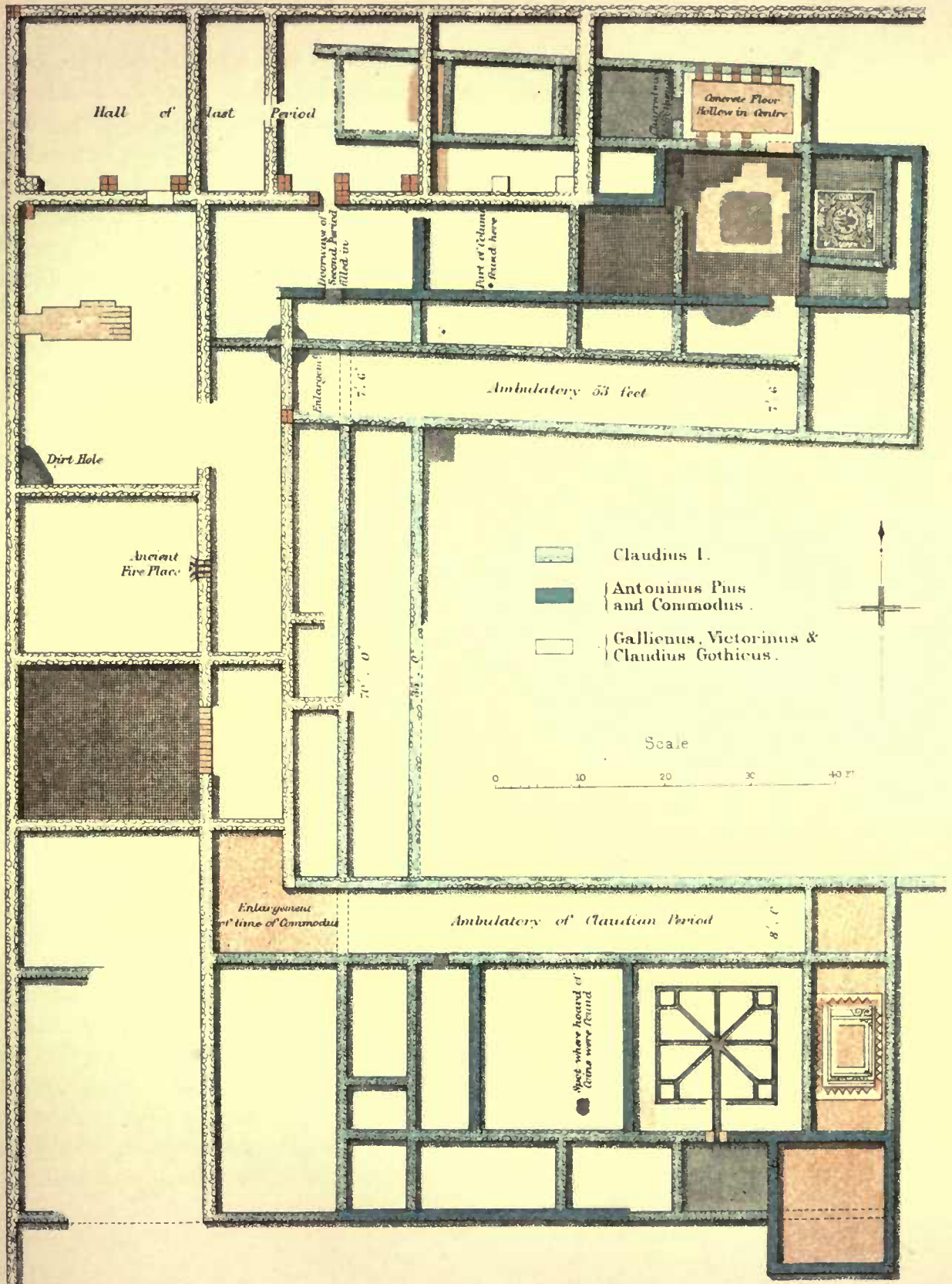
To convey a clear idea of how this area was sub-divided will require a frequent reference to the plan. The endeavour to make plain what at first sight appears to be almost an incomprehensible complication of walls, enclosing very small spaces, will develop particulars which are some of the most interesting of those connected with the present excavation, if not with any other Roman excavation yet carried out in England. (Plate XI.) There was a time, about May 1865, when the work here was appearing very unsatisfactory; eight rooms lying close along the streets had then been exposed, the floors seemed to be particularly imperfect, with a solitary exception, in which the pavement, though complete, was of the most ordinary character; the workmen had dug along the walls down to the footings, and even in places several inches below the lowest course of masonry. They declared that no more was to be found here, that the remains had been exhausted, and there was nothing left to uncover. They formed this opinion on the fact that they had reached the lowest level at which the exterior walls were laid, and these walls appeared to leave off. They begged therefore to be allowed to move their tools elsewhere.

At this point in the history of this excavation I carefully examined all the portions of wall exposed, and on June 3rd the Journal of the work contains this entry. Referring to 25th May, 1865, "Examined the floor of the rooms there mentioned, traced along the edge of the walls, and, finding that the flint is there laid to a considerable depth below them, determined to have these small rooms searched more deeply before leaving this work. The result of that search proved within a very few days that there was a series of other walls a little below those we had laid bare, and the event ultimately was no less than the interesting discovery that we had beneath us the very perfect lines not of one but of three other successive houses, all erected on the same site, one above another, age after age."

I shall proceed now to give some idea, as far as the indication of existing remains admit, of the details of the type of house we are considering, and of the successive alterations it went through. I shall ask permission to take one liberty only in my description, and that is to treat each stage of this most interesting mansion as if it might be regarded to be of the date of the coins found in it. I am aware that strictly speaking such a deduction is incapable of proof, because coins may have been in circulation a long time subsequent to their original issue; but in absence of any other guide whatever I venture to assume that a coin may be esteemed sufficient index of a date, to be accepted where it is impossible that any other information can ever be accessible; and we shall thus be able, not

NARROW STREET RUNNING EAST AND WEST 18'7" WIDE

GREAT ROAD RUNNING NORTH AND SOUTH



C.F. Kell Lith. London E.C.

PLAN OF ROMAN HOUSE, BLOCK 2. SILCHESTER.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1881.



merely to connect the house with specific periods of history, but also, by conferring distinctness upon each stage of its construction, to have a clear conception of the building as a whole.

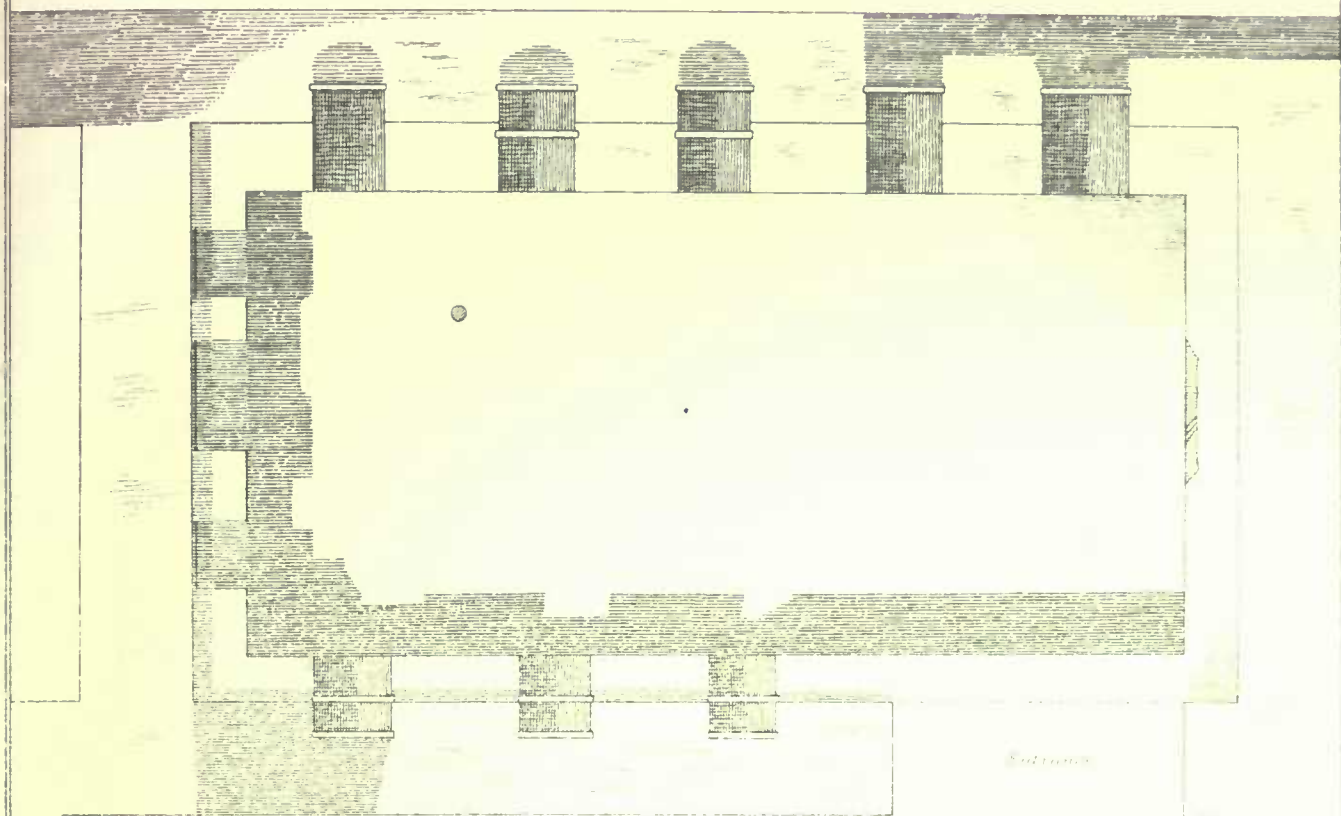
We will now endeavour to recover the traces still left us of the earliest condition of this structure. The date to which the oldest coin found within these walls will bring us is that of the Emperor Claudius, or, in other words, the very commencement of the Roman occupation. In a corner of one of the rooms on the west front the floor was found to be sunken, and on examination also soft. The contents were removed to a depth of about 6 feet. Apparently it had been a dirt-hole of one of the more ancient stages of construction; it contained loose materials, the rotten débris of a building, mortar, flints, wall-plaster, still bearing fresh colours, some fragments of iron, broken bits of ornaments of Kimmeridge clay, and among them a curious knife, and, lastly, a coin struck in honour of the then deceased Antonia, the celebrated sister of Marc Antony, the mother of the noble Germanicus. This coin appeared all but illegible, yet on a careful scrutiny it has been perfectly recognised, and its legend on both sides being well known from other examples may be identified though not read upon the coin itself. I am well aware how speculative it is to seem to attach any weight to evidence so slender as this, but my object, as I have already stated, is not to prove a theory but merely to approximate to a period. It is of little consequence to a ground-plan whether we assume the reign of Claudius, about the year of Christ 50, for the first erection, or that of Domitian, 40 years later, for which we can produce more authority; it will be admitted that such coins prove this residence in its primary condition to be of extremely ancient date. On reference to the plan of what we will call the Claudian period, it is important to state that every wall or portion of wall laid down actually exists, and no part is drawn from imagination; some of these walls have been erased, but their lowest course of flint or stone still remains where it was originally laid; and in places where the wall itself is even up-rooted from its very footing still the rammed gravel which formed the floors indicates, by a difference of colour and density, the lines which the walls followed. It is very curious and interesting also to observe that where later walls intersect these oldest, the courses of masonry are in several instances deflected from the level line and mount in a curve upward and then return again to their level so as to over-ride the erased portions. This is a very singular incidental proof that the erasure of these walls is so remotely ancient as to be long anterior to the days of Diocletian and Maximianus, as the evidence will presently prove beyond doubt.

The plan of this Claudian period includes, as here drawn, such an enlarge-

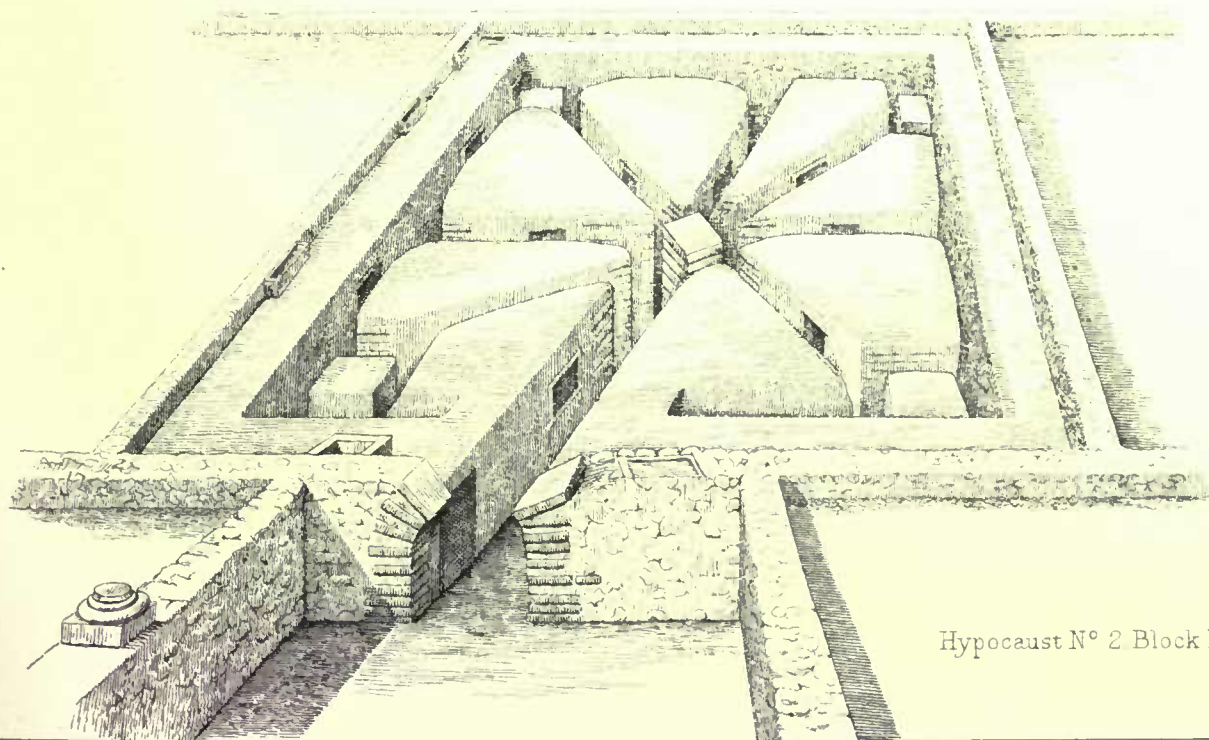
ment and alteration, which on the same principle for which your indulgence has been asked we may refer with a reasonable probability to the Emperor Commodus. I shall proceed in the first place to describe both the original and altered house, that of the period of Claudius the First and that of Commodus. The walls of the more ancient of these two series are more slender than those of the later, the former being generally only 15 inches thick and the latter 18 to 20 inches. The quadrangle or central space of the Claudian period was on the inside of its own walls 53 feet square. It was surrounded on three sides by the usual gallery or ambulatory, which is 7 ft. 6 in. wide on two of its lengths, and 8 feet on the other; the extreme extent of this gallery from north to south was 70 feet; the two ambulatories on the sides were each 54 feet, and at the end of one there is still remaining the same red pavement in its original position, which marks a little square room that terminated the gallery. It is curious to observe how the division wall was erased to lengthen the ambulatory at the end by taking in this room, but the first pavement still marks the dimensions of the apartment as 8 feet square.

Reference to the plan will now show how curiously symmetrical the arrangement was at first; the mind of the first designer is visible throughout. Taking the quadrangle in the centre to start from, you have on either side of it a rectangle quite regular in plan. The lines of the ambulatory supply the key to the sub-division of the two rectangles; from the rectangular area on the north a space or border of 7 ft. 6 in. wide was struck off all round, and formed on its outer sides, by sub-division, the smaller rooms, whilst its inner became the northern ambulatory. A similar method was taken on the southern side—the dimension used here was 8 feet; a border space, so to speak, 8 feet wide, was struck off round the rectangular area, and was then cut up into minor apartments. It is difficult at present to surmise how the central portion of each of the rectangles were disposed of; it seems probable, however, that in the middle of each of these rectangles there were three principal rooms. The dimensions thus determined, we have a range of small rooms on the outer side of the mansion along its northern face—to these I must call particular attention. This range of rooms is throughout 7 ft. 6 in. wide; two of them were 14 feet long, and two were 11 feet. In one of these rooms has been uncovered a very peculiar hypocaust (Plate XII. No. 1) which demands special notice; it is not exactly like any other with which Roman buildings in England have made us acquainted. I proceed to describe what is left of it. A hot-air chamber was formed here by removing the gravel to a depth of two feet; at the bottom of this a floor of very admirable pink concrete was laid; a dwarf inner wall was then built within this

SILCHESTER EXCAVATIONS.



Hypocaust N° 1 Block II



Hypocaust N° 2 Block II

J.G. Joyce, F.S.A.

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

SILCHESTER.



hot-air chamber as high as the floor level, so as to make a hip or shoulder all round to sustain the floor. In this dwarf wall a series of hot-air flues of large size were formed, being so constructed as to lead upward at an angle of 45° to the floor level, and thence to ascend in the thickness of the wall. A large flanged tile formed the inclined bottom of each air duct or chimney. These flues were in number probably ten, of which eight remain complete. The heat was driven in from each end, both the end walls having been perforated for a furnace mouth. What uprights sustained the floor there was no evidence to show; the floor itself consisted of enormous square tiles, the sides of which measured 2 feet and their thickness 4 inches. These tiles were of very great weight and admirably burnt; four, and a portion of a fifth, were left, the others had been taken away. This destruction however appeared rather like the filling-up of a disused portion of the building by later builders than the wreck of actual ruin. The *Journal* states, July 27, 1865, in reference to it: "The contents of the room were soft rubbish, chiefly the débris of mortar or plaster off walls; these fragments of wall-plaster exhibit signs of pattern-decorations, and are nearly as hard as the tiles themselves, but beneath the great tiles and on the bottom in places there lay a large deposit of burnt or jet-black oak fibre." The most suggestive fact, however, in reference to this singular hypocaust, is, that, although we discovered, in what had been the original sunk chamber for lighting the furnace on one side, the bed of wood-ashes used in its latest fires, we found at the same time that the builders of probably the third period of the mansion's history had carefully walled up the two furnaces, entirely stopping by a solid wall the places at each end through which the heat had entered, and proving beyond question that the room had been diverted from its original purpose long before the dwelling fell into decay.

The quantity of heat generated by such a room must have been most intense. It has been suggested that it was built for a vapour bath; that the thick tiles may have been excessively heated, and water then sprinkled or poured over to create hot vapour.

It has been at present covered with a shed in the hope of preserving it, and some drain tiles laid outside to drain off the water which rose in it in the winter.

The rooms on the southern side I pass over without remark except to mention that they underwent alteration in the second plan of this earlier construction, which I will point out immediately. What other rooms lay between the line of the ambulatory on the west, and the great street, it would be pure speculation to guess.

To the period of Commodus we will now advance for the next change; the

space of time so passed through may be roughly taken as a hundred years. By reference to the Journal of August 10, 1865, it appears that in clearing the ground on the western side of the original ambulatory the traces of the most ancient floor level were met with; to arrive at them we had already dug to below the footing of a later wall, three courses of which remained. Fifteen inches perpendicular of gravel below the lowest course of this masonry were dug through, and at that depth lay the level bed of concrete upon which the ancient floor had been laid; fifteen inches lower, that is to say, than the bottom of the wall. The tesserae had been swept away, but their marks were everywhere, and in one angle, protected by the remains of a course of masonry, six lines of common red tesserae, each about an inch square, were left in place. Lying here close by this wall, not the erased wall but another and newer one, was a coin of the Emperor Commodus. We may not be wrong therefore in attributing the alteration, in the process of which this coin must have been dropped here by a workman, to the date of 180 to 190 of the Christian era; certainly it could not be earlier, or no coin of Commodus could be there, and at that date the line of the ambulatory on the west was thrown forward, the ancient walls that bounded it on that face were removed, and only the mere traces of them left behind; certain other changes were carried out as the plan will indicate.

The extreme length of the ambulatory I have already given as 70 feet. Its sides were originally shorter by some 15 feet or more. These sides were now lengthened so that it measured each way the same length, 70 feet, upon its outer walls, being three sides of a square. To the same alteration of plan it seems most proper to refer several very important additions; the principal of these are the insertion of a large and well-constructed hypocaust, which remains comparatively perfect, and the introduction of two mosaics of excellent pattern, one of which almost in a perfect state was uncovered, raised, and removed to the hall of Stratfield-saye House (Plate XIII). I will give the ground for assigning these to this date when they have been identified on the plan. The first step on reaching this is to observe the position of the mosaic on the north side. It will be at once apparent that this mosaic stood in a symmetrical position to the walls of the room where it was laid; it was very nearly if not quite in the middle of that room, and we must therefore conclude that when this mosaic centre-piece was laid down the walls occupied the position they do now; if they had not done so it would not, when we found it, have been central. To make that mosaic room the shape and size it is, it will be clear that the original plan was altered, and a square room, different in dimensions from any of the former apartments in this house, was



ROMAN PAVEMENT, SILCHESTER.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1881.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH. LONDON. S. E.

The first of these is the fact that the patient is not in the habit of taking his medicine. The second is the fact that the patient is not in the habit of taking his medicine. The third is the fact that the patient is not in the habit of taking his medicine. The fourth is the fact that the patient is not in the habit of taking his medicine. The fifth is the fact that the patient is not in the habit of taking his medicine. The sixth is the fact that the patient is not in the habit of taking his medicine. The seventh is the fact that the patient is not in the habit of taking his medicine. The eighth is the fact that the patient is not in the habit of taking his medicine. The ninth is the fact that the patient is not in the habit of taking his medicine. The tenth is the fact that the patient is not in the habit of taking his medicine.

inserted in the eastern end of the north corridor. Now it is the grafting on of this room 16 feet square upon the first arrangement of the plan that makes out the very conditions under which this mosaic was placed. It could not have been placed in such a position in the ancient house under any circumstances. It is quite reasonable to conclude that these two rooms therefore were added to the original structure, and why the addition was not made later will be seen presently. Looking across now to the corresponding rooms on the opposite side we find a very similar change made, though not precisely the same. We find a square room inserted here also, very nearly the same in size, *i. e.* 16 feet, but at the south-east corner. The proof of alteration here is singularly evident. This addition has a floor of red tesserae, now imperfect, but of which a considerable part still remains. Where the wall of Claudian times ran, and still runs beneath this red floor, the level has remained at the same height at which it was first laid, but on each side of this line the ramming below the pavement has subsided in lapse of years, so that the floor has a kind of ridge crossing the room in the line of the ancient wall, still imbedded underneath. The mosaic in the adjoining floor has suffered a good deal from the plough, being only 5 inches below the surface; only two fragments of its end are left.^a The room appears to have been used as a kind of *exhedra* to the large *triclinium* close by, from which it was probably separated by a curtain alone. We have discovered nothing in the progress of our works hitherto which is more curiously worthy of attention than the room to which I am about now to invite your notice. In dimension it may be called 20 feet square; it is however a little less one way. Beneath the floor is a hypocaust (Plate XII. No. 2) of very ingenious construction, and we refer its insertion to this date, because the furnace-chamber of this hypocaust was evidently made at the same time as the square room with the red floor last spoken of. To form this hypocaust ducts or channels, 2 feet in depth, were cut in the figure of a Union Jack, leaving the banks of earth solid between. The sides of the banks were faced with stone or concrete, and the series of flues was arranged, first, in a circle round the centre (each triangular bank having a horizontal flue right through its narrow end, to make a circulation of heat), and then the hot air passed under the floor in embedded tiles to find its way out through eight ascending lines of flues in the walls of the apartment. One pillar in the centre supported the *suspensura*.

The slave who tended the fire must have gone down into the furnace-room on

^a The mosaic patterns are now placed in Stratfieldsaye House.

wooden steps, no trace of any others whether of stone or tiles being there. This hypocaust when first exposed in July 1866 was so complete that if floored over it might have been used again; it was carefully protected through the severe winter by being put under the shelter of a permanent wooden roof, but the water rose to a depth of near 2 feet within its ducts and furnace-room, and has a good deal shaken the ancient work.* These changes of plan are all we can trace to the period of Commodus; those which followed altered not only the plan, but the position with respect to the cardinal points, of a large portion of the house. There are two later alterations, but they will be so evident that they need not detain us longer.

The next condition of this mansion I am disposed to refer to the date of Claudius Gothicus, because a very considerable number of his coins and of those of his predecessor Gallienus have been found, and frequently in positions where they might have been dropped by men at work upon the edifice. In the new arrangement a still further enlargement of the central quadrangle took place; the ambulatory had been already added to once, having been increased from a rectangle of 70 by 55 feet to a square of 70 feet measured on its outside walls. The addition made under Claudius Gothicus increased this dimension again, so that the inner walls of the ambulatory should now measure 70 feet, and this was effected by entirely altering the whole of the range of rooms upon the northern side of the edifice, and very probably those also which were on the west. In doing this the relation of the walls to the cardinal points was changed in all this new work, the ground-plan being as it were slightly canted round at the north-west corner more towards the south-west. It is not obvious why this was done, but the fact itself is very evident, and offers a ready means of distinguishing this work from all that existed previously. Although the ancient rooms of the south side of the house, and the original level of the floors, must have been preserved, it is plain that a very considerable rise of the floor line must have been made in the new parts. The older walls were not erased, but the surface was covered in with gravel and other filling to a depth of 12 or 14 inches. In this stage of the edifice several small ancient rooms were destroyed, and instead we find no less than six large and nearly square rooms disposed along the two sides which faced the public streets. One room, 20 feet square, was at the corner; two others, each 16 feet 6 inches by 20 feet, separated from the corner room by an entry or passage, stood along the line of the narrow street, and faced north; and three larger rooms,

* Since this was panned drain-pipes have been put outside to drain off the water.

18 feet by 21 feet, were ranged along the great road, and faced west; there is an additional space provided in one of these three, and the tile-work base of some construction, which looks rather as if it had been part of the furnace of a tradesman. Such an arrangement as this is an unusual one in Roman houses of the villa type, but it has a parallel in the case of dwellings in cities, as in the *Casa della sonatrice*, and in the *Casa del fauno* at Pompeii, where the latter especially exemplifies it, being a house of the first class, but having four such rooms upon the street front. In the Pompeian houses these rooms were unquestionably shops, let out by the wealthy resident to tradesmen, and although it must remain uncertain that such was the case here, because we have nothing whatever to indicate what sort of occupant filled the rooms, it does not seem at all unlikely that they were employed, or even built, for some such purpose.

These walls were built with mortar. We arrive now at the latest stage, in which walls were constructed merely with flints laid in black mud. This last work is probably of the date of Constantius Chlorus, or perhaps more correctly the close of the reign of Diocletian and Maximianus: there is some slight ground for supposing that this interesting city may have been captured, and that much of it was destroyed and rebuilt about this date; certainly the work is very inferior, and bears indications of haste, although the scale is larger and the walls of greater width. Coins of the above Emperors have been found in the floors and in the broken masonry of the highest levels, as indeed have also those of almost all the later rulers of the imperial city.

The doorways in the rooms of the third building were walled up. Three instances of this are apparent. Plinths were erected in three of the rooms, to form the bases for columns, or possibly, in one instance, for pairs of columns, and in one case a plinth was built directly in front of a former doorway: clearly showing that these plinths were no part of that former plan. The impression which we formed, on first uncovering this portion of the building, was that it was one large hall, 46 feet by 20 feet, leading into an adjoining ante-room 16 feet 6 inches by 20 feet. That impression does not appear to me to have been incorrect, although on sinking lower we arrived underneath at three rooms and an entry, of the date of the third stage: it would seem probable that the outer lines were adopted, and the space enclosed by these four apartments was occupied in the latest form only by two. A broken pillar with mouldings of good character was found in one of these rooms, and subsequently a very debased reproduction of the same pattern of pillar, but barbarous in every feature, was discovered not far off.

It is important to state that in various places where the comparison can be made; it will be found that the lowest course of flint masonry of these last walls stands at about the level of the top of what is left of the other walls which preceded them.

Such is the description of a building of considerable interest and magnitude: rising above the earth in the early days of the building of Calleva, in the time of the first Claudius, stretching eastward in the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Commodus, we find its third alteration contemporary with Gallienus, Victorinus, and Claudius Gothiens, whilst its fourth period—the one nearest the surface—yielded coins of Diocletian, Maximianus, Carausius, Constantine, Theodosius, and Honorius; and now, fourteen hundred years after its burial, it silently records its consecutive occupation by the Roman from the earliest days of the Christian era to the last days of their waning power in 410. Taking into consideration the position it occupied in relation to the Forum and the Basilica, its great size, the growing importance attached to it throughout three consecutive centuries, and the attention given to its alteration and additions, we may assume it was not unlikely to have been an official residence, and probably was the actual home of one of the *Duumviri* of Silchester.

This is the only building in which any hoard of coins was discovered. In the room to the west of the *triclinium* a number of bronze coins were found on the floor at about 2 ft. 6 in. distant from the wall; they appear to have been thrust into a hole in the wall of the house, probably in a leathern pouch; in the falling of the wall they came down with the débris of clay and flint, and were found under roof-tiles and plaster lying in a little heap on the white tesserae, which was stained beneath them a deep bronze colour. The peculiarities of these *folles* were that the greater part of them were the coins of former Emperors, re struck by Carausius. This taken in connection with the finding of a somewhat rare coin struck at Treves, in commemoration of peace between the three Emperors, Diocletian, Maximianus, and Carausius, and some types of coins of his reign not often found, has led to a supposition that this Emperor at one time made his head-quarters at Silchester. These coins, doing duty to the memory of past dominion and the tardily acknowledged power of the successful usurper, are of various dates; in some the head of Carausius is hardly more apparent than that of Postumus, Gallienus, Maximianus; in others the legend belongs to Carausius, whilst the head of Postumus still asserts its primary origin; in many, irrespective of the reverse having at an earlier date carried a legend of different sentiments,

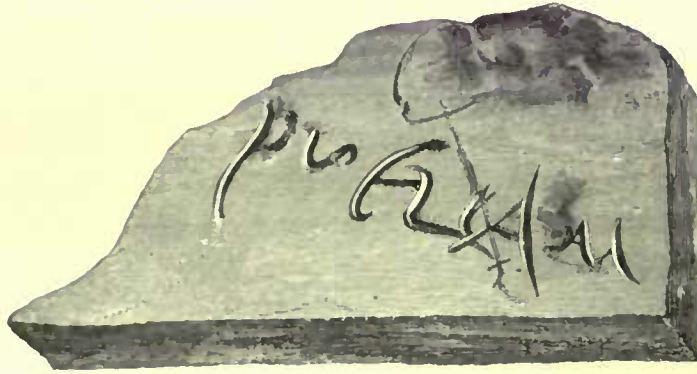
“PAX” is stamped upon the coin. Out of the 42 coins found in this group, 31 bear the impress of Carausius.

Amongst others, one found on the north side of this house appears to have been struck by Carausius, and purposely circulated by him, bearing the head of Maximianus, to publish to his subjects the establishment of peace between the three Emperors. This coin is in the most perfect condition possible, and can hardly have been in circulation at all; it bears in the exergue MLXX.^a Carausius and his successor Allectus appear to have used the London Mint which was probably established about that date, with little or no intermission. A coin of Carausius helmeted has been found in the adjacent house; it is an excellent specimen, and there is also a very beautiful coin with its reverse exactly similar to the “Adventus” of Aurelian, which has beneath the legend “Adventus” a soldier on horseback, and below the horse’s foreleg a small bird, whilst a coin, not apparently described in any published list, has on its reverse a Capricorn to left with a trifid tail. A great number of the ordinary types of the coins of Carausius have been found and chronicled in the Journal of the Excavations.

The articles collected in the course of the uncovering of this house are, as one would expect, those in domestic use. The tiles were throughout of remarkable size and thickness. Two of the number possess an interest of their own. The caliga or boot of the Roman soldier has left its print in one of these tiles. The outer edge of the sole was closely studded with large-headed nails, driven in as near each other as the space allowed; the nail-heads were three-eighths by a quarter of an inch in size, and a line of no less than nine nails occurs in the length of three inches: the centre part of the sole appears as if it had been filled up with nails at random.

The other of these tiles is still more interesting as it bears a record of daily life upon it. It has part of an inscription on its surface, not however a name stamped into it, but a word written with great freedom and clearness with some sharp-pointed tool whilst the clay was moist. Some Roman lover was thinking of the maid he worshipped whilst preparing his tiles for the kiln, and with a lover’s ardour he scribbled on one of them some sentence about the maiden, more indelible than the passion it expressed, of which the last word, “puellam,” alone is left to record to a distant age the Roman’s love.

^a Bust radiate to right with cuirass, IMP. C. MAXIMIANVS. P. F. AVG. Reverse, Peace standing to left with olive branch in l. h. and sceptre transverse PAX AVGGG.



INSCRIBED ROMAN TILE, SILCHESTER.

The iron implements discovered in this building consisted of a buckle, some straps and bands of various lengths and sizes, clamps with stud-heads for fastening thick planks for doors, spring bolts of several sizes, with the keys to compress them, and door-hinges. But perhaps the most interesting was a knife, 6 inches long by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide, of curious construction, with ring attached, which has been considered to be the knife of the *haruspex*. A coin of Tetricus, with several of the sacrificial implements on it, depicts this knife. This *culler* has probably played its part in influencing the fortunes of the camp, as much as any more formidable weapon. A very large quantity of iron nails of all sizes, some unusually large, were turned up in excavating here; they are indicative of the amount of timber which entered into the construction of the building.

The bronze articles, few in number, were in extremely good preservation, free from corrosion, sharp and well formed as before their long burial. In the deposit which choked the ducts of the largest hypocaust a beautiful bronze ring was found, which combined the double purpose of ornament and use, both fitting the finger and being finished as a key; it must have been the work of an accomplished locksmith; dropped in the *triclinium* it probably was the master-key of the wine cellar in which the noble Roman who inhabited these fine quarters kept his choice Falernian. A perfect bronze stylus, with a point sharp enough for the keenest Latin epigram, was dug out in opening the ambulatory, whilst a bronze needle the size of a small packing-needle, and some pins, with the heads cleanly cut into ornamental facets, belonged to the feminine part of the community; some fibulæ, with springs formed by coils of wire tightly twisted, and with a shield to protect the point, complete the list of bronze implements.

Only fragments of pottery were discovered here; the remains of an elegant bowl, of pseudo-Samian, is marked with an unusual stamp of a nine-petalled rose, and the letters OF CASSEA. The handle of an amphora, reading—

L . IVNI . M
ELISSI . P

adds another example to those mentioned in Mr. Wright's List.^a Common earthenware in a very fragmentary state testified to the habitual breakage of domestic use.

[The excavation of the Forum and Basilica commenced on July 18, 1866, but a full description of it is given in the paper read on June 19, 1873.]

^a See Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 475.

XVI.—*Third Account of Excavations at Silchester.* By the Rev. JAMES GERALD JOYCE, B.A., F.S.A., Rector of Stratfieldsaye.

Read June 19, 1873.

ON two previous occasions, in the years 1865 and 1867, I have given some accounts of the excavations in the Roman city at Silchester. The work was then in its infancy; an interval of six years elapsed since my second Paper was read; and the period thus embraced will be found fruitful in discoveries of interest and importance.

Your attention is invited, first, to the details of two of the principal gates; that upon the east, which received the Roman road from London, and that upon the south, by which the two converging roads from Winchester and Old Sarum entered at one opening.

The Forum remains in a singularly complete state as regards the foundations and footings of all its walls. These are, in fact, so perfect as to make it easy to determine the dimensions of every part of the ground-plan with perfect accuracy.

By the side of the Forum, and united closely to it, so as to be included within the same outline of plan, are the vestiges of a noble basilica—a ruin, or rather, indeed, the relic of a ruin now, but so impressive in its greatness and decay that no reflective man, calling to mind the scenes it witnessed for centuries, can behold it to-day unmoved.

Beyond the Forum, and lying about midway between it and the south gate, is a temple of considerable magnitude and circular in shape. This itself is also an object of no ordinary archaeological interest, and one most fruitful in questions for future solution.

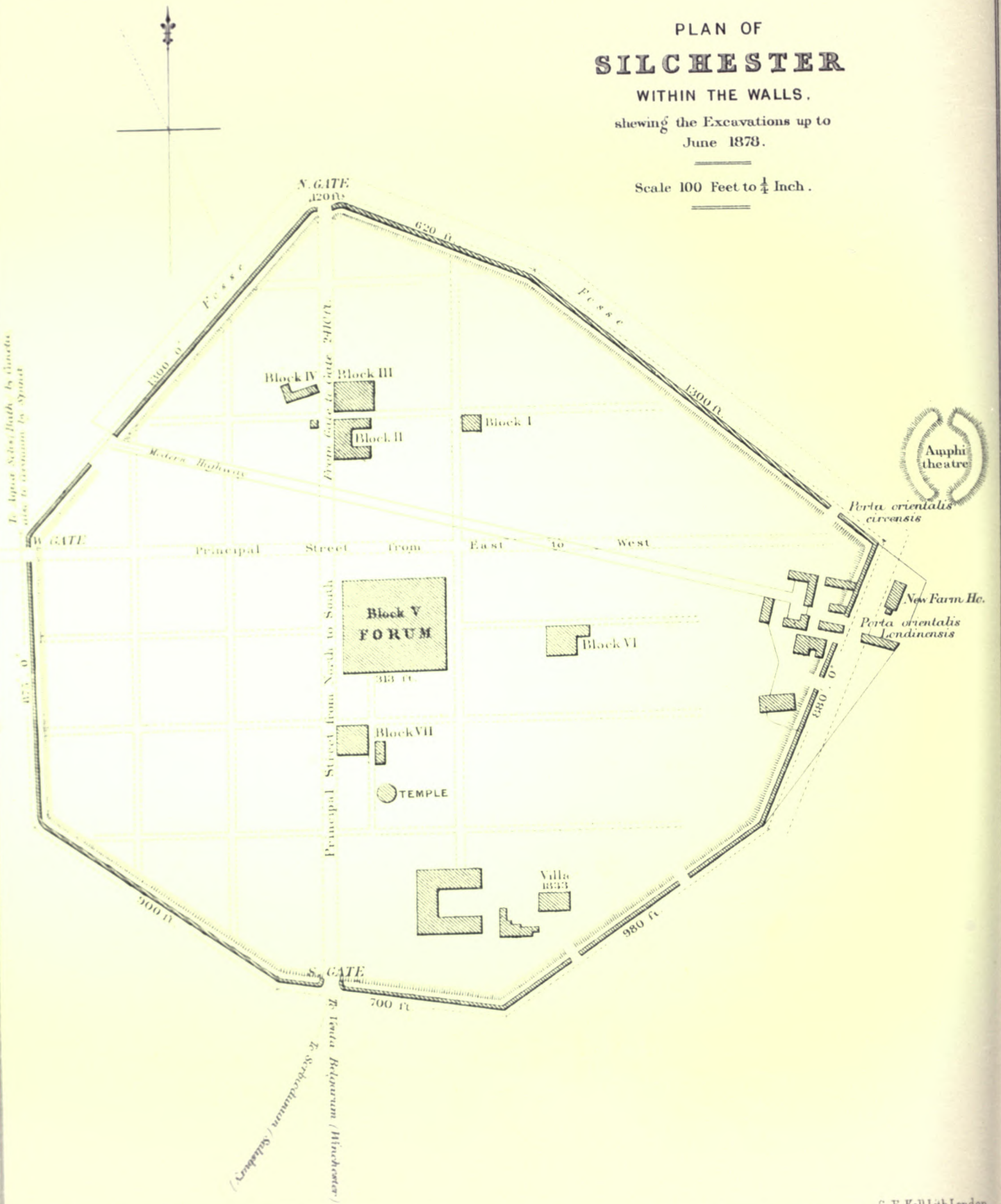
I propose, therefore, to lay before you the particulars connected with each of these constructions in their order.

The two gateways have been first mentioned, because there appeared to be a certain propriety in considering them first; but, as a matter of fact, they are among the most recent of the discoveries. It is important, in describing the

PLAN OF SILCHESTER

WITHIN THE WALLS.
shewing the Excavations up to
June 1878.

Scale 100 Feet to $\frac{1}{4}$ Inch.



*E. Agrippa's Subura Bath, by direction
note to inscription by Agrippa*

*E. Porta Felicitatum (Wincchester)
E. Stradaclaudiana (Sabbatary)*

position they occupy, to put on record that the exact perimeter of the walls, as measured upon the plans made by the Ordnance Survey, is as nearly as possible 2,670 yards. This measurement was taken along the centre of the wall, upon the original plans themselves, by Captain Ferrier, R.E. This differs somewhat from the plan published in *Archaeologia*, vol. XL. Plate XXIII., before the Survey was made, and it is desirable to give a fresh plan based on that Survey (Plate XIV.)

In proceeding now to the details of the great east gate it is necessary to revert briefly to the Paper first read here on this subject, because the facts brought to light by the progress of the excavation rectify some statements advanced at that early stage of the work. In 1865 these excavations were in their infancy, but they had already established two facts definitely: first, that the streets were really at right angles to each other, and circumscribed rectangular *insulae*; and secondly, as a result of this, that the great road, or *via*, entering the city from the west side and passing straight across it, would run close by the northern face of the Forum, but, having done so, would find no exit on the east (if it followed an unbroken line), at the point where it had been assumed that an east gate had existed. This difficulty had been known to the surveyors of the last century, some of whom went so far as to lay down all the streets askew. It was met in Mr. Maclaughlan's excellent Paper of 1850 by making this principal western *via* "run in the direction of the south-east angle," while a second *via*, parallel to it but more to the south, entered from eastward into the Forum, at the centre of which it must have turned to the right, and fallen into the other. This appeared complicated and unsatisfactory, and an apparently better solution offered itself when the first of this series of Papers was read, at which time a gate was discovered in the east wall, almost in a direct line of this *via*. The projection of the direct line, without any bend or deflection, carries the road to within 25 yards of that gateway. In consequence of this circumstance, and of the fact that such an arrangement for the exit of this *via* through the walls tallied perfectly with the ascertained rectangular plan of the city, it was advanced in that Paper that the then recently discovered east gate, though not of imposing magnitude, was probably the one through which the road had actually passed.

The facts on which such a statement rested remain unaltered, but, at the same time, the still more recent discovery of another east gateway, of much more imposing size, about 120 yards south of the other, must rectify the opinion which was then advanced, although it brings us in reality no nearer to solving the question as to the line taken by the great London road after passing through the walls.

There can be no doubt whatever that there was, by means of this smaller east gate, an almost direct exit from the principal *via*, which passed along the northern face of the Forum. Close to this exit is the amphitheatre, on the other side of the foss; and the inhabitants of the little farm at the amphitheatre state that after hot summers a road may be traced under the herbage passing onward to a beautiful spring of perennial water, where was probably a *nymphæum*, large pieces of wrought stone having been found there. For clearness sake, therefore, as there are two gates so near together, I would propose to distinguish them as being respectively the "*porta orientalis minor*" or "*circensis*," and the "*porta orientalis major*" or "*Londinensis*."

I proceed now to assign the exact position of the great east gate and to supply some particulars of the manner of its discovery, with the detail of its dimensions.

The Ordnance department was in the act of completing the survey of Silchester in 1872 when, having in view the definite settlement of this site, I requested the surveyor employed to lay off from the plans of the adjoining country the exact direction of the Roman road from London, as it approached the walls from the outside. Some interval of this road was wanting, but he was enabled to mark the line upon the ground itself at the east wall with perfect accuracy. It was found that it struck a point within the farmyard where the wall is broken away, and exposes a considerable gap by which the modern highway now enters. A trench was immediately cut by my order at this point in the direction of the wall each way. The result was that in a few hours, without either delay or difficulty, the great east gate was laid open.

The centre of the roadway from London, entering the walls of Silchester, passed through at a distance of 260 feet south of the corner next the amphitheatre.

The gateway here, as approached from outside, presented a curtain 45 feet wide, in which were the openings of the portals. This curtain stands backward 9 feet from the line of the main wall itself, it being recessed between rounded cheeks on both sides, and the main wall sweeping inward to meet it each way with a rapid curve. In the cases of other Roman gateways of any size in England, of which the construction has been ascertained, they stand invariably between projecting towers. These towers are frequently solid, and very generally are circular or semi-circular, as at Pevensey and Lymne. At Silchester we have, therefore, this peculiarity (which appears to characterise its other gates also), that the curtain is recessed back from the line of the main wall,

and that the inward sweep of the wall itself, in a rounded form, does duty for the flanking towers on each side. It is obvious that this rounded portion of wall may have been surmounted by an actual turret.

We are fortunate in having obtained very complete dimensions of the details of the plan of this gateway, with one exception, namely, the width of its portals. The curtain has been stated to present a face of 45 feet, and the opening through it for the roadway to enter, as actually excavated, is 28 feet 6 inches. The walls were so perfect as to admit of the most accurate examination and measurement, with regard to this particular. It does not appear likely however that a space so wide as 28 feet 6 inches could have been left open to receive the road; in fact, it is, on the contrary, little short of certain that two openings, the one for vehicles and the other for foot passengers, occupied the space. There was not discovered however any foundation or core of mason-work anywhere in the middle which might indicate that fact, nor did there remain the central block of stone against which the double-leaved gates must have shut. There were traces which showed that a modern drain had been driven through just there, so that in all probability in cutting it all traces of these details were removed. We remain therefore at a loss as to the actual width of the openings of the portals themselves. In all other respects the dimensions of the plan are complete.

Passing inside, through the portals, the entrance within was by an arched way resting on very massive piers. This passage must have been 28 feet in length, the piers being respectively 28 feet 3 inches by 13 feet 2 inches, and 27 feet 7 inches by 13 feet 2 inches. Constructed within these piers, in the thickness of the masonry, were a pair of guard-rooms on each side, those in the northern pier being somewhat the largest (Plate XV. fig. 1). These guard-rooms measure severally, the pair on the north 8 feet 4 inches and 8 feet 10 inches in length, by 6 feet 3 inches in breadth; and those on the south, 7 feet 3 inches and 5 feet 8 inches in length, by 5 feet 3 inches in breadth.

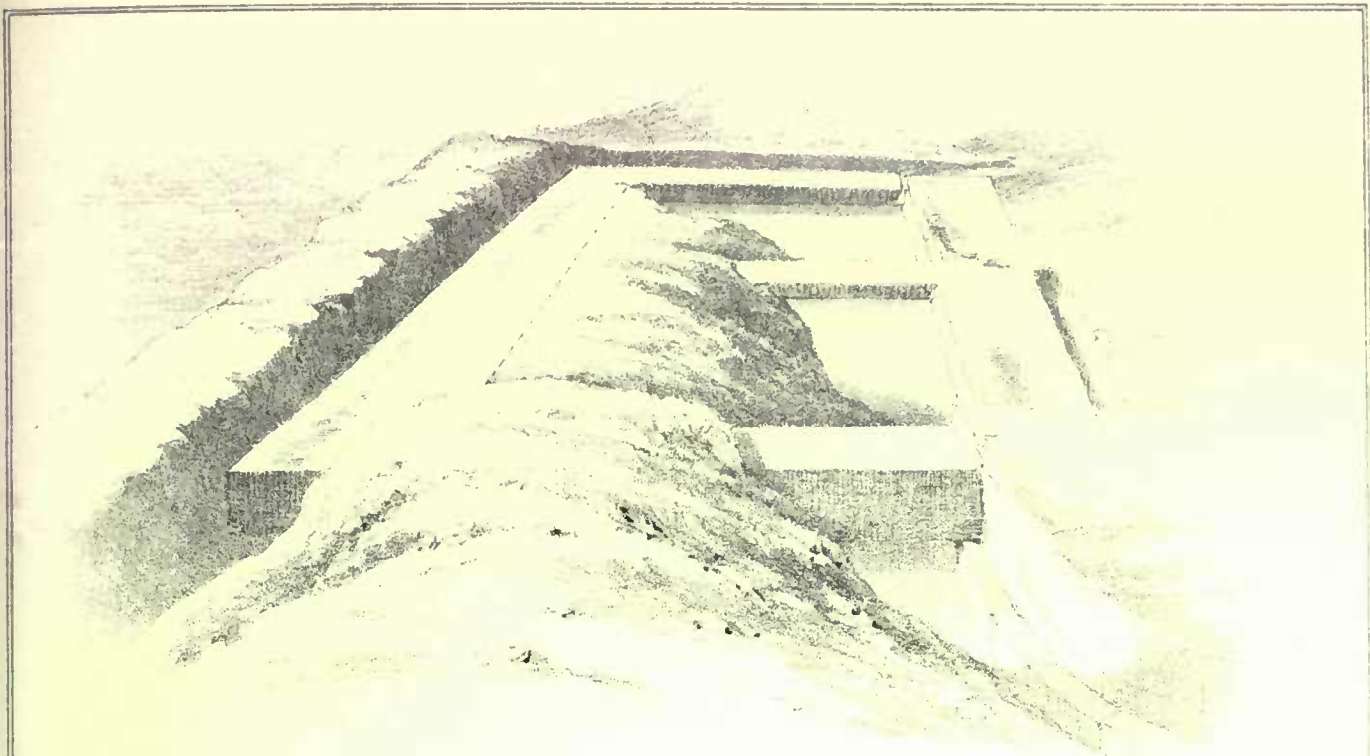
There is a footing of large stones, which stands out about 5 inches from the face of the masonry, round the inward curve of the main wall. No trace whatever of a paved floor of flat stones covering the Roman road was found, nor could any socket stones be discovered for the pivots of the gate-posts to play in.

Having thus indubitably found the great east gate of Silchester, its ascertained position rather adds to than removes the existing difficulty as to entering the city from London. The gate is planned at an angle to the wall in which it is constructed, and consequently it does not face straight in the direction of

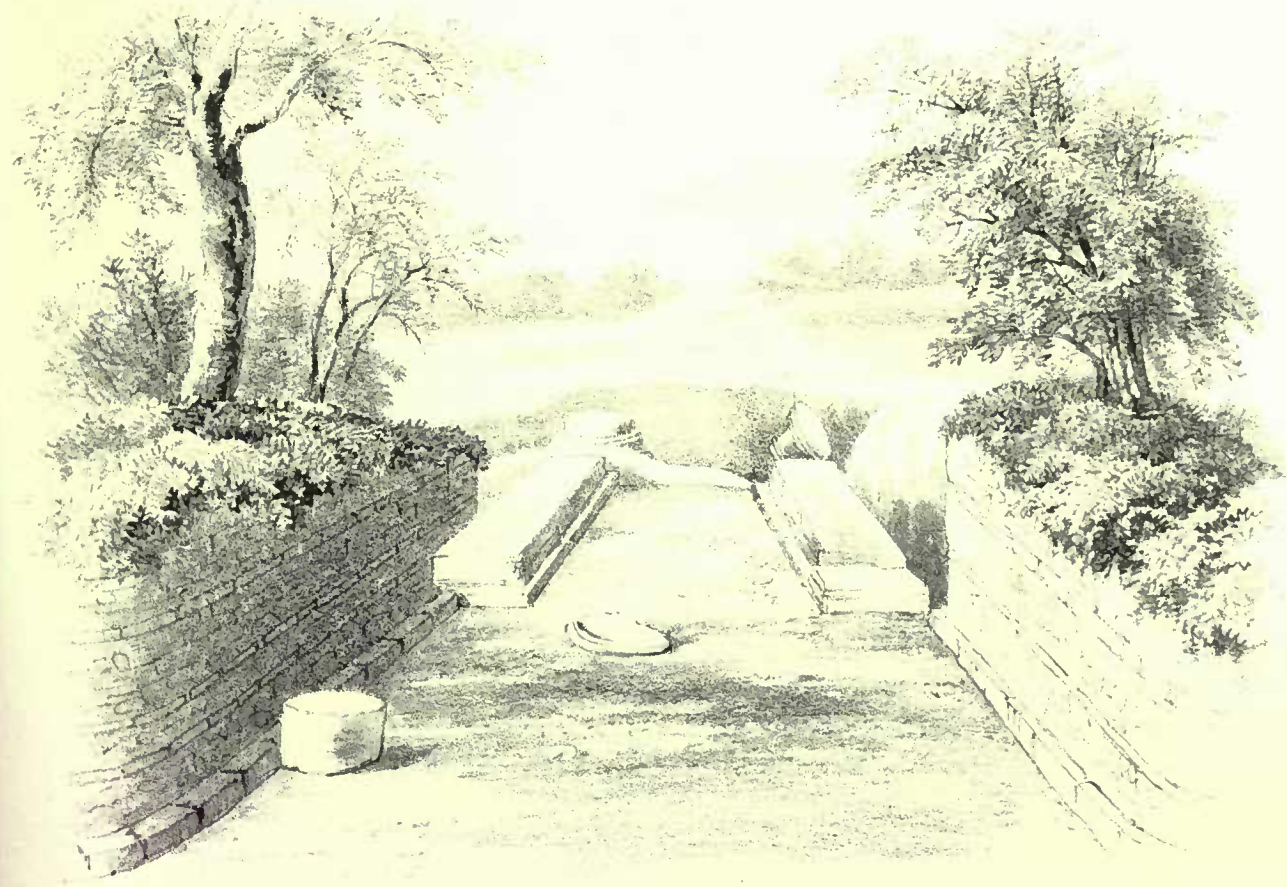
any of the streets; but aslant, looking north-west, whilst they are all true to the cardinal points.

To pass through this gate to the principal *via*, already spoken of, would require one or other of two arrangements. Either there was behind the wall an unoccupied strip of *ager effatus* or *pomærium*, which left the ground open and communication here between the two gateways free, and in which these *viæ* terminated, or else there was a short connecting line of street running from this great gate, in a north-westerly direction, to meet the end of the *via*. The notion of there having been a strip of *ager effatus*, or unoccupied land, behind the wall, receives some countenance from the fact that it would have been useful for military purposes; and also that the whole ground contiguous to the termination of this *via*, and between it and the wall, has been searched for buildings with some care, by a series of cuttings made to a depth of from 3 to 4 feet, and nothing has been found. The custom of setting apart a *pomærium* was one of great antiquity, and was beyond question extended to the Roman colonies: certain public auguries, known as the *auspicia urbana*, could not be lawfully taken anywhere else in a Roman city except on such *ager effatus*, that is to say, "declared land," on which it was intended no buildings should be raised.

The next object which calls for attention is the south gate. (Plate XV. fig. 2.) Two ancient roads converged to enter here. The one of these came from Winchester, the other from Old Sarum. The gateway is constructed upon the same method as the east gate, yet it distinctly differs from it in some particulars. Its condition is such as to admit of perfect accuracy in the measurement of its parts. The lofty banks above its masonry are covered with herbage and have trees growing upon them. We were not at liberty to disturb the latter, and therefore some particulars may remain yet to be discovered. In plan it looks when examined like a gate within a gate, and in fact doubled gates were not at all unknown. The first access to it, from *Venta Belgarum* or *Sorbiolunum*, is formed by the main wall turning inward with a rapid sweep on each side, as in the case of the east gate, but there is here no curtain wall. The sudden bend inward of the main wall on the east side leaves a passage 22 feet 6 inches wide at the mouth, but narrowing to 19 feet at its inner part. This passage is about 28 feet long. Arrived at the end of this, the entry is narrowed still further by two piers, each 3 feet 8 inches wide, which reduce the actual passage to an opening of 12 feet. These piers are 17 feet 6 inches in depth, so that in fact by this approach it was necessary to pass through a narrow way of 45 feet in length. At present the



1. Guard Chambers East Gate



2, South Gate.

guard-rooms have not been exposed. They were certainly not entered from the covered passage as in the other case, but they may be constructed within the piers, and have had entrances from the interior, as was the case with those at Colchester.

The subject next in order is the Roman Forum, with its adjunct the Basilica.

The extraordinary rarity of a Roman Forum remaining to our own day entirely perfect in plan, so that every chamber and wall admits of the most exact measurement, renders the construction to which I now call attention an object of the keenest interest to archæologists. It is scarcely necessary to point out that where Romans permanently settled, and where Roman culture struck the roots of its municipal or colonial institutions, the civilisation with which these were clothed experienced in no other case the singular fate which overtook it at Pompeii. At Pompeii alone it was smitten in an instant into the stillness of death, preserving intact every feature of life. Elsewhere it was very different; usually civilisation perished of slow decay as other and newer civilisations grew out of its ruin. These new civilisations, barbarous in their infancy, have everywhere to a very large extent used what they found of their great predecessor, but nowhere sought to preserve it. They plundered, demolished, or effaced whatever came first to hand. Naturally there is therefore but little left us of the public edifices of these wondrous builders, and possibly even less of their Forums. In every Roman town which was of any consequence, its Forum was the nucleus of its life. It was there, in the absence of newspapers, that the curious or the anxious among the community met every day to learn and to discuss all events both political and private. It was there, as in an Eastern bazaar, the shopkeeper spread his wares to retail them to his customers. It was there, as in a modern exchange, the merchant, who bought and sold wholesale commodities only, met his brother merchants. It was there bankruptcies were declared. It was there the public revenues were paid to the exchequer; and there public justice was administered by the principal magistrates of the town.

The direct and inevitable consequence of utilitarian civilisation has been that these chief centres of Roman city life have for the most part perished utterly. There are temples of the gods standing at this hour, but there is no Forum. Even in Rome itself their vestiges are few and fragmentary, for, though important portions remain, a Forum complete in plan does not exist in the Imperial city. The great towns of Italy at present yield none, though probably they may exist. Gaul has as yet no disinterred Forum to show. Pompeii alone bears a perfect example on her scorched bosom, and one which recalls with a startling reality the description of Vitruvius, to which I am about now to refer.

That ancient architect, in the beginning of his fifth book, describes Forums as being capable of a broad distinction into two classes, those of the Latin type and those of the Greek type. The Forum of Latin type was long and narrow, its shape had been determined by its original uses, a principal one among which was the exhibition of gladiatorial shows, for which he considers the oblong form best adapted. On the other hand the Greek type was square, and it was surrounded by a double and very wide colonnade or ambulatory. Having his text as our guide, we are met by the very singular paradox that at Pompeii, where a Forum of the Greek type would almost of necessity be the one adopted, we find a distinctly Latin one, and contrariwise at Silchester, where we should assuredly have looked for a purely Latin Forum, we have a most marked and distinct example of the Greek type. At Pompeii the length of the area is not less than three-and-a-half times its width, and a single colonnade runs the whole length of its sides. At Silchester the plan, though not absolutely square, is very nearly so, and this square-shaped area is surrounded upon its three exterior sides by the double ambulatory.

This fact is not merely curious and interesting in connection with the description of Vitruvius, but it assumes in some measure the character of a historical clue towards determining the date, if the plan of this Forum is compared with the existing traces of a much more distinguished edifice of a similar kind at Rome. It has been stated already that its three exterior sides are surrounded by a double ambulatory; the fourth side of this Forum, it should now be mentioned, is wedded to the basilica in the closest union, one great party-wall common to both (5 feet in thickness and 276 feet in length) forming at once the bond and the division between them. This combination of a Forum, square in area, and thus encompassed by double ambulatories, with a great basilica applied to it, so that the two have actually one common side, is too grand and characteristic a feature to be overlooked. It is therefore singularly gratifying to be rewarded for the labour of searching for a prototype by the discovery that, if we omit the shops (which were a necessity at Silchester), we have in effect the very plan itself upon which was constructed the world-famed Forum of Trajan with the Basilica Ulpia by its side.^a

To reconstruct from the actual remains the general aspect of the exterior is

^a The Forum of the Roman station at *Cilurnum* in Northumberland (see *Archæologia*, vol. XLVI. p. 1) was not discovered till two years after this communication was read.

A comparison with the photograph of Canina's drawing of the Forum of Trajan shows the curious similarity of the two constructions.

not difficult. The outline of the plan is unbroken by a single projecting detail. It represents a great rectangle, the longer side of which, lying due east and west, measures 313 feet, and the shorter side, extending due north and south, measures 276 feet. To raise again the structure which stood on this area, we must bear in mind that the long lines of ambulatory, both outer and inner, were not only useful for shelter to those who frequented the Forum, but were necessary to supply light, and must have been open at the sides under the roof, where the walls rose above the adjacent courts. One line of roof probably covered each ambulatory, and, although the eaves, where they overhung the exterior for the greater protection, were not lofty, yet, as the span of such a roof was not less than 64 feet, its ridge must have been of a considerable height.

Three entrances gave access to the Forum from outside; those on the north and south faces were on the Forum side of the party-wall which was common to it and to the basilica, being passages of 16 to 17 feet wide, and they were so placed that they gave admission not only to the shops and ambulatories of the Forum but also to the courts of the basilica, and most likely to the galleries in that building above its colonnaded aisles, as the stairs by which to ascend these were probably close to the apses of the tribunals. The third entrance was at the centre of the eastern face of the Forum, and, as large masses of hewn stone were found close by, we may assume that this was the stateliest of the three, and that by it was the access to the quadrangular market-place itself, which was the core of the whole. In passing, it must be mentioned that at this entrance, and in almost every other instance which could have existed here, all moulded stones have been removed, doubtless to be used again, because they were carved, and in barbarous ages saved the labour and skill necessary to produce them. In speaking therefore of hewn stone in connection with this subject, we mean merely blocks cut or chopped with an axe into some symmetrical shape. Along the exterior line of these ambulatories, upon the north and south faces, the eye would range in each case from the angle of the Forum to the end wall of the basilica over a length of 193 feet, whilst upon the eastern face, which was longer, 276 feet of building was visible, crowned at its centre by a gateway of stone, and spacious enough to admit through it into the great quadrangle such vehicles as circumstances required.

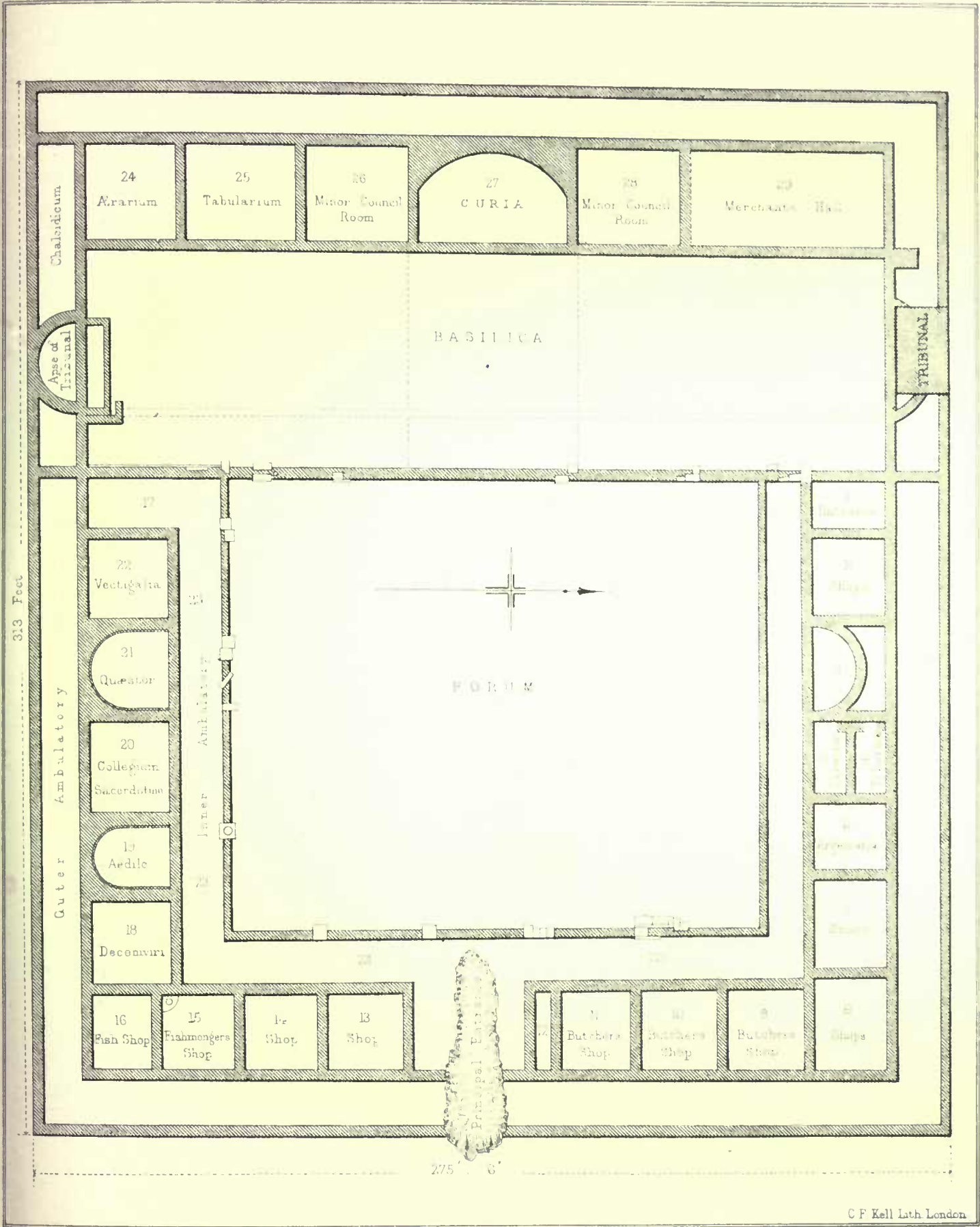
So much for the exterior aspect of the Forum; that of the basilica was far more imposing.

Of this vast structure not only the end walls but its sides must have risen

high above the roofs of the Forum. The prominent portion to the eye of the beholder, approaching from north or south, would have been the end walls rising to an apex in the gables on which the roof rested. An estimate of the extreme height of the gable can be formed only on uncertain grounds, but it was not less than 50 feet. It is a question for architects to determine, from the foundations still left, whether the apses of the original basilica did not appear to terminate the building, the ambulatory being continued beneath them at a lower level. It does not appear as if the walls of the basilica are carried out in the plan to the exterior wall of the ambulatory, nor does it seem likely that the portion of that exterior wall which lies outside the apses of the tribunals was meant to carry as lofty a gable, or so weighty a superstructure as the roof. If this be the case, the two apses were originally built up so as to be open to view at each end. The extreme width of the end wall was 70 feet, and of this width the apse occupied 35 feet in the centre. There is of course nothing whatever (except the suggestive examples of similar buildings) to give us any clue to the height to which such apses would have been carried up.

Beyond the towering basilica the lofty roofs of a range of halls, situated along its western face, for the conduct of public business, and especially that of the *curia* placed at the centre, must have formed a conspicuous object. An ambulatory wider by 2 feet than those of the Forum, and 276 feet in length, ended the prospect on this side.

It is necessary now to recall your attention to the interior of the Forum itself. (See plan in Plate XVI.) The quadrangular market-place in the centre is not an exact square, being 13 feet longer one way than the other. It measures 131 feet by 144 feet. The mould has not been removed from this, but remains here at the original field level. It might well have been expected that such a spot would yield altars, inscriptions, and possibly even statues, or at the very least the bases on which they stood. It has been carefully tested, but without any result or even the faintest promise of any. Trenches were sunk from wall to wall, running east and west, and these were in every case dug quite down to the natural gravel beneath. These trenches were then intersected by others from north to south, dividing the whole into little squares. The work proved more barren of result than any other that has been attempted at Silchester; so barren as to give no excuse for proceeding with it. Nevertheless, were it not for the extreme labour of moving so great a mass as the whole of this superincumbent mould, and the amount of time it would occupy the excavators, it



C F Kell Lith London

FORUM AND BASILICA, SILCHESTER.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1881.

appears to me so reasonable to expect a result of some value in such a spot, that I should be glad to see this mass of mould transferred to the mounds of earth which border the Forum, and the bottom of the quadrangle exposed at the level of the rest of the excavation.

Round this quadrangle, as already stated, there runs a double line of ambulatories, inclosed between which are the shops upon two sides, and on the third the offices of certain public departments. The shops are not all precisely the same in size, but they vary very slightly; those along the north side are mostly 22 feet 6 inches by 24 feet; those along the eastern side 21 feet 6 inches by 23 feet 6 inches. Strange to say we are enabled to surmise, with some reasonable approach to certainty, the business carried on in several of them. It would be beyond any doubt, for instance, that somewhere in these were the *tabernæ argentariæ*, the offices of the money-changers, which had a place in every Roman Forum. I have no doubt you will recollect that as far back as the first Samnite War, or 343 B.C., Livy mentions in his seventh book the stalls or shops of the *argentarii* in the Forum at Rome. (Livy, vii. 21.) These persons were very important in a community of Romans settled at a great distance from the centre of the Empire, and their presence in the Forum was almost, if not quite, a necessity of Roman life. They were prepared to change coin of any sort or of any nation; to negotiate bills of exchange for merchants, to receive deposits either at interest or not as the case might be, and to lend money on security, very generally on most usurious terms. Their accounts were kept with extraordinary accuracy, and were accepted in Roman courts as legal evidence. They also, though not themselves auctioneers, kept a register of the proceeds of sales by auction, which took place always in the Forum. You will observe, at the centre of the north range of shops, one which is the only example of a chamber divided in the middle by a wall across it. Upon each side of this wall (which thus forms a dividing line) you will also observe recesses or niches in the thickness of the wall, which might serve as receptacles for strong boxes, whilst the central partition wall is so placed that there is a shop facing each ambulatory with such a niche in each shop. The following is an extract from the Journal of the Excavations with regard to the little *taberna* looking on the south ambulatory: "Feb. 27th, 1868. The most interesting discovery in this room, which is but 21 feet 3 inches by 12 feet, is the singular quantity of coins dug out in excavating it. These coins are for the most part of the early reigns of the fourth century, and are, with one exception, all of bronze: several of them were in the most beautiful condition, and cannot have been long in circulation. But, although they are

principally of the foregoing date, there are a few which run considerably further back, and they do not appear to have been left in one hoard, or put away within a purse, bag, or box, but they have occurred in digging as if loosely scattered from time to time about this small area. Many were corroded and worthless, but their number altogether, including those of every sort and condition, was not less than sixty-one pieces."

The exact list of the pieces which were legible follows this entry. In the corresponding little room facing the north ambulatory there were found a number of coins, but not so many as in its companion chamber. Forasmuch then as one of these two, which are the smallest, and perhaps I may add the best protected by their position of all the shops in the Forum, there was found the largest number of pieces of money, and those pieces in some cases so fresh as to have scarcely been in circulation, we may very reasonably place here the *tabernæ argentariae*, or offices of the bankers and changers of money.

No gold ornaments have been found during the recent excavations, and very few of silver; a good many fibulae of bronze, and some which still retain coloured enamel worked in what we call at present *cloisonné* patterns, have from time to time been dug up. On the whole but few rings have been met with, considering how very common their use was. One interesting example has occurred of a bronze ring with the key of a rather intricate lock attached. Many fragments of armlets have also come up upon the spade, but almost invariably slender in construction, and of little worth beyond their interest as curiosities; bronze armlets, so very small that they must have fitted only the arms of very little children, have been found. Part of a bronze chain bracelet, with snap-catch at one end, is amongst the relics of the Forum. Bronze stud buttons, and sometimes the imitation sapphire or white cornelian studs, or pins with imitation sapphire heads, have been discovered. There is also another description of art work in bronze which is both curious and amusing, and of which several instances have come to light. This is the imitation in little of common articles or animals, worn as ornaments it may be, but in some cases beyond doubt meant for children's playthings; there are a tiny bear, a spread eagle, a gamecock, a quaint rocking-horse 4 inches long, a toy anchor, a very infantine gridiron, and *securiculae* or small axes. There were of course shops in the Forum where such works were exposed for sale, and doubtless where also they were repaired. The dealers in such wares are very likely to have had their *tabernæ* next door to the money-changers, and this supposition, which had been previously entertained, received a singular corroboration from the fact that out of the floor

of one of these two shops there was dug up a very small bar of silver, evidently employed for repairing some little silver articles, and the end of which appeared to have been melted off in this process when last it was used.

With regard to the large shop at the north-east corner I do not find any clue ; nothing was discovered to throw light upon the occupation of its ancient owner. It is the roomiest in the whole Forum, and if its capacity, and what our modern puffers would call "its excellent business situation," are to be taken at all as any guide, we might well place in it a dealer in drinks. The shops for the sale of wine both hot and cold are of very frequent occurrence at Pompeii. We cannot doubt the fact that thirsty litigants in the basilica and the criers and auctioneers of the market-places must have had refreshment on the spot.

The three shops next in order, and upon the eastern range, must be given up to the butchers. The little hooks off the ends of their steel-yards have been found here in some number ; in fact every hook of the kind, with one sole exception, came from one or other of these three shops. How singularly the finding of these shops of the butchers, at the corner of the Forum, recalls the vivid picture of Livy, when he describes how Virginius, preferring to see his child die by his own hand rather than live a life of shame, snatched a butcher's knife from his stall and plunged it in Virginia's heart.

In the small and narrow apartment beyond I do not attempt to place any one especial, nor in that which is first upon the other side of the gate, but in the next there is ground for thinking that a dealer in game lived. In the floor of this were buried the skulls of four dogs, of different sizes, being a description of animal remains of which we have had no trace elsewhere, and here also were the spurs of gamecocks. A small knife-blade discovered here, if it be really (as has been supposed) an oyster knife, but which in my opinion is not certain, belonged assuredly to the shopkeeper next door.

The shop next door cannot be mistaken. It was the favourite luncheon-bar of the Forum, and the favourite food was oysters. Here deep in the floor everywhere, outside it in the ambulatory, and extending from it up to the very corner of the exterior wall on that side, is a great bed of oyster-shells underneath the level. It is the accumulation one would suppose of many generations of deceased oysters, and must be seen to be fully credited. In the inner corner of this shop a shallow pan of coarse grey earthenware, two feet wide, was built into the walls. This pan no doubt was the transitory home of the "natives" who arrived from the coast.

Other trades were exercised also among the craftsmen who used these shops. Several awls of sandal-makers have been found. They are very coarsely wrought, being made roughly of a piece of roebuck-horn, the tip of which has been scraped or pared to a point; in one instance the point has been notched for the purpose of scribing a double line on leather when pressed hard and drawn quickly along by the side of a straight-edge.

A very interesting series of rooms which are not shops next calls for our attention.

Forming the southern range of the Forum, and intended plainly to be entered only from the innermost of the two ambulatories on that side, is a series of rooms longer in size than any yet spoken of, and five in number, arranged symmetrically so as to be alternately rectangular and apsidal. The room in the centre is a rectangle; those on either side of it terminate in apses, and beyond them the end rooms of the series are again each a rectangle in plan. They are similar in dimensions, being 24 feet by 26 feet, a hemicycle being inserted in the case of two of them within that area.

Nothing could more clearly bespeak their uses than these rooms. They are meant for the offices of public departments, those with circular ends being intended for a president who sat in the centre, and his assessors whose seats surrounded him on either hand. That such an arrangement was peculiarly well adapted for the transaction of public business of committees, and was a capital one for the facility it gave of hearing evidence, there can be no doubt. The committee-rooms of the House of Commons have not indeed as yet arrived at the hemicycle in the construction of their end walls, but they have taken the first step in that direction by having adopted universally a horseshoe table, at the centre of the curve of which, the outer side, the chairman's seat is placed, while the other members of the committee take places on his right and left. The first department we can fix here is that of the *ædile*. To the wellbeing of the Forum the duties of a Roman *ædile* were all important, as indeed they were likewise to the condition of the streets and buildings of a Roman town. The standard measures for the bushel and half-bushel of grain, by which the *ædile* regulated those of the retail tradesmen of the market, remain fixed against the wall of the ambulatory at Pompeii. In his office were kept always at hand standard weights of every size, and he adjusted disputes by the most summary kind of jurisdiction, ordering short or false weights to be destroyed on the spot. In one of these public offices the *ædile* of Silchester sat, placed in the most convenient

situation that could be devised for the adjustment of quarrels over weights and measures in the market or the shops, or as official inspector of streets and buildings in the towns.

The second department to be placed here is that of the military paymaster; the Roman quæstor or pro-quæstor, or the officer charged with the duties of such a post, though of lower rank, had an onerous part to discharge. He was the military paymaster on the one hand, and in provincial districts was, on the other, collector of such portions of the public revenue as were not managed by committees of finance, who, as is well known, farmed the taxes under the name of *publicani*. It appears extremely probable that as fresh levies arrived on the coast of England from the continent, whoever they may have been, Tungrians, Spaniards, Syrians, Moors, Bactrians, they marched by Silchester in many cases on their way to the head-quarters of the cohorts. In some instances these levies would be cavalry. There must have been a department here, under a quæstor or pro-quæstor or some official, where military pay, allowances, and forage would be drawn, and where soldiers' deposits could be received. To this use we may assign another of these public offices.

A third must be given to the revenue, where sat the collector of taxes for the district. Vitruvius, in his account of the construction of basilicæ, places the office for the collection, or rather the payment, of public taxes upstairs, in one of the galleries, above the colonnade. It is quite certain that there was always an office of the kind attached to a provincial building such as we have now under consideration. We cannot be far wrong if we give up a third of these offices for this use. I have selected that nearest the entrance as being the one most accessible for all connected with either the payment or receipt of the *vectigalia*.

There is something so extremely probable in these three assignments of a purpose to three out of this series of rooms, that I abstain from suggesting uses for the two remaining, lest I might appear to detract somewhat from the aptness of them if the others did not apply equally well. No scholar, however, will be at any loss to find uses for the other two rooms. There can be no question that all these were offices, not for judicial or ceremonial purposes, nor for the discussion of questions of municipal importance, which would be reserved for the basilica, but for public business connected with the daily life of the individuals who crowded the busy market, or the noisy ambulatories of this Forum.

It remains only to say that the access from the inner ambulatories to the central quadrangle appears to have been probably through three entrances upon the north, and as many upon the south side. Large displaced blocks of hewn

stone mark still the positions where these portals were. On the east side it seems likely that a more ponderous gateway, with perhaps three arches, opened at the centre on the quadrangle. Projecting piers are left which imply this.

It is time that we transferred ourselves to the basilica, which, though but the shattered fragment of its former self, is much the most deeply interesting part of these excavations.

This grand structure appears to have had two distinct lives. The characteristic features of its earliest existence are indelibly written upon what is left; but that which lies to-day unburied is the scathed relic of its latest years, when it had been resuscitated and changed after having at least once perished by violence and fire.

The area of the interior was 60 feet wide and 268 feet long. In its first condition the plan of its area had at each end an apse, being evidently constructed expressly for the tribunals of those two chief magistrates of Roman municipalities, the *DUMVIRI*. To obtain a clear idea of the relation of its parts it is necessary to describe more distinctly how this area was appropriated.

Upon the west side, and exactly at the centre, it opened into a large hall which had a higher floor, ascended by two steps. This large hall was also apsidal, its apsis being flatter than a semicircle, and its opening being 37 feet across. This hall is a marked feature in such buildings, and intimately connected in this example with the relation of its parts to each other.

The hall in question was the *curia*, or council-chamber. "A treasury, a prison, and a council-chamber, must be joined to the Forum," says Vitruvius. "Of these the council-chamber is the most important, and should accord with the dignity of the state." We shall return again to the consideration of this *curia*, which has been mentioned at this point in order to explain that about 45 feet in length of the area at its centre, directly fronting the steps which led up into this hall, appears to have been a sort of *area comitalis*, a place of assembly for the people, how marked off is not clear, but connected with the council-chamber, so that persons could be addressed from the steps.

In the words of the Journal, March 17, 1870, written when this was first uncovered, it is thus described, "A concrete floor about centre; it is firm enough at the middle, but much decayed at the outer edges. There are no marks upon it, as far as we can trace, of any tesserae to make a pavement. It runs up to the apsidal court or chamber, which has been named the Room of the Decurions."

North and south of this central space were the two courts, each 60 feet wide

and a little more than 90 feet long. It is rather singular that, although careful search has been made to discover traces of any separation or *septum* which served to mark off these courts from the central space, no trace of any such partition has been discovered, and, so far as examination can lead us to judge, it would seem rather that this vast hall was open along the line of its floor from end to end. The characteristic feature of a basilica was its colonnades, and these were not absent here. Vitruvius describes, in the third chapter of his third book, the method of placing a substructural wall underneath a pavement and beneath a range of columns, to which walls he gives the name of *stereobata*, because they carried the solid mass of the pillars constructed over them without suffering any displacement or subsidence to occur. Such a wall as this, to sustain a range of columns, remains below the level of this floor, on one side of this basilica, and, though not a single base continues in position upon it, yet the presence of this wall tells its own tale. There was on each side a colonnade or porticus 15 feet wide, the columns themselves were 3 feet in diameter, and the width of the nave or centre 24 feet or thereabout. There remain in the basilica, or the Forum close by, fragments of shafts, capitals, and bases to supply us with accurate details of these. The capitals were richly carved, and the work was of a good character; they belong to that well-known type which is easily recognised as Roman Corinthian. The floors of the tribunals within the apses were raised, and, as not any vestige of a stone ascent has been found, these tribunals were most likely reached by wooden stairs. The fronts of the tribunals were faced by thin slabs of polished Purbeck marble, secured in place by small iron clamps, and in all probability bearing inscriptions. Some small pieces of this polished Purbeck marble remained fixed against the vertical face of the tribunal at the south end, the iron clamps when first exposed retaining their hold. In the mortar with which this apse is built, or lying close by the walls, or deep in the débris upon the floor, have been found the coins of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, whilst at higher levels have abounded the coins of nearly every subsequent reign during the entire period of the Roman dominion.

The relics left us to-day are those of such a structure as has been now described, but subsequent to exterior changes. This basilica contains wrapped within its bosom a hidden but frightful tale of violence and ruin, long anterior to that destruction which lies open to our eyes. Two short extracts from the Journal of the Excavations, of June 21st and October 27th, 1870, will show this to be the case. The first refers to the central space of the floor of the basilica already spoken of. "On the northern side of the present work there appeared a peculiar

rising in the level, where the concrete of the floor seemed to be laid over the crown of an arch below. It was so extremely like the shape of the crown of an arch that it deceived the workmen, who reported that they had found a vault. A very careful examination was then made, by digging through the concrete floor and sounding for stone or tile-work beneath, but, after a cut had been made and the substratum removed so as to lay bare the nature of the ground, it was quite clear that no arch-work of any sort existed. The singular formation which the floor had assumed was due to its having been laid over the rubbish of some older structure. This older structure had perished by fire, there being a considerable quantity of black charred substance, having mortar mixed with it. No trace of construction could be discovered: it was a mere débris of minute pieces, apparently shot in as rubbish, or perhaps built over without removal after destruction; and hence the inequality of its subsidence in the lapse of centuries, owing to the percolation of moisture, caused by the peculiar saddle-backed formation of the concrete. It is a noticeable circumstance that the central part of the Forum clearly underwent destruction and rebuilding prior to its ultimate ruin, and that this destruction was accompanied by extreme violence."

The second extract is from October 27th in the same year. "Referring to an examination carried through and beneath the level of a concrete floor, a similar examination has been made since, more to the north, in the same part of the basilica, and with a result precisely the same, except that the evidences of fire in this last case were more plentiful. Several seams of charred matter, like layers of burnt timber, were found at depths varying from 5 to 12 inches lower than the concrete floor, mixed with rotten mortar and other rubbish of destroyed buildings."

Three striking details of the present basilica agree with this evidence: first, all the walls upon the west side, which are of masonry quite unlike and quite inferior to the rest of the structure, indicating here, as has been the case elsewhere in the course of these excavations, a rebuilding by later and less skilful hands. And secondly, the altered tribunal at the north end, where the remains of the ancient and original apse are clearly traceable beneath a rectangular floor of poor workmanship, laid with the coarsest red *tesserae*. Those who rebuilt the basilica could not, or at any rate did not, replace the hemicycle of the tribunal. And lastly, there is the strongest reason to think that the range of columns on the western side was not rebuilt; for not only is there no trace of its existence on this side above the floor level, but even this solid substructural wall beneath the level on the opposite side is wholly absent here, implying that less skilled

workmen, rebuilding in haste a work of great extent, used this great wall, which was 5 feet thick and ready to their hands, as a quarry from whence to procure a plentiful supply of flints for their task. Any architect will at once see from the ground-plan that such a wall must have originally existed in the first building, in accordance with the strict conditions of symmetrical arrangement always observed in the works of the ancients.

Above the colonnade on each side there must have been originally a gallery, enclosed along its front by a parapet high enough to prevent those within it from being exposed to the too curious eyes of those in the basilica beneath. An architrave which rested on the large columns' ran below this gallery, and upheld both the parapet and a range of smaller columns, on which again were supported the beams that carried the roof. Portions of shafts which apparently belonged to this range were found on the floor. They are not, however, all of the same diameter, some being 2 feet, and some only 1 ft. 3 in. Several of these, and indeed all the wrought stone, especially the rich capitals themselves, appear to have been injured by the action of fire. The columnar construction throughout this basilica was tied together by flat architraves, and its date was considerably earlier than the introduction of that feature which afterwards became so universal, and was so pregnant with future results—the application of arches over pillars—and of which the first example is said to be the work of Diocletian at Spalato.

A range of large chambers or halls extends along the whole of the west side; they are six in number, the curia or council-chamber (already mentioned) being in the centre. These were undoubtedly intended for important public uses.

The curia itself, 37 feet long by 29 feet deep, is well worthy of a short notice. In the judgment of Vitruvius such a room was of great importance, for its dignity was to be an index of the dignity of the city, and he gives minute directions as to its construction. Above all things it was to be of a very stately height, and according to his estimate the panels of the ceiling here should have been from 30 to 40 feet above the floor. He is particular to state that at half the altitude a projecting cornice should surround the walls in order that the voice of speakers in addressing an audience should not be lost. With these statements of his it can be no surprise that this apsidal hall, raised by two steps along its entire and open front above the floor of the basilica, appears to have been more richly ornamented than any other part of the building. There were found within it small pieces of fine white marble sawn in thin slabs, imported from the Continent, which formed a *dado* or facing to the apse. The iron clamps also by

which the corners of such slabs had been secured were likewise discovered. A portion of the floor remained in its place, but it was of the commonest red tesserae similar to those upon the altered tribunal, and they had been laid in mortar which had entirely perished, affording a singular contrast to the fragments of a more ancient floor at the south end, in which the cement is so intensely hard that the tesserae of stone will break under the hammer before you can detach them from each other. It was here the most grave debates affecting the municipality or even the Imperial interests took place. It was here that the decurions or local senate met for deliberation, and here their solemn resolutions, the *Decreta Decurionum* (so well known to students of inscriptions), were passed. Here, too, all popular elections to office would be made. It may be interesting to state that on the floor of this room a small iron axe remained. Some archaeologist more courageous than myself may possibly suggest that it had been bound up in the fasces of a lictor. If it had been so this would probably be the likeliest spot in which it could have remained.

On either side of this are chambers which were intended apparently for deliberations which were not conducted in the presence of the public. They are, in fact, committee-rooms, one 27 ft. 6 in. by 30 feet, and the other 30 feet square.

Beyond the committee-room on the north side the range ends with a very large hall, 60 feet long by 30 feet wide. This is the largest room within the whole circuit of these walls, except the great basilica itself. The traces of burning from the last and final destruction were more frequent and extensive here than almost anywhere. And lying, as the seams of charred matter did, over the entire area of this floor, they throw a curious light upon the circumstances under which the building was burnt. For the floor, composed of coarse red tesserae, had already perished, and had lost its tessellation from much the greater portion of it before these seams of black charred stuff had been deposited over it. This fact obviously suggests that the Roman evacuation of Silchester had taken place some considerable time before the place was finally destroyed. This great hall has been named the Hall of the Merchants, from the circumstance that the Roman architect, already so often quoted, most particularly mentions the resort of merchants to the basilica as one of its primary uses, and to render their meetings free from all inconvenience of weather he recommends that they should have the sunniest quarter assigned them. This hall lies at the south-west corner. A fragment of an inscription having on it but a few letters was lying here; it is described and drawn in the *Journal* Sept. 26, 1868.

The rooms of this range on the other side of the committee-room on the south are two. To one the name of *Tabularium* or Record Office has been given, because the existence of such an office somewhere here is unquestionable, and in this room was picked up a small leaden seal once appended by a string to some public document, evidently official, and of the Christian period. This little seal, though barbarous in character, is very curious, and probably belongs to the date of the Emperor Magnentius, having upon both faces the letter M above the XP.



LEADEN SEAL, SILCHESTER. (Full size.)

To the other, which is the last room of the range, the title of *Aerarium* has been assigned, though, perhaps, on somewhat insufficient grounds. It was given to it because in the *Aerarium* the most valuable and important articles would be kept in store; and here, buried deep, below 10 inches of burnt timber, lay the Bronze Eagle of the Basilica of Silchester, which is the great prize among all our relics. From the position it was found in there can be little doubt as to how it got there. It fell, unquestionably, in or with the timbers of a flat ceiling down upon the floor below it. The course of the beams which had carried that ceiling was very distinctly marked by streaks of darker colour, parallel to each other, running from east to west, and from 2 to 3 feet apart, in the stuff and debris on the floor level. The description written at the time is this—"These have the appearance of bars of blackish material, marking, perhaps, the course of certain beams of a ceiling which had fallen down and rested here." Above these marks of beams there were two seams of burnt timber, the lowermost 4 inches deep and the uppermost 10 inches, and between the two seams was a layer of mortar, stucco, and concrete, 4 or 5 inches thick. The eagle was in this layer of mortar and stucco, immediately under the upper and thicker seam of burnt wood, and at the centre of the room.

The conviction at which I have arrived as to how it came there is as follows:-- It has been stated already that the west side of the basilica was destroyed long before its final ruin. Whenever that first destruction took place it was in all human probability the result of a deadly struggle between the Romans themselves, and consequent on some revolts among the legionaries. Such revolts we are

aware did occur, and, although history is almost silent here, yet we know that the reigns of Carausius and Allectus were both marked by a great defection from the Imperial rule of the Eternal city, and that the return of the legions—or portion of the legions—then in Britain, to their allegiance, was purchased by at least one bloody battle, and by the death of Allectus the usurper. The victory which cost his life is ascribed to Aselepiodotus, the lieutenant of Constantius Chlorus. The tradition long received, preserved by monkish chroniclers, and perpetually repeated in histories, that Constantine the Great was the builder of Silchester, may point towards a truth, for Silchester may have been stormed and destroyed in the vicissitudes and struggles which immediately preceded the rule of that Emperor, and he may have rebuilt it on its own ruins. The private houses attest the fact that it was built again above ashes. If we assume this eagle to have been once the Imperial standard of a Roman legion, some *aquilifer* of the revolted troops shut up here as a last stand, despairing of its safety and of his own life, and whilst the whole western side of this basilica was beleaguered, rather than surrender his trust tore away the bird from the fulmen which its talons had grasped upon the summit of its staff, wrenched off its wings, fastened only by an attachment to its back, and hid it in the wooden ceiling of the *ararium*, placing it above a beam, as Romans are known occasionally to have secreted treasure. He himself, no doubt, perished in the *mêlée*. The basilica was taken, and was fired at the centre (there is evidence that this took place), but the conflagration did not consume the end room on the south of the range, and so the eagle hidden in the timbers of the *ararium* remained where its guardian had deposited it until the final fires, kindled by barbarian hands long after the Romans ceased to dwell here, consumed this basilica for the last time, and buried the Roman bird in that venerable grave from which he has been happily rescued.

The eagle measures 9 inches from the curve of the upper mandible to the extreme of the tail. It had wings originally affixed on the back, where a socket is made; these wings stood vertically up above its head, and were gilded (some gilding remains on one feather on the right side); the talons appear as if they had clasped the fulmen, from which they were wrenched so closely that the claws remained affixed to the bar of metal. The working of each feather is carefully finished. This trophy is preserved at Stratfieldsaye House. (Plate XVII.)

Coins have been found profusely scattered everywhere. The number is perfectly surprising. In point of chronological range they commence with the reign of Caligula, A.D. 37, and end only with the Roman evacuation of Britain in



FSA

BRONZE EAGLE FOUND IN THE FORUM, SILCHESTER.



J.G. Joyce, F.S.A.

Chromolithographed by C.F. Kell 8 Castle St. Holborn London E.C.

BRONZE EAGLE FOUND IN THE FORUM, SILCHESTER.

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the reign of Arcadius, about A.D. 410 to 415. The whole of this period is covered at every point, there being scarcely, if at all, one decade of years unrepresented. The date of Constantine the Great is the most prolific, comprising between two and three hundred specimens, and illustrating the historical events of his reign from beginning to end by the designs on their reverses. The coins found during our excavations include no less than sixty-four Imperial heads of every epoch during the occupation of Britain.

Such is a description in outline of the Forum and basilica of Silchester. It possesses one interesting feature in common with Pompeii, though the tide of existence was not arrested here by any convulsion of nature. Yet at Silchester there has never been any subsequent civilisation ; it has never been built over or lived upon. Its substrata of foundations remain exactly as it was when the hand of destruction first overtook it, and it has been left for the nineteenth century to bring its long-buried treasures and interests to light.

Antiquaries are greatly indebted to the Duke of Wellington for having carried on so unremittingly these excavations, and thus bringing to light these unique and instructive relics of the Roman occupation of Hampshire.

XVII.—*Remarks on an Admiralty Seal of Richard, Duke of Gloucester.*
Communicated by CHARLES SPENCER PERCEVAL, Esq., LL.D., Director.

Read January 25, 1872.

THE Ven. Edward Trollope, F.S.A., has lately communicated to the Society an impression in gutta-percha from the original matrix^a of an Admiralty Seal of Richard III. when Duke of Gloucester, which impression is exhibited this evening.

Another impression from this matrix, then in the possession of a gentleman of St. Columb in Cornwall, was exhibited and presented to the Society in 1781 by Dr. Milles, at that time President, and is still preserved.

It will be found engraved in the seventh volume of the *Archæologia*, plate v. page 69. with some illustrative remarks by the learned doctor, and it is with the object of correcting an error into which he has fallen that I am induced to offer the following observations.

The seal, which needs no minute description, exhibits, like others of the same class, a ship with the Duke's arms on the mainsail. The legend runs thus:—

Σ[igillum]: Ric'[ard]i: duc'[is]: glouc'[estrie]: admiralli: angl[ie]:
t'[u]: com'[itatibus]: Dors'[etie] ⁊ [et]: Som'[er]s[etie].

“The seal of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, Admiral of England, in the counties of Dorset and Somerset.”

Dr. Milles unfortunately took the character \bar{i} , standing as usual for *in*, as a contraction for *et*, and consequently he read “et comitis Dorset' et Somerset' ”.

Hence he concluded that the seal preserved evidence of a fact as to which the records are silent, namely, that Richard, Duke of Gloucester was also Earl of Dorset and Somerset.

“It seems extraordinary,” says Dr. Milles, “that there should be so little historical authority extant for the titles given to the Duke in this inscription.”

^a The matrix has since been acquired by the British Museum.

“Sir Henry Spelman indeed mentions him in the list of Admirals inserted in the *Glossary*, with the date of October 12th, but no year annexed; and again inserts his name as Lord High Admiral in the 11th of Edward IV.” Sandford, he continues, in his *Genealogical History*, “states that shortly after the coronation of Edward, Richard was created Duke of Gloucester and thereupon constituted Admiral of England.”

Dr. Milles then shows that this last statement is incorrect, for Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, was Admiral of England at the date of the duke's creation, Nov. 1, 1461, and so continued until July 13, 1462, when William, Earl of Kent, was appointed. (Rymer, xi. 490.) He adds that the latter did not long enjoy the station, for upon August 12 in the same year the King granted by patent (2 Ed. IV. pars. 1a, m. 5, and Rot. Parl. vi. 227) to the Duke the Castle of Gloucester, the office of Constable of Corfe Castle, the manor of Kingston Laey in the county of Dorset, and other lands, addressing him in the letters patent as “*Maris Admirallum*.”

Dr. Milles concludes with a laboured attempt to explain his imaginary earldom of Dorset and Somerset, and would date the seal between 1471 when it seems the Duke had a grant of the office of High Admiral, and 1475, when the Marquisate of Dorset was conferred on Thomas Grey.

Now it is certain that Richard was constituted Admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine, that is, Lord High Admiral, by letters patent bearing date October 11, 1462,^a and at first sight the seal might be referred to this date, and might be a special seal for his jurisdiction in Dorset and Somerset. From the absence however of the words “*Hibernie et Aquitanie*” in the legend, I am disposed to think that the Duke was not Lord High Admiral when the seal was made, but had at that time a local or vice-admiralty jurisdiction in the two named counties. I find that the lords of Corfe Castle down to the middle of the last century enjoyed the admiralty jurisdiction over the isle of Purbeck, and it is not impossible that a more extended franchise may have accompanied or preceded the grant of Corfe Castle and the other subjects of the letters patent of August 1462.

The late Mr. J. T. Pettigrew, F.S.A., having procured the loan of the matrix, communicated about 1862 a paper on this and other Admirals' seals to the British Archæological Association, and it was subsequently printed in the first volume of their *Collectanea Archæologica*, p. 171.

Through inattention to the legend he fell into the same trap with Dr. Milles as to the imaginary earldom of Dorset and Somerset, and found no better way

^a Rot. Pat. 2 Edw. IV. pars 2^a, m. 19.

out of the difficulty than by adopting with some slight variation his predecessor's attempt at an explanation.

Mr. Pettigrew however did good service by re-engraving on one plate the seal in question with four more of the same class, and he appended a list of the examples of such seals which were known to him.

This list is derived without addition from that drawn up by that excellent antiquary the late Mr. John Gough Nichols as long ago as 1825,^a and comprises the following seven seals:

1. Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, 1416, son of John of Gaunt by Catherine Swinburne. Figured in *Archæologia*, XIV. 278, pl. xlvii. fig. 5; but wrongly attributed there to Thomas Holand, Duke of Exeter. The matrix is in the British Museum. *Collect. Archæol.* pl. xv. fig. 2.

2. John Holand, Earl of Huntingdon, as Lieutenant-General to John, Duke of Bedford, c. 1415. Figured in *Gents. Mag.* lxxvii. 549. *Collect. Archæol.* pl. xv. fig. 3.

3. The same, as Admiral of England and Ireland, 1435. Figured in Ducarel's *History of St. Katherine's Hospital*, and repeated in *Gents. Mag.* xcv. part i. p. 209. *Collect. Archæol.* pl. xv. fig. 4.

4. The same, as Earl of Huntingdon, Lord of Ivory, and Admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine. Figured in *Archæologia*, XVIII. 434. *Collect. Archæol.* pl. xv. fig. 5. The matrix, of copper gilt, is in the British Museum.

5. Henry Holand, Duke of Exeter, son of the above. Figured in Dr. Rawlinson's *Topographer*.

6. Richard, Duke of Gloucester; the seal under consideration.

7. A vice-admiral's seal for Yorkshire. Figured in *Gents. Mag.* Dec. 1825, pl. ii. fig. 2, p. 497, but not identified satisfactorily, owing to a break in the legend, which appears to be—

S · foh' · ro . . oray · admiralli angl' in · rom · Gbor'

This legend illustrates that of the Duke of Gloucester's seal, lending some confirmation to the surmise that it is a vice-admiralty seal. The seal is comparatively late, as the Scottish lion is quartered on the mainsail of the ship, but it is evidently copied or altered from a much older seal, if we may judge by the fifteenth century lettering, and the course of quarterfoils which surround the legend.

To these may be added the following seals of English admirals or vice-admirals, some unedited, but of which casts exist in the Society's collection. I purposely omit the seals of admiralty jurisdictions in the hands of the corporations of certain

^a *Gents. Mag.* 1825, March, p. 210.

towns, as Boston, Malden, Yarmouth, all of which have the ship for their device, as to discuss these would occupy too much time and space.

8. Edward, Earl of Rutland and Cork, son and heir apparent of Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, Admiral of the North and West, 1391. **S' Edwardi : comitis : de : (Roteland) ꝥ : de : Cork : admirali : anglie.**

9. Richard Cletherowe, Admiral of the West of England, 1406. Inscribed, **S : ric' : cletherowe : admiralli : occidentalis : anglie.** The matrix was formerly in Horace Walpole's collection at Strawberry Hill, afterwards belonged to Dr. Bliss, and is now in the British Museum.

10. Sir William Hilton, Admiral (of the Humber towards Scotland), *c.* 1420. **Willm . Hilton . miles . admiralis . pro . loco . hubre . usq' : scotia.'**

11. Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, High Admiral, 1514. From deed in Augmentation Office, Dd. 1. A fragment, legend wanting.

12. John Russell, first Earl of Bedford of that name, K.G. Admiral of England and Ireland, 1540. A fragment s.MA[GNUM]. ETANIE.

13. Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, 1585, High Admiral. **SIGIL · D · CAROLI · HOWARD BARON · DE · EFFINGHAM PRECLARI · ORD'IS · PRESCELIDIS · MILITIS · MAGNI · ADMIRALLI · ANGLIE · ET · CET · A° · 1585.** Figured in Hones' *Table Book*, i. 574.

14. James, Duke of York, High Admiral, 1660. **SIGIL · ILLVST · IACOBI · DVCIS · EBOR & ALBAN · COM · VLTON · SVMMI · ANGLIE & HIB · ARCHITHAL · GWARD · QVINQ · PORT · PRECLA · ORD · GAR · MIL, &c.** Engraved by T. Simon; see Vertue, *Medals, &c. of Thomas Simon*, pl. xxxviii. Simon had executed a very similar seal for the Earl of Northumberland, as Lord High Admiral.

15. Arthur Plantagenet, Lord Lisle, natural son of Edward IV. Vice-Admiral or Lieutenant to Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset, natural son of Henry VIII. from two examples, dated 1526, at Exeter and Canterbury. **S. Dnc (sic) arthur : Plantaginet : bicomitis lisle(?)vice : admiralli : anglie : hiberie : et : acpuieta (sic).**

16. Michael Stanhope, Esq., Vice-Admiral of the county of Suffolk, *temp.* Hen. VIII. Inscribed **SIGILLV · MICHAELIS · STANHOPE · ARMIGERI · VICEADMIRALLI · COMITATVS · SVFFOLCIE.**

17. John Basset, of Tehidy, Vice-Admiral of the north parts of Cornwall, early in the seventeenth century. Described in *Archæological Journal*, xx. 78. The inscription reads **SIGI : IOH : BASSETT : ARM : VICEADM : PARTIV : BOREALIV : COM : CORNVBIE.**

18. Colonel John Owen, Vice-Admiral of North Wales, seventeenth century.

Inscribed IOHN . OWEN . COLL . VICE . ADMIRALL . NORTH WALLIENSIS. Silver matrix at Porkington.

Although I do not propose to enlarge upon the foreign seals of admirals, it may be well to mention that of John, bastard of Bourbon, Admiral of France in 1466, the matrix of which was exhibited to the Society by Lord Braybrooke on Feb. 26, 1835. See *Archæologia*, XXVI. 479, where it is figured. It closely resembles in design the seals of English admirals, as does also the seal of Maximilian of Burgundy, 1543, of which a full description will be found in *The Archæological Journal*, vol. x. p. 146.

The French seals of admirals must be rare, as only two are noticed in Douet d'Arcq, *Collection de Sceaux* (tom. i. p. 298), of the dates 1514 and 1738.

XVIII.—*Notes from the Court Rolls of the Manor of Scotter.* By EDWARD
PEACOCK, Esq., F.S.A.

Read February 21, 1878.

SCOTTER is a parish in the Wapentake of Corringham, in the parts of Lindsey, and county of Lincoln. As early as A.D. 664 Scotter, and its hamlet of Scalthorpe,^a with church, mill, and other appurtenances, were a part of the vast possessions of the Abbey of Medeshamstede, afterwards called Peterborough. This we learn from a charter of Uulfhere, King of the Mercians, six transcripts of which are noticed by Kemble.^b It is somewhat difficult, however, to reconcile this with a charter of Edward the Confessor,^c from which it would seem that the abbey derived its rights, or at least its full rights, in Scotter from a certain Brand. If the clause relating to Scotter, in the earlier charter, be authentic, as I believe it to be, the probability is that Brand only restored to the abbey possessions which had been alienated.

It is not my purpose, in the present paper, to trace the history of the lands which, in the Norman time, became a manor and liberty. It is probable, could indeed be proved, were proof needed, that in earlier times the manor and its demesne lands were managed by bailiffs; in latter days they were leased for a fixed rental. The earliest of these leases that I have seen is dated 1 of Richard III.; it was granted to George Sheffield and his son Richard, cadets of the house of Sheffield of Butterwick, in the isle of Axholme. They were succeeded in the 29 of Henry VIII. by Sir William Tyrwhitt, of Kettleby.^d

^a This place is miscalled in certain maps and books Scotterthorpe, but it is a blunder of very modern date. Till about the beginning of this century it was always written Scalthorpe or Scawthorpe, and is still so pronounced by every one who has not been misled by the modern corrupt spelling.

^b Codex Dipl. v. 7.

^c *Ibid.* iv. 169.

^d Proc. Soc. Antiq. 2d S., vi. 416.

The manor-house stood immediately on the north of the churchyard. Not a fragment of the old buildings now remains above ground, but foundations have been come upon, from time to time, which indicate that they formed a quadrangle enclosing a court-yard; tradition affirms that this court was entered by a fortified gateway at the north-west angle. At Scotter, and therefore almost certainly in the manor-house there, King John spent the night of Sunday, the 25th of September, 1216.^a He had travelled from Burton, near Lincoln, during the day, and on the following morning went to the Bishop of Lincoln's manor of Stow. John was at this time intent on raising a force in the eastern shires, for the purpose of resisting the French invasion; it is, therefore, probable that his visit to Scotter was by appointment, for the purpose of having an interview with the knights in the neighbourhood, who held by military tenure, and the tenants of the great royal manor of Kirton in Lindsey, which extended, with some slight exceptions, over almost all the neighbouring parishes on the eastern side of the Trent.

The manor of Scotter continued to be parcel of the estates of the abbey until the Reformation, when it was transferred to the newly-created Chapter of Peterborough. Except for the short break which occurred during the period of the Commonwealth, Scotter remained attached to Peterborough until it was sold in recent days by the Ecclesiastical Commission. Thus was severed, in our own time, a connection which had lasted for upwards of eleven hundred years.

All the Court Rolls of Scotter, now known to be in existence, have been read by me. They are the property of the present Lord of the Manor, Gravenor Roadly, Esq. My warmest thanks are due to him for giving me the most unrestricted access to these highly interesting records.

The earliest Scotter Court Roll at present known to be in existence is dated 10 October, 1519. It begins with a list of the jurors. Then follow the names of the suitors who were present, and of those who were fined for not putting in an appearance. Afterwards we have a list of fines for assaults and other slight offences which were punishable at the court of the Lord of the Manor, as for instance, John Rooper was fined ij^d for that he "fecit affraiam super Ricardi Dulhynne," Margaret Myddleton iiij^d for being a common thief, "communis latroneula," and Margaret Skynner, Alice Marchaunte, Johanna Lodington, Agnes Otter, and Elena Robinson, for brewing and baking contrary to assize. Following these are orders and presentments. The tenants of the manor are

^a Itin. of King John in Sir T. D. Hardy's *Descrip. of the Patent Rolls*.

ordered to repair and cleanse all their sewers and ditches, and all "le lottes^a & Trente bankes" before the feast of Saint Martin [11 November], William Grey is presented because he "cuted ligna voeata qwyckwoode"—that is young thorns—"in communi pastura." The abbot of Barlings, because he had not cleansed the sewer called Maneffleate Eye, and Lady Alieia Sheffelde, because she had not cleansed her lots, "in quadam riuera voeata Scotter Eye wyth syeth & rake." The tenants of the manor in the parishes of Messingham on the north, and Scotton on the south, also received instructions to repair their parts "in le Eye & Wiglaw usque Belyngfleate barrys," and Henry Peke received orders to repair his tenement. Orders of this sort are common, not only in this series of court rolls, but several others that I have examined. In the case of copyhold tenants it is obvious that the order was made to hinder the property from becoming deteriorated to the possible loss of the lord, but there seems evidence that orders of this sort were also made as to houses and other buildings which were held by freehold tenure. Following these are surrenders of copyholds in the ordinary form, and one instance—the only one in the rolls—of a merchet or payment on the marriage of a female villain. The entry states that Alice Overye, "filia Willielmi Overey nativi domini de Scotter," came to the court "et petit licentiam se spontanie et voluntarie maritari, cui Dominus concessit licentiam per senescalum et dat domino de marchato ut in capite, v^s." So much nonsense has been written on this subject, by grave and learned persons, that it is well to bring forward cases which prove beyond doubt that the *mercheta mulierum* was merely a marriage tax or fee paid to the lord^b by the vassal when he gave his daughter in marriage, or by the woman herself when she was not in the custody of her father, to compensate the lord for being deprived of her services.

^a A lot or water-lot is a certain definite portion of a drain, ditch, or bank, which is repaired by one person. The words are still in every-day use.

^b Spelman believed that the evil custom which these words are said to denote was prevalent in former days in Scotland. His words are "Turpis Scotorum veterum consuetudo, quâ territorii dominus vassalli sponsam primâ nocte comprimeret, floremque carperet pudicitie."—*Gloss* sub voc. *Marchet*. Cowel asserts that the practice was not only "very common in Scotland," but also "in the north parts of England."—*Law Dict.* sub voc. *Marchet*. Sir William Blackstone had evidently come to the conclusion that there was no truth in the story as far as related to his own country, for he says, "I cannot learn that ever this custom prevailed in England, though it certainly did in Scotland . . . till abolished by Malcolm III."—*Commentaries*, xvi. edit. ii. 83. Mr. Cosmo Innes has some remarks upon the question in his very learned *Lectures on Scotch Legal Antiquities*. He sums up thus: "I have not looked carefully into the French authorities, but I think there is no evidence of a custom so odious existing in England; and in Scotland I venture to say that there is nothing to ground a suspicion of such a right," p. 53.

On the following day, the eleventh of October, another court was held for the liberty or those parishes and parts of parishes which were outside the limits of the parish of Scotter, but within its manorial jurisdiction. The business transacted was of a like nature with the foregoing. The tenants of the manor in Messingham were ordered to repair their parts in the bank of the river Trent, and in default for every acre "in latitudine," were threatened with a fine of *iiij*^d. This is a late instance of the word acre being used as a measure of length. It probably means forty perches. In several of the parishes and townships constables are appointed, and in others, as Scotton, East Ferry, East Butterwick, and Manton, constables and "decenarii." These latter officers have long become extinct in this and the adjacent manors. They were an inferior kind of constable having jurisdiction over a decenna, or ten households.^a The word decenna, like hundred, had once probably an exact meaning. In latter times its signification seems to have become very loose. It seems then to have indicated rather a sub-division of the parish or township than ten or any other exact number of homesteads.

The next roll that has been preserved is dated 7 April, 1529. It contains much information of importance to the local genealogist, but I shall only note here such passages as have a wider interest as throwing light on the manners of the time. The first noteworthy entry is a presentation by the jury that Thomas Dykson, chaplain, had made an affray on Oliver Lamming and had hit him with a stick. We also find a widow woman who seems not to have had a surname, as she is called the "Spynner," presented for trespassing with a pig in the south "ynges."^b It was furthermore ordered that no one was to permit his horses to depasture in the cornfields except they were tethered. This direction will not be intelligible to those who are not acquainted with the manner in which agricultural occupations were then conducted. The open fields at Scotter and most of the neighbouring parishes varied much in richness in different parts. There were strips and patches of boggy and poor lands in them which it would have been useless to sow with grain. These patches were depastured in the spring and summer, but if the animals were not securely tethered they wandered among the corn and did much injury. There was probably also some feeling of religion blended with those of a more directly personal kind in the repeated orders of this sort which

^a Cf. *Wishaw's Law Dict.* sub voc. *Deciners*.

^b Ings in this part of Lincolnshire signifies low-lying grass-land. There are ings in most of the neighbouring parishes. Arthur Young, in his *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lincoln*, p. 179, uses the word. "There are," he says, "at South Somercots, but one thousand acres of ings or common meadow," and it is common in this sense in inclosure awards and local acts of parliament.

occur in the court rolls of this and other manors. There was then and still is among the rural poor an intense feeling of repugnance against any one who wantonly destroyed growing corn. The sentiment is that the person has done a far worse act than if he had wasted an equal amount of property some other way. In the section *De modo inquirendi de peccatis venialibus* in Myre's *Instructions for Parish Priests* (E. E. T. S.) the questioner asks his penitent—

“Hast þou I-struyd corn or gras,
Or oper thyng þat sowen was?
Hast þou I-come in any sty
And cropped ȝerus of cofne þe by?
Art þou I-wont ouer corn to ryde
When þou myȝtest have go by syde.”—l. 1499.

The health and comfort of the villagers was provided for in some cases, at least, more efficiently than at present. William Ellys, who had killed a dog and cast the body into the highway to the annoyance of his neighbours, was fined *iiij*^l, and an order was made that no one “permittet Anglice le Byches ire ad largum quando transeunt ad coitu.” Nor was any one to allow his pigs to wander abroad after sunset, but to secure them in “le stythes”; no sheep were to be depastured in Westbekkes and Haverholmhedes, two pastures which were reserved for cows called “mylkbestes”; all dung and wood lying in the common street of Messingham was to be removed, and the River Eye to be cleansed “cum falce et raustro.”

From this period to 8 October, 1548, the rolls are not forthcoming. Here we find little of interest except such things as have been noticed earlier. William Clerke is appointed woodward, an office we have not found mentioned here before; William Elys and Thomas Hallaway are nominated as ale tasters, “tastateres seriniicie,” and John Haylon as “argillarius,” that is, hayward, herdward, or greve. His duty was to guard the cattle in the open fields, and to present all pound-breaches and strayed cattle.^a

There is again a blank to the year 1553, and from this period the series is pretty nearly continuous down to the middle of the eighteenth century. The first noteworthy entry concerns a certain William Smith who was fined the large sum of *x*^s because he had at Scowthorpe on diverse occasions cursed our Lady the Queen; another violent person, Richard Robert of Messingham, was mulct in the sum of *vi*^s *viiij*^d for keeping his sheep in Lundmayre and rescuing them by

^a The oaths commonly administered to these officers and other officials attached to a manor court may be seen in Sir William Scoggs's *Practice of Court Leet and Court Baron*, 1714, p. 15, *et seq.*

force from the "argillarius" when they were impounded. Among the orders made we find, "Item pena est quod Johannes Raysbeck non manebit in villam istam post festum Philippi et Jacobi apostolorum proximum sequentem sub pena x'." Had Raysbeck been a tenant of the manor it is not probable that the court would have had power to make such an order, unless indeed he had incurred a forfeiture either to the crown by felony or to his lord by violating some custom of the manor. In either case it would have been noticed on the roll, but no such entry occurs. We must therefore conclude that he was some stranger who had taken up his abode in the village. There was also a fine of xij^d imposed on all who did not fill up their "furstowk holles," that is the pits made by digging trees and roots out of the peat moss. An order of this kind, but with a much heavier fine, continued in force until the time of the enclosure, about eighty years ago. Such a regulation was most needful, for these holes, which were frequently left by thoughtless persons, were most dangerous to man and beast. A submerged forest, mostly of fir, but containing patches of oak, exists in the low lands near the River Trent, and the tenants of the various manors have enjoyed from time immemorial the right of digging up these trees and roots for gate-posts, building purposes and fire-wood. The holes when left open usually fill with water. A fine of vi' viij^d was imposed on all persons who should cut "brueras sive alnetas"—furze or alders—growing on the commons for the space of four years, and half that sum was to be inflicted on any one who cut "le spinas in le pratis" for the like time. The furze and brushwood growing on the commons and in the open fields were the principal source from which the inhabitants derived fuel, and strict regulations were made that they should attain their proper growth before they were cut. To sell any material used for making fires out of the manor was visited with the penalty of expulsion, the next entry furnishes an instance of this. It is ordered that a person called Patyson, evidently some wandering stranger, for his Christian name was unknown, should quit the town before the feast of Saints Philip and James under a penalty of x', "quia vendebat le fures et turbis [turves] extra villam alienis." These runagate strangers were evidently a cause of much perplexity to the manorial tenants; an order which occurs further down in the same roll that no two inhabitants—families is clearly meant—shall live in the same toft under a fine of vi' viij^d is clearly directed against the practise of taking in lodgers. The inhabitants of Messingham seem to have given more trouble than all other tenants of the manor by the negligent way in which they kept their highways and buildings. Richard Wylson had to be threatened with a fine of ij' ij^d for leaving wood upon the high road, and Richard Robynson was

fined x^s because he had taken "omnia ligna sua super le belfrey et jacent in comuni via." The word belfrey as used here is noteworthy. It does not mean, as might not unnaturally have been supposed, a bell-tower, but a shed made of wood and sticks, furze and straw. The word is yet in common use; in 1873 we heard a complaint made to the Lindsey justices of peace sitting in petty sessions at Winterton that the belfrey of . . . was ruinous and liable to fall upon the passers-by.^a

1556.

This year a series of orders for the good government of the tenants of the outlying portions of the manor was made. As the roll, contrary to the common practice, is made of paper, not parchment, the margin has become worn away, therefore the names of the villages to which some of the regulations refer cannot be discovered. Several important matters of rural economy are treated on, and the document is interesting as a specimen of the dialect of North Western Lindsey in the middle of the sixteenth century.

ffirst yt ys ordered that none of thynhabitantes of the towne of Eastbutterwyeke shall cutt downe nor gyt no ellers nor no other woode growynge within the commons of Messingham except yt be for the reparynge and amendinge of trent bankes onelye, vpon payne of euerye lode vj^s viij^d and euerye burthyngc xij^d tocies quoties.

Ellers are elders; a load means a cart-load, and a burthyngc as much as a man could carry home upon his baek. There is still a popular notion prevalent that when there is danger of the Trent bank breaking, the growing timber of any neighbouring landowner may be felled at once without notice being given, if it be required to save the neighbourhood from being overflowed by the river.

It is ordered that euerye Inhabytant wythin the towneshippe of messingham shall suffycientlye mak ther hedges and all other defences lying and beinge betwene neighbour and neighbour on thys syde the feaste of all sanctes next comynge vpon payne of euery default iij^s iiij^d.

It ys ordered that euerye Inhabitant wythin the tonne of messyngham shall make ther swyne styes suffieientlye from tyme to tyme hereafter and keipe ther swyne therein vpon the nyght tyme, and set theyme before the swynehyrde euery daye whan he goeth, vpon payne of enery default xij^d tocies quoties.

It ys ordrede that none shall gather any peyse coddles without lycence vpon payne of iij^s iiij^d tocies quoties.

^a Simeon of Durham says that Henry I. "ligneam turrim quam Berefreit vocant erexit." *Surtees Soc.* ed. i. 124. In the Inventory of John Nevil of Faldingworth, co. Lincoln, taken in 1590, occurs "the belfrey with other wood xx^s."—Cf. Du Cange, *Gloss*, sub voc. *Belfredus*.

In this and other manors it was a custom to sow yearly a certain portion of the public land with pease for the use of the poor. Strict regulations had to be made as to the time when they were to begin to be gathered, and the hours of the day when it should be lawful to do so. In the Louth churchwardens' accounts for this very year we find a payment *iiij^d* entered "to William East for knylling the bell in harvest for gathering of the pescodes," and in a fine-roll of the Manor of Kirton in Lindsey for 1631 occurs "of . . . Shuttleworth of Holme for gathering peascods contrarie to order, *xij^d*."

Item, yt ys ordred that none shall glene any corne in harneste time vntill the corne be ledde awaye, vpon paine, &c., *iiij^s iiij^d* toties.

Item, yt is ordered that none dwellynge within the parishe of Scotter shall gyue any shenes of corne in harnest for bynding of corne, but only at the layth dore, and not in the feild, vpon payne of euery sheif *xij^d*.

This regulation was evidently made for the purpose of hindering men from taking sheaves which were not their own. The corn land lay much intermixed in the common fields, but if sheaves were given out at the layth [barn] door no suspicion of dishonest practiees could arise. The word *lathe* for a barn is still commonly used.^a

Item, yt ys ordered that euerye inhabytant of Scotter shall put ther geyse in the earre or else clyppe ther wynges or pull them, vpon payne of euerye flocke, *iiij^s iiij^d*.

The ear was low, unenclosed land, much subject to be flooded by water. There are lands called ears in most of the neighbouring parishes, and the word is found in many other parts of England, as for example Morden Car, in the county of Durham, Prestwick Car, in Northumberland, Castle Cars, in the parish of Glossop, in Derbyshire,^b and Gringley Car, in Nottinghamshire.^c The reason for the order was that if the geese were not sent into the ear, far away from the corn land, they would fly from the common into the field if their wings were not cut or the larger feathers plucked out of them.

Item, yt ys ordered that no man shall keipe no mares with fooles nor calnes within the corne feild after the said fooles or calnes be *vj* wekes old, vpon payne of euerye defalt *xij^d* toties quoties.

Item, yt ys ordred that no man shall keipe aboue three beastes for an oxgang of land, and those in Scawthorpe [which] haue no land not to keipe aboue feure beastes apeice, vpon payne of euerye defalt *iiij^s iiij^d*.

Item, yt ys ordred that none shall keipe no manner of cattal in the Eya throughe the severall meadows. vpon paine *iiij^s iiij^d*.

Item, yt ys ordred that euery man shall make ther Trent banekes, vpon payne of euerye defalt, *iiij^s iiij^d*.

^a For its derivation, see Atkinson's *Cleveland Glossary*, sub voc.

^b *Archæologia*, III. 236.

^c *Ibid.* xvi. 361.

1557.

This year contains another series of orders, for the most part relating to the parish of Scotter only. Several of them are repetitions of what has been already given. We extract only such as seem noteworthy:—

ffyrst it is ordered that no man shall driue his cattell unyocked througho the corne felde, the defalte, iij^s iiij^d.

No man shall grane any turves in thest carre, nor in Rany . . . vpon payne for every day's work, iij^s iiij^d.

That every man shall fyll ther furstocke hooles; for every hoole unfylled, iij^s iiij^d.

That every man shall haue a sufficient swynne coote, and vse it with his swynne accordng as it ought to be, vpon payne of every defalte, iij^s iiij^d.

That every man shall kepe a sufficient fence agaynst his nebourcs; þe defalte, iij^s iiij^d.

That no man shall make any footpathe ouer the corne felde; þe defalte, iiij^d.

That no man shall kepe any shepe in ye corne felde vntyll haruest tyme be . . . ; þe defalte, vj^s viij^d.

That every one dwelling in ye Coote houses or Suswath shall both ring and yock ther swynne before seynt Ellen daye^a next; þe defalt, vj^s viij^d.

It was the custom until quite recent times, even if it be not so in some places at the present, for pigs, when not in the sty or fold-yard, to have wooden yokes or frames fastened around their necks to hinder them from breaking through fences. Porson notices the practise in his *Catechism for the Swinish Multitude*. The questioner asks, "What is the use of that wooden yoke on your neck?" The reply is, "To keep us from breaking through our driver's fences."

That every man shall sufficiently make their Lydyates in time convenient; þe defalte . . .

The Lidyate was the gate separating the ploughed field from the meadow or pasture. Also the gates at the entrances of a village, across the highway, used to hinder cattle from straying from the unenclosed land among the houses and gardens. Many such gates existed but a few years ago.

1558.

The ordinary business of the court this year requires little notice. The chief offenders were persons who had neglected to "ringe" their pigs, and a certain Richard Holland, who had "taken of straungers vj beas to gyst in ye Lordes commone, and therefore he is in ye mercie of ye lorde iij^s iiij^d." To gyst or gist^b

^a Probably the 3rd of May. See *Plumpton Corres.* (Camd. Soc.), p. 71.

^b See Cowell's *Law Dict.* sub voc. *Agist*. Du Cange *Gloss. Med. Latin*, sub voc. *Agistare*. The word has occasionally been mis-spelt *joist* by persons who were ignorant of its derivation. See Arthur Young's *Linc. Agriculture*, p. 235.

is to take cattle in to graze. This a tenant of the manor might do on his own land, but not on the common land, over which he had but a concurrent right with many other persons. Strangers is to be understood not as unknown persons but as persons strange to the manor. The following brief note probably tells of the sweating sickness. "Nulla inquisitio capta pro Messingham, Manton, and Cleatham, ideo egrotabant sectatores illorum opidorum."

1559.

An order was this year made that no one should "hoppell" his horses in the East Car. To hopple signifies to tie together the hind legs of an animal. Cords, made specially for this purpose of horse-hair, are still sold and called hopples. They are principally used for fastening the legs of cows when they are being milked. The East Car was in the near vicinity of much of the best corn land, and the order, no doubt, meant that the horses when there should be made secure by being tied to a stake or tree. The only other order worth notice is one which limits the right of the tenants to stock the common. "Nullus vocatus a husbandman custodiet ultra quadraginta oves pro vno bouato terre," and no cottager was to have more than half that number. In earlier times it is probable that the commons in Scotter and all the neighbouring manors were what is called "unstinted," that is, every one having a common right could turn on as many animals as he chose. As money became more plentiful this was found to lead to much inconvenience and oppression. In the previous times men had commonly kept only as much stock as their land would maintain throughout the year, but now persons having money in hand invested it in sheep, not for their own use—to clothe themselves with the wool, to breed them lambs, and to furnish them with mutton—but for the purpose of selling them again at a profit. Thus the poor husbandman and cottager suffered a heavy wrong, for the number of cattle on the common became so great that his few sheep could not obtain food needful for their sustenance.

1562.

It was ordered that no one should bake or brew in the night time, "pistaverit aut brasiaverit nocturno," under penalty of forfeiting to the lord xii^d. This was a most needful regulation for the prevention of fire at a time when almost all the houses and farm buildings were built of wood and clay taken from the roads and covered with thatch. That no one should plough up "le meareffurres" within

the fields, under penalty of ij^d. The meerefurrow or marfur^a in an open field is the narrow strip of grass which separates the various properties. If these are encroached upon the boundaries of estates become liable to dispute. That Thomas Yong should either immediately give up his public house, "domum hospitii," or take out recognizance and licence for keeping an ale house according to statute, and hang up "Signum aut unum le ale wyspe^b ad hostium domus," before the feast of the Invention of the holy cross next coming, under penalty of forfeiture of vj^s viij^d. This Thomas Yong was an East Butterwick man, as is evident from an entry under the year 1574. As East Butterwick is one of the chief ferries over the Trent, connecting Eastern Lincolnshire with the isle of Axholme and Yorkshire, there must have been from early times a house of entertainment near to the ferry landing. It is probable that Thomas Yong hung out his sign or "ale wyspe" on the same spot where the Dog and Gun Inn now stands. It was also presented that Richard Watson and Robert Stutting held each of them a house by copyhold tenure, that the said houses were ruinous, and not repaired according to the custom of the manor, and that William Dauber had stopped up a stream of water, and hindered it from running in its natural course, to the grave injury of his neighbours and others passing on the Queen's highway.

1563.

William Ruslyng and Alice his wife complained against William Ffreeman and Isabella his wife for detaining one "le awmbrey," value vj^s viij^d. John Ellys cast dirt and dung in the Queen's highway, and was fined iiij^d. It was ordered that no one permit "fenum sive stramen" to lie within half a fathom of their chimneys, under pain of vj^s viij^d. Richard Holland permitted his cattle "avaritia sua" to go into Le Inges contrary to the penalty of v^s. And the same person was fined v^s vj^d because he broke a gap in the North Inges, probably to drive the above-mentioned cattle through, and another at Senning flete.

^a Meere, Mere or Mear, signifies a mark or boundary of any kind between one person's land and another's, or between one parish, township, or manor and another. In a fine roll of the manor of Kirton in Lindsey for 1630, we find "of Richard Welborne for ploughing vp the king's meere-balk." In a survey of the same manor made in 1787, persons are spoken of who know their own lands "by meres or boundaries." The road dividing the parish of Winterton, Lincolnshire, from Winteringham is called the mere, Meerehole is a spot on the bank of the river Trent, between the township of Butterwick and Burringham. Cf. *Archæologia*, VIII. 96, XXXVII. 315, XXXVIII. 408, XLII. 159.

^b A bush of ivy or other evergreen has been for ages the sign of a tavern both in England and the neighbouring continental lands. Cf. Singer's Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, act v. scene 4, note.

1565.

George Lee was fined xij^d “quia posuit Canapum^a suum prope ignem in malum et perniosum exemplum,” and Thomas Dawson the like sum “quia fregit canapum in cammine.” That is, he broke his hemp, or, in other words, separated the fibre from the bark or husk, in his large open chimney. This was a most common practice in the cold nights of winter, but it was an offence which the manor courts did not deal with lightly. The refuse of hemp is highly inflammable, and fires must often have arisen from this cause.

1574.

The wife of Thomas Yonge, senior, of Butterwick, was fined xij^d because “denegavit vendere sereviciam suam Thome Oliuer quando necesse fuit & quando egrotus fuit.”

1575.

Thomas Norris fined ij^s iij^d because he steeped hemp in the water at the North Moor which was bought out of the town.

William Seaten was fined xij^d for gleaning—“quia glenavit”—in harvest time. His offence was not gleaning simply, for this was always permitted, but gleaning before the corn was carried.

1576.

William Robinson was fined viij^d, “quia necuit duos columbos cum reta in hieme.”

1578.

Nicholas Huggett was fined xx^s because “occupavit duas leas jacentem prope Messingham hedge contra penam.” A lea, whatever may be its general meaning (and the word is used so loosely by our old poets and others that it is not safe to give an opinion thereon), signifies in this part of Lincolnshire not natural grassland but land that has been at one time under plough and afterwards been laid down to grass or gone out of cultivation, and become pasture. In all the cases we have heard of it was land held in common not in severalty.^b Huggett’s

^a Recte cannabum, hemp.

^b The survey of the manor and soke of Kirton in Lindsey, taken in 1787, contains a passage which fully bears out the above statement. The original is in the office of the Duchy of Cornwall; we quote from a privately-printed copy. “On the North and South Cliffs [of Kirton in Lindsey] are several commons alled the Old Leys and Lodge Leys, which were formerly plowed; but, by length of time, are

offence was that he had appropriated and, probably, ploughed up some of this common pasture.

Richard Paycocke was fined *iijs^s iiij^d* because "sineauit canabum vocatum hemp, emptum extra villam contra penam in le northe more." William Hornesbie was fined *vjs^s viij^d* quia custodiet duos tenentes in vna domo contra penam." William Seaton *vij^d* because he had cursed the ale-taster Richard Hill, and *iiij^d* further because his wife had sold ale contrary to assize.

The roll for this year contains a series of regulations for the government of the manor. They are too long to be given in full, and some of them would not be understood by any but those who have a minute knowledge of the neighbourhood. We have quoted all such as seem important :

Imprimis, yt is layd in payne that no man shall teather within anie of the land endes in plough Carre sike, in payne of euery one found in defalt after warning given by the townesmen or other officers appoynted for that purpose to forfeit for euery defalt *xij^d*.

Item, that no man within Scotter shall kepe for one oxgang of land above thre beastes and in Seawthop no man to kepe above two beastes for one oxgang in the North More or in the seuerall feildes in payne of . . . *xij^d*.

Item, that no husbandman shall kepe above fortye shepe for an oxgang of land and no cotcher above twentie in the feildes and lordshippe of Scoter in payne of euery shepe kept above the said rate to forfeit for euery shepe *xij^d*.

Item, that no man shall kepe ther mares and foles above fyve wekes olde after folyng on the northe Carre feilde, nor shall kepe them louse in payne of euery one founde for euery tyme in the same default *xij^d*.

Item, that no man shall take to half parte above one score of shepe in payne to forfeit for euery score of shepe kepte above that nomber *xx.^s* and so ratable for euery shepe *xij^d*.

Item, that euery man clippe or pull ther geese that are kept within the fallowes in payne of euery one founde in the same defalt . . . *xij^d*.

Item, that no man shall have anie horse or oxen hople or vnteathered in the North More or in anie place els vntil the last sheafe be gotten, in payne of . . . *xij^d*.

Item, that euery man sowe ther landes lying at the out sides, both the first and second crophe, that was sowne within twentie yeares now past, in payne of euery one doing contrarie to forfeit for euery lands so vnsowen *xij^d*.

The object of this regulation was to hinder careless and iúle persons from permitting a belt of weeds to skirt their land, the seeds of which would have been carried by the wind on the lands of the other tenants of the manor.

become unknown land, and are therefore stocked by Gaits like the other commons. These are usually fed when the field is fallow ; however, when hay or grass is wanted for their working oxen, they turn them upon the leys in the corn fields, but send servants to take care of them and prevent their trespassing on the corn," p. 264. The manor of Scotter adjoins the manor and soke of Kirton in Lindsey.

Item, that no man shall breake any other man's hedges or gett anie woode in the Lordes woode without leave of the Lord or his lawfull ffoster,^a in payne of euery one founde in the same default xij^d.

Item, that no man shall break any hempe in anye howse or chimney, in payne of iij^s iij^d.

Item, that euery man from tyme to tyme kepe ther chimneys in good repaire and swept from tyme to tyme, in payne of iij^s iij^d.

Item, that euery man shall sowe one peck of pease for one oxgang of lande to the vse of the poore in such place as shall be from year to year by comon assent agreed vpon, in payne of xij^d.

Item, that euery man shall have their swinecotes sufficiently made, and ther swine to be sett before the swinehirde, and to be styed vppe before sonne sett, and so to kepe them styed till sonne rise, in payne of xij^d.

Item, that no man synke ani hempe that is bought out of the lordshippe within the Northe More, in payne of euery one founde in the same default iij^s iij^d.

Item, that no man shall kepe after Mayday next two tenantes in one tenement, in payne of vj^s viij^d.

Item, that no man gleane ani corn untill the furlonge be gotten, in payne of xij^d.

Furlong here signifies not a measure of land, but a piece of land, belonging to one person in the open field. Cowell^b gives an instance of the third of Elizabeth of a furlong containing "per æstimationem quatuor acras."

Item, that no man gleane anie beanes or pease anie time but of their owne in payne of xij^d.

Item, that none shall geather any wolle before eight of the clocke in the morning in payne of xij^d.

That is pick up locks of wool on the commons and in the pasture-fields. The commons were in many places covered with furze bushes, and much wool was torn by them from the sheep. This wool belonged by custom to the poor who did not keep sheep, but they were only permitted to gather it in the day time, least they should catch the sheep and pluck the wool off their backs. Wool-gathering yet goes on in many places even on enclosed lands, but there the practice is continued by favour of the occupier, not under any pretence of right.

Item, that no man shall kepe at anie tyme hereafter anie gelt beastes with the kyne, but sett them downe all aboue yeareninges in payne of xij^d.

^a A contracted form of forester, but no mark of contraction is put over the word, and it was probably pronounced as written. Foster is a surname in the neighbourhood.

"An horne he bare, the baudricke was of grene :

A foster was he soothly as I gesse."

Chaucer, *Prologue to Canterbury Tales*.

^b *Low Dict.* sub voc.

That is, they were to send them into the pasture appropriated for bullocks, not to keep them in the cow-pasture, which was richer land.

Item, that no-man shall teather anie younge stagges^a or fylles within the corne feilde in payne of xij^d.

Item, that none shall gett anie Rabbettes or Connyes within the Lordes warrant in payne o xij^d.

Item, that everye man shall burne within his owne lande in Houllandes, and not vppon other mens landes, that is sowne with rye, from Kirton brigges to Wheateroft, in payne of xij^d.

Where the land in open fields is divided into very small strips, it was not uncommon for the weeds from several properties to be gathered into one heap or "clamp" for burning. Some persons, it seems, had been burning rubbish on their neighbours' land after seed-time, and the above order was promulgated in consequence.

Item, that no man of the inhabitants of Scoter or Seawthorpe shall fishe nor go a ducking within the Lordes seueral watters, viz. from Henrye Mawmells crosse vntill Wigglesworthe hoow-hill, in payne of xij^d.

Item, that no man shall teather within the north Inges, or about the Trent bankes or groves^c vntill the haye be gotten awaye in payne of ij^s.

Item, that all men of Susworth or the Coate houses ryng the swine that they doe not wroote on neither of the Inges or anie place els in payne of iij^s iij^d.

Item, that no man shall kepe anie bease but afore the herd yearlye in payne of iij^s iij^d.

No one was to keep any oxen except such as formed a part of the herd which were in the custody of the herdward. A needful regulation, for had it not been so the herdward would not have had personal knowledge of all the cattle on the commons, and when strays from neighbouring manors had come in he might not have recognised them.

Item, that everye man sweepe ther chymnes yearly fower tymes in payne of vj^s viij^d.

Item, that no man shall gett anie bottells of fures, and to pay for euerye bottell that is gotten iij^d.

Item, that no man shall have ani crowe nestes or pye nestes building in their groundes, but pull them downe before maydaye yearlye in payne of euery nest xij^d.

Item, that no man make no dunge hills within the Quenes hyewaye on payne of euerye hill xij^d.

^a Colts.

^b Warren.

^c The small portions of cultivated land between the Trent bank and the highway are called groves. The word is no doubt related to grave, to dig, because this land was the place where soil was graved from for repairing the banks.

Item, that no man shall mawe in Sennyfleete, South Inges, or North Inges before he wadde his owne on bothe sides in payne of iiij^d.

Before each man began mowing his grass for hay, he was to mark off the exact limits of his own land by wad-sticks, that is tall rods, so that there could be no doubt as to the exact boundary between one piece of land and another.

Item, that no man shall plowe any mans land awaye in the feilde in payne of euery furre^a plowed awaye hereafter iiij^d.

Item, that all men shall burye ther dead cattell within one daye after ther deathe in payne of . . . xij^d.

Item, that no man shall put anye horse or bease within the Inges before the last cocke of haye be gotten awaye in payne of . . . xij^d.

1579.

Andrew Horne of Messingham was fined iiij^d because he permitted mendicants and illicit persons to lie in his house at night, and William Webster and others were fined a like sum for cutting "le bele staffes in silva domini." What "bele staffes" were is by no means certain; it has been suggested that they were staves for the wheels of the church bells.

1581.

A series of orders for Butterwick very similar to the preceding. No hemp or line was to be broken in any house nor was it to be dried by the fire in an oven or a chimney.

1583.

A man called . . . Pattynson was fined xij^d. because he permitted a scabbed horse to go upon the common; and another person, whose name has perished, was fined a like sum for allowing "two cades"—that is lambs brought up by hand—to trespass in the sown field.

1585.

Robert Stutting was fined iiij^s iiij^d "quia locutus fuit contemptuosa verba in aperta curia."

1586.

Among the orders made this year are the following :—

That no man throwe no kytte^a or caryon vnto the heigh waye, to the annoyaunce of his neighbours, but shall pitt^b the same vpon paine of everye defalte xij^d.

^a A furrow.

It is layd in paine þat Edward Post do make his house which is in ye tenour of Robert Coole in sufficient repaire before ye next courte in paine of xl^s.

It is layd in paine, all men that haue two tenaunnts in one house shall voyde one of them before Mayday next in pain of xx^s.

We present John Foster for that his wife suffereth mens servantes to be in her house at vneconvenient tymes ij^s.

Four burleymen were appointed this year, namely, Richard Loddington, William Shadforth, Robert Dawbney, and William Paycock, to see the above and other orders put in force.^o

1587.

Matthew Hayton was fined xij^d "quia messuit le brackens antequam campana pulsata fuit contra penam," and Thomas Anderson vj^d "quia glenebat & collegebat granum vocatum pease in harvest tyme contra penam."

1588.

Richard Paycock fined xij^d "quia legauit equum suum prope molendinum ventosum contra penam."

1592.

The widow Tomlinson fined vj^d because she put line to steep in water where cattle were wont to drink to the injury of her neighbours.

1594.

William Burgham fined vj^d. because "permisit seruietes sui colligere fabas et pias in tempore messis."

1598.

It is laide in payne that Thomas Davye shall avoyd his tenant William Haworth, who is knowne to be a petty bryber, before the xth day of May next in payne of forfeiture to the Lord xx^s.

^a Now pronounced ket, unwholesome meat, carrion. A person who deals in bad meat is called a ket-butcher. The *corvus corone* is called a ket crow.

^b Pit, to bury. "It is ordered that every inhabitant in Bottesford and Yadlethorpe that haue any cattle that die of the fellon or morren upon the comons or wastes of Bottesford and Yadlethorpe shall sufficientlie pitt the same to the sight and discretion of the eargranes or two or three sufficient and honest men of the said tounes, and likewise shall burne the place where the said cattle dye, vpon payne for every default x^s."—*Bottesford Manor Records*, 1617.

^c There is some obscurity as to the derivation of the word burleyman, and as to the duties which devolved upon those who filled the office. They are mentioned in the court roll of Kirton-in-Lindsey, of the 20th of Elizabeth. Cf. *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv. 368; Whitaker's *Whalley*, ed. 1876, ii. 227; *Athenæum*, 1879, 12th July, p. 41, 26th July, p. 115; G. L. Gomme's *Index to Municipal Offices*, pp. 33, 45.

1599.

John Willson was fined ij^s because his wife had dug up a boundary stone—
“ unum le bounder ”—between him and his neighbours.

It is laide in paine by the Jurie that the inhabitantes of Messingham which have any water gutters betwene neighbor and neighbor shall sufficiently ditch and scower the same as of^t as nede shall require in paine of euery roode to the contrarie ij^s iij^d.

It is laid in paine that none shall mowe any thack^a or digg any furr or oke in the same carr to sell to any stranger dwelling out of the said townships [Messingham and Butterwick] in paine of euery offence for euery lood x^s.

It is laide in paine that none of the said inhabitantes shall grave or shoote^b any baggs^c beneath michehouses or triplinghouses or beneath any sik^d between them in paine of xij^d.

1609.

Robert Atkinson fined xij^d because “ tetheravit unam vaccam apud le water mill.”

1630.

Several regulations for the good government of the manor were made; they reproduce for the most part with some variation of words orders that had already been given. There is one exception, however, that is noteworthy as shewing that the tenants had not full rights of cultivation as to that portion of the manor which was held in severalty. That it relates to these lands and not to the public pastures is evident, for they could not be broken up without the consent of the whole parish. The entry runs—

That noe man shall breake any pasture withoute moste mens consent, in payne of euery defalte ij^s iij^d.

^a Coarse grass growing on the moors, so called, perhaps, because it was frequently used for thatching buildings instead of straw.

^b To grave means here to dig with a common spade, to shoot, to pare the surface with a paring spade.

^c Peat cut for fuel. The upper portion consisting of peat intermixed with roots of grass, when cut for fuel, was called bags, the lower, consisting of peat only, turves. Bagmore, a place in the parish of Burton-on-Stather, probably derives its name from this source.

^d A pool of stagnant water or very sluggish stream is here meant. Before the enclosures there were many such places surrounding the latter of the places indicated in the text. Their sides were covered by thickets of willow, alder, and birch.

“ It neither grew in syke nor ditch,
Nor yet in ony sheugh;
But at the gates o' Paradise
This birk grew fair enough.”

“ The Wife of Usher's Well,” in Scott's *Border Min.* ed. 1861, ii. 258.

XIX.—*On the Use of the Greek Language, written phonetically, in the early Service Books of the Church in England; and on the earliest system of Musical Notation upon lines and spaces, one hitherto unnoticed, and seemingly peculiar to English use.* By WILLIAM CHAPPELL, Esq. F.S.A.

Read May 11, 1876.

WHILE collecting materials for a new history of music I had occasion to examine many of the earliest Psalters and Books of Antiphons for the service of the English Church, and then noted three distinctive peculiarities, which seemed worthy of attention by the literary antiquary and by the historian. The first was, that parts of the service, such as the *Gloria in excelsis* and the Nicene Creed, had been sung occasionally in Greek, and that the Greek was written phonetically in English characters. The second, that the hymns and sequences differed from those which had been sung on the continent of Europe, and therefore few, if any, are included in the printed collections by Daniel, by Mone, or Morel; and, further, that many of them are remarkable for the intermixture of Greek and of Græco-Latin words. Not only did our ancestors substitute *protus*, *deuterus*, *tritus*, and *tetardus* for *primus*, *secundus*, *tertius*, and *quartus*, but also employed such addresses to the deity in their hymns and sequences as “*Kyrie eleison, o theos agye*”—“*Pater, creator omnium, tu theos ymon*”—“*Pater ymas te exoramus* ;” half Greek and half Latin. The third peculiarity was that, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the music of new hymns was written upon four lines and spaces, and yet upon a different system from that which prevailed over Europe at subsequent dates. In the later and general system only three letters, or their representatives, were, as they still are, employed upon the staff, viz. F, C, and G; but they had not in early times the distinctive meaning which they now possess—that F is for the bass octave, C for the tenor octave, and G for the treble octave; for often C was placed under F. In the English system, which seems to have preceded not only the square and diamond-shaped notes, but also all other uses

of four lines with the three intermediate spaces, any one of the seven letters, A, B, C, D, E, F, G, and the square or the round B, for natural or flat, were placed not only upon a line, as now, but perhaps as frequently upon a space. We find A, or D, as commonly as F, C, or G, and the letter was transferred from one line or space to another, upwards or downwards, whenever the descent or ascent of the voice would otherwise have exceeded the boundary of the staff of four lines. By this means the use of ledger lines was avoided.

Specimens of this written music are here shown. They are reduced from a folio volume by photography, but other examples will be found among the MSS. in the British Museum,—as a Hymn to Saint Mildred, in Harleian MS. No. 3908, of the eleventh century; again, in the Cotton MSS., Caligula A. 14, and Julius, A. vi.; and in the beautifully written St. Alban's MS. (MSS. Reg. 2 B. iv.), which also affords ample examples of the substitution of Greek words for Latin. The photographs now exhibited are all taken from the Bodleian MS. No. 775, by the kind permission of the Rev. H. O. Coxe, M.A. Bodley's Librarian. The MS. seems to be one of those given to the University of Oxford by Sir Thomas Bodley. We may infer that it had belonged to Winchester Cathedral, from the hymns addressed to S. Swithun and S. Athelwold, who were bishops of that see. The date of the volume is proved by the Third Litany, in which we find, "Vt æþelredum regem et exercitum anglorū conservare digneris te [rogamus]" (fol. 19). (See Plate XVIII.) The writing is therefore anterior to the death of Ethelred II. in 1016, and we may attribute the Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ, which is written phonetically on folio 72 of the MS.* to the first quarter of the eleventh century. The musical notation seems not to be altogether so early, for, in some cases, new hymns have been written over old ones; but still the writing is in no case later than the twelfth century. Except as to the hymns, the notation in the MS. is by those indefinite guides for chanting, which were originally termed *pneumata* (breathings), and later in Latin, *neumæ*, Anglice *neumes*. They are signs for the rise, fall, or continuance of the voice, but, when without lines, they do not indicate the note to which the voice should rise or fall; therefore they are only fitted for indefinite recitation, and not for music proper. The probability is, that the improved notation was suggested by an absolute requirement for definite musical notes for performances on the organ. In the year 951, the great organ at Winchester Cathedral had four hundred pipes, which were controlled by forty keys

* A fac-simile of this, and of the Third Litany, which supplies the date, will be found herewith. (See Plate XIX.)

Xpe audinos. v. libera nos domine.
Sca maria. or. v. per crucem tuam libera nos domine.
Sce gabriel. or. v. peccatores rogamus audinos.
Sce iacobe. or. v. peccatores rogamus audinos.
Sce laurenti. or. v. peccatores rogamus audinos.
Sce mastine. or. v. ut pacem nobis dones.
O miffa. v. rogamus audinos.

LETANIA TERTIA
Vti domum apostolica
Xpe audinos. iii. in sca religione con
Sca maria. iii. servare dignis tero.
Sce raphael. iii. v. t accedam tuam in
Sce iohannes. or. iii. maculam custo
O miffa Sa orap nob. iii. dire dignis terog.
Proptius esto v. ti apd peccatum regem
 parte nob dnci ex exercitum angloru
A bonni malo conferuare dignis te

Vti sanitatem nobis **A**gnus dei. dona nob
 dones terogamus. pacem.
Vti pluviam nobis **A**gnus dei. miserere
 dones terogam nobis.
Vti cadi serenitate **X**pe audinos.
 nobis donese. **C**ymelafon.
Vtaeris terene **X**pe clafon.
 bonam nobis **C**ymelafon.
 dones terog **ALLA LIA**
Vti fructu terre **C**onfitemini domino
 nobis donese. quoniam bonus quo
 Fili deteros. nam infaculum
Agnus dei qui misericordia eius.
 tollis peccata **L**audate dominam.
 mundi parte **TRACTUS.**
 nobis domine. Laudate dnm omf gela.



and ten stops. It must have been impossible to make efficient use of such an instrument without an exact indication of the chords which were to be played upon it. Wolstan, to whom we owe the extant contemporary description of that organ,* was also the author of a musical treatise, "De tonorum harmonia," and this work is mentioned by William of Malmesbury as "valde utile," even at the date when he was writing. It has never been found an easy task to harmonize Church tones, and surely no such treatise could have continued in use for more than a century without distinct and intelligible musical examples. It is not, however, to the musical part of the subject that I would now draw attention, so much as to the phonetic Greek. The latter may not only be useful in determining the former pronunciation of that language in England, but may likewise assist in deciding similar questions as to our own. Theologians also may take interest in the Greek versions, as they were probably introduced in the seventh century, although the language may have been corrupted in its descent to scribes of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

There can be but little doubt as to the main source from which the cultivation of the Greek tongue sprung up in England. It was in the year 668 that Pope Vitalian sent Theodore, as Archbishop of Canterbury, and with him Hadrian, as Abbot of the Monastery of Saint Augustine's, then named Saint Peter's, at Canterbury. Theodore was a Greek, and Hadrian, who was born in Africa, had been sent with him (according to Bede) to take especial care that Theodore should not introduce "anything contrary to the true faith into the Church over which he was to preside." In other words, he was to conform entirely to the Western, and not to the Eastern, Church; for even a Pagan would not have been more obnoxious at Rome than a Christian who differed from the Western Church in the calculation of Easter. "Forasmuch," says the Venerable Bede, "as both Theodore and Hadrian were well read in sacred and in secular literature, they gathered a crowd of disciples, and there daily flowed from them rivers of knowledge to water the hearts of the hearers; and, together with the books of holy writ, they also taught them the arts of ecclesiastical poetry, astronomy, and arithmetic." "A testimony of which is," he continues, "that there are still living at this day some of their scholars, who are as well versed in the Greek and Latin tongues as in their own, in which they were born." (*Eccles. Hist.* iv. 2.)

It is probable that the Greek was written into the Service Books phonetically as a provision for priests who might not understand the Greek language. Bede

* Preceding his metrical account of the miracles of S. Swithin. See MS. Reg. 15, c. vii. fol. 54, or *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, by Mabillon, fol. Paris, 1685. *Saeculum*, v. p. 630-1.

says, that "Theodore was the first Archbishop whom all the English Church obeyed;" but it does not yet appear that the custom of singing in the Greek language, or the peculiar system of writing music, extended beyond the province of Canterbury.

When any two persons wrote down phonetically, they would not agree upon all points; and it would, therefore, have been interesting to compare a northern version, if such a one could have been found. In the mean time, two phonetic versions of "Glory be to God on high," or "in the highest," are offered; the one from Winchester, and the other from Canterbury. The second MS. which is also of the first half of the eleventh century, is from Hadrian's own monastery of Saint Augustine's, and is now in the public library at Cambridge (G. g. 5, 35). It contains, in addition, the Nicene Creed, and two other examples in Greek.

As the scribes of phonetic copies often join several words in one, after the example of the Codex Alexandrinus and other early manuscripts, I have written the Greek under the following example to save the reader's time in disentangling them. It will be found essential to read the phonetics with the northern and continental pronunciation of the vowels. The Greek *upsilon*, whether aspirated or not, is represented by our letter "y," often formed like the Greek capital letter, and so a true "y Grec." The exception is when two vowels come together. In such cases the Greek *ou* is expressed by our letter "u," which we may assume to have been pronounced "oo," with the lips elongated, as in Italian at the present time, and sometimes in our own tongue. The northern pronunciation of the vowels proves the truth of Puttenham's remark, that, although in the reign of Queen Elizabeth it was not thought expedient to adopt the pronunciation of even the best of "our Northern Clerks, yet," says he, "no man can deny that theirs is the purer English Saxon at this day."

Without further preamble, permit me now to turn to the manuscripts. The Winchester copy of the "Gloria" is headed, "YMNUS ANGELICUS GRECA LINGUA COMPOSITUS." (See Plate XIX.)

"Doxa enypsistis theo ke episgis irinien antropis eudochia. Enumense
[Δόξα εν ύψίστοις θεῶ, καὶ ἐπὶ [τῆ]ς γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία. Αἰνοῦμέν σε,]
Eulogumense Proskynumense Doxologumense Eucharistumensi diatin megalinsu
[Εὐλογοῦμέν σε, Προσκυνοῦμέν σε, Δοξολογοῦμέν σε, Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σου]
doxan. Kyrrie basileu epuranie thee pater pantocrator. Kyrrie ye monogeni isu criste
[δόξαν. Κύριε, βασιλεῦ ἐπουράνιε θεέ πατέρ παντοκράτωρ. Κύριε, υἱέ μονογενῆ Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ,]
ke agion pneuma. Kyrrie otheos Oamnos tutheu. O yos tupatros. O eron tin amartian
[καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα. Κύριε ὁ θεός, Ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, Ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ πατρὸς, Ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν]

Tu solus altissimus. Qui respicias humilia
in celo. sancterra: Ihu xpe. **ALIA.**

GLORIA INEXCELSIS DEO. ET IN TERRA.

Tantum deum colentes. Laudamus te.

Terminum uenerantes. Benedicimus te.

Patrem in filio. filium in patre. Spiritum
in ueroque. **A**doramus te. **B**anc unam

summam quod ueritatem amantem. **G**loriam
ficamus te. **S**ancctam maiestatem tuam.

*Alia dea iohannes
seruus dilue fortiter*

*poscentes
deuote. Graf.*

GLORIA INEXCELSIS DEO. FOINTE
Gloria sanctorum lausque angelorum
quam sanctus est sanctus iohannes. **L**au

damus te. **O** decus ac uisus laus que beata
sanctorum quem laudat sanctus iohannes.

Benedicentem tibi laudes de peccatore
tuo et que cum sancto adoremus iohannes.

Adoramus. Angelicus tibi ad stat
clarissimus ordo. cum quo te semper
glorificat sanctus iohannes glorific.

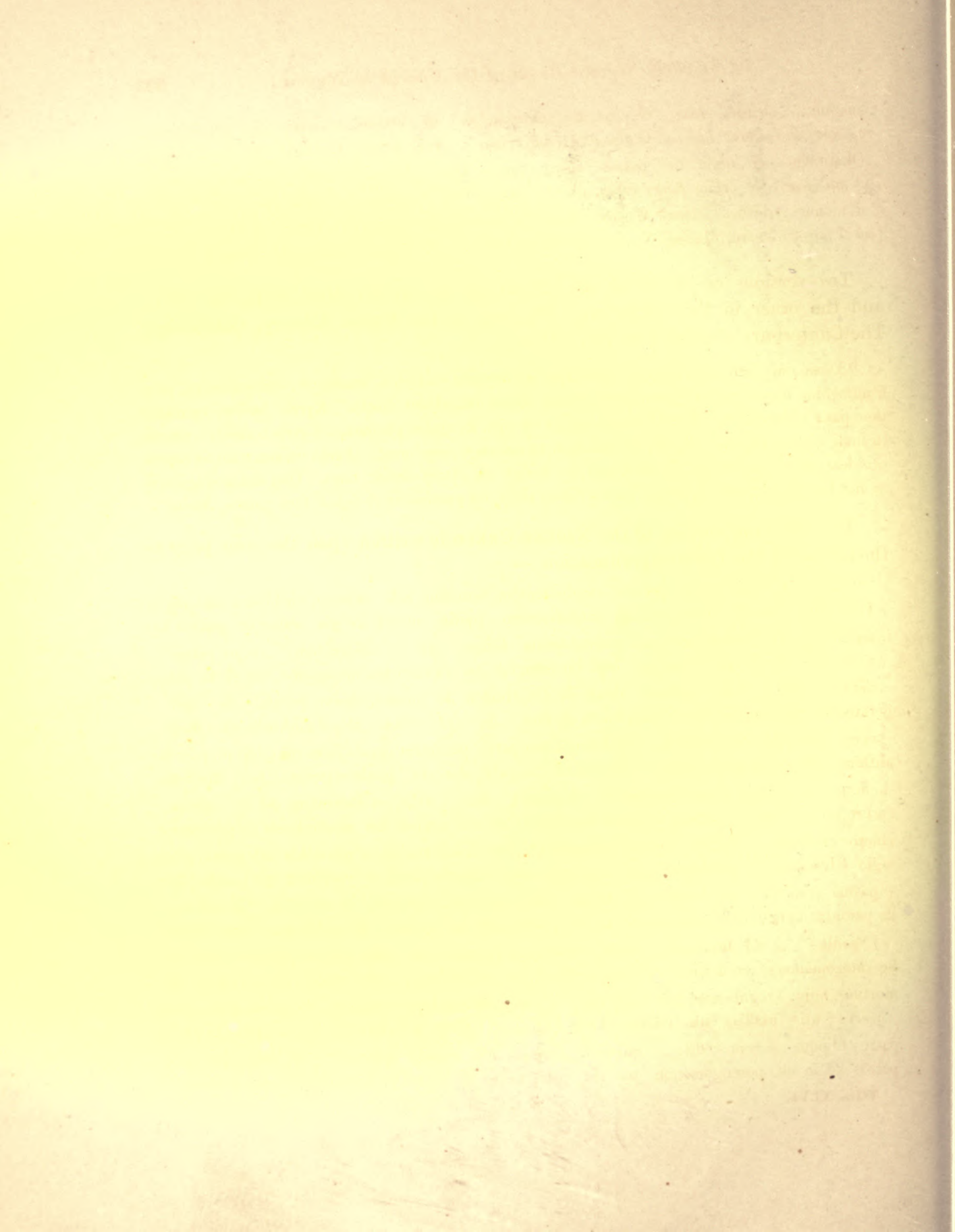
YANUS ANGELICUS GRECA LINGUA COMPOSIT.

Doxa enyphsifis theo. **K**ecpifigs innien
antropif eudochia Enuimense. **E**ulogu
mense. **P**ros kenumenfse. **D**oxologumenfse.

Eudansu mensi diatan megalinsu doxan.
Kyrno basileu opuranc thee patry panto

ctaron. **K**yrno ye mono geni isu ciste
ke agion pneuma. **K**yrne otheos **O**am.
nos tucheu. **O** yos upatos. **O**eron -

-an amastuan tu cosmu elefson ymas.
Oeron tas amartian tu cosmu. **P**ros deoxe
an dei sinimon. **O** kaximenos en dexia
tu patros elefson ymas. **O** assimonos



tucosmu, eleison ymas. O eron tas amartian [sic] tu cosmu Prosdexe tin deisinimon.
 [τοῦ κόσμου ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. Ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἀμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου, Προδέξει τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν.]
 Okatimenos en dexia tu patros eleyson imas Otis simonos agios, si monos cyrrios,
 [Ὁ καθήμενος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς Ὅτι σὺ εἶ μόνος ἅγιος, σὺ εἶ μόνος κύριος,]
 si monos ypsistos Isos Cristos sin agion pneumatini is doxan theu patros, Amin."
 [σὺ εἶ μόνος ὑψίστος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, σὺν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρὸς, Ἀμήν.]

Two versions of the above are extant, the one in MS. Harl. 5642, fol. 47 v, and the other in the Canterbury MS. now in the Public Library, Cambridge. The Canterbury version is as follows :—

“Doxa enipsistis theo ke epis gis yrine enantropis eudochia, enumense, eulogumense, pros kinumense, doxologumense, eucharistumensi diatin megalinsu doxan. Kyrrie basileu epuranie thee patir pantocrator. Kyrrie ye monogeni isu x̄pe, ke agion pneuma. Kyrrie o theos, o amnos tu theu, oios tu patros. O eran tis amartian tu cosmu eleison imas. O eran tis amartian tu cosmu prosdexe tin deisin imon. O catimenos en dexian tu patros eleison imas. Otis simonos agios, si monos kirrios, si monos ipsistos, Ysos Cristos, sin agios pneumatini is doxan theu patros, Amin.”

The following version of the NICENE CREED is written upon the same page as the last, with the Latin superlineation :—

“Credo in unum deum patrem omnipotentem factorem celi et terre, visibilium omnium et Pistengo isenan theon patiran pantocratoran pyitin uranu ke gis oraton te panton ke invisibilium, et in unum dominum iesum eristum filium dēi unigenitum; et ex patre a oraton ke is enu kyrrion ison christon ton ion tu theu ton monogenin, ton ek tu patros natum ante omnia secula. deum de deo, lumen de lumine, deum verum de deo genithenta propanton ton eonon theon ek theu fos ek fotos theon alithinon ek theu vero genitum, non factum, consubstantialem patri, per quem omnia facta sunt, qui propter nos alithinu genithenta upyrthenta omo usion to patri, diu ta panta egeneto ton dimastus homines et propter nostram salutem descendit de celis et incarnatus est de spiritu anthropos ke diatim meteran sotirian katelthonta ek ton uranon kes sarchothenta ek pneumatos sancto et Maria virgine et homo factus est. Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub pontio pilato -agio Kemarias tis parthenu keen antropis anta. Staurothenta te yperimon ep̄i pontiu pilatu passus et sepultus est et resurrexit tertia die secundum scripturas, et ascendit in celum. ke patonta ketafenta. ke anastanta titriti ymera kata tas grafas ke anelthonta istus uranus sedit ad dexteram patris, et iterum venturus est cum gloria iudicare vivos et ke katezomenon en doxian tu patros ke palin erchomenon meta doxis krine zontas ke mortuos, cujus regni non erit finis. et in spiritum sanctum, dominum et vivificantem, qui ex necrus utis basilias uk estetos ke is to pneumaton agion to kyrrion ke zo opion to ek tu patre filioque procedit. qui cum patre et filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur. patros ke io ek poreugomenon ton sin patri ke io sin pros kynunenon ke sin sindoxa

qui locutus est per prophetas, et unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam. confiteor
 zomino to lalisan dia ton propheton is mian agian katholikyn ke apostolicen ecclesian omo logo
 unum baptismia in remissione peccatorum, et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum et vitam venturi
 en baptismia is aphenin amartion Pros doko anastasin nekron ke zoin tu mellontos
 seculi. Amen.
 conos, Amin.

A second phonetic copy of the Nicene Creed will be found in Addit. MSS. 23,892, fol. 51-53, in the British Museum. The red ink has there become so pale as to be in parts scarcely decipherable.

The following Litany of the Saints (entitled the Third Litany in the Winchester MS.) is copied from the last leaf of the manuscript known as the Psalter of King Ethelstan, but which is partly of earlier date. (Cotton MSS. Galba A. XVIII. fol. 200.) The phonetics are again interlined with the usual Greek spelling, to save the reader's time.

+ HIC PRECIUNT GREGORUM LETANIE:

Xp̄e epacus onimin.	Αποπantes cacu lutrose ymas cyrie.
Χριστὲ ἐπάκουσον ἡμῖν.	Ἐπὸ παντός κακοῦ λύτρωσαι ἡμᾶς κύριε.
Aie michael euxe yperimon.	Diatu taurusu lutrose ymas cyrie.
Ἄγιε μιχαήλ εὐξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.	Διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ σου λύτρωσαι ἡμᾶς κύριε.
Aie gabriel euxe yperimon.	Amarthuluse paraca lumen epacus onimin.
Ἄγιε γαβριήλ εὐξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.	Ἄμαρτωλοί σε παρακαλοῦμεν ἐπάκουσον ἡμῖν.
Aie raphael euxe yperimon.	Inagrinin [sic] dosisse paraca lumen epacus
Ἄγιε ῥαφαήλ εὐξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.	Ἴνα εἰρήνην δωσισσε παρακαλοῦμεν ἐπάκουσον ἡμῖν.
Aie maria euxe yperimon.	Ygie [sic] tutheuse paraca lumen epacus
Ἄγια μαρία εὐξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.	Υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ σε παρακαλοῦμεν ἐπάκουσον ἡμῖν.
Aie petre euxe yperimon.	Ygie [sic] tutheuse paraca lumen epacus
Ἄγιε πέτρε εὐξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.	Υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ σε παρακαλοῦμεν ἐπάκουσον ἡμῖν.
Aie paule euxe yperimon.	Ygie [sic] tutheuse paraca lumen epacus
Ἄγιε παῦλε εὐξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. et rl. [reliqui.]	Υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ σε παρακαλοῦμεν ἐπάκουσον ἡμῖν.
Pantas yaies euxe yperimon.	Αο amnos tutheou o errontin [sic] amartiastu
Πάντες ἅγιοι εὐξασθε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.	Ἦ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἀμαρτίας τοῦ
Ileos genuce fise [sic] ymas cyrie.	cosmu eleison imas.
Ἰλεως γενουὶ καὶ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς κύριε.	κόσμον ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.
Ileos genuce lutrose ymas cyrie.	
Ἰλεως γενουὶ καὶ λύτρωσαι ἡμᾶς κύριε.	

The above is followed by the *pater noster* in the manuscript :—

“ HIC INCIPIT PATER NOSTER IN LINGUA GREGORŪ.

Pater imon oynys uranis agiastituto onomansu, elthetu ebasilias genit thito to
 Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γενηθήτω τὸ
 theli mansu, os sen uranu. kepitisgis tonartanimon tonepussion. dos simin simero
 θέλημό σου, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τον ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον,
 keaffi simin ta offalimatu imon Os ke jmis affiomen tusophiletas jmon. ke mies ininkis
 καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν, καὶ μὴ εἰσευέγκης
 imas isperasmon. Ala ryse jinas apitu poniru.
 ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

The last is followed by the Apostles' Creed :—

Pistheu istheu patera panto eratero ce is Criston ihū yon aututon mono-
 Πιστεύω εἰς θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, καὶ εἰς Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν [τὸν] υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονο-
 genton quirion imon tongenegenta cepneumatus agiu eemariatis parthenu ton epipontio
 γενῆ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν, τὸν γενηθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἀγίου καὶ μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου
 pilatu staurothentecta finta tetríte imera anastanta egnieron anaunta istos ura-
 Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα, τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρα-
 nos catimenon indexia tu patros oten erchete crinezon tas cenicos ceispreama [sic] agion
 νοὺς, καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς, ὅθεν ἔρχεται κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον
 agria fis inamartion sarcos anasta. amin.
 ἄφεςιν ἀμαρτιῶν, σαρκὸς ἀνάρτασιν, ἀμήν.

The last piece in the manuscript is the *SANCTUS*, which is now left unfinished, owing to the following leaf having been torn out. All that remains is—

Agios agios agios cyrus otheos sabaoth plyris urano cegactis doxis . . .
 * Ἄγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος ὁ θεὸς σαβαώθ, πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης . . .

This is again found in the Harleian Manuscript No. 5642 but written in Greek uncial letters, four of the words being there omitted. If any one should be curious in the acquisition of medieval Greek, he could hardly do better than to study the Greek and Latin vocabulary of this Harleian Manuscript, and of a Greek and Latin Dictionary on parchment, in uncial letters, seventh century, Harl. No. 5792.

In conclusion, it may be observed that similar examples of Greek phonetically written have been found in manuscripts of St. Gall and of Einsiedeln,

which are attributed to the ninth century. Also in several manuscripts of the Gallican Church. An entire mass was sung in Greek at the royal Abbey of Saint Denis, under the idea that the patron Saint of France was Dionysius the Areopagite, a Greek, who is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles as one who believed, and whose name appears in the Calendar of Saints as Bishop of Athens and martyr. This custom was continued to a comparatively recent date. D. Martène, in his *De antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus* (Antwerp, 1736) cites divers examples of the employment of the Greek language in certain parts of the Gallican liturgy, and says: "Hodie, in percelebri S. Dionysii in Francia monasterio, epistola et evangelium in quinque præcipuis festivitibus græce et latine pronunciantur. In octava vero S. Dionysii quidquid a choro in missa præcinitur totum græco sermone canitur." (vi. p. 281 D.)

One noteworthy feature of the Winchester manuscript is, that it exemplifies the antiquity of Salisbury Use. The sequences, which are written with neumes upon four lines and spaces, are nearly all to be traced through other manuscripts down to the Salisbury Graduals of 1528 and 1532. These printed copies have the square and diamond notes instead of neumes, but, when the neumes are written upon lines and spaces, they are as easy to read as the other, the time being indefinite in both cases.

Sequences are usually in a sort of scanning prose, varying in length of lines, but sometimes hymns, which were written in Latin rhymes, were also used as sequences. Thus, the Evening Hymn :

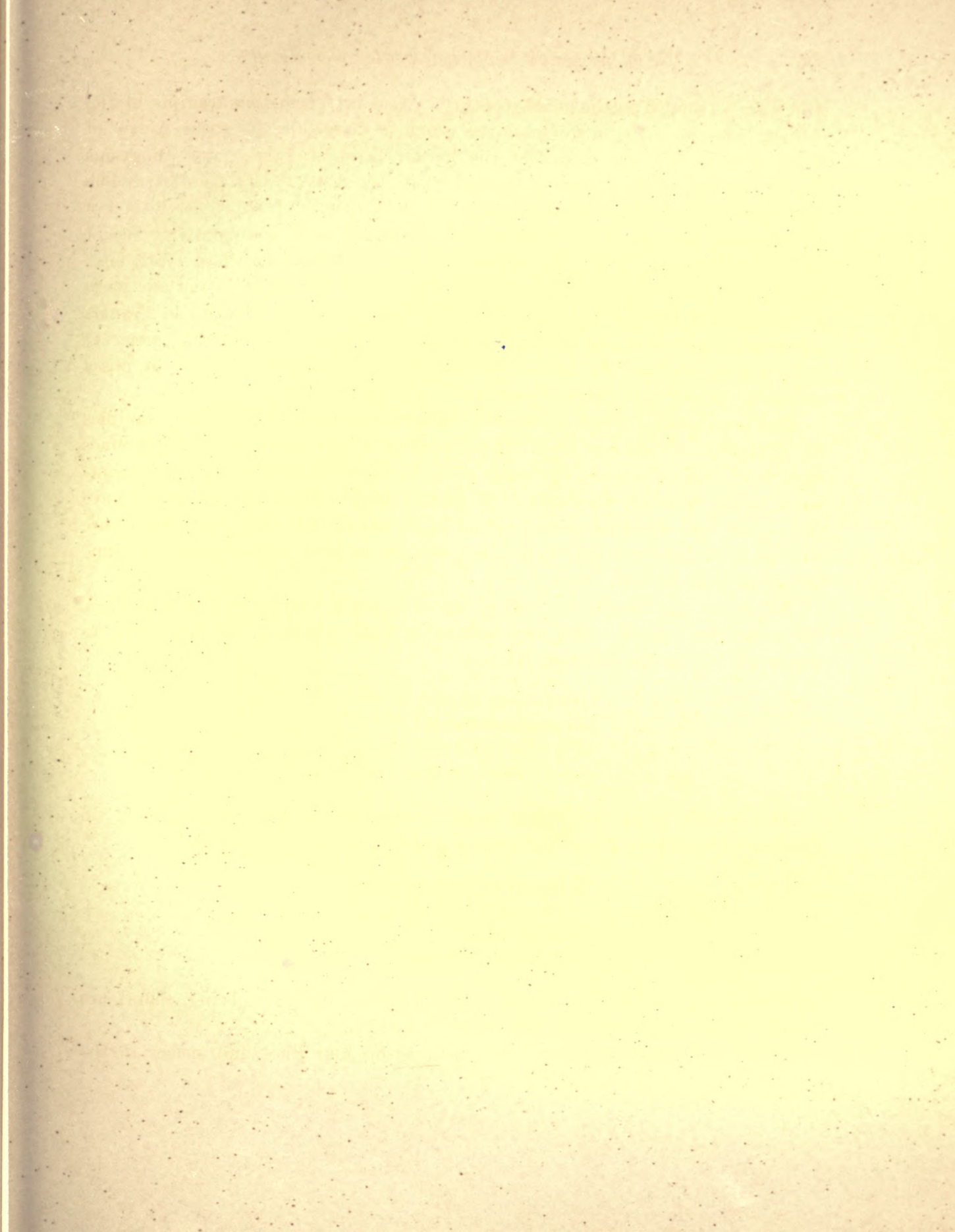
" O Lux beata Trinitas
Et principalis Unitas,
Jam sol recedit igneus
Infunde lumen cordibus." (2 stanzas and a Gloria.)

This recalls to us the "Well could he counter *O Lux!* upon a pot," in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, and is more probably alluded to than the :

" O Lux, beata Trinitas,
Tres unum, trium unio,
Imperialis unitas
In trium contubernio,"

which was sung on Trinity Sunday. These hymns, however, being choral, are usually found in Antiphonals rather than in Graduals.

There are twelve sequences with neumes on four lines and spaces in the



domans mox & ab ipsa donans puerica. **P**ater
deniq; prescia decaputuo pandit alampno monica.
Tecum inquit adpropra. uolo pater hunc reuocare
patriam. **P**ater adhuc uerba toto corde
comota inquit felicia. **P**roles inibi caro filium
o iuste quid loqueris talia. **S**icque aduersa
tibi inuia. **C**ontingant ego prore magna
fleo tristitia. **N**oli mater mi inquit
plorare. pater oma. xpi me liberabit gra.
Heri uirtute angelica pergunt longinqua iuuicia.
fractem liberant. **I**usto puero presulgnis
preparata ante secula adest gloria. **T**erres
passis membra celo dant animam. **C**andida
rubicunda. fulge impurpura. **O**mnifuna
te uoce supplica. **Q**uam comenda.
precamur xpiesto familiam. **E**tingena. fac
teum esse leticia. **L**audesio magna puerice
scila.

Quia pueri concipere melodia. **E**ia innocenti
colentes cupidia. **Q**uot infans xpi boeie uoxie
ad albia. **H**os cruciant brendens insania.
crochane fraudis obnulla crimina. **I**nbeeb
sem. ipsius cuncta & p confirmia. **A**bitari
& simba iuxta nalgendi uerora. **H**erodes rex
xpi nary uerens iustely impia. **I**n frenne
uol & erige arma supra dextera.
Querte lucis & celi rege carite turbida.
Nec extinguat qui uitam prestat per sua iacula.
Qui non ualent inuerti lucem splendida nebulosa
quereites pecora. **I**ta serucc fraudes daret
herodes leuius iudicad proa agmina. **C**astra
militum dix iniquis aggreas ferro fige inmen
bra teneva. **I**n ter ubera lac effundite
qua languinis figerent coagula. **H**oltris narone

Winchester Volume, the last being imperfect. The other portions of the volume are noted only by indefinite neumes which are guides for accentuation of the words in recitation, in monotone, and in singsong chanting by indefinite intervals—more like speaking than singing, for which Saint Athanasius was famed. It is in these parts of the volume that we find the *Tropi in depositione Sancti Suuithini Episcopi*, followed by *Tropi Translationis Sancti Suuithini* (folios 46 to 47 vo.) and, towards to end of the book, *De Sancto Suuithino, Alleluia*, (fol. 182) and *Sequentia de Sancto Sevithvno, Alleluia*, followed by *De Sancto Athelwoldo* (fol. 189). From examples of this kind it is inferred that the volume belonged to Winchester Cathedral. Swithun was born about 800, and died in 862. Athelwold, “the Father of Monks,” was Bishop of Winchester in 963, and died in 984. The diphthongs throughout the manuscript are marked by a sedilla under the “e,” but they are not always marked when they should be.

The following are the words of the twelve sequences to which reference has been made, and of which a few facsimiles from reduced photographs are given. (Plates XX. XXI.) References to other copies in the Library of the British Museum, are here added, especially to two manuscripts which have the same kind of neumes upon lines and spaces—the Saint Alban’s Book, 2 B IV. in the King’s Library, and Caligula A. 14 in the Cotton. Collection. Eight of the twelve are found in the Sarum Gradual of 1532.

i. De Sancto Stephano Martyre. Alleluia. [Sequentia.]

Magnus Deus in universa terra, Magna sunt eius ubique omnia in cælo atque in terra opera, Qui est rex regum dominus omnium, a patre genitus ante sæcula, Cuius caritas vera cælo subleuat Stephanum de terra Atque perhenni vita ornat candida digniter corona. Plenus etenim Stephanus ueritate atque gratia Magna dabat prodigia, docens uerissima dogmata, Cum autem predicaret jam presentia Nostre redemptionis noua gaudia, Intento in superna, cæli patet ianua, Dixitque circumstanti plebi uoce publica, Sacra plenus gratia, Ecce dei uideo admirabilem gloriam Claritate fulgida Atque iesum stantem, in uirtutis dei, dextera. Cum hoc audisset impia gens iudaica, Dans fremitum, concita Quassat lapidibus Stephani membra, Sed stat fortiter patiens martir et orat Ne eis x̄p̄e noxam statuas, Sed jam accipe animam meam. Et eum hoc dixisset. in domino obdormiuit pæce eterna Tu et nobis martir o Stephane sempiterna Impetra gaudia. Amen.

[Bodl. MS. 775, f. 131b. Cott. Cal. A, xiv. f. 46. Sarum Gradual, 1532, f. 27.]

ii. In Festo SS. Innocentum. Sequentia.

Celsa pueri conerepent melodia, Eia innocentum colentes tripudia, Quos infans x̄p̄s hodie uexit ad astra. Hos trucidauit frendens insania Herodiane fraudis, ob nulla crimina, In bethleem ipsius cuncta et per confinia Ab imatu et infra, iuxta nascendi tempora. Herodes rex, x̄p̄i nati

uerens infelix imperia, Infremit totus, et erigit arma superba dextera. Querit lucis et cæli regem cum mente turbida, Ut extinguat qui uitam prestat per sua iacula, Dum non ualent intueri lucem splendidam nebulosa quærentis pectora. Ira feruet, fraudes auget Herodes seuus, ut perdat piorum agmina. Castra militum dux iniquus aggregat, ferrum figit in membra tenera, Inter ubera lac effundit antequam sanguinis figerent coagula, Hostis naturæ natos euiserat atque iugulat [f. 133b] Ante prosternit quam etas paruula sumat robora Quam beata sunt innocentum ab erode cesa corpuscula Quam felices existant matres quæ talia fuderunt pignora O dulces innocentum acies o pia lactentum pro xpo certamina Paruorum trucidantur milia membris ex teneris manant lactis flumina Ciues angelici ueniunt in obuiam mira uictoria uitæ captat premia turba candidissima Te xpe petimus mente deuotissima Pŕa qui uenisti reformare sæcula innocentum gloria Perfrui nes concedas per eterna.

[Bodl. MS. 775, f. 133. Cott. Cal. A, xiv. f. 49. Sarum Gradual, 1532, f. 30.]

iii. Incipiunt prosæ de natiuitate Domini. Alleluia. [Sequentia die sexto.]

Celica resonant clare camenas agminas, Nunc regis celebrando gratulanter nuptias. Lux noua iam terras illustrans, ueteres pellens tenebras, Reserat superna gratia diu clausa palatia. Felix mater! et sola intacta æterna puerpera, Cum nato stas grauida, cum uiri sis cubili nescia, Omnis caterua nostra te rogat, domina, Soluas quo nostra cuncta peccaminum uincula, uirgo sempiternæ beata. Digna fuisti sola tollentem crimina Intra uteri claustra portare qui gubernans omnia supera infera. [f. 136b.] Hunc sua laudant facta. gaudentes bona qua uiunt super essentia Nos humillima tuba damus debita, poscentes eius clementiam, Vt nostra prestet tempora nunc quieta. Det placida frui uita, Vtilia donando famulis munera. Hac inter nos discrimina seua saluans Post funera derelicta Sedem ducat mortis ac malorum ignaram Qui ad dexteram patris almam sedens conregnat coæternus per omnia Potenter cuncta disponendo cum eo seda presentia et futura Beata iustis donat omnibus præmia Preclara qua lux uere micat. que est salus æterna et nostra gloria.

[Bodl. MS. 775, f. 136. Cott. Cal. A, xiv. f. 45, vo. Sarum Gradual, 1532, f. 34.]

iv. Prosæ adsq. [ad sequentias?] de Sancto Iohanne Euan gelista. Alleluia.

Laus armoniæ! resultet alleluia! Matre fecunda! domini gratia proles adest eximia. Euan gelista iohannes, diuina adnuntians preconia, Vel, ut aquila, figens lumina in alta, deitatis archana supergrediens omnia cordis oculo condita, Mente liquida contemplans illa excelsa uoce palam prolata, in principio cum patre erat uerbum per secula. Hic de adoranda deitate plurima, ipse atque [f. 138] de humanitate scripserat, omni mundo salubria. Ipse et defunctam excitauit uiduam, ipse et lapillos claritate gemmea compisit uirgas et aureas. Post tanta talia. per eum patrata, xpi magnalia, Nonagenaria nouena addita, transacta iam uita. Saluator, a summa descendens patria, dilectum ad regna uocat aurea. Et apostolica ad conuiuia in patria angelica. Nos iohannes adiua, ut eadem sempiterna Consequamur gaudia!

[Bodl. MS. 775, f. 137b.]

Insones culpa non est que noxios faciat
aliquos & mortis subeunt discrimina.

Oxipisti miranda semper & misis gratia.

Piose passis aeterna quibus est largitur

premia. Ipsi laus sic nunc & in saecula.

SEC **MULTIPHARAE** **MESUMA.**

Nato canunt omnia domino piis agmina.

Syllabarum pneumatica perstringendo or
ganica. **H**ec dies sacra in qua noua sunt
gaudia mundo plene dedita. **I**n nocte

preces in tonitruo & gloria in uoce angelica.

Subserunt & inmania nocte media pas
toribus lumina. **D**um fouente sua pecora

subito diua perapiunt montia. **I**atus

alma uirgine qui excaet ante saecula.

Est immensa in celo gloria pax & in terra:

Line ergo celi caetera altis sine nubila.
quanto canore tremat alta poli machina.

Sonet & per omnia hac indig gloria uoco

dapa reddita. **H**umana concerpent cuncta

deum natum in terra. **C**onfracta sunt

& impena hostis crudelissima. **P**ax in terra

reddita: nunc letentur omnia. **N**ati per

exordia. **S**olis quinquecur omnia. **S**olis

qui condidit omnia. **I**psa sua pietate

soluat omnia peccata regna.

SEC **CHORUS** **MEPIPIPHARAE** **MESUMA.**

Epiphaniam domino carampus gloriosa.

Qua prolem dei uero magi adorant.

Limensem chaldei diuis persequer uentem

uiri potentiam. **Q**uem cuncta prophetae
preuenerunt uenturum gentes ad saluandas



v. [*Sequentia*,] *multiphariæ. Alleluia.*

Nato canunt omnia domino piæ agmina, Syllabatim pneumata perstringendo organica, Hæc dies sacrata in qua noua sunt gaudia mundo plene dedita, Hac nocte præcelsa intonuit et gloria in voce angelica. Fulserunt et inmania, nocte media pastoribus lumina. Dum fouent sua pecora subito diua percipiunt monita. Natus alma uirgine qui extat ante sæcula, Est immensa in cælo gloria, pax et in terra. Hinc ergo cæli caterua altissime iubila Vt tanto canore tremat alta poli machina. Sonet et per omnia hæc in diæ gloria uoce clara reddita Humana concrepent cuncta deum natum in terra Confracta sunt et imperia hostis crudelissima Pax in terra reddita nunc letentur omnia nati per exordia Solus qui intuetur omnia Solus qui condidit omnia. Ipse sua pietate soluat omnia peccati regna.

[Bodl. MS. 775, f. 139b. Cott. Cal. A, xiv. f. 44. MSS. Reg. 2, B. iv. f. 68. Sarum Gradual, 1532, f. 22.]

vi. *Sequentia. Chorus in Epiphania. Alleluia.*

Epiphaniam domino canamus gloriosa, Qua prolem dei uere magi adorant. Immensam chaldei cuius persequere uenerantur potentiam, Quem cuncti prophete precinere uenturum gentes ad saluandas, Cuius maiestas ita est inclinata ut assumeret serui formam Ante secula qui deus et tempora homo factus est in maria. Balaam de quo uaticinans Exhibet ex iacob rutila inquit stella Et confringet ducum agmina Regionis moab maxima potentia. Huic magi munera deferunt preclara, aurum simul thus et myrram, T[h]ure deum predicant. Auro regem magnum, hominem mortalem myrra. In somnis hos monet angelus ne redeant ad regem commotum propter regna Pauebat etenim nimium regem natum uerens amittere regni iura. Magi stella sibi micante preuia Pergunt alacres itinera patriam Qua eos ducebat ad propria linquentes herodis mandata Qui percussus corde nimia preira Extemplo mandat eludia maica Non linquens aliter impunitas sed mox priuari eos uita Omnis nunc caterna tinnulum iungat laudibus organi pneuma. Mystice offerens regi regum xp̄o munera pretiosa Poscens ut per orbem regna omnia protegat in sæcula sempiterna.

[Bodl. MS. 775, f. 140. Cott. Cal. A, xiv. 49, v. Sarum Gradual, 1532, f. 40.]

vii. *Sequentia de Resurrectione, in die sancto Paschæ. Fulgens preclara. Alleluia.*

Fulgens preclara rutilat per orbem hodie dies in qua xp̄isti lucida narrantur ouanter prelia. De hoste superbo quem iesus triumphauit pulchre castra illius perimens teterrima. Infelix culpa eua qua caruimus omnes uita, Felix proles Mariæ qua epulamur modo una. [f. 142b.] Benedicta sit celsa regina illa, Generans regem spoliantein tartara, Pollentem iam in æthera. Rex in eternum suscipe benignus preconia nostra Sedule tibi canentia, Patris sedens ad dexteram, Victor ubique, morte superata atque triumphata, Polorum possidens gaudia. O magna O celsa O pulchra clementia xp̄isti luciflua o alma Laus tibi Honorque Ac uirtus qui nostram antiquam leuiasti sarcinam Roseo cruore agni benignissimi empta florida micat hæc aula Potenti uirtute nostra qui lauit facinora tribuant dona fulgida. Stupens ualde in memet iam miror hodierna Tanta indignis pandere modo sacramenta [f. 143] Stirpe dauitica, Ortus de tribu iuda, leo potens surrexisti in gloria Agnus uisus es in terra, Fundens olim arua, Regna petens supra iustis reddens premia in secula Dignanter ouantia. Dic, impie zabule, quid ualet nunc fraus tua Igneis nexus loris a xp̄isti

uictoria? Tribus lingue admiramini quis audivit talia miracula Vt mors mortem sic superaret rei perciperent talem gratiam. Iudea incredula, cur manes adhuc inuerecunda? Perspice xpisticolas qualiter leti scandunt inclita Redemptori carmina Ergo pie rex xpe nobis dans peccamina Solue nexorum uincula Electorum agmina. Fac tecum resurgere ad beatam gloriam Digna rependens merita Paracliti sancti consolationem piam. Expectamus sanctam^a re promissionem tuam Per acta ascensionis sancta solennia Qua es regressus in cœlum nube tectus clara Pollens laude æterna.

[Bodl. MS. 775, f. 142. Cott. Cal. xiv. f. 53. MS. Reg. 2, B. iv. f. 73 vo. Sarum Gradual, 1532, f. 122.]

viii. Sequentia. Feria III. post Pascha.

Pro me casta conc[e]o carmina, organa subnectens ypodorica,^b Regi claustra deo tartarea rumpenti, decanta nunc symphoniam, Morte qui uicta resurgens gaudia mundo gestat colenda Ac insolita morantes perdita cociti confinia. Aspectant lumina intrante illo luce beata Terrore percussa tremescit demonum plebs ualida. Dant suspiria, Fletuum alta Repagula qui sic audax fregerit mirantur tunc fortia Sic ad supera Redit cum turma Gloriosa ac timida refouet discipulorum corda. Precelsa huius trophea admirantes flagitemus nunc uoce decliua Virginum inter agmina mereamur pretiosa colere ut pascha, Galilea inque sacrata prefulgide contueri lucis exordia.

[Bodl. MS. 775, f. 113 vo. Cott. Cal. A, xiv. f. 54 vo. MS. Reg. 2, B. iv. f. 78 vo. Sarum Gradual, f. 126 vo.]

ix. Prosa adsequentia Cithara, de Ascensione Domini. Alleluia.

Rex omnipotens, die hodierna, Mundo triumphali redempto potentia, Victor ascendit cœlos unde descenderat Nam quadraginta postquam surrexerat Diebus sacris confirmans pectore Apostoloru[m] pacis clara reliquens oscula Quibus et dedit potestatem laxandi crimina, Et misit eos in mundum baptizare cunctas animas, In patris et filii et sancti spiritus elementia Et conuescens precepit eis ab ierosolomis Ne abirent sed expectarent promissa munera. [f. 145b.] Non post multos enim dies mittam uobis spiritum paraclitum in terra Et eritis mihi testes in ierusalem iudea siue samaria. Et, cum hoc dixisset, uidentibus illis elevatus est, et nubes clara Susecepit eum ab eorum oculis intuentibus illis æra. Ecce steterè amietu duo uiri in ueste clara Juxta, dicentes quid admiramini cœlorum alta? Jesus enim, hic qui assumptus est a uobis ad patris dextera[m] Vt ascendit ita ueniet querens talenti commissi lucra, O deus maris poli arcei. hominem quem creasti fraude subdola Hostis expulit paradiso et captiuatum secum traxit ad tartara. Sanguine proprio quem redemisti deo [f. 146] Illuc et rediens unde prius corruit paradisi gaudia, Iudex, cum ueneris iudicare secula, Da nobis petimus sempiterna gaudia in sanctorum patria In qua tibi canteinus omnes alleluia.

[Bodl. MS. 775, f. 145. Cott. Cal. A, xiv. f. 61. MS. Reg. 2, B. iv. f. 97 vo. Sarum Gradual, f. 143 vo.]

^a Secundum.

^b The Hypodorian organ was a small instrument used only for ecclesiastical chanting. It had no sharp or flat key in its three octaves except for B flat.

x. In pretiosa sollempnitate Pentecosten. Alleluia.^a

Benedicta sit beata trinitas deitas æterna pariter coequalis gloria. Deus genitor natus genitus cum sacro pneumate permanens super omne quod extat Quibus est una semper uoluntas et a se discrepat haud unquam triplicata persona Nam constat deitas una non in tres deos diuisa quam fides fatetur a xpo orthodoxe dedita [f. 146^b] Hæc namque pellit delicta patriam cedit serenam quam dulcem iubilant agmina simphoniam celica Altithroni uestigia imitantur stolis candidata Operiuntur que binas quas captant post secli discrimina Et nos quos illustrat gratia dei supera demus nostra debita Quatinus cæterna celica nobis maneat post funera socia Vltimaque peracta discrimina possimus alta perfrui mox palatia Quo perspicula flagrat lux accensa constanti flamma que est deus uisio nostra et salus æterna Angelorum que illustrat fortiter pectora Vt in xpo solo sua defigant lumina [f. 147] Hæc namque est illa sitis flagrans qua tunc sitiunt anime sanctorum uel corpora Dum fuerint datâ perpetua nobis pro eis a iudice premia.

[Bodl. MS. 775, f. 146. Cott. Cal. A. xiv. f. 66. MS. Reg. 2, B. iv. f. 206. Sarum Gradual, f. 157.]

xi. In hac laude Deum meum adorabo. Alleluia.

Salue mater xpisti o inclita! Porta cæli, decus orbis, et uirginum gemma pulchra! Atque domina angelorum, et aurea clara scala, Perquam fideles superna leti scandunt gaudia. Que sola extas post xpm spes nostra sanctissima. Te agmina celi semper dominam benedicant. Te uox omnis pulchra iam glorificet per Aurea cæli pandat et astra. Nobis corusca. Amen. Fiat.

[Bodl. MS. 775, f. 178.]

The twelfth Sequence is imperfect, but commences—

Concentu parili hic te Maria veneratur populus teque piis colit cordibus.

This is in small writing, with the music on four red lines.

The antiquity of Salisbury Use, and the sources from which it was derived, might be much further elucidated if any especial search were made. The library of the British Museum includes a Salisbury Missal printed in folio on vellum in Paris in 1527 (Reference Case 41, K.) An Antiphonarium in 2 vols. 1519-20, and a Graduale in 1532 (both in Case 35, b.) The Cambridge Public Library contains an edition of the last-named, published in 1528, and there are variations between that and the edition of 1532 which should be noted. For instance, I was induced to search for a Kyrie by Saint Dunstan through reading the Chronicle of John of Brompton, Abbot of Jorevall in Richmond, Yorkshire. It is

^a In the Salisbury Gradual the above was to be sung on Trinity Sunday, instead of on Whitsunday as here directed.

alluded to in the following passage: "Beatus eciam Dunstanus semel soporatus, audivit spiritus angelicos cum suavi nota *Kyriel, Kyriel* psallentes; cujus modulos armonicae adhuc continet Tropus ille apud Anglos famosus, *Kyrie rex splendens*, qui in Sanctorum cantare majoribus solet festis." (Twysden's *Decem Scriptores*, pp. 878-9.) This Kyrie was only to be found without the words in the Sarum Gradual of 1532, and I am indebted to Henry Bradshaw, Esquire, Librarian of the University of Cambridge, for pointing out to me a complete copy in the Sarum Gradual of 1528, and for transcribing it. The omission in 1532 seems to have been a lapse, because it is there referred to in the following rubric. Under "Pro defunctis" fol. LV. towards the end of the volume, after directions for the use of other Kyries, it says: "In festo Sancti Michaelis, in mense Septembris dicitur 'Kyrie rex splendens' cum versibus: et in festibus Sancti Dunstani et Sancti Michaelis in monte tumba (Saint Michael of the Mount, in Cornwall) dicatur cantus de 'Kyrie rex splendens' absque versibus."

As this Kyrie of Saint Dunstan's dream has not before been identified, and takes but a page in print, while the Gradual of 1528 is of extreme rarity, owing to the heavy penalty inflicted upon the possessor of a copy in the reign of Henry VIII., it has been thought to be a curiosity worthy of reproduction, and is therefore subjoined.

A KYRIE ELEYSON by Saint Dunstan.

In festo sancti Michaelis in mense Septembris (29th Sept.) dicitur KYRIE, REX SPLENDENS cum versibus:—

Ky - ri - e Rex splen-dens ce - li ar - ce sal - ve ju - gi - ter et cle - mens ple - bi tu - e sem - per e - le - y - son.

Im - ni - di - ce quem tur - me che - ru - bin lau - de per - hen - ni - ter pro - cla - mant in - ces - san - ter no - bis e - le - y - son.

* In - si - gni - ter ca - ter - ve pre - cel - se et qui - bus se - ra - phin re - spon - den - te lau - dan - tes no - stri e - le - y - son.
[Tu si - gni - fer]

Chri - ste rex al - ti - thro - ne or - di - nes an - ge - lo - rum nomen quem laudant in - ces - san - ter pul - cre di - gna - re ser - uis tu - is sem - per e - le - y - son.

Chri - ste quem to - to or - be u - ni - ca ec - cle - si - a y - mni - zat sol et lu - na a - stra tel - lus ma - re cu - i et fa - mu - lan - tur sem - per e - le - y - son.

I - psi i - dem in - cli - te pa - tri - e per - pe - tu - e he - re - des san - cti o - mnes di - gno car - mi - ne pro - clamant quam o - van - ter no - bis e - le - y - son.

Vir - gi - nis pi - e ma - ri - e o al - ma pro - les rex re - gum be - ne - di - cte re - dem - ptor cru - o - re mer - ca - tis

pro - pri - o mor - tis ex - po - te - sta - te sem - per e - le - y - son. In - si - gnis - si - me in - ge - ni - te o - ge - ni - te

o - ri - gi - ne jam - ex - pers et fi - de mor - tu - e ex - cel - lens o - mni - a ca - ter - ve lu - ic tu - e

cle - mens e - le - y - son. Lim - pi - dis - si - me glo - ri - e sol ju - sti - ti - e ar - bi - ter o - mnes gen - tes

di - stri - cte dum ju - di - ces tur - me ob - ni - xe pre - ca - mur tunc a - stan - ti cle - mens e - le - y - son.

* "Insigniter," in the text, seems to be a mistake in copying from manuscript "Tu signifer."

In festis sancti Dunstani (19th May) et sancti Michaelis in monte tumba (16th Oct.) dicatur cantus de KYRIE REX SPLENDENS absque versibus:—

Ky - ri - e Rex splendens ley - - son. iii.

Chri - ste ley - - son. iii.

Ky - ri - e ley - - son. iii.



XX.—*On Traces of the Primitive Village Community in English Municipal Institutions.* By GEORGE LAURENCE GOMME, Esq., in a Letter to WILLIAM J. THOMS, Esq., F.S.A.

Read June 27th, 1878.

MY DEAR SIR,

I fear I must begin my communication to you, on the subject of an early phase in the history of English municipal institutions, with an apology; and an apology withal that has reference rather to my mode of treating the subject than to the subject itself. It is in this wise. The facts to which I beg leave to draw your attention cannot so well be considered new to the antiquary, as can the view I have taken of their value and relationship to each other. The result is, therefore, that the following pages may be thought a little more argumentative than they should in strictness be for an antiquarian subject. But this defect, if defect it be, will, I trust, be compensated by the value of the general subject I have ventured to treat upon, and by the fresh light which I may perhaps have thrown upon a class of English institutions, not the least important of those which uphold our great national fabric.

In introducing for historical inquiry a subject which bears very closely upon the origin of the municipal institutions of England, there are several unfortunate associations which at once come before the mind. I say unfortunate, because their existence seems to me to have hitherto impeded a thorough penetration into the early history of English municipal towns, and indeed to suggest, if not to assert, that there is no such early history at all, nothing prior to the assumption of municipal rights and privileges. These associations may be thus grouped: the idea that everything municipal has been derived from Rome;^a that the

^a Pearson's *Early and Middle Ages of England*, i. 264; Thomas Wright in *Archæologia*, vol. XXXII 298; Coote's *Romans of Britain*, 359-382.

charter granted by the king, or other lord, is the commencing point of the known history of English municipal towns;* that municipal history occupies a position quite apart from and independent of all other local institutions.

It appears to me, however, not only that the early history of English municipalities is still traceable, but that it forms a very important portion of our national history; a portion, I would observe, which philosophical historians have long asserted is to be found, but which English history has stubbornly refused to acknowledge, except in general terms and in some few isolated instances. The whole subject of municipal government in England is unquestionably a difficult one to handle; but the method hitherto adopted for its elucidation has greatly contributed to this difficulty. The general question has been discussed over and over again as to the origin of the municipal institutions of England; but the far more important inquiry, because it is logically the first, as to what are the municipal institutions now actually existing, and what has been their historical development from a previous state of things, has either not been undertaken at all, or has not been applied to the solution of the general subject.

This position of affairs is, I think, attributable to a great extent to the easy solution which the theory of a Roman origin supplies. It is known from abundant sources that the early Teutons hated city life and loved the country. It is known that their settlements in any country, won by the sword or appropriated by colonisation, were based upon their own organization into agricultural communities. It may be inferred on tolerably sure grounds that this basis of settlement brought about a fairly equable arrangement of social units; that is to say, it was no part of the Teutonic policy to set aside any special body of settlers as superior to other bodies, to allow one village community to lord it over another. But this general proposition is at once seen to be altered with respect to the conquest of Britain. The ground of Romano-Celtic Britain was uneven ground, and inequalities in the social structure soon began to make themselves apparent, partly of course from the natural causes arising from the development of English history, but partly also from extra-English causes. Thus, passing from primitive to historical times, we are met with the significant fact that English history, in spite of its supposed Teutonic origin and tendency, has developed city life and town life at the expense of country life, just as Roman

* Hallam, *Europe during the Middle Ages*, p. 571, n. (Murray), says that he is unable to discover any trace of internal self-government before the granting of charters. Robertson, *Charles V.* vol. i. p. 316 says that corporations were introduced from France after the Conquest.

history did. The early mark court is now only faintly represented by the fast decreasing powers of the manor and the parish vestry; the hundred courts are practically extinct; the shire courts scarcely live in the modern county administration, for this has nothing like the progressive importance which nine hundred years of history should have given it; while cities, at no time a portion of Teutonic life, have grown up as the embodiment of local power and local self-government. All this would seem, therefore, to imply that the history of English municipalities carries us far beyond the early history of Teutonic institution, carries us, therefore, either into the theory of a Roman origin or of an Anglo-Norman creation.

There is, however, one more alternative which this general view of the case would involve; that is, an Anglo-Saxon occupation of a Roman city. It is necessary to consider this theory for a moment, for, if it could be upheld from the same standpoint as the two former, the burden of proving the non-development of English municipal institutions from Roman municipal institutions would fall very heavily upon the inquirer into early Teutonic history. But the weight of proof against this theory is overwhelming. Of the existing municipalities of England, only a comparatively few occupy the same sites as the Roman *municipia* or *coloniae* mentioned by Ptolemy and Nennius, or even as the stations mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary, the Notitia, and by the Ravenna geographer; but, though London, York, Lincoln, Leicester, Canterbury, and Winchester have a continuous historical existence in these authorities, they wisely do not venture (to use the words of Professor Stubbs^a), like some of the towns of southern France, to claim an unbroken succession from the Roman municipality. Though Verulamium, Caistor, Dunium, and Etoectum find a place throughout these early historians, St. Albans, Norwich, Dorchester, and Lichfield have reared themselves alongside those old Roman sites, without, so far as history teaches us, deriving any advantage from Roman institutions.^b Again, Wroxeter, Cirencester,^c Silchester, though mentioned by the same authorities, disappear as boroughs at and since the time of Domesday; while Ludlow, Marlborough, Doncaster, Carlisle, and Farnham, all mentioned either in Ptolemy or the Antonine Itinerary, were not municipal boroughs until long after Domesday.^d Such are a few examples

^a *Const. Hist.* i. 62.

^b *Vide* Thompson's *Eng. Mun. Hist.* pp. 91, 110.

^c Cirencester is mentioned as a borough in 1399, but disappears again after that time.

^d The dates are as follows: Ludlow 1300, Marlborough 1200, Doncaster 1194, Carlisle, Henry III., Farnham 1310. See Tables affixed to Merewether and Stephens's *Hist. of Mun. Corp.* vol. iii.

of the broken line of progress which towns, known to have had a Roman organization, either as *municipia* or *coloniae*, have made in England. The causes thereof, however difficult to trace and gather together into a historical narrative, can at once be stated not to belong to the Roman influence by which the towns were created, — that would, on the contrary, have produced a uniform progress, a strongly marked topographical identity of each town in Roman and mediæval times, and, accompanying these, a continuous chronicle of events.

But, without stopping longer on the present occasion to inquire into the position which the history of municipal institutions at present occupies in the field of historical research, I would observe that it appears almost certain that no direct historical facts prevent us from tracing back existing institutions to a primitive stage of society—a stage, therefore, not belonging to civilized Rome. We thus clear the ground at the end of our journey, and must now turn to the commencing points.

With this preliminary statement, let me at once proceed to state the nature of the particular branch of evidence which is now to be brought forward, and the manner in which it can be applied to the facts already before us. My case, then, stated shortly, is this: that from amidst the common inheritance of English municipal towns we can gather sufficient evidence to trace their history to when they were little more than village communities. We must, however, neither lose the full significance of this important fact, nor must we make it engulf other equally important facts. We must not say, because English towns have during a long history retained some very early institutions, which, in the light of modern research, we can call primitive, that therefore English municipal institutions are wholly Teutonic in their origin and growth; we must not refuse to recognise what of them belongs to the influence of Rome: in point of fact, we must not refuse to recognise that it is possible, and indeed very probable, that Teutonic institutions became so encrusted with Roman institutions, that, unless we study very carefully and very thoroughly, it is almost impossible to penetrate through the latter to the former. With these reservations, then—with the period of the village commune directing us to primitive times, and hence to Teutonic history—with the almost sudden growth of large towns under the protection of the sovereign, directing us to Roman history—we proceed with the subject now immediately in hand.

Now besides some well-known features of English municipal institutions which may be considered as the common property of all municipal towns as distinguished from other towns, there is one important institution which, from

the fact of its not being exclusively municipal, enables us to extend our boundaries of research; I mean the right of English municipal bodies to certain possessory claims upon lands within their jurisdiction. I cannot, however, say that this right has come down to modern times so completely and so universally as other municipal institutions. It has almost entirely lost its original form in many municipalities; it lingers in a broken form in others; it lives in tolerable completeness only in a few. But that we are able so to classify its modern appearance as to suggest the stages of its development is a favourable conception of its once universal aspect. In the present paper I wish to confine our attention to this one subject, not because it is the only municipal institution by which we may trace evidences of the primitive village community,^a but partly because it has not yet attracted the critical attention of English historians, and partly because it is really the most significant factor in the evidence to be brought forward. I do not, therefore, mean to say that it is possible from this source of information to put one's finger upon a perfect, or very nearly perfect, example of a primitive village community as it is pictured in the pages of comparative jurisprudence. But what I contend is, that, by arranging in archæological groups some important facts of English municipal history—by taking these facts from their present hard-bound geographical unities and placing them in one historical unity—we shall be able to see their significant historical relationship to each other, we shall be able to carve out a historical development instead of simply an unmeaning chronological progress, and we shall be able at once to place them in their archaic epoch of history. Even if we could only construct from many isolated parts of English municipalities the living features of the most essential portions of a single primitive village community, I should hold such evidence to be important. But here the right to bind these many isolations together and call them a unity would rest upon argumentative, not historical, grounds, and would, therefore, be so far fallible. Fortunately, however, the growth of English municipal institutions has not been uniform, those of one town overlap those of another, and we thereby gain an almost unbroken chain wherewith to bind our parts together.

It is a sufficiently significant fact that all the municipal corporations of England are either actually in possession of landed property or have records

^a I may mention one other institution which connects the English municipalities with primitive institutions, namely, the *open-air court* or assembly. I am treating of this subject in a separate work, *Primitive Folkmoets*, but I would note that open-air assemblies are to be found in High Wycombe, Lostwithiel, Bishop's Castle, Hastings, Lichfield, Southampton, Seaford, Dover, Folkestone, and London.

referring back to the time when such was the case; and, in most instances, they give us the official statement of a sale or other mode of parting with their lands.^a Now this, of itself, does not lead the subject beyond the Roman boundary. The *municipia* and *coloniae* of Rome also possessed certain lands which they called their *regio* or *territorium*. But, though the parallel between English and Roman is here complete enough,^b one step further on will reveal to us the historical difference. The Roman *municipium* is a *corpus* or corporation, and holds its lands in right of its legal position;^c moreover it is called into existence by the sovereign, by a *senatus-consultum*, by a *lex*, or by an imperial constitution.^d This creation of a legal corporation by the Roman law is the undoubted source of the same conception in England.^e The ecclesiastical authorities acted under it from early times, and were enabled to accumulate their vast possessions of landed property by means of one of its fundamental principles, perpetual succession. But when we turn to municipal bodies we find the case somewhat different. Though every king, from the Conqueror downwards, granted charters to several towns,^f it is not until the reign of Henry VI. that the first charter of municipal incorporation is granted for the purpose of *giving the burgesses the power of taking and inheriting lands by succession, and of suing and being sued by their corporate names.*^g The simple fact of being possessed of landed property, therefore, either carries us no further than so late a period as Henry VI. or compels us to adopt the idea of a descent from Roman times. We know by ample evidence that many towns owned their surrounding territory long before the Lancastrian period, and the only question is, therefore, Whence did this power originate? To answer this, in the first place, it must be observed that the proprietary rights of

^a The amount of corporation property sold during 1877 was £173,895. This illustrates how quickly the old state of things is now passing away. See *Abstract of Mun. Borough Accounts* (Commons' Papers, 1878, No. 196).

^b Coote's *Romans of Britain*, p. 361.

^c *Ibid.* 358.

^d Ortolan, *Hist. of Roman Law* (*Eng. Trans.*), p. 606.

^e Blackstone's *Commentaries*, by Stephen, book iv. pt. iii. cap. i.

^f The number of charters granted before the reign of Henry IV. amounts to 606. See a Tabular Statement in *Journal of Statistical Society*, vol. v. p. 101.

^g Merewether and Stephens's *History of Boroughs and Municipal Corporations*, vol. i. p. v. The charters granted prior to the reign of Henry VI. simply grant certain privileges. London was freed by Henry I. from the immediate jurisdiction of any tribunal except of their own appointment, from several universal imposts, from the obligation to accept trial by battle, from liability to *miseriordia* or entire forfeiture, and from tolls and local customs. (Stubbs's *Select Charters*, p. 103.) In the reign of Henry II. York, Bedford, Shrewsbury, Bridgnorth, Andover, Preston, and Cambridge pay certain sums for charters of liberties. (*Ibid.* p. 157.)

English municipalities cannot be defined so nicely as to mean simple ownership. The greater number of instances, it is true, can admit of only this latter interpretation; but we meet with so many examples illustrating how the old communal rights have developed into the modern form of actual possession by private owners, that there is little difficulty in placing the former as the archaic parent of the latter. At Kilgerran, for instance, and at St. Clear's, the right of pasture in the burgesses over the uninclosed lands of the two boroughs was gradually transformed into a right of ownership transferred by means of a formal presentment at the courts leet.^a At Norwich the freemen receive annually one shilling each for the rent of the town close estate, which was formerly a common. (*Mun. Corp. Com.* iv. 2466.) What we have to deal with, therefore, at present, and without at all losing sight of the fact of actual ownership, are the proprietary rights of the municipal towns which have lived on in spite of the change of their legal status, and which present to the modern historian just as good examples of a crystallisation of institutions as are met with in Hindoo history.

The agricultural features, if I may say so, of the primitive village community may be thus broadly arranged: first, the inclosed habitations of the people, afterwards known as the village or *tún*, town. This represents the centre point from which issued all the rights over the adjacent territory and in the community; each of the villagers has there his homestead, his house, courtyard, farm buildings (Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* i. 49), and, according to Nasse, as much land as was requisite to form a garden, kitchen garden, and for flax and other culture which required a constant protection. (Nasse, *Agric. Commun.* p. 17.) All this formed an inclosed spot sacred against all comers, the home which came to be popularly called an Englishman's castle, the first step in the history of real property law. Then come the common lands, over which the villagers have only cultivating rights, according to rules determined upon at the common assembly of the people. Round the village are the inclosed grass-lands for the rearing of calves, &c.; round this the arable land for three crops; then the meadow ground for hay

^a *Reports of the Municipal Corporation Commissioners*, vol. i. pp. 280, 378. Also the "urbana prata" and "burgwara maedum" of Canterbury are mentioned in the *Codex Diplomaticus* (ii. pp. 26 and 66), and the common wood (i. p. 216; ii. p. 1); Rochester had "communione marisci quae ad illam villam cum recto pertinebat" (ii. p. 57), also "caestrwarowald" (i. p. 115); Grantabryc and Colchester had "communem pasturam" (Ellis's *Int. to Domes.*); see Coote's *Romans of Britain*, p. 361, note 3; but in these boroughs there is no trace of any of these communal rights now, though there is of actual ownership.

harvest; then the stinted pasture lands; and finally the wooded pasture, in primitive times the forest or mark boundaries of the whole community.^a

Now evidence of the existence of this village commune in England is, as is well known, abundantly forthcoming,^b and Sir Henry Maine, who has touched upon the subject in his celebrated work on *Village Communities of the East and West*, very forcibly suggests some new sources from which to gain information. The peculiar customs of the Scotch borough of Lauder suggest to him the advisability of a re-examination of Scottish agricultural history. But to my mind they suggest much more. They suggest that similar customs might be found to exist in English boroughs, and that, therefore, a new chapter of English municipal history has yet to be written. I do not now attempt to write this new chapter; my object is to suggest some of its probable headings.

As stated above, I shall not attempt to deal with the complete organisation of the old village community; it is not to be expected that the old primitive forms have lasted throughout the warfare of a thousand years without decaying here and developing there. Of the purely village life, for instance, there remains very little evidence; and this little has to be sought for, not from means readily at hand, but from the court books and custumals of the old town-moots and from the immense range of literature occupied by the history of real property law. Here in the village itself commenced the decay of the old village system—here land first became private property. I hope at some future time to be able to treat of this subject, but for the present we must pause no longer here. We have to travel away from the centre point, whence issued all the cultivating rights of each free villager over the lands of the community, in order to consider what is left of these rights themselves.

Our first group of evidence relates to arable fields and meadow ground, which were divided in primitive times by lot among the villagers.^c At Nottingham the burgesses are entitled, if resident, to take, in order of seniority, what is called a "burgess part," that is, an allotment of land in the fields or meadows at a small ground-rent payable to the corporation. These "burgess parts," we read, are 254 in number, and are unequal in value, forming in fact a sort of lottery.^d At Malmesbury the whole body of commoners are interested in a portion of land

^a See Nasse, p. 17, and *Essay on the Land Tenure of Germany*, by R. B. D. Morier: *Cobden Club Essays*, first series.

^b See the facts summarised by Nasse in his *Agricultural Community*, pp. 1-13.

^c Laveleye's *Primitive Property*, *passim*.

^d *Mun. Corp. Commission Reports*, iii. 1993.

divided into 280 allotments of about an acre each, forty-eight landholders have an acre each, and the twenty-four assistant burgesses have an additional acre each.^a At Berwick-on-Tweed there is one portion of land demised to tenants by the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses, called "treasurer's farms," and another portion is subdivided into several parcels varying in quantities from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres. These latter are called meadows, and, at an annual meeting of the burgesses called the "meadow guild," are distributed as they become vacant by the death or non-residence of the last occupiers among the senior resident burgesses and widows of burgesses, the most ancient burgesses being entitled to choose the most valuable vacant meadow, and so on down to the youngest, until the number of vacant meadows is exhausted.^b At Laugharne the principal part of the corporation lands, amounting to about 330 acres, and lying together near the town, is divided into seventy-six shares, namely, twenty shares at Haydon, sixteen at Moore, forty at Undereliff. These plots are under corn for three years, and for three years following in grass, and they are exclusively enjoyed by the burgesses. At the death of a senior burgess the profits of his share are taken by his personal representatives until the next Michaelmas court, when, at that court, the next senior resident burgess is presented by the jury, and succeeds to the vacant share.^c At Aberavon there are 99 customary acres of inclosed land belonging to the borough, which, by an old ordinance, are divided amongst the thirty-three oldest burgesses, three acres being allotted to each, which they hold for their lives, and at their deaths the allotment goes to their widows during widowhood. If there be no widow the oldest burgess who has previously had no allotment becomes entitled to the allotment so falling in.^d A portion of the property of the corporation of Marlborough consists of about 84 acres of land called the "port field," and, by a very ancient usage, each of the burgesses has a portion, varying from six to two acres, of this land for life upon paying a small fine.^e The principal property of the corporation of Arundel is an estate of about 90 acres, called the "Burgesses' Brooks," which is divided into sixteen unequal portions, and let from year to year to a burgess upon first coming into the corporation.^f The revenue of the corporation of Chippenham consists chiefly of the rent of about 34 acres of land which they have of their own property; and other

^a *Mun. Corp. Commission Reports*, i. 77-8.

^b *Ibid.* iii. 1443.

^c *Ibid.* i. 287-9.

^d *Ibid.* i. 166.

^e *Ibid.* i. 85. The Portfield of Haverfordwest is still a commonable meadow, i. 241.

^f *Ibid.* ii. 674. See also Tierney's *Hist. of Arundel*, pp. 705-8.

borough land, called "West Mead," is laid down in meadow, and the grass divided annually among the bailiff and burgesses and the ninety-seven first freemen on the anciatry. The extent of the West Mead is now about $37\frac{1}{2}$ acres. An acre is first set out for the bailiff and twelve burgesses, and the remainder is divided into quarter-acres, called "farthingdoles," and each of the ninety-seven freemen is intitled to one. None are allowed to enter the mead until the bailiff has cut his acre; but after the bailiff has carried away any one is at liberty to cut his farthingdole when it suits himself, and application is made to the sub-bailiff, who, if necessary, treads down a path to the specified farthingdole. The freemen are said to be much attached to this mode of occupying their property.^a At Kenfig the burgesses are entitled each to a twenty-ninth share of an inclosure called "Wayn Kimea." Upon the death of a burgess holding one of the plots, his eldest or other son, if a burgess and resident, succeeds to the enjoyment, and in default of this the eldest resident burgess, not in the enjoyment of one of the plots, becomes entitled to the plot so vacated for his life.^b At Clun, in Salop, we meet with some very peculiar information. The burgesses claim to have formerly had the exclusive ownership and enjoyment of certain undivided lands lying in nine fields in different parts of the manor and forest of Clun, containing upwards of 1,500 acres arable and 200 forest. The freeholders at large now claim and in point of fact exercise the right of pasture over these lands, and at a trial disputing this right in 1690 some minutes were produced by the bailiff of the corporation, the first of which is as follows: "I measured out our burgesses' undivided lands, and plowed ye same, and are two miles in length from Cumy-frodd to Ronderengereth, being in all nine fields, one year after another."^c

Such is the kind of evidence of the first portion of the cultivating rights of the old village commune, namely, allotments of arable and meadow lands. It is not of course complete evidence; but it is sufficiently so to establish that at one time or other it was complete. The mode of allotment is no longer identical with that described by Mr. Benjamin Williams in an Oxfordshire manor,^d with the Sussex tenantry customs described by Mr. William Figg,^e or with the customs of the Suwâti Afghans described by Major Raverty,^f and those of Tanjore by Mr. Stokes;^g

^a *Mun. Corp. Commission Reports*, ii. 1248.

^b *Ibid.* i. 269-70.

^c *Ibid.* iv. 2644. If the last clause "one year after another" in any way alludes to one field being ploughed at a time while the others were open, this passage is peculiarly significant.

^d *Archæologia*, vol. XXXIII. 269.

^e *Sussex Archæological Collections*, iv. 305-308.

^f *Bengal As. Soc. Journal*, No. iii. 1862.

^g *Indian Antiquary*, iv. p. 65.

it is in fact no longer the primitive Aryan custom, namely, a lottery by means of sticks or pieces of straw of different lengths, but it has grown into an essentially English custom. Again, the time for making the allotments is no longer once a year or at any fixed period. But, instead of this, we have very good substitutes. The allotment by age, it will be observed, is strangely identical in almost every instance, and the caldors were always revered among Teutons and among primitive peoples generally. Again, the right to the allotment being for life, instead of annually, is only a step consistent with the whole of English property law history.^a It leads by insensible stages to what we meet with at Newcastle-on-Tyne and at Lancaster, the peculiarities of whose customs are clearly attributable to archaic history. In both these towns certain lands are held by a lease and custom of a remarkable kind. The parcels in Lancaster are very numerous, probably nearly two hundred; and in Newcastle, though not stated, the parcels appear to be equally numerous. They are let for a term of years charged with a small rent; and at the expiration of each term a new lease is granted at the old rent, for the same term, on payment of a fine amounting to twenty times the reserved rent. In Newcastle this custom, slightly varying in detail from that of Lancaster, is considered so sacred that houses held under it are treated as if held in fee and made the subject of mortgage and settlement.^b Here we lose sight of the existing burgesses themselves taking the allotments, and instead thereof they receive the rents from other tenants. What were these other tenants who possessed property upon such favourable and peculiar terms? I think we here perceive the first step in the direction of private ownership instead of periodical allotment.^c The original burgess occupiers continue to occupy at the original small rental, the subsequent members of the corporation

^a In order to illustrate that the foregoing customs of allotment for life by seniority, and of the representatives of a deceased holder of an allotment holding it until his successor is appointed, are not impossible developments of the primitive system, it is only necessary to refer to what has been going on in Switzerland, where the primitive commune is undoubtedly in existence. M. Laveleye describes how in some districts the *allmend* is divided into a large number of small parcels, five or six of which are united to form a lot, or else it is divided into as many lots as there are commoners. The occupier holds them for ten, fifteen, or twenty years; or *sometimes for life*. *On the death of a commoner, if his son or widow has a right of common, either of them may retain the parcel until the new allotment*. See *Primitive Property* (*Eng Trans.*), p. 93.

^b Lancaster, *Mun. Corp. Com. Report*, iii. 1609; Newcastle, *ibid.* iii. 1652. A large part of the property of the city of London is let on leases of a similar nature, viz. for terms of forty years, renewable every fourteen years at a fine certain.

^c Nasse points out that private property first came into vogue with arable land, on which private use, in relation to common use, had a longer duration. See *Agric. Com.* p. 11.

retaining a hold upon the lands by means of the renewing leases and the fines. But before we altogether lose sight of arable and meadow ground as allotments to burgesses, and come upon lands and houses as corporation property, such instances as Beebles, Dunwich, Great Grimsby, and others, still being in possession of large tracts of arable and meadow lands let out at rack rentals for cultivation, and portions of them subject to common pasture by the freemen, seem to intervene. The leases granted at Beebles are from year to year only,^a those at Great Grimsby are let to freemen only.^b Thus, on the one hand, the initial step in private ownership of land is shown; and on the other hand, a stage between corporation communal rights and corporation ownership.

One other phase requires to be spoken of before leaving this portion of our subject. In the primitive communities the crops to be cultivated are settled by a general law decided by, and obligatory upon, the whole community. In the cases brought forward for our present purpose there is only one instance, namely, that of Laugharne, in which settled custom has stepped into the place of legislative ruling, and decided the mode of cultivation. But, in the important instance of Berwick-upon-Tweed, the burgesses-in-guild make by-laws for the preserving, governing, disposing, letting, and demising of their lands. In the exercise of this right, the burgesses regulate the enjoyment of the meadows and stints, and prescribe the conditions of husbandry under which meadow and stint lands may be broken up and converted into tillage, and, in the case of meadows, the terms for which they may be let by the individual burgesses to whom they are allotted.^c At Malmesbury, also, there is an assembly, composed of the aldermen, capital burgesses, assistant burgesses, landholders, and commoners, which has the privilege of deciding on the title of claimants to a share in the allotments.^d And the Beebles Fen Court regulates the property of the corporation, and determines the rights of pasture.^e

Our next group of evidence relates to the rights of pasturage. As we should expect, the instances of this are much more numerous than those we have just been considering. As commerce takes the place of agriculture in the occupations of borough populations, the first agricultural element which gives way to the new state of things would necessarily be the arable lands. These require the time and attention of the cultivator, while pasture lands are still of use when the community has passed from agriculture to commerce, the cattle or horse of the

^a *Mun. Corp. Com.* iv. 2139.

^b *Ibid.* iv. 2254.

^c *Ibid.* iii. 1443-4.

^d *Ibid.* i. p. 77-8.

^e *Ibid.* iv. 2137.

merchant being sent to graze, and afterwards, may be, used for commercial purposes.

One significant fact I wish to point out, namely, that all the boroughs mentioned in our first group as giving evidence of arable allotments afford us evidence of pasture commonage. Of course this was necessary for the full rearrangement of the evidence into archæological groups. If one set of boroughs had had to be placed together for evidence of arable and meadow allotments, and a totally different set for evidence of common pasturage, we should at this juncture have had to encounter the difficulty, already pointed out, of an argumentative instead of an historical basis for our conclusions. But this is not the case. There are three great sections into which we may divide English municipal boroughs: first, those having arable and meadow allotments, and common of pasture; second, those having only common of pasture; third, those having only absolute ownership. Each of these sections appears to me to be a development from a previous state of things. Having got the first, the two latter are comparatively unimportant, because the distinction is so rigid and so complete; because we never find one section antagonistic to another; because just where we might have expected the old village community to have commenced its decay, or rather its development, there we are most deficient in evidence. The organization of the village breaks up first, and each outlying circle in succession—arable and meadow, then common pasture. Accordingly, it should be considered good evidence, I think, that we nowhere meet boroughs with arable and meadow allotments, and without common pasture, and that we do find boroughs with only common pasture.

Common of pasture in the primitive community was for a limited period over the fields and meadow lands, and all the year round over the commons. At Nottingham there are both these descriptions of pasturage. The fields are commonable from the 12th August to the 12th of November to every burgess or occupier of a toftstead; the meadows are commonable from the 6th July to the 12th August, and from the 12th October to the 24th November; the forest and commons are commonable all the year round.^a At Chippenham, after the meadow grass is cut, the whole mead is stocked in common by the freemen and freeholders, and the common lands, known by the name of *Englands*, are stocked by the freemen during the whole year.^b The remainder of the boroughs men-

^a *Mun. Corp. Repts.* iii. 2001. It is noticeable also in this case that the commonable land *extends round the town* and approaches to the very outskirts.

^b *Ibid.* ii. 1248.

tioned above in the first group of evidence have a perpetual commonage of pasture, but no limited pasture over the arable and meadow allotments. At Lancaster, again, we meet with an illustration of the mode of decay by which these customs are rapidly passing away. Lancaster Marsh was formerly a stinted pasture, but it was inclosed in 1796 and let; but the rents, still called marsh-grasses, are now apportioned among the freemen, according to old custom.^a

Coming to an entirely new list of boroughs, I will notice a few of the most important examples of the rights of common of pasture. It is impossible not to see that these old rights of pasture suggest an earlier period of history—a period which would give back allotments of arable and meadow, together with cultivating rules for the yearly crops. We have a first list of boroughs possessing both periodical pasture over arable and meadow lands, and perpetual commonage over waste lands, and a second list possessing only one of these species of common pasture. The freemen of Huntingdon who reside in what are called commonable houses^b enjoy the right of stocking the common with two cows and one horse, from old May Day till Martinmas, and with four sheep from Martinmas till Candlemas; and have rights of common over five commons belonging to the borough.^c The freemen of Stamford have a right of common over 1,148 acres of land during the time it lies fallow, and over 52 acres throughout the year.^d At Coventry the right of pasture over certain lands called the Lammas lands is for two horses and one cow from Lammas till Candlemas; on some other lands from old Michaelmas till old Candlemas; and on the commons and wastes throughout the year.^e At Northampton the right of common to the freemen lasts from the time the grass is fit to cut till old Candlemas.^f The burgesses of Beverley depasture from the 14th May till the 14th February.^g Every resident freeman of Doncaster may depasture on a tract of land called the *low pastures* during the summer season.^h At Basingstoke every freeholder resident in the borough is entitled to common of pasture from the open tide, or time of the harvest being got in, until All Souls' Day.ⁱ It will not, I think, be necessary to enumerate any further instances of

^a *Mun. Corp. Repts.* iii. 1605. See also *Berwick-upon-Tweed*, iii. 1443-4. Here at the annual meeting of the stint guild, some of the allotments to burgesses are made out of fields which were open pasturage up to 1794.

^b The commonable houses were declared to be so by resolution of the corporation in 1607, and must have been erected before September the 28th, 1601, or since that time, on the site of those ancient houses.

^c *Mun. Corp. Repts.* iv. 2236.

^d *Ibid.* iv. 2530.

^e *Ibid.* iii. 1801.

^f *Ibid.* iii. 1972.

^g *Ibid.* iii. 1459.

^h *Ibid.* iii. 1504.

ⁱ *Ibid.* ii. 1106.

this periodical right of common, or to set out here the list of boroughs and cities which possess the right of common of pasture all the year round. The list, as I have said, includes all those above mentioned as giving evidence of arable allotments, and it has been published in a modified form from the sources I have used for this Paper in the shape of a Parliamentary Paper.^a But before leaving this portion of our subject let me note how the old festival days of May Day, Martinmas, Candlemas, old Michaelmas, old Candlemas, and the old Lammas customs remind us that we are in the presence of early historic life, and, with especial reference to agricultural customs, also in the presence of old Teutonic village life.

There is only one remaining feature of the old agricultural community to note as still existing among modern English municipal institutions. It is not very important of itself, but in connection with what has been already noticed it assumes a relative position to the other portions of our researches. The old village community was organised and self-acting, and it possessed a body of officers and servants which practically made it independent of all outside help. And we meet with such officers as the brook-warden at Arundel, the field-grieve at Berwick-on-Tweed, the pound-keeper^b or pound-driver, and the pinder in many different towns, the grassmen of Newcastle-on-Tyne, the warrener of Scarborough, the keeper of the greenyard at London,^c the hedge-lookers of Lancaster and Clitheroe, and the mole-catcher of Arundel, Leicester, and Richmond, all relating to the old primitive village homestead; with others such as the haymakers of Rochester, the hayward in fifteen different towns, the field-driver of Bedford, the herd, nolt-herds, town swine-herds, and neat-herds of Alnwick, Newcastle, Shrewsbury, and Doncaster, relating to the old system of meadow cultivation;

^a *Return of Boroughs and Cities in the United Kingdom possessing Common Lands.* (House of Commons Papers, 1870. No. 448.) The date of the *Municipal Corporation Commission* was 1835, and during this interval great alterations took place.

^b There is no more ancient institution in the country, says Sir Henry Maine, than the village pound: it is far older than the King's Bench, and probably older than the kingdom. *Early Hist. of Inst.* p. 263.

^c See Halliwell's *Nares' Glossary*, *sub voce* "Green Yard." The Green Yard is situate in Whitecross Street, and the duty of the keeper is to receive all fines, dues, and costs incidental to the straying of animals in the city. We have evidence here that the municipal history of London is not to be sought exclusively from Roman history, or from a developed political system. The Green Yard carries us further back than either of these, and associates a portion at all events of the early history of London with the early history of other municipal boroughs.

and finally with such as pasture-masters, moor grieves, moormen, mossmen, moor wardens, fen reeves, and woodwards, who indicate the outlying pastures and woods of the old community. Such important facts as these must suggest at least that an agricultural organisation was the earliest form of many English municipal towns,^a and, coupled with the facts already set forth, we can go a step further than this. The officers of the old village community were sometimes paid by an allowance of grain, more generally by an allotment of a piece of cultivated land. And so are some officers of the English municipality. The aldermen of Nottingham were paid by an allotment of the seventh part of a meadow to each, called an *Alderman's Part*. The chamberlain, mace-bearer,

^a I must be permitted to refer to the Introduction to my *Index of Municipal Offices* (Index Society, 1878) for further information on this head, see pp. 26-32. I, however, append here a full list of the agricultural officers, as it may be useful for easy reference: the information is taken from the *Reports of the Municipal Corporation Commission* (1835). The town names printed in small capitals indicate that the office was there obsolete in 1835:—

- | | |
|---|--|
| <i>Beadle and Poundkeeper</i> , Rochester. | <i>Moor Grieves</i> [<i>Gerefa</i>], Alnwick. |
| <i>Brookwarden</i> , ARUNDEL. | <i>Moormen and Mossmen</i> , Lancaster. |
| <i>Driver of Commons</i> , Rye. | <i>Moor Wardens</i> , Axbridge. |
| <i>Drivers of Cattle</i> , Kidwelly. | <i>Neat Herd</i> , Doncaster. |
| <i>Fen Reeve</i> , Aldeburgh, Dunwich. | <i>Nolt Herds</i> , Newcastle on Tyne. |
| <i>Fen Reeveres</i> , BECCLES, Southwold. | <i>Overseers of Common</i> , Llantrissant. |
| <i>Field Drivers</i> , Bedford. | <i>Pasture Master</i> , Beverley, York. |
| <i>Field Grieve</i> [<i>Gerefa</i>], Berwick-on-Tweed. | <i>Pindar</i> , Nottingham. |
| <i>Foreman of the Commons</i> , Huntingdon. | <i>Pindar Keeper of the Meadows</i> , Nottingham. |
| <i>Grassmen</i> , Newcastle-on-Tyne. | <i>Pinder</i> , Doncaster, Hedon, Hull, Orford, Richmond
(Yorkshire), Scarborough. |
| <i>Haymakers</i> , Rochester. | <i>Pinders</i> , Cambridge, Pontefract. |
| <i>Hayward</i> , Basingstoke, Berkeley, Blandford Forum,
Brading, Christchurch Twynham, Dorchester,
Godmanchester, High Wycombe, Kenfig, Lyme
Regis, NEWPORT (MONMOUTHSHIRE), Poole,
Portsmouth, Reading. | <i>Pound Driver</i> , Pevensey, Winchelsea. |
| <i>Haywards</i> , Aberavon, Loughor, Neath. | <i>Pound Keeper</i> , Aberavon, Canterbury, Hythe,
Llanelly, Newport (Pembrokeshire). |
| <i>Herd</i> , Alnwick. | <i>Pound Keepers</i> , Kidwelly. |
| <i>Hog Driver</i> , Hythe. | <i>Swine-catcher</i> , Congleton. |
| <i>Keeper of the Green Yard</i> , London. | <i>Swineherd</i> , Shrewsbury. |
| <i>Keeper of the Pinfold</i> , Alnwick. | <i>Tender of the Town Wood</i> , Congleton. |
| <i>Lookers of Hedges and Ditches</i> , Clitheroe, Lancaster. | <i>Tenters of Common</i> , Derby. |
| <i>Mole Catcher</i> , Arundel, Leicester, Richmond (York-
shire). | <i>Warrener and Game Keeper</i> , Scarborough. |
| | <i>Woodward</i> , Havering, Nottingham. |

and mayor's common serjeant have likewise an allotment.^a The alderman is the chief man of the borough of Malmesbury, and he is paid by a piece of land called *the alderman's kitchen*.^b The field grieve of Berwick-upon-Tweed has an allowance of money in lieu of a meadow.^c The portreeve, haywards, and other officers of Aberavon have a piece of inclosed hay land divided amongst them. Here, again, it will be observed that Nottingham, Malmesbury, Berwick-upon-Tweed, and Aberavon retain in this respect also the archaic characteristics of their institutions. We meet with remnants also of this old custom elsewhere. The hayward of Godmanchester receives an annual sum of money in lieu of land.^d The bailiffs of Northampton are allowed the rent of a piece of ground called *the Bailiff's Hook*,^e and the bailiff of Uxbridge possesses a piece of ground called *Bailiff's Wall*.^f The mayor of Queenborowe has two leezes, or right of depasturing a certain number of sheep, cows, and horses all the year.^g The pinder of Doncaster has a small piece of land in Doncaster field called *the Pinder's Balk*.^h And we have some examples of this system fallen into disuse in the name of *Bellman's Acre* at Newport, which is still extant, though the office is obsolete. Now it appears to me a very important consideration that this old custom of payment in kind, and the retention in some cases of the old field name, should have lasted down to modern times with so pertinacious a grasp. Civilised political economy abhors payment in kind; agricultural economy, as we know from instances both in England and elsewhere, sanctions it during the early periods of its growth. We see it giving way in Berwick-upon-Tweed, Godmanchester, and Northampton; and a thorough investigation of field names would, I doubt not, restore much more evidence of this nature to the domain of history.

What, then, is the result of this cursory though, I hope, suggestive examination of a new phase of English municipal history? We have been able to construct, out of materials existing in the nineteenth century, portions of a social organisation which belongs to the most primitive period of Aryan history—an organisation that was equally the heritage of the early Romans as of the early Teutons; of the Celts as of the Hindoo. It is Aryan, therefore, and not merely Teutonic; and, moreover, it is early Aryan. The true significance, therefore, of the facts now brought to bear is the mere existence, in howsoever slight a form, of institutions which have had to stand still, while national history

^a *Mun. Corp. Com.* iii. 1991.

^b *Ibid.* i. 80.

^c *Ibid.* iii. 1442.

^d *Ibid.* iv. 2237.

^e *Ibid.* iii. 1967.

^f *Ibid.* ii. 1094.

^g *Ibid.* ii. 831.

^h *Ibid.* iii. 1500.

and social history have uniformly progressed. Our information, it is true, is very far from being perfect; but this, I venture to think, is due rather, to the want of available materials from which to compile it than to any deficiency of actual facts. My chief source of information has been the *Appendices to the Reports of the Municipal Corporations Commission* issued in 1835. But for historical purposes this is nothing like complete. The Commissioners pursued that line of conduct which is too generally adopted by politicians and statesmen. They imagined that the history of the past can have nothing whatever to with the legislation of the future,^a and they therefore did not pretend to collect any *historical* information. The result, therefore, of the foregoing pages is more than ever remarkable for the clear and decisive way in which the evidence groups itself as belonging archaeologically to the old primitive village community. Incomplete as our evidence is, it is complete enough to do more than suggest that the early history of English municipalities must be sought for, not in Roman records, but in Teutonic.^b

But though we have to complain of the incompleteness of our historical data, there can be no doubt that, so far as they go, they indicate with scarcely any hesitation the archaic period to which they belong. To attempt a detailed proof of this would be wearisome; and, unfortunately, our county and local historians pay more attention to genealogies and biographical essays than to local institutions. Let me, however, point out one or two examples where the facts described above can be definitely shown to be the index to a state of things existing long prior. Marlborough is one of the boroughs which I have taken as evidence of an allotment of arable lands on the principle of the village commune system. The statement as to Marlborough is very meagre in the *Report of the Municipal Corporations Commission*. Turning to Waylen's *History*

^a See Mr. Hog's Protest, p. 9.

^b It will not do to multiply instances of want of information in the Reports I have mainly relied upon for evidence of the existence of primitive agricultural institutions in English municipal towns, but I must advert to this question slightly. The Inclosure Commissioners were quite aware of the existence of such institutions, for one of the class of rights spoken of as difficult to deal with under a general Inclosure Act as proposed in 1844 was that of the freemen of boroughs. (See *Evidence taken before the Committee on Commons Inclosure*, Questions 42, 44, *et seq.*) But so late as this year (1878) the lands of the Corporation of Oxford have been dealt with under the Inclosure Act, and some very curious information is contained in the evidence given before the House of Commons Committee as to the nature and tenure of these lands, information which is entirely wanting in the *Report of the Municipal Corporations Commissioners*.

of *Marlborough*,^a we find that so late as 1823, or just twelve years before the Reports of the Municipal Corporations Commission, the older customs had existed. The appearance of the place, we are told, was precisely that of common field land, the allotments being divided by broad lanchets or strips of meadow land and subjected to common pasture during the autumn, while over the Thorns, or Common, right of continual pasturage existed. Nothing could be more suggestive of the method of cultivation under the village community than this; and the fact proved in one borough clears the way for a similar proof in all the other instances. We need not search far for these. The two boroughs of Hertford and Sutton-Coldfield, for instance, afford us no evidence, except common pasture in the latter case, on the subject I have treated of in the preceding pages. Yet a commission under the 5th Edward III. ascertained that two meadows at Hertford belonging to the corporation were usually mowed—the one, once in three years, being depastured the other two; the other, for two successive years and depastured every third:^b and in 1797 every housekeeper of Sutton-Coldfield might take in one acre of common, plough it for four years, then sow it with clover and lay it in the common again, after which he might take another acre and work it in like manner.^c

Gathering up the threads of the various facts now brought under notice, it does not appear to me that more complete evidence of the Teutonic substratum underlying the constitution of English municipal life could well be found. It must be borne in mind that I do not claim everything municipal as Teutonic. I only resist the claim that everything municipal is Roman by showing that the underlying organisation is based upon agricultural communities of an early type, which cannot have been Roman. We have practically restored to the domain of history those features of English municipalities which owe their origin to the old Teutonic village community. Such towns as Nottingham, Malmesbury, Berwick, Laughtarne, Chippenham, Aberavon, Marlborough, Arundel, Kenfig, affording us instances of two phases of the threefold relationship to the land occupied by the primitive villager—other more important towns still supplying us with one of these phases—others again supplying us with detached portions—must be acknowledged to make up a tolerably complete picture of the whole primitive community itself, and a picture withal which casts its shadows and its lights upon the whole municipal history of England.

^a Page 103.

^b Turnor's *Hist. of Hertford*, pp. 62, 63.

^c Eden's *State of the Poor*, vol. iii. p. 749.

Such then is the nature of those primitive village institutions which are still to be traced among our municipal boroughs. Historians have before now admitted the value of such evidence as I have here grouped together, and have admitted that English municipal history wants re-examining. The present is rather the foreshadowing of that task than the commencement, but at all events it affords a more complete picture of the case than Professor Stubbs has been able to present when he can only deduce from the instances of York, Oxford, Colchester, &c., a proof that "the common lands of the *burh* testified to its origin in a state of society in which the mark system was not yet forgotten."^a

I have the honour to be,

My dear Sir,

Your very faithful Servant,

G. LAURENCE GOMME.

To William J. Thoms, Esq., F.S.A.

^a *Const. Hist. of England*, i. 93.

XXI.—*Excavations at Mount Caburn Camp, near Lewes, conducted in September and October, 1877, and July, 1878. By Major-General AUGUSTUS LANE FOX, F.R.S., F.S.A.*

Read June 20, 1878.

ALTHOUGH many places from their extent may have possessed greater importance in early times, no British camp is perhaps better known to ourselves than Mount Caburn. Situated, not in the midst of a deserted heath as some of them are, but in the centre of a populous district, a very conspicuous feature from the town of Lewes, and close to the junction of the railways from Eastbourne and Newhaven, it has necessarily attracted the attention of all who pass that way. Various conjectures have been hazarded in local histories as to its origin and uses, and more numerous by far must have been the unrecorded speculations of the curious during the long period that Lewes has figured in history.

To put such speculations to the test, and determine by means of any relics that might be discovered the date of so interesting a monument, appeared to me a matter worthy of the attention of archæologists, and I therefore applied to Mr. Brand, the Speaker of the House of Commons, who is the owner of the property, for permission to dig, which he kindly granted, and the excavations were commenced on the 2nd September, 1877, and continued during the greater part of the month.

Mount Caburn Camp is situated at the south-eastern corner of a block of hills detached from the range of the Southdowns by means of two valleys, through which flow the Ouse and its tributary from Glynde. It appears to be generally admitted by all writers on this district that the valley of the Ouse formed an arm of the sea in prehistoric times, and that the water extended up the fork formed by the two valleys as far as Glynde on the east, and Hamsey above Lewes on the west; and as the whole district to the north was occupied by the dense and at that time probably impassable forest of Anderida, the Caburn range must have

been favourably situated for defence on all sides. An irregular oval, two miles in length and one in breadth, having a ridge of lofty hills all round the outside, and a sheltered valley in the middle which opened into the Ouse valley on the south-west, and afforded easy access to what was then the sea, this position appears to have been in every way adapted to be the home of an independent tribe.

Numerous traces of early habitation and of terrace cultivation are to be seen in the central valley; and the bounding ridge of hills on the south side, overlooking the Ouse, is defended by two camps, the larger one, which I have named Ranscombe Camp to distinguish it, because situated on the farm of that name, above Southerham, and the smaller one, properly termed Mount Caburn, or the Caburn, which is the subject of the present communication, situated at the south-eastern corner of the range in question, and commanding an extensive view of the whole.

The presence of two camps in such close proximity has afforded matter for speculation.

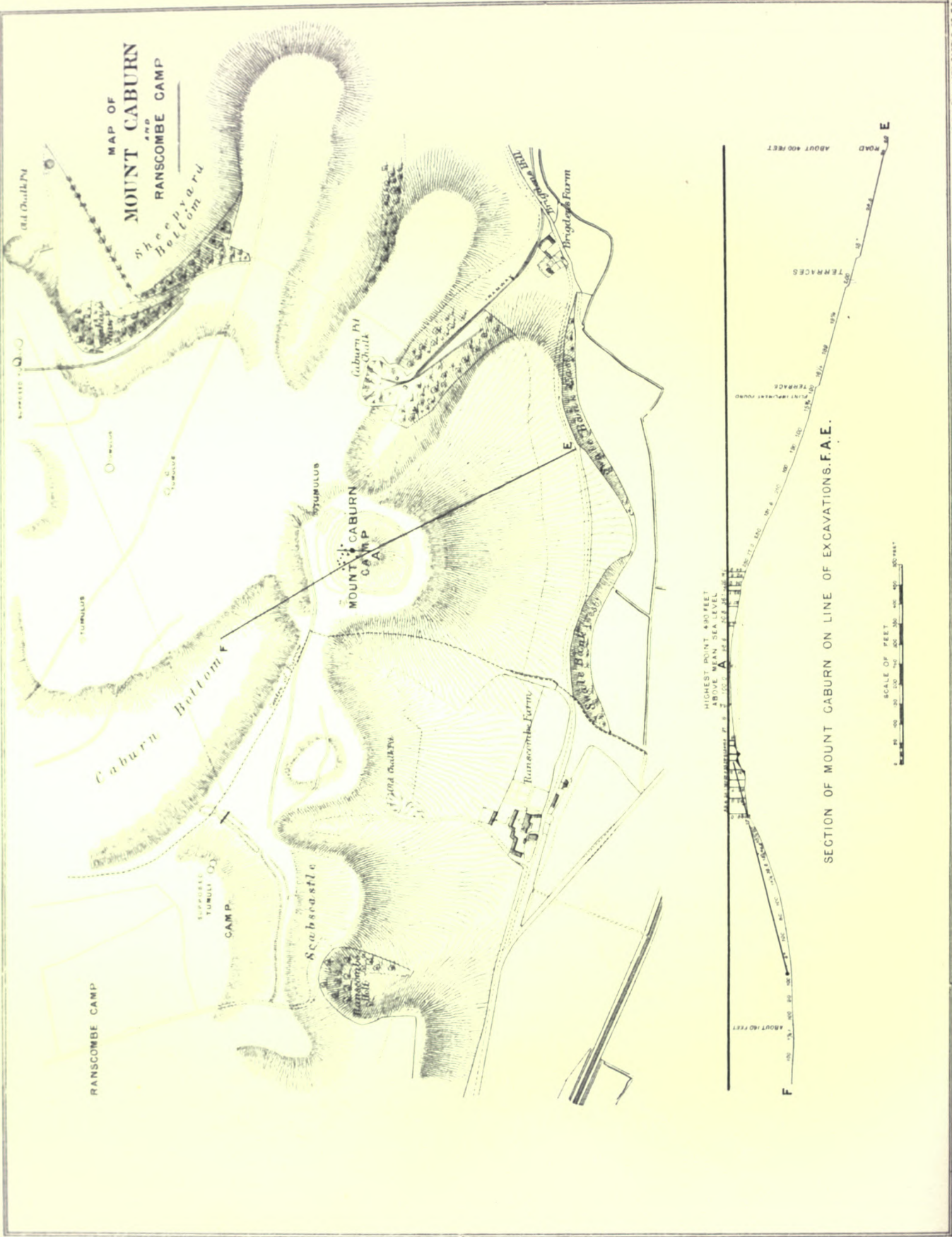
The Rev. T. W. Horsfield, in his *History of Lewes*, supposes the western camp to have been thrown up by the Romans, and that the smaller camp on the east may have been occupied by the Regni, who possessed the whole of this region at the time of Vespasian's expedition.^a In my paper on the hill forts of Sussex, published in the *Archæologia*,^b I adopted the view of Mr. Horsfield; at the same time suggesting, however, that the two camps might be of different dates. Subsequent examination, when the crops were off the ground, has confirmed me in the opinion that the western earthworks are certainly the ramparts of a distinct camp, the defensive line of which can be traced all round, but of British origin, and that it has none of the characteristics of a Roman camp.

Another writer, the Rev. E. Turner, supposes that the eastern work, that is Mount Caburn, was not a camp but a place of druidical worship, and he supposes that the hill round which the ramparts are drawn was of artificial construction.^c This we might perhaps assume from the lay of the land to be an error, even had not the natural formation of the hill been proved conclusively by my recent excavations. Lest however I should be supposed to approach the subject with a professional bias in favour of camps, I prefer to quote the authority of the Rev. W. De St. Croix, vicar of Glynde, who in commenting on Mr. Turner's theory

^a *The History and Antiquities of Lewes and its vicinity*, by the Rev. T. W. Horsfield, F.S.A. vol. i. p. 37, 1824.

^b *Examination of the Hill Forts of Sussex*, by Col. A. Lane Fox, *Archæologia*, vol. XLII. p. 35, 1869.

^c *On the Military Earthworks of the South Downs*, by the Rev. E. Turner, *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. iii. p. 183.



MAP OF
MOUNT CABURN
AND
RANSCOMBE CAMP

Sheepyard
Hollow

MOUNT CABURN
CAMP

RANSCOMBE CAMP

SUPPOSED
TUMULUS
CAMP

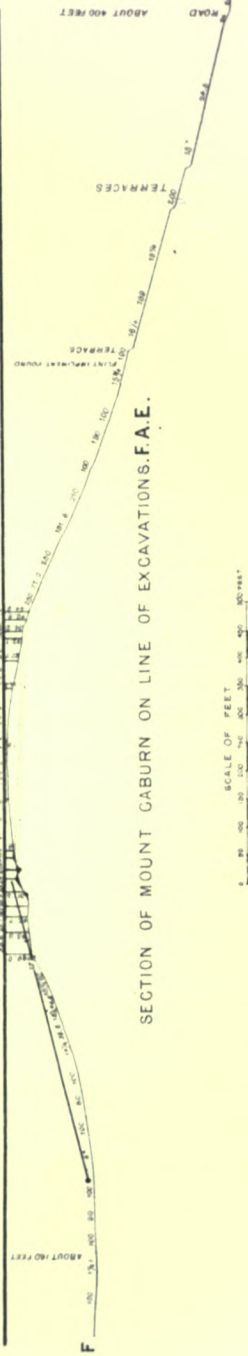
Scabscastle

Old Chalk

Ranscombe Farm

Brigden Farm

HIGHEST POINT AND FEET
ABOVE MEAN SEA LEVEL



says,^a "No one with an eye for a defensive position could have failed to appreciate the natural advantages for defence afforded by Caburn." The place in fact has all the recognised characteristics of a British fortress (Plate XXII.). Its nearly round form is given to it by the roundness of the hill. A single line of rampart and ditch surrounds the hill on all sides, but on the northern side, where the natural defences are weakest, the rampart is heightened, and an additional rampart and ditch added on the outside. Moreover the rampart at the entrance is thrown back so as to give a cross fire on the approach, in the same manner as at one of the entrances at Cissbury and many other British entrenchments.

Mr. Turner, following out his idea of a place of worship or burial, derives the name of the place from *Carnbrauh*, but there can be little doubt, I think, that the derivation given by Mr. De St. Croix is the correct one, viz. *Cuerbryn*, or fortified hill, and, as he says the addition of the word *mount* is mere tautology, it should be designated "The Caburn," and it appears that it was so called by some of the older inhabitants even in his own time.

In 1819-20, Dr. Mantell, the well-known geologist of Sussex, opened several tumuli on the hill near the Caburn, and as the whole of this range sometimes goes by the name of Mount Caburn it has been supposed that he excavated in the camp. This however is a mistake. I have taken pains to ascertain all that had been done previously to my commencing operations on the 2nd September, 1877, and I find that undoubtedly the camp itself had never been touched.

The tumuli opened by Dr. Mantell were of two kinds;^b the larger ones contained interments by cremation, the bones being preserved in rudely-baked urns and accompanied by beads of jet and amber, green glazed pendent ornaments, bone circlets, amulets of flint, chalk, pottery, and sandstone, and flint celts and chisels. Some of the beads and pottery have been deposited in the British Museum; these, Dr. Mantell, together with the Rev. James Douglas, author of *Nenia Britannica*, who accompanied him, attributes to the earliest Gaulish colonists of this country. Whether the term Gaulish can properly be applied to these earliest tumuli may be questionable. The other sort were for the most part small tumuli in clusters. An oval space surrounded by a row of large flints appeared to have been cleared in the chalk rock, within which the body was placed full length, an iron spear on one side, a sword on the other, a knife in the hand,

^a *The Parochial History of Glynde*, by the Rev. W. De St. Croix, *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. xx. p. 47.

^b *A Day's Ramble in and about Lewes*, by Dr. Mantell, p. 133. Horsfield, *History of Lewes*, p. 46.

and a shield between the legs. The earth was heaped over the body and the tumulus covered with turf. One tumulus to the north of "Ox Settle Bottom," the name given to the central valley above mentioned, contained interments both by cremation and inhumation.

Mr. De St. Croix afterwards assisted in the opening of other tumuli on the hill, under the direction of a Committee of the Sussex Archæological Society, but nothing was found beyond ashes, and a few human teeth.^a He also gives an account of a discovery made near the limeworks beyond Glynde, at a place called Gill's Graves,^b in which some iron knives were found; these are now in the Lewes Museum, and appear to be Saxon in their form. The graves here were cut east and west, and the skeletons appear to have been extended, sometimes with the legs crossed: no warlike implements were found. This, so far as I can ascertain, is the sum total of all that had been discovered in the immediate vicinity of the camp, and it is not very conclusive. We have evidence of people of the bronze and iron ages, but to what precise period or race the latter belonged we derive no exact information from any records that have been preserved. Nothing, however, of Roman workmanship had been discovered anywhere in the immediate proximity of the camp.

Mount Caburn is remarkable amongst camps for the absence of flint flakes on the surface, a point which I noticed in my former communication to the Society. This may, perhaps, be accounted for to some extent by the steepness of the hill-sides, which would cause them to fall or be washed down to the bottom in course of time. Towards the foot of the southern slope of the hill, on a line of terrace marked in the general section of the hill, I found a number of flakes, and amongst them a rudely-chipped celt. It is of a form and character common to Cissbury, near Worthing, and found occasionally elsewhere in these parts. I also obtained a number of similarly chipped implements from Mount Harry, on the opposite side of Lewes, where they were found by workmen close under the turf.

The part of the camp which appeared to promise the best results showed a number of small depressions, covering the whole of the dome-shaped hill which fills the interior space within the ramparts. Of these I counted as many as fifty, at distances of from 15 to 25 feet apart, arranged more or less in clusters, averaging about 12 feet in diameter, and each having a central depression of not

^a *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. xx. p. 53, where three of the knives are engraved.

^b Gill appears to be a mythical personage connected with this locality, and the often-told story of throwing a hammer from the top of the hill is repeated of him.



more than 9 or 10 inches. So shallow indeed were they as almost to escape notice, yet sufficiently defined, when examined closely, to direct the workmen where to dig. In my paper on the hill forts of Sussex^a I had alluded to them as being probably the remains of huts or pit dwellings, but the discovery of shafts in the pits at Cissbury subsequently had led some persons to suppose they might possibly be the closed-up mouths of shafts sunk for flints. They were much smaller, however, than any of the Cissbury pits. One only, marked on the plan as the "large pit," situated to the north of the centre of the camp, was 35 feet in diameter and 4 feet deep, the earth from it having been thrown up in a half circle round it towards the north.

My operations were restricted, by Mr. Brand's wish, to the north side of the hill, in order that the view of the hill might not be disfigured by chalk thrown up on the side of the valley. And it was also understood that I was to replace the turf. To these stipulations I readily assented, as the north side being the side of the more important entrenchments was naturally the one on which I should have commenced operations. From three to five men were employed daily.

The following are the results of the examination of the thirteen small pits, including as two those I have marked as "twin-pit" on the plan. All were situated to the north-west of the large pit and between it and the ramparts. Four were circular, from 5 to 7 feet in diameter at top and somewhat less at the bottom; five were oval, 6 to 7 feet in length at top and of various breadths. Three oblong, averaging 6 by 4 feet, and one an irregular oblong of about the same dimensions. The pits averaged 5 feet in depth, the deepest being 6 feet 2 inches and the shallowest 3 feet 6 inches. The long diameters of the ovals and the long sides of the oblongs varied in their direction, seven being nearly east and west and two nearly north and south; had the excavations been confined to the seven it would probably have been assumed that they were all east and west, and an argument in favour of graves would have arisen from the circumstance. The sides of the pits were rudely excavated, some more so than others, and no attempt at dressing was observed in any of them; the angles of the oblongs were slightly rounded, except in the case of No. 3, where the angles were sharp; in most of them a man might have laid down crouched up at the bottom, but in Nos. 7 and 8 and the circular hole of the twin-pit the bottoms were too small to have contained a human being in any other posture than squatted in a

^a *Archæologia*, vol. XLII. p. 39.

very contracted form, with the back and knees resting against the opposite walls; this at once dispels the idea that the pits themselves could ever have been intended for habitation. There was no puddling in any of them except No. 4, where the bottom appeared to have been puddled with clay, but only in one spot about 2 feet square in the centre.

In regard to the filling it was noticed that the majority were filled with mixed soil consisting of dark mould mixed with chalk rubble, but two, viz. Nos. 1 and 4, were filled with pure white chalk without any mixture of mould; where the rubble was mixed it contained animal bones and fragments of pottery all through, whereas in the two that were filled with pure chalk the relics were found at the bottom only, showing that in the latter case the pits had probably been filled up at once with chalk either from the pit itself or freshly excavated from elsewhere, whereas the mixed filling had more the appearance of a gradual accumulation. In the pure chalk filling it was also noticed that the large blocks were in the middle, showing that the pits had been filled from allround at the same time. But there was no difference in the form or position of these pits, which might appear to favour the opinion that they were constructed or used for a different purpose to the others. The brown surface-mould could in most cases be easily distinguished from the filling; it had accumulated to a depth of from 10 inches to a foot in the centre of the pits and from 3 to 4 inches at the edges; the chalk margins of the pits were better defined, and stood higher in some pits than others; for instance, Pit 7 is shown on the plan much smaller than No. 4 adjoining, but this arises from the measurement being taken lower down on the shelving sides, because the line of the sides could not be defined with certainty at a greater height than 3 feet 8 inches from the bottom; had they been preserved to the full height of 5 feet 3 inches, which was the real depth of the pit, it would have appeared larger on the plan.

The following analyses of some of the mixed soil from Pits Nos. 7, 9, and 8 have been kindly made for me by Mr. David C. Robb through the instrumentality of Professor Rolleston, F.R.S. :—

ANALYSES OF SOIL FROM PITS 7, 9, 8.

	Pit 7.	Pit 9.	Pit 8.	Zöller's examination of clay without vegetation (for comparison).
Phosphoric acid, P_2O_5 , per 1000 parts dried soil	2.4	Something very much smaller (say 0.2), but an accident prevented accurate analysis	2.24	Not stated
Residue on evaporating aqueous extract of soil containing—				
Nitrates,	} . . . 0.560	} . . . 0.640	} . . . 0.820	} . . . 0.292
Albuminoids,				
Chlorides, and				
Sulphates				
per 1000 parts of dried soil				
After ignition :				
Residue—chlorides and sulphates	} . . . 0.230	} . . . 0.260	} . . . 0.340	
Less—albuminoids and nitrates	} . . . 0.370	} . . . 0.380	} . . . 0.480	
Nitrates, directly determined . . .	. . . . .	0.034		
Albuminoids, by deficit . . . . .	. . . . .	0.346		

Especial attention was paid to the position of any oyster shells, as oysters in this part of the country may be regarded as a sure indication of Roman or post-Roman times. It was found that in most of the pits these shells were present in the surface-mould, but in no case was an oyster shell found in the filling, or at the bottom. The same remark applies to the large *Helix aspersa*, but the *Helix nemoralis* was found in great abundance all through the pits. The *Helix aspersa* is found on the downs at the present time, but not the *Helix nemoralis* at this level. Fragments of charcoal were found occasionally in many of the pits, but no signs of burning in the pits. Small fragments of pottery, from one to two inches across, were found in all the pits; these fragments were of three kinds, as detailed more particularly hereafter; viz. a fine smooth quality, sometimes ornamented, a coarser kind apparently hand-made, harder, and mixed with small grains of sand, and a still coarser kind, soft and pasty, and mixed with large grains of silex, also hand-made. No fragment of Roman pottery was found in any of the small pits, either in the surface-mould or the filling; and I could

detect no difference between the pottery found in the surface-mould and that of the filling. The animal remains, as identified by Professor Rolleston, were those of domesticated animals,—ox, *Bos longifrons*, pig, *Sus scrofa*, horse, *Equus caballus*, both goat, *Capra hircus*, and sheep, *Ovis aries*, with occasional bones of roedeer, and in one pit badger (see the Relic Table annexed to this paper).

The following were the relics discovered. In No. 1 pit, with the exception of a small piece of pottery at 3 feet 8 inches in the white chalk filling, and a sea-shore pebble, oval, 4 inches long, and rubbed all along one side (Plate XXIV. fig. 21), found at 5 feet 2 inches, nothing was discovered till we came to the bottom, 6 feet 2 inches from the surface, where we found the lower part of a vase (Plate XXV. fig. 57), a piece apparently of iron scale armour (Plate XXIV. fig. 8), and a bone comb (Plate XXIV. fig. 11). The vase (Plate XXV. fig. 57) was apparently hand-made, black, without grains of quartz or silex in its composition, and had a circular base 3 inches in diameter. The iron scale of armour (Plate XXIV. fig. 8) was of rhomboidal form, 3 inches by 2, and about one-eighth of an inch thick, slightly curved, having marks of both iron and bronze studs, which appeared to have secured it to the corselet. It has marks of eight iron studs and three green spots shewing where copper or bronze studs have rested against it in the intervals between the iron ones. I cannot connect it precisely with any other example that has come to my notice; it is unlike the scales of bronze armour discovered at Hod Hill,^a *lorica squammata*, or that resembling the scales of snakes figured in Lindenschmit's *Altherthümer*, Heft. xii. Taf. 4, being considerably larger than either; neither does it resemble exactly that found at Avenches, the ancient Aventicum, and figured in Demmin's work,^b and in that of Baron Bonstetten.^c It has, to my mind, more the appearance of a scale of Brigandine armour of the fifteenth century, but its position of course precludes the possibility of its being of that date; it is possible it may be part of the cheek-piece of a helmet, or even a piece of the patching of an iron pot. Like all the relics described in this paper, it was exhumed under my own eyes, and no work was conducted at any time during my absence. The Gauls appear to have used iron armour, like the Romans,^d and the Britons of this region were armed like the Gauls.^e The bone comb (Plate XXIV. fig. 11) is of a well-known form, and deserves particular attention; it is flat,

^a Warne, *Ancient Dorset*, p. 155. Roach Smith, *Collectanea*, vol. vi. p. 8.

^b *Weapons of War*, by A. Demmin, p. 120.

^c *Recueil d'Antiquités Suisses*, Pl. xiii. fig. 3.

^d Meyrick, *Critical Inquiry into Ancient Armour*, vol. i. p. xlvi.

^e *Itinera Ferales*, p. 187. Pomponius Mela, lib. iii. c. 6.

5½ inches in length, with seven teeth at one end and an oblong enlargement at the other. It is composed of the outside portion of a deer's horn, to the curve of which it conforms slightly. It is without ornament, with the exception of two lateral grooves at the base of the teeth. When found it was in eleven fragments; but it has been carefully restored, soaked in size, and is now perfect, with the exception of the tips of three of the teeth. In my collection are several bone combs of the same kind; one from Lancing in Sussex, found by Mr. Medhurst, has nine teeth; another, from Lancing, has eight teeth and a cross on the handle; a third, from Lancing, has six very short teeth, not more than a quarter of an inch in length, and pointed so as to resemble rather a succession of points and scallops than a comb. One also in my collection, from Portland, near Weymouth, found by Mr. Medhurst, has seven teeth; another, from Jordan Hill, near Weymouth, has eight teeth; these latter were associated with Roman remains. A similar comb, with six teeth, ornamented with five lateral grooves in the same position as in the one from Caburn, was found in 1853 by Mr. Henry Rhind, F.S.A., in the broch of Kettleburn, near Wick, Caithness,^a associated with objects of iron, and a pair of bronze tweezers of the pattern termed by Mr. Franks Late Celtic. With it were also found a number of sea-shore pebbles, the remains of domesticated animals, including horse of two sizes, and pottery of different kinds. Another was found in a broch at Thrumster, Caithness, in 1782;^b a similar one was found in the ruins of the broch of Burgar in Orkney, and is described in the *Archæologia Scotica*.^c Another from the broch of Burrian, North Ronaldsay, Orkney, is figured in the Catalogue of Antiquities in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland;^d it has ten teeth, and was found with fourteen others in association with seven rubbing bones or calendering implements and the phalangeal bone of a small ox, having engraved on it two of the symbols common on the sculptured stones of Scotland, and also in association with iron implements and objects having the dot and circle, to which attention will be drawn hereafter as being connected with the early iron age. A similar comb was found in the Roman Baths at Hunnum;^e another was found at Stanwick, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, a place especially connected with relics of the Late Celtic age, which

^a *Archæological Journal*, vol. x. p. 218; *Catalogue of Antiquities in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, p. 54; in both of which it is figured.

^b *Catalogue of Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, p. 56.

^c *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. iii. p. 44, pl. v. fig. 3, and *Archæological Journal*, vol. x. p. 218.

^d *Catalogue*, p. 59. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. ix. p. 550.

^e Hodgson, *Northumberland*, part ii. vol. iii. p. 320.

have been found in pits in ancient entrenchments; ^a a comb of this kind, ornamented with the dot and circle pattern, was found in the entrenchment at Spettisbury, near Blandford, with an iron sword-blade and other objects of iron now in the British Museum. ^b

At the meeting of the Somersetshire Archæological Society, in 1870, the Rev. W. Barnes described the excavation of some pits in the outer camp at Maiden Castle, which were round, and very clearly cut, 4 to 7 feet deep, filled with black mould, and containing the bones of animals, fragments of pottery, one of the stones of a quern, and, amongst other things, a flat long comb with the teeth at the end. These pits he considered to be refuse pits, and not dwellings. ^c Similar combs were found by Mr. Adlam, in 1868, in pits at Highfield, near Salisbury; ^d and one by the Rev. J. Austen near Badbury Camp, Dorset. ^e Mr. E. T. Stevens has drawn attention to the resemblance of these combs to those used by the Esquimaux, and the Basutos of South Africa for scraping fat from the backs of skins. Since my excavations at Mount Caburn were completed, Mr. Park Harrison, in examining the flint mines at Cissbury, has discovered several small pits in all respects similar to those of Mount Caburn, and containing pottery of a similar character in fragments, with animal remains; and in one of them a bone comb of exactly the same description, having ten teeth at the end which were broken off. These pits had been excavated in the rubble of a filled-up shaft, which had been formed for obtaining flints during the stone age, thereby proving the small pits in which the comb was found to have been made at a much later period, when the flint shafts had been filled up and forgotten: ^f evidence in all respects similar to that by which it has been determined that the ramparts at Cissbury are more recent than the flint mines, ^g though not proving that the ramparts are of the same age as these small pits, the latter being possibly, if not probably, more recent still. Another comb of this kind, in the British Museum, resembles the one from Mount Caburn still more closely, having, in addition to the teeth, the same oblong enlargement at the other end. It was found in a camp on Danbury Hill, near Nether Wallop, Hampshire, ^h and is ornamented with the dot and circle pattern. Another in the same museum has also the oblong enlargement at

^a *Archæological Journal*, vol. x. p. 218. *York Volume of the Archæological Institute*, p. 6.

^b *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, vol. iv. p. 190.

^c *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological Society*, vol. xvi. p. 23.

^d *Flint Chips*, by E. T. Stevens, p. 65.

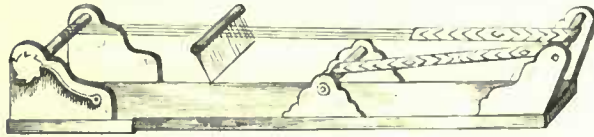
^e *Ibid.* p. 65.

^f *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. vii. p. 422.

^g *Ibid.* vol. v. pp. 368-377.

^h *Stone Monuments, Tumuli, and Ornaments of Remote Ages*, by J. B. Waring, p. 74, pl. 93, fig. 13.

the reverse end; the seven teeth in this comb are blunt and rounded at the points, showing that it could not have been employed for combing hair, and may possibly have been used for driving the weft against the cloth in weaving; the association of such combs in the broch of Burrian, where fifteen of them were found, with seven rubbing-bones or calendering implements, made of the jaw-bones of whale, and used for smoothing the web after it is woven, appears to confirm this opinion as to their use.^a The use of such combs in the manufacture of ribbons may possibly have survived to a comparatively late date in some places. From the island of Björko, Dr. Hjalmar Stolpe exhibited at the International Congress of Prehistoric Archæology at Stockholm, in 1874,^b some of the antiquities of the later iron age, supposed to date about the eighth century of our era, amongst which was a long comb of this kind with eight teeth, and having what appeared to have been an iron continuation attached to it. It was believed to have been used in weaving ribbon, and was ornamented with the dot and circle pattern. The small looms in which ribbons are woven are still in use in Norway and parts of Sweden; a drawing of one from Dr. Hazelius's museum of native utensils at Stockholm is annexed. (See cut.) It is 1½ foot in length, and 8 inches



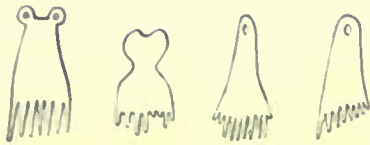
LOOM FOR RIBBONS USED IN NORWAY.

high; the ribbon is about 2 inches wide, and the comb of wood that presses up the woof has numerous teeth. As the bone combs under consideration have seldom more than ten teeth, some other system must have been employed than that in vogue in Norway. They may also have been employed in combing flax or wool. Two long combs of wood, somewhat similar but broader, supposed to be used in weaving, were found in a lake dwelling at Grands Roseaux, in the Lake of Paladru, Isère, said to be Carlovingian of the ninth century.^c It is to be observed that both at Björko and the broch of Burrian these long combs were found associated with side combs and double-tooth combs, showing that the people of the period possessed other and more suitable appliances for combing hair.

^a See a memoir by Mr. Joseph Anderson, *Notes on the Evidence of Spinning and Weaving in the Brochs or Pictish towers, &c.*, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. ix, p. 548.

^b *Compte Rendu* of the seventh session of the International Congress of Prehistoric Archæology, 1874, Stockholm, p. 625, fig. 12.

^c *Les Palafittes ou Constructions Lacustres du Lac de Paladru*, par M. Ernest Chantre, 1871, pl. xiii.



COMBS OF DEERHORN FROM GREENLAND.

Annexed are outlines of four deer-horn combs of like form from Greenland, in the Ethnographical Museum at Copenhagen; they have ten, eight, eight, and seven teeth respectively, and are said to be used for combing flax.

Combs somewhat similar but shorter and broader appear to have been in use during the bronze age, as, for example, one found in a pile dwelling in the district of Borgo San Donnino, in the province of Parma, which is figured in Keller's work, and which is also ornamented with the dot and circle pattern; others made of bronze are of the same date, and may possibly have been used in weaving.

It appears not improbable that long combs with teeth at the end may have been employed for combing hair before side combs were introduced. Combs from New Zealand and the South Sea Islands are of this kind, and examples from Moosseedorfsee, figured in Keller,^b as well as one, figured in Madsen, from Meilgaard, in Denmark,^c although the latter was found only on the surface of a kitchen-midden, and one found in Kent's Cavern, Torquay, show that they were used in the stone age, but of a form quite different and not liable to be mistaken for those now under consideration, which are products of the early iron age, and are associated in a special manner with pits found in camps, and with objects which Mr. Franks has attributed to the Late Celtic period.

COMB USED IN WEAVING.
YARKAND.

It may be interesting to compare these combs with an instrument used in weaving in Yarkand, of which the original is in the India Museum, and is represented in the accompanying woodcut.

To resume now the account of my excavations. 1 foot 2 inches beneath the surface in Pit 2 was found the iron spud or celt (Plate XXIV. fig. 5). It is 5½ inches long, and has a rounded and rather blunt edge 3 inches wide, and a socket formed by beating a flat plate of the iron over the shaft, leaving a space between the edges in the manner in use at the present time in Ireland in hafting the *loy* or spade in common use in that country. The rivet was at right angles to

^a Keller, *Swiss Lake Dwellings*, translated by J. F. Lee, p. 385, pl. cxi. cxv.

^b Keller, p. 38, pl. v.

^c Madsen, *Afbildinger*, Steenalderen, pl. 2. See also *Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord*, nouvelle série, 1873-4, p. 96.

the face of the blade. Such an instrument might have been used at any period of time, but we have evidence that it was employed in the early iron age; it is in fact the survival in iron of the bronze socket celt. Several were found in the lake dwelling at Marin,^a in the lake of Neuchâtel, a station known as the principal Swiss lake station of the iron age. They were there associated with the peculiar swords and other objects belonging to the Late Celtic period, also with Gaulish and Roman coins and fragments of Roman roofing tiles. Similar celts were also found at the iron age station of La Tène in the same lake.^b With the iron spud at the same level was also found a fragment of Roman tile $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, a piece of flat pottery roughly rounded to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter and pierced in the centre, probably to be used as a spindle-whorl (Plate XXV. fig. 55), and an oyster shell. As this was the only fragment of tile found in Mount Caburn it must probably have been imported for some other object than roofing. I have occasionally found elsewhere isolated fragments of Roman tile in connection with British remains, and the conviction grows upon me that they may have been used for colouring; the tile is soft, and when wetted serves the purpose of paint fairly well; the skin rubbed with it retains its colour for some time. These objects, from their proximity to the surface, however, need not necessarily be connected in point of time.

Lower down in the same pit, at 5 feet 4 inches from the surface, was found a shore pebble (Plate XXIV. fig. 20), ground on both faces and one end to receive a string, possibly to be used as a weight or perhaps as a hammer; three of the corners are much worn by hammering or friction of some kind, the fourth corner being rounded is not worn; for whatever purpose it may have been used, whether as a weight in weaving or as a hammer, it is evident that the corners only received the friction; it weighs 6 oz. and was the only one found. The animal remains from this and the other pits are mentioned elsewhere.

In Pit 3, after removing the usual débris consisting of mixed mould and chalk with animal bones and small fragments of pottery, there were found at the bottom a knife-handle of deer-horn, a small iron bar, a limpet shell apparently cut at the edges, and an iron bill. The knife-handle (Plate XXIV. fig. 25) is made of the tine of a deer-horn, which has been 5 inches in length, with a hole for the blade at the larger end and a cylindrical rivet-hole $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, very cleanly bored with a metal tool, at the distance of half an inch from the end. The half-inch band between it and the extremity is ornamented with the dot and circle pattern already alluded to, the circles being distributed in an irregular manner. Above

^a Keller, p. 420, pl. cxxiii. figs. 22, 23.

^b Troyon, *Habitations Lacustres*, p. 191, pl. xiv. fig. 18.

this, on the line of the rivet hole, a quarter-inch band, the width of the hole, is marked by two lines edged with half circles of the same size as the others.

This dot and circle ornament has already been referred to in the case of the bone combs at Danbury, Spettisbury, Björko, Burrian, Borgo San Donnino, and elsewhere. A piece of deer-horn ornamented with this pattern, said to resemble the mouthpiece of a musical instrument, but possibly a knife-handle, was found in the camp on Worlebury, near Weston-super-Mare, in association with pits of the same character and pottery of the same description.^a A knife-handle exactly like the one under consideration, formed of the tine of a deer's horn and similarly ornamented, was found in a lake dwelling of the bronze age at Estavayer, and is figured in Keller.^b Ornamentation of the same character has been found in the bronze age station at Möringen,^c also at the bronze age station at Auvernier, which belongs to the "bel age du bronze," and where also was discovered the wattling of huts resembling that from this place hereafter spoken of. Similar ornamentation was used on the handles of some of the knives and on some of the pottery and other objects found at Hallstatt,^d a station belonging especially to the early iron age and the transition from bronze to iron. This ornament was in common use in the early iron age of Denmark.^e It was used in France as late as the Station des Grands Roseaux, already referred to,^f and in Yorkshire it has been found associated with relics of the Late Celtic type in the Settle Caves, where this Late Celtic style of ornamentation appears to have survived as late as the fifth century.^g It is also commonly found amongst Saxon and Frankish remains.^h This form, or rather the concentric circle pattern from which it is derived, is an ornament especially appertaining to Cyprus, and, as Mr. A. S. Murray truly observes in his remarks upon the pottery of that island, has been developed in the process of metal work.ⁱ It was in common use at Mycenæ.^k It was used also frequently but less commonly at Hisarlik,^l and it is not of uncommon occurrence

^a *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological Society*, vol. iii. p. 9.

^b Keller, second edition, p. 262. pl. xlv. fig. 6.

^c Keller, pl. xliii. fig. 6.

^d Ed. von Sacken, *Das Grabfeld von Hallstatt*, Taf. xix. 4, 5, 6.

^e *Denmark in the Early Iron Age*, by Conrad Engelhardt: Thorshjerg, pl. 3, 4, 9, 10, 11; Nydam, pl. v. viii.

^f Ernest Chantre, *Les Palafittes du Lac de Paladru*, pl. v.

^g *Cave Hunting*, by W. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S. p. 91.

^h Lindenschmit's *Alterthümer*, Heft. iv. Taf. 7, Heft. ix. Taf. 6, Heft. x. Taf. 7. Roach Smith, *Collectanea*, vol. ii. pl. xxxix.-xli. xlv.

ⁱ *Cyprus*, by General de Cesnola, pl. ii. and pp. 312, 397.

^k Schliemann, *Mycenæ*, pp. 229-264.

^l Schliemann, *Troy*, p. 235, pl. xlix.

in the Assyrian sculptures.^a The small circle or dot and circle, M. Oscar Montelius has observed, in a paper on the bronze swords of Scandinavia, read at the International Congress of 1874, is a survival found on the handles of swords of later date, transformed, as is usually the case with transitional forms of ornament, with a view to economy of time and labour, from the more elaborate concentric circles and spirals of the earlier period.^b It is an ornament which has a peculiar fascination for people who have not long enjoyed the use of a pair of compasses, as any man with a family of small children may have noticed. It is in fact a bastard survival of the great period of spiral ornaments, and consequently a form belonging to the later bronze period carried on into the early iron age of which we are speaking. That a simple ornament of this kind might be, and has been, used by divers people in various stages of culture, is a readily admitted fact, but such a fact does not diminish the importance of studying it in connection with the age in which it is more especially prevalent.

The iron bar (Plate XXIV. fig. 14) is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, half an inch in breadth, and one-third of an inch in thickness, weight 1 oz. 146 gr.; it is much corroded, and appears to have been very evenly wrought and cut off square at the ends. It may possibly have been a piece of iron prepared to be wrought into a knife. Iron bars of a particular shape, half formed to be worked into swords, have been found at various places connected with antiquities of the early iron age at Hod Hill, Spettisbury, and Meon Hill, in Gloucestershire, and at Tiefenau, near Berne, a station of the Late Celtic period.^c These, however, are in a more advanced stage of manufacture than the bar in question. It would appear not at all improbable that half-wrought implements of this kind may have been used as a kind of currency. Cæsar says that iron was rare in Britain even on the coast where it was worked, and his mention of iron rings of a certain weight "proves that iron was used in addition to coins, which we know to have been also used as a medium of exchange. Bars of this form adapted to be wrought into implements, or implements half worked up, may have been used as money, as is now the case throughout Central Africa, where iron spades and hoes and bars of iron of a particular weight pass current over a wide area."^e

^a Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. pp. 137, 350, 369.

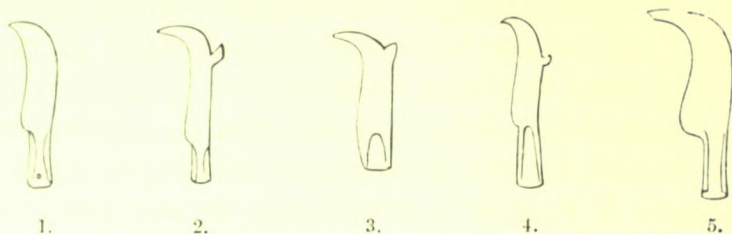
^b *Sur les poignées des épées en bronze*, Congrès International d'Anthropologie de 1874, p. 891.

^c *Horæ Ferales*, p. 177. Bonstetten, *Notice sur des armes et chariots de guerre découverts à Tiefenau*, 1852, pl. ii. iii. iv. *Archæologia*, vol. XLV. p. 263.

^d *De Bello Gallico*, v. c. 12.

^e *Artes Africanæ*, by Dr. G. Schweinfurth, pl. iv.

The iron bill (Plate XXIV. fig. 13) is 2 inches broad in the blade and 10 inches in length, including the socket, 4 in. long, formed by beating a flat plate of the iron over the shaft, like that of the iron celt already described; it has also an iron rivet exactly in the same position at right-angles to the face of the blade. Bills appear to have been amongst the earliest iron tools employed; they are found at Marin, the iron age station of the Swiss lakes already referred to,^a where however they are made with tangs to fit into the handle. Amongst the implements discovered in the intrenchments at Hod Hill, the implements from which place correspond very closely to those of Mount Caburn, a number of bill-hooks were found^b one of them, figured in Warne's *Ancient Dorset*, more curved than



IRON BILL-HOOKS.

1. Dunshauglin Crannoge, Derry, Ireland; Royal Irish Academy. 2. Museum of St. Germain. 3. Camp of Vauxroux; Museum at Chartres. 4. Lough Revel Crannoge, co. Antrim; Gen. A. Lane Fox. 5. Camp at Le Câtillon, Normandy.

the present specimen and approaching to a sickle shape, has an over-lapping socket like it. In the small pit since discovered in Cissbury by Mr. Park Harrison, which contained the bone comb to which I have alluded, and pottery ornamented with the same patterns as that of Mount Caburn, a small iron sickle, like that figured in Warne's *Ancient Dorset*, was found; it had also a socket formed in a similar manner. I have also in my collection an iron bill resembling this one, only with a small beak-like projection at the back; it had a socket similarly formed and a rivet-hole in exactly the same position. It was found in Lough Revel Crannoge, county Antrim, in July 1865, with iron swords and objects having the peculiar ornamentation recognized as Late Celtic, a style of ornamentation which survived in Ireland to a much later date than in the part of England which we are discussing. In 1851 a Committee, consisting of M. Charma, the Abbé Durand, and M. Mancel, discovered an iron bill of the same form in the

^a Keller, second edition, p. 421, pl. cxxiii. figs. 19, 20.

^b Warne, *Ancient Dorset*, p. 153, pl. iii. repeated from Roach Smith, *Collectanea*, vol. vi. p. 5, pl. iii. fig. 7.

camp called Le Câtillon, near Bénouville, 11 kilomètres from Caen.^a M. Troyon discovered a similar implement in a Helveto-Burgundian tomb, and others are said to have been found in the ruins of Pæstum. In the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy there are two with similar sockets and rivets, but without the beak-like projection at the back; they were found in Dunshaughlin Craunoge, co. Derry. Another bill of the same kind with a socket similarly formed, found in a Roman ruin at Nonfous, near Yverdon, is figured in Baron Bonstetten's work on Swiss antiquities.^b In the Paris Exhibition of 1878, two iron bills, having the beak-like projection at the back similar to the Lough Revel specimen, were exhibited by the Musée de St. Germain in association with iron adzes, having tubular sockets bent at right angles to the blades, resembling one found in the Caburn pits to be hereafter described.^c In the Museum at Chartres there is an iron bill with a similar socket and a similar beak-like projection at the back, found in a camp said to be Gallo-Roman, called Vauxroux, near there: and here also it is associated with an iron axe, having the tubular socket at right angles. We perceive, therefore, that iron weapons of the above-mentioned construction are associated together in the south of England and the north of France, but from inquiries made recently in Scandinavia I find that they are not found in connection with the iron age of Denmark or Sweden; there are none such in the Museums of Copenhagen, Kiel, or Stockholm, and none like them are figured in Dr. Engelhardt's work. It will be observed that the blade of the Mount Caburn specimen is bent; it was therefore probably a disused and imperfect specimen when thrown into the pit, a point which has some bearing on the object for which the pits were constructed.

At the bottom of this pit was also discovered, near the bill, part of a globular vase of coarse material, mixed with fragments of shell or silex. It had been $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter at the mouth, with a projecting rim and slightly swelling out below. If we are to consider all the contents of a pit found at nearly the same level to be contemporaneous, this would tend to prove that the coarse pottery with large white grains is not earlier than that of finer texture, numerous fragments

^a *Compte Rendu* read to the Société des Antiquaires de Normandie by M. A. Charma in 1851. *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, vol. xix. p. 485.

^b *Recueil d'Antiquités Suisses*, pl. xiv. fig. 8.

^c Two other bills, very similar in form to that from the museum at St. Germain (No. 2), are in the museum at Rouen, and were found by the Abbé Cochet in excavations at Douvrend and Nesle-Hodeng; they measure respectively 1 foot and 1 foot 1 inch.

of which were also found at the bottom of the pit mixed with the other. Some of these fragments when put together showed that they belonged to a pot of the shape of a sauce-pan without the handle, $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter at the bottom, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches at top, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, having a slightly projecting rim and quite plain. (Plate XXV. fig. 56.)

No. 4 contained nothing in particular, except a flint strike-a-light, much used, and some fragments of pottery. The bottom was puddled with clay, but only in the centre for a space of 2 feet square. In this pit was found a fragment of pottery ornamented with large squares of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch, touching at the corners, and defined by quarter-inch bands filled with oblique cross-lines (Plate XXV. fig. 39).

In No. 5 were found some fragments of black smooth pottery, ornamented with grooves one-tenth of an inch broad in curved lines and bands, with a line of dots punched in the centre (Plate XXV. fig. 32); other fragments were of a red coarser kind, ornamented with bands of oblique parallel scratches. I have not been able to determine the character of the ornamentation from the few fragments discovered. Mr. Franks claims it as Late Celtic. This pit also contained part of the lower part of a flat-bottomed vase, $4\frac{1}{10}$ inches in diameter, of smooth brown texture, and two flint-flakes near the top. There were no implements in this pit, but bones and pottery all through.

Pit 6 contained a little pottery at top, but the filling consisted of white chalk rubble, which contained no bones or pottery; some of the flints in the chalk rubble had black fractures, showing that they had not been exposed to the air for any length of time after being broken; experience on this point has been obtained from the Cissbury excavations.

We next examined the oblong and circular pits, which from being so close together I have named the twin pit. The space between them was 2 feet 6 inches, divided by a low ridge of the undisturbed chalk, but whether they were connected originally, or whether their proximity arose from one having been filled up before the other was excavated, we have no means of determining. No communication between them could be traced. The sides were very evenly cut, and they were both of the same depth, and shallower than the others, which is in favour of their being in some way connected. In the oblong pit were found two pieces of smooth brown pottery with curved grooves, similar to those found in pit 5, but broader, and in one the groove is edged with a line on each side similar to Plate XXV. figs. 32, 36, 40, and at the bottom, in a corner, an iron knife (Plate XXIV. fig. 6), 4 inches long in the blade and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in the broadest part; the blade is curved back. A precisely similar knife was found in a Roman

villa at Hartlip in Kent;^a another of nearly the same form but considerably larger, being 9½ inches long and having in that case a socket formed exactly in the same manner as that of the bill and celt above mentioned, was found with a Roman urn of Castor ware at Lincoln in 1855.^b Others with a tang like this one were found in the intrenchment at Hod Hill, in Dorsetshire, above mentioned, a camp certainly constructed by the Britons, and occupied by the Romans not later than the time of Trajan,^c and they have been frequently found with Roman remains in London.

In Pit 7 the surface-mould appeared to extend rather deeper than usual, and just below it, at 2 feet 8 inches from the surface, on the level at which the chalk sides of the pit began to be seen, was found the iron hammer figured in Plate XXIV. fig. 1. The hammer is 2 inches in length, and has a round section enlarging toward the point of percussion; it has a cylindrical socket 1 inch in diameter (interior measurement) and 3 inches long, at right angles to the hammer-head, and having an opening at the top and on the side opposite the hammer. Hammers appear to be somewhat rare objects amongst the relics of any period except the stone age. At a later period we may perhaps assume that they were too closely connected with the smith's forge to be wasted and thrown away when damaged, and that on this account they were generally either melted up or reforged. An iron hammer was found in a deep narrow shaft at Ewell, in Surrey, by Dr. H. W. Diamond, F.S.A., in connection with Samian ware and other relics of the Roman age, and also in connection with flint balls artificially trimmed, but no illustration is given.^d The tubular socket of the present specimen, which as above stated is at right angles with the head, enables us to compare it with other implements of like form. Axes having this peculiarity of make are seen in bronze specimens from Hallstatt, a station belonging to the transition from bronze to iron.^e The celts and hammers of the bronze age were formed with the socket or other appliance for hafting in the same line as the blade, and were hafted on a bent wooden handle; but towards the close of the bronze age and commencement of the iron age the socket was sometimes bent at right angles, so as to adapt it to be hafted on a straight stick. Of course this object might have been accomplished readily by casting the hammer or axe-head of a solid mass with a hole in it, as is so commonly the case in our own time; but

^a Roach Smith, *Collectanea*, vol. ii. pl. vii. fig. 6.

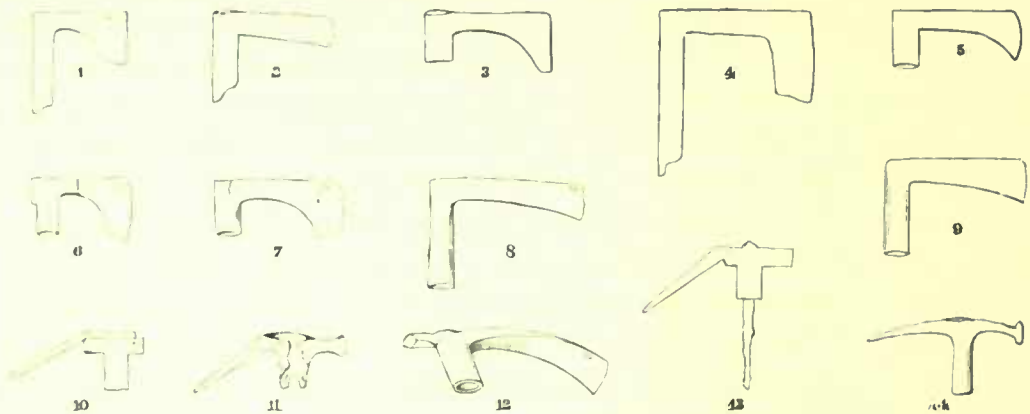
^b *Archæological Journal*, vol. xiii. p. 174.

^c Roach Smith, *Collectanea*, vol. vi. pp. 7-9.

^d *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii. p. 452.

^e *Grabfeld von Hallstatt*, by Ed. von Sacken, taf. viii. figs. 1 and 2.

the continuity of ideas to which archæology is so much indebted for the means of tracing the succession of forms, appears to have debarred the use of this simple expedient in the first instance. The socket having been formed in the same line as the blade during the bronze age, the next step, when the casting process became further perfected, was to form a bent socket or a socket at right angles, and in this form the axe and hammer passed into the iron period in the region under consideration. This kind of socket continued until Roman times. I have already, when speaking of the iron bill found in Caburn, given one or two instances of the occurrence of this tubular socket at right angles in association with such bills, in the Musée de Saint Germain, and in the camp at Vauxroux, near Chartres. In the museum at Hamburg there is an iron axe with the same kind



IRON AXES.

1-4. In the Upsala Museum, said to date about A.D. 1000. 5, 6. Wurtemberg, Hamburg Museum. 7. Mezingen, Wurtemberg. 8. Camp at Vauxroux, Museum of Chartres. 9. Camp of Artois Huelgoat, General Lane Fox's Collection. 10. Musée de St. Germain. 11. Kingsholm, near Gloucester, British Museum. 12. Saumur Museum, said to be Roman. 13. Jordan Hill, near Weymouth, General Lane Fox's Collection. 14. Pakenham, Norfolk, British Museum.

of socket found with other iron implements, including some bills with tangs, in Wurtemberg in graves; and in my collection there is a similar iron axe presented to me by Mr. J. W. Lukis, who found it in an ancient well in the Camp d'Artois, or Arthur, at Huelgoat, in Brittany, a camp in all respects similar to those of ancient British construction in this country. It will be seen that the Mount Caburn specimen has an aperture on the side opposite the hammer, and although this aperture is symmetrical on the two sides which gives it the appearance, in its present rusty condition, of being an intentional opening, there can be little doubt, I think, from a comparison of like forms, that it marks the place where an axe or an adze-blade has been broken off. Adzes of this kind with a tubular socket and

a hammer at the back are not unfrequent in connection with Roman remains, of which several examples are here given in outline. One in the British Museum exactly resembling this one, assuming it to have had originally an adze-blade, was found at Pakenham with Roman pottery; another in the same museum, found at Kingsholm, Gloucester, was also found with Roman remains; it is figured in Lysons' *Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ* (vol. ii. pl. xi. fig. 1); a third, also associated with Roman remains, is in my collection, having been found by Mr. Medhurst at Jordan Hill; a fourth, is the one in the Musée de Saint Germain; a fifth, also said to be Roman, is in the Saumur Museum, and is figured in Roach Smith's *Collectanea*; it is in fact the carpenter's adze so often sculptured on the Roman tombs, examples of which are seen in *Les Arts et Métiers*, by Grivaud de la Vincelle,^a in Roach Smith's *Collectanea*,^b and elsewhere. I cannot ascertain that this form of tubular socket was in use in Scandinavia in connection with the early iron age, but at a period subsequent to the Roman era it appears to have been introduced. In the museum at Upsala there are four with sockets similarly formed, which are believed to date about A.D. 1000. Close to the hammer in the Mount Caburn pit were found several pieces of pottery of the finer description, and six inches below it a small bone object, the use of which I have not been able to ascertain, unless it is a stilus (Plate XXIV., fig. 30); it is 2 inches in length, with a gradually tapering shaft, flattened and enlarged at one end, having a rim at the other. A fragment of another apparently similar was found a few inches below it. This pit contained a piece of pyrites of peculiar shape, one of several found in the pits, and evidently imported for some purpose, two mussel shells (the only ones found), quantities of animal bones, and some shore pebbles. Pit 8 contained nothing worth noticing here.

Pit 9 was very prolific: after clearing out a quantity of dark mould, mixed with small fragments of pottery of the usual kind, we found at the bottom a knife-handle of deer-horn, 5 inches long, with a branching end, and an oval hole for suspension (Plate XXIV. fig. 31). This hole appears to have been formed by drilling two circular holes side by side at the junction of the two branches of the horn, uniting them with a clean cut; the end which contained the blade is slightly enlarged at the edge, and had a slit for the blade one-eighth of an inch wide, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch long, but no rivet-hole. It was commonly the custom during the bronze age to suspend the knife from a ring at the end of the handle, examples of which from Möringen and Auvernier are given in Keller and Lindenschmit, and instruments

^a *Arts et Métiers des Anciens*, par Grivaud de la Vincelle, pl. cxxx.

^b Roach Smith, *Collectanea*, vol. v. p. 44.

for hanging them to have also been found.^a The same practice probably continued amongst the Saxons, and it has been suggested, from the position of the knives in the graves, that they may sometimes have been suspended from the neck,^b like those of the Basutos of South Africa. A bronze ring, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch exterior diameter, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick (Plate XXIV. fig. 19); a fragment of the edge of a bronze blade (Plate XXIV. fig. 18), $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in length, broken off apparently from a bronze sword or dagger; it has a shallow groove at the back, along which it appears to have been fractured. The other objects consisted of a plain horn knife-handle 3 inches long, a sandstone burnisher about 1 inch square and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, three shore pebbles, two balls of pyrites, and a small globular vase of coarse quality but without grains of silex (Plate XXV. fig. 34), 2 inches in diameter and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch high—all the pieces of this were found and it has been restored; also a pot similar to that found in Pit 3 which has been restored and is represented in Plate XXV. fig. 44.

The discovery of a fragment of a bronze blade in this pit is of interest. It is possible it may have been the edge of a spear-head, but the line of fracture along the groove leads me to think it may be a piece of a bronze sword, broken perhaps in a contest with some enemy. Grooves of this kind often run along the edges of bronze swords, and afford naturally a point of weakness. There is also a slight dent in the edge of the blade on one side as if it had been struck by a hard blow; this would indicate a period of transition from bronze to iron, but the evidence is perhaps not strong enough to found any reliable theory upon.

There is nothing in the form of the pit to lead to the supposition that it was of a different date to the others, but it will be seen in the plan that it is slightly removed from the nearest cluster, and this circumstance, assuming the pits to have been connected with habitations, may perhaps favour the opinion that it was part of the residence of a superior officer. The bronze ring is of the kind known as armour rings, and frequently found amongst relics of the Late Celtic period. They are especially prevalent amongst antiquities found in Ireland. Pits 10 and 11 contained nothing of consequence.

We now commenced the examination of the large pit. Clearing out the mould until the solid chalk was reached we found that the basin, 35 feet in diameter, had been originally constructed in this form. On the west side a drain, 1 foot wide and 10 inches deep, led into it, but from whence and for what object

^a Keller, pp. 155, 163, 241, pl. xli. l. li. Lindenschmit, Heft. viii. Taf. 4. Klemm, *Werkzeuge und Waffen*, pp. 133-5.

^b Hume, *Antiquities of Cheshire Coast*, p. 181. *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv. p. 79; vol. xxxviii. p. 88.

we have not as yet been able to determine, not having followed the drain along the surface. At the bottom of the basin in the centre we found a shaft 12 feet in diameter at top and 11 feet in depth from the bottom of the basin, funnel-shaped, narrowing to 7 feet 6 inches in diameter at 4 feet below the basin, and diminishing to 5 feet 3 inches at the bottom; it was an irregular circle, the sides and bottom jagged and untrimmed.

In the mould of the basin, above the shaft, we found the remains of the same domesticated animals as in the small pits, viz., pig and ox, with the addition of the leg and spur of a fighting-cock; and the scapula of a rabbit, oyster shells, and the large *Helix aspersa* were found in the mould of the basin, and to a depth of 2 feet 4 inches in the shaft, but no lower. The soil was mixed with mould to a depth of 3 feet in the shaft, and below that there was pure white chalk filling down to the bottom, without the slightest trace of mould, the fragments of chalk averaging 2 to 8 inches, but quite at the bottom there were larger blocks 1 to 1½ foot across.

All the fractures of the flints found in the rubble as well as those found *in situ* on the sides of the shaft were black and unbleached; it appears therefore quite certain that this pit, like some of the smaller ones already described, was filled up shortly after being excavated and before the excavated chalk had become mixed with mould on the surface, or the broken flints exposed for any length of time to the atmosphere. The chalk had been thrown up on the north side where the remains of the mound still remains, and it had been refilled from that side, which was proved by the large blocks at the bottom being on the south side of the shaft, and by the north side of the shaft being coated all down with fine chalk silt. As we ourselves refilled the shaft again from this side, we had a good opportunity of observing the process; the large blocks of course fall over to the opposite side to that from which they were thrown, whilst a fine chalk powder dribbles down the near side of the shaft and forms a compact bedding of soft silt all up that side, just as we found it when we excavated the rubble. There is a horizontal seam of flints *in situ*, at from 3 to 4 feet from the bottom all round; of these we counted 27, all of them, as well as those found in the rubble, being of small size.

The remains of human industry in the basin above consisted of British pottery of the same kind as that found in the pits, with the exception of the coarsest, and one piece of Roman pottery, the only piece found as yet in any part of Mount Caburn. Nothing whatever was found in the filling of the shafts until we came to the bottom, where we turned up a small piece of British pottery, smooth and

without grains of silex, but not of the finest quality, being a piece of the bottom of a vase, and a large iron clinker in which charcoal could be distinctly traced, also part of the bone of a dog as identified by Professor Rolleston. All the pottery found in the pit, with the exception of one piece of Roman at top and one piece of a soft smooth kind at the bottom, was of the medium quality.

The iron clinker effectually disposes of the idea that the shaft might have been sunk for the purpose of obtaining flints for implements during the stone age or bronze age, which the finding of the seam of flints at the bottom might otherwise have appeared to favour. Nor was there a single flint-flake or core found in the shaft, nor could any marks on the sides be found to indicate occupation by man.

This appears to be the proper place to consider the evidence obtainable from different sources on the subject of pits. We have to deal with the two kinds of pits discovered in Mount Caburn, the deep shaft and the smaller pits, both of which have been repeatedly found elsewhere, and chiefly in connection with remains of the Roman age.

At Cadbury Castle, near Tiverton in Devon, Mr. George Fursdon excavated a shaft which was marked on the surface by a deep depression in the centre of the camp; it was found to be a shaft 8 feet in diameter at the top and 3 feet at the bottom, 58 feet in depth; it was puddled with clay and filled up with rubble, no spring rises on the hill, and if intended to contain water could only have been formed to catch rain-water; at 25 feet fragments of pottery of three kinds were found, black and brown, some coarse and badly baked, and others harder with a pattern of network on it, together with bronze armillæ and rings, and an iron weapon. Mr. C. Tucker, who describes it in the *Archæological Journal*,^a thinks that some of the pottery contained in the filling may have come from a tumulus close by which had been used to fill up the shaft. Some of the objects appeared to be of the Roman age but the camp is undoubtedly of British origin. Similar shafts, containing Roman remains and believed to be rubbish-holes, were found by Mr. Trollope in the neighbourhood of East Gate, Lincoln, a site abounding in vestiges of the Roman age.^b Pennant mentions six shafts in a line at 10 feet apart and 18 feet deep on the site of the ancient *Bertha* (Perth), where the Romans had a station; they contained urns, and were believed to be sepulchral.^c Five or six shafts were discovered on the slope of a hill near Ewell by Dr. Hugh Welch

^a *Archæological Journal*, vol. v. pp. 193-8.

^b *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 197; vol. xix. p. 171.

^c *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 197. Pennant, *Tour in Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 109

Diamond, and described in the *Archæologia*;^a they were from 12 to 35 feet deep, and from 2 feet 2 inches to 4 feet in diameter, filled entirely with Roman remains, including quantities of Samian ware, all broken, and some having the potter's mark, an iron hammer, and rounded flint balls; they were considered to be sepulchral, having evident traces of human remains which had been burnt; a number of them were so close together that it was observed one aperture might have sufficed for the whole of them. In 1843 Mr. Medhurst discovered the remains of a Roman temple on Jordan Hill near Weymouth. It consisted of a peristyle, and was supposed to be a temple of Æsculapius. In the south corner was a dry well, 14 feet deep, that had been filled up in a very curious manner; it was daubed all round with a lining of clay, in which were set edgewise (like Dutch tiles round a fireplace) a layer of old stone tiles, which from their peg holes appeared to have been used or prepared for use on roofs of houses. At the bottom of the well, on a substratum of clay, was a kind of cist formed by two oblong stones, and in this cist two small Roman urns were found, with a broadsword, an iron spear-head, knife, and an iron handle of a bucket. Just above the cist was a stratum of stone tiles like those at the sides of the well, and upon it a bed of ashes and charcoal; above the ashes was a double layer of stone tiles arranged in pairs, and between each pair was the skeleton of a bird with one small Roman coin, then another bed of ashes. Similar beds of ashes, alternating with double tiers of tiles, each pair of which enclosed the skeleton of one bird and one copper coin, were repeated sixteen times between the top and bottom of the well, and halfway down was another cist containing a sword and other iron implements like those at the bottom. Dr. Buckland believed that this well contained the votive offerings of invalids and Roman families who visited the neighbourhood for bathing and for health.^b Of the coins only one of Theodosius could be identified. In 1846 a series of pits were found near the village of Newstead, Roxburghshire, filled with black earth and containing the bones of animals, broken amphoræ, Samian ware, a long iron spear, and other works of Roman art.^c A shallow one, found by myself in 1868 near St. Peter's, Broadstairs, contained Roman pottery mixed with flint flakes in considerable numbers, a flint implement, and the remains of domesticated animals.^d Another was found at Stone, in Buckinghamshire, in 1850, by Mr. G. D. Brandon, which Mr. Akerman considered to

^a *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii. pp. 451-55.

^b *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1844, vol. xxi. p. 185; vol. xxii. p. 635.

^c *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, second edition, vol. i. p. 290.

^d *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London*, new series, vol. i. p. 1.

be sepulchral.^a Shafts of this kind have been found in London,^b at Springhead, near Gravesend, at Tilbury, Faversham, Crayford, and Dartford. Others found at the Roman station at Richborough contained no sepulchral remains.^c The largest discovery of shafts of this kind was made at Chesterford, where the Honourable R. C. Neville opened as many as forty of them without arriving at any decided opinion as to their uses. Here, as at Ewell, some of them were found in clusters of three or four together, and in one place as many as fifteen were found within the space of half an acre. In more than one shaft pieces of the same pot were found at different depths in the same shaft, some pieces near the top and others near the bottom, and in one, a shallow one, only six feet in depth, ninety-six iron tools were discovered, consisting of anvils, hammers, axes, chains, scythes, &c., all considered by Mr. Neville to be of the Roman period, and in a perfect state of preservation, special care having evidently been taken to preserve them by means of a layer of chalk spread over the pit. Some of the shafts were filled with pottery, oyster shells, and animal remains, whilst others were destitute of such remains and filled only with earth.^d

In regard to the uses of these deep shafts no decided opinion appears to have been come to by any of the explorers. Mr. Neville appears inclined to regard them, perhaps as graves, perhaps as *favissæ*, formed to receive objects connected with sacred rites which had become unfit for use. Mr. T. Wright considered them to be *cloacæ*, which had become common depositories for refuse of every description. Mr. Akerman pronounced them to be sepulchral, and believed them to be the *puticuli* or depositories for the ashes of the humblest class of Romans. Burial in shafts was not unknown in ancient times. We have the account by Dr. McPherson of burials at Kertch in shafts, one of which was 52 feet in depth, and which dated about 500 B.C.;^e and Mr. Akerman mentions in support of his views a columbarium discovered on the Aventine Hill, in 1692, having a shaft 51 feet deep, with a sepulchral vault at the bottom.^f But few, if any, discoveries of this nature appear to have been made on the continent,^g and it appears unlikely the Romans should, unless led to it by finding suitable structures ready made for such purposes, have adopted in Britain a mode of interment that was not practised by

^a *Archæological Journal*, vol. viii. p. 95. *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv. p. 21.

^b *Archæological Journal*, vol. xii. p. 126. ^c *The Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, by T. Wright, p. 179.

^d *Archæological Journal*, vol. xii. p. 111; vol. xiii. p. 1, pl. i. ii. and iii.

^e *Antiquities of Kertch*, by J. Duncan McPherson, 1857.

^f *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv. p. 21.

^g Editor's note, *Archæological Journal*, vol. xii. p. 126.

them abroad. That they were used occasionally for this purpose appears evident from the facts adduced, but we have no proof that they may not have been originally constructed for some totally different object in earlier times. The filling need not of necessity be regarded as being of the same age as the shafts.

Putting aside the deep shafts and galleries, such as those of Cissbury and Grimes Graves, sunk for obtaining flints during the stone age, which are clearly inapplicable to the present case, as well as those sunk for obtaining the fine chalk called *argentaria*, mentioned by Pliny^a as having been made in Britain sometimes to the depth of 100 feet, with galleries at the bottom, which cannot possibly refer to the Mount Caburn shaft, because the whole of the chalk was put back again shortly after it had been excavated, we have evidence that such pits as these were in common use in all parts of the world for storing grain and other commodities, and that not unfrequently they were employed for concealment. Not to mention the Komera pits made by the New Zealanders of pre-historic times in and about their camps for this purpose, which however refer to a phase of civilization very closely allied to that of the ancient Britons, barring the use of metal tools by the latter,^b we find that such structures have been employed as repositories for grains in North Africa, Syria, Hungary, Media, and many other parts of the world.^c Tacitus speaks of the construction of them by the Germans, and Diodorus Siculus by the Britons;^d and similar pits, known as ancient hiding-holes, have been used by the inhabitants of Islay until very recent times. Since this paper was read Mr. H. C. Coote, F.S.A., has published his valuable work on the Romans of Britain. He mentions several more pits of somewhat similar construction. In Biddenham Field, about two miles from Bedford, about 100 yards from a Roman road, a shaft was discovered of some depth; it was filled with Roman pottery, Roman sculpture, an altar slab, leather soles, stone whorls, and pebbles. At Ipsden, in Oxfordshire, another was found, depth not estimated; its mouth was very narrow, and the sides of rough-ribbed chalk, logs of wood and steps about the size of a lady's stirrup were found in it, but it is not stated that anything of Roman origin was discovered. At Wellington, in Northamptonshire, a pit was found containing several Roman *olla* with

^a *Nat. Hist.* lib. xvii. cap. 8. Roach Smith, *Collectanea*, vol. vi. p. 246.

^b *Old New Zealand*, by a Pakeha Maori, p. 154.

^c See King's *Munimenta Antiqua*, vol. i. 1799, for an excellent treatise on this subject. In the island of Malta I have myself found these subterranean grain repositories of such size that on one occasion I caused one of them to be fitted up as a theatre for the soldiers.

^d *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. v. 209. *Munimenta Antiqua*, vol. i. p. 48.

bones of deer, but the dimensions are not given. At Ashill, in Norfolk, three were found close to each other; two of them contained unbroken *olla*, one was 8 feet deep, and contained an oaken chest; one of the others was 40 feet deep, it was lined with a framework of oak, and contained numerous Roman antiquities. Mr. Coote considers all these to be *arcae finales*, the terminal marks made by the agrimensores in parcelling out the land, and he brings much research and knowledge of the Roman law to bear upon the elucidation of his opinion. That some of them were constructed for this purpose he appears almost to have proved; but I can hardly go with him to the extent of believing that all were excavated for this use only, or that such a pit as that found at Jordan Hill was a terminal mark, the contents of which appear to show that they must have been connected with some religious observances, nor does it appear evident to me why pits intended only to serve in identifying a mark on the surface should have been sunk to such a great depth as some of them are. If the Caburn pit was an *arca finalis* it must probably have been made after the camp was abandoned by the Britons. The fact of the only piece of Samian pottery found in the camp having been discovered in the basin above the pit might favour this view, and the circumstance of the pit having been filled up again shortly after it was excavated is in favour of its being a terminal mark; but if this were the case it is singular that nothing but one iron clinker should have been found in the shaft at the bottom and one small fragment of coarse pottery, British and not Roman.

The small pits found at Mount Caburn may possibly have been used for the same purpose as the large one, or as cellars to habitations erected upon the surface. That they were not themselves used as dwelling-places is evident from their small size. Their position makes it improbable that they were latrines, and the analysis of the contents of the earth by Mr. Robb affords no sufficient ground for such a supposition; nor could they by any possibility have been made for graves, because quantities of animal bones were found in the greater part of them, in good preservation, but no trace of human bones burnt or unburnt. It is true that at Hardham in West Surrey, Professor Boyd Dawkins discovered small pits of nearly the same size, but deeper, in which evidence of Roman interments by cremation were found,^a but at a place called Bathurst Wood, near Battle, Professor Dawkins in 1862 discovered other pits in all respect similar to the Mount Caburn one, which had been sunk by the Britons to obtain iron ore.^b Not only were pits constructed for different purposes in British times, but the filling of them at a subsequent

^a *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. xvi. p. 52.

^b *Transactions of the International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology*, third session, 1868, p. 185.

period may have taken place under different conditions. We have evidence that in some cases the pits and shafts were filled with rubble only, and contained no relics whatever; in other cases they have been filled with broken pottery and rubbish, whilst in some few, as at Chesterford, distinct hoards of implements have been found, and at Worlebury, near Weston-super-Mare, deposits of grain have been discovered.^a Hoards of treasures or valuables would be hidden in time of war. In the peace which followed, such as that which succeeded the Roman conquest, the hoards would either be exhumed by the people who buried them, or rifled by the conquerors, and the pits would then be filled up again with the materials at hand, sometimes they would be filled with earth, alone, and sometimes with refuse, hence the variety of the filling noticed. In either case we can understand how they might sometimes come to be filled up again and abandoned very soon after they were made, as our evidence at Mount Caburn shows was the case with some. Sometimes they might be utilised as graves, as Mr. Akerman supposes the *puticuli* to have been, for the ashes of the humblest class. Only on rare occasions the deposits would be forgotten, or the sites lost, or the owners perhaps killed, and they would then remain to our own times. The discovery of several of the deeper shafts in clusters both at Ewell and Chesterford is in favour of their having been used to conceal stores. Such an arrangement would facilitate their being found again by the people who made them after the apprehended danger had passed away. In places where beehive huts, having been made of stone, have survived on the surface, shafts and underground structures have been found in connection with them,—as at old Chysoister, near Penzance,^b and Gulval in the same neighbourhood,^c and in many of the raths and other prehistoric habitations in Ireland which I have myself examined. We may reasonably assume, therefore, that the Mount Caburn small pits and others resembling them may originally have been connected with similar habitations of reeds or wattle-work on the surface, which have disappeared. The large shaft at Mount Caburn adds but little to our knowledge of such structures beyond this, that it is an exceptional example of one in a place in which no traces of Roman occupation have been discovered, if we except one small fragment of Roman pottery found in the basin above, the only piece found in Mount Caburn during the first examination, and not necessarily con-

^a *Visitor's Handbook to Weston-super-Mare*, by L. E. H. J. superintended by the Rev. W. Jackson. *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological Society*, vol. ii. p. 64.

^b *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. iv. third series, p. 72.

^c *Archæological Journal*, vol. xviii. p. 42. See also a paper by Mr. W. C. Borlase, *Ibid.* vol. xxx. p. 336.

nected in any way with the shaft itself. The shaft might therefore be of pre-Roman origin in so far as no evidence to the contrary has been obtained by me. As to the drain leading into it, this need not necessarily be associated with the period of its construction, inasmuch as no puddling to contain water was found, and it may therefore have been made to drain into the basin at some more recent time, after the shaft had been filled up.

After this I began cutting a section across the two ramparts and ditches on the north-west side, selecting a spot where the rampart appeared to be best preserved. (See section A, C, D, on plan, Plate XXIII.) A trench 14 feet wide was first cut across the upper rampart, reaching down to the undisturbed chalk and laying bare the original line of the hill, which was marked by a dark line representing the old surface mould and turf. This old surface we found to have been strewed with animal bones and broken pottery in small pieces. The bones were those of domesticated animals—ox and pig—the same as had been found in the pits. The pottery under the interior slope of the ramparts was mixed, containing a good deal of the finer quality found in the pits, mixed with a coarser kind; but when we got into the body of the rampart it was found that the whole of the fragments were of the inferior kind, that is, soft, pasty, and badly baked, such as by some persons would be called unbaked, and mixed with large grains of silex. Reference to the pottery table will shew that in the body of the rampart 97 per cent., that is, all except two small bits, which might have come down from the top in digging, was of this inferior kind, whereas under the interior slope 7 per cent. of the fragments were of the finest quality and 18 per cent. of the medium kind. This may be accounted for by the *débris* of the pottery used in the interior of the camp, subsequently to the erection of the rampart, having been washed down owing to the fall of the ground and accumulated at the foot of the interior slope, and as the rampart underwent the process of degradation by time, this pottery would be covered over by the talus from the rampart, which ultimately stood at a much lower angle than it did at first; thus the soil beneath the interior slope would be mixed with fragments of a much more recent date than those lying on the old surface beneath the body of the rampart, all of which latter must have been there before the rampart was formed, and must therefore be taken to represent the kind of pottery in use at that time.

The argument that I base upon this is that the inferior kind of pottery, although found mixed with the superior quality in the pits, as already mentioned when describing the excavation of the pits, was older than it, that the upper rampart was also older, and was erected before the superior kind of pottery was

introduced into the camp. Mr. Hilton Price, who was present at the time of this discovery, confirms me in this observation; we shall see how this agrees with what follows.

Digging on now towards the ditch we found near the outside of the rampart two holes in the undisturbed chalk, 2 feet in diameter and 2 feet deep, in the position marked upon the plan and section; they were filled with fine chalk rubble and a little mould, and contained the remains of carbonised wood; evidently they had been made to receive the stakes which supported the vallum on the rampart; a smaller hole one foot deep was afterwards found near one of them. I caused trenches to be dug right and left to see if a continuation of the stake-holes could be found, but only found two or three small holes to the west in the same line as the others; the chalk, however, appeared to have been disturbed. The position of these stake-holes will be referred to subsequently when considering the restoration of the rampart; they were 2 feet deep beneath the chalk surface, and must have been nearly 3 feet beneath the old surface line. It is to be observed that no oyster shells were found in the rampart and only six flint flakes.

The ditch of the upper rampart was found to be 4 feet 7 inches deep, beneath the present surface line, and we excavated it in spits from the top in order to distinguish the remains found at the different levels. The surface mould, without stones, was 6 inches deep in the centre, thinning to 3 inches on the sides; below this came mixed surface rubble, making together with the surface mould 1 foot 6 inches, and beneath that chalk rubble, not white as in some pits but mixed with mould, the result of silting, very compact and hard. The upper spit contained pottery of the three kinds hitherto found, viz. the smooth, the medium, and the coarsest, the medium quality being the most abundant, and ten flint chips, with bones of pig, sheep, and ox. The second spit, extending to 2 feet 6 inches from the top, contained two pieces of pottery, several oyster shells, and *Helix aspersa*. The third spit from 2 feet 6 inches to the bottom, which was at 4 feet 7 inches, contained no oyster shells nor *Helix aspersa*, but quantities of *Helix nemoralis*, also two pieces of the coarsest kind of pottery. In all, thirteen flint-flakes were found in this ditch.

The absence of oysters again at the bottom of the ditch, and the presence of *Helix nemoralis*, a shell not now found on the downs at this height, is noticeable, coupled with the absence of oysters in the upper rampart; it implies an earlier date than the Roman period, and a difference in the surroundings, when the hills were probably more wooded than they are at present. What little pottery was found in the bottom of the ditch also confirms this opinion, so far as it goes.

Three shore pebbles were found in the ditch, probably used as sling stones, as has been conjectured in the case of former similar discoveries elsewhere.

The ditch has a flat bottom, one foot wide, just sufficient to enable a row of men to stand abreast, and a rather high step in the counterscarp to enable them to sally out or ascend the second rampart. I may here mention that the outer ditch was found to have similar means of egress in the counterscarp, showing that they employed sorties as a mode of aggression. The escarp of the upper ditch rose at an angle of 45°. This mode of construction differs from the ditch at Seaford, which was 3 feet wide at the bottom,^a and that of Cissbury, which was about 10 feet at the bottom and had a ridge of solid chalk left in the centre.^b

In cutting through the second rampart the section was at first reduced to 7 feet 4 inches in width to save labour, but afterwards increased, following along the line of the old surface, which descended gently towards the north as before; the line of the old turf was marked by a dark seam as in the upper rampart, and the surface above this was strewed with fragments of pottery, but of a totally different character from that of the upper rampart, corresponding for the most part to that of the medium quality found in the pits, a little coarser perhaps, but much less coarse than that of the upper rampart, having no large grains of silex in its composition and being better burnt. Several fragments when put together showed that they belonged to a large globular vessel about 10½ inches in diameter at the mouth, and half an inch in thickness. One very small fragment was found of a thinner but not finer kind, one-eighth of an inch thick. Reference to the pottery table will show that out of 428 fragments found in the second rampart 86 per cent. was of this medium quality, nine per cent. of the superior smooth kind, and only two per cent. of the coarsest kind, like that found in the upper rampart. This difference can hardly be the result of the mere accidental scattering of different kinds of pottery in different places on the surface, and must I think indicate a different and probably a later date for the second rampart; 1·3 per cent. was ornamented, chiefly in incised oblique lines, and different from that of the superior pottery in the pits. The animal remains consisted of ox and sheep as before, with the horn of a roe deer. Two artificially-rounded flint balls were found with the pottery (Plate XXIV. fig. 26); evidently they had been used as hammers, but not more than five or six flint flakes were found.

^a *Excavations at Seaford*, by Col. A. Lane Fox, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. vi. pl. xv. fig. 3.

^b *Excavations at Cissbury Camp*, by Col. A. Lane Fox, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. v. pl. xv. figs. 3 and 4.

At a distance of 7 feet 8 inches from the top of the counterscarp, a small gutter with a triangular section was found cut in the original chalk floor under the rampart, running across the section parallel to the ditch. It is the peculiarity of this downland, in which we were excavating, that as the surface mould is not more than 2 or 3 inches thick on the tops of the hills, any disturbance in ancient times which penetrated the chalk has preserved a perfect outline under the turf. The gutter was 4 inches deep and 6 inches wide at the top; when cut from the surface it must have been somewhat wider and deeper, and it was noticed in several places that where the dark seam marking the old surface passed over the gutter it was broken, showing that the turf had been cut through in making it.

Beyond the gutter at a distance of 12 feet from the edge of the counterscarp, we came to a vertical facing of rammed chalk, also running across the section parallel to the gutter and ditch. It rose to a height of about 2 feet 7 inches from the surface line in the body of the rampart, and behind it, that is on the south side between it and the gutter, there was the distinct outline of an old trench in the rampart about 2 feet wide and dipping to within a foot of the bottom, filled with dark surface mould, which made it quite distinct from the chalk rubble. The stratification of the chalk rubble was different before and behind this trench; before it, that is on the north side, the seams were horizontal, whereas behind it they were curved, forming what geologists call an anticlinal bend, and showing a difference in the mode of throwing up the material; consequently the trench, whatever it may represent, whether the position of a line of stakes or a turf revetment, must have been in existence during the time that the rampart was being formed.

I was at first inclined to think that the ground behind the chalk facing had been left uncovered as a kind of *terre pleine* (*chemin de ronde*), between the second rampart and the upper ditch, that the chalk facing was the interior slope of the second rampart, and the gutter or open drain along the *terre pleine*; but subsequent consideration led me to give up this idea, and to suppose that the gutter had nothing to do with the rampart, but was merely the drain of some structure erected on the outside of the upper ditch before the second rampart was made. In order to ascertain whether the chalk facing, and the trench, and gutter continued to run parallel to the ditch, the section was extended 20 feet to the east, when it was found that all three continued to run in a direction nearly parallel to the ditch. Three stake-holes containing fragments of wood were also found near the inside of the gutter, as marked in the plan (Plate XXIII.). But perhaps the most interesting discovery remains to be mentioned. Mixed with

the pottery strewed upon the line of the old surface beneath the rampart, and close to the gutter above mentioned, were found a number of fragments of hard clay, of which Plate XXV. figs. 58, 59, are specimens, flat on one side and having on the other the impression of sticks. These, after some consideration, I perceived to be the remains of a clay wall impressed with the marks of wattling, and with a little attention to the forms of the pieces I have been able to re-construct a complete piece of the wattling, a horizontal section of which is shown in Plate XXV. fig. 69. The pieces of clay preserved the impression of the upright sticks, and by striking a radius from the curves of several pieces I was able to determine that the sticks were exactly three-quarters of an inch in diameter; then taking the measurement of several pieces from the impression of the upright sticks to the spot where the osier sticks interlacing between the uprights crossed one another I found that the sticks had been placed at 4 inches apart from edge to edge, and that the osiers were exactly one-third of an inch in diameter, exactly the size of those of a large hamper I happened to have by me. Measuring then the thickness of the clay pieces from the point of crossing of the osier sticks to the flat surface representing the outside of the wall I found that the whole wall must have been as nearly as possible 2 inches thick. The clay was pressed from both sides into the interstices of the wattling and smoothed on the outsides. One fragment contained the impression of a large stake $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, just such a one as might fit into the holes found in the ground; another fragment had the impression of a twisted withy, probably forming the outside of a framework of wattling, just as in the hamper above mentioned it is seen that the two outer osiers of the basketwork are twisted in order to give the basket additional strength. By submitting several pieces to the test of acid I found that the clay was strongly mixed with lime.

Knowing that wattles were sometimes used to revet earthworks, my first impression was that I had discovered a piece of the revetment, but on considering the matter further I reflected that my evidence of the wattling was derived solely from the impression of it on the clay, and this was alone sufficient to disprove its having been employed for such a purpose. If it had been used for revetment there could have been no object in coating it with clay: the clay could only have been added in order to convert the wattling into a wall. We have here, therefore, one of the historical British huts mentioned by Strabo. This structure, of which the gutter above mentioned probably formed the outer drain, was erected outside the ditch at a time when the defences consisted of a single line of ditch and rampart. When the second rampart was formed afterwards, out of the materials excavated

from the second or outer ditch, they were thrown over the hut, the walls of which were thrown down and mixed with the broken fragments of pottery upon the floor. The wood of the wattling then decayed in process of time, and the clay coating broke up into pieces of a particular form determined by the lines of greatest weakness, and have been preserved by the rampart thrown over them.

There are not many positions in which materials of so perishable a nature would be preserved, and hence the few cases recorded of the discovery of wattle-work. Either the pieces must be burnt into brick and then preserved in water, or some accidental cause must have led to their being covered over. Although the clay coating in this case had been hardened by the admixture of lime the pieces must inevitably have perished if the rampart had not been thrown over them. Professor Daniel Wilson describes the remains of some primitive habitations, found beneath an accumulation of 8 to 10 feet at Black Moss on the banks of Loch Etive, in Argyleshire; they were about 6 feet in diameter, and surrounded with the remains of pointed hazel stakes, part, no doubt, of the remains of wattle-work.^a Mr. G. H. Kinahan gives an account, in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, of the remains of an ancient hut, found in a crannoge in Lough Rea, in which the vertical wall of wattle-work was discovered.^b In the Gaulish oppidum, called Castel Coz, in the parish of Beuzec, Finisterre, a camp very much resembling Mount Caburn in its contents, the remains of some of the clay coating of wicker-work burnt into bricks was found in connection with a number of pits in the interior, and associated with implements of both bronze and iron, and flint flakes, and pottery of three kinds, one coarse and badly baked containing silicious grains, another of fine clay without silicious grains, and fragments of Samian ware of the Roman period.^c In the Swiss lakes such discoveries have frequently been made. In connection with a pile-dwelling in the district of Borgo San Donnino, in the province of Parma, a station of the bronze age already referred to, pieces of half-burnt clay with the impression of wattle-work were found.^d At Möringen, and at Cortaillod, stations of the bronze age, burnt fragments with the impression of wattle-work have also been found.^e At Auvernier some of the wattle-work itself was found, consisting of poles from 2 to 2½ inches thick, at distances of 2 feet apart, with rods of 1 to 1½ inch

^a *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, by Daniel Wilson, LL.D., vol. i. p. 106.

^b *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. viii. p. 413.

^c *On Gaulish Fortresses on the Coast of Brittany*, by R. F. Le Man, *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxix. p. 327.

^d Keller, vol. i. p. 382.

^e *Ibid.* p. 184, 233.

in thickness interwoven between them, thus making a stronger and coarser structure than that found at Mount Caburn: ^a such fragments have also been found in connection with a station of the stone age at Heimenlachen. ^b Cæsar says that the houses of the Britons in his time were built after the manner of the Gauls; ^c and Strabo informs us that the houses of the Gauls were made of wattle-work. ^d Diodorus Siculus, speaking more particularly of the habitations of the Britons, says that they had very poor wretched dwellings, composed for the most part of reeds and wood. ^e The earliest city of Rome appears to have consisted of wattled houses coated with clay, and these were afterwards coated with mortar instead of clay. ^f We may presume from this that the fact of our wattle-work in Mount Caburn being coated with a mixture of lime and clay indicates that the inhabitants had advanced beyond the most primitive stage of house-building.

In attempting to restore the rampart all we can do is to endeavour to reconcile the discoveries that have been made with such few statements relating to ancient fortifications as have been recorded in history. It is impossible to conceive that the description given by Cæsar of a British fortified town ^g can be regarded as typical. The skill displayed in the selection of their sites negatives the supposition that they could habitually have been situate in the midst of woods. We find that they are for the most part erected on the summits of hills which from the nature of the soil could never have been thickly wooded. Even admitting, as was probably the case, that the forest trees grew at a higher level than is the case at present, the careful manner in which their ramparts are invariably traced so as to command the slopes proves that those slopes could never have been covered with wood, otherwise the advantages of the arrangement would have been nullified. Cæsar must have had in view some quite exceptional position which the Britons had occupied when attacked by him. The description given by Tacitus of the position chosen by Caraetacus accords much more truly with what we ourselves are able to recognise in the British art of castrametation. "He chose," he says, "a place against which it was difficult to advance, in every way incommodious to our army and in every way favourable to his own. He then took post on the ridges of some lofty mountains, and where the sides were gently inclining and approachable he piled up large stones for a rampart, his position was also skirted by a river difficult to be forded, and troops of soldiers

^a Keller, vol. i. p. 235.

^b *Ibid.* p. 326.

^c *De Bello Gallico*, v. c. 12.

^d *Strabo*, lib. iv. c. iv. 3.

^e *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. v. 209. See also *Munimenta Antiqua*, vol. i. p. 14.

^f Smith, *Dictionary of Antiquities*, PARIES.

^g *De Bello Gallico*, v. c. 21.

manned his intrenchments.”^a But we may well believe what Cæsar says, that the avenues were defended by strong barricades of felled trees.^b It is, however, to the Gauls that we ought to look for a description of what a fortress in this particular part of the coast of Britain might be expected to resemble.

Notwithstanding the opinion of a high authority to the contrary,^c it appears almost certain that the Britons kept up frequent communication with Gaul. Cæsar says that the inhabitants of Kent differed but little in their manner from the Gauls,^d and it was in consequence of the assistance that they had rendered to the Gauls when they were opposed to him that he invaded Britain.^e They were kept well informed of his movements by merchants who resorted to their island.^f Cæsar, as we have seen, says that they built houses like the Gauls, and Pomponius Mela that they were armed like the Gauls.^g Mr. Evans has proved that they derived their coinage from the same source as the Gauls,^h and Cæsar further adds that in the maritime parts the inhabitants were Belgic Gauls; and that they retained the names of the tribes from which they were descended.ⁱ

In the account given by Cæsar of the Gaulish rampart at Avaricum,^j it is said that the earthwork was strengthened by a trellis-work of strong beams consisting of transverse timbers 2 feet apart, arranged so as to constitute by their length the thickness of the wall,^k and these were covered by others to bind them together, and the intervals filled with earth. These were surmounted by other frameworks of the same kind, not resting on the lower ones, as they are represented doing in the Trajan column, but with intervals between. The beams it would appear were not intended to support the rampart, but only to serve as bonding, and enable it to stand of its own accord with the assistance of a stone revetment on the outside at an abrupt angle. The Emperor Napoleon III. gives an illustration of this rampart,^l and discusses the question often disputed as to whether the beams were placed longitudinally or transversely; but what is more to the purpose is that in 1873 MM. G. Arnould and De Radiguès made an excavation in the ancient ramparts at Hastedon, and there found the actual remains of the trellis-work

^a Tacitus, *The Annals*, bk. xii. ch. p. 33, Bohn's edition.

^b *De Bello Gallico*, v. c. 9.

^c J. Y. Akerman, *On the Condition of Britain from the descent of Cæsar to the coming of Claudius*, in *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiii. p. 179.

^d *De Bello Gallico*, v. c. 12, 14.

^e *Ibid.* iv. c. 20.

^f *Ibid.* iv. c. 21.

^g Lib. iii. c. 6. *Horæ Ferales*, p. 187.

^h *The Coins of the Ancient Britons*, by John Evans, F.R.S., 1864.

ⁱ *De Bello Gallico*, v. c. 12.

^j *De Bello Gallico*, vii. c. 23.

^k *Translation by Duncan*, vol. ii. p. 23.

^l *History of Julius Cæsar*, vol. ii. p. 317, pl. 20.

in situ, with seven of the transverse beams in the position described by Cæsar. [Since this paper was read I have had an opportunity, in conjunction with Professor Rolleston, of examining the great Danevirke, which runs across Jutland from Schleswig. This fortification has been renewed and altered at different periods, and there is evidence of successive additions, but the oldest portions of it may even date as far back as prehistoric times. Borrowing a spade from a neighbouring cottage we dug into this rampart at a place where a natural breach had already been partly made, and found, at a depth of about 6 feet from the top, a layer of horizontal beams running across the rampart; they consisted of stems of beech trees, about 6 inches in diameter, with the bark on, and at irregular intervals of 2 to 4 feet apart beneath this, at about 9 inches between, was another layer of beams in the same direction, and horizontally across the beams were layers of birch bark intended to serve as bonding. We found the same construction in several places on the line of the rampart.]

It is evident from the position of the stake-holes in the upper rampart at Mount Caburn that they must have held upright stakes, between which longitudinal beams about one foot in thickness must have been laid horizontally. The holes, 2 to 2½ feet in depth, would be insufficient to give firmness to a stockade if intended to support the weight of an earthen rampart unless bonded with transverse beams in the manner above described,^a but no trace of any transverse beams could be discovered, besides which no continuous line of holes could be found, the others found in continuation of the large ones being quite small and shallow. I imagine therefore that the upright stakes may have passed through the rampart, being retained in their position by it, and may have been intended only to support a vallum on the top of the agger; that the small holes in the chalk represented the bottom of the stakes driven through the rampart, and the larger ones may have been sunk to an unusual depth in places to give additional strength.

A line of stake holes was discovered on the rampart of Uffington Castle, a camp near the White Horse in Berkshire, by Mr. Atkins,^b which went all round the camp; and holes supposed to be for this purpose have been found in the rampart at Worlebury,^c above Weston super Mare.

The meaning of the trench and chalk-facing in the second rampart is more

^a In the *Manual of Elementary Field Engineering*, 1877, p. 46, issued by authority to the army, it is laid down that stockades, when only intended to support their own weight in an upright position, are to be sunk three to four feet in the ground.

^b Davis and Thurnam, *Crania Britannica*, Skull from White Horse Hill.

^c *Visitor's Handbook to Weston-super-Mare*, p. 103.

difficult to determine; it may have been the place where a line of stakes were inserted in the top of the rampart, but it appears to me rather too much to the rear for such a purpose. It is possible, however, that it may mark the site of an interior revetment, or wall of turf, in the centre of the rampart.

In ramparts constructed of loose stones such interior facings have been frequently found. At Dunbeg, near Dingle, co. Kerry, an interior wall is seen in the middle of the rampart, which is undoubtedly meant to give additional strength, a single dry facing on the outside being insufficient to support the weight of a rampart of loose stones. At Dun Aengus and Dun Onag, in the island of Arran, similar interior revetments are employed for the same purpose.^a I believe that at Worlebury also it will be found that the revetted terraces on the top of the walls go down to the bottom and form interior revetments to support the wall; and in some of the Piets' brochs of Scotland, which are formed of loose stones, the same thing is seen. An interior revetment may sometimes have been formed in earthen ramparts, although the necessity for such a support in that case is not so obvious. In Moel Gaer, part of Moel Famma, in the valley of the Clwyd, Mr. Wynne Ffoulkes, who has done some good work in the examination of ancient camps in that neighbourhood, opened a part of the rampart, in which an interior central wall was discovered; unfortunately, no section but only a drawing is given of it.^b Mr. Ffoulkes has some useful remarks on the important results which may be obtained from a systematic examination of these ancient camps, which are well worthy of consideration. But the most important discovery of the system of double revetment in the rampart was that of the camp of Bonne, in the commune of Modave, examined by Messrs. G. Arnould and De Radiguès. Two dry walls were found, one on the outside and the other in the interior of the rampart, composed of flagstones 4 to 9 centimètres in thickness, and 40 to 50 centimètres broad, and of variable length. Each wall presented towards the outside of the camp an almost perpendicular facing. Between and all over the walls was an accumulation of loose stones which had formed the interior of the rampart, mixed with fragments of wood. Above the interior wall, and resting on it, were found the foundations of a masonry wall, the two lower courses of which were in place, and which contained in the interstices fragments of iron nails. The age of the camp is attested by the discovery of numerous flint implements, showing it had been occupied by people of the polished stone age, whilst Roman coins and objects of bronze also prove that it was inhabited at a later period. The authors consider

^a *Archæologia Cambrensis*, second series, vol. iv. p. 297; third series, vol. iv. p. 100.

^b *Ibid.* second series, vol. i. p. 174.

that the double dry walls, the wooden framework, and the superincumbent masonry wall, are the remains of three successive systems of fortification which have succeeded one another.^a Whether the central trench at Mount Caburn was an interior retaining wall of sods or not may be a matter of opinion. I draw attention to the subject more with a view to assist future exploration than to arrive at any definite opinion in this case. It may be observed the chalk escarp of the outer ditch rose at an abrupt angle of fifty-five degrees and was 13 feet high, before the upper portion of it had been denuded, and this may possibly have rendered a stockade on the rampart unnecessary. The width and extent of the outer ditch is remarkable, and it may be seen at a glance that the *deblai* must have considerably exceeded the *remblai*; on a rough calculation I estimate the former at about 330 square feet, whilst the *remblai*, including the talus on the slope of the escarp, and also a portion of the contents of the upper ditch, which must have silted down in that direction, cannot have exceeded 160 square feet. This is calculated solely on the section, making no allowance for the greater circuit of the ditch; this gives us, at the lowest calculation, 170 feet to be accounted for, and leads to the suggestion that possibly there may have been outer works still further to the north, some traces of which may be seen on the shoulder of the hill, at the foot of what may be termed the *glacis*. A considerable amount of dead ground, it will be seen, exists on the slope of this hill, which is not seen from the rampart, a most unusual occurrence in a British camp, and it is not unlikely that an additional rampart may have been thrown up at this spot, to see into the hollow, the materials for which may have been taken from the main ditch.

In concluding these remarks it may be desirable to sum up briefly the results of the investigation. It would appear that this camp is of recent origin as compared with many in this and other districts in which flint implements have been found. The evidence of the use of flint in Caburn is confined to a few flakes, which we are beginning to think may have been used for some purposes up to a later period than was at first supposed. The upper rampart may be older than the outer one, and may date from a time when pottery of the coarsest kind only was in use. On this point the evidence of the upper rampart is satisfactory as far as it goes, but ought only to be accepted provisionally. It may be remembered that at Seaford and Cissbury evidence of the same kind, though not so abundant, led to the same conclusion, namely, that the ramparts were older than some of the relics

^a *Compte Rendu du Congrès International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistoriques*, sixième session, Bruxelles, 1874, pp. 322-325, pl. 83.

of a later date found in the interior. And I may add that at Newhaven, having examined carefully the soil of the old camp now in process of being removed to make room for the modern fortification, I found several pieces of the coarser kind of pottery in the rampart, but not a single fragment of the superior quality which is abundant in the soil of the interior. That pottery of all three kinds may have been used together is not improbable, but the evidence keeps on accumulating that the inferior pottery was used first. In a barrow on Alfriston racecourse the Rev. Henry Smith, in 1869, found pottery which, in so far as one can judge by the description, appears to have been of the various kinds found in Caburn, but the occurrence of both brachycephalic and dolichocephalic skulls in this barrow led him, together with other evidence, to infer that it was used by successive races; similar varieties of pottery were found by him on the site of some ancient dwellings on the southern slope of Firls Beacon.^a A similar mixture of pottery has been found in many places elsewhere, but more detailed observations as to the position are requisite in order to determine the relative ages. The table of the percentage of fragments of the three kinds found in the different parts of Mount Caburn will serve as data to future explorers in investigating this subject. The number of fragments indicate approximately the relative proportion of the three kinds, as the pieces are of tolerably uniform size, but the badly-baked pottery inclines to break up into smaller pieces, and the percentage of this class may therefore be slightly exaggerated in this table. It is possible that the pits in the interior may, some of them, have been filled up at a more recent date than the time of their construction, and that pottery of an older period may have got mixed with the other in the filling. Not until a considerable number of these camps have been examined with careful attention to these particulars can we arrive at any certain results. Pottery for use and pottery for funereal purposes appear to have differed materially at the same time, and we cannot judge of the former by urns found in the graves. The ornamentation of the pottery of the finest quality resembles that of Worlebury and Cissbury. I at first thought that it was Saxon but now believe it may be Late Celtic. Mr. Franks confirms me in this opinion. In 1862, Professor Boyd Dawkins discovered the remains of some ancient ironworks in the Weald near Battle, which he considered to be pre-Roman on account of the associated pottery being exclusively British.^b I have no means of comparing it with the specimens found in Caburn. It would be very desirable if archæo-

^a *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. xxii. p. 71; xxiv. pp. 154, 165.

^b *On the Antiquity of the Iron Mines of the Weald*, by W. Boyd Dawkins; *Transactions of the International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology*, 1868, p. 189.

logical societies would introduce the practice of illustrating small fragments that are well authenticated, as they often afford the only evidence of date.

Domesticated animals were employed by the first occupants of Caburn, and in the pits the discovery of a few horn-cores have enabled Professor Rolleston to ascertain the presence of sheep as well as goat. This a short time ago would have been regarded as evidence of Saxon times, but I have now the authority of Professor Rolleston for stating that the sheep was introduced into Britain before the Romans. We have no evidence that it was introduced at the time of the first construction of the upper rampart, although both ox and pig have been found in it. Professor Rolleston further informs me that from the shape and size of the horn-cores, and from the occasional presence of four instead of two horn-cores (for which see Relic Table, Pit No. 9), he concludes that the old breed of sheep, still known in the north as the "Shetland and Iceland" (*Ovis brevicauda*), but unknown now except in the peat of the south, though once distinctive of Crete, was then one at least of the domestic breeds of the southern Britons. One human bone only was found, and that near the surface of the outer ditch, but how it got there I am unable to say.

Upon the whole I am inclined to interpret the evidence as favouring the first construction of Caburn during the late-bronze period or early-iron age, and its continued occupation into post-Roman times, but that it was never occupied by the Romans. Neither coins nor iron nails have been discovered as yet, and the single small fragment of Roman pottery found in the surface-mould of the large pit may be of any Roman age, either prior or subsequent to its abandonment as a camp. It is certain, however, that the materials for deciding this question are at present beneath the soil. The hill and its surroundings are as rich in the relics of prehistoric times as any of the lake dwellings of Switzerland. It is to be hoped that the present communication, however little light it may throw on the subject, will at least be instrumental in promoting further research. Of the customs of the Britons in regard to their dead we have abundant knowledge, derived from the examination of tumuli, but on the subject of their every-day life and industry our archæological information in this country is very defective. It is hard upon a people who met Cæsar in the field, and produced Caractacus, that they should be handed down to posterity solely in the capacity of mutes and mourners. Camps and villages are the sources to which we must look chiefly for a knowledge of the living Briton, and the little that has been done in this field hitherto is of a nature to promise satisfactory results.

FURTHER EXCAVATIONS IN THE PITS IN MOUNT CABURN,
CONDUCTED IN JULY 1878.

The foregoing paper having been read to the Society of Antiquaries on the 20th of June, 1878, it appeared evident, from the discussion which followed, that a larger number of relics were desirable in order to determine the age of the pits. Whilst to some members of the Society it appeared probable that the remains were Late Celtic and pre-Roman, others considered them post-Roman, and I therefore decided to continue the excavation of other pits, commencing with the small pits to the east of those previously opened, and proceeding to those on the top of the hill to the south, all within the area enclosed by the rampart.

The pits, numbered 12 to 40, were of the same kind as the former small pits, the large pit already spoken of being a work of a totally different character to the others, and the only one in the camp or its vicinity. As the dimensions of each pit are given in the Relic Table it is unnecessary to describe them here further than to say that some of them were distinctly in clusters, and two pits, 13 and 16, were separated only by a low ridge of undisturbed chalk. Attention may be specially drawn to pits 22 and 23, which were close together; and to 24, 25, and 26, which formed another group, apparently associated together for some purpose, possibly in connection with huts formerly existing on the surface. When oval or oblong, the long axes, as before, were found to have no normal bearing, but were directed to all points of the compass. The pits varied from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 feet in depth, and were filled chiefly with mixed rubble, though a few were filled with white chalk, as before. The position of the relics showed that they were probably thrown in haphazard with the filling, and not deposited for any special object, being found at various depths in the rubble. As already noticed, the oyster-shells were confined chiefly to the surface mould, and none were found deep down in the pits; I cannot doubt, therefore, that they must have been deposited after the pits had been filled up, on the surface, where they would collect in the shallow basins of the pits and work themselves down to a certain depth. Reference to the Relic Table will show that the fragments of pottery were of the same three kinds found before; but in addition to these another, of a superior quality, better

baked and grey, was found in some of the pits, but not in any quantity. In my previous communication it was stated that Samian pottery had only been found in the surface mould of the large pit. In the subsequent excavations also a single fragment of black Samian, one-sixteenth of an inch in thickness and 1 inch in length, occurred at 1 foot 9 inches beneath the surface in pit 35; and we know it to be quite possible for a thin sharp-edged object of this kind to work itself down from the surface to that depth. Another small fragment of red Samian was found in filling in pit 39, which may probably have come from the surface. This confirms the view already taken, that Samian pottery was not introduced until after the pits were filled up, an opinion which is strengthened by the subsequent discovery, to be hereafter spoken of, of numerous fragments of this earthenware in the adjoining camp at Ranscombe, within 500 yards of Caburn. One very small fragment of green glazed pottery, with a ribbed pattern, was also found in filling in Pit 34, and a piece of red tile, half-an-inch thick, at the top of Pit 39; these no doubt were of a date subsequent to the occupation of the camp, and considering the great quantities of the other kinds found in the pits, afford sufficient evidence that they were not in use by the original occupants. Reference to the Relic Table shows that out of the 1,566 fragments found in the twenty-nine new pits now opened, as much as 80 per cent. were of the superior quality, smooth, and well baked, without grains of sand or quartz, frequently ornamented with the curved grooves, edged with lines, represented in figs. 32, 35, 36, 40, and 41, and sometimes with lines of dots or chevrons as shown in figs. 37, 39, and 46. This proportion of 80 per cent. of the superior quality of pottery found in the pits must be viewed in connection with the fact already noticed, that not a single fragment of this pottery was found in the body of the upper rampart, the whole of the ninety fragments found there being of an inferior kind.^a The forms of the pots were of two kinds, one globular, of which a small fragment is shown in fig. 32, and the other flat-bottomed, like a saucepan without the handle (figs. 44 and 58). This saucepan-form appears to have been in frequent use in this neighbourhood. A similar one was found by Mr. Park Harrison in the small pits at Cissbury, previously alluded to, and is figured in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*.^b Another, for the knowledge of which I am indebted to Mr. Harrison, was found at Preston, near Brighton, and is in the Pavilion Museum. The small loop for suspension (fig. 42) is common to the pottery of various periods; its small size

^a In the twelve pits previously opened, 65 per cent. of the fragments were of the superior quality.

^b *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. vii. p. 422, pl. xi. fig. 4.

shows the purpose for which it was intended. The terra-cotta spindle whorls (figs. 50, 52, 53, 54, and 55) and the fragments of a stone one (fig. 22), coupled with the discovery of another bone comb (fig. 12), shows that weaving was a constant occupation of the inhabitants. It is not a mere military earthwork that we are dealing with, erected during warlike operations, but a permanent abode, in which women performed their usual avocations and the labours of the husbandman were not neglected. The sling bullet of clay (fig. 47) is worthy of attention; that this was its use there can be little doubt from its exact resemblance to the Greek and Roman leaden pellets of the same form. In size it naturally exceeds the Roman model, otherwise it would not have been heavy enough to serve as an effective missile; its weight, 263 grains, is the least that would be desirable for such a purpose. Both in form and size it resembles closely the sling stones used by the natives of New Caledonia, but the greater weight of the latter would render them more formidable as missiles; the pointed oval form adapts it to lie evenly in the broad bend of the sling, and to receive the rotatory motion imparted to it by the release of one of the thongs. The occurrence of this missile throws some doubt on the supposed use of small shore pebbles as sling stones, which has often been attributed to them when found in the ditches of similar entrenchments. May not these, however, have been used as throw stones, projected with a rotatory motion by the hand, whilst the artificial oval was employed for slings? Clay sling bullets, made red hot, were used by the Nervii, in their attack upon Cicero's camp,^a to fire the straw-thatched roofs of the Romans, and a quantity of ovoid balls made of baked clay have been found at Breteuil (Oise).^b Several similar ones are in the Salisbury Museum, having been found in the pits at Highfield. They have also been found at Carthage, and Mr. Evans informs me that he has some in his collection from Algeria. The practice of throwing red hot stones from slings was also employed by the New Zealanders.^c

If the iron object represented in fig. 4 is a ploughshare, it is a small one; its small size does not, however, preclude the possibility of its being an implement of this character. Some of the Indian ploughshares in the India Museum, for example, are smaller than this. It has not, however, the projecting shoulder usually seen in Roman ploughshares, an example of which, found by the Abbé Cochet at Liffremont, in the canton of Forges-les-Eaux, is figured in Roach Smith's

^a *History of Julius Caesar*, by Napoleon, vol. ii. p. 256. *Cæsar, De Bello Gallico*, v. c. 43.

^b In Wilde's *Catalogue of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy* mention is made of a brass mould for casting oval pellets. Stone, p. 18.

^c *Old New Zealand*, by a Paheka Maori.

Collectanea,^a and others found by M. Edouard Joly, of Renaix, in Eastern Flanders, are to be seen in the same work. Whether this be so or not the operations of agriculture are represented by the sickle (fig. 30); this closely resembles the one found in the small pits at Cissbury to which allusion has already been made when speaking of iron bill-hooks,^b as well as that found at Hod Hill.^c These sickles are connected with the bills, the spuds, and the plough-shares in the form of their sockets, open at one side; such sockets, formed by enlarging the blade at the base into a flat plate 4 to 5 inches wide, according to the size of the implement, and then beating the sides over the haft, form a marked characteristic of the implements of this period, as many as four examples of different tools hafted in this manner being represented in these plates. Next come the loom weights of chalk (fig. 28), seven of which were found together in the bottom of Pit 40; a similar one was found in the small pits of Cissbury, and others have been found in other parts of the same camp.^d Similar weights in clay have been found in Scotland and elsewhere, specimens of which from Montblairy, Banffshire, and Ravensby, Forfarshire, are in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.^e They were used to weigh down the warp in the process of weaving. It has even been suggested that the pits themselves may have been sunk to receive such weights when attached to looms, the necessities of the case requiring that the weights should extend beneath the surface. It must be borne in view, however, that the interior of the camp is completely honey-combed with these pits, a condition of things which precludes the likelihood of their having been constructed for the purposes of any one art or manufacture. They must have been made for some use that was common to the whole population, and if connected with habitations must have been attached to every hut in the place. That such was the case appears evident from the discovery of the fragments of daubing (figs. 58 and 59) not in the rampart only but in several of the pits—in the interior as well as in the small pits at Cissbury.^f With the suggestion that the pits were graves I cannot concur; neither here nor at Cissbury

^a Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi. p. 281.

^b *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. vii. p. 422, pl. xi. fig. 7.

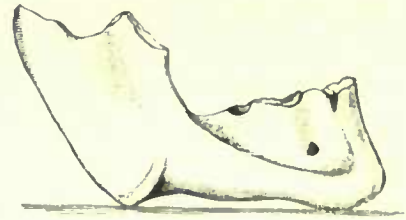
^c Roach Smith, *Collectanea*, vol. vi. p. 7, pl. iii. fig. 7.

^d *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. vii. p. 425, pl. xi. fig. 15. Possibly its identity might not be recognised from the description given of its resemblance to a cranium of some animal.

^e *Catalogue of Antiquities in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, p. 41.

^f See the discussion on Mr. Harrison's paper in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* above quoted.

does there appear to me to be any evidence to favour this view. All the bones were in excellent preservation, and only three human bones have been found in the whole of the diggings, viz. a right ulna in the outer ditch, a femur in Pit 16, and part of a lower jaw at 1 foot 9 inches beneath the surface in Pit 27. The lower jaw is here represented half size. The alveolar portion of the jaw at the symphysis is deeper relatively to the mentum proper than is commonly the case in modern European lower jaws. The angle is well developed; and on the whole it is not otherwise than well formed, and is such a jaw as one might expect to have belonged to an individual of any of the Celtic races that are known to us. These bones, like the others, are in good preservation, and serve as an exception proving a rule by showing that human bones, had they existed, would have been preserved as well as the others, and would not, as has been suggested, by some unexplained process have disappeared whilst the animal bones remained. To what cause we are to attribute the presence of these human fragments mixed up in the pits with the remains of what is evidently the kitchen and other refuse of a people so generally characterised by respect for the dead, it is less easy to determine. Conjectures will no doubt be rife on this as on other occasions of like occurrence, with respect to some of which may perhaps be applied the motto "Honi soit qui mal y pense." I have myself no suggestion to offer except this, that the pits may perhaps have been filled up after the capture of the place, when limbs of the dead or wounded may have been thrown in with the refuse. Yet this would hardly account for a lower jaw being separated from its cranium unless the bodies were greatly mutilated, or unless it is an old bone that has got in accidentally. To nothing found in Caburn is it more difficult to assign a use than the two curved iron objects (figs. 16 and 17); they resemble exactly one found in the small pits at Cissbury and figured in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*.^a It is stated to have been there found in connection with some decomposed wood, and it differs only from the Caburn specimens in being curved back at the end opposite the loop. Somewhat similar curved bars, but having a straight bar at the end instead of a loop, have been found frequently in association with Roman remains. Two of these from Jordan Hill, near Weymouth, are in my collection. Two others from Hartlip, between Rainham and Sittingbourne, are figured



PORTION OF LOWER JAW.

^a *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. vii. p. 425, pl. xi. fig. 12.

in Roach Smith's *Collectanea*.^a They were associated with Roman remains, but the author was unable to assign a use for them. Another is in the British Museum and was found by Mr. Akerman, in Wiltshire. Mr. Park Harrison suggests that they may possibly have formed the handles of stoups, having found one in connection with *débris* of wood. They must at present remain an enigma. The iron object (fig. 9) like the staple of a bolt is also obscure as to its use. I suggest the possibility of its having been the loop attached to the sheaths of swords and daggers to hold the belt, examples of which may be seen in the plates accompanying *Horæ Ferales*, plate xvii. fig. 2, and plate xviii. figs. 2 and 5, in Roach Smith's *Collectanea*, vol. iv. plate xxxiii. figs. 3 and 4, and elsewhere; if so, it is Late Celtic. The iron javelin heads (figs. 2 and 3) offer nothing remarkable in their form. Fig. 7 adds another to the form of knife so frequent in Roman times and probably earlier, numbers of which and of several varieties of this form were found at Hod Hill, in Dorsetshire.^b Fragments of deerhorn, cut off as if to form handles (figs. 23 and 27), were found in one or two pits, and the horns from which they were cut. In Pit 24 a remarkably fine stag's horn was found at the bottom, 2 feet 3 inches in length, with four points cut off in this way: they were sawed through from one side with a sharp metal instrument to within a quarter of an inch of the other side, when the piece in every case had been broken off. The small sandstone burnisher (fig. 29) is an object common in Celtic, Danish, Swedish, and Irish remains of the iron age. The present example shows marks of use at the edges.^c But by far the most instructive portion of the Mount Caburn finds consists in the discovery of five British tin coins, three of which are represented in figs. 61, 62, and 63. They were found in Pits 22, 23, 29, and 37, and at various depths; their weights are 17, 20, 20, 22, and 30 grains respectively. The impression on the obverse is a head in profile, helmetted; the eye is shewn by a single ring, with a line in one case projecting from it downwards; the outline of the face is shown by two crescents. The device on the reverse, according to Mr. John Evans, who has described similar tin coins in his work on *British Coins*,^d represents a bull which is turned indifferently to the right or left. There are also apparently some crescents above in figs. 62 and 63, and a ground line beneath the animal in all. Fig. 61 shows some indication of horns. These

^a Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii. p. 20, pl. vi. figs. 2 and 3.

^b *Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 7.

^c One of these has since been found in my presence by Mr. Hilton Price in a pit in the interior of the citadel of the Herefordshire beacon camp on the Malvern Hills.

^d *Ancient British Coins*, by John Evans, F.R.S., pp. 123-129, pl. n.

coins, like those described by Mr. Evans, have been cast in a string and then separated with a chisel, and the difference in weight is owing to the amount of the runlet left attached to the coin. The projections, showing the position of the runlets, occur above and below the head on the obverse, and in front of and behind the bull on the reverse as described by Mr. Evans, but I could not in these specimens discover the marks of the grain of the wood which he refers to as proving in some cases that they were cast in wooden moulds. These tin coins have been found generally in the Kentish district, though one of them has occurred as far west as Dorsetshire, but they are far more common in France. One at Weycock, Berks, was found in association with Roman remains, and one was found at Hod Hill, near Blandford, in the camp already so frequently alluded to as containing a similar class of implements to those found in Caburn. With regard to the date to be assigned to these tin coins not much can be said. To use the words of Mr. Hawkins, who is quoted by Mr. Evans, "their form and fabric are so unlike those of any other known coin that little can be safely asserted respecting them or the exact period when they were in circulation." Mr. Evans, however, thinks that "their small intrinsic value points to a degree of civilization requiring small change for ordinary commercial transactions," and that "the degeneracy of their type is another argument against their being of any great antiquity in the series." The present discovery, by determining with certainty the character of the remains associated with them, throws additional light on the subject, and confirms, without doubt, the fact of their being of the Late Celtic period; they are, however, certainly of native manufacture, and must have been struck previously to Vespasian's conquest of this part of the country in the forty-third year of the Christian era. No other coin was found in the place. Their similarity to the coins of Gaul also affords confirmatory evidence of connection of these people with the Belgæ, as stated by Cæsar.

EXCAVATIONS IN RANSCOMBE CAMP.

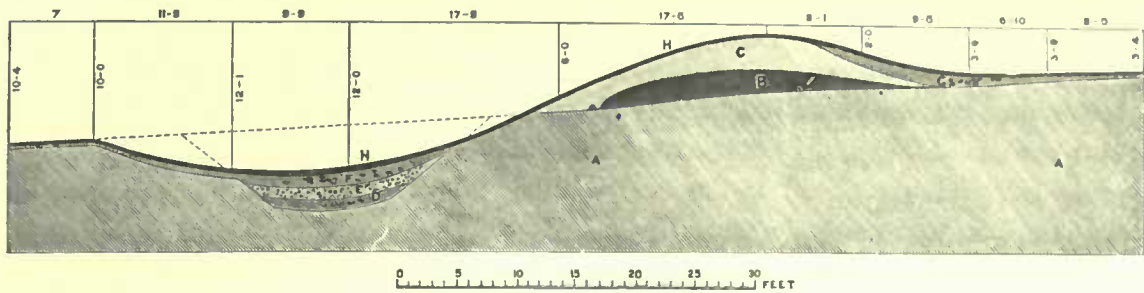
I must now conclude this paper by a short account of the excavation in the rampart of Ranscombe Camp, by means of which additional light has been thrown on the date of both this and the Caburn earthworks.

The point selected for cutting a section was near the centre of the line of ram-

part which faces Caburn, and cuts across the summit of the hill at about 500 yards from it to the westward. This strip of rampart is about 600 feet in length, and runs north-east and south-west. The north-east end abuts at right-angles on the edge of the hill, which is here steep enough to afford sufficient protection to the defenders without a rampart. There is an opening 6 feet wide through the rampart at the edge of the hill, that is to say, that the rampart does not extend to within more than 6 feet of the edge, as is so frequently the case with prehistoric earthworks,^a and another opening, whether ancient or modern, has been cut at 120 feet from it. At the other or south-east end, at a part of the downs called Scabs Castle, the line of the rampart, now reduced to a mere terrace, bends to the west for about 700 feet, still commanding the slope to the south, and then turns north-west, running to a spot called Cold Coat, in the 6-inch Ordnance map, which is now a terrace, but originally part of the entrenchment. From thence it can be indistinctly traced in the cultivated ground round the west and north-west side of the camp until it reaches the hill again on the north and north-east, which, being very steep, had never been strengthened with a rampart. The only part of the rampart now remaining in a perfect condition was the 600 feet to the south-east above-mentioned. Through this the section was cut at 155 feet from the edge of the hill on the north, and about 37 feet from the centre of the southern opening before alluded to. The section was 8 feet wide, and extended from about 6 feet within the interior slope to a short distance beyond the countersearp, a distance of about 80 feet. The old surface line here sloped down to the east, that is, towards Caburn, at the rate of about 1 in 14, there being a slight depression in the ridge of the hill between the two camps. Near Caburn the ground rises again, and this camp stands at a considerably higher level than Ranscombe. The whole of the intervening space is seen from both sides, and the ground covered with smooth turf has no break in it to impede the view. The position is one in which it is easy to imagine two hostile forces drawn up in face of each other. In cutting the section the line of the old surface was laid bare everywhere, and the undisturbed chalk exposed on the sides and bottom of the ditch, the original form of which was by this means ascertained. The crest of the rampart was found to be 5 feet above the old surface line beneath it, and 11 feet above the present bottom of the ditch. The bottom of the ditch had originally been cut to 7 feet 3 inches below the old surface line, but it had been reduced by silting to a present depth of 3½ feet below that line. The ditch had originally been 26 feet wide at the top,

^a Examples of this may be mentioned in the case of the Danes' dyke at Flamborough, the camp at Dieppe, and other places.

and 10 feet wide at the bottom, and the sides cut in the native chalk sloped up at an angle of about 40° with the horizon, but in the course of ages the ditch had been widened to 35 feet at the top by the denudation of the upper part of the sides, and chiefly on the counterscarp side, where it may, perhaps, have been cut away in more recent times to afford material for increasing the height of the rampart.



SECTION OF THE RAMPART, RANSCOMBE CAMP.

A. Undisturbed ground. B. Mould in remblai, containing coarse British pottery and stag's horn. C. Chalk in remblai, containing a fragment of British pottery. D. Silting of ditch, containing British pottery. E. Hard crust of chalk silting. F. Silting of ditch, containing Roman pottery. G. Silting of interior slope, containing Roman pottery, including Samian. H. Surface-mould.

The following are the results of the digging. In the "body" of the rampart was found a stag's horn and three fragments of coarse British pottery, with large grains of quartz, badly baked, all on the old surface line, and no pottery of any other kind. The silting of the ditch was divided into two parts, upper and lower, by means of a hard horizontal crust of rammed chalk 7 inches to 1 foot in thickness, below which, and between it and the old bottom of the ditch, was a layer of loose chalk rubble 9 inches thick, and above it a deposit of mould 1 foot 8 inches thick, and modern surface mould over all. This crust of chalk was so hard as almost to require blasting, and it took two men half a day to cut through a superficial area of five feet of it. It was not perfectly horizontal, but formed a synclinal bend conforming to the curvature of the silting, and it had evidently been formed by treading on the surface during wet weather, at a time when the ditch had only silted up to that height and the superficial deposit of mould had not yet been thrown upon it, probably not long after its construction, because in all the sections of ditches that I have cut in other works there is reason to believe that the rampart when it was new and loose silted down more rapidly than afterwards when it became consolidated, and the loose deposit of chalk rubble invariably found in the bottoms of these ditches probably belonged to the period when the rampart

had not had time to become firm. This crust of puddled chalk therefore separated two distinct periods of silting, the chalk rubble below representing the period of the first construction of the camp, and the mould above representing the period of its subsequent occupation. It was important therefore to examine carefully the contents of these two deposits. The evidence is the same that has been adduced frequently before by me in the case of other ditches, but in no instance has its value been so clearly shown as here on account of this hard crust formed during a middle period of the silting process and preventing the possibility of objects working themselves down through it into the lower parts of the ditch. The following are the results of a careful observation of the relics as they were turned up. In the mould above the crust were found 146 fragments of hard well-baked pottery, equal or superior to the best quality found in Caburn, but without its elaborate ornamentation; also a fragment of Roman tile with the well-known grooves upon it; numerous oyster shells, but no fragment of the coarse British pottery. In the rubble below the crust were found four pieces of coarse British pottery, distributed in different parts of the bottom of the ditch, badly baked, with large grains of quartz, corresponding to the most inferior quality found in Caburn, but not a single fragment of the superior quality of pottery, and no oyster shells. Flint flakes were found both above and below the crust, but below they were in enormous quantities, every shovel throwing out several.^a Turning now to the silting of the interior slope of the rampart, the relics in which, as I have already explained, belong to a period subsequent to the construction of the rampart, and contain objects dropped on the rampart in after times and covered up during denudation, I found at the bottom 20 pieces of hard baked pottery of the same quality that was found above the crust in the ditch. Not a single fragment of coarse British pottery, but in its place three fragments of red Samian. Red Samian, as is well known, affords proof positive of Roman occupation. The other hard kind of pottery used in Roman times it may perhaps be difficult to distinguish from the superior quality of Celtic by means of fragments only; but wherever a piece of Samian occurs the Roman foot has trod. Finding three pieces of this earthenware in the small space of 8 feet by 4 feet occupied by the silting of the interior slope in the section, I determined to cut a trench 4 feet wide for some distance along the foot of the interior slope, to see how much more

^a The fact of finding flint-flakes above the crust may be accounted for by their great abundance in this camp; they accompanied the soil in all its shiftings. A space just outside the ditch, where the turf had been removed, was literally strewed with them. This is one of the circumstances from which I argue that Ranscombe was the older camp of the two.

would turn up. This trench extended for 75 feet to the south along the foot of the slope, taking out all the silting, with the following results: hard-baked brown pottery, 462 fragments, or 87·7 per cent; fine well-baked grey pottery, 26 fragments, or 4·9 per cent; Samian 18 fragments, or 3·4 per cent., but not a single fragment of the coarse British pottery which had been found, to the exclusion of all other kinds, in the body of the rampart and the bottom of the ditch. These facts, coupled with the circumstance already mentioned, that only three small fragments of Samian were found in all the excavations in Caburn, and these only on the surface, afford evidence of a satisfactory and, it may be almost said, of a conclusive character, and enable us to state with something like precision the history of these camps. Both camps were originally British; Ranscombe camp probably the earliest. Caburn was occupied by a Late Celtic people, whose arts and coinage show them to belong to a period immediately preceding the Roman conquest of this part of the country; but it was never occupied in any force by the Romans. Ranscombe, on the contrary, the part of it at least which faces Caburn, though originally British, like Caburn, was subsequently occupied by the Romans, and I may perhaps be allowed a few lines more to state under what circumstances I consider that occupation to have taken place.

Mr. Horsfield in his *History of Lewes* has given some reason for supposing that the town itself was the site of a Roman camp; be that as it may, it is not likely that they had any permanent station on the downs. The green sward, which, as I said before, covers the hill between the two camps, extends for some distance into the interior of Ranscombe camp, and the ground has never been disturbed by any such excavations as would undoubtedly have been formed if this camp had been occupied permanently by the Romans. No trace of huts or pits of any kind can be seen here, yet the occupation of the rampart itself in Roman times is incontestable. The pottery found at the foot of the interior slope must have been broken on the rampart, and have fallen to the foot of it; for although the trench was widened and lengthened beyond the 72 feet above mentioned, no fragments were found elsewhere than at the foot of the rampart, and the point at which it died out at the end of the trench was coincident with the point at which the rampart became reduced in size. The occupation, though temporary, must nevertheless have lasted some days, during which the Roman forces must have stood on guard upon the rampart, and must have eaten and drunk and broken the vessels containing their food without leaving their post. What could have induced the Romans to guard thus jealously an entrenchment that was not of their own construction? Nothing, I apprehend, but the immediate presence of an

enemy, and, if so, that enemy could have been none other than the defenders of Caburn. I assume, therefore, that we have evidence here of an attack of the Romans upon Caburn; finding that the south-eastern rampart of the old and, probably at that time, abandoned camp at Ranscombe offered all the advantages requisite for an attacking force, they utilised it, just as an army in our own time would do under like circumstances; in that position they stood facing the Caburn at a distance of 500 yards, in a good defensible position, with both flanks resting upon strong ground. They formed it in fact into part of a line of countervallation such as we know it to have been the habit of the Romans to construct in attacking a place, or it may have been used merely as a camp of observation during the attack. Whether the place was invested all round or not, I have no means of judging, but whether it was attacked from this side only or invested, it is by no means a rash or unreasonable conjecture in the face of the evidence before us to assume that Caburn may have been one of the twenty *oppida* which Suetonius states to have been reduced by Vespasian during his conquest of this part of Britain.

NOTE.—Since these papers were written I have visited Gergovia, the *oppidum* of the Arverni, which was the scene of Cæsar's defeat by Vercingetorix, and have obtained from the neighbourhood of the fortress several iron implements which correspond in form with those found at Mount Caburn. An iron bill has the projection at the back and is in all respects similar to Pl. XXIV. fig. 13; a plough-share is precisely similar to fig. 4, and appears to set at rest the question as to the use of this object; the axes have the socket at right angles to the blade like that from Mount Caburn. Others of the same character are in the Museum at Clermont Ferrand; unfortunately the records of the discovery of these objects are not sufficiently detailed to enable us to determine whether they are Gaulish or Roman; but as Gergovia was abandoned soon after the Roman conquest there is a probability in favour of a Gaulish origin for the objects found there. At any rate, the similarity of these implements to those from Mount Caburn is worthy of being recorded.

MOUNT CABURN RELIC TABLE, SEPTEMBER, 1877.

Showing the number of fragments of different kinds of Pottery of one inch and upwards in size found in different Pits and Sections, with the associated objects and Animal Remains.

No.	LOCALITY.	DATE.	DESCRIPTION.	POTTERY.												OTHER RELICS.	ANIMAL REMAINS, as identified by Professor Rolleston, F.R.S.	
				Coarse, with large grains, soft, hand-made British.		Medium quality, with small grains, hard, mostly light-coloured.		Smooth, soft, without grains, chiefly brown or black, lathe-turned.		Finest quality of unglazed, chiefly grey, lathe-turned.		Samian.		Ornamental.				
				No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.			
1	Top of Pits Nos. 1 and 2	Sept. 3rd, 1877	Brown surface-mould 10 inches deep in centre and 3 to 4 inches at sides	5	17.2	2	6.9	22	76.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Iron spud at 1 foot 11 inches (Plate XXIV. fig. 5). Whorl of pottery at same depth (fig. 55)	Bos. Ovis or Capra hircus. Helix nemoralis and aspersa. Oyster shells in surface mould only
2	Bottom of Pit No. 2	Sept. 4th, 1877	Oval, 7 feet 1 inch by 4 feet 7 inches at top, and 6 feet 4 inches in depth, sides sloping in slightly towards the bottom. The filling beneath the surface-mould was mixed chalk and dark mould	1	16.0	...	...	5	83.3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Stone pebble grooved on both sides to hold a string, at 5 feet 4 inches (fig. 20)	Sus scrofa. Bos longifrons (adult and calf). Ovis or Capra, young. Horse (Equus caballus). Helix nemoralis. Oysters at top of surface only
3	Bottom of Pit No. 1	Sept. 3rd, 1877	Squarish, 4 feet by 4 feet 4 inches at top, sides sloping slightly inwards, depth 6 feet 2 inches, filled with pure white chalk rubble beneath the surface-mould, and very few animal bones	...	...	...	...	1	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Shore pebble rubbed on one edge (fig. 21), at 5 feet 4 inches. Bone comb (fig. 11), at bottom. Bottom of vase of smooth black pottery (fig. 57), and a scale of iron armour or piece of cheekpiece of helmet (fig. 8), with bronze rivets, at bottom of pit	Bos (blade-bone and horn-core) at the bottom
4	Surface-mould of Pit 3	Sept. 4th, 1877	Surface-mould	...	...	...	...	72	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Equus (tooth). Bos (tooth and humerus)
5	Body and bottom of Pit No. 3	Sept. 4th, 1877	Oblong, 5 feet by 3 feet, 11 inches at top, sides slightly sloping inwards, 4 feet 4 inches deep, sides cut smoother than in preceding pits, and corners sharp, filled with mixed chalk and black mould	10	33.3	...	...	20	66.6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Found at bottom, a horn handle of knife ornamented with circles (fig. 25). An iron bill (fig. 13). A small bar of iron (fig. 14). A fragment of earthen pot sides 5 inches deep (fig. 56). Fragment of a globular vessel	Capra hircus, small. Sus. Bos. Helix nemoralis

Mount Caburn Relic Table, September 1877—continued.

No.	LOCALITY.	DATE.	DESCRIPTION.	POTTERY.												OTHER RELICS.	ANIMAL REMAINS, as identified by Professor Rolleston, F.R.S.
				Coarse, with large grains, soft, hand made British.		Medium quality, with small grains, hard, mostly light-coloured.		Smooth, soft, without grains, chiefly brown or black, lathe-turned.		Finest quality of unglazed, chiefly grey, lathe-turned.		Samian.		Ornamental.			
				No.	Per-centage	No.	Per-centage	No.	Per-centage	No.	Per-centage	No.	Per-centage	No.	Per-centage		
6	Pit No. 4	Sept. 5th, 1877	Round, diameter 7 feet at top, and 5 feet 8 inches at bottom, depth 5 feet 10 inches. At the bottom in the centre was a layer of clay, rammed, about 2 feet square and 2 inches thick. Pit filled with pure chalk rubble beneath surface-mould	...	...	9	18.9	37	77.08	...	...	2	4.1	A flint strike-a-light. Two pieces of ornamented pottery, one rough red, ornamented with parallel incised lines, the other smooth, ornamented with squares (fig. 39)	Bos longifrons. Equus, Capra hircus. Sus (tusk). Oyster shells in surface mould only. Helix aspersa and Helix nemoralis
7	Pit No. 5, upper part	Sept. 5th, 1877	...	2	12.5	4	25.0	6	37.5	...	...	4	25.0	Two flint-flakes at top. Four pieces of ornamented pottery with curved lines and dots and parallel lines, found at top (fig. 32)	Bos (scapula and rib). Ovis or Capra hircus
8	Pit No. 5, bottom	Sept. 6th, 1877	Oval, 6 feet by 3 feet 3 inches at top, depth 5 feet 6 inches. Rubble mixed	...	...	2	14.2	11	78.5	...	...	1	7.1	One flint-flake at bottom. One piece of ornamented pottery like fig. 32 preceding	Sus. Bos. Ovis (large horn-core, as in Shetland rams). Roe, metacarpal
9	Pit No. 6, upper part	Sept. 6th, 1877	...	...	...	...	...	18	100	...	...	...	...	...	Sus. Bos. Two skulls of Arvicola found in hole in the side near bottom
10	Pit No. 6, lower part	Sept. 6th, 1877	Oval, 8 feet by 7 feet at top, white chalk rubble, depth 6 feet 5 inches	8	80	...	...	2	20	...	...	...	...	...	Sus. Bos. Ovis. Two horns-core, as in Shetland rams). Roe, metacarpal
11	Pit No. 7	Oct. 11th, 1877	Round, 4 feet 6 inches at top, and 5 feet 2 inches deep, rubble mixed	...	...	...	...	32	100	...	...	...	...	...	Sus. Bos. Ovis. Two mussels. Oysters found at top in surface-mould only
12	Pit No. 8	Oct. 12th, 1877	Oval, 5 feet 4 inches by 4 feet 3 inches at top, 3 feet 6 inches deep, rubble mixed	...	...	5	23.8	16	76.1	...	...	...	...	...	Bos. Sus. Ovis.
13	Pit No. 9	Oct. 12th, 1877	Circular, 6 feet in diameter at top and 3 feet at bottom, 5 feet 6 inches deep, filled with dark mould	48	72.7	6	9.0	10	15.1	...	...	2	3.0	A rough deerhorn knife-handle at top. A knife-handle of deerhorn, with a hole for suspension, near bottom (fig. 31). A ring of bronze armour 1½ inch in dia-	Badger, old and young. Bos. Sus. Capra (core). Ovis two, one with four horns, probably of

14	Pit No. 10	Oct. 13th, 1877	Oval, 5 feet 4 inches by 4 feet 6 inches at top, and 4 feet 6 inches deep	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	100	...	...	...	...	...	meter (fig. 19). A fragment of the edge of a bronze spearhead (fig. 18). A sharpening stone, three shore pebbles, piece of iron pyrites, and a small globular vessel 2 inches in diameter (fig. 34)	Bos. Sus.	same breed as so-called "Iceland" or "Shetland"; not rare in peat
15	Pit No. 11	Oct. 13th, 1877	Oval, 4 feet by 3 feet 2 inches, and 3 feet 1 inch deep	20	55.5	8	22.2	6	16.6	...	16.6	...	2	5.5	...	...	Piece of pyrites	Bos. Sus. Ovis (horn-core)	
16	Twin Pits	Sept. 6th, 1877	One oval, 5 feet 5 inches by 4 feet 6 inches at top, the other round, 3 feet 10 inches in diameter at top, both 4 feet deep	...	...	2	16.5	8	66.5	...	66.5	...	2	16.5	...	...	Iron knife found at bottom of largest pit (fig 6). Two pieces of ornamental pottery with curved grooves, like that found in Pit 5	Sus. Bos.	
17	Top of large Pit	Sept. 5th to Sept. 7th, 1877	Total of small pits in the interior up to this point	94	22.3	38	9.0	276	65.5	...	65.5	...	13	3.0	...	...	Piece of iron slag and one piece of pottery at bottom of shaft. Two pieces of pottery, apparently Roman	Sus. Bos. Roe. Fighting cock spur and other bones. Scapula of rabbit. Helix aspersa and oysters at top only	
18	Interior slope of upper rampart	Sept. 8th, 1877	Basin-shaped depression in the interior of camp 35 feet in diameter and 5 feet 6 inches deep below upper edge, in the bottom of which was a shaft 11 feet deep, 12 feet in diameter at top, and 5 feet 3 inches at bottom, filled with white chalk rubble and flints, black in the fractured parts	...	...	48	94.0	1	2.0	...	2.0	3.9	...	...	...	...	Some of this pottery had probably been washed down from the interior and become silted over by the denudation of the rampart	Bos. Ovis. Roe. Ovis calceus of sheep or goat, gnawed by a dog	
19	Body of upper rampart	Sept. 10th, 1877	...	6	19.3	18	58.0	7	22.5	...	22.5	...	...	...	...	...	Six flint-flakes. Holes for pallsades found in old surface. The pottery from this place must be anterior to the construction of the rampart, and was found chiefly on the line of the old surface	Sus. Bos.	
20	Upper ditch surface-mould	Sept. 8th, 1877	Surface-mould	14	54.0	8	30.8	4	15.5	...	15.5	...	...	...	...	...	Ten flint chips	Sus. Ovis. Bos. Oysters	
21	Upper ditch, second and third strata	Sept. 8th and Sept. 10th, 1877	Second and third strata	3	60	2	40	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	A few flint-flakes. Three shore pebbles	Rabbit. Ovis. Sus. Bos. Oysters only in second stratum	

SUPPLEMENTARY RELIC TABLE, MOUNT CABURN, JULY 1878.

No.	LOCALITY.	DATE.	DESCRIPTION.	POTTERY.										OTHER RELICS.	ANIMAL REMAINS.		
				Coarse, with large grains, soft, hand-made British.		Medium quality, with small grains, hard, mostly light-coloured.		Smooth, soft, without grains, chiefly brown or black, lathe-turned.		Finest quality of unglazed, chiefly grey, lathe-turned.		Samian.				Ornamental.	
				No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.
1	Pit 12	July 5th, 1878	To north-east of large pit. An irregular circle. Top measure, 5 feet 2 inches by 3 feet 11 inches; bottom, 3 feet 9 inches by 3 feet 3 inches; depth, 4 feet. Surface-mould, 1 foot 10 inches. Long. diameter, S. 35° E.	...	...	6	42.8	7	50.0	...	...	1	7.0	...	...	...	...
2	Pit 13	July 5th, 1878	To east of Pit 12. A don-ble pit. Top measure, 7 feet 4 inches by 3 feet 5 inches; bottom, two circles 2 feet 9 inches and 3 feet with a ridge, 1 foot 2 inches broad and 1 foot 3 inches high, between; depth, 2 feet 10 inches. Surface-mould, 1 foot 10 inches. Long. diameter, E. and W.	...	...	9	42.8	11	52.4	...	...	1	4.7	...	...	...	...
3	Pit 14	July 5th, 1878	To south of Pit 13. Ob-long, with rounded corners. Measure at top, 6 feet by 4 feet 10 inches; bottom, 4 feet 7 inches by 3 feet 2 inches; depth, 4 feet 9 inches, including 1 foot 10 inches of sur-face-mould. Long. axis, S. 35° W.	52	20.6	70	27.7	129	50.9	...	...	1	0.4	...	...	...	...
4	Pit 15	July 5th, 1878	To the east of Pit 13. Circular. Diameter at top, 4 feet 5 inches; at bottom, 3 feet 8 inches; depth, 4 feet 3 inches, including 1 foot 7 inches of surface-mould	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Clay spindle-whorl at 2 feet 9 inches. (Fig. 53.) Hole enlarged at both ends. Cylindrical terra-cotta spindle-whorl (fig. 50), found in filling in. An iron clinker and a piece of clay and lime daubing of wattlework. Rub-ble, mixed, chalk and mould

Piece of ornamented pottery with hands and chevrons below, pointing to right, of medium quality, at top. Iron spearhead with socket, leaf-shaped (fig. 2), at 1 foot 8 inches from surface. Long shore pebble, perhaps a burnisher, at 2 feet 5 inches. Bottom covered with wood or charcoal and a quantity of burnt flints

Round flint bruised all round, at top in surface-mould, also a frag-ment of ornamented pottery with bands and a herring-bone pattern (fig. 45). Two more bruised flints and a flint-flake in same place. Nine pieces of clay and lime daubing of wattlework, similar to those found in outer rampart. At 3 feet a clay spindle-whorl with a hole bored uniformly all through at 3 feet (figs. 46 and 45), and another bruised flint at bottom. Half of stone spindle-whorl composed of a shore pebble at bottom (fig. 22)

Rubble, less mixed than Nos. 12, 13, and 14, and not a single fragment of pottery. Only a few bones

Helix aspersa and Helix nemoralis, the latter in considerable numbers. Bos. Sus (shortlegged variety.) Ovis

A layer of Helix nemoralis just beneath turf. Calv. Sheep. Helix nemoralis and aspersa

Calf and adult Bos

Bos. Ovis. Helix nemoralis

Supplementary Relic Table, Mount Caburn, July 1878—continued.

No.	LOCALITY.	DATE.	DESCRIPTION.	POTTERY.												OTHER RELICS	ANIMAL REMAINS.
				Coarse, with large grains, soft, hand-made British.		Medium quality, with small grains, hard, mostly light-coloured.		Smooth, soft, without grains, chiefly brown or black, lathe-turned.		Finest quality, of unglazed, chiefly grey, lathe-turned.		Samian.		Ornamental.			
				No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.		
5	Pit 16	July 6th, 1878	To south of Pit 14. A double pit. Top measure, 8 feet 6 inches by 5 feet; bottom, a half-moon on one side, 4 feet by 3 feet 7 inches, separated by a ridge, 1 foot 3 inches in width, from another. Bottom square, 2 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 7 inches; depth, 2 feet 11 inches and 2 feet 4 inches, including 1 foot 5 inches of surface-mould. Long axis, W. 5° S.	...	...	2	8.7	21	91.3	...	...	...	...	...	...	Nothing of interest discovered in this pit. Rubble, only slightly mixed, chiefly chalk	Helix nemoralis. Horn core of Bos. Head of femur of human subject. Bos. Sus. Ovis
6	Pit 17	July 6th, 1878	Circular. To east of Pit 14. Diameter at top, 4 feet 10 inches; at bottom, 3 feet 10 inches; depth, 2 feet 10 inches, including 1 foot 2 inches of surface-mould	...	...	6	12.3	43	87.7	...	...	...	...	...	...	Nothing but a small piece of iron slag	Large sized domestic pig, horse, sheep, calf
7	Pit 18	July 6th, 1878	To east of Pit 16. An irregular oblong. Measure at top, 4 feet 2 inches by 3 feet 10 inches; at bottom, 5 feet by 3 feet 3 inches; depth, 2 feet 11 inches, including 1 foot 6 inches of surface-mould. Long axis, S. 32° W. Corners rounded	...	...	...	...	6	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	Rubble, chiefly chalk only, slightly mixed with mould. No relics	Bos. Ovis
8	Pit 19	July 6th, 1878	To east of Pit 15. Heart shaped, largest end to north-west. Measure at top, 5 feet 3 inches by 4 feet 3 inches; at bottom, 4 feet 5 inches by 3 feet 2 inches; depth, 3 feet 9 inches, including 1 foot 6 inches of surface-mould. Long axis, W. 20° N.	...	...	9	...	11	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	Fragment of pottery ornamented with bands and lines of dots, at 2 feet (fig. 37). Two small bands of iron. Five shore pebbles	Oysters in surface-mould only at 8 inches. Helix aspersa and nemoralis. Two periwinkles, one cockle. Large sheep, dog, lamb

9	Pit 20	July 8th, 1878	About 53 feet to south of centre of large Pit. Oval. Top measure, 5 feet 8 inches by 4 feet. Bottom, 5 feet by 3 feet 9 inches; depth, 4 feet 2 inches, including 1 foot 3 inches of surface-mould. Long. axis, S. 30° W.	1	1-9	2	3-8	45	85-5	2	3-8	...	...	3	5-8	Piece of stag's horn with all the branches cut off with metal instrument at 1 foot. Small piece of curved iron at same depth. Two pieces of pottery ornamented with curved grooves and dot and circle pattern at 2 feet 5 inches. Another at 3 feet 4 inches. Blade of iron knife (fig. 15) found in filling in. Two large stag antlers with their tines cut off, at 2 feet 11 inches on east side. All the pottery of the finest quality was found at top	Sheep and goat both. Bos. Sus. Limpet and Helix nemoralis
10	Pit 21	July 8th, 1878	About 30 feet to south of Pit 20. Oblong; sides curved. Measure at top, 8 feet 3 inches by 3 feet 10 inches; at bottom, 7 feet 8 inches by 3 feet 3 inches. North end deeper than the other, with a step in the middle; depth, 3 feet and 2 feet 7 inches, including 1 foot 3 inches of surface-mould. Long. axis, S. 23° W.	4	7-6	...	...	29	55-1	20	38-0	...	...	...	...	All the pottery of the finest quality, the same as in Pit 20, was found at the top in surface-mould. A modern iron holdfast just under turf. Band of iron with holes at 1 foot in surface mould. A piece of the bottom of a vase of smooth pottery at 2 feet 8 inches. A piece of a glass bottle with measured lines and the figure 4 oz. It was found in filling in, must have been from the top	Oysters at 1 foot in surface-mould, and at 1 foot 7 inches also in surface-rubble. Very large-horned sheep. Sus. Bos. Cockle
11	Pit 22	July 8th, 1878	To south-west of Pit 20. Oblong. Top measure, 5 feet 4 inches by 3 feet 3 inches; bottom, 4 feet 3 inches by 2 feet 10 inches; depth, 3 feet, including 1 foot 2 inches of surface-mould. Long. axis, W. 25° S.	...	...	3	5-1	51	86-7	1	1-7	...	...	4	6-8	Two flint-flakes, at 2 feet. A small flat round piece of iron, at 2 feet 3 inches. An iron staple, at 2 feet 6 inches. Iron loop, perhaps for a belt or a bolt (fig. 9), 3 inches long, at 3 feet. A British tin coin, at 3 feet at south-west end. Fragment of thin flat iron 2 inches across, at 3 feet. Pottery ornamented with lines of dots, at 3 feet. Iron objects curved, with a loop at one end (fig. 17), similar to one found in Cissbury, 8 inches in length, at 3 feet on north-east end. A piece of rim of pottery ornamented with a raised pattern and the impress of the finger, at 3 feet (fig. 33.) A blue glass bead, at 2 feet 6 inches, at south-east corner (fig. 49)	Bos. Ovis. Helix nemoralis. Limpet
12	Pit 23	July 8th, 1878	Close to south-west of Pit 22, with an interval of only 2 feet between. Oblong. Top measure, 5 feet 5 inches by 3 feet 9 inches; bottom, 4 feet 8 inches by 3 feet 2 inches; depth, 3 feet 5	1	3-8	1	3-8	20	76-0	...	...	...	...	4	15-2	Piece of tine of stag's antler cut at both ends, at 2 feet (fig. 23). Fragment of pottery ornamented with lines of dots at bottom. British tin coin (fig. 63), found in filling in, must have been low down as it was found in black earth mixed with chalk	Bos. Ovis. Sus. Helix aspersa. Oysters at 1 foot in surface-rubble only, and another at 1 foot 6 inches just below surface-mould

Supplementary Relic Table, Mount Caburn, July 1878—continued.

No.	LOCALITY.	DATE.	DESCRIPTION.	POTTERY.												OTHER RELICS.	ANIMAL REMAINS.
				Coarse, with large grains, soft, hand-made British.		Medium quality, with small grains, hard, mostly light-coloured.		Smooth, soft, without grains, chiefly brown or black, lathe-turned.		Finest quality of unglazed, chiefly grey, lathe-turned.		Samian.		Ornamental.			
				No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.		
Pit 23 (continued)			inches including 1 foot of surface-mould. Long, axis, W. 25° N.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13	Pit 24	July 8th, 1878	One of a cluster of three, 56 feet to south-east of centre of large pit. Oblong. Top measure, 4 feet 7 inches by 3 feet 6 inches; bottom, 3 feet 10 inches by 2 feet 8 inches; depth, 5 feet, including 1 foot 4 inches of surface-mould. Long, axis, W. 35° S.	1	1.3	6	8.1	67	90.4	...	...	...	...	...	...		Small ox. Lamb. Sus
14	Pit 25	July 8th, 1878	One of a cluster of three, close to south of Pit 24. Oblong. Top measurement 5 feet 2 inches by 3 feet 10 inches; bottom, 4 feet 8 inches by 3 feet 4 inches; depth, 5 feet 2 inches, including 1 foot 3 inches of surface-mould. Long, axis, N. 40° W.	5	17.2	...	...	24	82.5	...	...	...	...	...	...		Bos. Sus. Helix memoralis
15	Pit 26	July 8th, 1878	One of a cluster of three, close to east of Pit 24. Oblong. Top measurement 4 feet 10 inches by 2 feet 11 inches; bottom, 3 feet 3 inches by 2 feet 10 inches; depth, 4 feet 10 inches, including 1 foot 3 inches of surface-mould. Long, axis, S. 28° W.	27	31.8	55	64.9	...	...	...	...	3	3.5	...	...		Equus. Bos. Sus
16	Pit 27	July 8th, 1878	To south of Pit 20. Oblong. Top measurement, 5 feet 3 inches by 4 feet 2 inches; bottom, 4 feet 8 inches by 3 feet 4	...	...	3	5.4	51	92.3	...	...	1	1.8	...	...		Human jaw. Two foxes. Canis vulpes, Horse. Sus. Goat. Horned sheep. Bos

Supplementary Relic Table, Mount Caburn, July 1878—*continued*.

No.	LOCALITY.	DATE.	DESCRIPTION.	POTTERY.										OTHER HELIX.	ANIMAL REMAINS.		
				Coarse, with large grains, soft, hand-made British.		Medium quality, with small grains, hard, mostly light-coloured.		Smooth, soft, without grains, chiefly brown or black, lathe-turned.		Finest quality of unglazed, chiefly grey, lathe-turned.		Samian.				Ornamental.	
				No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.		
22	Pit 33	July 9th, 1878	21 feet to east of Pit 26. Oval. Top measure, 4 feet 3 inches by 3 feet 8 inches; bottom, 2 feet 10 inches by 2 feet 8 inches; depth, 3 feet, including 1 foot 4 inches of surface-mould. Long. axis, E. and W.	1	66	27	17.8	121	79.8	...	...	...	...	1	66	A large fragment of pottery 4 inches across, ornamented with curved grooves, and three dots and circles (fig. 36), similar to that found in Pits 20 and 27, eight shore pebbles	Helix nemoralis
23	Pit 34	July 9th, 1878	To south of 32. A round oval; top measure, 6 feet by 5 feet 5 inches; bottom, 4 feet 9 inches by 4 feet 7 inches; depth, 4 feet 9 inches, including 1 foot 8 inches of surface-mould. Long. axis, E. and W.	No	Pottery recorded.											Stag's horn with the branches cut short off, and another on floor of pit with the tines cut off. A fragment of glazed pottery ribbed, found in filling in. The only pieces found in Caburn. Must have been in surface-mould	Helix nemoralis and limpet
24	Pit 35	July 9th, 1878	To east of 32. A large oblong pit. Top measure, 7 feet 9 inches by 4 feet 1 inch; bottom, 6 feet 2 inches by 3 feet 5 inches; depth, 3 feet 11 inches, including 1 foot 6 inches of surface-mould. Long. axis, W. 20° S.	5	8.4	28	47.3	23	38.8	1	1.69	1	1.69	1	1.69	Very small fragments of Samian, found 1 foot 9 inches deep, just below surface-mould. Tine of deerhorn, cut and perforated (fig. 24), on bottom of pit in centre. Iron curved object similar to that found in Pit 22, but only 4 inches across (fig. 16) at bottom, with a small piece of flat iron close to it. A bone comb with eight teeth exactly similar to that found in Pit 1 (fig. 12), at bottom in the south-east corner. Piece of pottery ornamented with a curved band and two transverse bands, at 6 inches above floor of pit. Boar's tusk, at bottom. A well-formed iron knife-blade found in filling in (fig. 7), and a piece of pottery with loop for a cord, the only piece found in Caburn	Sheep (large breed). Bos. Sus. Helix aspersa and nemoralis. Common fowl, duck, curlew

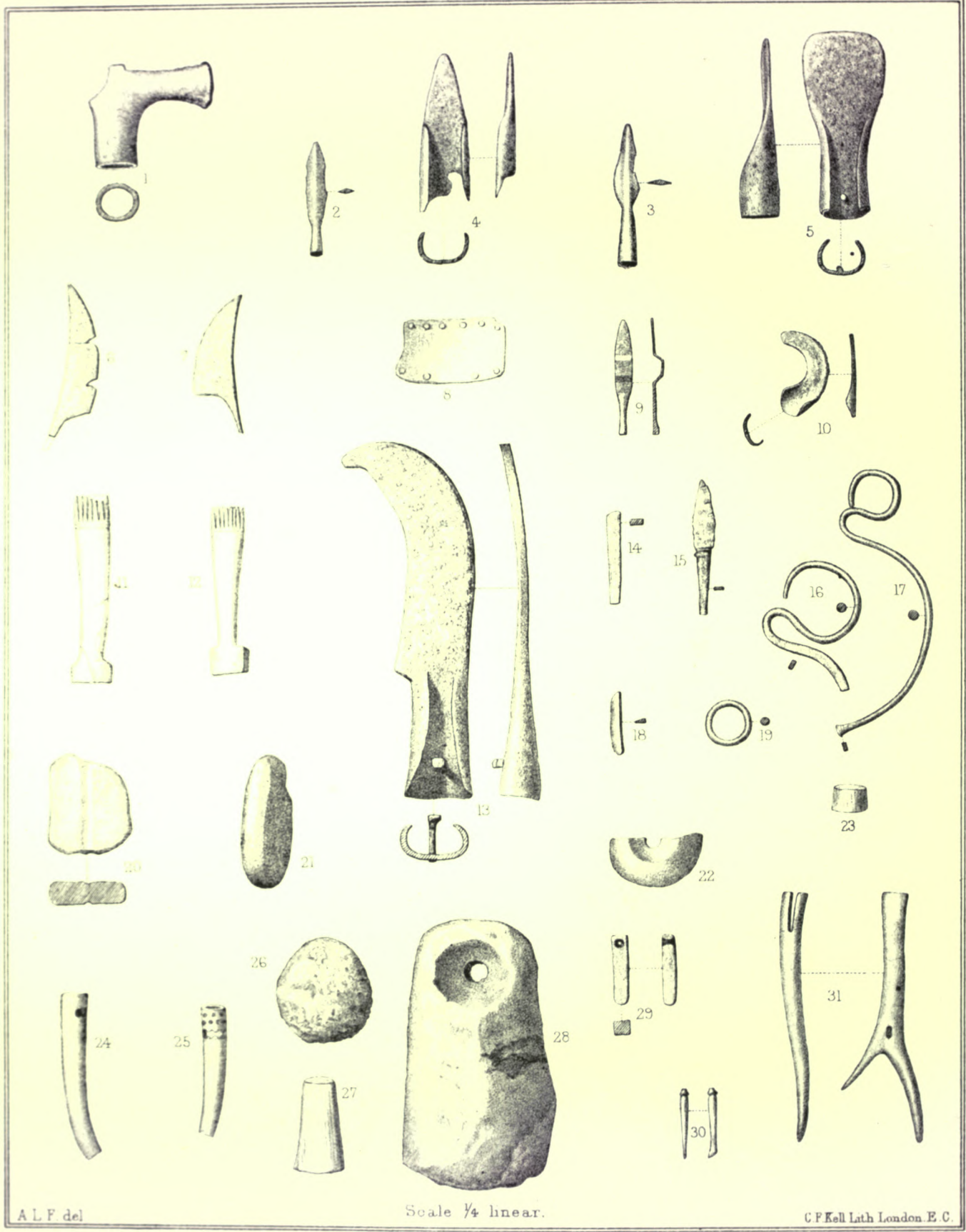
25	Pit 36	July 9th, 1878	To west of 34. A double pit, one beside the other, both oval; apparently one pit had been filled up and another subsequently formed, which cut into it as the axis of the two were not parallel. Top measure of the two pits, 5 feet 5 inches, and 4 feet 5 inches by 5 feet 5 inches across; bottom, 3 feet 9 inches long, 1 foot 11 inches and 2 feet 7 inches across; depth, 2 feet 4 inches, including 10 inches of surface-mould. Long. axis, S. 45° W. and S. 35° W. The northern pit was 3 inches deeper than the other	...	...	...	...	...	95.4	...	...	...	...	3	4.7	All the pottery was at top in surface-mould	Sus. Goat Ovis. Bos.
26	Pit 37	July 9th, 1878	To west of Pit 21. Oblong. Top measure, 5 feet by 4 feet 4 inches; bottom, 4 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 3 inches, 2 feet 7 inches deep including 1 foot 2 inches of surface-mould. Long. axis, W. 5° N.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	40	100	...	...	...	Two British tin coins (fig. 61), found at bottom, see Plate H of Mr. Evans' work on British coins. A small iron knife and a piece of tine of deerhorn, cut and perforated as if for a handle of some kind. An iron sickle (fig. 10), similar to one found in Cissbury. Several shore pebbles. Filled with black mould	Goat. Bos
27	Pit 38	July 10th, 1878	To west of Pit 36. Rhomboidal, irregular. Top measure, 6 feet by 4 feet 6 inches; bottom, 5 feet 2 inches by 4 feet. 4 feet deep, including 1 foot 9 inches of surface-mould	4	3.9	18	17.8	78	77.1	...	...	...	...	2	1.9	Lumps of iron pyrites	Three oyster-shells at top only. Horse-jaw split as if for marrow. Helix nemoralis
28	Pit 32	July 10th, 1878	To west of Pit 37. Oblong. Top measure, 5 feet 3 inches by 4 feet 6 inches; bottom, 4 feet 2 inches by 2 feet 10 inches; 4 feet 2 inches deep, including 1 foot 4 inches of surface-mould. Long. axis, W. 28° N.	1	2	9	18	39	78	1	2	...	...	...	...	Piece of Roman tile in surface mould the second piece found in Caburn. An iron knob with a curved projection near top. A piece of an iron ploughshare at bottom (fig. 4). Shore pebbles	

No.	LOCALITY.	DATE.	DESCRIPTION.	POTTERY.										OTHER RELICS.	ANIMAL REMAINS.		
				Coarse, with large grains, soft, hand-made British.		Medium quality, with small grains, hard, mostly light-coloured.		Smooth, soft, without grains, chiefly brown or black, lathe-turned.		Finest quality of unglazed, chiefly grey, lathe-turned.		Samian.				Ornamental.	
				No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.		
1	Interior slope of section	July 11th, 1878	Section 8 feet wide through rampart, part occupied by the silting of the rampart at the foot of the interior slope. Section extended to about 1 foot 4 inches below surface	...	...	20	87.0	...	...	3	13.0	...	...	...	...	Samian pottery just under the turf, within 10 inches of the surface. Twelve flint-flakes at same spot and three iron nails	
2	Trenches along foot of interior slope	July 11th and 12th, 1878	A trench about 4 feet wide along foot of interior slope, where the pottery was found in the section, extending to 72 feet towards the south of the section. All the pottery was found just under the turf. The pottery died out at 72 feet, and no more was found to the south of that	...	...	462	87.7	26	4.9	18	3.4	11	2.1	...	...	Some of the pottery had a raised rim with the impression of twisted thongs on it, others had parallel grooves, none had curved lines or herring-bone, or any of the patterns found in Caburn. Several rims of Samian were found and a piece of iron bar	
3	Body of rampart	July 11th and 12th, 1878	Section 8 feet wide, dug down to old surface-line all through	3	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	One fragment of British pottery, 2 feet to the front of the foot of interior slope on old surface-line. Another in the same position, 2 feet 7 inches behind crest, and a third beyond the crest, no other pottery. A stag's horn beneath crest. A few flint-flakes	Horn of stag, tooth of Bos, and Helix nemoralis
4	Upper stratum of ditch	July 11th, 1878	Section 8 feet wide, upper stratum extending to 1 foot below surface	...	...	46	92.0	...	...	...	...	4	8.0	...	...	Bar of iron with hole and an iron staple. Eleven flint chips	Oysters. Helix aspersa. Bos. Ovis
5	Second stratum of ditch	July 11th, 1878	Extending from 1 foot to 1 foot 8 inches all over section	...	...	8	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	A piece of Roman tile with two grooves on it. Twenty-seven flint flakes	An oyster shell. Helix aspersa. Calif. Ovis

Relic Table, Ramscombe Camp, July 1878—continued.

No.	LOCALITY.	DATE.	DESCRIPTION.	POTTERY.										OTHER RELICS.	ANIMAL REMAINS.		
				Coarse, with large grains, soft, hand-made British.		Medium quality, with small grains, hard, mostly light-coloured.		Smooth, soft, without grains, chiefly brown or black, lathe-turned.		Finest quality of unglazed, chiefly grey, lathe turned.		Samian.				Ornamental.	
				No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.	No.	Per-centage.		
6	Third stratum of ditch	July 12th, 1878.	Extending from 1 foot 8 inches to bottom of ditch all over section. Sides of ditch irregular. A hard crust of consolidated chalk rubble, formed probably by treading during wet weather, at top of third stratum, 7 inches to 1 foot thick, below which soft rubble. Bottom of ditch, 3 feet 9 inches below surface	4	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	No other pottery than British below the hard crust. A large quantity of flint chips with the animal remains	Numerous jaws of young calves





A L F del

Scale 1/4 linear.

C F Kell Lith London E C.

ANTIQUITIES FROM MOUNT CABURN, SUSSEX.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

Plate XXIV.

Fig. 1. Iron hammer, probably part of an adze, length of socket $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, interior diameter of socket 9 inches; found 2 feet 8 inches beneath the surface in Pit 7, Oct. 11th, 1877.

Fig. 2. Iron spear or javelin head, 3.4 inches long, including socket; found 1 foot 8 inches beneath the surface in Pit 13, July 5th, 1878.

Fig. 3. Iron spear or javelin head, $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, including socket; found 1 foot 9 inches beneath the surface in Pit 31, July 9th, 1878.

Fig. 4. Iron object, possibly a small ploughshare, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, socket $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter; found at the bottom of Pit 39, July 10th, 1878.

Fig. 5. Iron spud, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, socket 1.1 inch in diameter; found 2 inches beneath the surface in Pit 2, Sept. 3rd, 1877.

Fig. 6. Iron curved knife, originally about 5 inches long including tang, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch greatest width of blade, $\frac{1}{6}$ inch greatest thickness at back; found at the bottom of the twin-pit, Sept. 6th, 1877.

Fig. 7. Iron knife, 4 inches long including tang, 1.3 inch greatest width of blade, $\frac{1}{7}$ inch thick at back; found in filling in Pit 35, July 9th, 1878.

Fig. 8. Iron scale of armour, or fragment of cheek-piece of helmet, or perhaps the patching of an iron pot, with marks of seven iron studs and three bronze ones; slightly concave on one face, and convex on the other, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 1.9 inch and 0.1 inch thick; found at the bottom of Pit 1, Sept. 3rd, 1877, with the bone comb, fig. 11, and fig. 57.

Fig. 9. Iron object, possibly the loop of a scabbard for the passage of the sword-belt, or perhaps part of a door-bolt, 3.3 inches long and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide; found 3 feet beneath the surface in Pit 22, July 8th, 1878.

Fig. 10. Iron sickle with the edge on the concave side, greatest length $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, width of blade 0.6 inch; found at the bottom of Pit 37 with two British tin coins, one of which is represented in fig. 61, July 9th, 1878.

Fig. 11. Comb of deer horn, for weaving or combing flax, 5.6 inches long, with seven teeth; found at the bottom of Pit 1, with the fragments of pottery represented in fig. 57, and the iron scale represented in fig. 8, Sept. 3rd, 1877.

Fig. 12. Comb of deerhorn for weaving or combing flax, 5 inches long, with 8 teeth; found at the bottom of Pit 35, near the piece of pottery represented in fig. 38, and the curved iron object represented in fig. 16, and in the same pit with figs. 7 and 42.

Fig. 13. Iron bill, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, breadth of blade 2 inches, interior diameter of socket $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch; found at the bottom of Pit 3, with the deerhorn knife-handle fig. 25, the bar of iron (fig. 14), and a fragment of an earthenware globular vessel, Sept. 4th, 1877.

Fig. 14. Iron bar, 2·6 inches in length, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch by 0·4 inch in thickness, perhaps prepared to make into a knife or tool of some kind and used as a medium of exchange; weight 1 oz. and 146 grains; found at the bottom of Pit 3, with figs. 13 and 25, Sept. 4th, 1877.

Fig. 15. Iron knife, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, including the tang of 2 inches; found in filling in Pit 20, July 8th, 1878.

Fig. 16. Curved iron object, greatest length $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, diameter of bar $\frac{1}{4}$ inch, flat at the end opposite the loop; found at the bottom of Pit 35, with the bone comb fig. 12, and the fragment of pottery fig. 38, and in the same pit with figs. 7, 24, and 42, July 9th, 1878.

Fig. 17. Curved iron object similar to the last, greatest length 8 inches, flat at the end opposite to the loop; found 3 feet beneath the surface in Pit 22, close to the fragment of pottery represented in fig. 33, the blue glass bead fig. 49, and in the same pit with fig. 9, July 8th, 1878.

Fig. 18. Fragment of bronze, probably a piece of the edge of a sword or spear-head, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch in length, $\frac{1}{3}$ inch in width, and $\frac{1}{6}$ inch thick at back, where it has been broken off; found at the bottom of Pit 9, with the bronze armour ring fig. 19, and the small globular vessel fig. 34, and in the same pit with the horn handle fig. 31, Oct. 12th, 1877.

Fig. 19. Bronze armour ring, circular in section, exterior diameter $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch; found in Pit 9 with the last, Oct. 12th, 1877.

Fig. 20. Shore pebble $2\frac{3}{4}$ by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick, weight 6 oz., with a shallow groove on both sides and the top, and marks of hammering at the three prominent corners, flat on the under side; found 5 feet 4 inches beneath the surface in Pit 2, Sept. 4th, 1877.

Fig. 21. Shore pebble 4 inches long and 1 inch thick, weight 9 oz., worn along the edge by friction; found at 5 feet 4 inches beneath the surface in Pit 1, with the bone comb fig. 11, the iron scale fig. 8, and the fragment of pottery fig. 57, Sept. 3rd, 1877.

Fig. 22. Fragment of a stone spindle-whorl, composed apparently of a flattish shore pebble, bored in the centre with a hole $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter in the middle, and enlarging to 1 inch on both sides; found in filling in Pit 14, July 5th, 1878.

Fig. 23. Fragment of deerhorn cut at both ends, 1 inch thick; found in Pit 23, July 8th, 1878.

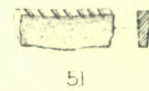
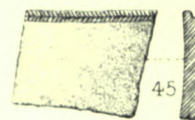
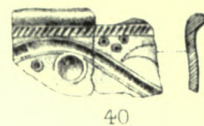
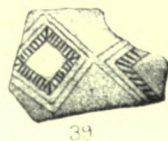
Fig. 24. Tine of deerhorn $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, cut at both ends and pierced at $\frac{3}{4}$ inch from the big end by a cylindrical hole $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, perhaps a pendant ornament; found at the bottom of Pit 35, with the horn comb fig. 12, the piece of pottery fig. 38, the iron knife fig. 7, and the curved iron object fig. 16, July 9th, 1878.

Fig. 25. Tine of deerhorn, cut at one end and broken at the small end, perhaps a knife-handle, pierced at the big end as if to receive a blade by a hole $\frac{1}{3}$ inch in diameter and 1 inch deep, ornamented with a dot and circle pattern, and pierced laterally at $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch from the big end by a cylindrical hole not quite $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter; found at the bottom of Pit 3, with the iron bill fig. 13, and the iron bar fig. 14, Sept. 4th, 1877.

Fig. 26. Flint ball which has been used as a hammer, with marks of hammering all round, 3 inches in diameter, weight 18 oz.; found in the body of the outer rampart, Sept. 12th, 1877.

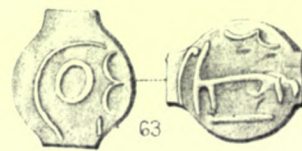
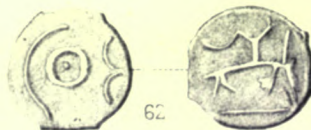
Fig. 27. Piece of deerhorn, cut flat at both ends in a similar manner to fig. 23, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, cut with a metal saw; found in Pit 40, with figs. 28 and 29.





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Fig. 28. Loom weight of chalk, 8 inches in length, bored with a hole $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter in the centre, enlarging at both ends, of unsymmetrical form; weight 3 lbs. 1 oz.; found with six others at the bottom of Pit 40, with figs. 27, 29, July 10th, 1878.

Fig. 29. Whetstone or burnisher of sandstone, 2 inches long and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch square, having a hole for suspension $\frac{1}{8}$ inch in diameter in the middle, enlarging to $\frac{1}{4}$ inch at both ends; weight 180 grains; found in Pit 40, with figs. 27, 28, July 10th, 1878.

Fig. 30. Bone object of unknown use, perhaps a stilus, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in length, shaft $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, enlarged and flattened at one end; found 2 feet 3 inches beneath the surface in Pit 7, with the iron hammer or adze fig. 1, Oct. 11th, 1877.

Fig. 31. Handle of deerhorn with branches, 7 inches long, with a slit at the big end $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch long and 0.1 inch wide, probably to contain a metal blade of some kind but without any transverse rivet-hole, perforated for suspension at the junction of the branches by an oval hole $\frac{1}{4}$ inch long and 0.1 inch wide, formed by drilling two circular holes side by side; found at the bottom of Pit 9, with figs. 18, 19, and 34, Oct. 12th, 1877.

Plate XXX.

Fig. 32. Fragment of rim of grey-brown pottery, $\frac{1}{3}$ inch thick, medium quality, intermixed with fine grains of sand, ornamented with shallow curved groove about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in thickness, each groove is edged with a fine incised line; found in Pit 5, Sept. 5th, 1877.

Fig. 33. Fragment of rim of dark brown pottery $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick at sides, the rim $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in thickness, having a few grains of white quartz or shell in its composition but no sand, ornamented under the rim by a band of clay dabbed on, and a row of impressions of a small finger, some of the same pottery had also lines and dots on it; found in Pit 22, with the curved iron object fig. 17, the iron loop or bolt fig. 9, and the blue glass bead fig. 49, July 8th, 1878.

Fig. 34. Small globular vessel of brown pottery 2 inches in diameter; found at the bottom of Pit 9, with figs. 18, 19, and 31.

Fig. 35. Fragment of brown pottery of superior quality, well baked, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, smooth, without grain or sand, ornamented with grooves and incised lines; found in Pit 40, at 5 feet beneath the surface, with figs. 27, 28, and 29, July 10th, 1878.

Fig. 36. Fragment of brown pottery of superior quality like the last, ornamented with grooves and incised lines, and a dot and circle pattern, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick; found at the bottom of Pit 33, July 9th, 1878.

Fig. 37. Fragment of brown pottery of superior quality, the rim is $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick and it increases in thickness lower down, ornamented with two rows of circular punch marks, and three incised lines beneath the rim; found in Pit 19 at 2 feet beneath the surface, July 6th, 1878.

Fig. 38. Fragment of pottery of superior quality, dark brown or black, ornamented with two raised bands and a curved band of incised lines filled with parallel incised lines; found at the bottom of Pit 35, with the iron object fig. 16, the bone comb fig. 12, the deerhorn pendant fig. 24, and the iron knife fig. 7, July 9th, 1878.

Fig. 39. Fragment of pottery of reddish brown colour, unequally coloured, $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ inch in

thickness, of superior quality but having grains of white quartz in its composition, ornamented by irregular squares of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch, sides formed by incised lines and bands filled with lines; found in the bottom of Pit 4, Sept. 5th, 1877.

Fig. 40. Fragment of greyish brown pottery, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, similar in character and ornamentation to figs. 35 and 36; found in Pit 20, with the iron knife fig. 15, July 8th, 1878.

Fig. 41. Fragment of pottery, similar to figs. 35, 36, and 40; found with a human lower jaw in Pit 27, July 8th, 1878.

Fig. 42. Piece of rim of blackish brown pottery, well baked, smooth on the outside, but sandy in its composition, $\frac{1}{3}$ inch thick, with a loop for a string; the hole has an interior diameter of little more than $\frac{1}{4}$ inch, and is consequently too small for the insertion of even a single finger; the only piece of this character from Mount Caburn; found in filling in Pit 35, in the same pit as figs. 7, 12, 16, and 24, July 9th, 1878.

Fig. 43. Fragment of reddish-brown pottery of medium quality, with sand in its composition, ornamented at the shoulder with a line of triangular punch-marks; found in Pit 35, with the last-named objects, July 9th, 1878.

Fig. 44. Pot with flat bottom, of a superior quality of pottery, brown; restored by Mr. Ready, of the British Museum; it is 6 inches in diameter and 4 inches high, like a saucepan without the handle, ornamented under the rim with a row of impressed semicircular marks; found at the bottom of Pit 9, Oct. 12th, 1877.

Fig. 45. Fragment of rim of reddish pottery, of medium quality, not quite $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, of sandy texture but without large grains, ornamented on the rim with two parallel lines of incised marks; found in the centre of Pit 14, with figs. 22 and 54, July 5th, 1878.

Fig. 46. Fragment of black pottery of fine quality, ornamented with a raised band and a herring-bone pattern, $\frac{1}{6}$ inch thick; found in the same pit with the last, July 5th, 1878.

Fig. 47. Sling bullet of baked clay, of light buff colour, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch long and 1 inch in diameter; weight 263 grains or little more than $\frac{1}{2}$ an oz.; it is very symmetrically formed by hand, not moulded, and it resembles the Greek and Roman sling bullet of lead, but is larger and corresponds exactly in form and size to those of stone used by the natives of New Caledonia; found at the bottom of Pit 35 with figs. 7, 12, 16, and 24, July 9th, 1878.

Fig. 48. Fragment of rim of brick-coloured pottery of medium quality, black in the inside and red outside, ornamented with a line of deep oblique incised lines on the outside of the rim, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick; found in the body of the outer rampart, Sept. 1877.

Fig. 49. Opaque dark blue glass bead $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, with a cylindrical hole $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, weight 67 grains; found 2 feet 6 inches beneath the surface in Pit 22, with figs. 9, 17, and 33, July 8th, 1878.

Fig. 50. Earthenware spindle-whorl of cylindrical shape, of red earthenware, 1 inch in diameter and 1 inch high, perforated by a cylindrical hole $\frac{1}{3}$ inch in diameter; found in filling in Pit 12, with fig. 53, July 5th, 1878.

Fig. 51. Fragment of rim of coarse grey pottery of the most inferior quality, with grains of quartz, ornamented on the upper edge of the rim with incised lines; found in the body of the upper rampart, being the only ornamented piece found there, July 1878.

Fig. 52. Reddish brown earthenware spindle-whorl, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch greatest diameter, and 1.1 inch high, perforated by a cylindrical hole $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, weight 564 grains, having a cup-shaped depression at top; found in filling in Pit 26, July 1878.

Fig. 53. Drab coloured clay spindle-whorl, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch high, perforated by a hole $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter in the centre and splaying to $\frac{3}{4}$ inch at both ends; weight 600 grains; found 2 feet 9 inches beneath the surface in Pit 12, with fig. 50, July 5th, 1878.

Fig. 54. Drab coloured clay spindle-shaped whorl, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter and 1.1 inch in height perforated by a cylindrical hole $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, enlarging slightly towards the ends; weight 938 grains or nearly 2 oz.; found 3 feet beneath the surface in Pit 14, with figs. 22 and 45, July 5th, 1878.

Fig. 55. Spindle-whorl, composed of a piece of red pottery adapted to this use, irregularly formed, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick and about $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, with a hole irregularly chipped $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch across; weight 257 grains; found 1 foot 11 inches beneath the surface in Pit 2, with the iron spud fig. 5, Sept. 3rd, 1877.

Fig. 56. Earthen pot, restored by Mr. Ready, of brown pottery, shaped like a saucepan without the handle, $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter at the bottom and $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches at top, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, quite plain; found in Pit 3, with the iron bill fig. 13 and the iron bar fig. 14, Sept. 14th, 1877.

Fig. 57. Bottom of an earthenware vase of brown pottery, sides $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, bottom $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter; found at the bottom of Pit 1, with figs. 8, 11 and 21, Sept. 3rd, 1877.

Fig. 58. Fragments of the daubing of a wattle-work wall, composed of lime and clay, showing the impress of the upright stakes, the interlacing wattles, and the smooth exterior of the wall; found under the body of the outer rampart on the old surface line, Sept. 1877.

Fig. 59. Another fragment of daubing, the same as the last.

Fig. 60. Horizontal section of the wall, restored by measurement of the fragments of daubing, the upright stakes are $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick and 4 inches apart from edge to edge, the outer wattles $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick and the wall with the daubing 2 inches in thickness.

Fig. 61. British tin coin, on the obverse a head, possibly helmeted, the eye is represented by a circle, and the face by two crescents turned to the left; on the reverse is the figure of an animal, said to be a bull, facing to right, with a line beneath and crescents above; it has been cast with others in a string and the runlets cut through with a chisel, weight 30 grains; found in Pit 37, with the iron sickle fig. 10, July 9th, 1878. Another tin coin in the same pit weighed 20 grains.

Fig. 62. British tin coin similar to the last, with the head to the right, weight 17 grains; found 1 foot 9 inches beneath the surface in Pit 29, July 9th, 1878.

Fig. 63. British tin coin, similar to the foregoing, the animal to the left, weight 22 grains; found in filling in Pit 23, with fig. 23, July 8th, 1878. Another coin found in Pit 22 weighed 20 grains, and was found in association with figs. 9, 17, 33, and 49, but the impression is much defaced, and it is therefore not figured; the difference of weight in these coins appears to be owing chiefly to the portion of the runlet left attached to them.

ERRATUM.

Page 265, line 15, *for* gatherings *read* quarterings.

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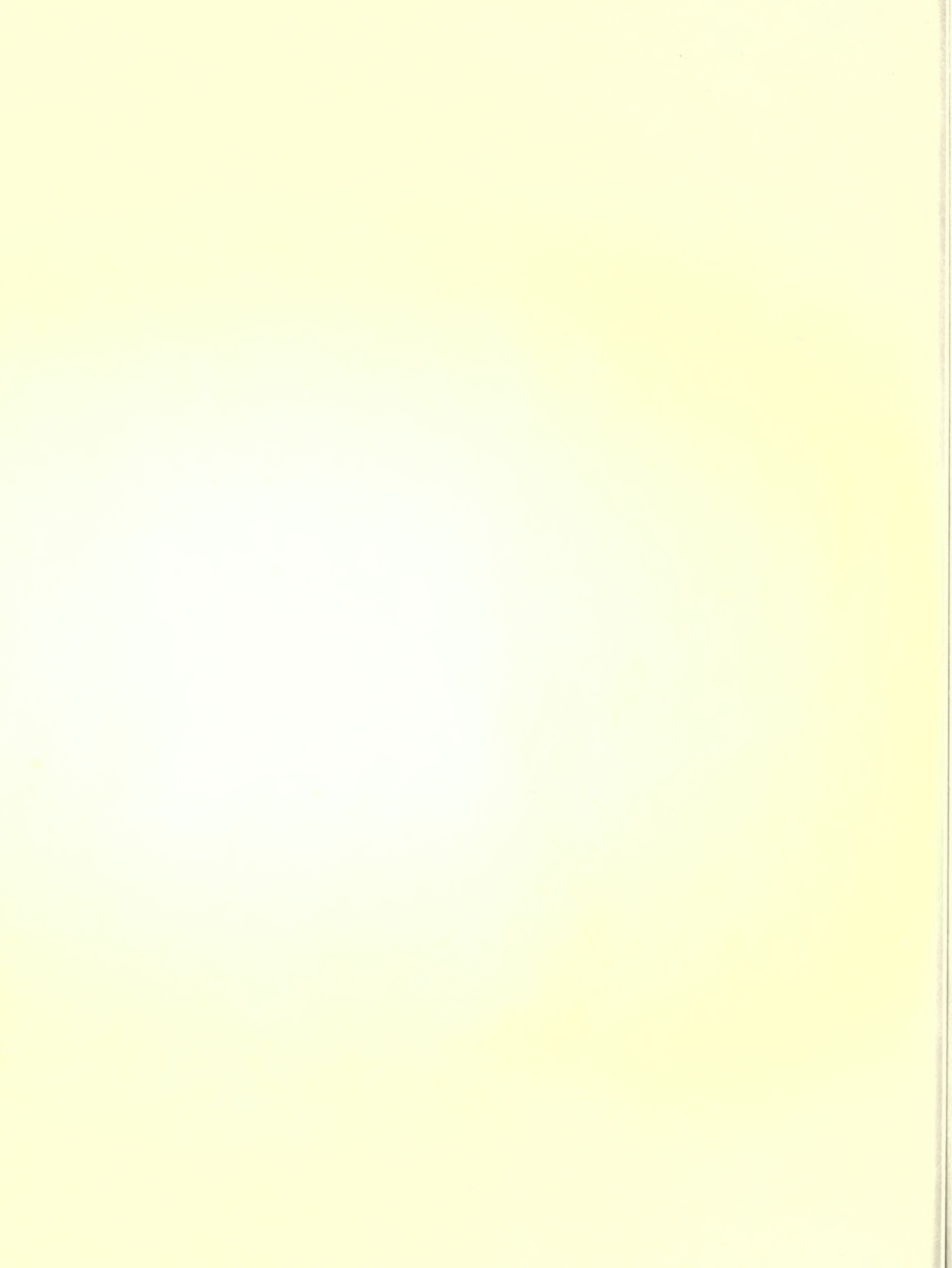
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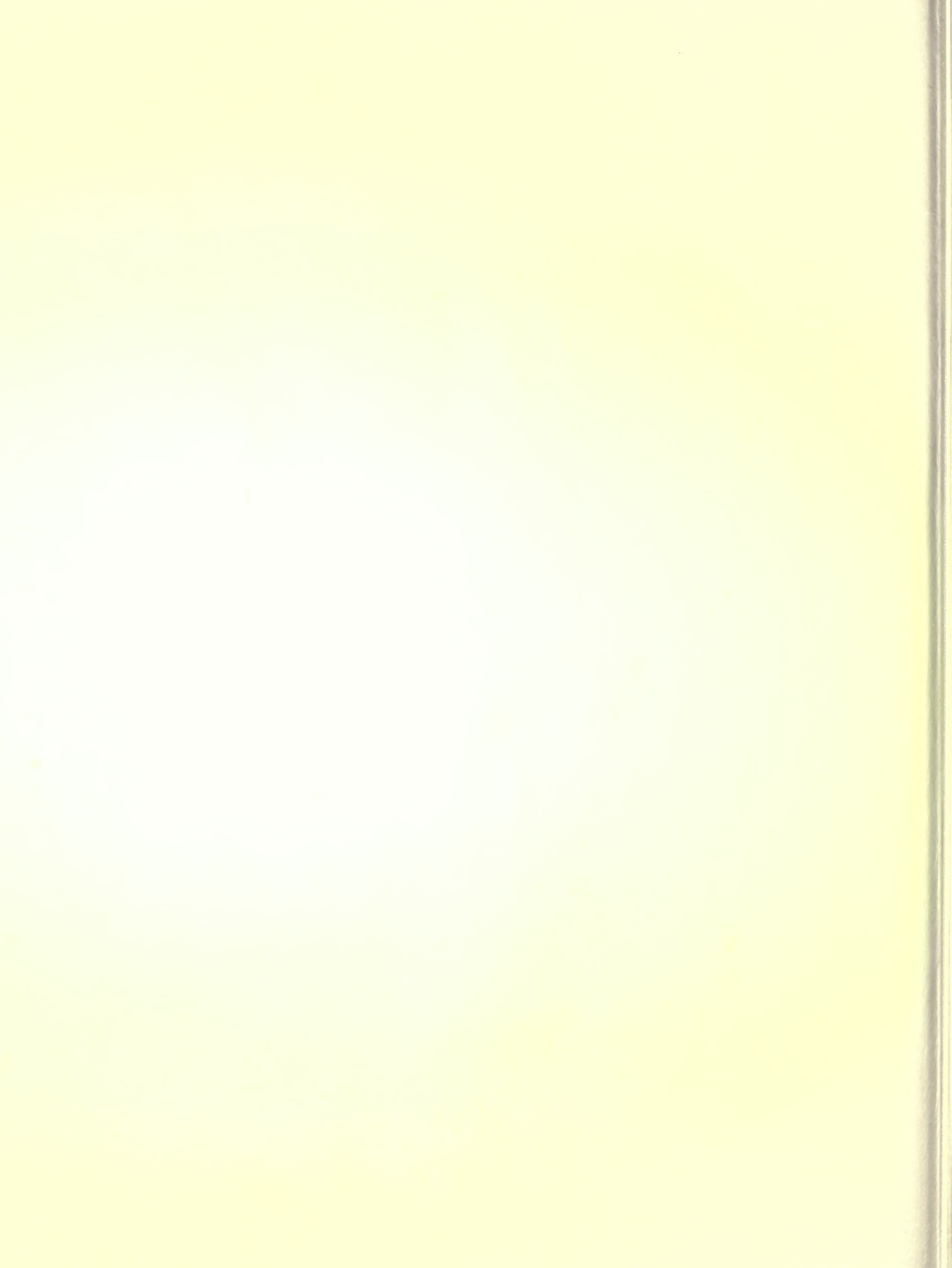
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