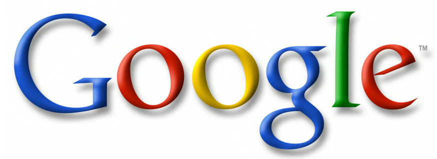

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The Archaeological Journal,

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

THE COUNCIL

OF

The Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,

FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF

RESEARCHES INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS

OF

The Early and Middle Ages.

VOLUME XXXIV.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED AT THE OFFICE OF THE INSTITUTE, 16, NEW BURLINGTON STREET, W.

(DISTRIBUTED GRATUITOUSLY TO SUBSCRIBING MEMBERS.)
TO BE OBTAINED THROUGH ALL BOOKSELLERS.

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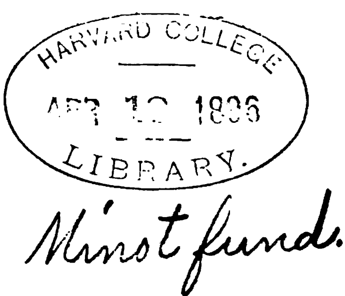

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ERRATA TO VOL. XXXIII.

P. 197, l. 17, *for* "Mr. Basil Montague" *read* "Mr. Basil Montague Pickering." P. 402, l. 8, *for* "Jude" *read* "Jade."

ERRATA TO VOL. XXXIV.

P. 140, l. 39, *for* "Williams" *read* "Wilbraham." P. 303, to the names of Members of the Council who signed the address to Dr. and Mrs. Schliemann should be added "the Rev. R. P. Coates." Page 318—The Additional Remarks on a "Tabula Honestæ Missionis" were contributed by Mr. W. T. Watkin.

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The Archaeological Journal.

MARCH, 1877.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD CARLINGFORD TO THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE INSTITUTE AT COLCHESTER.[1]

My business and duty, and my pleasure, is to open the Congress, by what the programme calls an Address from the President of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Having undertaken many months ago to perform the responsible duty that now lies before me, I, with the usual folly of human nature, at the eleventh hour began to consider what these duties were, and I confess that that very late consideration has left me in a state somewhat of perplexity. At all events, the position of temporary and local President of the Royal Archæological Institute is one of a somewhat complex and peculiar nature: I have the honour of finding myself for a moment at the head of this great Society, which makes Archæology its object, and I find myself there without any of what may be supposed to be the necessary qualifications for the post—with nothing more than an ordinary country gentleman's smattering of History, Archæology, or Architecture. But, as an old politician, and an old official, I am, perhaps, less surprised at finding myself in this position than some other people would have been. As a politician and a Parliament man, I know very well, as you probably do, that a politican at all events, may wake up in the morning and find himself Minister for War, without knowing anything about guns or soldiers, or First Lord of the Admiralty, without knowing anything about ships or sailors, and that is very much my position upon

[1] Delivered August 1st, 1876.

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the present occasion. But I am bound to say that my tenure of office is even shorter than that which prevails with Secretaries of State, and First Lords, and Presidents of the Board of Trade, because it is limited to a week, in which I am afraid there is not very much professional knowledge to be acquired. I have been consoled a good deal in my position by being assured by my Archæological friends that very little is expected of their local President in the way of Archæology and Architecture. That expectation is founded, I believe, upon 33 years of experience in all parts of the British Isles, and highly as we may value the good City of Colchester, I do not suppose, at all events, I do not feel, myself to be an exception to that experience. More than that, I am bound to make a confession to you. I think I have detected in the faces of some of my Archæological friends belonging to what, in official language, I may call the permanent Archæological service, a certain dismay at the idea of their temporary President poaching upon their preserves, or venturing upon a professional Lecture upon the subject of Archæology and Architecture. Well, I can assure you that you need be under no feelings of dismay on that account. I am not going to inflict upon you a lecture upon the antiquities of Colchester or the neighbourhood; but I have another character to fill here, which I shall do my best to discharge. I am not merely a sort of First Lord of Archæology, with a week's tenure of office, but it is my business to endeavour to play a double part: I not only unworthily represent the Royal Archæological Institute, but I also represent the County of Essex, in an official capacity, and, especially on the present occasion, Colchester and that part of the County of Essex or land of the East Saxons, which lies within a few miles of us. I represent not only the visitors, but the visited; not only the Antiquaries who come to inspect us, but the antiquities that are to be inspected; not only the learned, but the ignorant; and in spite of some kind things that I have heard in the course of our varied proceedings of this day, I feel, I am bound to say, I am much more at home in the latter capacity, and I do

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not think you will differ from me when I say that in that capacity I have the larger body of constituents. Upon the one hand, in this complex character I am trying to fulfil, as the representative for the moment of the Royal Archæological Institute, I venture to say, and I am sure my noble friend Lord Talbot will bear me out when I say it, that the Institute has gladly and thankfully accepted the invitation to Colchester, that the Society is so well aware of the historical and architectural interest of the place and its neighbourhood, that it would have been ashamed of itself if it had omitted, in its peregrination round the great centres of historical interest in these Islands, to visit the City of Colchester, the ancient Camulodunum of the Romans. On the other hand, in my other honourable capacity as representative of the County of Essex, I say in your name that we are well aware ourselves of the objects of interest which are to be found here. We believe it is well worth while for the central Institute of Archæologists to pay us this visit; we know very well what a long train of historical memories and associations gather round the City of Colchester and its neighbourhood, and we feel a proper pride in their possession. The truth is that in and around this City—within a few miles—there are many most interesting memorials of the long and glorious history of our country, mainly, I must say, confined to the earlier portions of that great history. Here, in this City and its neighbourhood, the early races who inhabited our country played a great part, Briton and Roman, Saxon and Dane. There are many other parts of England in which the later history of the country is more fully and remarkably illustrated than it is here, but as to the earlier history of the Island I think my scientific friends around me will agree that there are few places of greater interest in the British Isles than the City and neighbourhood of Colchester. It is difficult, as one glides in the railway train through this rich, and peaceful, and smiling Essex, almost upon the track of the Roman road, to realise the scenes which have been enacted in this region; it is difficult to throw one's imagination back to that remote age when all that Britain, as it was then Britain, not England, all that Britain knew of Englishmen was that

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they were an inconvenient set of free-booters, infesting what was called the Saxon shore in this immediate neighbourhood. That was before the days when England was England, and what scenes and what figures have this place and neighbourhood witnessed since that distant day! It would be tedious to attempt for a moment, although it would be easy, to go through the list. If one thinks for a moment, one has, for instance, a Cymbeline, the British Chief Cunobelin, whose coins we can see and handle in the Museum here, and which, I believe, have been dug up over and over again; we can see the Emperor Claudius, with his elephants, tramping along, probably this very street of Colchester, to the astonishment of the northern people; we can see the grim figure of her of whom we have heard in our youth, Boadicea and her Iceni, sweeping down from what was to be first East Anglia, and then Suffolk and Norfolk, upon the Roman Colony in Colchester. I have a sort of infantine recollection of Boadicea, but it seems to me, upon comparing notes with younger people, that she has rather gone out of fashion in these days. Nevertheless, I believe that many men, who have reached that uncertain time of life that I have, will remember some traditions of the schoolroom, and certain lines of Cowper that they used to learn, about

> "When the British warrior Queen,
> Bleeding from the Roman rods,
> Sought, with an indignant mien,
> Counsel of her country's gods."

Anyhow, it is an historical fact that Boadicea is a great Colchester heroine, and that the fearful revenge which she and her British followers took for fearful wrongs, has been in its time one of the most extraordinary events that have been enacted upon British soil. Then we come to the times in which Colchester was secured against such dangers by Roman fortifications, and to the days which seem so short now, but which were long then—the days lasting for many generations and several centuries, during which Colchester was one of the foremost colonies and garrisons in the Island. Those times have utterly passed away, but they have left here many remarkable monuments, and when we see or handle a Roman brick or a

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Roman coin, we are carried back in imagination to those almost incredible days, and we learn that the presence of the legionaries here was not a dream. After that we come to the time when Britain became England, and then during a length of centuries many stirring scenes were enacted in the neighbourhood of Colchester. It is well known that the East Saxons were among the very earliest conquerors and settlers of our race in the land of Britain, and it so happened that afterwards, in following centuries, some of the most bloody and fearful struggles that took place between the two great races who have formed the people and the language of England, were carried on within but a few miles of where we are now assembled. Anyone who has looked into that portion of the History of England will at once remember the names of Maldon and Assandune (Assingden), those two great battle fields which were the scenes of bloody fights in the days to which I am now alluding. One of these,—and one of the most interesting, Maldon—you will, if you please, have an opportunity of visiting during the excursions of this Society; and let me remind you that this particular fight has had the good fortune to be sung in one of the noblest monuments of the early language of England. These great struggles were scarcely known—I believe certainly not in their interest and importance, even to the educated people of England—until within a very few years; and the man who has made them known to us I am happy to say is sitting by me now. It is my friend, Mr. Freeman in his work "The History of the Norman Conquest," who has revealed to most of us the truth and the interest of that great period of our history. I am glad to welcome Mr. Freeman here into this land of the East Saxons. I have been accustomed rather to associate him with the land of Alfred and Wessex than with the land of the Trinobantes, or East Saxons; but he has made every part of England his own in working up the great drama of his History, and I have no doubt he is as much at home at Maldon as at Athelney or at Battle. Well, after the Norman conquest, to which in these desultory remarks I have now arrived, no doubt the interest of Essex somewhat fails. After the

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Norman Conquest our monuments are less remarkable, and our historical associations less exciting. But still, during the long period of the Middle Ages, we have monuments which are good specimens and good records of the two great characters which strike the eye in that age—I mean the feudal Baron and the mitred Abbot. We have two great religious houses, or rather, the relics and remains of them, which you will no doubt visit, in Colchester itself; and we have, at all events, two magnificent and first-rate specimens of the keep of the Norman Baron—the one being that great Castle which lies within a few yards of us in this room, which I believe to be one of the most interesting buildings of its kind in the breadth and length of this island, made out of the abundant resources of the Roman materials which lay at the hand of the builder, within a very few years of the great events of the Norman Conquest. The other great Norman keep, which you will have the opportunity of visiting if you please, is the magnificent Castle of Hedingham, the head quarters of the great family of De Vere. I need hardly remind you of the burning times which succeeded this period—a very considerable interval—the time of the Civil Wars, in which Colchester played a great part. I have myself been visiting to-day the spots which saw the painful scenes of the siege of Colchester enacted; and I have seen that place especially in which one of the very few deeds was done by an exasperated conquerer—one of the very few cruel and unnecessary deeds which disgrace our civil wars—I mean the execution under the Castle wall, of the gallant defenders of Colchester. Many years elapsed after that terrible time, before Colchester regained and recovered its former aspect. There is a very interesting book—I don't know whether it is known to you or not—written by De Foe; a little book of travels over England, a large portion of which he devotes to Essex and Colchester, written about the year 1722, and in that he describes Colchester as it then met his eyes, and he says that Colchester "is still mourning in the ruins of the civil war." That certainly is not the case to-day; and let me say that it is a great happiness and great good fortune for this country, and for this Institute which is meeting here

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to-day, that such an interval of peace and calmness has elapsed since those days, as enables us to deal with these questions, I hope with intense interest, but with impartiality and calmness. I take it that whatever our historical sympathies may be, there are few who do not find themselves able to give credit both to Cavalier and Roundhead of those days. There are few, at all events, who would feel like that very original and eccentric man who died lately, and whose memoirs were written the other day, the Vicar of Morwenstow, in Cornwall, who refused to admit that Milton was a poet; and had such a hatred of the Puritans that he said the only man who ever estimated him at his right value was the bookseller who offered him £10 for "Paradise Lost." I think there are few of us who will look upon the past with such heated minds as that, and that we shall be able to afford our pity and our pride, both for the Cavalier and the Ironside. These few remarks have referred, as you will see, to two of the branches which constitute the programme of this Institute; I mean History and Archæology. With respect to Architecture, I believe that we have not quite so much to say for ourselves in this County of Essex. I believe we are not very rich in great specimens of the Architecture of England, either in the round-headed or pointed styles; and that, perhaps, not through any fault of our own, but from the important fact that in Essex we have always had a great deal of wood but no stone. And, as many of you know well, we have—I don't know whether in the immediate neighbourhood or not—a great many interesting Churches, in which timber, and magnificent ancient timber work, plays a great part; but I believe it to be true that in specimens of architecture we are not very rich. At the same time I am certain you will find quite enough to interest you in that department. At this point there is an observation I should like to make before I sit down. I should like to point out to you the value of the lesson read to us by the combination in the programme of this Institute of Architecture with History, and with Archæology, for, as Tennyson says on another subject—

> "These are three sisters friends to man,
> Which never can be sundered without tears."

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And while, on the one hand, History gets on very badly, and has made many blunders without the help of Archæology, that is to say, the study of documents and books has got on very badly in the hands of men who have not had eyes to see, or who have not taken the trouble to examine, the records left on the face of the land by our forefathers; On the other hand—and this strikes me most forcibly—Architecture has done a good deal of mischief when separated from History and Archæology. I know, from what I have heard in the course of the day, I am getting on rather delicate ground; nevertheless, I must say what I have to say on this point, and it seems to me that one of the foremost duties of this Institute is to endeavour to propagate, throughout the length and breadth of the land, what I may call the historic sense—the historic sentiment—a reverent feeling for the works of our forefathers. That propagandism seems to be our especial duty, and I hope the effect of such meetings as this will be to add new interest to our homes, fresh interest to our walks and our journeys—possibly, to enhance our affection for our country. But more than that, it ought, and I hope it will, teach many of us a reverent care for the works that have been handed down to us from our ancestors—the desire to preserve them against all dangers, including that which I am bound to call the peril of architectural restoration. We know the ravages that have been made by enlightened architects, in what is called the restoration of the ancient buildings, and, of course, especially of our ancient Ecclesiastical buildings. It is not only, as is ordinarily the case, a smattering of Architecture that is dangerous, but even a knowledge of Architecture, without the association of what I call the historic sense, the historic sentiment; that knowledge and that fancy has led to many lamentable deeds, and the sweeping away of what were supposed to be incongruities in a building, probably a Church, and in the endeavour to reduce all to some fancied standard of architectural correctness. We may hope that things are already very much improved in this respect; we may hope that the days have passed in which such things were done, as for example one which is denounced by my friend Mr. Freeman in that same great

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book—and it has a connexion with this neighbourhood—when he tells you that the tomb of Brightnoth, the hero of the battle of Maldon—the tomb of that hero in Ely Cathedral was swept away, demolished, and his ashes scattered, by what the historian calls "the savages of the 18th century." Such a deed as that, I believe, will never happen again; but I feel convinced that our only security against such mistakes and ravages is that historic sense and feeling to which I have referred. It is not enough, it seems to me, to feel, with Wordsworth,

"The memorial majesty of time,"

in the case of great buildings and noble monuments; one wants to have the same feelings carried into all matters, small and great. One wants a certain tenderness for "old, unhappy, far-off things," and even for old and ugly things. Without that feeling, I believe, we shall have no safety in the work of restoration. Of course there will be doubtful cases, and ugliness sometimes reaches a point which becomes unbearable; but still, upon the whole, the only safety is to listen to the Muse of history, and she will always say "Let it alone." In connexion with that there is a question which I cannot pass before I sit down without one word of notice. It is the question of State interference in the preservation of our national monuments. This is a matter of practical and, I may say, Parliamentary interest. It was only to-day that I heard from the highest possible authority, Mr. Parker, that the Government of Italy has utterly outstripped us in this matter. The Government of Italy has recognised the duty of the State to preserve these national monuments, and has fulfilled the duty in a trenchant manner, which is undoubtedly alien to our English ideas, and which I shall not attempt to recommend, at all events in a manner which I should not have the pluck to stand up and support before either the House of Commons or the House of Lords. But a distinguished English antiquary has been endeavouring to preserve our national monuments in an extremely cautious and prudent way, and I confess I find it impossible to fill even for a moment the honourable position of President of this Institute without saying a word of appeal on behalf of Sir John Lubbock's Bill. I do not know what the object and duty of such an Institution or of such a meeting

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as this is if we do not do something in behalf of that measure. I am sorry to say, and I do not think it creditable to the House of Commons, that that measure has failed again; it has not been rejected, and therefore there is every hope for the future; but it has not succeeded. Of course one knows the difficulty with the noble British sense of the rights of property, but we know that the wholesome feeling can be, upon occasions which seem to the public sufficient, made to give way to the public interests, and whenever one-fiftieth part of that feeling, which over-rides the rights of property for the sake of a new railway, a road, or a drain, shall be applied to our national monuments, this measure of Sir John Lubbock will pass without any difficulty. In the meantime I hope that we, at all events, all in this room, will give it the support it deserves. I am not going to detain you any longer. I have endeavoured to fulfil the duty of making a sort of ceremonial address upon these subjects, the interest of which, little as I know of them, I feel very strongly, but I now have the pleasure of handing you over to the severer discipline of the Vice-Presidents, and I trust that as they will find, as I believe they will, much in this city and its neighbourhood to interest them, so we shall find much to learn from them; and I sincerely hope that the week which has begun so successfully to-day will be one of pleasure and profit to its end, and that neither the Institute, nor the people of Colchester and its neighbourhood, will then have any other feeling than one of mutual congratulation.

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THE LAND OF MORGAN: ITS CONQUEST AND ITS CONQUERORS.

BY G. T. CLARK, ESQ.

Of the forty shires of England there are certainly not a score of which good histories have been written, and not above five or six and twenty of which there are any tolerable histories at all. Even Yorkshire, so rich in antiquities of every kind, ethnological, ethnographical, architectural, and genealogical; in præ-historic tumuli; in proper names given by the Briton, the Roman, and the Northman; in march dykes; Roman and other encampments; military roads and moated mounds; in the ruins of glorious abbeys and mighty castles; in its noble cathedral and grand parish churches, upon two of which the brevet rank of cathedral has been imposed; in its venerable and splendid country seats, and in its ancient and often historic families: even Yorkshire, so rich in all these varied and tempting subjects, and rich too in material wealth, has yet met with no historian. Divisions of the county, as Richmondshire and Hallamshire, Doncaster and Sheffield, are the subjects of works quite of the first class, but neither the great Shire, nor even one of its Ridings, has been placed upon record. If such be the case in wealthy and cultivated England, it is no great shame in Wales to be, as regards county histories, in a still more unprovided condition, as indeed the Principality must be admitted to be. There is but one history, Jones's "Brecknock," of any Welsh county, at all worthy of the name, for assuredly neither Fenton's "Pembrokeshire" nor Meyrick's "Cardigan" merit that title. And yet, as is abundantly shewn in the volumes of the "Archæologia Cambrensis," and in the copious though incidental notices of Wales in Eyton's excellent "History of Early Shropshire," it is not the material that

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is wanting. Cambria, though not the cradle, the latest home of the Cymric people, has no reason to complain of her share of the gifts of nature or of their adaptation to produce material prosperity. The incurvated coast, whence the country is thought to derive its name, abounds in bays and headlands of extreme beauty and grandeur. In the North its scenery is bold and striking; in the South it is of a softer character, and celebrated rather for its valleys than its mountains, its meandering rivers rather than its dashing torrents. In mineral wealth the North is not deficient, but the South has the lion's share, nor does any part of it approach in value the division of Glamorgan. Here, in the centre of the Welsh coal field, that mineral is not only abundant in quantity, easy of access and convenient for transport by sea, but it is of a character equally removed from the bituminous varieties of the east and the anthracite of the west, so that it produces unusual steam power in proportion to its weight and bulk, and does so without raising the usual accompaniment of smoke—qualities which render it valuable in commerce and still more in request in naval warfare.

Wales moreover, and especially Glamorgan, was for centuries the scene of romantic and spirit-stirring events, and has had a large measure of ecclesiastical and military renown. To Pelagius, though their names have the "merit of congruity," the land of Morgan cannot indeed lay claim; and too many of her early sons, like the Greeks before Agamemnon, slumber unrecorded beneath her cairns and barrows. Of others notices have survived, and their sweet savour is found in the churches which they have founded, in the records of Llandaff, the earliest of British bishoprics, and in the fragmentary, but ancient literature, of the people. Bede relates how "Lever Mawr," "the great light," better known in translation as King Lucius, moved Eleutherius, A.D. 160, to send over from Rome Fagan and Dyvan to preach the gospel to his people. They settled at Avalon, but seem to have laboured much across the Severn, where their names are yet preserved in the Churches of St. Fagan and Merthyr Dovan, the latter indicating the manner in which its founder bore testimony to his faith.

Gildas, an author of the sixth century, whose name

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is prefixed to the treatise "De excidio Britanniæ," written certainly before the time of Bede, is associated with Glamorgan from having paid a visit to St. Cadoc at Llancarvan, where, before either Saxon or Norman had profaned the banks of the Carvan, the Siloa of Glamorgan, were educated, and thence sent forth many of those holy men who gained the appellation of "terra sanctorum" for the land in which they laboured. The monastic school, or "Chorea Sanctorum" of Llancarvan, is said to have been founded by the saints Germanus and Lupus to counteract the Pelagianism of the district, strong in the name and heresy of Morgan; but the claim of Germanus in this respect is challenged for Dubricius, a saint of the close of the sixth century, and for Cadoc, or Cattwg, a saint and prince, whose name survives in the adjacent Cadoxton, whose triad has gained for him the appellation of "the wise," and who, with St. David and Nennius, claims to have shared in the instruction of St. Finnian, one of the apostles of Christian Ireland. It was at Llancarvan, towards the middle of the twelfth century, that Caradoc, named from thence, penned that account of the Principality known as the "Brut-y-Tywysogion," which, expanded and continued by the successive labours of Price and Lloyd, Powell and Wynne, still holds the chief place in Welsh historical literature. In Llancarvan also, upon his patrimony of Trev-Walter, or Walterston, was probably born Walter Calenius, or de Map, a son of Blondel de Map, chaplain to Fitz-Hamon, and who acquired the property by marriage with Flwr, its Welsh heiress. Walter became chaplain to Henry I, and Archdeacon of Oxford, and was one of those who, during the reigns of the two Henries, and under the protection of Robert Earl of Gloucester, Lord of Glamorgan, promoted the growth of English literature, and was besides celebrated for his lively and pungent satires upon Becket and the clergy of his day. He also seems to have added largely to the stocks of Arthurian Romance, and to have made popular those legends upon which his friend and contemporary Geoffrey of Monmouth founded his well-known volume. These well-springs of Cymric history are indeed scanty and turbid, and must be drawn from with great discrimination; but it is from them, from the "Lifr Coch," or

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of Llandaff, and from the lives of St. Cadoc, St. Iltyd, and other of the Welsh saints, that is derived all that is known of the history of Glamorgan before the Norman invasion. Nor is the testimony of the "Book of Llandaff" confined to Llancarvan. Both Llan-Iltyd or Llantwit, under the presidency of St. Iltutus, and Docunni or Llandoch, now Llandough upon the Ely, were celebrated as monastic colleges early in the fifth century, and even now, in the churchyard of each place, are seen those singular obelisks or upright stones rudely but effectively adorned with knot-work in stone, and of very ancient though uncertain date.

Glamorgan extends about fifty-three miles along the northern shore of the Bristol Channel, here broadening into an estuary. From the seaboard as a base it passes inland twenty-nine miles in the figure of a triangle, the northern point abutting upon the range of the Beacons of Brecknock. Its principal towns, Cardiff and Swansea, are placed near the southern angles of the triangle: Merthyr, of far later growth, stands at the northern angle, and near the head, as Cardiff is near the opening, of the Taff, and Swansea of the Tawe. Aberdare upon the Cynon, and Tre-Herbert upon the Rhondda, tributaries of the Taff, are the centres of immense nebulæ of population, at this time condensing with more than American rapidity into considerable towns. The actual boundaries of the county, east and west, are the Afon-Eleirch or Swan river, now the Rhymny, from Monmouthshire, and the Llwchwr or Burry from Caermarthenshire. The episcopal village and Cathedral of Llandaff stand upon the "Llan" or mead of the Taff, a little above Cardiff.

The great natural division of the county is into upland and lowland, called by the old Welsh the "Blaenau" and the "Bro," the latter extending, like the Concan of Bombay, as a broad margin along the seaboard, and covering about a third of the area; the former, rising abruptly like the Syhadree Ghauts, and lying to the north. The Bro, though containing sea cliffs of a hundred feet, is rather undulating than hilly; the Blaenau is throughout mountainous, and contains elevations which rise to 1200, 1600, and at Carn Moysin to 2000 feet. From this high ground spring the rivers of the county.

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Besides the four already mentioned, are the Nedd, on which are the town of Neath and the dock of Briton-Ferry, the Ely with the dock of Penarth, the Ogwr flowing through Bridgend, and the Cowbridge Thawe, whose waters roll into the sea over a field of water-worn lias pebbles, in repute as an hydraulic limestone, in great request among engineers, and as celebrated as that of Barrow on the Soar. Besides these are a multitude of smaller streams bearing Welsh names, some of which, as the "Sarth" or Javelin, and the "Twrch" or Boar, are highly significant.

The Llwchwr is the only Glamorgan river admitting, in any degree, of navigation, and that to a very small extent. The northern streams are rapid and uncertain, sometimes foaming torrents, sometimes dry beds of shingle, but more commonly with a moderate flow. They descend through those wild and rocky but always verdant vallies for which Glamorgan is justly famed. Both the Taff and the Nedd are celebrated for their scenery, but the Taff has the advantage not only in the conflux of vallies which form so pleasing a feature at Pont-y-Prydd, but in the grand cleft by which that river, guarded by the ancient castle of the De Clares, and the far more ancient camp of British origin, bursts from its constraint amidst the mountains, and rolls in easy and graceful curves across the plain of Cardiff.

Cardiff, the principal port of the county, is formed by the union of the Taff and the Ely, and its roadstead is protected by the headland of Penarth. Swansea, its western rival, opens upon its celebrated bay: Briton-Ferry, Port Talbot, and Porth Cawl are intermediate and smaller ports. A curious feature upon several points of the sea coast are the large deposits of blown sand, probably an accumulation of the twelfth century, but first mentioned in a charter of Richard II., 1384, in which he grants to the Abbot and Convent of Margam the forfeited advowson of Avene on account of their lands "per sabulam maritimam destructam in nimiam depauperacionem abbatiæ." This sand, the movement of the surface of which has hitherto defied all attempts at planting, has advanced upon Merthyr Mawr and Kenfig and some parts of Gower, and, like the dragon of

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Wantley, has swallowed up much pasture, at least three churches, a castle, a village or two, and not a few detached houses.

The superficial features of the county are largely affected by its mineral composition. The mountain districts contain the coal field, of late years so extensively worked: the lowlands are mainly old red sandstone and mountain limestone, more or less eroded by water, and covered up by the unconformable and nearly horizontal beds of the magnesian conglomerate, the new red, and the lias. The county contains no igneous rocks, nothing known older than the old red, and no regular formation later than the lias. The gravels, however, are on a large scale, and their sections throw much light upon the origin and dip of the pebbles, and upon the measure and direction of their depositing forces.

The charms of Glamorgan have not wanted keen appreciation. An early triad asserts of it:—

> "The Bard loves this beautiful country,
> Its wines, its wives, and its white houses."

Its wines are, alas! no more; not even the patriotic efforts of Lord Bute, in his vineyards at Castell Coch, have as yet been able to raise a murmur from the local temperance societies; but the white cottages still glisten, nestled in the recesses of the hills; and if its wives no longer enjoy a special preeminence in Wales it is only because the fair sex of other counties, emulous of the distinction, have attained to the same merits. The following lines by Dean Conybeare seem worthy of preservation here:—

> Morganwg! thy vales are fair,
> Proud thy mountains rise in air;
> And frequent, through the varied scene
> Thy white-walled mansions glare between:
> May the radiant lamp of day
> Ever shed its choicest ray
> On those walls of glittering white;
> Morganwg! the Bards' delight.

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Morganwg! those white walls hold
A matchless race in warfare bold;
In peace the pink of courtesy,
In love are none so fond and free.
May, etc.

Morganwg! those white walls know
All of bliss is given below,
For there in honour dwells the bride,
Her lover's joy, her husband's pride.
May, etc.

The glowing description of Speed has been often quoted and is well known; a modern and more prosaic writer, following in the same school of geography that has compared Italy to a boot, and Oxfordshire to a seated old woman, has employed a sort of "memoria technica" for the general form of Glamorgan, which he likens to a porpoise in the act of diving: "Roath represents its mouth, Ruperra its prominent snout, Blaen-Rhymny and Waun-cae-Gerwin its dorsal fins, the peninsula of Gower its outstretched tail, and the Hundred of Dinas Powis its protuberant belly."

Glamorgan received a western addition and became a regular county in the reign of Henry VIII., but the ancient limit still divides the sees of Llandaff and St. David's. Both districts, by some accounts, were included in the ancient Morganwg. "Glamorgan," says Rees Meyric, "differs from Morganwg, as the particulars from the general," Morganwg being the older name and far more comprehensive territory. "Morganwg," says the same authority, "extended from Gloucester bridge to the Crumlyn brook near Neath, if not to the Towy river, and included parts of the later shires of Gloucester, Monmouth, Hereford, Brecknock and Glamorgan, and it may be of Caermarthen." Glamorgan, on the other hand, seems to have been confined to that part of the present county that lies along the seaboard, south of the portway, or road, probably Roman, from Cardiff to Cowbridge and Neath, and this it is which is said to have been ruled by Morgan Hên, or the aged, in the middle of the tenth century. To this Prince has been attributed the name of his territory, Gwlad-Morgan or Morgan's country, and there is no evidence for its

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earlier use. The rule of his descendants, however, under the same name, seems to have included the northern or hill country, and finally Fitz-Hamon and his successors, although of the ancient Morganwg they held only that small part between the Rhymny and the Usk, always styled themselves "Domini Morganiæ et Glamorganiæ" in their charters, nor was the style altered even when the Monmouthshire lands passed away for a time by a coheir to the Audleys.

The Britons, both of East and West Britain, seem, when fairly conquered, to have accepted the Roman yoke with equanimity, and it is evident, from the remains of Roman villas all over Wales, that the intruders lived there in peace. This was never the case with the English. The Welsh never accepted their rule, and their language contains many expressions indicating their deadly and continued hate. Even in the Herefordshire Irchenfield, where many parishes bear English names, and which probably from the time of Alfred was part of an English county; and along the Shropshire border, within and about Offa's Dyke, all the English dwellings were fortified. The points of contact between the Welsh and the various tribes of Northmen were numerous, sometimes on the English border, where a large infusion of the names are English, sometimes along the sea coast, where such names as Skokholm, Holm, Sealm, Gresholm, Gatholm, Strumble Head, Nangle, and Swansea savour strongly of the Baltic, and it seems probable that to those early vikings, and not to the later settlements of Flemings or English, is due the Teutonic element which prevails in the topography of Lower Pembroke and Gower. In Glamorgan, however, the Welsh in the eleventh century seem pretty well to have recovered their territory, and to have disposed of their invaders as they disposed of Harold himself when he attempted to erect a hunting lodge for the Confessor at Portskewit.

Gwrgan, the penultimate Welsh prince who ruled over Glamorgan, is usually called by the Welsh Lord of Morganwg, which however he certainly never held in its extended sense, his rule having been confined to the tract from the Usk to the Crumlyn, and from the Brecknock border to the sea. His name is said to be preserved in

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Gwrganstown near Cowbridge, but he lives chiefly in the memory of the Welsh as having laid open the Common of Hirwaun, thence known as "Hirwaun-Wrgan," or "Gwrgan's long meadow," near Aberdare.

Jestyn ap Gwrgan, his son and successor, had a powerful and ambitious neighbour in Rhys ap Twdwr, Lord of Deheubarth, or the shires of Caermarthen, Cardigan, and Pembroke, with whom, as was natural to his race, he was at war; and getting, or fearing to get, the worst in the struggle, he dispatched Einion ap Collwyn, a refugee from Dyfed, who had lived much with the Normans, to Robert Fitz-Hamon for aid. Fitz-Hamon was a friend and follower of Rufus, and lord of the Honour of Gloucester, the magnificent heritage of Brictric, who is said to have refused the hand of Matilda, who afterwards married William the Conqueror, but never forgave the *spretæ injuria formæ*. The Roman de Brut says—

> "Meis Brictrich Maude refusa
> Dunt ele mult se coruça."

Fitz-Hamon, not insensible to the attractions of a Marcher lordship, crossed the Severn with his troops, and landed, it is said, at Porthkerry in or about 1093. Joining his forces to those of Jestyn, they met, attacked and conquered Rhys at Bryn-y-beddau near Hirwaun, within or close upon the border of Brecknock, and slew him on the brow of an adjacent hill in Glyn Rhondda, thence called Penrhys. Goronwy, a son of Rhys, also was slain, and Cynan another son was drowned in a large marsh between Neath and Swansea, thence called Pwll-Cynan.

The Normans are said to have received their subsidy at the "Fill-tir-awr," or Golden Mile, near Bridgend, and to have departed by land. Einion, however was refused his guerdon, the hand of Jestyn's daughter, on which he recalled the Normans, who had a fray at Mynydd Buchan, west of Cardiff, at which Jestyn was slain.

The proceedings of Fitz-Hamon during and upon his conquest have been woven into a legendary tale, very neat and round, very circumstantial, but as deficient in evidence as though it had proceeded from the pen of Geoffrey himself. The story, which in South Wales is

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an article of faith, explains the jealousy between Rhys and Jestyn, resting, of course, upon a woman; the cause of the special selection of Einion to bring in the Normans; the battle of Hirwaun Wrgan; the death of Rhys and his sons; the payment of the Normans in gold; the refusal to Einion of his guerdon; the retirement and return of the Normans; the death of Jestyn and the occupation of his territory; and finally its partition between the conqueror and his twelve principal followers, and four or five Welshmen.

By whom or when this story was concocted is not known. It was certainly accepted without challenge in the reign of Elizabeth, and could scarcely have been circulated before the extinction of the Le Despencers, early in the fifteenth century. Probably its author was some follower of the Stradlings of St. Donats, a family somewhat given to literature, and whose fictitious pedigree it sets forth as true. What is certain is, that whatever may have been the cause alleged, the invasion was not really due to any local quarrel, but was part of a settled policy for completing the English conquest, and which, if not undertaken by Fitz-Hamon, would have been carried out by Rufus in person, or by some of the adventurers who about the same time were taking possession of Monmouth and Brecknock and the whole of South-west Wales. Indeed, Rufus awaited the result of Fitz-Hamon's expedition at Alveston, between Bristol and Gloucester, and it is supposed was only prevented by illness from bearing a share in it. A few months after the main success there seems to have been a rising of the Welsh in Wentloog, Glamorgan, and Gower, the result of which, according to the Brut, was so far successful that it secured for them somewhat better terms, of which, however, there is but little evidence in what is known of the disposition of the lands.

It is singular that of so notable a man as Fitz Hamon so little should be known. His father "Hamo Dentatus" seems to have received favours from Duke William, who noticed his defection with that of Neel de St. Sauveur, Grimont de Plessy, and Ranulph of Bayeux at Val-è-Dunes, thus recorded in the Cronique des Ducs de Normandie :—

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Par cel Rannol de Beiosin
E par Neel de Costentin
E par Hamun uns Antecriz
E par Grimont des Plaiseiz

. . . . . .

Felon, parjor e traïtor
E vers Deu e vers lor Seignor
Neel, Hamun, Ranol, Grimont.

In the battle, among the leaders, was "Haimonem agnomine Dentatum," who led the first line of six-thousand men and much distinguished himself, fighting hand to hand with the King of France, by whose attendants he was slain. He is there called Sieur de Thorigny, de Bersy, et de Creully, and his war cry (according to the Roman de Rou) was "St. Amant;"

"Et Han-a-dens va reclamant,
'St. Amant,' sire 'Saint Amant'."[1]

Malmesbury speaks of Haimon as "Avum Roberti qui nostro tempore in Anglia multarum possessionum incubator extitit," but he was more probably the father. Hamo-a-Dens seems to have had two sons, for Hamo Dapifer is stated by Wm. of Jumièges to be brother of Robert Fitz Hamon. "Dedit etiam illi [Roberto Comiti Glouc:] rex terram Haimonis dapiferi, patrui videlicet uxoris suæ." Hamo Dapifer, though omitted in the index to the folio Domesday, appears as a tenant in chief in the record, holding in Essex fourteen parishes, and as "Haimo Vicecomes" possessing others in Kent and Surrey. Hasted says he was also called "Crevequer," He was one of the Judges in the great cause between Archbishop Lanfranc and Odo, and died childless in the reign of Henry I. The land thus granted by Henry I to Earl Robert's wife descended to her children and their successors, and thus it was that Dunmow came to the De Clares.[2]

In the list of fees held under the Church of Bayeux, "Robertus filius Hamonis" is entered as holding ten fees of the Honour of Evreux under Bayeux, and he was hereditary standard bearer to the blessed Mary of Bayeux as Earl Robert of Gloucester was after him. Meyrick

[1] St. Amand was the patron saint of Thorigny, sometimes called "St. Amand de Thorigny."

[2] The office of Dapifer seems to have been held by the elder Hamo, for in 1088 Robert son of Hamo Dapifer aided Rufus in the siege of Rochester Castle.

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calls him Earl of Corboile, but the Haymo who was Lord of the Castle of Corboile died on his way to Rome, during the reign of Hugh Capet, and his son was Theobald, as is related in the life of Earl Burchard, who married his widow.

Though not mentioned in Domesday, Fitz-Hamon was probably then in England, for Mr. Ellis has found his name connected with Gloucester, in what he regards as the notes whence that part of the survey was compiled. He was in the confidence of Rufus, and on the eve of the Welsh expedition received from him the Honour of Gloucester, whence indeed he drew, as was of course intended, men and means. On the death of Rufus, when Duke Robert landed at Dorchester and advanced in arms from Winchester to meet his brother he was accompanied by Fitz-Hamon, who succeeded in negociating a peace between the brothers. As Seigneur de Thorigny and Creully he was homager of Robert, "Homme de Duc," as it was called, but he seems thenceforward to have adhered to Henry, whom he supported in 1101 against the "Optimates," who supported Robert. In that year the letter written by Henry on his accession, to Anselm, is witnessed by Robert Fitz-Hamon and Hamo Dapifer. In 1105 he was captured during the seige of Bayeux, taking refuge in the Tour de Moustrier de Secqueville, which was burned. Henry however obtained his liberation immediately, for "moult il se fioit en Robert Fitz de Hamon." Very soon afterwards, in the same year, he was wounded in the temple at the seige of Caen, of which wound he lingered till 1107, when he died.[1]

The policy pursued towards the Welsh seems to have been severe, since only one Welsh lord occurs in the low country, which was parted between the invaders; the few Welsh, with that one exception, who were allowed to hold considerable estates being confined to the hills. In settling the lordship, the old Welsh divisions of cantreds and commotes were preserved, and usually the parishes, but by a modification of these divisions the lordship was divided into body and members. The body, the Welsh bro, became the shire fee, and was placed under a sheriff; and the members, though extending at points into the lowlands, corresponded for the most part to the Blaenau.

[1] Chron. de Normandie in Rer. Gall. Script., xii, 628, xiii, 206, 248, 250-1, xv, 64.

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Besides these were the lord's private or demesne lands, the borough towns, and the possessions of the church of Llandaff.

The shire fee or body was settled in accordance with the feudal system in use in Normandy. The private estates became manors, and in many cases also probably new parishes. There were $36\frac{3}{5}$ knights' fees, divided into about twenty-six lordships, held by castle-guard tenure of the castle of Cardiff, to which the tenants were bound to repair when needed. Besides these there were mesne manors, subinfeudations from the original tenants, holden of them and their castles, also by military service, the whole being held by the chief lord under the sovereign.

The boroughs were six, Cardiff, Cowbridge, Kenfig, Llantrissant, Avan, and Neath. The four first held direct from the lord, and enjoyed the usual liberties and privileges, guaranteed by charter. Neath held originally from de Granville, but came by exchange to the lord. Avan, or Avene, stood out much longer, but, on the extinction of the elder line of Jestyn, that also fell in. Probably these boroughs were wholly of Norman introduction. Caerphilly has been classed with the boroughs, but it does not seem ever to have received a charter or to have had a governing body. It sprung up with the castle, and no doubt fell with it into speedy and complete decay.

The members were ten, of which two were subdivided. They were Avan Wallia, Coyty, Glyn Rhondda, Llanblethian, Miscin, Neath citra and ultra, Ruthyn, Senghenydd supra and subter, Talavan, and Tir-y-jarl or the earl's land. It is said that tenure by gavelkind, called "randyr," or partible land, prevailed, but the curious thing is that it is not found in the pure Welsh part of the county, but only among the copyholders in the low country. How gavelkind came into Wales is uncertain. England certainly did not borrow this or the cantred or hundred from that country. The members had their local courts, and their lords the right of "bren-o-ffwl," or pit and gallows, no great concession, as seven of the twelve were in the hands of the chief lord. Each member had its steward or seneschal, who presided at its courts, from which an appeal lay to the shire court at Cardiff.

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Although Llandaff was a very ancient ecclesiastical title, there seems to have been an attempt for a time to make Glamorgan the designation of the see. At Bishop Urban's consecration by Anselm he is called Bishop of Glamorgan, and the same appears in Eadmer. The Bishop, as head of the Church of Llandaff, and lord of that manor, had the prerogatives of a lord Marcher, but his temporalities were confirmed to him by the chief lord, who claimed to hold possession of the see when vacant, though this right was afterwards challenged by the crown and surrendered. The Bishop held the lordship of Llandaff and the manor of St. Lythan, or Worlton, in the shire.

The lands given by the Welsh princes to the colleges of Llantwit and Llancarvan seem to have been transferred to other foundations; for it is stated in the cartulary of St. Peter's at Gloucester that Fitz-Hamon gave to that church the church of St. Cadoc at Llancarvan, and Penhon, with 15 hides of land, probably about 1102. Llancarvan is mentioned in a bull of Calixtus in 1119, and of Honorius in 1128, and King Stephen, in confirming lands to Gloucester in 1136, mentions St. Cadoc of Llancarvan and Tregoff, among the gifts of Fitz-Hamon. On the whole, the church in the lordship had no reason to complain of the new lords. The Benedictine Abbeys of Neath and Margam were founded in 1130 and 1147, and their endowments rapidly augmented. Ewenny, as a cell of Gloucester, was founded about the same time, and therefore it is not probable that Fitz-Hamon or his successor confiscated any church lands; and no doubt the local property held by the Abbey of Gloucester, and now by the Dean and Chapter, represents the old Welsh endowments.

The part played by the Crown in the conquest of Glamorgan has never been clearly defined. Fitz-Hamon certainly received the Honour of Gloucester to enable him to undertake it. That he did so with the consent of Rufus is certain, and upon the condition that he held it, as such conquests were elsewhere held, of the Crown as a Marcher lordship. What was the precise position of a Lord Marcher has not been settled by legal antiquaries. They received no charter defining, establishing, or limiting their ample privileges. These privileges were

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necessary, under the circumstances, but would naturally become circumscribed as Wales became settled, and as the Crown retained over them the usual feudal rights, it would, from time to time, during a minority, or upon an escheat, have an opportunity of checking encroachments.

In truth, however, a Lord Marcher, and especially the lord of so compact a territory as Glamorgan, was little short of a crowned king. The king's writ did not run in his territory; he had his sheriff, his chancery and chancellor, his great seal, his court civil and criminal, rights of admiralty and of wreck, of life and death, an ambulatory council or parliament, jura regalia, fines, oblations, escheats, wardships, marriages, and other feudal incidents. Some of his greater tenants held "per baroniam," others by grand and petit sergeanty, socage, and villenage. For some time he held, "sede vacante," the temporalities of the bishopric, he was patron of the principal abbeys and of the municipal boroughs, and he himself held "in capite de corona." A Marcher Lordship had also this in common with an Honour that, when it was, by an escheat or during a minority, vested in the crown, it did not become merged, or lose its individuality. The personal service due from the military tenants to the lord was not transferred to the crown, but, if they so pleased, could be compounded for in money, Nor were the Marcher privileges mere assertions. They were regularly exercised, and occasionly pleaded in the king's courts. A plea is preserved in the records of the Curia Regis 8th July 1199, and noted by Palgrave, in which the sheriff of Hereford, when ordered by the king's court to take possession of Bredwardine castle, protests that he cannot do so, it being out of his bailliewick, and Wm. de Braose, the Marcher Lord, declares that neither king, sheriff, nor justice has any right to enter upon his liberty. Also, in 1302, another William de Braose claimed in parliament that in his liberty of Gower he had his chancellor and chancery and seal, the judgment of life and death, and cognizance of all pleas, whether of crown or others, arising in the lordship, between all persons whomsoever. Similar statements are pleaded by the de Clares, Earls of Gloucester, in bar of appeal from their courts to Westminster. Also in a cause reported in the Cotton MS. [Vitell; C. x, f. 172b] where Richard

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Syward, 1248, appeals to the Crown against a judgment in the Earl of Gloucester's court in Glamorgan, the Earl demurs to the appeal on the ground that Syward is his vassal, and that the transaction, the cause of the proceedings, was in Glamorgan. He suggests, however, a sort of compromise, a royal commission to report upon the case to the king in person, which was accepted.

No wonder that the great English lords coveted the Welsh lordships. Unproductive in money or pastoral wealth, they were inaccessible, contained excellent soldiers, and by a temporary arrangement with the Welsh leaders a Marcher could at any time securely defy a weak sovereign.

There is direct evidence for but few of Fitz-Hamon's grants, or even for the names or numbers of his principal followers. There is known but one extant charter by him relating to Wales, and by that he grants the fishery of an arm of the Taff at Cardiff to Tewkesbury Abbey. Other of his charters, relating to other counties, are however extant, and from the witnesses and similar sources the names have been established of a few of his principal followers, and of several others whom it is highly probable were of the number. What makes it probable that the greater number of tenants whose names appear in the twelfth or early in the thirteenth century were derived from original settlers, is that most held directly of the lord. Of mesne or subordinate manors there were comparatively few, and those of course may have been created at any time up to the passing of the celebrated statute "quia emptores."

The records of Glamorgan for the first century and a half from the Conquest are very scanty indeed, chiefly charters from the lords to their dependants and to the Church, though usually with many witnesses. Some of Fitz-Hamon's followers seem to have staid but a short time, and, if they received grants of land, to have disposed of it, and in consequence they have escaped notice altogether; but even of the greater lords, who founded local families, the origin and early descent has hitherto been involved in much obscurity.

Under the feudal system the relations between the crown and its tenants in chief and between these and their subtenants were very intimate; the crown per-

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petually claiming services or their redemption in money, the tenants resisting, and all parties appealing to grants and charters, extents or surveys, remissions or exceptions for and against the claims of wardship, livery, relief, scutage, escheat and the like, all which were set down with an accuracy well befitting transactions relating to property.

Relations similar to these in substance, but modified by the delegated powers of the Marcher Lords, subsisted also in Wales. Each Marcher, while holding in chief from the crown, was himself in many respects a sovereign in his relations to his own tenants and their sub-tenants. Every manor in the March was held mediately or immediately of a lord marcher, and its mesne lord paid his reliefs, wardships, scutage, and wardsilver; and each had its customs, exemptions, payments and quittances recorded in the chancery, which it was the prerogative of every marcher to hold, attached to the court of his caput Baroniæ, which took cognizance, in the first instance or by appeal, of every cause, civil or criminal, arising within its bounds. There must, therefore, have been accumulated in the several chanceries a mass of records similar to those which, from the other parts of the kingdom, were preserved in the royal courts and the exchequer.

What then has become of these records, which were, in fact, the early title deeds of the Welsh estates? It is scarcely surprising that the records even of the most powerful private families in Wales should have been destroyed, so frequent were the incursions and retaliations of the two parties, who, of course, burned and destroyed everything within their reach; but this does not apply in the same degree to the records of the Marchers, whose castles were strong and well garrisoned, and in many cases, as at Chepstow, Ludlow, and Shrewsbury, scarcely at all exposed to be taken and sacked. Cardiff indeed was once or twice in the hands of the Welsh, and Glendowr, who was its last invader during its existence as a Marcher lordship, is supposed to have destroyed all he found, which may perhaps account for the disappearance of the earlier records; but even then there must have been many of a later date, accumulated under the Beauchamps and Nevilles, and Jasper Tudor, and these also are lost. The

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lordship then reverted to the crown, and as Edward VI and Elizabeth, while selling the lands, retained the signoral powers, it might be expected that their officers would take charge of the records of the chancery. It is understood that neither at Badminton, Wilton, nor at Cardiff, are there any documents relating to the signory of Glamorgan, nor of earlier date than the entrance of the Herberts into that estate.

Some have suggested that when the Marcherships were abolished or vested in the crown, and the government of Wales was administered by the Council at Ludlow, the records were all transferred thither, and perished in the subsequent civil wars; others suppose them to have been removed to the repositories in London, and still to slumber unknown in that vast and long neglected though valuable collection, a theory which recent research renders scarcely tenable. The subject of the disappearance of the South-Welsh records is one of considerable interest, and it is to be hoped that it will be investigated by one of the able antiquaries on the staff of the *Record Office*, since none other could direct the necessary researches.

Fortunately for posterity, although the records of the transactions of the Marcher lords with their tenants, of the Mareschals and De Clares, the Mortimers, Montgomerys, Newmarchs, Bellomonts, Braoses, Bohuns and Hastings's, with their knights and military dependents are lost, a better lot has attended the records of their transactions with the crown, and the inquisitions taken upon their deaths or escheats, and the detail of their feudal services, are in great measure preserved.

Also, it has fortunately happened that whereas the Marcher lords, from their detached position and great military power, were frequently tempted into rebellion on such occasions, or when an estate suffered forfeiture or escheat or during a minority, the crown stepped in and seized upon or administered the lordship, and when this occurred the dues were usually paid to the officers of the crown, and the transactions were recorded in the records of the realm, and are preserved. Thus the Honours of Gloucester and Brecknock were in the hands of Henry I. and Stephen. Richard and John both held the Honour

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of Gloucester, and the "compotus" roll returned by their officer gives much information as to the internal state of Glamorgan at that remote period.

There is also another source, both copious and accurate, of which little heed has hitherto been taken, but which throws considerable light upon the names and origin of the followers of Fitz-Hamon into Glamorgan. It appears that almost all who joined in the conquest or settled in the conquered territory came from the Honour of Gloucester, and were therefore connected with one or other of the shires of Gloucester, Somerset, Devon, Dorset, or Wilts, and as they were either landowners, or the cadets of landowners, in those counties, their names occur in the local records, which not unfrequently explain various particulars as to their descent and connexions.

Of the leading settlers, whose names occur in such records as exist in Glamorgan, some contemporary with Fitz-Hamon, others who, or their fathers, may, many of them, be really of that date, de Granville held lands at Bideford, Turberville at Bere-Turberville, St. Quintin at Frome-St.-Quintin, Umfraville at Down-Umfraville, Halwey at Combe-Halwey or Hawey, Reigny at Esse and Culm-Reigny, Bawdrip at Bawdrip, Cogan at Huntspill, Bonvile at Bonvileston in Devon; while Barry, Bawcen, Butler, Corbet, Dennis, Fleming, Joel, Le Sore, Luvel, Maisy, Norris, Payn, Sandford, Scurlage, Sturmy, St. John, Valognes, Walsh, and scores of others occur in various parts of the Honour, and are found in either the eleventh, twelfth, or thirteenth century in Glamorgan.

Many of the settlers reversed the usual practice in England, and, as in Ireland, gave to their lands their own names; sometimes, it may be, because they found the Welsh name hard to pronounce, more frequently because their castles and the limits of their estates were altogether new. Thus Barry, Bonvileston, Flemingston, Colwinston, Constantineston or Coston, Gileston, Marcross, Sully, all names of parishes, were evidently taken from their lords, and possibly were carved out of earlier Welsh parishes, which were usually very large indeed. St. George's and other churches dedicated to English saints, of which there are several, are no doubt of the same class. There are also many private estates, sometimes manors, but not

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parishes, bearing the names of the intruding owners. Such are Cantelupeston, Maes-Syward, Odins fee, Sigginston, Samonston, Picketston, Lloyn-y-Grant, Beganston, Sturmy-Down, Walterston, and the like.

Fitz-Hamon, though certainly a severe conqueror, probably, like the greater conqueror under whom he had served, did not disturb the Welsh more than was necessary for his own security, though that, no doubt, is admitting a good deal. Einion and other Welsh lords were permitted to retain large tracts on the hills, and of four of the sons of Jestyn, the eldest was allowed to hold a member-lordship in the low country on at least equal terms with the greatest of the Normans. The position held by the descendants of Caradoc ap Jestyn is unlike any retained in England by men of pure Saxon descent. They built a castle on the Avan, established under its protection a chartered borough town, were large benefactors to Neath and Margam, two Norman abbeys, burying at the latter, and, as their seals shew, used armorial bearings and armour like the Normans. With all this they continued for four generations to bear Welsh names, and to sympathise with the Welsh people; for which they were sometimes summoned to do personal homage to the king, and sometimes called upon to give hostages for their conduct. It was Morgan ap Caradoc who, in 1188, convoyed Archbishop Baldwin across the treacherous sands of Avan and Neath, on his way to Swansea. Morgan Gam his successor was shut up in an English prison by the Earl of Gloucester, and in reprisal he burned the earl's grange at Kenfig. Their original tenure, like that of the other Welsh lords, was without any definite service, but they afterwards acquired a commote held by sergeantry, adopted Avene as a sirname, intermarried with the Norman families, added the great lordship of Cilvae and the manors of Sully and Eglwys-Brewis to their possessions, and finally, in the eighth descent, ended in an heiress, who married Sir William Blount, and exchanged her lands for others in England.

Of the Norman settlers there were six, unquestionably contemporary with Fitz-Hamon, whose power was far more considerable than that of the others. These were de Granville, de Turberville, de Londres, Syward, St. Quintin,

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Umfravile and Sully. Richard de Granville is reported to have been Fitz-Hamon's brother, and there certainly occurs a Ricardus filius Hamonis in 1096 as a baron, &c. with possessions in Normandy. [Rerum Gall., scrip. xiv, 146.] He or his son founded Neath Abbey, and retired to Bideford, where they became the progenitors of one of the great families of the West, achieving high military and naval fame, and not unknown in literature. Pagan de Turberville had Coyty, much celebrated in bardic story as the seat of a royal lineage. He or his son strengthened their position by marrying the dispossessed Welsh heiress. The family always shewed Welsh sympathies, and continued to hold a very high rank in the county until the fifteenth century, when the main line failed, as the cadet lines have since also failed, so that there remains now but the echo of this very considerable name.

St. Quintin settled at Llanblethian, but they have left no special tradition or mark in the county, from which before 1249 the family was gone, and Syward held their fees. Probably they resided mainly elsewhere. Their heiress was the lady whose blood, mingled with that of Fitz-Hugh and of Marmion, centred in Parr of Kendal, and now flows in the veins of the Herberts of Wilton. Syward had the lordship and castle of Talavan and the sub-manor of Merthyr Mawr, and, before his fall, in 1249, the castle of Llanblethian. They were a turbulent race, alternately useful and injurious to their lords, and remembered as having carried on a plea against Gilbert Earl of Gloucester, into which largely entered the very curious legal question, how far an appeal lay from the earl's Marcher court to that of the king at Westminster.

Of these lords, de Granville, de Turberville, de St. Quintin and Syward, held member-lordships, with powers of life and death and other Marcher privileges. De Londres, probably more powerful than any of the others, held the lordship of Ogmore with the sub-manor of Dunraven. The family territory was, however, mostly in Caermarthenshire, where they held the great lordship of Carnwilthion, of which Kidwelly was the chief seat. They built Ogmore castle, but mostly resided at Kidwelly. William de Londres and Maurice, his son, were the founders of Ewenny priory. The heiress of

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de Londres married de Cadurcis or Chaworth, and their heiress, Henry Earl of Lancaster. In consequence, the lordship has never had a resident lord, but on the other hand it has been held together, and is now a part of the Duchy of Lancaster.

The other considerable settlers were Umfravile and Sully. Umfravile is stated by genealogists to have been the head of that family, cadets of which settled at Prudhoe, and became Earls of Angus. The connection seems probable, for the Glamorgan Umfraviles sealed with a hexapetalous flower, which also forms a part of the Angus coat. They built Penmark castle, and there is some reason to suppose that the St. John's, who married their heiress, held Fonmon manor under them. Somery, of Dinas Powis, ought perhaps to be added to the above "Barones majores," since they were Barons of Dudley castle, and held their Glamorgan fees for some centuries; but they do not seem to have taken a very active part in local affairs.

The earliest inquisition extant of the Lordship of Glamorgan was probably taken in 1262, on the accession of Earl Gilbert de Clare, and therefore one hundred and seventy years or so after the conquest. This gives a list of all the holders of lay fees, who held in capite of the lord, and the service due from each. The table is most interesting, and has only lately been discovered.

The names and holdings are:

G. Turberville in Newcastle	$\frac{1}{10}$ fee.	Constantine in Lanmaes	$\frac{1}{3}$ fee.
Nerberd in Lancovian	$\frac{1}{4}$,,	deGloucestria in Wrenchester	$\frac{1}{2}$,,
Sandford in Leckwith	$\frac{1}{4}$,,	de Kaerdiff in Lanirid	$\frac{1}{2}$,,
Scurlag in Llanharry	$\frac{1}{4}$,,	Clifford in Kenfeis	$\frac{1}{2}$,,
H. Sully in Pentyrch	$\frac{1}{4}$,,	Basset in St. Hilary	$\frac{1}{2}$,,
Piretcn in Nova-Villa	$\frac{1}{4}$,,	Sully in Lanmaes	$\frac{2}{3}$,,

Butler in Marcross	1 fee.	Le Sore in St. Fagans	1 fee.
Constantine in Coston	1 ,,	Walsh in Landoch	1 ,,
Hawey in St. Donats	1 ,,	de Wincestria in Landan	1 ,,
Norris in Penllyne	1 ,,	Mayloc in Capella	1 ,,
Syward in Merthyr-Mawr	1 ,,		

Cogan in Cogan	2 fees.	Nerberd in Abron Thawe	4 fees.
Somery in Dinas Powis	$2\frac{1}{2}$,,	Sully in Sully and Wenvoe	4 ,,
Corbet in St. Nicholas	3 ,,	Umfrevile in Penmark	4 ,,
De Londres in Ogmore	4 ,,		

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The abbot of Margam held Langewy, probably a lay fee, but no service is named. Turberville held Coyty by grand serjeantry. Of the Welsh lords, Morgan Vachan (of Avan) held in Baglan half a commote by Welshery; no service, but a horse and arms at the death of the tenant, the old form of heriot. Two sons of Morgan ap Cadewalthan held half a commote in Glyn Rhondda; no service. Griffith ap Rees held two commotes, an immense holding, in Sengeniht: he was the ancestor of Lewis of Van; no service. Morediht ap Griffith held one commote in Machheir, probably Miscin; no service. De Granville's lordship is not mentioned, it having lapsed to the chief lord, as probably had those of Syward and St. Quintin. Marcross had been succeeded by de Pincerna or Butler. Berkerolles had not yet succeeded to Nerberd, nor Stradling to Hawey. Fleming probably had not arrived, and Bawdrip was then only a burgess of Cardiff. St. John of Fonmon and Butler of Dunraven are not named. The latter certainly was a subtenant, and possibly this was so with St. John. Probably for the same reason, as not holding in capite, are omitted Joel, Odin, Barry, and Bonvile, though they appear as inquisitors. It is to be observed also that in these inquisitions the jurors at Cardiff are all English. At Llantrissent and at Llangonydd all are Welsh. At Neath only three of the twelve are English. This shews how largely the Welsh element prevailed, and how completely the Welsh were trusted with the ordinary duties of free-tenants. The next extant survey of the shire was taken in 1320, about sixty years later, and in that time considerable changes had taken place. The knights' fees are numbered at $36\frac{3}{5}$, and of the former tenants there remain the names but of ten—the Abbot, Basset, Corbet, Mayloc, Nerber, Norris, Turberville, Umfravile, Walsh and de Winton, and of these there remained, in the reign of Elizabeth, but two—Basset, and a cadet of Turberville.

The proximity of Strongbow's estates and castle of Chepstow, and the passage of the road thence to Milford across Glamorgan, seem to have led many of the settlers to a further adventure in Ireland, where we find such names as Barry, Cogan, Basset, Cadoc, Bonville, Fleming, Kenfig, Lamays, Landochan, Norris, London, Penrice,

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Swaynsey, Siward, Sandford, Newton, Scurlock, Welsh, and a great number designated by a christian name, and as of Cardiff.

The position of the English in Wales during the two centuries following the conquest, in fact until the reduction of the Principality by Edward I, was such as to make a castle a necessity; so much so, that there is no trace of a "licentia crenellare" having been thought necessary under the Marcher rule, though the Marcher Lord of Whittington had such a licence from Henry III. Every landowner's house was literally his castle. In parts of Glamorgan they stood so close that it is difficult to understand whence their owners derived their revenues. For example, within a radius of six miles from Barry, half the circle being occupied by the sea, were twelve castles, and in the county, and mainly in its southern part, were from thirty to forty, of which but one, Aberavan, belonged to a Welsh Lord. Most of these castles were the residences of private persons, and were built for the defence of the estate and its tenants, others, the property of the chief Lord, were constructed for the defence of the country, and were so placed as to command the passes by which the Welsh were accustomed to descend upon the plain. The sites of most of the Glamorgan castles are known, and of many of them the ruins remain, though they rarely contain masonry of an earlier date than the reign of Henry III. Cardiff, however, boasts a shell keep of Norman date, as is probably its immense outer wall, attributed to Robert Earl of Gloucester, Ogmore has a square keep of undoubted Norman pattern, doubtless the work of the first or second de Londres; and at Penllyne are fragments of a similar keep, containing some curious, and it may be, early, herring-bone work, and probably built by Robert Norris, who seems to have been the first grantee. At Newcastle by Bridgend is the gateway and the original wall of a castle, certainly early, because it gives name to the parish, and the masonry of which is evidently of Norman date and very peculiar in the pattern of its moulding. Here, as generally in the Norman buildings in Glamorgan, Sutton stone is employed. It is uncertain by whom Newcastle was built. The name of Oldcastle is preserved in the adjacent town of Bridgend, though where it precisely was, or what it was, is not known.

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Of Early English castles the rectangular keep at Fonmon, still inhabited, is the best, and indeed the only tolerably perfect example. The base of the tower of Whitchurch is in that style, as is part of Coyty, and in the foundations of Sully Castle, opened some years ago, were Early English fragments. Also in the centre of the later house of Dunraven, some masonry of Early English aspect is walled in and is probably part of the castle of Arnold Butler.

During the troubled reign of Henry III, a great age for castle building in Wales, many strong places in Glamorgan seem to have been renewed. Castell Coch and Caerphilly were then built, and to that reign or that of Edward I are due the fine gateways at Neath and Llanblethian, a smaller one at Barry, parts of Cardiff and Morlais, the ancient wall of St. Fagans, and probably the fragment at Llantrissant. The gate house of the old episcopal palace at Llandaff is excellent Decorated. The central building at Cardiff and the polygonal tower, now, alas ! dwarfed and buried under modern additions, were the work of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, the builder of a similar but far grander tower at that castle. St. Donats, the most complete castle in South Wales, is very late, as is most of Coyty. Besides these, of doubtful date are Dinas Powis, the fragments of St. George's and Peterston, parts of Kenfig, Penmark, and Castleton, the ditches and a few fragments of Talavan and Bonvileston, and the foundations of Llanquian. Avan, Wenvoe, and Wrinston are utterly gone. At Van, Cogan-Pill, Cardiff, Cadoxton; West Orchard, Aberthin, Llanveithin, Llanvihangel, Llantrithyd, Pencoed, Caerwiggau, Sutton, and Llancayach are ancient houses, some very perfect. Carnllwyd is excellent Decorated, as is Cantleston and part of Flimston, where the court has an embattled wall.

Many of the churches, and mainly the cathedral, contain Norman work, and in others, where the church has been rebuilt, the font and the holy water stoop, on a stunted column, are of that date. Throughout the lordship are in most churchyards the polygonal stepped base of a cross, and of some the shaft is preserved, and of one or two the actual carved stone which formed the apex, and represented the crucifixion. In the churchyard of St.

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Donats is one of these crosses of remarkable elegance. It has been copied at Llandaff, but in dimensions, and placed in a position, entirely fatal to its effect. There also remain a few of the upright shafts of crosses of an earlier date, carved in bold basket work patterns, and usually set upright in the ground without base or pedestal. Time, neglect, and the labours, not uncalled for, of the diocesan architect are annually bringing about the destruction of these remains and, what is archæologically much the same thing, the restoration of the ancient edifices.

The gentry and yeomanry of the lordship, that is those who have any real claim to antiquity of descent, are still divided into the pure Welsh and the descendants of the Norman settlers. The genealogies of these settlers, "Advenæ" as they are styled in the local pedigree books, are scarcely so well preserved as those of the corresponding class in England, but their estates have usually been known, and their possession of a sirname gives a facility for tracing their descent which does not extend to the natives. The Welsh genealogies pretend to far higher antiquity, and are recorded with much greater fulness of detail. Unfortunately their compilers—it were discourteous, perhaps unjust, to say their authors—seldom condescend to mention the place of residence of the families, or to introduce a date. These omissions—the absence of sirnames—and the very limited number of Christian names in use, and their frequent repetition in the same family, not to mention the frequent introduction of a train of natural children, and the names and pedigrees of their mothers, reduce an English genealogist to despair. "Oh!" said a late Garter, indicating the genealogical MSS. left to the College of Arms by Sir Isaac Heard, "Oh! those are Welsh pedigrees; we have nothing to say to them." In truth the Welsh counties were seldom, if ever, included in the Visitations of the English Heralds.

And yet these Welsh genealogies are really extremely curious, and for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries probably fairly true. To what extent the Welsh bards preserved private pedigrees is unknown, but, no doubt, Welsh genealogy received a great impulse on the accession of the House of Tudor, and in consequence of

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the enquiries set on foot by Henry VII and by the Herberts. Still the extant manuscripts, of which there are many, are rarely, if ever, older than the reign of Elizabeth, and more generally of those of James and Charles. Looking to those of Glamorgan, what is most remarkable are the small number of stocks whence the native families are said to be derived. These are mainly five only; Jestyn ap Gwrgan, Einion ap Collwyn, Bleddyn ap Maenarch, Gwilim ap Jenkin, Llewelyn ap Ivor, and Gwaethvoed. From these are deduced from three to four hundred distinct families. Roughly, it may be stated, from Caradoc ap Jestyn, 26; from Rhys, 12; from Madoc, 30.; and from Griffith ap Jestyn, 3. Einion ap Collwyn, notwithstanding the stigma attached to his name, is recorded as the ancestor of 99 families; Bleddyn ap Maenarch of 46, besides those pertaining to Brecknock; Gwilim ap Jenkyn, 74; Llewelyn ap Ivor, 23; and Cydrich and Aidan ap Gwaethvoed, 21 and 50. Besides these were a few others, families of no great note, whose remote ancestor is not recorded, and who chiefly inhabited the hill country north of Bridgend and Margam.

Of the descendants of the above patriarchs, among the best known were, from Caradoc, Avan of Avan, Evans of Gnoll and Eagle's Bush, Pryce of Briton Ferry, Williams of Blaen-Baglan, Thomas of Bettws, and Loughor of Tythegston. From Rhys ap Jestyn came Williams of Duffryn-Clydach, Penry of Reeding, and Llewelyn of Ynis-y-Gerwn. From Madoc ap Jestyn, Llewelyn of Caerwiggau, and the numerous descendants of Jevan Mady. From Einion sprang Gibbon of Trecastle, Prichard of Collenna, Price of Glyn Nedd, Prichard of Ynis Arwed, Powell of Loydarth, Energlyn, Maesteg, and Baydon, Cradock of Swansea and of Cheriton, and Powell of Llandow. Bleddyn ap Maenarch was the forefather of Jenkins of Hensol, Griffith Gwyr, Penry of Lanedi, Williams of Bettws, Llewelyn of Ynis Simoon, Evans of Cilvae, Jones of Fonmon, Price of Penllergaer, Gethyn of Glyn Tawe, Bowen of Court House and Kittle, Powell of Swansea and Seys of Boverton.

From Gwilim ap Jenkyn sprung the very copious race of Herbert, of whom about seventy-four distinct branches may be traced, very many settled in Glamorgan under

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various names, of whom were Raglan of Carnllwydd, Gwyn of Llansannor, Thomas of Llanvihangel and Pwllyvrach, Herbert of Cardiff, of Cogan, and of Cilybebill.

Llewelyn ap Ivor was of Tredegar, whence came a number of familes, almost all bearing the name of Morgan, of whom were those of Coed-y-Gores, Penllwynsarth, Rubina, Ruperra, and Cilfynydd.

Gwaethvoed was the fruitful stock of Mathew of Llandaff, with about twenty-three cadet branches, of which the most conspicuous were those of Radir, Aberaman, Castell-y-Mynach, St-y-Nill, Maes Mawr, and Miros. These came from Aidan. From Gweristan ap Gwaethfoed came Thomas of Blaenbradach, a house unusually bare of cadet branches; and from Cydrich ap Gwaethvoed the immensely numerous family of Lewis of Van, of whom may be mentioned Williams otherwise Cromwell, Prichard of Llancayach, and the Lewises of Cilvach-Vargoed, Penmark, Lystalybont, Glyn Taff, Llanishen, Newhouse, and Greenmeadow, besides a flourishing branch in the United States represented by Mr. W. F. Lewis of Philadelphia.

It is to be regretted that these Welsh genealogies have not received a critical examination. It is true that they are without dates, and present but few of the points by which an English pedigree can be checked and proved; but allowance must be made for the habits of the people, who had little idea of the accuracy derived from records. Here and there, where a name occurs in the county records, as in the Fine and Docket book of the great Sessions, or where a will has been preserved in the Llandaff registry, they can be proved to be correct. For the rest it may be said that they seem probable enough, the number of descents given through the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries is not, on the face of it, fabulous, and in the various manuscripts there is neither enough coincidence to indicate collusion, nor sufficient difference to destroy all belief. Unfortunately neither Sir T. Phillipps nor Sir S. Meyrick, though they printed collections of genealogies, knew or cared enough about the matter to edit them; that is, to collate and compare the several versions, and to seek and import such collateral evidence as might be found.

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There is no other part of the kingdom in which so marked a line still remains drawn between the residents of pure Welsh descent and the settlers from England, even after centuries of residence, much intermarriage, and no difference of religion. What is at this time in progress, the opening up of the coal field, and the construction of docks and railways, is doing much to break up the peculiarities of the county. The limits of manors are no longer preserved. Manor courts are rarely held, copyholds are becoming enfranchised, chief rents abolished by mutual consent and composition. On the other hand, though the Jura regalia and Marcher prerogatives were withheld from the ancestors of the present owner of Cardiff Castle, his rights of common and to minerals have been preserved, and constitute a very valuable property.

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DISCOVERIES IN THE CHIT-DUEN WILDERNESS.

BY GRIFFIN W. VYSE, ESQ., B.A.

Half-way between the junction of the Ravi and Chinab Rivers, and Bhawalpur, stretches a barren tract of country, the heart of which is known as Chit-Duen (*i.e.*, *Chit* mirage, or *Duen* chaos, or desolation.) With the exception of a few jhund trees, (or rather bushes, for they never exceed 12 feet in height) which are situated in a very regular manner at almost stated intervals of about one hundred feet apart, and which are provokingly alike, in every respect—identical as to color, size, height, and general appearance—there is nothing whatever for hundreds of miles to break the dreary scenery, the monotony of which becomes very trying after a few marches. The whole of this country, including the districts of Montgomery, Mozuffergurh, Dera Ghazi Khan, Mooltan, and Bhawalpur is rainless. Sometimes for years together there is not even a shower of rain, and water is consequently a thing almost unknown unless it is by an occasional inundation of an adjacent river. The Satlaj for instance, in the hot months, when the snow melts in the Himalayas, will inundate miles of country on either side of its course and deluge the outskirts of the Chit-Duen Wilderness, but this is only once in about half a dozen years. In former times the Wilderness afforded a capital hiding place for outlaws, highway robbers, and armed hordes of banditti, who plundered passing caravanseraies, bound either for Sind, Beloochistan, Rajpootana, or Upper Punjab, and they could always get clear away before they were caught. The southern part of the Wilderness has a covering of fine sand over it, blown up by the terrific sand storms of Sind, and where in this region they have spent themselves out ; for towards the north the sand so peculiar to Sind is almost unknown, and the whole

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surface of the dead level country is here covered with a crust of the hardest imaginable clay, and baked by the fierce heat of the sun until it has become as hard as brick-work. A horse cantering over it makes not the smallest impression on the surface, and the cling and clatter of the feet ring out as if on a hard metal roadway. It is this surface which is so smooth and shines like glass, reflecting an ethereal sky overhead, which changes at times this dreary monotonous waste, into the most varied and beautiful landscape scenery imaginable. The most perfect mirages I have ever seen I have witnessed here. Expansive lakes and little islands, with fields of rich cultivation on the shores; mighty trees and pretty villages dotted here and there, showing life and industry, broken occasionally by towns of enormous magnitude; vast cities with clusters of grand palaces and mosques, and minarets towering far away into a heavenly blue sky; and yet, even knowing of this mirage phenomenon, I have myself been repeatedly deceived because the *fraud* was so true to nature, the perspective, the blending of the distance, and the harmony so exact, perfect, and natural. It is such scenery as this that has taken many a wretched worn traveller miles and miles away from the beaten path, and whilst he follows this freak of nature, as his only goal, his only escape and last chance of existence, has left him mockingly to die, the most awful death of thirst and hunger, friendless in the desert. The number of skeletons and bleached bones I met with in my wanderings, prove how great a number have met their end in this way.

Twenty miles to the east of Dumjapur (place of the world) I came to a deserted city. There was not the vestige of a living thing about it—bird, animal, or insect, and for the whole journey I had not even met a camel traveller. It was on this site that I made certain discoveries when I came here a week later with a gang of workmen, which I shall now describe. I opened up some old streets and houses from a pile of rubbish and ruins. The bricks were of huge dimensions, being six feet long and three broad and one foot in thickness. On one of these was an engraving, (see Plate II) rudely done, and from long exposure nearly worn away. My guide, a very intelligent native, told me the meaning of the engraving

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was that the elephant represents the government or ruling powers; the figure in the centre is supposed to be justice or the executioner, and the round thing is a man's head; the body is buried in the ground, and underneath the man's head is written his name, or offence. In old times all religious crimes and misdeeds against the priests were punished in this way, that is to say, the culprit was buried up to his neck in the ground, facing the sun and his eyelids cut off. The pain and agony that would thus be caused by gazing at the sun becomes unendurable, so the old records say, and produces the worst type of fever, followed by madness, until death relieves the poor wretch. This mode of torture was invented by the Nepaulese, and is still practised in certain parts of China.

This buried city was about two miles in circumference, and, judging from the densely-packed buildings and walls, it must have had a population of quite fifty thousand inhabitants. It showed signs of being fortified, and had evidently been pillaged and burnt, my guide said he thought it more than probable by Alexander the Great. Certain tombs on the outskirts of the city were after the style and order of Western architecture and there was nothing Indian about them, and if my guide's surmises are correct, this city must have flourished about 2,500 years ago. These tombs were four in number and of great elevation, the highest measuring 70 feet from the ground, and 25 feet square at the base. (Plate I.)

Half way up the pillar or obelisk was a tablet with the inscription perfectly clear and distinct. It is very evident, therefore, that it cannot have been Mahomedan, because the Mahomedans were not permitted to put any inscriptions over their tombs. It cannot be of Hindoo origin either, because they invariably burn their dead, and I am therefore inclined to think my native guide is correct. He is of opinion that the writing is between Hebrew and Sanscrit, and that the four tombs mark the resting-places of four distinguished officers of Alexander the Great's army, who fell in attacking the place. The inscription of the writing buried in the column is in the most perfect state of preservation, and the accompanying sketch is a fac-simile. (Plate II.) The whole piece, I regret to say, I was unable to bring away without breaking

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PLATE I.

TOMB IN THE CHIT-DUEN WILDERNESS. N.I.

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the slab. I have placed the three pieces in the order I found them, and I have drawn them one-fifth their natural size. The distance apart is from the cast, and in due proportion as I found them embedded in the obelisk.

The houses were generally small, the rooms being about 12 feet by 10 feet long, although occasionally they exceeded this. The principal houses had back courts and passages, and the whole of the buildings were built of brick, which were of the old pattern, being about 8 inches square, and 1¼ deep. The inner walls had mud run into the joints, and the facing and all exposed points were well covered with mortar, which had become very hard although here and there atmospheric, or other influences had damaged and worn the brickway away. All exterior joints were pointed with mortar. Many baked earthen jars and vessels were unearthed, some in a wonderful state of preservation. One huge jar (pottery) was discovered under a wall, and what my guide called a "charity jar," came to light close by it. In former times this "charity jar" rested before the door of a privileged person, such as a priest or licensed mendicant, and all passers by were invited to throw in any coin, grain, or food for the poor man or people the jar belonged to. I have drawn the jar one twentieth its natural size, (Plate II.) Its weight is about 50 lbs. The inscription I have copied, but I cannot make out whether it be Sanscrit or a mixture of Hebrew and Sanscrit.

There were several circular plates with a similar inscription round the edges and some blue mosaic work, a sort of enamel, perfectly flat, about one foot square, and an inch and a half in depth. The circular plates were nine inches in diameter and perfectly flat. They measured half an inch to an inch and a quarter in depth, and were thoroughly well burnt; some were almost vitrified. A brass vase of very elegant workmanship was discovered in the middle of a lot of square and circular plates; the under part and one side is rather damaged by heat, the brass having melted, but the side I have drawn is in perfect order and intact. The vase stands about eighteen inches high, and the drawing represents it as about one eighteenth its natural size. It is about ten inches deep, and was intended either for flowers or fruit; its

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weight is about 35 lbs. The stone objects (1—5) are one twelfth their natural size; the stone is the same as the hard blue granite of the Betoch hills.' No. 1 is scooped out for seven inches in depth; No. 2 is a ring; No. 3 an oval plate slightly hollowed out towards the centre; Nos. 4 and 5 are pounders or jumpers for bruising grain, &c., in the vessels 1 and 3. These were found five feet below some ruins, among bones and bricks, evidently at one time the interior of a house.

The following brass instruments of torture (1—7) were found quite by themselves at the opposite side underneath a mass of ruins. No. 1 is one twentieth its natural size, all the others are one tenth their natural size. No. 1 is evidently for the throat, there are two pins to fasten the victim in. Nos. 3, 4, and 5 are for the wrists. No. 6 is for the thigh or leg. No. 2 is for the small of the back, and No. 7 is very likely a mouth and nose gag, to prevent the victim from calling out. They are nearly all round in section with the exception of Nos. 1 and 2 which stand upright. No. 2 is reversed. No. 3 is intended to be driven into the ground to fasten the victim out.

Returning by way of my camp my men discovered a most curious idol, which appeared much damaged, or rather it was a sort of *three idols in one.* The sketch (No. 8) represents it one thirtieth its natural size and is a fac-simile; it is of the same hard blue granite as the pounders. On the opposite side it has a similar representation, the figures being equally hideous and unmeaning. The legs and arms are damaged or broken off quite short to the stumps. Its weight was about 120 lbs. It had evidently been nearly twice its present size. The nose, ears, mouth, lips, and sides were almost worn away. Such an idol is totally different to anything I ever saw in India before, and is not unlike a sketch I once saw, made I think by Mr. Gerald Massey, of certain gods and idols peculiar to the ancient Egyptians.

There cannot be the least doubt that in spite of the instruments of torture and gods, this place must have been in a very flourishing state, and enjoyed (considering the time) a very high state of civilization, and judging from the buildings and knowledge of order, ideas of comfort and luxury, and appreciation of certain arts, &c.,

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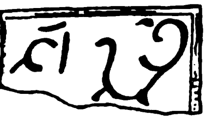
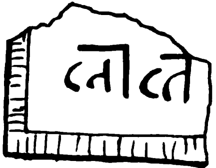
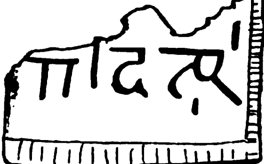
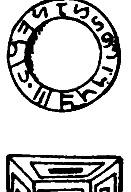
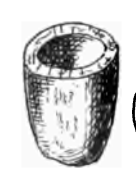
PLATE II.











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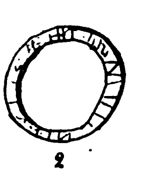

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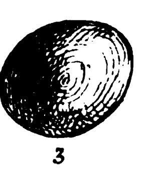

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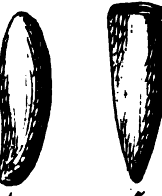

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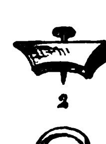

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ANTIQUITIES FROM THE CHIT-DUEN WILDERNESS. N. I.

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that it could not have been in this state *less* than 2500 years ago, and it is highly probable that it was known and reached a certain degree of importance 4000 years ago.

From observations taken along the base of this lost city, I find there is a gradual fall towards the south west, and it has a sort of hollow or basin scooped out for some distance in that direction.

There cannot be a doubt that this hollow basin is the channel of a river, and that that river is no other than the "Lost River of the Indian Desert." It has been clearly proved that the Narra or Hakra was not the old bed of the Indus, and the course of the lost river is traced from the Himalayas to the Sea. Evidence is brought forward to show that the Hakra did not dry up in consequence of any diminution of rainfall or failure of the course; but that its waters, having ceased to flow in their ancient bed, still find their way by another channel to the ocean. It has also been demonstrated that the missing river was not the Gaggar, nor the sacred Sarawasti, nor yet a mythic stream, but was no other than the well-known Satlaj. The Dhora Pŭrám may be traced under different names from above Halla to the Ranŭ of Kach. There can be no doubt that, as observed by Pottinger, (see "Journal of Asiatic Society"), this was the eastern branch of the Indus, down which Alexander the Great sailed to the great lake and to the sea.

This also was evidently the eastern or greater arm of the Mihran described by Rashid-ud-deen as branching off from above Mansura to the east to the borders of Kach, and known by the name of Sindh Sagara. (Elliott i, 49) This ancient river bed is also identical with the Sankra-Nala, which was constituted by Nâdir Shàh, the boundary between his dominions and those of the Emperor of Delhi.

The coins I have found are certainly of a much later date, and show possibly that this country was under the power and control of Porus or Phoor, as they bear his authority. They may not, however, have been in circulation, or were perhaps brought here by some traveller for inspection, so that the evidence they afford is scarcely reliable.

But there cannot be the smallest doubt that the present wilderness was at one time under cultivation, that the

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land was as rich and good as elsewhere about, that the Satlaj passing through it watered the whole of the surrounding country and produced sufficiently good crops for a thriving and industrious population, that vegetation was abundant and covered the country, and that the rainfall was as great as in the present surrounding provinces. It is more than probable that at some date subsequent to the country being overrun by a victorious army, who pillaged the towns, killed the inhabitants, and left their route to the flames, the severe erosion, always going on in the Punjab streams, changed the Satlaj course higher up near the Himalayas, and forming for it a new channel, the country was left to its fate, and without water everything became parched and consequently died. When vegetation was gone the rain ceased to fall, and the terrific sand-storms from Scind soon laid waste a thriving province and changed it into a barren desert. The sub-stratum of the vast sandy regions and boundless arid plains in the Ajmere direction and again to the north of Bickanneer prove that at some period the whole of this country was watered by the neighbouring rivers, and most likely much of it has been in byegone ages peopled and cultivated.

Marching northwards towards Montgomery and branching off on reaching the high road to Lahore, I came to high impenetrable jungles and patches of cultivation, where the antelope and ravine-deer, partridges, sand grouse, bustard, coolan, and other large game birds abounded in number, and where the shooting is very good. I had been wandering in the jungles and desert for nine months without once seeing a European face or hearing a word of English spoken, and was delighted to get back again to civilised life.

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ADDRESS TO THE HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE INSTITUTE AT COLCHESTER, 1876.

BY EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L., LL.D., PRESIDENT OF THE SECTION.

I am a second time called by the favour of the Institute to the presidency of its Historical Section in a part of the island which lies far away indeed from that in which I had the honour of holding the same office some years back. I held it then on a spot which still keeps its British name, in a land which our formal geography still acknowledges as part of the land of the Briton, a land from which, if the British tongue is fast passing away, it is passing away mainly through the immediate circumstances of our own day. I am now called to hold that place on a spot whose name speaks alike of Roman and of Teutonic victory, in a land to which Teutonic invasions once gave the name of the Saxon shore, and to part of which Teutonic settlement has given the more abiding name of the land of the East-Saxons. It seems a wide step from the land of the Silures, to the land of the Trinobantes, from Morganwg to Essex, from British Cardiff to Saxon Colchester. And yet there are points of connexion between the two lands and the two spots. Colchester has in its earlier days a privilege which is shared by no other city or borough of England. The first beginnings of its history are not to be found in British legend or in English annals; they are recorded by the pen of the greatest historian of Rome. It is in the pages of Tacitus himself that we read of the foundation of that veteran colony which, swept away in its first childhood by the revolted Briton, rose again to life, first to be emphatically the Colony of Rome, and to become in after days the fortress which the men of the East-Saxon land wrested by their own swords from the grasp of the invading Dane. But, in the very page in which he records the beginnings

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of the Trinobantine colony, he brings that colony into a strange, and at first sight puzzling, connexion with movements in the far Silurian land. Later on in his Annals, he has to record the overthrow of the new-born colony, the first of all the sieges of Colchester. His narrative of that stage of British affairs brings in in its first clause a name which, in legend at least if not in history, is held to be preserved in the name of the greatest fortress of Morganwg. Before Tacitus can tell us how much Suetonius did in the east of Britain, he has first to tell us how little Didius had done in the west. Now this same Didius is, at least by a legendary etymology, said to have given his name to Caerdydd, the fortress of Didius, as a more certain etymology sees in the name of the town where we are met the name of the fortress of the Colony. If then there be any truth in the popular etymology of Cardiff, the beginnings of Cardiff and of Colchester must be dated from nearly the same time. And, even without trusting too much to so doubtful a legend, we at least find the land of the Silures and the land of the Trinobantes brought close together in our earliest glimpse of both. The foundation of a Roman colony in the east is directly connected in the narrative of Tacitus with patriotic movements in the west. And, as it was in the earliest days of which we have any record, so it was in the latest days which can be looked on as old enough to claim the attention of such a gathering as this. If the elder Colchester sank before the arms of Boadicea, the younger Colchester had to surrender to the arms of Fairfax. And then too warfare in the Silurian and in the Trinobantine land has to be recorded in the same page. In the royalist revolt of which the fall of Colchester was the last stage, no part of the island took a greater share than the land to check whose earliest revolt Colchester was first founded. When the royal standard was again unfurled at Colchester, it had but lately been hauled down at Chepstow; it was still floating over Pembroke. And one of the fortresses of the land of Morganwg, one of the lowlier castles which surround the proud mound and keep of Robert Fitzhamon, saw perhaps the last encounter in that last stage of the civil war which even local imagination can venture to dignify with the name of battle. The

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fight of St. Fagans does not rank in English history along with the fights of Marston and Naseby; and the siege of Colchester, with all its deep interest, military, local and personal, can hardly, in its real bearing on English history, be placed on a level with the siege of Bristol. Yet the siege of Colchester and the war in South Wales were parts of one last and hopeless struggle. The remembrance of its leaguers and skirmishes lives in local memory there as keenly as the last siege of Colchester lives in local memory here. And if the name of Fairfax may be bracketed in the East with the name of Suetonius Paullinus, in the West the name of Oliver Cromwell has left but small room for the memory of Aulus Didius.

I have then, I trust, done something to establish my point, on that side of it at least which is personal to myself, that there is a certain propriety in the course which this Institute has taken in translating me as it were from the Silures to the Trinobantes, from the *Caer* of Didius to the *Ceaster* of the Colony. But the historical connexion between the two districts in the earliest stage of the history of the two is as clear as it is strange. I am not going here to give you a history of Colchester or of Essex, or to dispute at large on points which will be more properly argued by other members than ruled by the President of the Section. I presume however that I may at least assume that Camulodunum is Colchester, and not any other place, in the kingdom of the East-Saxons or out of it. I feel sure that, if I had any mind so to do, my East-Saxon hearers would not allow me to carry the Colony of the Veterans up to Malton in Yorkshire; and I certainly cannot find any safe or direct road to guide them thither. I trust too that there may be no civil war in the East-Saxon camp, that no one may seek to wile away the veteran band from the banks of Colne to the banks of Panta. Maldon has it own glories: its name lives for ever in the noblest of the battle-songs of England; but I at least can listen to no etymologies which strive to give a Roman origin to its purely English name. Let more minute philologers than I am explain the exact force of the first syllable alike in Northumbrian Malton and in East-Saxon Maldon. Both cannot be contractions of Camulodunum; what one is the other

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must surely be; one is the town, the other the hill, of whatever the syllable common to both may be taken to be. I at least feel no doubt that it is the town in which we are now met which has the unique privilege of having its earliest days recorded by the hand of Tacitus.

But if it is Tacitus who records the foundation of the Colony, it is not in what is left to us of his pages that we find our first mention of the name of Camulodunum. That unlucky gap in his writings, which every scholar has to lament, sends us for the first surviving appearance of the name to the later, but far from contemptible, narrative of Dio. Claudius crossed into Britain, and went as far as Camulodunum, the royal dwelling place of Cynobellinus. That royal dwelling place he took, and, on the strength of that and of the other events of his short campaign in the island which men looked on as another world, he enlarged the *pomærium* of Rome and brought the Aventine within the sacred precinct. Whether the royal dwelling place of Cynobellinus stood on the site which was so soon to become the Roman colony, I do not profess to determine. The Roman town often arose on a spot near to, but not actually on the British site. Roman Dorchester—if any trace of it be left—looked up on the forsaken hill-fort of the Briton of Sinodun. Roman Lindum came nearer to the brink of its steep hill than the British settlement which it supplanted. I do not pretend to rule what may be the date or purpose of the earthworks at Lexden.[1] All that I ask is that I may not be constrained to believe in King Coel's kitchen. But wherever the British settlement was, I cannot bring myself to believe that the site of the colony was other than the site of the present town. It was a site well suited for a military post, fixed on a height which, in this flatter eastern land, is not to be despised; it approaches in some faint measure to the peninsular position of Shrewsbury, Bern, and Besançon. On this site then the Colony of Veterans was founded while Claudius still reigned. When he had taken his place among the gods—Seneca to be sure had

[1] It has been suggested that the extensive earthworks to be seen at Lexden are part of a system which took in the site both of an older and a later Camulodunum, a system belonging to the time of British resistance to Teutonic invasions. They would be a defence raised against the East-Saxons, as Wareham and Wallingford are defences raised against the West-Saxons.

another name for the change in him—the temple of the deified conqueror arose within the site which the Roman occupied to hold down the conquered people. And now comes the difficulty, the strange relation in which two such distant parts of Britain as Camulodunum and the land of the Silures appear in the narrative of Tacitus. The Iceni are subdued; the Cangi have their lands harried; the Brigantes submit. But in the East and in the West, by the banks of the eastern and of the western Colne, another spirit reigns. The Silures, the people of Caradoc, still hold out. Neither gentleness nor sternness will move them; nothing short of regular warfare, regular establishment of legionary camps, can bow those stubborn necks to the yoke. With a view to this warfare in the West, the Colony of Veterans is planted in the East. Some have therefore carried Camulodunum elsewhere—though assuredly matters are not much mended by carrying it into Yorkshire—others, more daring still, have sought to depreciate the authority of Tacitus himself. But, as I read the passage, though the connexion is perhaps a little startling, though the wording is perhaps a little harsh, the general meaning seems plain. In order that the legions and their camps might be more easily established among the threatening Silures, a feebler defence was provided for the conquered Trinobantes. As I understand the terse phrases of the historian, the legions were removed from the East for the war with Caradoc, and a colony of veterans was thought enough to occupy a land where little danger was feared. How little danger was feared, how thoroughly the land was held to be subdued, appears from the defenceless state of the colony eleven years after. The colonists lived at their ease, as if in expectation of unbroken peace. The town was unwalled; the only citadel, the "arx æternæ dominationis," was the temple of the deified conqueror. The mission of the veterans was less to fight than to civilize their barbarian neighbours. They were sent there indeed as "subsidium adversus rebelles"; but they were sent there also "imbuendis sociis ad officia legum." Sterner work than this had to be done among the hills where Caradoc was in arms; but those who founded the unwalled colony

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hardly dreamed that, before long, work no less stern was to be done there also. They little dreamed what feats of arms were to be done upon the Roman as well as by him, in the land which they had deemed so thoroughly their own that its capital hardly needed warlike defences against an enemy.

For eleven years the colonists lived a merry life, the life of conquerors settled upon the lands of their victims. The dominion of law which the veterans set up at Camulodunum did not hinder the conquering race from seizing the lands and houses of the natives, and insulting them with the scornful names of slaves and captives. Such doings are not peculiar to the dominion of the Roman; but it does say something for the Roman, as distinguished from the oppressors of our own day, that it is from a Roman historian that we learn the evil deeds of his countrymen. Tacitus neither conceals nor palliates the wrongs which led to the revolt of eastern Britain, as wrongs of the same kind still lead to revolts before our own eyes, as they always will lead to revolts as long as such deeds continue to be done. Crime was avenged by crime, as crime ever will be avenged, till men unlearn that harsh rule which excuses the wanton oppression of the tyrant and bids men lift up their hands in holy horror when his deeds are returned on himself in kind. Fearful indeed was the vengeance of the revolted Briton: but when he used the cross, the stake, the flame, against his oppressors, he was but turning their own instruments of civilization against themselves.

The tale is one of the most familiar, one of the most stirring, in that history of the former possessors of our island which so often passes for the history of ourselves. We see the British heroine, as we might now see some matron of Bosnia or Bulgaria, calling on the men of her race to avenge her own stripes, her outraged daughters, the plundered homes of the chiefs of her people, the kinsfolk of their king dealt with as the bondmen of the stranger. But we are concerned with Boadicea, her wrongs and her vengeance, only as they concerned the Colony of Veterans at Camulodunum. The tale is told with an Homeric wealth of omen and of prodigy. The statue of Victory fell backwards; strange sounds were

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heard in the theatre and in the senate-house; frantic women sang aloud that the end was come. The men of the defenceless colony, and the small handful of helpers sent by Catus Decianus, guarded by no ditch or rampart, defended the temple of Claudius for two days till town and temple sank before the assaults of the avengers. So the first Camulodunum fell, in one mighty flame of sacrifice, along with the two other great settlements of the Roman on British ground. London, not adorned like Camulodunum with colonial rank, but already the city of ships, the place where, as in after days, the merchants of the earth were gathered, fell along with the veteran colony. So too fell Verulam, doomed again to arise, again to fall, and to supply out of its ruins the materials for the vastest of surviving English minsters. All fell, as though the power of Rome beyond the ocean was for ever broken. But their fall was but for a moment; the sword of Suetonius won back eastern Britain to the bondage and the slumber of the Roman Peace. The towns that the Briton had burned and harried again arose: a new colony of Camulodunum, this time fenced in with all the skill of Roman engineering, again grew up. It grew up to live on through four unrecorded centuries, carefully marked in maps and itineraries, but waiting for a second place in history till the days when Roman and Briton had passed away, when the Saxon Shore had become a Saxon Shore in another sense from that in which it bears that name in the Domesday of the tottering Empire.

The Roman then passed away from the Colony of Veterans, as he passed away from the rest of Britain. But in the Colony of Veterans he left both his works and his memory behind him. When I say that he left his works, do not fancy that I mean that he left the temple of Claudius behind him. On the grotesque delusion which mistook a Norman castle for a Roman temple I might not have thought it needful to waste a word. Only, when I was last at Colchester, I saw, written up in the castle itself, such names as "Adytum," "Podium," and the like, implying that there was still somebody in Colchester who believed the story. Perhaps there was also somebody who believed that the earth was flat,

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and that the sun was only a few miles from it. The scientific antiquary will give exactly as much attention to the one doctrine as the scientific astronomer will give to the other.[1] Of the two stories I should be more inclined to believe in old King Coel, in his fiddlers, and even in his kitchen. Yet I have come too lately from the Illyrian land, my mind is too full both of its past and of its present history, to let me believe that Helen the mother of Constantine was the daughter of Coel of Colchester. The strange likeness between the names of the river and the settlement, between the *Colne* and the *Colony*, accidental as it doubtless is, is, if not a puzzle, at least a coincidence. But King Coel will be at once sent by the comparative mythologist to the same quarters as Hellên and Romulus and Francus the son of Hector. Saint Helen, says Henry of Huntingdon, surrounded Colchester with walls. So she did many things at Trier which the last and most scientific historian of Trier has pulled to pieces in a way which must grievously shock some of his brethren. I trust that I shall not shock anybody in Colchester by disbelieving in old King Coel. I do not think that I shocked anybody in Exeter by declining to believe that, when Vespasian marched off to besiege Jerusalem, it was because he was bent upon taking some city, and had found Exeter too strong for him.

But the walls are there, whoever built them, the walls which, at some date between the invasion of Boadicea and the invasion of the first East-Saxon settlers, were raised to shelter the Colony. And even the legend of Helen may be taken as pointing to the age of Constantius and Constantine as the most likely time for their building. Those walls are, as far as I have seen, unique among the

[1] It marks how much some branches of knowledge lag behind others in their hold on the popular mind, that since the Colchester Meeting, there has actually been what is called a "controversy" about the date of Colchester Castle. That the castle is a Norman, and not a Roman, building is as certain, to use my old illustration, as that the earth is round and not flat. But when a man has a craze about natural science, it simply passes for a craze; when he has a craze on historical or philological matters, he gets a following, and we hear of a "controversy," a difference of opinion where there is no room for controversy or opinion at all. That Colchester Castle is a building of Roman date, that the Cymry were so called from Cmri, king of Israel, that Alfred founded University College, are positions of exactly the same scientific value as the position that the sun is only three miles from the earth. When historical knowledge has gained the same position as astronomical knowledge, they will be treated in exactly the same way.

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inhabited towns of Britain. Neither York nor Lincoln nor Exeter, nor even Chester, can boast of being still girded by her Roman walls in anything like the same perfection in which Colchester is. Nowhere else in Britain, save in fallen Anderida and Calleva, have I ever seen the line of the old defences so thoroughly complete. But unluckily it is the line only. While the circuit of the walls is so much more perfect than at York and Lincoln, the fragments which still remain at York and Lincoln have kept much more of their ancient masonry than can be found at Colchester. Still Colchester can show far more than can be seen at Chester, where, though the Roman lines are all but as perfectly followed by the later defences, little is left of the actual Roman wall beyond its foundations. As the abiding wall of a still inhabited town, the Roman wall of Colchester is, I repeat, unique in Britain. And a Roman wall I do not scruple to call it. In so calling it, I am far from meaning to rule that the whole circuit of the existing wall actually dates from the time of Roman occupation. I have no doubt that the lines are the Roman lines; I have no doubt that part of the wall is the actual Roman wall. But I have just as little doubt that it has been in many places patched and rebuilt over and over again; one great time above all of patching and rebuilding is recorded in the days of Eadward the Unconquered. But the wall has a higher historic interest, it becomes a more living witness of Roman influence, from the very fact that much of it is not actually of Roman date. This very fact shows, far more clearly, far more strikingly, how the arts and the memory of Rome lived on. Whatever be the date of any part of the walls, they are Roman; they are built *more Romano*. It is at Colchester as it is at Trier, as it is at Perigueux, as it is in a crowd of other places where the influence of Roman models had stuck deep. In places of this kind the Roman construction lived on for ages. Here in Colchester we have actual bricks of Roman date in the places where the Roman engineer laid them. We have bricks of Roman date used up again in the construction of later buildings. And we have bricks, not of Roman date but of thoroughly Roman character, made afresh at all times, at least down to the fifteenth century. Here, where brick and timber were of necessity the chief

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materials for building, the Roman left his mark upon the bricks, as in some other parts of Britain he left his mark upon the stones. Northern England reproduced the vast stones of the Roman wall in a crowd of buildings built *more Romano*, with masonry of massive stones. With such stones again, no less *more Romano*, did Æthelstan rebuild the walls of Exeter. Here at Colchester Roman models were no less faithfully followed; but here the *mos Romanus* naturally took the form of brick, and to build *more Romano* meant to build with brick and not with stone. It meant to build with bricks, either taken from some Roman building or cast in close imitation of those which the Roman buildings supplied. In this sense the castle of Eudo Dapifer may be called a Roman building. So may the one tower of Primitive Romanesque to be found in Colchester, which, while other towers of its type are of stone, reproduces in material as well as in form the campaniles of Italy. So may Saint Botolf's priory, second only to Saint Alban's as an instance of Roman materials, not so much taught to assume new shapes as brought back to their true Roman use before Italy began her imitation of the arts of Greece. But the walls are Roman in a yet stricter sense than any of the other buildings around them. They are the old walls of the Colony, in many places patched, in some, we may believe, actually rebuilt. But they have undergone no change which at all destroys their personal identity. The wall is not an imitation, a reproduction, of a Roman wall; it is the Roman wall itself, with such repairs, however extensive, as the effects of time and of warfare have made needful. The walls of Colchester are Roman walls in the sense in which the walls of Rome are the walls of Aurelian.

We come then to a time when the walls of the Colony were still standing, but when the legions of Rome were no longer marshalled to defend them. Was there ever a time when those walls stood, as the walls of Bath and Chester once stood, as the walls of Anderida and Calleva still stand, with no dwelling-place of men within them? That question I will not undertake to answer. I think I remember that, in one of his scattered papers and lectures —when will they come together to make the History of the English Conquest of Britain?—the great master of

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those times, the discoverer of early English history, told us that of all the towns of England there was none more likely than Colchester to have been continuously inhabited through British, Roman, British, and English days. If I am right in thinking that Dr. Guest said this, he doubtless had some weighty reason for saying it. I have not myself lighted on any direct evidence either for or against such a proposition. It is only in a very few cases that we have any direct evidence as to the fate of this or that particular town during the progress of the English Conquest. And of the circumstances under which the kingdom of the East-Saxons came into being we know absolutely nothing. The Chronicles are silent; no legend, no fragment of ancient song, is preserved to us by Henry of Huntingdon. We have nothing but a dry list of princes, and that given, as might seem at first sight, in two contradictory forms. We hear of Æscwine as the first founder of the East-Saxon settlement; we find his remote descendant Sleda spoken of as the first East-Saxon king. In this I see no contradiction. The story of the growth of Essex is doubtless much the same as the story of the growth of East-Anglia and of the two Northumbrian kingdoms. Several scattered Teutonic settlements were gradually united under a more powerful chief; he then deemed himself great enough, as the head of a nation and no longer the head of a mere tribe, to take upon himself the kingly title. Such was Ida in Bernicia; such, we may believe, was Sleda in Essex. But we have no trustworthy details of the East-Saxons and their kings till their conversion to Christianity in the beginning of the seventh century. We have no trustworthy mention of the town of Colchester till the wars of Eadward the Unconquered in the tenth. All that we can say is that the Colony on the Colne, like the Colony on the Rhine, kept its name. One was Colonia Camulodunum; one was Colonia Agrippina; but *Colonia* was name enough to distinguish either. Latin *Colonia* became British *Caer Collun;* and *Caer Collun* appears in every list as one of the great cities of Britain. British *Caer Collun* passed into English *Colneceaster*, with no change beyond that which the genius of the British and English languages demanded. In British and in English alike it remains the city of the colony.

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From this preservation of the name I argue, as I argued elswhere last year from the like preservation of the name of the sister colony of Lindum,[1] that, if Camulodunum ever was like Deva "a waste *chester*" it was only for a very short time. It became again an inhabited *chester*, a dwelling place of men, while the memory of its Roman rank was still living. It was not, as it was for instance at Isurium, where the Roman name had utterly passed away, and where its first English settlers, seeing and wondering at the Roman walls, turning them again to use as the shelter of a new settlement, but having lost all memory of their former name and history, had nothing to call them but the Old Borough. We may be sure from this that some considerable time elapsed between the overthrow of Roman Isurium and its new settlement as English Aldborough. I infer in the same way, from the fact that Lindum Colonia kept its name in the form of English Lincoln, that, if Lindum Colonia ever lay in the state of a waste *chester*, it was but for a very short time. It was settled again and named again while the memory of its old name and its old rank were still fresh. And I make the same inference in the case of Colchester, though with one degree less of certainty, because I must stand ready to have it thrown in my teeth that the town is called, not from the Roman colony, but from the river Colne. Here is a point on which each man must judge for himself. I cannot get over the succession of *Colonia*, *Caer Collun*, *Colneceaster*. I feel that it is awkward to say that the likeness of the name of the colony and of the river is purely accidental; it would be more awkward still to hint that the river may have taken its name from the colony. But the colony is a fact; the retention of its name is a fact; and, in the face of those facts, all that I can do is to leave the river to shift for itself.

It seems likely then that, whether Colchester was or was not continuously inhabited through all the revolutions of the fifth and sixth centuries, its time of desolation, if it had any, was but short. If it did not become the dwelling-place of Englishmen in the first moment of their conquest, it at least became the dwelling-place of Englishmen before its British and Roman memories were

[1] See *Macmillan's Magazine*, August, 1875, Art, "Lindun Colonia."

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forgotten. But, as I just now said, of Colchester itself there is absolutely no mention in history between the days of Boadicea to the days of Eadward the Elder. All that I can find is a dark and mythical reference in the story of Haveloc as told by Geoffrey Gaimar. But we must not forget, even within the walls of the Colony, that Colchester is not the whole of the East-Saxon realm. Colchester is not a city; it has never been the seat of an independent bishopric. That was because another of the Roman towns which was overthrown by Boadicea, lowlier in rank in those early days, had, by the time that the East-Saxons embraced Christianity, outstripped the veteran colony. London, already the home of commerce before her first overthrow—again, under her new name of *Augusta*, the home of commerce in the later days of Roman power—was now, as an East-Saxon city, the head of the East-Saxon realm, again the home of commerce, the meeting-place of merchants and their ships. London, not Colchester, became the seat of the bishopric of the East-Saxons, and remained so till the strange arrangements of modern ecclesiastical geography gave Colchester a shepherd in the realm of Hengest.[1] But the very greatness which made London the head of the East-Saxon kingdom tended to part London off from the East-Saxon kingdom. Among the shiftings of the smaller English kingdoms, London seems to have held her own as a distinct power, sometimes acknowledging the supremacy of Mercia, sometimes the supremacy of Wessex, but always keeping somewhat of an independent being. She parts off from the main East-Saxon body; she carries off a fragment of it along with her, to become what we may call a free Imperial city, bearing rule, like Bern or Venice, over her περίοικοι, her *Unterthanen*, the still subject district of the Middle-Saxons.[2] London therefore soon falls out of our special survey of the East-Saxon land. But the East-Saxon land can number within

[1] The creation of the new diocese of Saint Albans has taken away this singularly grotesque piece of geography. But Saint Albans is still, both historically and geographically, a strange centre for Essex.

[2] I have pointed out more than once that, as long as the county of Middlesex has sheriffs—more strictly one sheriff, though the office is held by two men—who are neither chosen by the Middle-Saxons nor appointed by the Crown, but chosen by the citizens of a neighbouring city, Middlesex must be looked on as a district subject to London.

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its borders not a few historic sites besides the towns which Boadicea overthrew. There is the battle-field of Maldon and the battle-field of Assandún; there is the wooden church of Greenstead where Saint Eadmund rested; there is Earl Harold's Waltham and King Eadward's Havering; there is Barking, where the Conqueror waited while his first tower was rising over London, where Eadwine and Morkere and perhaps Waltheof himself became the men of the stranger, and where Englishmen first bought back their lands at a price as a grant for the foreign King. The East-Saxon land has thus its full share among the great events of our early history; but the history of the kingdom itself, as a kingdom, fills no great place in our annals. Essex supplied no Bretwalda to bring the signs of Imperial dignity to London or Colchester as Eadwine brought them to York. After some flittings to and fro, Essex passed, like the other English kingdoms, under the supremacy of Ecgberht, and by the division between Ælfred and Guthrum, it passed under the rule of the Dane. It is in the great struggle of the next reign that Essex, and especially its two great historic sites of Colchester and Maldon, stand forth for a moment as the centre of English history, as the scene of some of the most gallant exploits in our early annals, exploits which seem to have had a lasting effect on the destinies of the English kingdom.

It was in the year 913, the thirteenth year of Eadward's reign, the year after he had taken possession of London and Oxford, that we hear for the first time of a solitary East-Saxon expedition. He marched to Maldon; he stayed there till he had built a fortress at Witham, and had received the submission of many who had been under Danish rule. This sounds like the emancipation of all Essex south of the Panta or Blackwater. Our next notice is nine years later, after Eadward and his sister, the Lady of the Mercians, had won back most of the central part of the island to English and Christian rule. We now again find Eadward carrying his sphere of operations into the East-Saxon land. He first fortified Maldon, the goal of his former march, the borough which seventy-three years later was to behold the valour and the death of Brihtnoth. But Colchester was still left in the hands of the enemy.

The next year the Danes again broke the peace; and, during the whole former part of the year, fighting went on in central England between the Danes and the defenders of the various towns which King Eadward had already fortified. At Towcester, at Bedford, and elsewhere, the English defenders drove off the Danish invaders from King Eadward's new fortresses. Towcester was not yet surrounded by the stone wall which girded it before the year was out; but the valour of its defenders, fighting, we may suppose, behind a palisade or rampart of earth, was enough to bear up till help came and the enemy was driven away. During all this stage of the campaign, the warfare seems to be purely local. The Danes attack, the English defend; there is no mention of the King or of any royal army. Presently the tables are turned; the local force of various English districts begins to attack posts which the Danes still held among them. And now comes our first distinct mention of warfare on East-Saxon soil. Colchester is still held by the enemy, Maldon is held by King Eadward's garrison. The tale cannot be so well told as in the language of the chronicle:—"There gathered mickle-folk on harvest, either of Kent and of Surrey and of East-Saxons, and of each of the nighest boroughs, and fared to Colchester, and beset the borough all round[1] and there fought till they had won it and the folk all slew, and took all that therewithin was, but the men that there fled over the wall." Colchester was thus again an English borough, won, as it would seem, by the force of a popular movement among the men of Essex and the neighbouring shires, without any help from the West-Saxon king. Then, in the same harvest, the Danes of East-Anglia, strengthened by wikings from beyond sea, set forth to attack the English garrison in Maldon. In the words of the Chronicler, "they beset the borough all round, and fought there till to the borough-folk there came more force from without to help them, and the host forsook the borough, and fared away from it; and then fared the men after out of the borough, and eke they that had come to them for out to help, and put the host to flight, and slew

[1] Such I take to be the difference between "ymbsæton" which is said both of Colchester and of Maldon, as distinguished from "besæton" which is said of Temsford.

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of them many hundred either the *ashmen*[1] and others." Thus, of the two great points in the East-Saxon land, Colchester was won, Maldon was kept, and that without any help from the king. Local energy had done so much that, when shortly the Unconquered King came with his West-Saxon army, his march was little more than a triumphal progress. He came to Towcester; he girded the town with its stone wall, and received the submission of Northamptonshire. He marched to Huntingdon; he strengthened the fortress, and received the submission of the surrounding country. Then comes the fact which immediately concerns us here. That "ilk year afore Martinmas fared Eadward king with West-Saxons' fyrd to Colneceaster, and repaired the borough and made it new there where it tobroken was." Here then we have a distinct record of damage done and of damage repaired in the circuit of the walls of Colchester. Part of the wall was broken down in the siege, and the breach was repaired on the king's coming. It will be for some member of the architectural section to point out, if there be any means of knowing them, those bricks which were set in their place at the bidding of the founder of the English kingdom, and not by any earlier or later hand. If we can find the site of the breach which Englishmen made in winning Colchester from the Dane, Englishmen may look on that spot in the Roman wall with the same eyes with which all Europe looks on that spot in the wall of Aurelian where the newest bricks of all tell us where the army of united Italy entered her capital.

But the two great East-Saxon sieges of this memorable year have more than a local interest. They were the last warfare of the reign of the Unconquered King. After Colchester was won and Maldon saved, no sword was drawn against Eadward and his dominion. The rest of his reign is one record of submissions on the part of his enemies. At Colchester itself the men of East-Anglia and Essex, who had been under Danish rule, first bow to him; then comes the submission of the Danish host itself; then that of all Mercia; then that of all North Wales. The realm of the West-Saxon king now reaches to the Humber. Northumberland, Strathclyde, Scotland,

[1] The men of the ships, the wikings.

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have as yet been untouched by his arms or his policy. But next comes the great day of all, the crowning-point of West-Saxon triumph, when the King of Scots and all the people of Scots, and Rægnold and Eadwulf's son, and all that were in Northumberland, Angles, Danes, Northmen, or any other, and eke the King of Strathclyde Welsh, and all the Strathclyde Welsh, bowed to Eadward at Bakewell, and sought him to father and lord. The fights on East-Saxon ground, the storm of Colchester, the defence of Maldon, had taught the whole world of Britain that Eadward and his people were not be withstood. The gallant gathering of the men of Essex, Kent, and Surrey had led to the establishment of an English kingdom bounded only by the Humber, of an English Empire bounded only by the Northern sea.

Thus two East-Saxon sites, one of them our present place of meeting, have won for themselves a foremost place in that struggle with the Dane which welded England into a single kingdom. And one of those sites joins again with a third whose name we have not yet heard to form another pair no less memorable in the struggle which gave the united kingdom of England into the hands of a Danish king. If the days of Colchester and Maldon stand forth among the brightest days of English victory, so Maldon and Assandún stand out among the saddest yet noblest days of English overthrow. Our last East-Saxon memory showed us the invading Dane flying from before the walls of Maldon; our next East-Saxon memory shows us the Dane victorious in the hard handplay, and the Ealdorman of the land dying in defence of the Saxon shore. The fight by the Planta, the fight where Brihtnoth fell, lives in that glorious battle-song which, were it written in any tongue but the native speech of Englishmen, would have won its place alongside of the battle-songs of ancient Hellas. The song is plainly local and contemporary; it comes straight from the soul of the East-Saxon gleeman of the tenth century. It is something to stand on the spot and to call up the picture of the valiant Ealdorman, lighting from his horse among his faithful hearth-band, marshalling his men in the thick array of the shield-wall, refusing to pay tribute to the wikings, and telling them that point and edge shall judge

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between them. Then we see the dauntless three who kept the bridge, Wulfstan, Ælfhere, and Maccus—Wulfstan the Horatius, his comrades the Lartius and Herminius, of the fight in which the legend of the Tiber was repeated in sober truth by East-Saxon Panta. Yet among the crowds to whom the legends of distant lands are as household words, how few have ever heard the names of the true heroes of our own soil. Then Brihtnoth, in his "overmood," in his excess of daring and lofty spirit, allows the enemy to pass the water: then comes the fight itself, the Homeric exploits on either side; the death-wound of Brihtnoth and his last prayer; the dastardly flight of Godric on the horse of his fallen lord; the fight over the body of the slain chief; the self-devotion of the true companions who in death are not divided, as they lie "thegn-like" around their lord, their Earl and ring-giver. No tale is told with more spirit, no tale sets better before us that great feature of old Teutonic, and indeed of old Aryan, life, the personal and sacred tie which bound a man to the lord of his own seeking. But the men who fought on that day were Englishmen; the tongue in which their deeds were sung was English; their deeds are therefore forgotten, and the song which tells of them sounds in the ears of their children like the stammering speech of an unknown tongue.

But if the banks of Panta saw the glorious death of the local East-Saxon chief, the banks of another East-Saxon estuary saw, not indeed the death but the last struggle, of the champion, not only of Essex, but of all England. The fight of Maldon is handed down to us in the glowing strains of native song; the song which told of the fight of Assandún has perished: we have only feeble echoes preserved to us in the Latin pages of the historian who has kept so many such precious fragments, from the song of Anderida to the song of Stamfordbridge. As to the site of Assandún, I will not enter on any discussion; I think that no one will doubt about it who has been there. There is the hill on which Eadmund Ironside marshalled his army for the last battle, the hill down whose slope he rushed with his sword, as the faint echo of the ballad tells us, like the lightning-flash, leaving in his charge the royal

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post between the Standard and the West-Saxon Dragon, and fighting hand to hand in the foremost rank of his warriors. We hear from the other side how the Raven of Denmark had already fluttered its wings for victory; but it was only through Eadric's treason—treason which no effort of ingenious advocacy can wipe out from the pages which record it—that Eadmund, in the sixth battle of that great year, found himself for the first time defeated. The spot which saw Cnut's victory over all England saw also a few years later his offering in his new character of an English King. Then arose the joint work of Cnut and Thurkill, the minster of stone and lime, whose material was as much to be noted in the timber land of Essex as the material of the wooden basilica of Glastonbury was to be noted among the rich stone quarries of Somerset. Of that minster the first priest was Stigand, the man who won his first lowly promotion at the hands of the Dane, and who lived to be hurled from the metropolitan throne at the bidding of the Norman,

But the East-Saxon land contains a memorial of those times more precious even than the memories of Maldon and Assandún, a memorial too which forms a special tie between Eastern and Western England. It was on East-Saxon soil, just within the East-Saxon border, on the spot to which the willing oxen draw the Holy Cross of Lutgaresbury from the place of its first finding in the West, that Tofig first cleared the wild forest, that he first reared the minster of Waltham in its earlier and lowlier form, and gathered round it a band of pilgrims and devotees who changed the wilderness into a dwelling-place of man. It was on that spot that Earl Harold, patron of the secular clergy in the most monastic period of our history, patron of learning in a day when the light of English literature seemed almost to have died away, enlarged the church and the foundation of Tofig. It was for the good of that spot that he sought in lands beyond the sea, in the kindred land with which England had exchanged so many worthies—the land to which she had given Ealhwine and whence she had received Old-Saxon John—for men to help him in the work which he had planned for the good of Waltham and of England. It was there that the doomed King,

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marching forth to the great strife for his land and people, went to make his last prayers and to offer his last gifts, and it was there that, as men of his own day believed, he received that awful warning which led his faithful bedesmen to his last field, standing afar that they might see the end. It was there, in his own minster, that his bones, translated from their earlier South-Saxon resting-place, lay as the most precious among his gifts to the house which he had founded. And it was there, when his foundation had been changed to another form, when a choir in a new style of art had risen over his tomb, that the greatest of his successors, the first of a new line of English kings, lay for a moment by his side. The choir of Waltham has perished along with the choir of Battle; the place of Harold's tomb, like the place of Harold's standard, again lies open to the day; but if the East-Saxon land had nothing to boast of beside the unmarked spot where Harold and Edward met in death, that alone would place the shire where Waltham stands among the most historic shires of England.

Among his other possessions in all parts of England, Earl Harold held four houses in Colchester. This fact, I need not say, comes from the Domesday Survey, which tells us how those houses had passed away to the abbey of Westminster. The Domesday of Essex is very full, Essex being one of the three eastern shires of which we have only the first and fuller account, while in most of the other shires we have only the shorter form which is found in the first volume of the Exchequer Domesday.[1] Essex was one of those shires which came into the possession of the Conqueror, not indeed, like Sussex and Kent, immediately after the great battle, but immediately after the submission at Berkhampstead. Like Kent and Sussex, its men had been in their place in the battle, and it became subject to a confiscation only less sweeping than that of Kent and Sussex. We do not find in Essex, as we do in many other shires, either one or two English landowners still keeping great estates, or a whole crowd of them keeping smaller estates. A few entries of English names

[1] The discovery of the "Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis," lately published by Mr. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, gives another shire, of which we have both the fuller and the abridged account.

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towards the end of the record are all. We hear of no revolts in Essex after the coronation of William; the strength of the shire, like the strength of Kent and Sussex, must have been cut off on Senlac, and no foreign prince offered himself as deliverer to the men of Essex as Eustace of Boulogne offered himself to the men of Kent. Still there must have been some confiscations in Essex later than the time of the redemption of lands, for the penalty had fallen on one of the very commissioners by whom the redemption was carried out.[1] Engelric, who must have played much the same part in Essex which Thurkill played in Warwickshire and Wiggod in Berkshire, as the Englishman who, by whatever means, rose high in William's favour, had fallen from his high estate before the Survey was made. Another man, English by birth though not by descent, Swegen the son of Robert, who took the name of the shire as a surname, he whose father had stood by the death-bed of Eadward and had counselled William on his landing to get him back to his own duchy, still keep great estates; but he had lost his office of Sheriff. Most of the familiar names of the Conquest appear in Essex as well as elsewhere; but the East-Saxon shire enjoys a singular privilege in not having had an acre of its soil handed over to the Conqueror's rapacious brother, Count Robert of Mortain. But Bishop Odo is there, and Count Alan, and the Count of Eu, and William of Warren and Hugh of Montfort, and many another name of those who found their reward in almost every shire of England. Among the names specially connected with the district stand out Geoffrey of Mandeville, father of a line of East-Saxon Earls, Ralph Baynard whose name lives in London city, and the names specially belonging to Colchester, Hamo and Eudo. Of Colchester itself the record in the Survey is one of the fullest among the boroughs of England. It ought to be fully illustrated by some one who, to minute local knowledge, adds the power of comparing what the Survey tells us about Essex and Colchester with what it tells us about other shires and boroughs. A general historian from a distance cannot do this; a dull local antiquary cannot do it; it needs a man on the spot who knows the ins and outs of the land,

[1] See History of the Norman Conquest, vol. iv., pp. 26, 725.

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but who also understands historical criticism and who knows something of other parts of England as well as of his own.

The Survey gives us no such precious notices of the municipal constitution of Colchester as it gives us of the municipal constitution of Lincoln, Cambridge, and Stamford. Colchester had been held by the Danes; but they had been driven out too soon and too thoroughly to allow of the formation of a patriciate of Danish *lawmen*. Nor do we find any such curious notices of municipal matters as we do at Nottingham and Chester. But we see the burgesses of Colchester already forming a recognized body, holding common lands, and claiming other common lands as having been unjustly taken from them. We specially see them holding the land for a certain distance round the walls. The walls are thus distinctly recorded in the Survey; but there is no mention of the castle. There is therefore no entry of the destruction of houses to make room for the castle, such as we find in many other English towns. A long list is given of English burgesses who kept their houses, followed by a list of possessions within the borough which had passed into the hands of Norman owners. Among these, of course, appear the *Dapiferi*, Eudo and Hamo, and about the latter there is an entry of special interest which I trust will be thoroughly explained by some one who has local knowledge. Hamo, besides a house, had a "curia," a rare word whose use here I do not fully understand. And whatever Hamo held had been held in the days of King Eadward by his English *antecessor* Thurbearn. When I was last at Colchester, I was shown a building of Romanesque date which was oddly described as "Hamo's Saxon hall or curia." Why the hall of Thurbearn, if such it was, should be specially marked as a hall more Saxon than any other in this Saxon land is quite beyond my understanding. But I should greatly like to know what is really meant by the "curia" of Thurbearn and Hamo, and what ground there is for identifying it with this particular building. The first entry of all is also one of a good deal of interest, as marking the subdivision of property in Old-English times. The houses and other property of Godric—one of the many bearers of one of the commonest of English names—had

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been divided among his four sons. They had died on Senlac, or had otherwise brought themselves under the displeasure of the Conqueror. Of the four parts of Godric's property the King held two; Count Eustace had the third, and John the son of Waleran the fourth. The church of which Godric was patron had passed whole to Count Eustace; but his mill—a most important possession, and one always most accurately noted in the Survey—was carefully divided.

Another point to be noticed in the Survey of Colchester is that the borough had clearly been, before the coming of William, allowed to make a money composition for military service in the *fyrd*. In many towns Domesday records the number of men which the town was to find when the King made an expedition by sea or land. Instead of this we find at Colchester a payment of sixpence from each house for the keep of the King's *soldarii* or mercenaries, that is doubtless the housecarls. It is possible that we have here the key to the fact that so many English burgesses of Colchester remained undisturbed by the Conqueror. The borough, as a community, had served King Harold, not with men but with money. It would have been hard even for the astuteness of William's legal mind to turn this payment of a customary royal due, the last payment of which might actually have been made while Eadward was still alive, into an act of constructive treason against the Norman claimant of the crown. The community then, as a community, was guiltless, and fared accordingly. But volunteers from Colchester, as well as from other places, had doubtless flocked to the Standard of the Fighting Man; and they, whether dead or alive, paid the forfeit of their patriotism.

Here is a point which touches the general history of England. There are other curious entries with regard to the customs of Colchester which I leave to local inquirers to expound to us. I pass to the Ecclesiastical history. The Survey mentions several churches; but there clearly was no great ecclesiastical foundation, either secular or religious, within the walls of Colchester. The two religious foundations which have given Colchester an ecclesiastical name arose after the taking of the Survey

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and beyond the ancient walls. They arose on the south side of the town, the side away from the river, a fact which accounts for the way in which the inhabited town of Colchester has spread itself. While on the northern side void spaces have arisen within the walls, houses have grown on the south side round the priory and the abbey, covering a large space which lies outside alike of Roman Camulodunum and of Old-English Colchester. The great abbey of Saint John, the foundation of Eudo, rose on a height opposite that on which the town itself stands; the priory of Saint Julian and Saint Botolf rose between the heights on the low ground just below the hill of Camulodunum. The history of Eudo's foundation is told in a document in the Monasticon, which in all points bearing on general history is highly mythical. Eudo's father, Hubert of Rye, is a well-known man, he who sheltered William on his perilous ride from Valognes before the fight of Val-ès-dunes. But the embassies on which Hubert is sent between William and Eadward simply take their place among the Norman legends of the Conquest. There is also a very mythical air about the extraordinary importance in securing the succession to William Rufus, which the local story assigns to Eudo. We may however accept the purely local parts of the tale. Eudo's special position at Colchester, by whatever name we are to call it, appears in the story as the gift, not of William the Great but of William the Red. This at once falls in with the absence of all mention of the castle in Domesday. The castle was not one of the castles of the Conqueror; it was clearly a work of Eudo, a work dating from the reign of the second William, and not the first. That vast pile, so widely differing in its outline from the towers of London and Rochester, will doubtless find its exponent in the course of this meeting, though the great master of military architecture is not among us.[1] The abbey again gives us in its last days one of the ties which connect the East of England and the West. John Beche, the last Abbot of Colchester, was one of the three prelates who refused to betray their trust. He was a

[1] Mr. Clark was needed very much; but Mr. Parker's exposition was quite enough as against the Roman craze.

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sharer in the martyrdom of Richard Whiting on the Tor of Glastonbury.

The great Benedictine abbey began in the later days of Rufus; the priory of Austin canons began a little later in the early years of Henry the First. It boasted the Lion of Justice himself among its benefactors, as appears by his charter dated while Queen Matilda and Bishop Robert Bloet of Lincoln were still living. The abbey, like that of Shrewsbury, arose on a spot where had stood the wooden church of the English priest Sigeric. Of the material of the new building the local history does not speak; the foundation stones whose laying it records are quite consistent with a superstructure of brick. Saint Botolfs, we all know, is built *more Romano, more Camulodunensi*, of bricks which are none the less Roman, even if some of them may have passed through the kiln in the twelfth century. So it is with Eudo's castle also, though there brick is not so exclusively the material. The colony, like its metropolis, remained in all ages and under all masters emphatically a city of brick, and happily no one has been found to change it into a city of marble.

I have now reached the point at which I commonly find it expedient to bring discourses of this kind to an end. I do not often attempt to carry on my comments on local history beyond the stage where local history, for the most part, becomes purely local. I commonly make it my business in any district to show what were the contributions of that district to the general history of England, what part it had in building up the English kingdom and nation. The purely local history, municipal, ecclesiastical, genealogical, or any other, belongs, not to me, but to those who have a special interest in the particular district. Such local history is sure always to supply some matter for which the general historian is thankful; but it is hardly the business of the general historian to seek it out for himself. He accepts it with all gratitude at local hands, and then makes use of it for his own purposes. But at Colchester I must follow another rule, as in some degree I did at Exeter. The place of Exeter in English history would be imperfectly dealt with, if we did not bring the entry of

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William the Conqueror into its obvious contrast with the entry of William the Deliverer. So at Colchester I cannot bring myself to stop at the days of William the Red. I must leap over a few centuries. To many the scene which the name of Colchester first calls up will be the scene which followed the last siege, the day when Lucas and Lisle died on the green between the Norman castle and the Roman wall. I have already pointed out that there is, in some sort, an analogy between the beginning and the ending of Colchester history, between the warfare of Boadicea and the warfare of Fairfax. It is hardly allowed to me here to speak as freely of Fairfax as I can of Boadicea. Of Eudo the Dapifer I can perhaps speak more freely than of either. The strife of the seventeenth century is so closely connected with modern controversies and modern party-feelings that it cannot be made purely archæological ground like the strifes of the first century or of the eleventh. I perhaps need hardly tell you that my own personal feelings go with the cause of Fairfax, though I trust that I am fully able to understand and to honour all that was good and highminded and self-sacrificing on the side of his enemies. But in summing up the last stage in the long life of this historic town, I must call attention to one or two obvious facts which are apt to be forgotten in forming an estimate of that great piece of local history. Remember then that the warfare of which the siege of Colchester forms the last, and the most striking scene, was a warfare wholly distinct from the earlier warfare of Edge-hill and Naseby. Colchester was not a fortress which had held out for the royal cause ever since the royal standard was first upreared at Nottingham. During the whole of the first war, Colchester and Essex were hardly touched. The men of Colchester were strong for the Parliament, and they had shown their zeal, a little too fiercely perhaps, against their royalist neighbours at the abbey. The royalist movement of 1648, alike in Essex, in Kent, and in South Wales, was in the strictest sense a revolt, a rising against an existing state of things. Whether that revolt was to be praised or to be condemned I will not argue here; all that I insist on is the plain fact that the enterprise of the Earl of Norwich and Lord Capel was not

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a continuation of the war which began at Nottingham, but a wholly new war of their own levying. Before Colchester was besieged by Fairfax, it had in truth to be besieged, though only for a moment, by those who presently became its defenders. Again be it remembered that, in the execution of Lisle and Lucas, Fairfax went on perfectly good technical grounds. They had been prisoners of war, and had given their word of honour never again to serve against the Parliament. I am far from insisting with any undue severity on the obligations of such promises as this. It is a question of casuistry whether such a purely military promise should or should not keep a man back from an enterprise to which he deems that loyalty or patriotism calls him. But, as a matter of military law, his life is fairly forfeit; the man who has been set free on certain conditions cannot complain if the sternest measure is meted out to him when he breaks those conditions. The military justice of Fairfax touched those only whose breach of military honour had fairly brought them within its reach. The escape of Norwich, the execution of Capel—Capel, a man worth Norwich, Lucas, and Lisle all put together—were the work of another power in which Fairfax had no share. Whatever may be thought of the political or personal conduct of either of the two lords, there was no stain on their military honour. The General therefore did not take on himself to judge men who, whatever they were in the eye of the law, were on the field of battle entitled to the treatment of honourable enemies. But, "in satisfaction of military justice," he let the laws of war take their course on men who, whatever may be pleaded in their behalf on other grounds, had, by the laws of war, lost all technical claim to honourable treatment.[1]

One point more there is which brings the last siege of Colchester into direct connexion with earlier times, and which I may therefore plead as a further excuse for carrying my story on into days which I seldom venture to touch. The site of Saint John's abbey, the house of Lord Lucas within or close to its precinct, play an important part in the siege. The gateway, occupied by

[1] The case of Lucas and Lisle has been fully gone into by Mr. Clements Markham in the *Fortnightly Review*, September, 1876.

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the insurgents, was stormed by the parliamentary forces, and doubtless whatever other remains of the abbey were left at the Dissolution, now perished. Saint Botolf's too, standing immediately between the batteries of the besiegers and the walls of the town, was exposed to the fire of both sides, and became in that siege the ruin which we now see it.

I have now brought my tale, and that by somewhat of a bound in its last stage, to the latest point which can well come within the consideration of the present meeting. I have tried to sketch out the chief grounds on which the shire of Essex, and, above all, the town of Colchester, are entitled to a high place among the shires and towns of England. It is for others, with more of local knowledge, to fill up that sketch in detail. I trust that among our members men will be found to do justice to every part of the local history, above all in those five centuries over which the President of the Section has ventured to pass with a bound. I have exhausted nothing; I stand in the way of no one who has specially mastered any portion of East-Saxon history. In the days of Boadicea and in the days of Fairfax I may even be deemed an intruder. But I am no less ready to invite every help, to welcome every light, on the times in which I may say that I myself have lived. That I have lived in those times makes me know, perhaps better than other men, how much there is still to be found out, how many things in them there are that to me at least are grievous puzzles. The greatest of English scholars, once a dweller in the East-Saxon shire, has made the history of the Holy Cross of Waltham plain to all men. But we still need a worthy commentator on the Song of Maldon. Even in those parts of the tale at which I have specially worked, I feel, better perhaps than others, how much I have left uncertain, how much there still is for others to fix by the light of sound and sober historic criticism. But, in any case, there is no part of the isle of Britain in which one who has lived in the tenth and eleventh centuries feels more at home than within the walls which felt the repairing hand of Eadward the Unconquered, in the land which beheld the exploits and the death of Brihtnoth, the land where Eadmund fought the last fight of the year of battles, the land where Harold

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knelt before the relic which was brought from the green hill of Montacute, the land to which he himself was borne from the craggy hill of Hastings. It is something that the hero of England should be in this way a common possession of the three branches of the great Saxon colony, that the Saxon of the West, the South, and the East, should be all bound together, as by a threefold tie, by the presence among them in life or death of the last king of the old stock, the king who died on Senlac and who no longer sleeps at Waltham.

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ON THE ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS AT COLCHESTER.

BY W. THOMPSON WATKIN, ESQ.

That Colchester occupies the site of the Roman *Camulodunum* is, I think I may now say with certainty, the opinion of almost every antiquary of note. Possibly there are still some living who incline to the theory that Maldon represents the site, but the absence of any remains of buildings there, whilst Colchester abounds with them, is conclusive evidence to my mind on the point. But although everything at Colchester of the Roman period is found to be on a grand scale, especially the walls, it is a matter of surprise that so few inscriptions, and those nearly all sepulchral, have been found. The only hypothesis to account for this seems to be, that every inscribed stone found in the middle ages was utilised by the large population still resident on the site, for building or other purposes, and by this means the stones, if ever afterwards disinterred, were completely despoiled of their inscriptions.

The first inscription recorded to have been found at Colchester is given in the *Museum Disneianum*, part i, p. 99, fol. xlv, fig. 15. It was discovered in 1713, and is now preserved in the Disney collection at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. It is a tombstone and is inscribed.

CONSIDIA VENERIA
FILIA. V. A. III. D. XXX.
CONSIDIA NATALIS
MATER. V. A. XXXV.

i.e. Considia Veneria Filia vixit annos iii dies xxx Considia Natalis Mater vixit annos xxxv. "Considia Veneria (the) daughter lived three years thirty days, Considia Natalis (the) mother lived thirty-five years."

In the "Tesoro Britannico" (1719) by Haym, mention is made of a Roman oculist's stamp found at Colchester, subsequently described by many authors, amongst them by Mr. Albert Way in vol. vii of the Archæological Journal, p. 357. It bore the inscriptions,—

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Q. IVLI MVRRANI MELI
NVM AD. CLARITATEM.

Q. IVLI MVRRANI STACTV
M OPOBALSAMAT AD CA—

The inscription on the side reads: *Q. Iuli Murrani melinum ad claritatem.* "The *melinum* (an eye salve) of Quintus Julius Murranus for clearness of vision." That on the other side is: *Q. Ivli Murrani stactum opobalsamat (um) ad ca-(liginem).* "The balsamic stactum of Quintus Julius Murranus for weakness of the eyes."

Morant, in the Colchester volume of his "History of Essex," p. 195, aud pl. II, fig. 10, describes a Roman ring "of coarse silver" that had been found previous to 1768, inscribed in reversed letters.—

L V
C I A
N I

It was then in the possession of Charles Gray, Esq. It reads, *Luciani*, (The ring) of Lucianus. The next discovery appears to have been that of a marble stone (probably an altar), now lost. Morant does not give it in his Colchester volume, as it was only found Nov. 14th, 1764, but he gave a copy of the inscription to the Society of Antiquaries, which is preserved in their minutes. (Vide *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 213). Gough, in his 1789 edition of Camden's Britannia, vol. ii, p. 58, also published it. He read it as follows:—

N V M I N I B
A V G
E T . M E R C V D E O
A N D E S C O C I
V O V · C O M I
L I C O . A E S V R I
L I N I . L I B E R T V S
A R A M O P E R E
M A R O N I O
D. S. D.

and calls it an inscription "to a new topical deity." It is evident that the fourth, fifth, and sixth lines are erroneously given, destroying the sense of the whole inscription, with the exception of the three first lines, from which we learn that it was dedicated "To the divinities of the Augustus (the reigning Emperor) and to the god Mercury."

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In 1820 *(circa)* there was found at "The Turrets" a bronze stamp, now preserved in the Colchester Museum, bearing the inscription—

P. F.
HYGINI

Professor Hübner (*Corpus Inscr. Latin.*, vol. vii, No. 1322) suggests the reading *P. F*(lavii ?) *Hygini*, or in other words that it was the stamp of Publius Flavius Hyginus.

In 1821, in excavating the site for the Colchester Hospital, there was found, near to where the celebrated sphinx was discovered, the fragment of a Roman tombstone, the lettering on which was—

. . . .
AE . BIS
BIS. > LEG
> LEG . III . AV
EG . XX . VAL V
DVS . NICAE
A . MILITAVI
IXIT . ANN
. . . .

There are portions of letters remaining in the two lines which I have marked with dots, but they are too imperfect to be made out. Professor Hübner *(Corpus Inscr. Latin*, No. 91) reads the inscription, with the exception of the first and part of the second lines, as "*centurio leg(ionis)* . . . . *centurio leg*(*ionis*) *III Aug*(*ustæ*) (*centurio l*)*eg*(*ionis*) *Val*(*eria*) *V*(*ictricis*) (*Oriun*)*dus Nicae*(*a in*) (*Bithyni*) *a militavi*(*t*) (*annos*) . . . . (*v*)*ixit ann*(*os*) . . . . ." The centurial mark > for the word *centurio* will be noticed in the second and third lines. This stone is now in the Colchester Museum.

Another fragment of a sepulchral inscription, found at the same time and now preserved in the Disney collection at Cambridge, reads thus (free of ligatures):—

M
VMVLO . TEG
RABILIS . IVVE
CVNCTI . MVC
ERVNT . . . .
NE

The first line has certainly been D . M for *Diis Manibus.* The *ascia* or axe is sculptured on the stone between these two letters, a frequent occurence on Roman

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tombstones. Professor Hübner (*Corpus Inscr. Latin*, No. 92) reads the second and third lines as "(*hoc t*)*umulo teg*(*untur*)," and "(*ossa mi*)*rabilis iuve* (*nis*)," which is very uncertain; of the remainder nothing can be made out from its fragmentary state.

These stones were first engraved in Cromwell's History of Colchester, 1825 (vol. ii, p. 374), and again described in Wright's History of Essex, vol. i, pp. 295-6.

In 1850 a fragment of another tombstone was found bearing the inscription--

D
AVR
AAI

It was the right hand (proper) half of a tombstone, and had been clamped to another stone, which was not found, and which contained the remaining portion of the inscription (*Journal Brit. Archl. Ass*ⁿ., vol. vi, p. 446).

In 1854 there was discovered in the large Roman *cloaca* or sewer, excavated by Dr. Duncan and others, a fragment of a marble tablet inscribed in large and fine letters.—

HIC
I

It is now preserved in the Museum. (Vide *Proc. Essex Arch. Soc.*, vol. i, p. 210).

At the meeting of the Institute at Norwich in 1847 there was exhibited a Roman *cochlear* or spoon found near the western wall of Colchester eight feet beneath the surface. It was then in the possession of Mrs. Thorley, and was inscribed—

AETERNVS · VIVAS.

i.e., mayst thou live, Aeternus! It is not said of what metal it was composed,[1] but the letters were inlaid and resembled *niello*. (Vide Norwich vol. of Institute Catalogue, p. xxviii, and plate at p. xxvii).

At the Chichester meeting of the Institute in 1853, the late Lord Braybrooke exhibited a Roman ring found at Colchester bearing the inscription—

ΘΕΡΜΙΑ

The letters were on an intaglio, and beneath them was a sphinx-like figure. The reading is simply THERMIA,

[1] I have since ascertained that it is of bronze.

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Another gold signet ring found at Colchester, and also in the late Lord Braybrooke's possession, is engraved with two heads facing each other, and above them are the letters—

I . M . P

It is difficult to understand the reading of these letters. The ring is described by Lord Braybrooke in vol. ii, p. 63, of the Essex Archæological Society's Transactions.

In 1853 there was discovered on the Lexden road at West Lodge, the property of Mr. John Taylor, which stands partially upon the site of a Roman cemetery, a fine cinerary urn of Durobrivian (Castor) ware, with a cover. It was nine inches in height and six in diameter, and contained a "bottle of straw coloured pottery and a red 'Samian' dish." It is covered with bas reliefs, divided into three groups. One consists of two stags, a hare, and a dog, with various ornaments introduced; the second consists of two men with a bear between them; and the third of two gladiators fighting. Above the heads of these latter is an inscription traced with some sharp instrument, and concealed by the lid or cover, until the latter was lifted. The inscription is—

SECVNDVS MARIO MEMNoN SAC VIIII VALENTINV LEGIONIS XXX.

As the thirtieth legion was never in England, these scenes must refer to events that happened on the Continent. The first two words, I opine, shew that the urn was a gift from Secundus to Marius (as Mr. C. Roach Smith thinks). It is by no means clear what the meaning of the remainder is. If SAC, stands for SEC. the first portion refers to a *secutor* named Memnon, who had apparently been the victor nine times. If the other figure be that of a *retiarius*, he is the vanquished party. In any event his name seems to have been Valentinus, of the thirtieth legion. This vase is still preserved in the Colchester Museum.

In 1865 a remarkable green glass drinking cup of the Roman period was found in the same cemetery, on the Lexden road. Though only three to four inches in height, it bears the representation of four chariots in succession, with the names of the charioteers over them, the inscription being—

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FIGURE OF A ROMAN CENTURION.

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HIERAX . VA . OLYMPAE . VA . ANTILOCE . VA . CRESCES . AV.

The reading being, doubtless, *Hierax va(le) Olympae va(le), Antiloce va(le), Cresce(n)s Av(e)*, thus indicating *Crescens* as the winner. This cup is now in the British Museum, where I recently inspected it.

In 1868 Mr. George Joslin, who had purchased a piece of ground in Beverley Road for the purpose of making excavations on the site of a large Roman cemetery existing there, discovered a large sepulchral slab of fine oolite six feet high, two feet four inches wide, and eight inches thick, in good preservation, bearing the figure of a Roman centurion in a sort of recess, and beneath it the inscription—

M . FAVON . M . F . POL . FACI
LIS . > LEG . XX . VERECVND
VS . ET . NOVICIVS . LIB . POSV
ERVNT . H . S . E.

i.e. M(arcus) Favon(ius) M(arci) F(ilius) Pol(lia) Facilis centurio Leg(ionis) vicesimae Verecundus et Novicius Lib (erti) posuerunt. H(ic) S(itus) E(st), or translated, "Marcus Favonius Facilis, the son of Marcus of the tribe Pollia, a centurion of the twentieth legion. Verecundus and Novicius his freedmen placed this. He lies here." From the absence of the letters V. V after the numerals of the legion, it is probable that this monument is of a very early date, possibly before the insurrection of Boadicea. The stone had apparently been purposely broken, and the upper portion thrown down on its face at some remote period. The lower portion which bore the inscription was still standing *in situ* at a depth of 2½ feet below the surface of the ground. Near it was found a leaden cylindrical box with a lid containing the bones. On the back of the stone are the letters—

T V L

probably the abbreviation of the sculptor's name *(Tullius)*. It is still in Mr. Joslin's possession. Since writing the above I have been informed that some antiquaries dissent from the idea of the stone being of an early period of the Roman sway, on the ground of some of the letters of the inscription being ligulate. In reply to this I would observe that in the pig of lead dated A.D. 60, and bearing the name of Nero, found at Stockbridge, Hants, we find a great part of the inscription ligulate, so that ligulate inscriptions are not confined to a later period.

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There are one or two other minor inscriptions found at Colchester, which I will now refer to. They are—

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4).
PRIMV .	PETRONI	POMP. NI .	. . RALIA.

The first of these, which wants the last letter, is on a tile at the Museum and reads *Primus.* The second occurs on a bronze helmet now in the British Museum, and which is twice stamped with the letters P E T R O N I (probably the genitive of *Petronius*) near the neck. The third occurs on the handle of a *patella* or *simpulum* of bronze found in a field near the town in 1863. (Vide *Archæologia*, vol. xxxix, p. 508). Different readings of it have been given. The Rev. J. H. Pollexfen, in the *Archæologia*, reads it as simply POMPONI, and regards it as the stamp of the maker, but Professor Hübner *(Corpus Inscr. Latin.* vol. vii, No. 1323) reads it as *(L) Pomp(onius) Ni(co).* The fourth is on a large vase of white ware or *olla,* now preserved in the Museum, the front of which represents a human face (very similar to a vase discovered at Lincoln, and bearing an inscription to Mercury, engraved in the Proc. Soc. of Antiq., vol. iii, 2nd series, p. 440). The letters, which are in black, occur on the back of it, and are of good formation, but the inscription being imperfect nothing can be made of it.

Another bronze Roman stamp found in Colchester, and preserved in the Museum there, bears the inscription—

BIOKNO.

The inscription (which is a barbarous one) was communicated to me in 1873 by Mr. Gunner, the curator of the Museum. The same barbarous word occurs in pottery found at Colchester, but its meaning is unknown.

There have also been found at Colchester a number of roundels or tesseræ of greyish earthenware bearing barbarous words, such as ETKERON, &c., and on some of them are numerals. In one instance XVI occurs, accompanying the figure of a galley with rowers. I have rubbings of most of them, but until antiquaries are agreed as to their being genuine Roman relics, I refrain from noticing them. Perhaps some of the members of the Institute will embrace this opportunity of inspecting them. With these exceptions I believe that the whole of the Colchester inscriptions are noticed in these bservations.

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REMARKS ON THE EXHIBITION OF THE ETCHED WORK OF REMBRANDT AT THE BURLINGTON FINE ARTS' CLUB, IN 1877.

By the REV. CHARLES HENRY MIDDLETON.

This exhibition, held in the months of May and June last, was, through the generosity of the several contributors, an exhibition of such unusual excellence, illustrating in so great perfection the genius of Holland's greatest painter, that it may fitly be chronicled. The Committee, to whom was entrusted the selection, made it their chief endeavour to bring together the finest procurable examples of the Rembrandt etchings, and generally speaking their endeavour was crowned with success; for although in so extensive a collection there were, undoubtedly, several prints of little merit, yet, as a whole, the collection well deserved the encomiums of artists and amateurs, containing as it did not only early states and impressions excessively rare, in some instances unique, but also, what was of far greater importance, impressions so infinitely superior to the average of what are usually seen, that a standard of comparison was afforded, by which all other impressions might be tested.

A marked feature of the exhibition was the arrangement of the prints in what is believed to have been the order of their execution. When it is remembered that about one half of what are attributed to the master are undated, and that only about one third of those undated prints were hung upon the walls, it will be seen that the Committee had undertaken no idle task. To place these in order among the dated prints it was necessary that the whole series, whether exhibited or not, should be arranged; the work was surrounded with difficulties; but the labour was not ill bestowed, adverse criticisms from competent critics were few, and the corrections suggested were of value to those who, like ourselves, think the consecutive arrangement of a great artists' works a matter of importance.

A question of considerable interest was raised as to the extent to which the handiwork of pupils or assistants appears in certain of the larger and more elaborate plates. The idea that Rembrandt was so assisted is not a new one. P. J. Mariette in his Abecedario refused to recognize Rembrandt's hand in the harsh burin work which contrasts so painfully with the finer parts of the "Descent from the Cross." The opinion that the master entrusted much of the detail in the "Ecce Homo" to another has almost become traditional in the British Museum Print Room. I have, myself, no hesitation in attributing the inferior workmanship in the large "Resurrection of Lazarus" to Van Vliet; but in all discussion care must be taken not to lose sight of the fact that only comparatively unimportant parts of the several plates have

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been thus entrusted to inferior hands, and that we are not called upon to repudiate a print, because an artist of less ability has been allowed to execute a part, any more than we should refuse to recognize a Rubens, for instance, because we had clear evidence that he did not cover every inch of his vast canvasses with his own brush.

Among so many works of the highest class it is difficult to make a selection, but for rarity and excellence, or both combined, the following deserve to be recorded :—

Contributed by S. Addington, Esq.—

The Spanish Gipsy, a finer impression than the one which appeared at the Hume sale last year.

Contributed by Henry Brodhurst, Esq.—

The second (really the third) state of the "Ecce Homo," very fine impression.

Large Landscape with the Mill Sail. I only know one impression of the plate which could be compared with this, it is in the collection of Monsieur Dutuit. Mr. Brodhurst's Landscape with Cottage and Dutch Hay Barn is of nearly equal merit.

Cottage with White Pales, first state, extremely fine and in good condition.

The Three Trees, on India paper, of the highest excellence.

A Grotto, first state, a brilliant impression.

Rembrandt Drawing : the late Mr. William Smith considered this one of the best impressions of the plate he had ever met with.

The Three Crosses, first state, superb.

The Old Haaring, a finer impression does not exist. This is the impression with broad untrimmed margin which appeared at Manchester in 1857, and again at Leeds in 1868.

Contributed by Edward Cheney, Esq.—

Jan Asselyn, first state, completed in crayon by Rembrandt.

Janus Lutma, also thus completed. Two very valuable prints of the greatest interest and beauty.

From the Collection of St. John Dent, Esq.—

The Angel Appearing to the Shepherds, finished state, *perfect*.

The Three Trees, on white paper, a magnificent impression.

The Presentation, in Rembrandt's dark manner, unusually rich in colour.

From Monsieur Eugène Dutuit's Collection.—

The small grey landscape called The House with a Large Tree, Wilson 204, Bl. 310. Extremely rare and not less lovely.

"The Hundred Guilder," first state, from the Palmer and Price collections.

Portrait of Rembrandt on a high and narrow plate, a print not known to Bartsch or Wilson, and hitherto supposed to be unique.

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From Richard Fisher, Esq.—

A very fine impression of the PRESENTATION IN THE VAULTED TEMPLE, second state.

LARGE LANDSCAPE WITH COTTAGE AND DUTCH HAY BARN, of equal merit to the one exhibited by Mr. Brodhurst.

"THE HUNDRED GUILDER," second state, of the greatest excellence.

The Rev. D. Griffiths, Warden of Wadham.—

"THE HUNDRED GUILDER," second state, white paper, a singularly beautiful impression, without exception the finest I have seen in this state, thought by some even superior to the impressions of the first state.

PORTRAIT OF VAN TOLLING, first state. This came from the collection of Baron Verstolk de Soelen. Only four impressions of this state are known.

Among those contributed by F. Seymour Haden, Esq. were :—

PORTRAIT OF REMBRANDT WITH MOUSTACHES, Wilson 2.

PORTRAIT OF REMBRANDT LEANING ON A STONE SILL, first and second states, both extremely fine and possessing the additional interest of having been worked on in pencil by Rembrandt's own hand.

REMBRANDT'S MILL, probably the richest impression existing of this plate.

A WOMAN IN A LARGE HOOD, Wilson 353, two impressions. Charles Blanc calls this "La femme de Rembrandt malade;" the second impression worked on in bistre by the master.

ST. FRANCIS PRAYING, second state.

THE WOMAN WITH THE ARROW, an impression of great excellence.

From the Collection of R. S. Holford, Esq.—

REMBRANDT IN TURNED-UP HAT AND EMBROIDERED MANTLE, a most interesting and rare impression, with Rembrandt's name and age written in pencil by himself.

REMBRANDT IN AN OVAL, first state, the uncut plate, the only impression of this state in private hands.

GREAT JEWISH BRIDE, first state.

A PAINTER DRAWING FROM A MODEL, first state, unique.

VIEW OF OMVAL, an unequalled impression.

JOHN CORNELIUS SYLVIUS, first state. I have seen no impression at all equal to this in any collection. Wilson described it as the finest known.

THE BURGOMASTER SIX, second and third states.

EPHRAIM BONUS, first and second states.

"THE HUNDRED GUILDER," first state.

VILLAGE NEAR THE HIGH ROAD; or, THE THREE COTTAGES, first, second and third states.

The series of small landscapes; first and second states.

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OUR LORD BEFORE PILATE, first state.

PORTRAIT OF COPPENOL, Wilson's second state. All these impressions were of the very greatest beauty and in splendid condition, among the richest gems of the exhibition.

From the Collection of R. P. Roupell, Esq., Q.C.—

A MAN MEDITATING, in Rembrandt's dark manner; this and an equally fine impression from the same plate, from the collection of J. Webster, Esq., were hung together. Mr. Webster also sent two rich impressions of the ST. JEROME, in the dark manner, first and second states.

From the Collection of the late Danby Seymour, Esq.—

The first and second states of JESUS CHRIST ENTOMBED, very fine.

A superb portrait, in oil, of REMBRANDT by himself, was kindly contributed by *Lord Portarlington*; and a grisaille of the "ECCE HOMO," the design for the etching, by *Lady Eastlake*.

Visitors who acquainted themselves with the treasures displayed, will think this list far too short. I am aware that many are omitted which might well have been introduced, but to enumerate them all would have unduly lengthened this notice. Probably such a collection has not been seen before or will ever be brought together again.

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Original Documents.

Communicated by JOSEPH BAIN, F.S.A. Scot.

"A tresnoble Roy Dengleterre Sire Edward qe Dieu le garde mustrent Johan Le peintur de Blida Et Beatrice sa ffeme qe encontre la pees nostre Seigneur le Roy vint Stefne Atteyate de Blid le iour de la Seint Marie Magdalene qe drein fut a la meseun le auaunt dit Johan et luy dona saut et luy prist par le col et luy lia de son chaperoun et a poy luy avoyt estrangle. et vileynement luy detira. Vint la femme le auauntd [it] Johan, beatrice par noun, et deliuera son baroun de les mains auauntdit esteuene. Et autre forth vint Stefne auaunt nomee le Lundy prochein apres la feste S[eint Pi]ere ad uincula et dona saut a beatrice la ffeme auauntdit Johan et malement la batyet et la nafrist perilousen .... plusors lues de son corps et la mayhema et la lessa com mort. Et estre cestes Esteuene auant nomee et Roger le keu son frere manacent les auant ditz de vie et de membre Dunt ly auant dit Johan et beatrice sa femme prient de grante et de dreyt le tel trespas pur Dieu et la gratiouse Virgine Marie. et de tous seynz et quil pussent viure in pees."

(No endorsement).

The above document, supplying contractions, is No. 4685 of the MS. collection of Royal Letters, &c., preserved in the Public Record Office. It affords a curious example of the direct access which in those days the humblest had to the king. Blyth in Nottinghamshire was a well-known halting place on the road to the north, and Edward I was no doubt on one of his numerous journeys on Scots' affairs when this matter was submitted to him. John the Painter, sitting quietly in his house on S. Mary Magdalene's day (22nd July), possibly intending to go to church, was violently assaulted, half strangled, and villanously handled by Steven Atteyate his neighbour. His good wife Beatrice delivered him, and probably drove Stephen off the premises with some household implement. The latter, however, nourished his wrath for ten days or so, and on the Monday after the Feast of S. Peter ad Vincula (1st Aug.) assaulted in a most ungallant manner poor Beatrice, and, inflicting many wounds on her body, maimed and left her for dead. Moreover he and his brother Roger le Keu also threatened the luckless couple with loss of life or member. Quite a case for royal intervention and swift justice, which was doubtless administered, though no record appears on the petition, which seems in all probability to have been written by the parson of Blyth on behalf of his aggrieved parishioners. It is on a small square piece of parchment, much browned by age.

The next document, from the same collection (No. 3280), is from the Prior and Chapter of S. Malo on a different subject. Supplying contractions, it runs thus:—

"Serenissimo Principi....E.. dei gracia illustrissimo Regi Anglorum .. Duci Aquitanie et Gwensium principi .. Prior et Capitulum

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ac Officialis Sancti Maclonis de insula..Salutem et paratam in omnibus voluntatem ad sua beneplacita et mandata .. Cum intelleximus quod vestri preposeti seu justiciarii de Portemue in Anglia nauem Sancti Marie de Sancto Maclonio de insula cuius nauis Guillermus Aubant ciuis Macloniensis lator presencium est magister arrestauerunt et detineant arrestatam cum vinis existentibus in eadem pro eo quod ipsi asserunt ut intelleximus quod nauis et vina predicta sunt hominum vestrorum de Vasconia seu pars aliqua eorundem Nouerit vestra serenitas veneranda quod dicta nauis est dicti magistri et quorundam aliorum ciuium macloniensium. Nec in ipsa naui habet aliquis de Vasconia partem ullam. Et de dictis vinis sunt sex dolia et due pipe dicti magistri .. decem dolia Nicholai pillart .. viginti duo dolia et due pipe Radulphi genchan .. unum dolium Stephani lestouchie .. uuum dolium iohannis de Capella .. unum dolium Radulphi Dinandi .. unum dolium Guillermi Lalwe .. unum dolium Alani Cucu .. unum dolium iohannis richardi .. unum dolium iordani burlion .. due dolia iohannis Anglici .. duo dolia iohannis Jahennis . unum dolium Peırote Ranulphi .. unum dolium robini de Paluel civium macloniensium Et quatuor dolia Radulphi iouuin et iohannis eueni de dolensi dyocesi nautarum dicte nauis de quibus vinis nichil debent alicui Vasconi dicti ciues ne predicti magister Nicholaus Pillart Radulphus Genchon, Stephanus lestouchie Johannes de Capella radulphus Dinandi Guillermus Lalote Alanus Cucu Johannes Richardi et Jordanus burlon nobis asseruerunt per sua iuramenta quae super hiis recepimus ab eisdem Et ut accepimus a pluribus aliis fidedignis quibus fidem super hiis adhibemus Residuum vero dictorum sunt ut nobis datum sint intelligere quorundam burgensium de Sancto iacobo de beuron Dyocesis Abbrincensis hominum illustrissimi principis Domini Regis Francie et quorundam burgensium de Dinanno Macloniensis Dyocesís hominum nobilis viri domini Ducis britannie unde serenitatem vestram in Domino commendantes Requirimus et Rogamus quatinus de Serenitati vestro placeat dictam nauem et vina predicta saltem ciuium macloniensium predictorum facere liberari .. Datae apud Sanctum Maclonium de insula Alannie et in remotis agente Reuerendo in Christo Patre et domino Macloniensi episcopo die Veneris ante festum Purificacionis Beate Marie Virginis anno Domini M° CC° octogesimo non[o]." (No endorsement).

This is written in a fine clear hand, the ink a good deal faded towards the end. The St. Mary of St. Malo, William Aubant, master, had been captured by the Portsmouth authorities under the belief that she and her cargo of wines were the property of Edward's men of Gascony. The Prior and Chapter state the contrary, and give a minute list of the shippers, chiefly citizens of St. Malo. The master, who is the bearer of the letter to the king, and two of the sailors, are also shippers, The name of one of these men, "John the son of Evan," shows his Breton origin. Saint James de Beuvron, some of the burgesses of which are said to be part owners of the wine, is a border town of Normandy on the Breton frontier, and as a fortress played an important part in the war which saw the English expelled from that province. According to a charter cited by Mabillon, the castle was built by William the Conqueror in 1067. It stood on the edge of a steep and narrow valley, and some remains of walls and bastions still attest its strength. Dinan, an ancient seat of the dukes of Brittany, is better known.

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Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

1876.

In consequence of the serious illness of the Honorary Secretary, Mr. Burtt, no Meetings were held in November and December, by order of the Council.

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The Late Mr. Burtt.

Among the many losses the Archæological Institute has been called of late to sustain there is not one which will have been more widely felt and more sincerely deplored than that of its late Honorary Secretary, Mr. Joseph Burtt. From his long connection with the Institute, of which he was a valued member, and contributor to its proceedings for some years before he entered upon his official engagement as Secretary, few were more completely identified with our body, and none have ever laboured with greater diligence, and more zeal and intelligence for its welfare. Becoming Honorary Secretary in 1862, Mr. Burtt was for years, as has been truly said, "the prime mover and guiding spirit" in all the operations of the Society. The arrangements for the monthly meetings, and the difficult task of securing suitable memoirs for reading, and objects of interest for exhibition, devolved upon him, and like all that he undertook, however wearisome, was performed with untiring energy and never-failing good humour.

To Mr. Burtt also, after failure of health compelled the late Mr. Albert Way to retire from that duty, was year by year entrusted the responsible and anxious task of organizing and carrying out the Annual Congresses, and to his tact and courtesy, together with his clear head and calm business-like habits, the success of these gatherings has been mainly due. Few could have executed the preliminary duty of visiting the proposed place of meeting, stimulating the languid, encouraging the desponding, and awakening a general interest in the coming visit of the Institute, with so much delicacy and judgment as our lamented friend. The writer of this notice has on several occasions been associated with Mr. Burtt in the correspondence and other arrangements for the Annual Meeting, as well as in carrying these arrangements into effect, and he can truly say that he never knew one with whom his unfailing good sense and good nature made it more pleasant to work, and who impressed one more with the sense of earnest determination and hopeful courage. In the face of all difficulties, Mr. Burtt's resolve was that each meeting as it came should be a success; nor was he ever greatly disappointed.

During Mr. Albert Way's gradually failing health, the task of editing the Journal of the Institute was entrusted to Mr. Burtt, who became more and more responsible for it, until ultimately the whole burden devolved upon him. His untiring energy found a congenial exercise in bringing up the arrears of the publication, and making it increasingly worthy of the Society, whose organ it was. In this Mr. Burtt was ably seconded by several leading members of the

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Institute, and the growing excellence of the Journals during the two or three years preceding his decease was most marked. Another very laborious work undertaken by him, in addition to his other labours, was the preparation of the index to the volumes of the "Archæological Journal," from its commencement. He was engaged upon this when his fatal illness began. It is satisfactory to be able to state that our lamented friend's unfinished work has been taken up by the able hands of Sir John Maclean, and will, it is hoped, be before very long in the hands of the Subscribers. This Index will show how largely the Journal has been indebted to Mr. Burtt's pen. But his acknowledged contributions only show a small portion of the labour bestowed by him in working up the rough material furnished by others into a form suitable for appearance in its pages.

Mr. Burtt was also a contributor of archæological articles to the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Athenæum*. A paper of his appeared in the "Archæologia Cantiana," vol. vi.

The second volume of the "Miscellany" published by the Camden Society contains "the Household Expenses of John of Brabant" (son of the Duke of Brabant, and husband of Margaret, daughter of Edward I) and "Thomas and Henry of Lancaster" (sons of the king's brother, Edmund Earl of Lancaster), in the year 1292-3, from the original roll in the Chapter House, from which place the Introduction is dated "Dec. 1852."

We have spoken of Mr. Burtt hitherto only in connection with the Archæological Institute, but it must not be forgotten that his archæological reputation was won in another field, before he became officially connected with our body. Born in 1818, he commenced his life-work when a lad of fourteen, under Sir Francis Palgrave in the Chapter House at Westminster. "Under that able and learned antiquary," to quote an appreciative notice that appeared shortly after his death in the Athenæum, "he served his apprenticeship, being chiefly employed on work connected with the Record Commission until the year 1840, when he was appointed to a clerkship in the New Record Establishment. He continued his labours for many years at the Chapter House, arranging and making inventories of the valuable collection of ancient records formerly stored in that depository. In August 1851 he was promoted to an assistant keepership of the second class, and was made a first class assistant keeper in June 1859. About this time he superintended the removal to the new Record Office, and the arrangement therein of the vast mass of documents which had been lying (many of them in a state of disorder) for centuries in the Old Chapter House." The calendaring of the Chancery Records of Durham was a task in which he was engaged for many years in addition to his other official duties.

Mr. Burtt had very few equals as a decipherer of ancient documents. The writer of this notice made his first personal acquaintance with Mr. Burtt in this character. He was examining some rolls of Isabella de Fortibus, connected with her possessions in the Isle of Wight, and was baffled by some mediæval contractions. The document was shewn to some able palæographists belonging to the office in vain, and the cry arose, "Send for Burtt, he'll make it out." Mr. Burtt's attendance was requested, and without a moment's hesitation the words were read off. On another occasion the writer remembers taking to Mr. Burtt a dirty crumpled piece of parchment covered with writing by an

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illiterate hand, in pale ink, with the remark "Here's something that I think will baffle you." But the apparently illegible document was speedily deciphered, almost as easily as if it had been written in a clerkly hand.

Mr. Burtt was always most ready to devote his archæological and palæographical knowledge to the service of others. For some years he was employed in his private capacity by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster in examining and describing the muniments connected with that ancient monastic foundation. He also performed the same services to a minor extent for the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral. Some of the interesting historical documents discovered by him in this latter collection have been printed and illustrated in the pages of this Journal.

Floriculture was Mr. Burtt's favourite recreation. Both at Brixton, and afterwards at Tulse Hill, he was accustomed to devote his mornings and evenings to his garden with great success. Chrysanthemums were his especial hobby, and he took great pride in the varied hues and perfect forms of his favourites, which he tended and sheltered with affectionate care.

As a friend and colleague Mr. Burtt secured the respect and affection of all with whom he was connected. His well-stored mind, his genial character, his forgetfulness of self, and readiness to oblige, endeared him to all who knew him, who feel that his premature decease has left a gap in the circle of the friends that it will be impossible ever to fill up. The loss to the Archæological Institute of one who had its interests so zealously at heart, and who laboured so untiringly and intelligently for their promotion, is incalculable; though happily not so entirely irreparable as that sustained by his widow and large family.

E. V.

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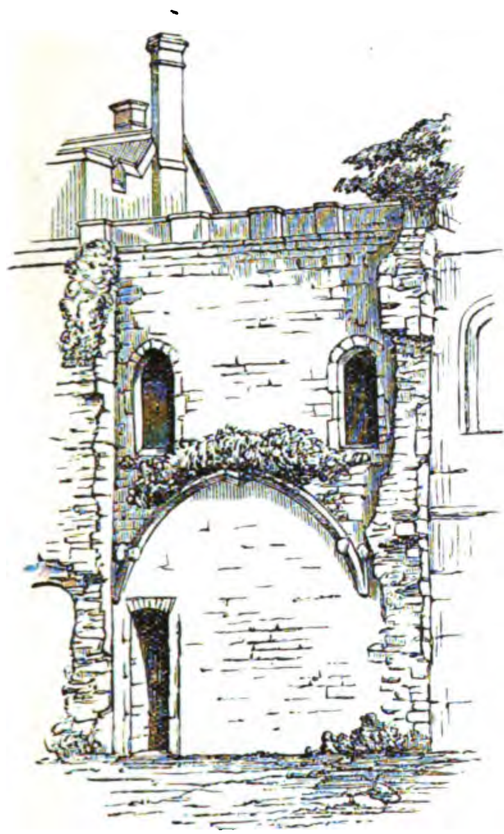
Notices of Archaeological Publications.

ANNALS OF WINCHCOMBE AND SUDELEY, by EMMA DENT. London Murray, 1877.

It is very gratifying when owners of historic sites take such an interest in them as has been so lovingly shewn by Mrs. Dent in her "Annals of Winchcombe and Sudeley." Few places have witnessed greater vicissitudes than Sudeley Castle. We will not dwell upon the pre-historic description of the district, and the evidences of Roman occupation so profusely found on the Sudeley estate, as illustrated by a Roman villa found on Wadfield farm in 1863, the ground plan of which, together with a fine pavement, is given by Mrs. Dent. Nor will we linger over the tragic history of the Saxon rule in Winchcombe, as the capital of the kingdom of Mercia, where Offa founded a nunnery in 787. This was soon afterwards superseded by a monastery of the great Benedictine Order, and the legends, traditions, and superstitions connected with its early history are very pleasantly related by our author, who prints, at length, the life of St. Kenelm, from the Saxon MS. in the Bodleian Library.



West View of Embattled Tower.

The early history of Sudeley Castle, in which our interest more particularly centres, is very obscure. It is not mentioned in the Domesday Survey, and hence it was, probably, one of the many adulterine castles erected in the troublous time of King Stephen. No trace of works so early can now, however, be found, unless a portion of a low embattled tower, now forming a part of a cellar, be of that date, as it was considered to be by Sir Gilbert Scott when making a survey of the castle in 1854.

The number of castles erected for purposes of offence and defence

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without license during the civil war between the Empress Maud and Stephen was very great, and many of them were dismantled and destroyed in the following reign. Henco it is not surprising that few remains of the original Castle of Sudeley now exist.

Mrs. Dent traces the devolution of the Manor of Sudeley from King Ethelred, who being thereof seized granted it to his youngest daughter Goda, whose husband, Walter de Nantes, held it "in right of the King." From the said Walter it descended to his son Ralph, called "the Earl," whose son Harold held it at the time of the Domesday Survey. From Harold it passed to his son John, who, by Grace daughter of William Tracy, had two sons, Ralph and William. Ralph succeeded his father at Sudeley, and William, the younger son, who assumed from his mother the name of Tracy, was one of the murderers of St. Thomas (Becket) Archbishop of Canterbury. Ralph died in 1192, and was succeeded by Otuer (usually called Otwell), his son and heir, who granted certain lands in Blakepit to Winchcombe Priory, the charter of which is preserved in the British Museum with its seal appendant.[1] Otuer, dying s.p., was succeeded by his brother Ralph, whose son Ralph succeeded him having livery of siezin in 1222. Mrs. Dent favours us also with the seal of this Ralph, as appended to a charter also in the British Museum.[2]

Seal of Otuer de Sudeley.

From the last named Ralph the castle and manor descended to his great grandson John de Sudeley, who died in 1340, leaving by his wife Alianora (called by Mrs. Dent "Eleanor") daughter of the Lord Scales, an only son of his own name, and two daughters Joan and Margery. John died in 1367 s.p., when Thomas Boteler son of his eldest sister Joan, who had married William Boteler of Wemme, and Margery younger sister of the aforesaid John, were found to be his nearest heirs. In the partition of the estates, the Castle and Manor of Sudeley

Seal of Ralph de Sudeley.

[1] Sloane Charters xxxiii, 3.
[2] Addl. Charters xx, 395.

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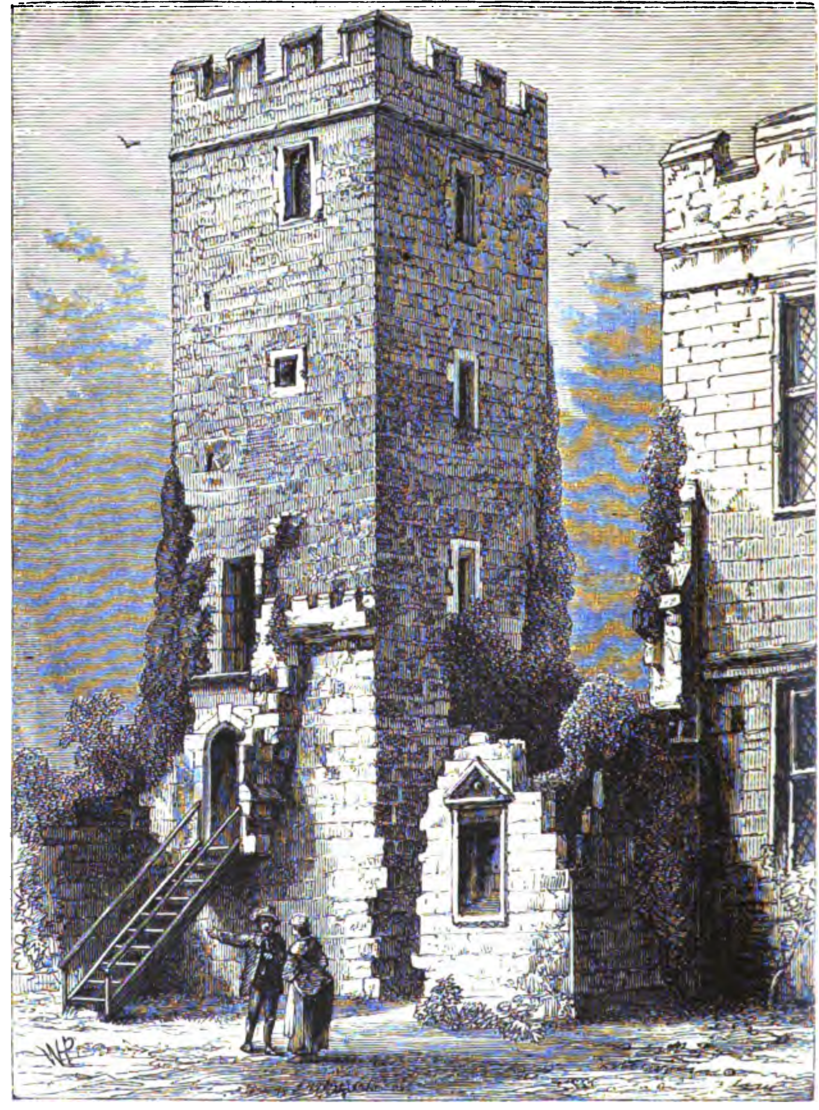

Portmare Tower.

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fell to the share of Thomas Boteler, who, eventually, by the death of his aunt Margery, became sole heir, but though inheriting the Barony he was never summoned to Parliament. Ralph son of Thomas and Joan, Mrs. Dent tells us, was one of the most illustrious owners of the castle. He greatly distinguished himself in the French wars, and held several high offices of state. In 1441 he was, by letters patent, created Baron Boteler of Sudeley. He rebuilt the castle, chiefly from spoils taken in the war. Portmare Tower, according to tradition, derived its name from the French Admiral whom Boteler had made prisoner, and whose ransom was given to him by the king.

Lord Boteler was also a great benefactor to the neighbouring churches, and, among other works of charity, rebuilt the church of Winchcombe. He was, however, a stout Lancastrian, and after the result of the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury, of course, fell into discredit, and eventually was obliged, at the demand of King Edward IV, to convey his castle of Sudeley, which he had with so much affection and cost re-edified, to certain persons who, the year following, conveyed the castle and manor together with the advowson of the church, to Richard Duke of Gloucester. Richard in 1478 exchanged them with the king for the Castle of Richmond, in Yorkshire, but on his accession to the crown they again fell into his hands. After the battle of Bosworth they passed to Henry, Earl of Richmond, and were granted to his uncle Jaspar Tudor, upon whose death in 1497 s.p., they again reverted to the crown.

Mrs. Dent refers to the great festival in dedication of the Monastery of Winchcombe by King Kenulf when she supposes St. Kenelm was baptized, and when Kenulph at the high altar liberated Eadbert, who being of royal blood had become professed, but had left his cell and assumed the crown of Kent, and had been defeated and taken prisoner by the King of Mercia. On the morrow after the dedication there was a great hunting party, and according to tradition the king finally took leave of his guests on Cleve Down, where a stone was erected to commemorate the event. On this stone Camden says there was a rude inscription on the upper side, and Mrs. Dent states that there is now an inscription on the same side, "seemingly not long since cut with a tool, in Roman characters, called 'Huddlestone's Table.'" She does not, however, show any connection between the Huddlestone family and this district. This we can supply.

The manor and castle of Sudeley, &c., being in the hand of Henry VII by the death of his uncle, by letters patent, dated 4 Sept. 1505,[1] a grant was made to John Huddleston, Knight of the Royal Body, for life of the manor and lordship of Sudeley, together with the advowson of the church, and lands, &c., in Sudeley, Todryngton, Stanley, Grette Gretton, Catesthorp, and Newnton in co. Gloucester, described as late the property of Ralph Boteler and Alice his wife, and of a rent of one hundred shillings per annum, payable to the king for the herbage and pannage of Sudeley Park; also all the possessions of the king within the said manor and villes (the Castle of Sudeley excepted) with all courts and all other privileges. He was also exonerated from the repair and support of the castle, the custody of which was included in the grant. Sir John Huddleston died soon afterwards, and it was doubtless some incident during his brief occupation which led to the inscription referred to by

[1] Pat. Rolls, 21st Henry VII, part 3, m. 16.

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Mrs. Dent. We may also add to Mrs. Dent's account the fact that the lands of Sudeley, as above described, being again in the king's hands, by letters patent dated 29th March 1508-9,[2] were granted, in mortmain, to Richard Keddermynster the Abbot and the Canons of the monastery of St. Mary and St. Kenelm of Winchecombe, which grant was vacated and the patent surrendered on 13th November 1510, from which time the lands remained vested in the crown until granted, together with the then lately dissolved monastery of Winchcombe, to Sir Thomas Seymour, afterwards created Lord Seymour of Sudeley.

We must here briefly advert to the Abbey of Winchcombe. Among the most able of her abbots was Richard Kidderminster, the last but one, whom we have just mentioned, who was appointed in 1488. Willis says: "He was a learned man, and by his wise government and his encouragement of virtue and good letters made the Monastery flourish so much that it was equal to a little University." Abbot Kidderminster was an eloquent preacher, and he vehemently opposed the statute of 4th Henry VIII depriving the clergy of certain privileges, preaching against it at Paul's Cross. What, however, is more to our present purpose, he wrote a History of the Monastery from the time King Kenulph founded the Church to the Abbot's own day. The history of this work is very singular. After the dissolution of the Abbey it fell into the hands of a farmer, who produced it at an assize at Gloucester in support of some claim he had made. Sir William Morton, the then Lord of the site of Winchcombe Abbey, was present, who, by some means, got it out of the farmer's hands, and taking it to his chambers in the Temple it was eventually destroyed in the Great Fire of London, but fortunately Dugdale had previously made some extracts from it. To Abbot Kidderminster succeeded Richard Ancelme, who with his monks in 1539 surrendered the Abbey to the King, the revenues being valued at £759 11s. 9d. per annum. The Abbey being included in the grant to Sir Thomas

Seal of Abbot Ancelme.

[2] Pat. Roll, 24th Henry VII, part 1, m. 18.

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Seymour, the whole of the buildings, except the Abbot's house, were by him taken down and destroyed, so that scarcely a fragment now remains to mark the site of this once famous house, one of the three mitred abbeys in the county of Gloucester.

We must not omit to notice the tomb of St. Kenelm. Leland says that: "There lay buried in the east part of the church of the Monastery of Winchcombe Kenulphus and Kenelmus, the father and sonne, both Kings of Merches." In 1815 Mr. Williams, then of the Abbey House, made extensive excavations on what was supposed to be the site of the ancient abbey. The foundations of the church were clearly traced, and several ponderous stone coffins, containing the remains of human skeletons, were discovered, but the circumstance which attracted the most attention arose from the examination of a small stone coffin at the east end of the interior of the church, close to the side of another of the usual size. Upon the removal of the stone which covered it there appeared a skull with a few of the other larger bones, and a very long-bladed knife, which was a mass of rust and fell to pieces on being handled. These were believed to be the remains of the young king Kenelm, murdered, as stated in the "Golden Legend," at the instance of his wicked sister Quenrida, and of the instrument with which the bloody deed was perpetrated; whilst the larger coffin was thought to contain the remains of his father King Kenulf, by whose side, some of the chroniclers tell us, the body of his son was buried.

There is no portion of the history of Sudeley of greater interest than the short time in which it was in the possession of Sir Thomas Seymour. Handsome, courtly, courageous, ambitious, bold, and, like most of his contemporaries, unscrupulous, he was one of the most prominent personages of the period in which he lived. A great favourite with King Henry VIII, he was entrusted, not only with important commands both by sea and land, but was also employed in difficult and delicate missions, all of which he accomplished to the entire satisfaction of his capricious master. So great was the king's favour towards him that in the dissolution of the religious houses, like other members of his family, he shared largely in the plunder of the Church, and the king not only designated him for a peerage, but appointed him one of the executors for carrying out the provisions of his will. In 1547 he was created Lord Seymour of Sudeley, and received, by the gift of his nephew, Edward VI, the Castle and Manor of Sudeley, and the possessions of the dissolved Abbey of Winchcombe. His ambition led him to aspire successively to the hands of the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, and failing in this, he made advances to the widowed Queen Katherine, by whom, as appears from her letter to him, now in the Sudeley collection, which is given us in fac-simile by Mrs. Dent, he was more than readily accepted; the Queen avowing, "My mynd was fully bent the other tyme I was at libertye" (that is in her previous widowhood) "to marye you before any man I know."

The marriage having taken place, great preparations were made at Sudeley by Seymour to receive, with fitting splendour, his royal bride. The neglected and delapidated castle was renovated, and suitable accommodation was carefully provided for the expectant infant. Here Seymour and the Queen lived in great magnificence, but the period of their felicity was very short. Katherine gave birth to a daughter, and died in childbed, and Seymour, though doubtless turbulent and

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ambitious, without trial or proof of crime, was sent to the block by his weak and jealous brother.

By the death and attainder of Seymour, Sudeley Castle again reverted to the Crown, and though Mary, Seymour's infant daughter, was restored in blood and honours, she was deprived of all the rich possessions of her parents, much of which, including Sudeley Castle, was secured to himself by her uncle the Marquis of Northampton, but fell again to the Crown upon his attainder for the share he took in the cause of Lady Jane Grey. By Queen Mary it was conferred upon Sir John Bridges, who was created Lord Chandos of Sudeley in 1554, from whom it descended to his grandson, Grey fifth Lord Chandos, who died in 1621, leaving George his son and heir an infant of a year old. He became of age upon the breaking out of the great rebellion, and was very remarkable for his daring and valour in the cause of his sovereign. Sudeley Castle was several times taken and retaken, and was, at one period, the head quarters of the king, who, from "our camp at Sudeley Castle," in 1643, addressed his famous letter to the County of Cornwall. In the following year Sudeley was in the hands of the rebels, and Lord Chandos, who had behaved with great loyalty and bravery throughout the war, most unexpectedly, and without any apparent cause, surrendered himself to the Parliament. He was deprived of his seat in the House of Lords and compelled to take the National Covenant and Negative Oath, and though he was admitted to compound for his estates Sudeley Castle was not restored to him, and in 1649 the Council of State ordered it to be "slighted," or rendered untenable as a military post, and it was soon afterwards entirely demolished. Lord Chandos died in 1655, of the small pox, s.p.m., and was succeeded by his brother William, but the Sudeley estate was settled upon Jane his relict, who, by a second marriage, carried it to George Pitt, whose great grandson, in 1776, was created Lord Rivers of Sudeley Castle.

In 1830 the bulk of the Sudeley estates became the property, by purchase, of Messrs. John and William Dent, and subsequently they acquired the castle and remainder of the land from the Duke of Buckingham. Through the taste and munificent liberality of the Dent family, the Castle and Church of Sudeley have, from an almost shapeless ruin, been restored to something like their former beauty and grandeur, and Mrs. Dent concludes her annals by saying: "Here I end my pleasant task, for pleasant it has been to gather up the records of the past, and retrace Winchcombe and Sudeley's many historic paths so often trodden with equal pleasure by those who have gone before. Equal did I say? Nay, that can never be! for who among them all have had the pleasure and the privilege of building up the waste places, and seeing life and beauty creep like sunshine once more over her crumbling and fallen walls."

Mrs. Dent has exhibited in the compilation of her work, extensive reading and a vast amount of research, and though we are unable, wholly, to agree in some of her conclusions, and think the mass of matter she has so industriously collected might have been somewhat better arranged, we are gratified in being able to state that we have read her interesting and superbly illustrated book with great satisfaction, and consider it a very valuable and important contribution to local history.

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THE FIRST BOOK OF THE PARISH REGISTERS OF MADRON, by GEORGE BOWN MILLETT. Penzance: Beare and Son.

The book here printed embraces the period from 1577 to about 1700, though some few leaves are missing, and, notwithstanding that the parish of Madron, which is the mother parish of Penzance, was not of so much consequence during the period over which this Register extends as it has since become by the rapid growth and just popularity of this the Madeira of England, the Parish Registers are of considerable interest, and Mr. Millett has executed his self-imposed task in a very complete, conscientious, and satisfactory manner.

The volume is printed *verbatim et literatim*, except that the constantly occurring words, "was baptized," &c. are omitted. Great care has been taken to preserve the varying orthography of proper names. In his valuable preface Mr. Millett fully describes the MS. he prints, which was stated by the vicar of the parish, more than half a century ago, "to be decayed, worm-eaten, and perishing," since which time it has suffered much from damp, and still more from having been entrusted to an ignorant and unskilful binder, who misplaced the leaves and so cruelly cut the edges as to destroy many of the entries. Mr. Millett also mentions in his preface many unusual Christian names which occur in the Register, and points out that there is now a tendency to disguise the sound of Cornish names in such a manner that we (Cornishmen) do not know them with their "foreign ring," and he states, what is worth knowing, that, as a rule, in all Cornish names the accent is laid upon the second syllable in words of two syllables, and on the next to the last on words of more than two.

Besides printing the Registers Mr. Millett has added an appendix containing a large collection of the most important and interesting monumental inscriptions in the church; a list of the incumbents of the benefice from the middle of the thirteenth century to the present time; and extended transcripts of various original documents in the Public Record Office, relating to the parish; and he has also supplied, that which greatly enhances the value of a work of this kind, a very full index.

Mr. Millett deserves the thanks of all who take an interest in Cornish genealogy, and we heartily wish that his book may have such a sale as to compensate him for the time and trouble he has bestowed upon it, so that he may be encouraged to undertake to edit and publish in the same manner the Registers of some other Cornish parish.

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Archaeological Intelligence.

The remarkable discovery of a Roman *castrum* at Templeborough has been so well described by Mr. W. Thompson Watkin in a letter to the *Sheffield Independent* that we gladly reproduce his observations for our readers:—

"The uncovering of a Roman *castrum* at Templeborough is an event which should create the deepest interest amongst the antiquaries of Sheffield and its neighbourhood. For my own part I am quite sensible that it will be the means of filling up a considerable *hiatus* in the map of Roman Britain. Beyond the fact of the existence of an earthwork at Templeborough, generally supposed to be Roman, Anglo-Roman antiquaries knew absolutely nothing of interest in this neighbourhood, with the exception of a few isolated discoveries of coins, and the appearance of small fragments of Roman roads here and there. The time has, however, arrived when these disjointed fragments of roads can be connected, and an idea formed of their course.

"Having long studied Britanno-Roman topography, I have been asked for an opinion as to the Roman name of the newly discovered castrum. With this request I will endeavour to comply, but my answer must of necessity, at present, be confined to stating probabilities. Nothing but further discoveries, especially of inscribed stones, can fix the name with certainty.

"In the first place, then, I must at once say that the *castrum* at Templeborough cannot be an Itinerary station. Every station named in the Itinerary as being in this neighbourhood has been long since identified. Nor does there appear to be any station named in the geography of Ptolemy which will correspond. There remain, therefore, the *Notitia Imperii* and Chorography of Ravennas to be consulted. In the former there is this remarkable feature noticeable. Its author, in describing each section of Britain, gives the names of the stations either from north to south, or from east to west, and always gives the cavalry stations separately (in the same order) except upon the line of the great wall, where he names the stations in regular succession. It was upon this principle that in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxviii, p. 126, I allotted the name *Concangium* to the Roman Station at Greta Bridge. In section lxiii this author names first the three cavalry stations under the command of the Duke of Britain, before naming those garrisoned by infantry. The former are *Praesidium*, garrisoned by the *Equites Dalmatarum; Danum*, garrisoned by the *Equites Crispaniorum*; and *Morbium*, garrisoned by the *Equites Cataphractariorum*. Now, where were these stations? We know the site of one of them, *Danum*, which the Antonine Itinerary proves to have been at Doncaster. Of the other two, was one to the north of Doncaster, and the other to

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the south; or was one to the east of it, and the other to the west? Since the Templeborough discovery, I incline to the former hypothesis.

"The great station at Malton is known to have been a cavalry station, from an inscription on a tombstone found there, commemorating a soldier of the *Equites Singulares*. Some antiquaries have recently given to it the name of the *Derventio* of the Itinerary, from the fact of its being situated on the river Derwent, but this is in total contradiction to the Itinerary itself, which places *Derventio* at only seven miles from York. This *Derventio* has generally been previously placed near Stamford Bridge, but wherever it was, it appears to have been only a small intermediate station or *mutatio*, and cannot have been as far from York as Malton is. I am inclined to consider Malton to be the *Præsidium* of the *Notitia*, especially as the Emperor's body guard of cavalry (*Equites Singulares*) were at one time stationed there. But where was the station south of Doncaster, *Morbium?* Was it at Templeborough? Singularly enough the great Horsley (though apparently on different grounds from those I have mentioned), in his "Britannia Romana," published one hundred and forty-five years ago, placed it there; and for the reasons above stated I am inclined to think there is a *probability* of the newly discovered castrum being the site. The *Equites Cataphractariorum* who garrisoned *Morbium* were a body of cavalry, clothed in armour from head to foot. They were chiefly Sarmatians, *i.e.*, Poles, and their weapon was the spear or lance. Their modern counterpart was to be found in the Polish lancers serving in the armies of Napoleon I. Should an inscription naming this corps be found during the excavations, no doubt can exist as to the name of the *castrum*. Mr. Roach Smith has correctly read the inscription on the tile discovered as *C(ohors) IIII G(allorum)*, but this merely shows that it was the 4th Cohort of the Gauls which built the fortress.

"There is, however, another view which may be taken as to the name of the fortress, based upon the Chorography of Ravennas. This author, apparently proceeding *from* east *to* west, gives the names of the following stations between Lincoln and Manchester :—*Bannovallum*, *Navio*, *Aquæ*, *Arnemeza*, *Zierdotalia*. In the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxiii, p. 54, I have shown, from the evidence of an inscription on a Roman milestone found near Buxton, and marking eleven miles from *Navio*, that the station bearing that name was probably at Brough, near Castleton, Derbyshire; whilst as to the name of the next station, *Aquæ* (The Waters), there is but one place in the neighbourhood to which it would apply—Buxton. There several Roman roads centre, many Roman remains have been found, and the Roman baths were only finally destroyed in the last century. The *castrum* at Brough is a fine one, many Roman remains have been found, but it has never been excavated. It is connected by a direct Roman road with Buxton. But what of the station (*Bannovallum*) immediately preceding *Navio* in the Ravennas' list? It must have been situated between Lincoln and Brough. Was it the *castrum* at Templeborough? Mr. J. D. Leader has shown in his interesting lecture on "Roman Rotherham" (and by a study of the Ordnance Map, I can confirm his statement), that Brough and Templeborough were connected by a Roman road, similar to that between Brough and Buxton. There is here strong evidence in favour of *Bannovallum* being the Roman name of Templeborough.

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The termination of the name, *Vallum* (Wall), is significant when viewed in the light of the recent discoveries.

"It is therefore most probable that the name of the station at Templeborough was either *Morbium* or *Bannovallum*, but the only certain method of arriving at the right name will be by the discovery of an inscription in the *castrum* itself giving us further particulars.

"The question may, however, arise, Why was not the station named in the Itinerary? To this it may be replied that, of the many stations named in the *Notitia*, only *ten* occur in the Itinerary. In fact, in tracing some of the Iters, especially the first and second, we find some very large walled stations existing, of which the Iters take no notice, such as Risingham, Lanchester, Pierse Bridge, and Greta Bridge. Why was this? Simply because these stations did not exist at the time the Itinerary was compiled, *circa* A.D. 138-140, but were built by Septimus Severus at the commencement of the third century. I have dwelt upon this at some length in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxviii, p. 124. The station at Templeborough may have been built by Severus, or possibly even existed at the date of the Itinerary, but as it does not stand upon the route of any of the Itinera (like many other Roman stations), until it yields its own history nothing can be said.

"In the meantime I would press upon those conducting the excavations the importance of exploring the gateways. These were surmounted by a slab bearing the name of the emperor reigning at the time the fortress was constructed, the name of the imperial governor of Britain for the time being, and the name of the cohort which erected the buildings. These slabs have generally been found at other stations either just inside the gateway or amongst the *debris* in the fosse in front of it, and sometimes a little further on the opposite bank of the fosse.

"Such are a few of the suggestions which have forced themselves upon my mind, when reading the account of the excavations already made. I shall be glad to hear of further discoveries, which certainly cannot fail to be most interesting."

Since the above remarks were written, a large building, colonnaded on two sides, has been discovered; the excavations are still proceeding, a portion of one of the gateways with the remains of a guard-house have been laid bare, and more tiles inscribed *C IIII G* have been found. We shall look forward with interest to further communications from Mr. Watkin on the subject.

Mr. Burn, the author of "Rome and the Campagna," proposes, if a sufficient number of subscribers can be found, to publish a relievo map of Rome in embossed papier maché, shewing the configuration of the site of the city and the course of the Tiber through it. The size of the map will be 22 × 25 inches, and it will comprise the district enclosed by the Aurelian walls and by those of the Trastevere and the Vatican. Subscriptions, twenty-five shillings, will be received by the Rev. R. Burn, 15, Brookside, Cambridge, up to the end of the present year, when the list will be closed.

Mr. W. H. Hamilton Rogers has published by subscription, in medium quarto, price thirty-five shillings, "The Ancient Sepulchral Effigies and Monumental and Memorial Sculpture of Devon," from 1250 to 1550, illustrated by engravings of about 100 effigies and monuments, with 280 smaller illustrations of brasses, details of costume, badges, inscriptions, &c. This comprehensive work was begun some

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years ago, and forms a valuable addition to the history of this well favoured county. With the exception of Yorkshire and Northamptonshire no English county contains so large a number of monumental effigies as Devonshire, and we welcome their publication.

"THE MISERERES" of Beverley Minster are in course of publication by Mr. T. T. Wildridge in twelve parts, price eleven shillings each. Subscriptions will be received by the Author, Dock Co., Hull.

A NEW Archæological Society for the South West of Scotland, with the title of "The Ayrshire and Wigtonshire Archæological Association," has been lately established under the presidency of the Earl of Stair, for the purpose of publishing illustrated descriptions of the Pre-historic and Mediæval Remains in these counties, and printing Early Charters and other Documents relating to the History and Antiquities of the District.

So little appears to be known now about the artists, Price, who restored the window in St. Margaret's Church (see vol. xxxiii, p. 454), that we venture to give our readers a copy of their modest advertisement:—

"GLASS-PAINTING Reviv'd.

"Whereas the ancient Art of Painting and Staining Glass has been much discouraged, by reason of an Opinion generally received, That the *Red Colour* (not made in *Europe* for many years) is totally lost; These are to give Notice, that the said *Red* and all other Colours are made to as great a degree of Curiosity and Fineness as in former Ages by *William* and *Joshua Price*, Glasiers and Glass-Painters, near *Hatton-Garden* in Holborn, *London*; where Gentlemen may have Church-History, Coats of Arms, &c. Painted upon Glass, in what colours they please, to as great Perfection as ever; and draws Sun-dyals on Glass, Wood or Stone, &c., and cuts Crown Glass, with all sorts of ordinary Glass, and performs all kinds of Glazing-work."

We have evidence that Joshua Price restored the painted windows in Denton Church, near Bungay, for Archdeacon Postlethwaite, in 1716-19, and like restorers of all periods, he appears to have been more anxious to put in his own work than to reinstate the old glass. He was nevertheless described as "the notest man for that art."

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Correspondence.

To the Editor of the *Archæological Journal.*

Dear Sir,—In the "Journal" of the Archæological Association (vol. xxxiii, part 3) Mr. Irvine has made a friendly attack upon me on the subject of "Wide-jointed and Fine-jointed Masonry." I have long been accustomed to consider this to be a distinguishing feature between the eleventh and twelfth century, according to the words of William of Malmesbury, who wrote in the early part of the twelfth century, and in describing the buildings of Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, the greatest builder of his time, says, the walls were so admirably built that *they appeared to be all of one stone*, clearly showing that the writer was not accustomed to see fine-jointed masonry. Prof. Willis also showed the members of the Institute the same thing in his lectures at Canterbury and at Winchester, especially the latter, where the outer walls of the transepts, which are of the eleventh century, are all wide-jointed, and the parts rebuilt with the central tower, after it fell upon the body of William Rufus, and therefore early twelfth century, are fine-jointed. I have found the same thing in scores of other instances both in England and in Normandy, where I was generally accompanied by M. G. Bouet, who made me drawings of them, and we had an Itinerary given to us by the late M. Arcisse de Caumont, my much valued friend for many years, and the best Norman antiquary of his day. I was the first to give this clue to them, and they verified it on many occasions with the French Archæological Society, especially in the two celebrated abbey churches at Caen, which they examined with much care, and ascertained by means of the jointing of the masonry that the vaults and clerestoreys are additions of the latter half of the twelfth century; they originally had flat wooden ceilings as at Peterborough. It is therefore evident that this is a useful distinction between *early Norman and late Norman* buildings, and these are usually the one of the eleventh century, the other of the twelfth.

Nevertheless, Mr. Irvine has proved his point as far as it goes; but none of the buildings that he cites are *Norman*; they are all of the style or type usually called Anglo-Saxon, and the buildings of this kind are more often of the eleventh century than any other period. The Norman Conquest made no *immediate* change of style of building in England. For a generation after that to the end of the eleventh century there was an *overlapping of the styles*; the Norman had been introduced into England *before* the Conquest by Edward the Confessor at Westminster (as we can still see by the remains of his buildings), but this was the *new fashion*; many *old fashioned* people continued to build in the style of their fathers; perhaps the Saxon prejudice against the Normans added to this old fashion. It is certain that many of the buildings called Anglo-Saxon are of the time of the Conquest, or even later. The churches in the lower town at Lincoln are well known examples;

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they are strictly of the Anglo-Saxon type, though built after the Conquest. A large proportion of this class of buildings is in the eastern counties, which were the Danes' land in the eleventh century, and there is every probability that when the Danes first became Christians they were very zealous church builders, and followed the example set by the King Canute (or Cnut), who ordered a stone church to be built where a wooden one had been burnt in his wars, at Ashington in Essex. But the truth must be acknowledged that to call the styles of architecture by the names of the centuries, though very convenient, and in the main correct, is sometimes misleading, and is so in this instance. The width of the joints is a useful distinction between early and late Norman buildings; but a large proportion of the buildings of the eleventh century in England are not Norman, and the distinction does not apply to the Anglo-Saxon buildings.

Formerly, it is true, I did not acknowledge that there was any *Anglo-Saxon style*. but I am not ashamed to acknowledge that further observation during the last forty years has made me see that this was an error, though the best informed people of that time agreed with me, and considered all these pre-Norman buildings as debased Roman only. Rickman and his friends considered these buildings to be *before the year* 1000, and overlooked the eleventh century altogether, which was a very important building era.[1] The best authorities in foreign countries consider that the debased Roman continued to the year 1000, and after that time the national characters began to be introduced, and this seems to be equally the case in England. In the early part of the eleventh century the buildings were usually small, rude and clumsy; but a rapid improvement was going on *before* the Norman Conquest, and was stopped by the introduction of the Norman style in England, but not so in Germany for a much longer period.

Your obedient Servant,

JOHN HENRY PARKER, C.B.

Oxford, Nov. 22, 1877.

[1] See Viollet le Duc, "Dictionnaire de l'Architecture," for France, and Rosengarten, "Handbook of Architectural Styles," translated by W Collett-Sandars, for Germany.

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The Archaeological Journal.

JUNE, 1877.

THE SIEGE OF COLCHESTER.

BY C. R. MARKHAM, C.B.

The authorities for the history of the memorable Siege of Colchester, in the summer of 1648, are not, on the whole, so complete as those for some of the other great events during the Parliamentary War. The only eye-witness who has told the story in anything like satisfactory detail is Matthew Carter, the Quarter-Master-General of the insurgent forces, under the command of the Earl of Norwich. He, of course, gives an account of the siege from the point of view of his own side. The people of Colchester have a very different story to tell, which is condensed into the curious tract entitled "Colchester's Teares." This tract, with its quaint title, was re-printed in 1843 by Mr. W. Wire, of this town. Three tracts, describing separate events in the siege, will be found among the King's Pamphlets in the British Museum. The particulars of the siege, from the Parliamentary point of view, may be gathered from the pages of Rushworth, and some additional facts of importance from the Tanner MSS., from letters in the Fairfax Correspondence, and from Lord Fairfax's own short memorial. The real searcher after truth will confine himself to these contemporaneous sources of information. I fear that it is too frequently the case that Goldsmith or Hume are the authorities of those who form and express opinions on events of the Civil War. If we desire to do justice to both sides—to the besiegers as well as to the besieged—we must banish from our minds all political bias; the two sides must be to us, not Royalists and Roundheads, but the forces of Lord

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Norwich and Lord Fairfax, both ruled by the practices of civilized warfare—both enjoying the privileges, and subject to the recognised penalties, of martial law.

In order to understand the positure of affairs when the siege commenced, it will be well to cast a glance at events which immediately preceded it. Essex had, with the other associated counties, escaped almost entirely from the misery of being the theatre of war. The mass of the people and many of the chief men, such as Sir Thomas Honywood, Sir Harbottle Grimston, and others, had taken the side of the Parliament, and the King's party had never succeeded in making any head in the county. The citizens of Colchester were staunch Parliament men, and made short work of the Royalist leanings of the Lucas family, which had hitherto possessed considerable influence in the town. In 1644 the zealous townsmen seized upon Lord Lucas, destroyed his house on St. John's Green, and even broke open the family vault. This family of Lucas had been much connected with Colchester for nearly a century. John Lucas, the Town Clerk, bought the site of St. John's Abbey after the dissolution, and his son, Sir Thomas Lucas, was Recorder of Colchester in 1575. The grandson of John Lucas, also Sir Thomas, had four children, the eldest born before marriage. The rest were, John, created Baron Lucas by Charles I in 1644, whose heiress, Mary, married the Earl of Kent, and is the ancestress of the present Countess Cowper and Baroness Lucas; Sir Charles Lucas, whose name is indissolubly connected with the siege of Colchester; and Margaret, the literary and eccentric Duchess of Newcastle. With the exception of the Lucas family and a few others, Colchester and the county generally were for the Parliament; and, before the insurrection broke out in Kent, in the spring of 1641, it was supposed that the arbitrament of battle had been decided, and that peace had been restored to the country. The question had been fully fought out and settled.

In calling the men who disturbed this settlement, and renewed the disturbances, *insurgents*, I use the word in no disparaging sense. I simply wish to express a fact, and to make a clear distinction between them and the belligerents of the war that had come to an end. This

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was a new insurrection. The outbreak in Kent was promptly suppressed by Lord Fairfax, but there were plots in other parts of the country, and the time of Colchester's suffering had arrived. Hitherto the war clouds had kept clear of Essex, but now, at the last moment, they burst suddenly and fiercely over its chief city. There was little warning. It was not until the middle of May, 1648, that the tumults broke out in Kent, and in the beginning of June the Earl of Norwich, beaten and baffled, fled across the Thames and made his way into Essex. At Chelmsford he was joined by Lord Capel, Lord Loughborough, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and Col. Farre, with reinforcements, collected in Hertfordshire and Essex; and here ten Parliamentary Commissioners were seized as hostages. On the 10th of June, 1648, Lord Norwich marched from Chelmsford at the head of 4,000 men. This was on a Saturday. Late in the afternoon of the following Monday they approached this city by the Lexden road, and found the gate closed, and a body of armed citizens drawn up across the road. Sir Charles Lucas, with the advanced guard, galloped forward, followed by the main body, forced his way through the obstructing citizens, killed one of them, and then the gates were thrown open. The intention of the insurgent leaders was only to remain at Colchester a day or two, and then to march into the Midland Counties, where they hoped to receive reinforcements. But the rapid approach of Fairfax made them alter their plans. They conceived it would be impossible to continue their march with so active an enemy in their rear, and resolved to stand a siege. This decision was fatal to their cause. All the leaders of the insurrection were thus entrapped, and the prolongation of the siege only added to the sufferings of the people, without in any way rendering the prospects of the insurgent leaders more hopeful. In a military point of view, the decision to await the result of a siege was a gross blunder. A retreat to the Midland Counties, even if ending in a hurried flight, would have been wiser.

George Goring, the old Earl of Norwich. was a man of wit, and was excellent company. But he was no general; had been abroad with the Queen during the greater part

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of the civil war, and had little military experience. Nor were his officers able to supply the deficiencies of their chief. Capel was an honourable and chivalrous nobleman, who had joined the insurrection at the urgent request of the King. He had seen some service in the West Country; and Lord Loughborough headed a regiment of "blue coats" at Naseby. But neither had ever shown any capacity for command. Sir Charles Lucas had served for a short time in the Low Countries, and was at the sack of Breda. "Though brave and a gallant man to follow in battle, he was at all other times of a nature not to be lived with, rough and proud, and of an ill understanding. He was a mere soldier, unfit for any society but that of the guard room." At least so says Clarendon, and we gather much the same account from his sister. Yet as a soldier he had always failed. Beaten and taken prisoner at Marston Moor, he made a weak and unintelligent defence of Berkeley Castle; and was again beaten and taken prisoner at Stow-in-the-Wold, on the 23rd of March, 1646. He then gave his parole of honour never again to take arms against the Parliament until regularly exchanged. Sir George Lisle, judging from his antecedents, was the best officer in Colchester. He was knighted for his gallantry at Newbury, and led a brigade at Naseby with some ability, where he was wounded, being afterwards taken prisoner at Leicester. Clarendon says of him that to his fierceness and courage he added the softest and most gentle nature imaginable. Subsequently he was Governor of Farringdon, and surrendered that town on the same terms as Oxford, on June 24th, 1646, the officers undertaking never again to serve against the Parliament.

With reference to the events after the surrender of Colchester, it must be borne in mind that Sir Chas. Lucas and Sir George Lisle had given their words of honour, the former at Stow-in-the-Wold on the 23rd of March, and the latter at Farringdon on the 24th of June, 1646, not again to take up arms against the Parliament. They had deliberately broken faith, and received the punishment which, by the laws of civilized warfare, now, as then, was due to such an offence. Moreover they were acting in this way, with their eyes open to the consequences. Early in June, when Lord Fairfax was at Canterbury,

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he distinctly excepted men who had broken their parole of honour from any amnesty. Later in the same month he directly warned Lucas, by letter, that he had forfeited his honour, being a prisoner on parole, and, therefore, was not capable of trust in martial affairs. Lucas could not deny the fact. The excuse he made was, that he had compounded for his estates *since* he gave his parole. But this act was merely to enable him, by payment of a fine, to retain his possessions, on condition that he lived peaceably under the new order of things. It was an agreement with the civil power, and in no way released him from his military obligations.

Another leader was Colonel Farre, who was a deserter from the Parliamentary army. The other leading officers of insurgents were Bernardo Guasconi, a foreign adventurer; Sir William Compton with the remains of the Kentish fugitives; and Colonels Slingsly, Culpepper, Tilly, Tuke, and Bard. Matthew Carter was the quartermaster-general and historian of the siege. The garrison, thus assembled, numbered 3,400 foot and 600 cavalry, in all, 4,000 fighting men. The ten Parliamentary Commissioners captured at Chelmsford were retained as prisoners, to be made use of as occasion might suggest.

At the outset, Lord Norwich had the advantage of a large superiority in numbers, and a very strong position. Standing on the summit and side of a steep hill, looking to the north and east, with the river Colne making a circuit round its northern and eastern side, Colchester is a place of considerable natural strength. The walls were then complete, forming a parallelogram which enclosed 118 acres. They were, and what remains of them are, seven to eight feet thick, of large flints imbedded in lime, with several courses of Roman bricks, the whole having become, in the course of centuries, one solid mass. In the centre of the western wall there was, and still is, a semicircular bastion, called the *balkon;* in which was the principal inn of Colchester in those days, with the sign of the "King's Head." The north wall, running along the base of the hill, and facing the Colne, was of the same massive character; and the eastern wall had small semicircular flanking towers, intended for musketeer or for light ordnance. The south wall also appears, from the

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plan in Cromwell's "History of Colchester," to have had flanking towers. A ditch was carried along the swampy meadows at the foot of the north wall, and up the western hill side.

There were four gates and three posterns in the walls of Colchester. Near the western corner of the south wall, at the end of Head street, was the *Head Gate*, whence a lane turning sharp to the west, called Crouch street, leads to the London road over Lexden common. In about the centre of the south wall was the *Scherde Gate Postern*, whence a lane led to St. John's Gate House. Near the east end of the south wall was *St. Botolph's Gate*, which opened on to Magdalen street, and the road to the Hythe. In the centre of the east wall, at the end of High street, was *East Gate*, whence the road, crossing the river by a bridge, led to Ipswich. In the north wall were the *North Gate* at the foot of the steep North Hill, and the *Rye Gate Postern*, leading to a ford over the Colne, near a water mill called King's or Middle Mill. There was also a postern in the west wall, opening on St. Mary's Churchyard. On the highest part of the town, overhanging the west wall, is the Church of St. Mary's *ad muros*, with a strong square tower of the same materials as the town walls themselves, having massive buttresses at its angles. The old castle is some distance within the walls, and therefore did not come within the plan of the defences.

The defenders were strong enough to occupy the extensive ruins of the Benedictine Abbey of St. John's, outside the Scherde Gate Postern, and the ruined house of Lord Lucas. They also held the Hythe, the port of Colchester, and fortified St. Leonard's Church there. They had time to scour the surrounding country, and bring in stores of provisions; besides securing large supplies at the Hythe. But Fairfax was not a man to let the grass grow under his feet. He was close at their heels. On Sunday, the 11th of June, the day after they left Chelmsford, he crossed the Thames at Gravesend, and advanced to Brentwood. Leaving the main body to follow, he then galloped across the county to Coggeshall with an escort of ten men, where he found Sir Thomas Honywood at the head of 2000 Essex Volunteers. He was reinforced by Colonel Whalley's regiment, and on the 13th, only a day after the

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arrival of Lord Norwich in Colchester, Lord Fairfax marched across Lexden Common, and summoned the besieged to surrender.

A large body of Suffolk Volunteers had occupied Neyland bridge, and the other passes over the river Stour, to oppose any attempt of the besieged to escape northwards. For the siege Lord Fairfax eventually had four troops of horse, under Major Desborough, six troops under Colonel Whalley, five troops under Major Coleman, three troops under Commissary General Ireton, and two troops of dragoons, in all about 1,200 cavalry. His foot consisted of a complete regiment of ten companies, commanded by Colonel Barkstead, seven companies under Colonel Needham, some companies of Ingoldsby's regiment, and half a regiment led by Admiral Rainsborough. On the 18th, Colonel Eure arrived from Chepstow with four companies, This brought up the number of regular infantry to nearly 3,000 men, besides the Essex and Suffolk Volunteers.

Thus commenced the siege of Colchester, which lasted from the 13th of June to the 28th of August, an interval of 75 days. It may conveniently be divided into three periods:—

1st, the period during which Fairfax was taking up his positions from June 13th, when he summoned the town, to July 6th, when the besieged made their great sortie by the East Gate.

2nd, from July 6th to July 20th, when all the outposts of the besieged were driven in.

3rd, the period of the close blockade, from July 20th to August 28th.

1st *Period. Taking up Positions.* *June* 13*th to July* 10*th.*

On the 13th of June, after Lord Norwich had refused to surrender, the advanced brigade consisting of the regiments of Needham and Barkstead, with Whalley's horse, and some Essex Volunteers, assaulted the Head Gate with great fury. The defenders, gallantly led by Colonel Farre, the deserter, came down Crouch Street to defend the approaches, and there was a fierce hand-to hand fight which lasted several hours. The besieged had occupied ground called *Sholand* and *Boroughfield*, but at last they

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were driven back, and retreated within the Scherde Gate Postern, and the Head Gate, closely followed by Barkstead's men. There was a desperate struggle to close the Head Gate, Lord Capel bravely leading on his men on foot, pike in hand, and he fastened the gate for the moment with his own cane. It was late at night before the action was over, when several hundred slain were left under the walls. Among those who fell was that gallant Yorkshireman, Colonel Needham, the companion of Fairfax at Selby and Marston Moor, and in many a hard fought skirmish beyond Trent.

After a careful reconnaissance, and taking into consideration the formidable defences and the great numerical strength of the besieged, Lord Fairfax resolved to take the place by a regular siege. He, therefore, fixed his head-quarters at Lexden, and commenced the besieging works by throwing up an earthwork in the Sholand, facing St. Mary's Church, which was named Essex Fort. His plan was first to open ground along the west side of the town, from Essex Fort to the River Colne near the North Bridge, and then to occupy points along the left bank of the River, and on the south side of the town, finally closing in on all sides. After completing Essex Fort, Lord Fairfax steadily continued his siege operations, breaking fresh ground every night, and running his trenches from one small sconce or redoubt to another, until he had completely closed up all approaches to the town on the west side, between the Lexden Road and the river.

The besieged certainly showed great want of enterprise in not coming out and giving battle to the besiegers before the arrival of Colonel Eure and other reinforcements. After the General had been ten days before the town, the Colony of Flemish *bay* and *say* makers, which had been established at Colchester in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, petitioned to have free trade with London during the siege. Fairfax, always anxious to mitigate the evils of war, considerately agreed to allow these industrious cloth workers to hold a market on Lexden Heath, with freedom to sell or take their goods back, as the case might be.

On the 20th June the works on the west side were

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completed, and operations were commenced against the north and south walls. Colonel Eure crossed the Colne near a hamlet called *The Shepen*, and threw up a work in front of the North Bridge, called *Fort Ingoldsby. Fort Rainsborough* was next thrown up, opposite the ford at Middle Mill. The besiegers thus gained a footing on the left bank of the river, where they were joined by 2,500 Suffolk Volunteers, who encamped on Mile End Heath. At the same time Colonel Barkstead was ordered to throw up a redoubt across the road to Maldon, facing the Head Gate; and here the defenders made desperate attempts to hinder the works. On the 26th they sallied out in force, but were driven back beyond their own guard house, where the hour glass for setting their watches was captured, and carried oft in triumph. By the end of the month Lord Fairfax was strong enough to extend his operations and occupy the chief positions on the left bank of the Colne; and on the 1st of July Colonel Whalley took Greenstead Church, opposite the Hythe, and erected a battery in the churchyard. The Suffolk volunteers also seized a water mill at East Bridge.

2nd Period. Driving in of the Outposts. July 6th to July 20th.

Lord Norwich now found himself nearly surrounded, and, in consultation with his officers, a great sally was resolved upon from the East Gate. Accordingly, on the 6th of July, Sir George Lisle and Sir Charles Lucas, with 200 foot and 500 horse, marched out of the East Gate and down the long hill to the bridge. The Suffolk men fired upon them from behind a breastwork at the bridge head as they advanced, but their position was carried by a rush, and Lucas led his men across the river, some running over the bridge, and others wading through the water. Flushed with success, instead of securing the important ground they had gained, they then charged up the hill towards the windmills, where they were met by Whalley's horse, and thrown into confusion. They fled back into the town, losing many killed and wounded, and the position at East Bridge was recovered by the besiegers. On the 14th of July some Suffolk Volunteers took the Hythe with little

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opposition, and made prisoners of the garrison, consisting of 80 Kentish fugitives.

On the 15th of July, Lucas and Lisle, knowing that the consequences of having broken their parole would be serious to them, made an attempt to escape in the night. They forded the river at Middle Mill, intending to make for Neyland Bridge, and so get away into Suffolk, but their guides failed them, and they were obliged to go back into the town by the Rye Gate Postern. On the 18th they made another attempt to get away, and repeated the experiment on several succeeding nights, until the discontent of their own followers was aroused.

After the occupation of the Hythe and the East Bridge the General determined to complete the leaguer by driving the besieged out of St. John's Gate, and their other advanced posts beyond the south wall. The first step was to silence a *saker*, which was planted on a platform in the frame of the bells in St. Mary's Tower, and which caused considerable annoyance by enfilading the trenches near Barkstead's fort. Two *demi-culverins* were brought to bear on the Tower, and, after about 60 rounds, one side was breached. Lord Fairfax then opened fire on the position occupied by the besieged among the ruins of St. John's, and having opened a breach with two *culverins*, he led Barkstead's regiment to the assault, and drove the defenders into the old Gate House. Here they made an obstinate stand, and repulsed several assaults. At last, eight guns were brought into position, under cover of which a storming party advanced, placed ladders and effected an entrance. There was then a sharp hand-to-hand fight, which ended in the retreat of the surviving defenders into the town through the Scherde Gate Postern. The besieged were now closely confined within the walls of the town.

3rd Period. The Close Blockade.
July 20th to August 28th.

We now come to the period of the close blockade. After the water mills on the river were captured, the besieged set to work with horse and hand mills, and constructed a rude wind-mill on the top of the Castle, which was, however, knocked over by a shot from Rainsborough's Fort. Scarcity now began to be felt, and on the 20th of July

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the garrison commenced the eating of horse flesh. The trenches were advanced close up to the south wall, and a redoubt was thrown up in Berry Fields, between Magdalen street and the East Hill, when a determined sally of the besieged from St. Botolph's Gate was repulsed. On this occasion Lord Fairfax, who was always somewhat too reckless in exposing his person in action, had a very narrow escape. He now removed head-quarters from Lexden to the Hythe. As August set in, the sufferings of the besieged became very severe. They had nothing but horse flesh, and cats and dogs. The wretched townspeople were worse off than the soldiers, and the cruel treatment they were exposed to from Sir Charles Lucas and his followers is recorded by the citizens in their tract, entitled "Colchester's Teares." Relief was now absolutely impossible, and the prolongation of the misery of these people was utterly indefensible conduct, from a military point of view, on the part of the leaders of the defence. On the 11th of August the stores were nearly empty, the magazine would not maintain two hours' fight, and the clamours of the townspeople for a surrender began to be echoed by the soldiers. Negociations were attempted, but Lord Fairfax steadily adhered to his original terms—quarter for the soldiers and subordinate officers, but the leaders must surrender at discretion. Lucas, Lisle, and other officers, then determined to make another attempt at escape, intending to break through on the night of the 25th of August and leave the men to shift for themselves. But the soldiers became mutinous when they discovered the intention of the officers to desert, and agreed to kill them if they attempted to stir. Then the clamour for a surrender increased, and the men swore that if conditions were not agreed to, they would make them for themselves.

At last Commissioners were sent out to accept such conditions as Lord Fairfax would offer. Before he would treat, he insisted upon the liberation of the unfortunate Parliamentary Commissioners. Articles were then agreed to and signed at the Hythe on the 27th of August, at about ten o'clock at night. All horses, with saddles and bridles, were to be collected at St. Mary's Church and delivered over at 9 a.m. All arms and colours were to be deposited in St. James's Church. All soldiers and officers under

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the rank of captain were to have fair quarter, surrendering in *Friar's Yard*, by the East Gate, at 10 a.m. All superior officers were to assemble at the King's Head Inn by 11 a.m., and surrender to mercy. The total number that surrendered was 3,471, of whom 3,067 were common soldiers, 324 subordinate officers, 65 servants, and 75 superior officers. In reply to enquiries it was clearly explained in writing, that *fair quarter* ensured to the soldiers their lives, clothing, and food while prisoners; and that *surrendering to mercy* signified surrender without assurance of quarter, the general being free to put some to the sword at once and to leave others to be dealt with by Parliament. The town was to have paid £14,000, but Lord Fairfax remitted £4,000, and £5,000 was levied on Royalists throughout Essex, so that Colchester got off with £5,000, of which £2,000 was given to the Essex volunteers who had left their homes at great inconvenience, and £1,000 to the poor of the town. The rest (£2,000) was the prize money of the besiegers. At about two in the afternoon of the 28th of August, Lord Fairfax entered the town of Colchester, and rode round it. He then returned to his quarters at the Hythe, and a court-martial assembled at the Moot Hall to try Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, Colonel Farre, and the Italian Guasconi—the two first for having broken their parole of honour, Farre as a deserter, and the foreigner for piracy. Farre managed to escape, and Guasconi was pardoned. Lucas and Lisle were found guilty, the facts being notorious and incontestable, and they were condemned to be shot. They were executed on the green on the north side of the castle at about seven p.m. Their bodies were interred under the north aisle of St. Giles's church. The reasons which induced Lord Fairfax to confirm the sentence of the court-martial are stated in an official despatch dated from the Hythe on the 29th of August. They are: 1st, "the satisfaction of military justice;" and 2nd, "avenge for the innocent blood they have caused to be spilt, and the trouble they have brought upon the town, this country, and the kingdom."

Commiseration may be felt for the fate of these brave soldiers. Sir George Lisle appears to have been a gallant and amiable officer: but there is nothing either to respect

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or admire in what is recorded of Sir Charles Lucas. Their private characters are, however, quite beside the question. An officer who accepts his freedom on parole, on condition that he does not serve again, and who is afterwards taken in arms, deserves death. This is the military law of all civilised nations, as much in the 19th as in the 17th century. It is a law which is observed, and which must be observed, for without it all honourable intercourse between hostile forces would be impossible. Lord Fairfax could not have indulged in any desire he doubtless felt to show mercy; for an example had become absolutely necessary, owing to other Royalist officers having broken their paroles, among them so well-known a veteran as Sir Thomas Glemham. It is high time to protest against the injustice of accusing Lord Fairfax of cruelty, or even of undue harshness in sanctioning these executions. He always proved himself, on scores of similar occasions, to be the most generous and lenient of victors, and he undoubtedly felt the confirmation of the sentence of the court-martial to be a most painful, though a most necessary, duty. It is no light matter that, in order to furbish up the sullied reputations of mere guard-room soldiers, an accusation of cruelty should be brought against a great and good man, whose only thought through life was to do his duty to his country without one thought for himself. The accusation is utterly untenable, and historical truth demands that it should cease to be repeated. After the executions, the other officers were assured of fair quarter as prisoners of war. Lords Norwich, Capel, and Loughborough were sent to Windsor Castle, the latter escaping on the road, and reaching Holland in safety. In February, 1649, the two Lords were tried for their lives. The casting vote of the Speaker saved the old Earl of Norwich, but Capel was condemned by a majority of three in the House of Commons. His execution was cruel and unnecessary, and in my opinion, that majority was guilty of a judicial murder.

As soon as the prisoners had been dismissed, a grand review of the besieging army was held on the 29th of August. Unluckily it was a very rainy day, but the soldiers shook hands with each other, salutes were fired, and the Volunteers returned to their homes. Lord Fairfax

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then devoted some days to his favourite pursuit—archæology, carefully examining the Roman remains here and in this neighbourhood. Eventually, with his troops, he marched north from Colchester, arriving at Ipswich on the 7th of September.

Thus ended this famous siege, and Colchester, bleeding at every pore, ruined, impoverished, and half destroyed, was left to recover gradually, and with the sure aid of time. But it was many years before the old city was restored to the prosperity it enjoyed before the fiery Lucas broke through the weak line of opposing citizens and entered the Head Gate. The calamity came upon her suddenly, and almost by accident. The war was over, and a month before that fateful 12th of June, or even a week before, the horrors of a siege seemed almost an impossible contingency. When they did come the people of Colchester seem to have borne the extremities of suffering as became brave English men and women. Their descendants may look back on the conduct of the inhabitants of Colchester, ever staunchly faithful to the cause of the Parliament, with feelings of pride; and the memorable siege will for ever give a special historical interest to the old city. The general outlines are but little altered. Nearly every spot mentioned by the narrators of the events of the siege can easily be identified and in many instances even the appearance of the localities is little altered. So that a detailed examination of the positions of the besieged and of the lines occupied by the besiegers will long continue to be a very interesting, as well as a profitable, historical study.

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MONUMENTS OF THE DE BURGH AND INGOLDSTHORPE FAMILIES, IN BURGH GREEN CHURCH, CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

By the Rev. C. R. MANNING, M.A.

THE monuments to which I have the pleasure of calling the attention of the Archæological Institute have been more or less noticed in the pages of Gough, Blomefield, Lysons, and others, but have never been accurately described, and from the somewhat retired situation of the parish where they remain, in a sadly injured and neglected condition, are known but to very few. Yet they are fine and interesting examples, and in some points present peculiarities which render them worthy of publication. It may add to our interest in them to think that their contemplation seems to have given to the indefatigable antiquary, Richard Gough, his first impetus to the study of this branch of antiquities, a taste which resulted in the production of his magnificent work, the "Sepulchral Monuments." He says :—"They were some of the first objects of my antiquarian contemplation, in the frequent excursions to their church at Burgh, with my respected friend and tutor, the Rev. Dr. Barnardiston, of Benet College, who then served the living for the late Dr. Green, Bishop of Lincoln, Master of the college. They recall to my remembrance the many pleasing hours spent in their neighbourhood during four years' residence at the University, now thirty years ago. 'O noctes cœnaque Deum.[1]'"

Burgh Green is a village in Cambridgeshire, on the borders of Suffolk, about two and a half miles from the Dullingham Station, near Newmarket. The Church has now but little in it of interest beyond these monuments, and has greatly suffered during the worst period of architectural neglect. It has a deep chancel, a rather short nave, and two aisles, with a south porch and a western tower. There was formerly a chantry chapel on the north side of the chancel, belonging to the family of De Burgh,

[1] Sep. Mon., I. Pt. ii., p. 220.

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from which, at its demolition, some of the monuments now in the chancel were removed. There was another chantry on the south side. The east window of the chancel is Decorated, of the middle of the 14th century, and one window of the same style remains on the south side. The only indication of earlier work in the Church is in the sedilia and piscina, which are Early English. The latter is a double one, with round shafts and trefoil arches. The sedilia arches are not trefoiled. High up in the walls are some remains of battlemented corbels, supports of a former roof, which preceded the present ceiling. The chancel arch has been destroyed, but the shafts remain, each supporting an incongruous marble urn. The nave has three arches on each side, with Decorated pillars. The aisle windows have lost all tracery, and the roofs have been modernized, with dormer windows. There is a plain font, dated 1672, with a low cover surmounted by a dove. The tower is small, and has a good window of two lights at the west end.

The manor of Burgh, before the Norman conquest, belonged to Queen Edith, wife of Edward the Confessor, who had large possessions in the county, and as this is the only one of her manors where a deer-park is described in the survey of Domesday, Lysons observes that "it is most probable that she had a palace here for her occasional residence." "Near the village, and near to a wood still called Park Wood, within the demesne of the manor, is a moat about 12 feet deep and 30 feet in breadth, inclosing somewhat more than an acre of ground; without the moat are the remains of a keep, and other traces of buildings; there can be little doubt that this was the ancient site of the manor."[1] If there are any of these remains to be seen now, they would appear worthy the attention of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.[2] The Conqueror gave the manor to Alan, Earl of Brittany, and we subsequently find it in the family of Burgh. In 1330 Sir Thomas de Burgh had the king's license to impark his woods at

[1] Lysons' Camb. p. 96.

[2] I have since ascertained that the moat exists. There are no remains of masonry within it; nor of any earthen mound. It is of square form, with an entrance on one side only. There are two other similar moats in the parish. Burgh Green Hall, near the church, is an old house, with some remains of the sixteenth century; and probably occupies a more ancient site.

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Burgh.[1] From them it passed by an heiress to the family of Ingoldsthorpe and their descendants and representatives.

There are now three canopied tombs remaining, with six effigies, two of them being on the floor at the east end, partly built over. Much confusion has ensued from their removal from the destroyed chapel, and it is somewhat difficult now to identify them. They are thickly coated with yellow wash, and the parts nearest the ground are a mass of green mould. All the painting and heraldry is now obliterated, unless preserved beneath successive coats of wash. In Philpot's Cambridgeshire Collections in the College of Arms, some poor drawings of the figures are given, with pedigree and arms.[2] There is also a pedigree in Richmond's Visitation by Camden, 1619, with additions, in the British Museum.[3] To these I will refer in enumerating the different tombs.

1. The earliest effigy, which I will call No. 1, now lies on the middle tomb of the three. This does not appear to be the one mentioned by Gough as that of Sir Philip de Burgh on the south side of the north aisle, cross legged, under an arch, which seems to have been lost, but of his son Sir Thomas. The knight is clad in the armour of the middle of the fourteenth century. He wears the usual jupon with a baldrick, and the camail, and a pointed bascinet. Over his camail is a collar, but any devices on it cannot now be made out. His head is much disfigured, and rests on his tilting helmet. The most remarkable point in the effigy is that his body is half turned on the right side, his right arm being being placed on his breast (his left is partly concealed by the wall built upon him), and having held a tilting spear; his left leg is crossed over the right, and he lies on a bed of large pebbles. The foot rests on a lion. Traces of colour appear in various parts. I am only aware of two other monuments in England representing knights thus lying on a bed of pebbles—one at Ingham, Norfolk, of Oliver, Lord Ingham, 1344, and the other of Sir Roger de Kerdeston, 1337, at Reepham, in the same county. Both these are engraved in Stothard. The meaning of the bed of stones has been variously ex-

[1] Pat. Rolls, 4th Edw. III. [2] St. George's Visit. of Camb. 1684.
[3] Harl. MSS. 1534, f. 132 b.

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plained. Weever, speaking of the Ingham effigy, says that "being a great traveller, he lieth upon a rock." Blomefield calls it a "mattress." In Murray's Guide it is "lying upon a rock, as if shipwrecked;" and the half turned position is described by another as "ready to jump up on his feet." It may have been only a fashion of the time; or a sculptor's peculiarity. Its occurrence seems to be only associated with these few examples of knights' effigies, half-turned, all of nearly the same date. The present instance appears to be about 1345, and is a late example of a cross-legged figure. On the eastern end of the arch, under the canopy, are marks of the place where the feet of a knight's effigy reached the wall, the figure having been forcibly torn away, so that the impression of the soles of the feet as it were remain. This is a proof that the figure of Sir Thomas de Burgh did not belong to this tomb or canopy, and indeed the architecture of it would be twenty or thirty years later than his armour. This canopy is beautifully double foliated and cinquefoiled, deeply recessed, of ogee shape, with crockets and finial, and side pinnacles. The altar tomb on which the effigy rests is low, and partly hidden by the raised floor. It had three large shields within quatrefoils on the side. On the same slab with the knight is now placed an effigy of a lady, of which I will speak under No. 4.

2. Sir Thomas de Burgh married a Waldegrave, of the adjoining parish of Westley Waterless. His son, Sir Thomas who married the daughter of Roger, Lord Grey of Ruthin, appears to be the one next mentioned by Gough as "grandson to the founder, Sir Philip," and having a monument here representing him with a chain. This I take to be the tomb and figure to the east of No. 1. It represents a knight, apparently in banded mail, with a jupon and horizontal baldrick, camail and pointed bascinet, a sword and dagger, his head on a helm, and his feet on a lion. His hands hold a small object, probably a heart. There is now no appearance of a chain. The date would be about 1365. This tomb is higher than the other two. It has a lofty cinquefoiled canopy, with a four-centred arch under an ogee one, with a shield in a circle in the spandril. The tomb has no panels at the side.

No. 3. The son of this Sir Thomas was Sir John de

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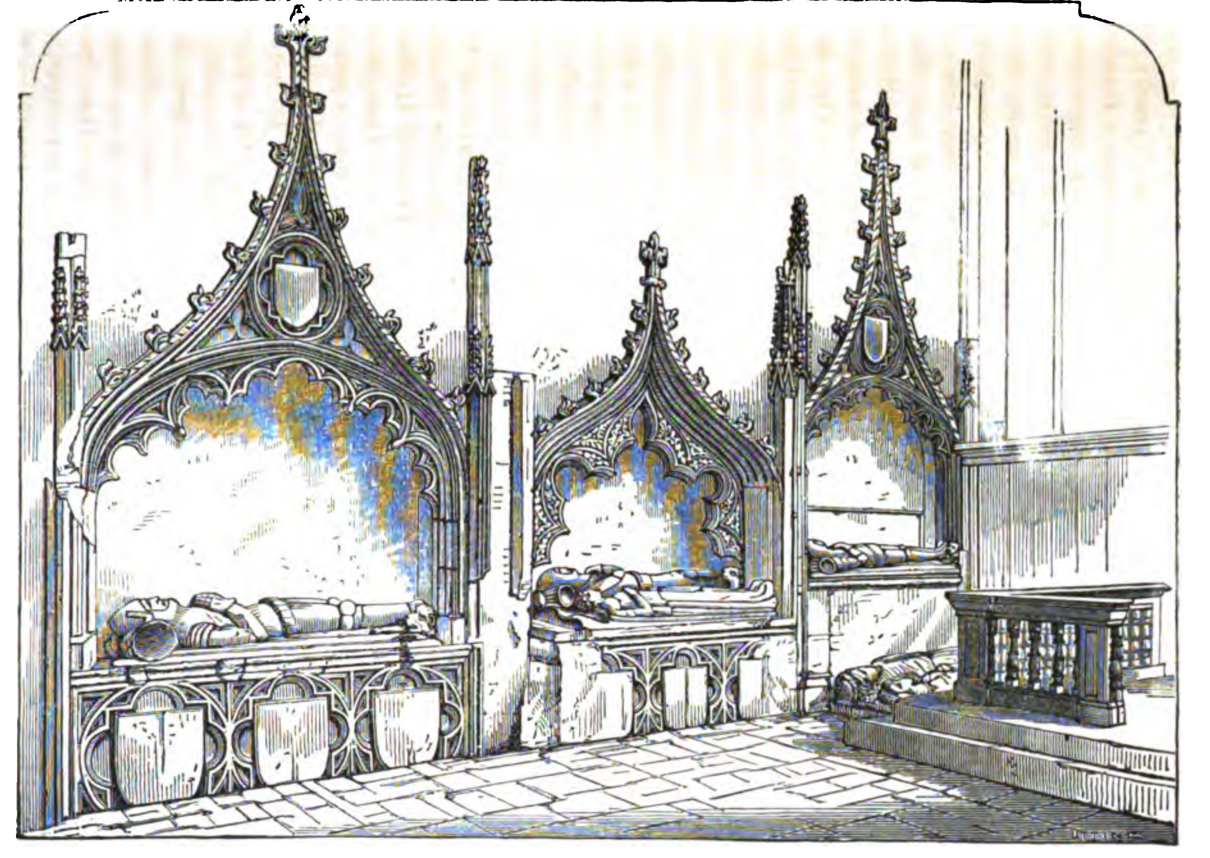

Monuments in Burgh Green Church.

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Burgh. Gough says, "He was stately entombed at Burgh with one of his wives. He gave the advowson of Swaffham St. Cyriac to the convent of Ely. In his will dated 7 Ric. II, 1384, he mentions Mary, his first wife, buried at Anglesea Abbey, Cambridgeshire. Katharine, his second wife, in her will dated 1409, bequeaths her body to be buried in Burgh Church, and wills that Sir John Inglethorp and his heirs should be lords of Burgh and patrons of the chantry there." This Katharine was an Engain of Stow Quy, Cambridgeshire. I suppose the tomb to the west of No. 1 to be his, although there is no second effigy of a lady there now. He is clad in armour very similar to No. 2. He has an escalloped jupon, and may well be of the date of 1384. The tomb below is the same as that of No. 1, and the canopy above very similar to No. 2. His hands also hold a heart, or other object.

No. 4 is the lady's effigy lying on the same slab with No. 1. She is dressed in the sideless garment and mantle, with buttons or studs of a square form, from the waist nearly to the feet. Her hands hold a heart. Her hair is coiled in a net, with a fillet above the forehead, very much like a small brass at Long Melford. Her head rests on a double cushion, supported by a single angel, whose wings reach to her shoulders. There is no animal at her feet. This costume is of about the year 1410, and it most probably represents Katharine, second wife of Sir John de Burgh, whose will is dated 1409.

No. 5 is the male effigy on the floor, below the tomb No. 2. This is a rather remarkable one, and there is less doubt as to the person represented, or the date. He is in armour, but has no camail or gorget, or bascinet. He is bare headed, with flowing locks, confined by a roll or band. Appended to this roll was formerly to be seen a buckle hanging on the forehead, but there is no trace of it now. It is so mentioned by Gough, and by Blomfield form a note of Le Neve's.[1] He wears a jupon and horizontal baldrick. On the right armpit is a large roundel. His feet rest on a lion. Unfortunately this figure is divided down the middle by the tomb No. 2. It appears that it was once on an altar-tomb of its own, described as a stately monument on the north side of the Chancel, with

[1] Blomefield, Norfolk, vii., 126.

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statues of himself and his lady; he in complete armour, with a surcoat of his arms, and a collar of S S. about his neck.[1] This is Sir John Ingoldsthorp, who married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Sir John de Burgh. By his will, dated the Thursday after All Saints, 1419, and proved July 8, 1420, he gave £20 to the chantry at Burgh, and legacies to the churches at Tilney, Emneth, Rainham, Ingoldsthorp, Snettisham, Norfolk, and Swaffham Bulbeck, Cambridgeshire, in all of which places he held lands.

No. 6 is the figure of a lady beside No. 5. It may be that of Elizabeth de Burgh, his wife, but she is a foot taller than his effigy, being seven feet in height, and therefore it seems unlikely that she was on the same slab. It is a fine figure, of about the date 1420, dressed in a long sleeved garment with a falling collar. Her hair is in two large coils, with a jewelled band, supported on a double cushion. Her hands are broken off. The feet rest on an animal. The will of Elizabeth Ingoldsthorpe was proved 12th February, 1421.

There was formerly another large tomb in the middle of the Chancel, as Gough relates, with brasses of the grandson of the last named Edmund Ingoldsthorp, son of of Thomas Ingoldsthorp of Burgh Green, by his wife Margaret, daughter and heir of Walter De la Pole, of Sawston and Trumpington, Cambridgeshire, who married Joan, daughter of John Lord Tiptoft, of Burwell. His brass represented him in armour without a helmet, his head resting on a bull's head couped, in a coronet, (his crest)[2] with a Latin inscription, part of which was as follows:

> Thomas Bradstone, Walter Poole, Burgh inde Johannes,
> His militibus heres fuit ille venustus,
> Sponsavit Comitis de Wyrceter ille sororem
> Anno milleno quater et CCCC quoque deno
> Ecce dies bina Septembris quando trina,
> Militis hujis erat.[3]

He died 1456.

The arms of Burgh of Burgh Green were Argent, on a

[1] Gough and Blomefield. [2] Blomefield, vii, 127.
[3] MS. paper, Rutherforth Coll. penes me (R. Gough).

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fess indented, sable, three bezants; and those of Ingoldsthorpe, Gules, a cross engrailed, argent. The drawing in the College of Arms shows this brass, with the arms on a banner, and also those of Neville, Waldegrave, Engain, Cromwell, Bradstone, De la Pole, and France and England.

Gough adds to his account that Mr. Waterton of Walton Hall, Yorkshire, (a name since well known to antiquaries and naturalists) is one of the heirs general of this family, which expired in co-heiresses, one of whom married Sir W. Assenhall, and the heiress of Assenhall married Waterton, temp. Henry VI, who, on the division of the Burgh property, had the manor of Walton. (*See Pedigree.*)

There are stones in the Chancel at Burgh Green to the following persons:—Anthony Gage, D.D., rector, died 15 December, 1630; *Arms*—1, a saltire; 2, two birds (swans?); 3, three bulls' heads, couped; 4, two birds' claws and legs in saltire. William Wedge, died 29th April, 1850, aged 21. Mary Ann, wife of Rev. C. Wedge, rector, died 20th June, 1863, aged 75. Rev. Charles Wedge, 69 years rector, born 9th September, 1780, died 28th March 1875. In the Nave:—Richard Holt, gent., servant to Sir John Gage, Knight, and Sir Anthony Gage, Knight, his son, both lords of the manor; died about 6th March, 1637, in his 77th year, leaving his master, Sir Anthony Gage, his sole executor.

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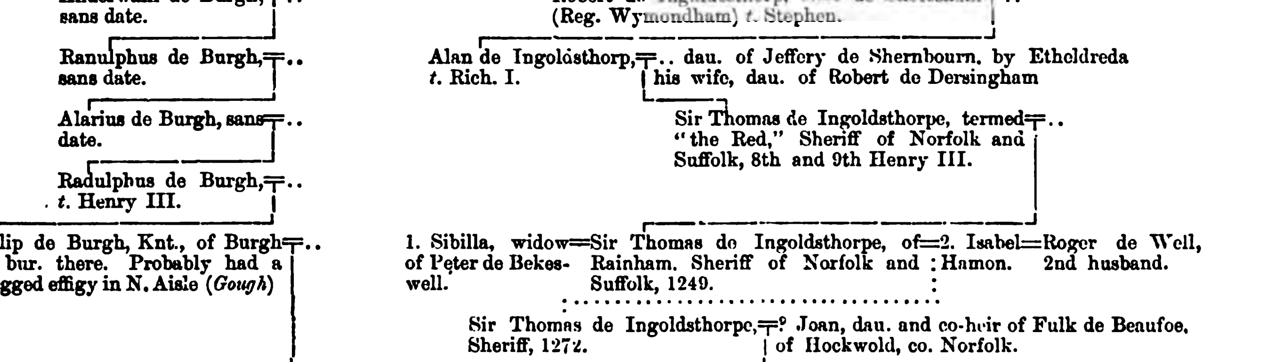
PEDIGREE OF THE FAMILIES OF DE BURGH, OF BURGH GREEN, Co. CAMB.

(*From Camden's Visitation*, 1619, *with additions*; *Harl. MSS.* 1534, *fol.* 132 *b.*)

AND OF INGOLDSTHORPE, OF RAINHAM, &c., Co. NORFOLK.

(*Compiled from Blomefield's Norfolk*, vii, 122.)

ARMS: Argent, on a fess indented, sable, three bezants: *De Burgh.*
Gules: a cross engrailed, argent: *Ingoldsthorpe.*



Anderwain de Burgh,=.. sans date.

Ranulphus de Burgh,=.. sans date.

Alarius de Burgh, sans=.. date.

Radulphus de Burgh,=.. t. Henry III.

Sir Philip de Burgh, Knt., of Burgh=.. Green, bur. there. Probably had a cross-legged effigy in N. Aisle (*Gough*)

Sir Thomas de Burgh, Knt., had license=.. .. dau. of .. Waldegrave, to impark, 1330. (Mon. No. 1) of Westley Waterless, co. Camb.

Sir Thomas de Burgh,=.. .. dau. of Roger, Lord Knt. (Mon No. 2.) Grey of Ruthin.

A

Robert de Ingaldesthorp, *alias* de Snetesham=.. (Reg. Wymondham) *t.* Stephen.

Alan de Ingoldsthorp,=.. dau. of Jeffery de Shernbourn, by Etheldreda *t.* Rich. I. his wife, dau. of Robert de Dersingham

Sir Thomas de Ingoldsthorpe, termed=.. "the Red," Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, 8th and 9th Henry III.

1. Sibilla, widow=Sir Thomas de Ingoldsthorpe, of=2. Isabel=Roger de Well, of Peter de Bekeswell. Rainham. Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, 1249. Hamon. 2nd husband.

Sir Thomas de Ingoldsthorpe,=? Joan, dau. and co-heir of Fulk de Beaufoe, Sheriff, 1272. of Hockwold, co. Norfolk.

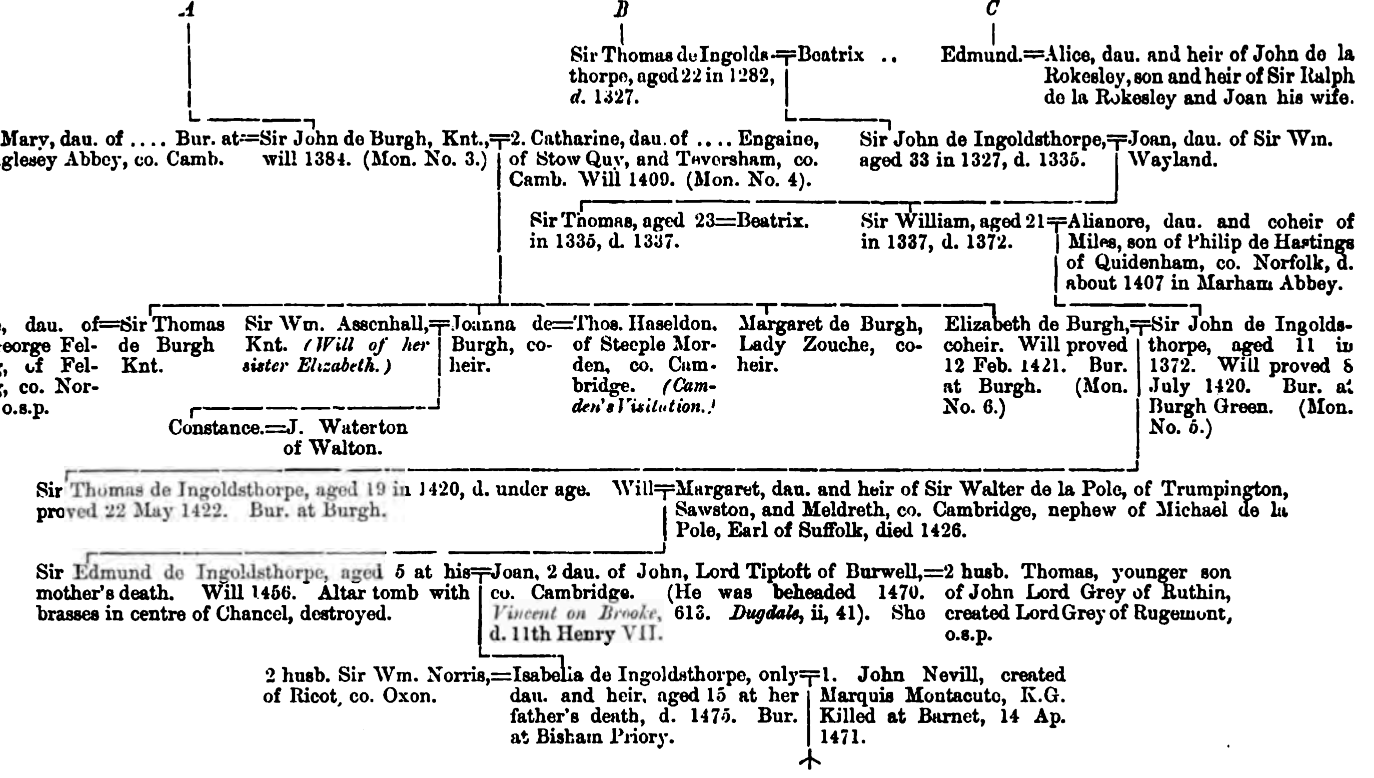
Thomas, Bishop Rochester.

Sir John de Ingoldsthorpe, *d.* 1282.=....

Edmund of=.... Foulden, co. Norfolk, 3rd Edward I.

B

C


A
B
C
Sir Thomas de Ingoldsthorpe, aged 22 in 1282, d. 1327.=Beatrix ..
Edmund.=Alice, dau. and heir of John de la Rokesley, son and heir of Sir Ralph de la Rokesley and Joan his wife.
1. Mary, dau. of .... Bur. at Anglesey Abbey, co. Camb.=Sir John de Burgh, Knt., will 1384. (Mon. No. 3.)=2. Catharine, dau. of .... Engaine, of Stow Quy, and Teversham, co. Camb. Will 1409. (Mon. No. 4).
Sir John de Ingoldsthorpe, aged 33 in 1327, d. 1335.=Joan, dau. of Sir Wm. Wayland.
Sir Thomas, aged 23 in 1335, d. 1337.=Beatrix.
Sir William, aged 21 in 1337, d. 1372.=Alianore, dau. and coheir of Miles, son of Philip de Hastings of Quidenham, co. Norfolk, d. about 1407 in Marham Abbey.
Alice, dau. of Sir George Felbrigg, of Felbrigg, co. Norfolk, o.s.p.=Sir Thomas de Burgh Knt.
Sir Wm. Assenhall, Knt. (Will of her sister Elizabeth.)=Joanna de Burgh, coheir.
=Thos. Haseldon, of Steeple Morden, co. Cambridge. (Camden's Visitation.)
Margaret de Burgh, Lady Zouche, coheir.
Elizabeth de Burgh, coheir. Will proved 12 Feb. 1421. Bur. at Burgh. (Mon. No. 6.)=Sir John de Ingoldsthorpe, aged 11 in 1372. Will proved 8 July 1420. Bur. at Burgh Green. (Mon. No. 5.)
Constance.=J. Waterton of Walton.
Sir Thomas de Ingoldsthorpe, aged 19 in 1420, d. under age. Will proved 22 May 1422. Bur. at Burgh.=Margaret, dau. and heir of Sir Walter de la Pole, of Trumpington, Sawston, and Meldreth, co. Cambridge, nephew of Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, died 1426.
Sir Edmund de Ingoldsthorpe, aged 5 at his mother's death. Will 1456. Altar tomb with brasses in centre of Chancel, destroyed.=Joan, 2 dau. of John, Lord Tiptoft of Burwell, co. Cambridge. (He was beheaded 1470. Vincent on Brooke, 613. Dugdale, ii, 41). She d. 11th Henry VII.=2 husb. Thomas, younger son of John Lord Grey of Ruthin, created Lord Grey of Rugemont, o.s.p.
2 husb. Sir Wm. Norris, of Ricot, co. Oxon.=Isabella de Ingoldsthorpe, only dau. and heir, aged 15 at her father's death, d. 1475. Bur. at Bisham Priory.=1. John Nevill, created Marquis Montacute, K.G. Killed at Barnet, 14 Ap. 1471.

BRITANNO ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS DISCOVERED IN 1876.

By W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

Carrying out the plan which I first proposed to the late Mr. Albert Way, who strongly advised its being put into practice, I now publish the first of an annual series of papers on the discoveries of Britanno Roman inscriptions during each year.

The late year (1876) has not, with the exception of the great "find" at *Procolitia*, been very prolific of discoveries of this nature. The first one, with which I am acquainted, took place near the site of the Roman station at South Shields, where, on the 19th and 20th February, several tombs were exhumed, formed of stone slabs, on ground belonging to Mr. James Pollard, near the end of Bath street,—which contained bones, &c. Near to these was found a portion of a Roman tombstone bearing an inscription. All that could be deciphered was

D . M .
IV......

the rest being worn away.

At Charterhouse on Mendip, two inscribed pigs of lead were found, the first in June, and the second in July. The first bore on its upper surface the inscription

IMP VESPASIAN AVG.

On the side was also the following inscription :—

BRIT. EX. ARG. VE.

The length of the pig was 1ft. 8in.; its width at the base 6 inches, and at the top 5 inches—the slope from the inscribed upper side to the base 6 inches, and the weight about 143lbs. This is the first pig of lead found *entire*, bearing the name of Vespasian *only*. In the others the name of Titus also occurs. We learn from this that the date of the pig is early in the reign of Vespasian, between

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A.D. 69 and A.D. 71, in which last year Titus became associated with his father in the empire. The abbreviation VE has not before occurred on any of these pigs. Dr. McCaul proposes, for the last three words, the expansion *ex arg(entaria) ve(na)* which is probably correct. The second pig found in July was of similar weight and size to the other, but was only inscribed

IMP. VESPASIANI AVG.

i.e., Imperatoris Vespasiani Augusti.

In the metropolis, during the demolition of some old houses in Camomile street in October, a portion of the Roman wall of London and a bastion were laid bare. Built up into the wall were many interesting sculptured fragments, and a fragment of an inscribed stone, but unfortunately the only letters visible on it were

V
F.V -
M

Whilst pursuing his researches at Carrawburgh, *(Procolitia)* during the summer, Mr. Clayton unearthed the upper portion of a small altar inscribed

MAT
RIBV
S. Co.
....

and has probably read when entire *Matribus Coh(ors) I. Batavorum, C(ui) P(raeest)* .... *V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito).* Two small fragments of inscribed slabs were also found, but the lettering was too faint to be legible.

In the month of October Mr. Clayton commenced the excavation of a small well or reservoir, about 150 yards distant from the western rampart of *Procolitia,* and which had been noticed since the days of Horsley (1732). It was lined with massive masonry, measuring inside 8ft. 6in. by 7ft. 9in., and was a little over 7ft. in depth. Horsley describes it as being filled with rubbish, nearly to the surface, but the water rising in it was "a good spring."

A few years ago owing to some mining operations in a lead mine about two miles distant, the spring and a rivulet flowing from it suddenly disappeared.

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Within a foot of the surface, the excavator came upon a mass of copper coins of the lower Empire spread over the whole surface. "Part of a human skull, the concave part upwards, was found here filled with coins." Immediately underneath were a number of small altars, with broken bowls of Samian ware and glass; also bones of animals.

At three feet in depth were found two ornamental inscribed earthenware vases, and the coins had reached the period of the higher Empire; with them was a sculptured stone representing three water nymphs; below this were more altars, vases, brooches, rings, dice, mixed with quantities of coins, continuing to the very bottom, and at the bottom was a large inscribed votive tablet. The earliest coin was one of Claudius, A.D. 42. Many thousands of them were secured by Mr. Clayton, but visitors attracted to the spot carried away several thousands more. They were considerably corroded with the exception of about sixty of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, which seemed quite new, and had been preserved in the clay at the bottom of the well. The coins of these emperors greatly preponderated amongst those of the higher Empire, and from their newness seemed to prove that the deposit commenced at that period. The coins of Claudius, Nero Vespasian, &c., seemed considerably worn. The deposit extended as late as the reign of Gratianus, and embraced three gold coins and a few score of silver ones. Those of the Constantine family and of Gratianus, &c., were at the upper surface of the deposit, and on each side of the votive tablet at the bottom was found a small altar. Twenty-four altars in all were found, of which eleven bore inscriptions. Two vases and the votive tablet were also inscribed. The inscriptions were as follows:—

(1)

DIECOVE
NTINEA
VRELIVS
GROTVS
GERMAN

(2)

DEAECO
VETINEGR
OTVSVTLB
ESSLVIPRO
MS.

(3)

DEAE NIM
FAE COVEN
TINE MAD
VHVS.|GERM
POS.PRO.SEETSV
VSLM

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(4)
DEAECO
VENTINE
COHICVBE
RNORVM
AVRC.....
EST........
VI........

(5)
DECONVE
NT.......
....
OPTIOCH
GERMAN

(6)
DEAE.SANCT
COVONTINE
VINCENTIVS
PRO SALVTE SVA
V.L.L.M.D

(7)
DIEM
INER
VEVE
NICO
PRS
POSS

(8)
DIIAII
CONVENTI
NAEBELLICVS
V.S.L.M.P

(9)
DAIICOVEN
TNOMATI
VS VSLM

(10)
DEAECOVVEN
TINE.........V
NVV......SOV
....
VV.............I
.... MO
N...............

(11)
D.CO...
....
....
....

(12)
DEAE
COVVENTINAE
T.D COSCONIA
NVS PR COH
I. BAT. LM

(13)
COVE | VOTV | SATV | FECIT
TINA.A | MAN | RNI | GA•I
GVSTA | I•VSSV | NVS | NIVS

(14)
CV | ••• | •SA | TV | R | NI | GA •IN | IV S

Of these I would read No 1 as *De(a)e Coventine Aurelius Grotus German(us)*: 'To the goddess Coventina Aurelius Grotus a German.'

No. 2 I read, *Deae Cove(n)tine Grotus V(o)t(um) L(i)be(n)s S(o)lvi(t) Pro* . . . . . the close of the inscription being obliterated, though it was probably *Se et Suis*: 'To the goddess Coventina Grotus willingly performs his vow for (himself and his).' Mr. Clayton reads the end of the third and commencement of the fourth lines as *Utibes* and the remainder as *S(olvit l(ibens) v(otum) pro (salute)*. It will, I think, at once be seen, that this is an error. The dedicator is doubtless the same person named in No. 1, Aurelius Grotus.

No. 3 has one or two peculiarities. I read it as *Deae Nimfae* (for *Nymphae*) *Coventine Madunus, Germ(anus) Pos(uit) pro se et su(is) V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito).*

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In English 'To the goddess Nymph Coventina, Madunus, a German, places (this) for himself and his (family). He performs his vow willingly to a deserving object.' *Nimfae* frequently occurs in epigraphy as an abbreviation for *Nymphae*. Mr. Clayton reads the name of the dedicator as *Ma(nlius) Duhus*. I think that there is little doubt of his name being Madunus, especially as we find the name GAMIDIANVS spelt as GAMIDIAHVS in an inscription at Birrens, in Dumfriesshire, where the first cohort of the Germans were stationed.

No. 4 I think should be read as *Deae Coventine Coh(ors) I Cugernorum Aur(eliana) C(ui) (Prae)est*......... Mr. Clayton does not venture upon a reading beyond the word *Cugernorum*, which in the original is erroneously spelt as *Cubernorum*. The only other known inscription left by this cohort in Britain is on a milestone found on the line of the Antonine wall. From the Malpas and Riveling diplomas we find, that it was in Britain in A.D. 103 and in A.D. 124. The discovery of this inscription seems to enable us to give the true reading of part of the inscription on the altar to Minerva found at the same station in 1875. (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxiii p. 34).

No. 5 appears to be *De(ae) Conventine*........... *Optio Coh(ortis I) German(orum)*. As Aurelius Grotus and Madunus are described as Germans, they probably belonged to this cohort, of which we also find traces at Birrens, (as I have said previously), at Netherby, and near Bowness, on the wall of Hadrian.

No. 6 is plainly *Deae Sanctae Covontine Vincentius pro salute sua v(otum) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) d(icavit)*.

No. 7 is somewhat obscure at its termination. The commencement is *Deae Minervae Venico;* the next lines may be read as *pro salute* The last line is *pos(uit)* but the S after it, unless again followed by V (as Mr. Clayton considers it to be) is puzzling.

No. 8 reads plainly *Deae Conventinae Bellicus V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito) P(osuit)*. The use of two I's for E is common. The name of the dedicator "Bellicus" occurs on an altar found at Tretire, Herefordshire, (Hübner, No. 163).

No. 9 is *D(e)ae Covent(inae) Nomatius V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)*. Mr. Clayton gives the dedicator's name as Nomateus.

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No. 10 can only be read as far as the middle of the second line—*i.e.*, *Deae Coventine.*

No. 11 is still more obliterated, *D*(*eae*) *Co*(*ventinae*), being all that is visible.

No. 12, which is on the large votive tablet found at the bottom of the well, is plain, and reads *Deae Covventinae T*(*itus*) *D*(*omitius*) *Cosconianus, Pr*(*aefectus*) *Coh*(*ortis*) *I Bat*(*avorum*) *L*(*ibens*) *m*(*erito*). The first cohort of the Batavians by inscriptions and the *Notitia* list, appear to have been for several centuries at *Procolitia*.

No. 13 occurs on one of the vases in four compartments, and the lettering is very rude. The second letter in the third line of the second compartment and the third letter in the second line of the fourth compartment are identical, and seem like an s reversed, with the lower extremity widened into a leaf shaped form, which Dr. Hübner, to whom a copy of the inscription was sent, reads as B. Dr. Hübner reads the whole as *Covetina A*(*v*)*gusta Votu Manibus Su*(*is*) *Saturninus Fecit Gabinius,* and thus makes the vase to be dedicated by Saturninus Gabinius, and to be the work of his own hands. The chief objection to this is, the interpolation of *fecit* between the two proper names, but which ever way the inscription is read there appears to be a difficulty. Possibly this is as good a reading as can be obtained, but I am not satisfied with it, or with my own as published in the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle,* Dec. 27th, 1876.

The last of this series of inscriptions is still more rude. It occurs upon another and similar vase. The first compartment I have rendered C V, as the first letter seems too curved for an I, otherwise this and the letters of the next compartment resemble mostly I V | S S I. The first letter in the second line of the seventh compartment is the peculiar one rendered as B in the last inscription. From the third to the seventh compartments, inclusive, is doubtless to be read as *Saturni Gabinius.* Is the first of these names in the genitive? If so, and the true reading of the first two compartments is I V S S V, we get *Iussu Saturni*(*ni*) *Gabinius* with *fecit* understood, shewing that Gabinius made the vase by order of Saturninus. This would imply a different reading for the last inscription, which the position of the word *fecit* in it seems to justify.

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It will be noticed that various forms of the name of the goddess occur in the inscriptions. It is spelt *Covetina*, *Coventina*, *Conventina*, *Covontina*, and *Covventina*; in one she is called a nymph, in another she has the title of *Augusta*. The former title only occurs in one other inscription found in Britain, conjoined with the name of the goddess, which is *Deae Nymphae Brigantiae* (Hübner, No. 875). The title of *Augusta* has not been found previously in Britain as *applied to a nymph*, but several examples occur upon the Continent.

In his account of the discovery read before the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, Mr. Clayton described the numismatic portion of this find as the contents of a Roman military chest which had been deposited in the reservoir as a place of safety. I immediately published my own views of the subject, which were that the whole of the coins, altars, vases, fibulæ, rings, &c., were offerings to the goddess *Coventina*. Both theories had at the outset numerous partisans, and this led to a lively correspondence in the Newcastle press, but the result, I am glad to say, has been in my favor. The number of discoveries exactly similar in their nature is considerable, and it requires but a knowledge of them, to ascertain at once the meaning of the contents of the reservoir at *Procolitia*. In 1852, in clearing out the reservoir at the watering place of Vicarello a few miles from Rome, there was found an immense mass of Roman copper coins from the earliest Etruscan times to the Imperial period. Upwards of 24,000 pounds weight were sent to the Etruscan Museum in the Vatican. Out of a great quantity of gold coins found, a considerable number found their way, I believe, to the British Museum. Votive offerings of various descriptions occurred, medals bearing inscriptions to Apollo as the presiding god of the spring, and a series of gold and silver vases, the former being preserved in the library of the Vatican, and the latter at the Kircherian Museum at Rome. Three of the latter were inscribed with the Itinerary from Rome to Cadiz, at different dates.[1] In 1875, at the French Spa of Bourbonne

[1] The celebrated "Rudge Cup," found in a well at Rudge in Wiltshire in the last century, bearing the names of five Roman towns inscribed around its rim was probably thrown in as a votive offering of this nature. A number of Roman coins were with it.

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les Bains, in cleaning out the reservoir 4,000 bronze coins, 300 of silver, and a few of gold were found at the bottom in the mud, together with rings, statuettes, bronze pins, and a number of stones inscribed to a god Borvo and a goddess Damona. The coins ranged from Nero to Honorius (see *Times*, February 2nd, 1875). Inscriptions to those deities had previously been found in the neighbourhood (Orelli, No. 1874, and Henzen, No. 5880) and, like *Procolitia*, the foundations of a temple were visible round the spring. At the source of the Seine, similar discoveries took place some thirty five years ago, a goddess *Sequana* being worshipped there (Journal of British Archæological Association, vol. ii, p. 404). In June, 1875, at Horton in Dorset, at the source of a small brook, a number of vases containing coins were found. And at the "Abbot's Well," near Chester, where the celebrated altar to the "Nymphs and Fountains" was discovered in 1821, vases and coins have frequently been found. But these instances of spring and river worship were not confined to reservoirs, whereever there was a bridge, a ferry, or a ford, coins, &c. were invariably thrown in as offerings to the presiding god or goddess of the stream. In this way it was that the enormous masses of coins, fibulæ, statuettes, &c. found in the Thames when new London Bridge was being built, some forty-seven years ago, were formed. Great masses of the same nature were found in removing the old bridge at Kirkby Thore in 1838, and the ford of the Roman road at Latton near Cirencester has afforded a similar yield. The sources of the Exe and the Slea have received many offerings, if we may judge by the coins and vases discovered, and the site of the old bridge over the Tyne at Newcastle has produced a large number of coins. Many other instances might be adduced, but the above will, I think, suffice.[1] A representation of the goddess seated, floating on the leaf of a water lily, is sculptured on the votive tablet. She has a branch of palm in her hand.

Mr. Clayton, also, recently discovered in a turret of the wall between *Procolitia* and *Cilurnum* a centurial stone, inscribed rudely :—

[1] Dr. McCaul, in a letter to me, says, "You rather surprise me by stating that there has been a doubt about the mode in which the coins got into the well at *Procolitia*. I have never had a doubt that they were thrown in, as an offering to *Coventina*."

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Ↄ. A D A V C I
P V D

apparently *c(enturia) Adauct(ii) Pud(entis)*.[1]

In the fifth volume of the Proceedings of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society (Evening Proceedings), just published, Mr. C. Roach Smith engraves and treats of a Roman leaden seal, found amongst the ruins of buildings at Combe Down near Bath. It bears on one side, apparently, the figure of a deer at rest, round it are the letters—

P B R · S

Mr. Roach Smith reads it *P(lumbum) Br(itannicum) S(ignatum)*. I do not think this correct, but will at present (until we have more light thrown on this class of objects) refrain from giving a reading.

Two other inscriptions have also been recently found at York, as follows :—

(1)
M
N L I V S
C R E S C E S
A · V E T
V I C

(2)
C A N D I D V S

The first is the right hand upper portion of a tombstone, and apparently has commemorated Manlius Cresces, a veteran of the sixth legion. The second, which was presented to the York Museum (where the first is also preserved) by Canon Greenwell, was found a few years ago, but has remained unpublished. It is on a fragment of a small tablet of slate or green stone, finely polished, which seems to have been originally enclosed in a frame of wood. A most interesting sarcophagus, inscribed to the wife of Verecundus Diogenes, has also been found, but as the discovery took place in 1877 I must defer an account of it to my next.

A few other previous discoveries remain to be noticed. In the *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury* (published at Stamford), July 18, 1845, is an account of some excavations in High street, Lincoln, where Roman coins

[1] A tombstone and centurial stone have been found on the line of the wall since the year 1877 commenced, but they are deferred until my paper on this year's discoveries.

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and bases of pillars were found. It is said; "On Wednesday afternoon (July 16) the workmen discovered some huge worked stones at about four yards from the present surface; these have evidently been plinths to some pillars supporting a Roman building. On one is an inscription which, as well as it could be traced, consists of the following letters:—

—VIC HRVPO MERCVRES IVM

Most probably this is incomplete, as in all likelihood it was continued along the fellow plinth. All the earth above the level at which the stones were discovered is made ground." Immediately upon seeing this I conjectured that another portion of the same inscription was that found in the last century, reading—

POLLINES

and described by Gough in his edition (1806) of Camden's "Britannia," vol. ii, p. 392. It was said by Gough to be "On the hollow moulding of a stone found in the east side of the old Roman wall below the hill at Lincoln, on making the new road, 1785, lying near a number of large stones, in a situation which seems to imply that they had been thrown down from a considerable building." These stones were three or four feet below the surface, and some had mouldings. I had also no doubt but that the letter T was ligulate with the H in the 1845 inscription, so that the second word would read THRVPO, a name found in several inscriptions in England. On communicating my views to Dr. Hübner, he replied, "If measures, form of stone, &c. are corresponding, there is no reason why the fragments (A)POLLINES(IVM) and VIC THRVPO MERCVRESIVM should not have been parts of the same epistyle of a building belonging perhaps as *schola* to some *collegia* or *sodalitia Mercuriesium et Apollinesium*; societies for the worship of Apollo and Mercury. If it was a large epistyle there is no hope to find out a probable restitution, VIC may be an abbreviation for (DEAE)VIC(TORIAE). Thrupo thus can be the name of the dedicant of a temple to her, and he may have been *Mercuriesium et (A)pollines(ium servus)* but all this is, of course, very uncertain."

At Silchester Mr. J. Wordsworth tells us in the

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Academy, April 18, 1874, there was found a tile bearing the inscription scratched on it.—

BIRGA•
VS

Is this name *Birgaius?*

In the first volume of the *Transactions* of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society (Evening meetings), p. 121, my friend Mr. H. C. Coote described another of the leaden seals found at Brough-under-Stainmoor. On the one side it was inscribed—

ALA
SIIB

On the other—

VAL
DEC

The two I's in the first inscription, not being perpendicular, but leaning inwards towards each other, may stand for the letter A, but as two I's frequently occur, as the representative of the letter E, it follows that the inscription may read either ALA SAB(INIANA) or ALA SEB(OSLANA). The second portion is evidently *Val(erius) Dec(urio)*. Another seal which may also have belonged (from its inscription) to a soldier of the *Ala Sabiniana* has been found since the commencement of the present year at South Shields. It must, however, be reserved for my account of this year's discoveries.

At South Shields also were found in 1875 these *graffiti* inscriptions on fragments of an amphora ;—

(1) BER·SIM (2) M·VLES

From these fragments nothing can be gathered.

To the list of "Anuli" must be added a ring of bronze, hoop shaped, dug up at Rugby, inscribed within in Greek, "Esunera Euneiske." As Mr. Bloxam, who gives the account of the discovery in vol. i of the *Journal* of the Associated Architectural Societies, p. 227, does not give the *text* of the inscription, and as I am unable to obtain it from him, I have not given any *supposed* version of it. Dr. Hübner omits it. At the meeting of the Institute on May 6, 1864, Mr. G. Fortescue Williams exhibited, through Mr. Bernhard Smith, a bronze ring of the lower Roman empire, inscribed—

FIDES CONCORDIA

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with the device of a *fede* or hands conjoined within a garland; on the shoulders are the names RVFVS and VIATOR. Mr. Williams informs me that he is ignorant where the ring was found, but it was probably discovered in Britain. Dr. Hübner omits it from his list.

In the inscriptions given by Dr. Hübner in his large work there are a few errors which need correcting, and a few inscriptions need some supplementary remarks and emendations, which I think could be introduced in the most fitting manner in the present paper.

There are three inscriptions amongst the list at page 2 of Dr. Hübner's work of those which he considers doubtful, which are certainly genuine. They are numbered 17, 18, and 19, and are as follows:—

COHRI FRISIAVO YOVI.... •PXXIIII	L·VIII.	LEG·X

The first was discovered in the Castle Field, Manchester, in 1796, and was on a stone fifteen inches long by eleven inches broad, surrounded with a border. It was described by Mr. Thomas Barritt of Manchester in vol. v of the first series of the "Transactions" of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, p. 675, and plate vii, figure 13. It was found in front of the principal entrance to the castrum, and was in the possession of Charles White, Esq. F.R.S., who died in 1813, since which time it has been lost. At the time Mr. Barritt made the drawing for the Society's volume he also engraved the inscription upon the handle of an amphora.[1] At the place of junction of the handle with the vessel he rudely inscribed a memorandum of the dimensions of the inscribed stone and the year when it was found, thus "15 by 11, 1796." This amphora handle after passing through several hands is now in the museum at Peel Park, Salford, where Dr. Hübner saw it and pronounced it a forgery; he, however, appears to have known nothing of the description or engraving of the original stone. The inscription is a very peculiar one, but the drawing by Mr. Barritt and the engraving taken from it seem to differ materially in

[1] Chetham Society's Proceedings, vol. lxviii, p. 46.

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the third line. In the former it looks like VOVINWV. Is this the centurial mark, followed by QVINTIANI in a ligulate form? The first and second lines are unquestionably *Coh(o)r(s)* I *Frisiavo(num)*. In the last line *P(edes)* XXIIII is preceded by a figure which seems in shape like a note of interrogation reversed.

The second of these, which occurs on a tile found at Leicester, Dr. Hübner says is, "without doubt," the title of the sixth legion, instead of the eighth. Having inspected the tile, and also having a rubbing of it, I can confirm, "without doubt," the reading LVIII. In the case of the third, which Dr. Hübner says should probably be of the second legion, the discovery of tiles at the same place, Caerhun, inscribed LEG. XX V V shews that it was a portion of one of these latter that had been found.

In his inscription No. 12, found at Chichester, Dr. Hübner includes Gough's restorations (erroneously), and thus makes it appear entire, which an inspection of Gough's plate will shew was not the fact. Nos. 67 and 69 are now preserved in the Gloucester Museum. Nos. 68, 70 and 71 in the Cirencester Museum; and No. 74 in the wall of a summer-house at Watercombe House, Bisley. Nos. 166 and 169 are now in the Chester Museum. No. 167, which had been reported as lost, I found in 1874 in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Prescot, Vicar of Stockport. He died in 1875, and his heirs presented the altar to the Chester Museum. In the same place also is No. 168*a*, which Dr. Hübner erroneously gives as DEAE MATRI. From personal inspection I find it should be—

DEAB
MATRI
•VS
. . VM

i.e. Deab(us) Matribus, &c.

No. 211 was last heard of in the Leverian Museum, sold and dispersed in 1806 (*Chetham Soc. Proc.*, vol. lxviii, p. 54). No. 284 is in the possession of my friend, T. H. Dalzell, Esq., of Clifton Hall, Workington; whilst No. 285 is built up into the wall of the study at Halton Hall near Lancaster. The first and second lines of No. 415 are undoubtedly from a lithograph of the stone taken when it was first discovered—

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LEG·AVGINCV
NEVM·FRISION

but the upper right hand corner has, Lord Leconfield informs me, since been considerably broken. The above reading of these lines I first published in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxviii., p. 131.

With regard to Dr. Hübner's No. 484 a peculiar question arises. In the year 1838, when cutting through the Castle Hill at Northallerton, for the formation of the railway, amongst a number of other Roman remains there was found a stone bearing the following inscription:—

INSTANE
FLA·HYRO
LEG·VI·V.

(See Ingledew's "History of Northallerton," 1858, p. 124, and the Appendix, in which latter the inscription is given). This stone was lost immediately after it was found, but in 1841 attention was drawn to a stone built into the Chapter House of Hexham Minster, inscribed—

INSTANE
FL·HYGIN
LEG·VI·V.

(*Gent. Mag.*, Sept. 1841, p. 302).

The similarity is so remarkable that the question arises, are they one and the same, the inscription having been in the first instance badly read? In the first line of each *Instante* is the word indicated, the second T being ligulate with the N. Dr. Hübner places this stone under the head of Hexham, but omits any reference to Northallerton.

No. 502*b*, which Dr. Hübner gives under the head of Newcastle, being uncertain where it was found, is evidently the same inscription as that found at Carrawburgh (*Procolitia*) described in *Abbot's Roman Wall* (1849), p. 26.

In No. 513, found at Benwell, Dr. Hübner adopts Baxter's reading whilst giving a different expansion, but both Baxter's and Horsley's readings are erroneous. In the Ashmolean MSS. (826, fo. 37) in the Bodleian Library at Oxford there is an account of the discovery of this stone, with two drawings of it, one of them being in a letter from Dr. Geo. Davenport to Mr. Dugdale, dated May 30, 1670, a few months after it was found. In both

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of these copies the second, third, and fourth lines are thus given—

AVGG ALFE
NO SENECIO
NI COS FELIX

The I in the last line is ligulate, being formed by an upward prolongation of the last stroke of the N, and is probably meant for part of the letter E, the rest having been obliterated. In any case the correct reading of the stone is established, showing that the word *Felix*, instead of being a proper name, is used in the same sense as in the inscription lately found in the forum at *Cilurnum* (*Lap. Sept.*, No. 943). Dr. Hübner's No. 865 found at *Amboglanna* (Birdoswald), and reported both by him and Dr. Bruce as lost, I was fortunate in re-discovering at Caton, near Lancaster, in 1873. (Vide *Lap. Sept.* Appendix, p. 474).

No. 948*a*, given under the head of Drumburgh, was certainly not found there, but at Kirkby Thore in 1859 (*Lap. Sept.*, No. 751). In No. 1021, Dr. Hübner gives the third line as *AIIVN, and Dr. Bruce as FALIVN. I think there is little doubt that the letters are F AL TVN, and are part of the words *Praef* (*ectus*), *Al* (*ae*), *Tun*-(*grorum*). We find the abbreviation AL TVN applied to this *ala* in an inscription found at Burgh upon Sands (Dr. Hübner's No. 941). In No. 1047 I take the second line to be TI TRIB MIL AVG, from Hodgson's engraving of the stone, taken when it was much more perfect. The first I is formed by the upward prolongation of the upper stroke of the T, and the abbreviation TRIB is formed in identically the same ligulate manner, as in the ninth line of Dr. Hübner's No. 1003. In MIL, the I and L are both formed by upward prolongations of the first and last strokes of the M.

In No. 1055 Dr. Hübner reads part of the third line as COH I DA, but he fails to see that the figure which he gives as I simply is a ligulate FI (*Lap. Sept.*, No. 565), and that it thus forms the word FIDA, the prefix to the name of the cohort which garrisoned the station. No. 1082 Dr. Hübner will find from the *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. ii. p. 163, was buried again amongst the rubbish on the site of its discovery. The stone No. 1085 I agree in calling with Dr.

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McCaul (*Brit. Rom. Inscr.*, p. 233), a milestone, and if Dr. Hübner's reading of the last line . . MONTI MP is correct, it evidently marked the number of miles from the place where it was set up to *Trimontium*. It is uncertain where the stone was found, but it was in the neighbourhood of the Scotch Wall. *Trimontium* was apparently at Newstead near Eildon, in Roxburghshire. Of No. 1168, which is the Roman milestone, found at Buxton in 1862, I have already given the corrected reading (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxiii, p. 51). In the Sydenham Tabula, No. 1194, I think that in the seventh line the cohort of Spaniards named is probably the tenth, as stated by Mr. Lysons in the *Reliquiae Britannico Romanae* (part 4, pl. i). In Mr. Lysons' plate the X seems plain, but of late years every trace of a numeral has been obliterated. Mommsen (*Inscr. Neap.*, No. 5024) gives P. Septimius Paterculus, who was Præfect of the first cohort of the Pannonians in Britain, as *Praef. Coh.* X *Hispanorum*, in Cappadocia. In the Riveling Tabula, No. 1095, the name of the *ala*, given by Gough in the missing plate (fifth line), as QV . . . RV, I think is QV(ADO)RV(M). The *Quadi* were a people who resided on the Danube near the Bohemian frontier. From a recent inspection of the pig of lead, No. 1212, found at Chester, I find that instead of the last letters being VADON they are probably SNADON, or SANDON, the N in each case being reversed. I consider them as being the abbreviation of the name of the town SANDONIVM, or SAVDONIVM, given by Ravennas as existing between *Conovium* (Caerhun) and *Deva* (Chester), which in a recent paper read before the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, I placed at *Croes Atti*, near Flint, where immense heaps of lead scoriæ, mixed with Roman coins, fibulae, implements, pottery, &c., occur, and many foundations of buildings.[1]

The inscription on the ring, No. 1304 (corrected in *Additamenta*, p. 314), I would expand as *O(ptimo) V(iro) N(umerius) V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens)*. I con-

[1] Dr. Hübner's Nos. 1173-4 are now preserved at Lunecliffe near Lancaster by E. B. Dawson, Esq.; his No. 1176 at Brougham Hall by Lord Brougham, and the only example of the tiles No. 1233 now extant is preserved by Miss Ffarington of Worden Hall near Preston. In the *Hist. of N. Wales* by W. Catherall (Manchester, 1828) the first line of Dr. Hübner's No. 1164 is given as NVMNS instead of NVMC. Is this an abbreviation of *Numinis?*

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sider the gift of it, to have been the result of a vow, made by Numerius to his intimate friend.

Of Roman inscriptions which have been found in modern times, and again been lost or destroyed without copies of them having been preserved, the following are to be added to the list already given :—

A Roman urn, "red-like coral, with an inscription," was found at Salndy, Bedfordshire, according to Aubrey (*Archæologia*, vol. vii, 412). It contained ashes. Another inscription on a stone which perished by being exposed to the wet in a frosty season was found at Cirencester, with that to Julia Casta, in the last century (Stukeley, *Itin. Curiosum*, p. 63). The Rev. Thos. Reynolds, in his *Iter Britanniarum*, p. 448, says :—"Kibworth, Leicestershire, between Harborough and Leicester.—A stone is said to have been found with a Roman inscription upon it.—T.R." At Exeter fragments of Roman inscriptions appear to have been built up into the town walls, in a manner similar to those at Bath; but while copies of those at the latter place have been preserved, those at the former have entirely perished. Leland says of them (Hearne's Leland, 1769, vol. iii, p. 60), "Ther appere 2 fragmentes of inscriptions of the *Romaines* sette by chaunce of later tymes in the Town Waull, renewid on the bak side of the House sumtyme longging to the *Blak Freres*. One of them standith in a tower of the Waul, the other is in the Waul hard by."

At Castleshaw, near Saddleworth, Yorkshire, an inscribed Roman stone was also found and destroyed in the last century.—*Archæologia*, vol. i, p. 236.

Camden informs us that a number of Roman inscriptions were found on the site of the *castrum*, at Overburrow, Lancashire (*Galacum*). They are generally supposed to have been lost again in a vessel in which they had been shipped (with some others) by Sir Robert Cotton and Camden himself, through her foundering.—Gibson's Camden, p. 976.

At Lancaster, in 1776, a *Lar* bearing an inscription was found and again lost (*Archæologia*, vol. v, p. 98.) Two years previously, at Quernmoor, near that town, a number of bronze utensils bearing inscriptions were brought to light, but dispersed amongst the residents in the neigh-

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bourhood (*vide* p. 105, vol. iv, 3rd series, Transactions of Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire). At Kenchester also within the last forty years inscribed stones have been found and destroyed (Wright's *Wanderings of an Antiquary*, pp. 39, 40). At Headington, in Oxfordshire, an inscribed stone, though much obliterated, was found among the ruins of a Roman villa in 1848-9 (*Journal of British Archæological Association*, vol. vi, p. 66). At Tilne or Tylney (Notts) there were found in the last century, with other Roman remains, "several agates and cornelians, with inscriptions and engravings" (*Beauties of England and Wales)*, vol. xii, pt. I, p. 309). In the Winchester volume of the Congresses of the Archæological Institute, Mr. Hartshorne, in an article on Porchester Castle, says at p. 25, "Fragments of Roman inscriptions are built into the wall to the right of the entrance into the inner baly." As these inscriptions do not appear to be visible at the present day, it is to be hoped that some copies of them may have been taken by residents of the neighbourhood, and that they will publish the same. No inscription from this large *castrum* has heretofore been edited.[1]

Such are the additional inscriptions for the year 1876, and those found previously which have remained inedited. My additional notes on those already published seem necessary for the completion of the readings of the whole series, which I trust are now before the archæological world in as complete a state as it is possible to attain.

P.S.—Since the above paper was written, Prof Hübner has published in the third volume of the *Ephemeris Epigraphica* a second supplement to his large work. In this supplement, which is entitled "Additamenta Altera," the inscriptions found in the well at Carrawburgh are included, and as there are a few of them read differently from the copies I have given, it seems needful that the readings of Dr. Hübner should be added. In No. 2 Dr. Hübner adds A after the MS in the last line, and expands it as *m*(*ea*)*sa*(*lute*). In No. 4 he reads the fifth line as AVR . CAMP, the sixth as ESTER..., and the seventh as

[1] A portion of a miliary of granite found at Chichester in 1809, with an inscription "too much obliterated to be deciphered" (Dallaway's *West Sussex*, vol. i, p. 5), and some inscribed tiles found in the Roman villa of Roxby, Lincolnshire (vol. vi, 2nd series, *Proc. Soc. of Antiq.*, p. 115) are to be added.

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VET...... In No. 7 he gives the last line as simply P.S. with a leaf stop between the letters. In No. 9 he reads the second line as VINOMA TH, the last two letters being ligulate, and expands it as *Vinomathus*, the name of the dedicator. Nos. 10 and 11, which are more effaced than any of the others, he reads as—

(10)	(11)
DEAE COVN	COVVINTI
TINE N	. . . .
NVS . . SOV	. . . .
AET	. . . .
MVC , . . I	V . S · L . M
. . . ANIMO	
DED	

But little or nothing can be made out of these. In No. 14 he gives the second compartment as CAI.

I have also to add two broken altars, found with others uninscribed at the Kingsholm, Gloucester, in 1876. They are much worn and cannot be distinctly made out. The lower part of each is wanting The inscriptions *appear to be*, to the local antiquaries :—

(1)	(2)
D .	D . E . O
MARTI	INIOCHCVRIO
	.. ORIVENDUS
	AI

The first is plainly *D(eo) Marti*. The second, I think, may be *Deo San(cti) Mercurio*, and the name of the dedicator *Orivendus*.

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MUCKROSS AND INISFALLEN.

FRANCISCAN ABBEYS.

By G. T. CLARK.

MUCKROSS.

Among the venerable and, at the least, poetic traditions that cluster round the older ecclesiastical foundations of Christendom, and of which Ireland has a full share, is one which explains the origin of the Abbey, best known as Muckross, or Mucruss, and the cause of the name of the group of limestone rock amidst which it stands. It relates that Mac Carthy More, the bearer, in the fifteenth century, of that distinguished Irish title, being minded to found a religious house, was warned in a vision that the site of his foundation was to be at 'Carraig-an Chiul,' or the 'Rock of Music,' a place to him unknown. Those whom he, in consequence, sent forth to search his western territory, returning homeward by 'Oirbhealach' or 'the Eastern passage,' between the lower lake of Killarney and its rocky boundary, were arrested by the sounds of music proceeding from a rock, which Mac Carthy accepted as the indicated spot, and where he erected his Abbey.

The choice, by whomsoever directed, was an exceedingly happy one. The celestial concords indeed no longer vibrate in the air, but if the eye, like the ear, be admitted to be a recipient of harmony, it must be allowed that the site is one to commend itself to all beholders, for around the sacred spot, wood and water, mountain and glen, verdant meadows and over-arching trees are seen in their happiest combination, and if art has contributed to the beauty of the scene, its efforts are well concealed behind the ample vesture of Nature.

It appears from a record cited by Petrie that a church at Irrelagh was burned in 1192, but of this early edifice

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nothing else is known. The foundation of the existing structure is far later, and indeed, as compared with the adjacent House of Inisfallen, is but as of yesterday. The Four Masters ascribe it to Donnell, son of Teige Mac Carthy, who was living in 1340, but O'Donovan, their translator, points out that it is Donnell, son of Cormac, who corresponds to that date, and that the real founder was probably Teige Mac Carthy, described on that account in the pedigree of the Sept, as Teige-na-Mainistreach, or 'of the Monastery,' the father of another Donnell, known as 'An Dana,' or 'of the song;' and he agrees with Ware, that the actual foundation was probably some years before 1440, but that the work was completed by Donnell in that year. Teige Mac Carthy was Prince of Desmond, and recognized by the Sept as 'Mac Carthy More.' The establishment was Franciscan, and lasted till 1589, when the brethren were ejected with some violence. Probably the violence did not extend to the buildings, which, with their modest demesne of 'four acres, two orchards, and a garden, valued at 16s. annually,' were granted to Capt. Robert Collon, also the grantee of Inisfallen, in 1594-5. This did not prevent the Monks, under Father Holan, from returning hither in 1602. In 1626, it appears from a contemporary inscription in the choir, the buildings were repaired by Brother Thadi Ho Leni, but only to be inhabited till 1629, when the fraternity retired, once more, though for a few years only, again to return in 1641. It seems probable, from this repeated re-occupation, that the ejected Brethren ever lingered about the spot they loved so well, and this may account for the unusually perfect condition of the masonry.

The Abbey was naturally the burial place of many of the name of Mac Carthy. Mac Carthy More, Earl of Clancare or Clancarty, was laid in the centre of the choir. Here was also buried in 1600, Patrick, Lord Kerry, the Earl's nephew; in 1560, Eveleen, daughter of Donnel MacCarthy, son of Corman Ladhrach, widow of James Earl of Desmond, and then of Conor Earl of Thomond; and, in 1582, Catharine, daughter of Teige, brother of the above Donnell, and widow of Wm. Fitzmaurice, Knight of Kerry, a lady who passed her latter days in fear and dread, upon

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the adjacent lake, moving from one island to another. Others of, or allied to the family, continue to be buried within the walls; and as late as 1804 the Glencare or Clancare gravestone was obscured by a huge ill-placed altar tomb to O'Donoghue More, of the Glens, but very partially redeemed by an epitaph by Marcus Hare.

The Abbey is in the barony of Magunichy, and stands upon the eastern shore of Lough Lean,[1] the lowest and largest of the Killarney lakes, in the bay of Castle Lough, one of the numerous inlets of that enchanted territory, a few feet above, and about a furlong distant from, the margin of the water. The walls, though roofless and ivy-covered, can scarcely be said to be ruined, so little have they suffered from time or from violence. The ancient name of Oirbhealach, corrupted in Sir James Ware's time into Irrelagh, and so recorded in the Irish Monasticon, has in these latter days been ill-exchanged for Muckross, a word derived from the swine that fed upon the mast shed annually by the beech trees, which with the ash, the lime, the oak, and the chesnut, there attain almost gigantic dimensions.

The walls, even to the gables, remain perfect. The roofs have disappeared, with the whole of the timber work, but the ground floor of the conventual buildings is mostly vaulted, and the stairs of stone, so that the upper chambers are still accessible, and the plan and details of the whole structure evident to the eye of the visitor. A noble yew tree darkens, but gives solemnity to the interior court of the cloister, and is far more in harmony with the character of the place than are the heaped-up and uncared-for graves of the MacCarthys, whose final spoils encumber and disfigure the church, and are out of keeping with the ivy-draped walls and the velvet sward of the surrounding grounds.

The establishment consists of a church and the conventual buildings, built against its northern side, and forming with it a tolerably regular block of thirty yards square, from which the transept and choir of the church project towards the south and east.

The church, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, is composed

[1] Lough Lean Linfhiaclaigh, "Lean of the white teeth," its ancient Irish name, is derived from Lean, a worker in metal, whose forge was near the lake.

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of a nave, south transept, central tower, and choir. The cloister is placed against the north wall of the nave, and the conventual buildings stand outside of and upon the cloisters on the three disengaged sides. The church has three doors—one at the west end, one from the tower into the cloister, and one from the choir into the sacristy. The convent has outer doors to the west and north, and the upper floor was reached by three staircases in different parts of the building.

The *nave* is 52 feet by 24 feet, interior dimensions. It is entered by a west doorway, with an equilateral arch, exterior drip, and mouldings of great delicacy. Above is a rather small window of two lights, ogee headed, with a flat top and drip, with plain returns. Above is a sort of hollow projection, or concave table, by means of which the parapet is brought forward about two feet, to give room for a rampart walk in front of the gable, as in Scottish peel towers. The north wall is blank, save that in its upper part is a sort of hagioscope opening from the library. In the east end a lofty lancet arch, 7 feet wide, opens into the tower, and through the tower into the choir. Above the arch is a square chamfered loop, and above that a rude square aperture. Both were within the roof, the pitch of which is marked by a stone weather-moulding, above which is a small window with one light, trefoiled, beneath a square drip, marking the second floor of the tower. Above the north wall of the nave, in a projection from the tower, is a small square headed door, opening upon the gutter, here a rampart walk. In the east wall are three corbels, probably for images.

The south wall is pierced by a large pointed arch of 13 feet span, which opens into the transept. The wall piers are plain, with slightly chamfered angles. The arch is more boldly chamfered, and has besides a central rib or member, which springs from two polygonal corbels. East of the arch is a small, plain, full-centred doorway, of four feet opening, the use of which is not clear. East again of this is a very long, narrow, lancet loop, boldly splayed, which opens between the transept wall and the tower.

The *transept* is spacious, 36 feet by 28 feet; its west wall is blank. In its east end is a window of three equal lights, each tall, narrow, and round headed; and above,

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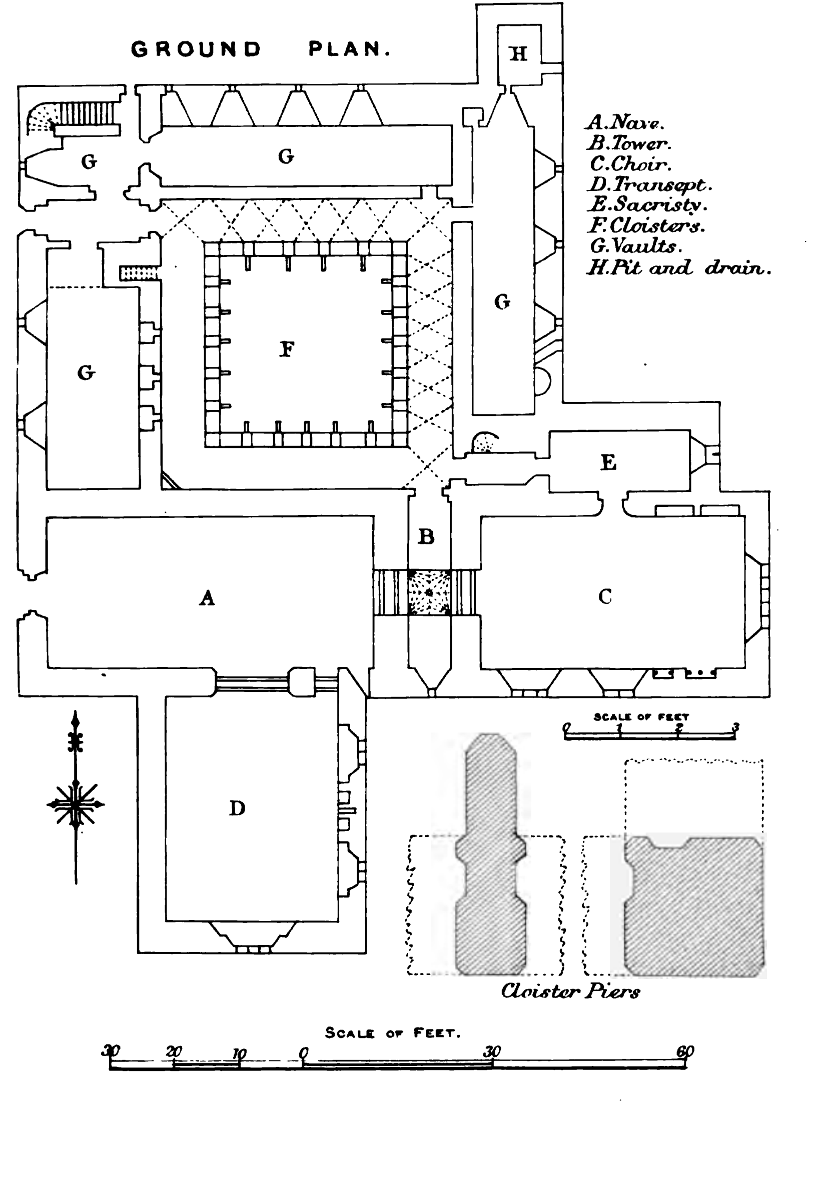

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the mullions are interlaced, so as to form six lights in the head. The lights are quite plain, without cusps. In the south wall are two tall pointed windows of two lights each, ogee headed. Between these are two full centred niches, of 2 feet 4 inches opening and 1 foot 4 inches deep, rather high for seats, and too low for images; and in the wall between there is a deep chase or recess 3 inches broad and 2 feet 6 inches deep, as though to allow a screen to be pushed back.

The *tower* is placed over the junction of the choir and nave, which is carried through it. It is 32 feet wide by 16 feet deep, or east and west, and its lofty base is pierced east and west by an arch 7 feet wide, and north and south by another of 6 feet 10 inches, each being divided into two parts by its intersection by the other. The nave and choir arches are lancet, and strengthened by a chamfered rib, springing from plain corbels. The north and south arches are in fact plain pointed barrel vaults. At the south end this vault is lighted by a tall, narrow loop, having a curious crenellated head, very peculiar. At the north end a door leads into the cloister. The central opening of the tower, a space 7 feet by 6 feet 10 inches at the intersection of the arches, is vaulted and ribbed. There is a central boss with two ridge ribs, which are abutted upon by twenty springers, five from a corbel at each angle. The vault is pierced for a bell-rope. Above the vault are two floors, and above the level of the second a string course and parapet. This, however, has been repaired and partially pulled down, so that it is uncertain whether there may not have been a third floor.

The *choir*, 42 feet by 24 feet, is entered at the west end through the tower. In its east end is a large window of five narrow lancet lights, and in the head ten lights, the whole very plain and meagre, without mouldings or cusps, but a very common Irish window of the 15th century. In the north, an equilaterally arched doorway opens into the sacristy, and east of this are two full centred recesses, 6 feet broad by 2 feet deep, containing altar tombs. One has been adapted to a modern intruder. It is probable that these tombs are those of the founder and his son, this being the usual place of sepulture of such. High up near the west end a small door opened

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upon a short wooden balcony, entered from the dormitory' and over the sacristy door is another small opening, for the convenience of the sick, who could thus take part in the service. The south wall is pierced by three windows, two of two lights, and one, more westward, of three. All are lancet of equal height, quite plain, and placed in splayed and low pointed recesses, slightly four centred. Below the window cills, next the east wall, is first a double piscina, with a central and two flanking octagonal shafts and ogee arches; next is a single recess, with a trefoil head and flanking octagonal shafts, probably a sedile. West of this is a sepulchral recess 4 feet broad by 2 feet deep, full centred, an insertion. The choir roof, like those of nave and transept, was of timber, with a high pitch.

The *sacristy* is a small chamber, 23 feet by 10 feet, attached to the choir. It has a small two-light window to the east, and to the west a door, leading by a dark passage, 17 feet long and vaulted, to the cloisters. From this passage a well stair ascends to the dormitory.

The *cloister* is contained within four walls, and composed of four alleys, 7 feet broad and 44 feet and 46 feet long. In the north and east alleys are five arches, in the south and west, six arches, all opening into the cloister court, which is about 28 feet square. The western alley has an acute barrel vault, quite plain. The south and east alleys also have pointed vaults, but groined, as has the north alley, though but slightly pointed. There are no ribs, and the vaulting shows fragments of reeds imbedded in the mortar with which the centring was thickly spread. The arch piers are double octagons, connected by a sunk panel, and each stands upon a low parapet, and is supported from the court by a buttress 10 inches wide and of 22 inches projection at the base. Each buttress has parallel sides, but tapers on the front, and finally dies into a string course above the top of the arches. The arches of the north and east alleys are slightly pointed; those of the south and west full centred.

The cloister lavatory is a mere triangular bin formed by a wall six feet long, which cuts off the south-west angle of the cloister. It is said to have been only a support for an image, but for this it is unnecessarily large, nor need it have been hollow. Probably above the basin was an

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image. From the court are seen the walls and windows of an upper floor resting on the arcades, and it thence appears that the range on the north and east are of one date and slightly pointed, and those of the south and west full-centred. Along the top of each arcade runs a projecting string, which carries the upper wall, and into which the buttresses die, so that each arch is enclosed in a sort of panel. The string along the south and west sides is about six inches lower than that on the other two, showing a difference in date, though not a considerable one, answering probably to the founder and his son. The yew tree already mentioned stands in the centre of the court, and is remarkable for its clean unbroken stem, rising about twenty feet before its branches are given off.

In the cloisters are seven doorways; one from the tower of the church at the east end of the south wall, and two in the east wall, one from the sacristy, and one from the eastern vault. In the north wall one doorway leads into the northern vault, which is also lighted by a narrow loop placed horizontally. In the west wall is a pointed doorway, opening by a passage upon the west front, and there are doorways in the passage, right and left, the former through a vaulted lobby to a stair leading to the kitchen, and to a door in the north front; the latter into a room under the library, which appears to have been vaulted, or to have been intended to have been vaulted, and which has three loops into the cloister and two upon the west front. A second doorway in the west wall of the cloister opens into a straight stair leading by eighteen steps to the library. The two great vaults were probably cellars and store rooms. One of them, 45 feet by 9 feet, is lighted by four loops to the northward, the other, 46 feet by 11, has a fire place, a sort of squint or oblique loop, and three loops to the eastward. In the east wall is a loop, and by its side a small mural gardrobe. The loop has probably been blocked, for it now opens into a sort of cess-pit which has been added.

The upper floor is necessarily of the same general plan with the gound floor, resting upon it, and the room having the additional breadth afforded by the cloister. Over the sacristy is what appears to have been the *infirmary*. It has a small door which opened upon the

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choir, and in the wall is a fire place and a small window In the east end is a window of two lights, and in the west end a door leading into the dormitory. The floor was of timber.

The *dormitory*, 57 feet by 20 feet, stands over the eastern vault. It has four loops and an oblique loop in the east wall and four others opening upon the cloister court. Doors in this wall lead into the refectory, and what is called the lavatory. In the south end a door opened upon the balcony in the choir. Above, to be reached by a ladder, is a small door opening into the belfry. In the north end is a narrow tall pointed window, and a mural passage opening into a gardrobe. In the passage is a window of two lights. The gardrobe is an addition, and is a room, nine feet by eleven feet, with walls only two feet thick, and a loop to the north. The floor was of wood and the basement seems to have been a cess pit. In it is a large drain to the east, and above the ground level. In the centre of the dormitory, near its south end, is the entrance of the staircase from below, which seems to have had a sort of hood, like the companion, or head of the cabin stair in a ship. Between this hood and the wall a narrow passage, walled off, led into the lavatory. The dormitory walls are thick, and the roof sprung from corbels along its inner face. The object of this was to admit of a broad gutter, for a rampart walk, between the roof and the parapet, and in the tower are two small doors which opened upon this walk, and upon that of the nave. This was, of course, for defence. The dormitory must have been very cheerless and cold, receiving but little light, and having an east aspect. It has no fire place.

The *lavatory*, entered from the dormitory near its south end, is a narrow room 25 feet by 8 feet, placed over the south cloister. It has two small windows to the north looking into the cloister court, and had a lean-to roof against the nave wall. In its west end is imbedded a large stone trough which conveyed the water from the church roof to a spout in the inner court. Possibly this was intercepted for the use of the lavatory.

The *refectory* stands upon the northern cloister and its adjacent vault. It was a cheerful room, 31 feet by 20 feet, with two windows of two lights to the

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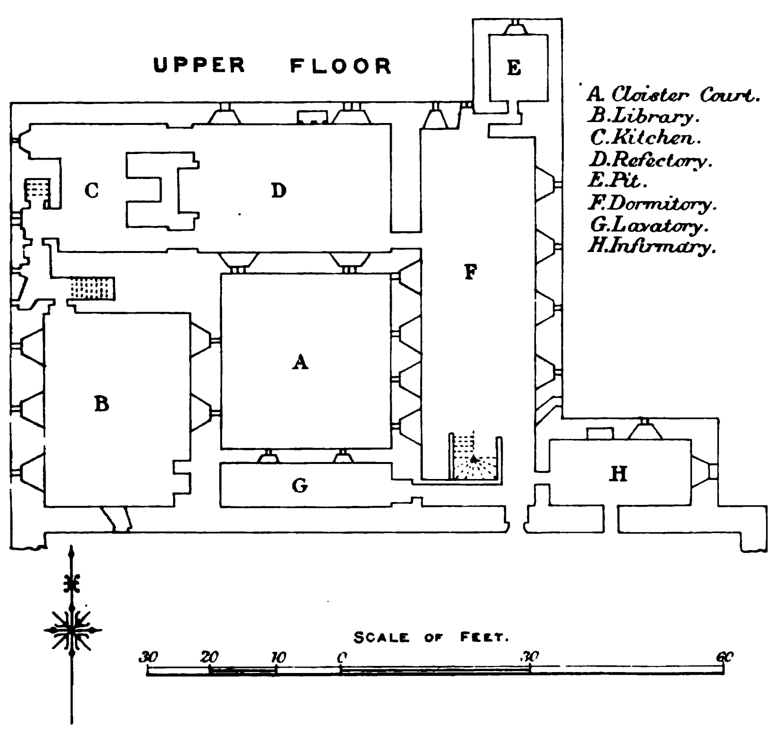
MUCKROSS ABBEY.



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court, and two, one of one light only, to the north or exterior face. Between these latter, and in the north wall, is a recess of 5 feet 5 inches opening and 1 foot 6 inches in depth, containing an arcade of two pointed arches, divided and flanked by three octagonal shafts with bell caps. The recess is six feet high and its cill four feet from the ground. This seems to have been intended as a station for a reader, whose position must have been equally inconvenient whether he sat or stood. From this room an east door opened into the dormitory. In the west end is a large fire place 7 feet long and 3 feet deep, with a flat top and a broad mantel piece. On each side of it is a door opening into the kitchen.

The *kitchen* is 18 feet by 22 feet, resting on the vaulted passage and staircase below. Its north and south walls are blank. In its east end are two clumsy walls of 7 feet projection, 2 feet thick, and 8 feet apart, which contained the fire place. This has been reduced in breadth to 4 feet 6 inches, by thickening the walls. The west wall is 6 feet thick, and contains a loop and a two light window, and in the block between them ascends a mural staircase of twenty-one steps from the ground floor. This stair opens into the recess which contains the two-light window, and in the opposite side of the same recess is a door which opens upon the head of the cloister staircase, and, with a western loop, leads on to the pulpit door and to the door of the library. The pulpit doorway is flat-topped and only 1 foot 9 inches wide. It opens in the west wall, at the first floor level, and led into a small wooden balcony, the holes for the beams of which remain. This was evidently to enable the Abbot (whose personal dimensions must have been moderate), to bestow his benediction upon the people, assembled in the churchyard below, or possibly for occasional preaching.

The *library*, 31 feet by 23, must have been a pleasant room though, like the rest, rather badly lighted. It was directly accessible from the cloisters. It had three single-light windows to the west and two to the cloister court, and near the south-east corner a fire place. In the south wall a hagioscope looked into the nave. This completed

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the suite of the conventual accommodation, which, it will be seen, was of a very simple description.

The Abbot seems to have lived with his monks, at least there is no trace of any private sitting or sleeping room. The revenues of the monastery were very small, and the brethren certainly had no inducement to indulge in idleness or luxury. It is to be hoped that when the Dissolution came it found them faithful servants, free from the laxity which certainly prevailed at that period in too many of the English establishments. Muckross has many points in common with other Irish Franciscan Abbeys. The single south transept is found also at Adare, Buttevant, Dromahaire, Kilconnell, Kilcrea, Roserick, and Sligo. Irregularities in the cloister arches are found at Adare, Askeaton, and Quin, and in the centre of the cloister court of the two latter is a yew tree, making it probable that these trees were planted before the Dissolution. At Adare every fourth cloister pier is buttressed ; but the buttresses are not taper as here, but have setts off, and are stopped at the spring of the arch. The central tower is also a common feature, and the door from it into the cloisters.

The building throughout is of mountain limestone, cut as ashlar for the windows and a few of the doorcases, most of the latter being mere rude apertures. The walls are of rubble, only occasionally coursed. The west door of the church is the only one with any pretensions to ornament. It has rather a deep splay, occupied by two bands of ogee moulding, separated by a square nook. The doors from the choir into the sacristy, and those from the cloister to the west and north fronts are also arched and slightly moulded. Others, also pointed, have plain, chamfered edges. The windows generally are either square-topped loops, or long, slender lights of 8 to 11 inches broad, lancet or ogee headed, and, if more than one, of equal height. Probably the small apertures suited the wet climate. The whole building seems very nearly of one date, but few years intervening between the commencement and completion of the cloisters. In England, the style, so far as it is there found, would be called the very Late Decorated, but the larger window of the transept and choir, and the full-centred recesses would be later. The

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absence of cusps and quatrefoils in the heads gives to the two large windows a poverty-stricken aspect. The buttresses applied to the cloister and piers are unusual, at any rate, in the taper form. Upon the inner face of the north wall of the choir two plates of limestone are thus inscribed in relief:—

ORATE PRO FELICI STATU FRATRIS
THADI HO LENI QUI HUNC SACRUM
CONVENTUM DE NOVO REPARARI
CURAVIT. ANNO DOMINI MILLESIMO
SEX CENTESIMO VIGESIMO SEXTO.

It may be that brother Thady repaired the roofs and church fittings. There is no trace of any decay in or reparation of the actual walls.

This is an excellent example of a small and compact Franciscan Abbey, fairly perfect, and in its position and surroundings very favourable to the practice of virtue, if only "fugitive and cloistered." The silence of the woods, the deep shade of the mountains, and the lone bosom of the lake expanded to the sky, are all favourable to a life of contemplation, though there is ample evidence that the inhabitants of such places, in Ireland, gave up a portion of their time to the pursuits of the arts of jewellery and of illumination, as well as to the more strictly religious duties of their profession.

Muckross is fortunate in its owner. Mr. Herbert does all that, and no more than, is necessary to keep the ruins in their present condition. The only drawback to their appearance is the utter want of taste and even of decency in the graves and monuments by which the area of the church is crowded, a nuisance which is supported by the continued practice of the country, and which probably nothing but a general consent could remedy. The area should be cleared, the remains deposited, with all due reverence, beneath the surface, the gravestones laid flat above them, and no more burials allowed, save in the exterior churchyard, and there only under restrictions of position and dimensions in the monuments.

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INISFALLEN.

This is an island near the centre of Lough Lean, and distant about a third of a mile from the point of the peninsula named from Ross Castle. It is in area about twenty acres, thickly wooded with ash, oak, beech, lime, and holly, mostly of large size, and the surface is exceedingly irregular, and the shore composed of bays and low cliffs, the latter thickly draped with ivy. This broken surface or outline, which adds much to the beauty of the spot, is produced by the disposition of the mountain limestone of which the island is composed, and which is here interstratified with a number of thin shaly beds, the whole arranged vertically.

Upon the island are two buildings; one, a chapel upon a small promontory at the north-east corner, about 30 feet above the water; the other a group of walls, a short distance inland. They are the remains of Inisfallen Abbey, a religious house of great renown in its day.

The chapel stands east and west, and is rectangular, 19 feet by 11 feet inside, with walls 3 feet thick. The gables remain, and appear to have supported a timber roof. In the east wall is a narrow but rather tall loop-like window, splayed internally, and with a round head cut out of a single stone. The recess is also round-headed, and the vaulting is supported by a plain chamfered rib. Near the centre of the north wall is a breach, where, probably, was a small window. The south wall is much broken down, but in it also is something like a trace of a window.

The doorway is in the western wall, and though its ornaments are weatherworn, it is in substance quite perfect. The opening is 2 feet 9 inches broad, with a very slight but perceptible taper of the jambs. The arch is full-centred. By way of exterior moulding are two nooks, the outer of which is occupied by an engaged shaft, cylindrical, with bases and capitals carved in a light and now all but effaced pattern. The ring stones are worked in a chevron pattern, never deeply cut, and now scarcely visible. The head is included in a bold member, of a character rarely, if ever, found in English Norman, and not easily

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described. The stones are cut in ridge and furrow, radiating from the centre, and returned inwardly below, so that the pattern is continued in the soffite. It is bold, simple, and effective, and at a little distance resembles the chevron moulding, of which it is, in fact, a variety. Above is a bold drip or head-moulding, the under or chamfered face of which is set with what appear to be small leopards' heads, full faced, or, as the heralds describe it, "cabossed." It may be that the heads alternate, three and three, with heads of a different animal.

A fireplace has been inserted in quite modern times in the north-east corner of the building, the flue of which is worked into the wall. It is an insertion of the last century or later.

The chapel appears to be all of one date, and that, probably, towards the middle of the 12th century. The masonry is imperfectly coursed rubble, rude but substantial; the door and window of excellent ashlar. The peculiar Irish features of the building are its small dimensions, the taper of the doorway, and the variety of the chevron moulding round the head. Possibly some of the Irish readers of these pages, conversant with the ecclesiastical antiquities of their country, can give the saint to whom this chapel is dedicated, and some particulars of its history, which, from its proximity to so celebrated an abbey, is probably on record.

THE ABBEY.

The island of Inisfallen has for many centuries maintained a great reputation for sanctity, and seems from an early period to have been in request as a place of burial, Hence there is nothing improbable in the general belief that its abbey was founded in the seventh century, or in the statement that the name of one of its abbots occurs as early as A.D. 640. The Irish annals also make mention of "Maelsuthian Ua Cearbhaill, one of the family of Inis-Faithleann, chief Doctor of the Western World in his time, and Lord of Eoghanacht of Loch Lein [the later Barony of Magunichy], who died in 1008, after a good life," and record that "in 1144 died Flannagan of Innis-Faithleann, a distinguished 'Anmchara,'" or counsellor. The founder of the monastery is generally considered to

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have been St. Finan Lobhor, founder also of Ard-Finan in Tipperary, a saint who died late in the 6th century, and whose day in the Irish Calendar was the 16th of March.

But Inisfallen is known to fame not so much for the Saints or Chieftains, with whom it has been connected, as for the celebrated annals, ecclesiastical and historic, composed within its walls, and which are regarded by Irish critics as dating from the 11th century, and second in antiquity only to the history of Tighernach. They have been attributed to Maelsuthian, whose connection with the monastery has already been mentioned, and who was probably one of many persons who at various periods took a share in their compilation.

Of an establishment so famous in the West, and which has contributed so largely to the early history of the country, it might be expected that the remains would be considerable, or at any rate that their fragments would bear witness to the taste and magnificence of the community. This, however, is by no means the case; the ruins are very restricted in area, were evidently never more extensive, and are of the rudest description, both in material and workmanship. Not therefore the less, but much the more, is honour due to a poverty which has erected a monument far more important and more durable than any material structure.

The abbey was composed of a church, conventual buildings attached to it, the abbot's house, and a kitchen. The church is rectangular, with no present distinction between nave and choir, and no trace of a tower. The door at the west end is at present a mere breach. In the fragments of the choir wall may be seen the southern jamb of the recess of the great eastern window, and contiguous to it that of a south window. Both seem in the Perpendicular style, and contain the only trace of ashlar to be found in the buildings. The walls are mostly ruinous, but the gables remain and shew the roof to have been of timber. The area of the church was nearly that of Muckross without the transept.

The cloister was on the north side of the nave, and may be traced by its containing walls. Its arches and inner walls are gone. A roofless building on the east side of

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the cloister was probably the dormitory, and another to the north the refectory. From the dormitory was an aperture to the choir, now closed. There does not appear to have been an upper floor.

A building, detached a few yards from the church, westward, seems to have been the abbot's house. It resembles a long cottage, and is divided into three compartments, of which the eastern was evidently a chapel, and the western a kitchen. The central was probably the sitting and bed room.

A few yards north of the abbey refectory is another, and smaller, detached building, which contains a large fireplace and an oven, and was evidently the public kitchen.

The whole structure is as simple and rude as possible. Such doorways as remain are mere square headed apertures with rough unhewn lintels. There is no vaulting, no arch, no quoins or dressings of ashlar, save in the two fragments of windows in the choir. Still the rudeness has no mark of antiquity, and nothing now remaining points to an earlier period than the fifteenth or even the sixteenth century. The stones are mere plates of shistose limestone, showing no mark of the tool, and probably broken by the hammer. Mortar is very freely used. The charm of Inisfallen is certainly not in the remains of the abbey, which are overgrown with weeds and nettles, rude, untidy, and quite devoid of beauty. The charm is in the history of the past, and in the natural loveliness of the place, which within its narrow and water-girdled area includes a considerable variety of scenery, rising at one point, which seems to have been the abbey cemetery, to near ninety feet. The great attraction to Inisfallen is, and ever should be, the monastery for which, for centuries, it was famous, but, once upon the island, the ruins of that monastery would be the last object to engage the attention of an ordinary visitor.

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ROMAN LONDON.

By the REV. W. J. LOFTIE.

I HAVE attempted in the following notes to sum up the present state of our information with regard to the history and remains of our city as it was before the coming of the English and Saxons. The task is not an easy one; too much, rather than too little has been written about the early history of London: and the accumulation of literature resembles that of the made earth above the old level. Full fathom five is it buried, and modern London, standing on the accumulated ruins of a succession of cities, can but peer down into the darkness of twenty centuries, and dimly discern a few broad facts, while all else is obscured by mystery, fable, and ingenious but embarrassing conjecture. Just as the city of the present day must be cleared away, so to speak, before we can find the older city, so the early history must be sought by sweeping at once out of sight all, or almost all, that we find in the mediæval and even in the recent works of historians, and an attempt be made to reconstruct for ourselves a new view of the subject, founded upon the few real facts which we can find. Lud and Belin, Troy-Novant, and Llyn Dinas must disappear, with St. Helena and her wall, Lucius and his church, and the Temple of Diana on the site of St. Paul's. We must cast aside tradition and everything built upon it. We must use theories and conjectures with the utmost caution, if at all, and go to work untrammelled and very much as if we have never heard of the place before. A very few documentary facts are beyond dis-

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pute, and as we proceed it will be easy to bring them in where they come.

Upon looking at a map[1] we observe that a great many of the early roads pass through a point on the northern or left bank of the Thames. We observe further that some of these roads, contrary to the usual practice, do not come straight to the point, but seem to go out of their way to reach it. It strikes us at once that there must be a reason for this deflection, and a moment's observation of the geographical features of the district gives us the reason.

The narrowest place on the Thames for many miles above and below is at a little wharf adjoining Thames Street, and just opposite St. Olave's church, on the other bank. If the roads had to cross the Thames, it is but natural to suppose they would cross it there, and that a great city would be likely to grow at the crossing. But such a supposition would not be strictly correct, because, as we have seen, the roads went out of their way to get to this crossing.

Let us take the most remarkable example. The Watling Street is still traversed daily by thousands of people who have not the slightest idea that what they call Edgware Road was a highway at so remote a period that it may have been old in the days of Julius Cæsar. Now if, as we walk down Edgware Road towards the site of Tyburn Turnpike and the Marble Arch, we cast our eyes forward, we observe that the line of the houses in Park Lane runs on, so to speak, with that of the houses in Edgware Road. And if we follow the line thus given we find it reaches the Thames at a point in Westminster close to the Houses of Parliament, and nearly opposite St. Thomas's Hospital. There is an ancient road from that point, which traverses Surrey, and which possibly connected itself with the southern branch of the Watling Street from Dover to Canterbury. The point where that old road left the bank of the river is still called the Stan, or Stane, gate, as the road beyond was once called the Stane Street. But we are going too far afield, for it is worth remarking that all traces of the Watling Street

[1] There is such a map in the fourteenth volume of the *Archæological Journal*, made by Dr. Guest, to illustrate a learned paper on the old roads.

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cease at the Marble Arch, and that instead we have a road which we name Oxford Street, running due east, called in the oldest document in which it is mentioned the "military way." It runs eastward until it comes to a stream called the Fleet, there it ascends a hill, winding a little on the slope, for the convenience of traffic, and then, turning a little to the south, it reaches the Thames at the place of which I have spoken, namely, Botolph's Wharf, opposite St. Olave's Church. If we look at a map of modern London, we see the only part of the old Watling Street which retains its original appellation, and observe that it runs along part of a line drawn from the crossing of the Fleet below Newgate to the narrow part of the Thames at Botolph's Wharf, and that on the opposite shore a lane still bears the name of Stony Street. Keeping these things, which are not conjectures, but facts, in our minds, we must conclude that the Watling Street and the Stone Street met across the river at the place of which I have spoken, that they formerly met at Westminster, but that, at some very remote period, a reason came into existence which made it convenient to cross the Thames at Botolph's Wharf rather than at Westminster. This reason must have been the building of a bridge. It has often been pointed out that, instead of being narrow opposite London, the Thames was once a lagoon or tidal lake, stretching from the base of the line of hills on which the city now stands to Nunhead. In process of time this lagoon was drained and embanked, the shallowest places were selected for driving piles, causeways were made from islet to islet, until the lagoon became an archipelago, and the archipelago firm ground. Then it was that the roads were diverted, the bridge built, and a Roman city founded on the south as well as on the north side of the Thames. When was this?

We are going a little too fast. It must be evident, if only from the course of the Watling Street, that in its earliest infancy London was not a place of much consideration. From a mere fishing village by the side of the Walbrook it may have grown by commerce—maritime commerce only—into a populous little town. It can have had no communication, except by ship, with the opposite side of the Thames, and must have been quite apart from

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the course of either the northern or the southern end of the Watling Street.

Just here we come upon our first piece of historical evidence. We learn from Tacitus[2] that in A.D. 61 it was full of merchants and their wares, but was undefended by ramparts, and a place, except for its comparatively large population, of little military importance. It is evident that this could not have been said of a place which was the terminus of several roads, and at which the Thames could be easily crossed.

We are driven thus to the conclusion that there was a British town, as indeed its British name, still retained, proves, at some place not far from the modern site of London, and we learn concerning it that, though it was full of merchants and a great mart, it was not a colony, and was not worth the risk of defending it against Boadicea. When I call it a British town, I do so because of its name, and because, although it may have been largely occupied by Roman merchants, it had not grown up exclusively under Roman care.

As to its size at this time, it is as well to acknowledge that we know nothing, except that it must have been very small. Tacitus speaks of the massacre of seventy thousand people by Boadicea in the three towns of Camulodunum, Verulam, and London; and it has often been assumed that this expression points to a population of about 30,000. But it is impossible to draw any such conclusion from the text, and it is only certain that London was the least important of the three towns.

From the time of Tacitus history gives us no information about London for more than two centuries, and we are left to conjecture, from diggings and other investigations of the kind, what became of it. That such a place existed, in fact, is only proved by the remains which have been found. They are of various kinds, and for the most part give us few chronological data, for the discoveries have seldom been made by people who were not either ignorant of the subject or else biased by some preconceived theory of their own. If I purposely omit references to authorities it is because they are too many rather than too few, and

[2] *Annal.* lib. xiv. c. 33.

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almost every line I write has been, at one time or another, the subject of fierce controversy.

All that appears certain, then, is that London very soon recovered from the ravages of the Iceni, and became a place of greater wealth than ever before. It is evident that a strong fortification surrounded it, and that it possessed extensive suburbs—that, in fact, it consisted of a fort, a harbour outside the fort, and the villas of the rich merchants.

It was still a very little place, and the best way of realising its features will be to walk round its site, which may be done within an hour at most. Let the perambulator take it for granted that London Stone marks the site of a gate in the western rampart; for though it has been removed from the middle of the roadway, it is still not very far from its original place. Let him then, with such a place as Richborough in his mind's eye, ascend from the valley of the Walbrook to the level of the ground above. Turning his face towards the Thames, he finds himself in an oblong walled space, extending along the brow of a line of bluffs from what is now Dowgate Hill on the west, to the place where Little Tower Street and Great Tower Street meet with a bend on the east. A great semi-circular bastion is at the south-western corner, extending from Scot's Yard beside the Cannon Street terminus, to Laurence Pountney Lane. Here the level ground seems to approach nearer the river, and the lanes leading down to Thames Street to be shorter and steeper. To the east there would be a strong wall, to the north another, defended by a wide and deep ditch full of water. Traces of this ditch remained for a thousand years or more in the neighbourhood of Lombard Street, and they were often looked upon as forming the bed of a stream which ran into the Walbrook. Streams do not flow up-hill, and though the English called this ditch a "bourne," and the ward which it traversed Langbourne, we can have little doubt in thus identifying it. The long bourne or ditch ran from the eastern end of the city to the declivity of Walbrook, all along the northern front, cutting it off from Fenchurch Street and Lombard Street, and turning south just behind the Mansion House, where Wren's beautiful little church of St. Stephen stands now. On the west side the ram-

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part overlooked the valley of the Walbrook and the harbour at Dowgate. The whole oblong space was traversed by two great streets and a number of smaller ones. The main street ran along the line of Cannon Street; there was probably a market place in the centre, where Great Eastcheap was formerly, nearly on the site of King William's statue, and it was crossed at right angles at the eastern end of the market-place by the line of the present Gracechurch Street, which led up from the river, where there may have been a ferry—possibly even a bridge—but it is absolutely uncertain when the bridge was made.

As the town grew, the original fortified position became relatively smaller; the whole surrounding district was covered with villas, pavements were laid down, and hypocausts made as far out as Camomile Street on the north and Paternoster Row on the west. All kinds of remains have been dug up within the boundaries of the fortifications—all kinds except one. No interments were made within that space; no urns containing ashes, no coffins or bones are to be found, for the obvious reason that under Roman rule it was unlawful to bury within the walls of a city. The moment we get outside those walls we find sepulchral remains. They occur at St. Dunstan's Church on the east, they are frequent in Lombard Street, and the western bank of the Walbrook had several. In some places these graves have been covered with a mosaic pavement, or a roadway has been made across them; and when the present circuit of the city walls took in a space so much greater than that surrounded by the previous wall, numerous cemeteries were included. It is evident that the Roman or British inhabitants kept the law only in the letter and broke it in the spirit. It was probably just as hard to enforce sanitary regulations in the third century as it is in the nineteenth. The great size of the suburbs, their irregularity, the heterogeneous population gathered in them, must have been difficult elements to regulate. The Roman citadel frowned from the eastern hill, but diggings make it likely that opposite to it, on the western side of the Walbrook, were the huts of the aboriginal natives, who probably formed a troublesome class, excitable and fierce, and long in coming to that pitch of civilization of which the Roman boasted.

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There are many traditions as to public buildings in this earlier Roman London, but we may safely set them all aside. We do not know where any great temple stood, and we may conclude from the absence of an amphitheatre coupled with other reasons, that the military element in the population was not great, and probably kept itself very much apart and within its fortifications. A great bath was near the river-side, and may have been a public institution, but no forum, no basilica, has been identified. Where the main street and that which led from the bridge, if there was a bridge, intersected each other, there may, as we have seen, have been a market-place. It has been observed that the Churches now or lately standing within this area bear the names of saints of the British and Roman Churches. But these names are common all over the later and larger London, and it would not be safe to conclude that they indicate the presence of a Christian community. That there were a few fine buildings is, however, proved. In the remains of the later Roman wall sculptured fragments are often found, indicating not only the existence, but the early destruction of the buildings for which they were originally executed. One reason for the disappearance of almost all vestiges of this kind must be sought in the universal use of wood for houses, and another in the probable use of brick only for buildings of a more permanent character. Whenever we find Roman remains in the city a layer of black ashes is above them, and sometimes there are two such layers. Fires frequently raged, and even without supposing that London was ever burnt like Canterbury or Anderida by the English invader, it is easy to understand that wooden houses would gradually disappear; while in a place devoid of building-stone brickwork would be constantly pulled down, and the old bricks used again in fresh buildings, until by degrees the older bricks would disappear, or be pounded up to make the new.

London up to the third century, then, like London at the present day, was essentially a city of suburbs. The long security of Roman rule had made it unnecessary to live within fortifications, and in this respect London has almost always differed from the great cities of the Continent. It is needful to bear this fact in mind if we would

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understand the second historical fact which we have about it.

Before we go on to notice this fact, it may be worth while to attempt, if we can, to realise what London looked like at the end of the third century.

The two hills, of which the western is now crowned by St. Paul's, and the eastern by the Exchange, were then covered with houses, not so thickly set as now, but low villas of one story in height, surrounded by trees and gardens; on the eastern hill was the citadel, and close to it, and within its walls, the nucleus of the Roman city, with its market-place. On the western hill, and down the slopes of the Walbrook, were the fishing and shipbuilding part of the population; a poor quarter, probably using the little creek at Dowgate, while the greater merchants had their quays below the bridge and at Billingsgate. To the north, Cornhill and Threadneedle Street contained the better sort of houses, some being placed by the side of the great road which is now Bishopsgate Street, though not exactly on the same site, and some more irregularly on the two banks of the upper course of the Walbrook, which here wound through a deep ravine.

We may picture the Roman maidens tripping down the steps to the water's edge to fill great jars of Kentish pottery with their woollen skirts tucked close about them, where nowadays bank clerks hurriedly descend from Threadneedle Street to Broad Street and never think of the reason which makes the steps necessary. We may visit the market-place and see, at the point where now the Sailor King's granite pedestal forms a refuge from the wheels, some foreign slave merchant higgling with the driver who has brought a gang of wretched children from beyond the northern forests. We may perhaps be witnesses to a dispute between the merchants from Gaul and the Frankish mercenaries who were now frequent in the Roman service, and the guard may be called out, and the ringleaders of the disturbance taken before the centurion or the proprætor, who perhaps sends them on to York for trial, and writes with them such a letter as Claudius Lysias wrote to Felix. Or we may go on towards the river and get our money ready to pay the toll. The bridge is made of great beams, supported on piles, and we

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must be careful lest our coin slips from our fingers as it will fall through the gaping boards into the stream. At the Southwark side we shall find fresh fortifications, a few houses, and the road to Canterbury banked up at both sides and defended by wooden walls against the inundations and the marshes.

Such was probably Roman London during a full half of the period of its existence. It is not the picture usually drawn: for we are accustomed to talk as if Roman London was always the same, and to forget that it underwent many changes, and only acquired the walls which still in part survive towards the end of the Roman occupation. That the bridge crossed the river very early and long before the greater circuit of the wall was completed there can, I think, be little doubt. When the foundations of the old bridge were taken up a complete line of coins, ranging from the republican period to Honorius were found in the bed of the river. Some of them may have been thrown in as a kind of religious ceremony, but many must have been dropped much in the way I have indicated above, and the completeness of the series found, comprising as it does, specimens elsewhere scarce, can only be accounted for on the supposition that the bridge, preceded perhaps by a rope or chain ferry, was very early thrown across the Thames.

And now we find London once more upon the page of history. And it is characteristic of the place that the mention of a great fog is the means of removing the mist which has so long hung over it. It was almost at the close of the third century, and Diocletian was emperor, and had associated Maximian with him in his government. Britain had long been under the power of Carausius who called himself "emperor," and trusted in the fleet which he had constructed at Boulogne, and with which he controlled Southampton, where his pier still exists, and other Channel ports. But the lieutenant of the emperors, the Cæsar Constantius, laid siege to the dockyards at Boulogne, and Carausius fled with his ships into Britain. There he was murdered by one of his officers, Allectus, who with an army formed from various sources, and comprising some Franks, endeavoured to defend his claims to the empire. But the general under Constantius, Asclepi-

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odotus by name, eluded the vigilance of the fleet of Allectus by going to sea in a fog, landed in the west, and marched to meet the usurper. Allectus, thinking Asclepiodotus, if he came at all, must come through Kent, was waiting near London, and when he heard of the landing had only time to assemble some of his troops before Asclepiodotus was upon him. He was defeated and killed, and his Franks were driven back upon London. Had we any idea given us where the battle took place, it might help us to determine several questions as to the condition of London at the time. But we are in the dark, and can only conjecture as usual. Conjecture, then, leads us to suppose that if Allectus watched for the coming of Asclepiodotus through Kent, and if he had London open behind him, he must have been somewhere in Surrey, or along the line of the Old Kent Road, and must have marched westward, perhaps as far as one of the fords, Wallingford, or some other. There are remains of "Cæsar's Camp" on several hills west of London which would point to such occupation, and just as Belgium has been called the battlefield of Europe, so the country between London and Windsor merited at an early period the name of the battlefield of England.

When the Franks in the pay of Allectus found themselves free on his death, they made for London; and some historians have been surprised to find that they broke into the city easily and plundered the inhabitants. But we need not feel any surprise in the matter, if we remember, first that Allectus was in fact emperor till his defeat, and had London in his power, possibly in his occupation; and that, even if the citadel held out against him, which is very improbable, the whole of the vast suburbs were undefended, and lay open as a prey to the barbarous Franks. They amused themselves plundering and burning in mere wantonness, for they could have but little hope of ultimate escape from Asclepiodotus and Constantius, though it is asserted that they proposed to sail away with their spoils. However, the Roman general overtook them in the streets of London,—another fact which indicates its defenceless state,—and slew the most of them; no wonder that we read of the joyful reception given by the citizens to Constantius and his army, for order and strong govern-

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ment must have been necessary to the mere existence of such a city. But Constantius did not stay. York was a place of much greater importance than London, and the Picts and Scots had begun to be troublesome. So of London we hear little or nothing in history for a second long interval. It is not so long as the first, but about half a century elapsed before the journey of Lupicinus, the lieutenant of Julian, who came over to repel an invasion of the northern barbarians. He started from Boulogne, landed at Richborough, and marched to London, but what he did further we do not know.

And now, once more, we must return to the diggings for our information: and they offer us one of the greatest of all the great puzzles which beset the early history of London. What is the age of the outer wall? Is it true that the wall and gates which came down to recent times accurately represented those of Roman London?

To both of these questions very positive answers may be found in most of the London histories; but if we say that the wall was built by Constantine, we say what may or may not be true; while if we say that the mediæval wall represented, in its situation, the Roman wall, we may be still nearer the fact; but if we go on, thirdly, to say that the gates, and the roads through them, were the same under the Romans and under Edward the Fourth, we shall be almost certainly mistaken.

To save time I will refer you for what has been said and may be said on these questions, to the papers of Sir William Tite, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Wright, Mr. Roach Smith, and the late Mr. Black, all of which are in the *Archæologia*, as well as to some separate tracts by Mr. Smith and Sir William, and will myself pass on to give my own conclusions without making further reference to the grounds on which they are founded.

We may, I think, assume with tolerable certainty that the present line of the wall was marked out about the time of Constantine and his family; and about the same time the name of the city, which must, after the building of the wall, have been one of the greatest in Britain, was changed to Augusta. In other words, London became for the first time an important Roman station, a centre of the civil and military organization inaugurated by Con-

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stantine, and possibly, but not certainly, the occasional residence of the Vicar of the Emperor. We find a mint and money coined in London, and although the name Augusta hardly appears in history, and never without a reference to the older name, its existence proves at least that a great change had suddenly taken place in the estimation of the city. It is not likely that a new name would be given to an old city unless it had in some way been renewed; and if we could get the exact date at which the name was conferred, we might be able to assign an approximate one to the wall. This we cannot do, but by a comparison of two passages in Ammianus, it seems to have been somewhere between 350 and 369, that is to say, between the reigns of Julian II and Valentinian. This date answers very well to the coins found in and near the wall, which we may safely place, therefore, in the second half of the fourth century. In places where the foundations of the wall have been disturbed, as at Camomile Street, remains of a more ancient kind have been discovered underneath. Interments and pavements occur not only under the wall itself, but in many places within its circuit; and all must be attributed to a period before the wall was built and the city boundaries extended.

It is only by looking at a map that the great increase in the size of the city, since the building of the inner wall, can be estimated. The modern boundaries are almost precisely those which existed in the fourth century; for it is only by courtesy that Fleet Street can be reckoned in the city. This remarkable fact can be accounted for on one of two suppositions; either that the wall took in a great deal of ground not then covered by buildings; or else, that already the population to be protected was so large as to make London one of the greatest cities in Britain. But we must remember that the houses were probably only one storey in height, and that they may have spread over a large space of ground, especially as many of them partook rather of the character of villas than of town houses, and that some were no doubt surrounded by gardens and other grounds.

The wall commenced at Billingsgate, where probably there was a dock or water gate, for the ground on which the Tower now stands must then, and for long after, have

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been under water. Signs of a wall have been seen along the edge of the Thames to the bridge, from the bridge to Dowgate at the mouth of the Walbrook, and thence to Blackfriars, or rather Ludgate; which, as its name imports, was then and long afterwards, a water gate. No Roman remains have ever been found along the line of Fleet Street and the Strand. A great fen extended from the mouth of the Fleet river to the site of the new Holborn Viaduct, and was not crossed by any Roman road. The only road to the west, that which, as I have said, was called afterwards the "military way," emerged from the city somewhere near Newgate, descended the deep (Snow) hill, crossed the river by the Holborn bridge, and ascended the opposite (Holborn) hill. The road may have early assumed that zigzag character which it long retained, but the exact site of the gate cannot now be determined. Until lately, indeed, its existence was denied; but remains, found a year ago, make it certain that somewhere between what is now Newgate Prison and the site of the old Compter in Giltspur Street stood the principal, perhaps the sole, western gate. Through it the Watling Street entered London, and made its way towards the bridge.

From the bridge also another great road took its way to the north. Whether the northern gate of London was at Bishopsgate, or a little to the south-east, it is impossible to say. The extensive remains found on several occasions in Camomile Street, make it very possible but by no means certain, that when the wall was repaired in the middle ages, as it was on more than one occasion, the Roman gate was abandoned and Bishopsgate built instead. The opening of Aldgate may have been a sufficient reason for this alteration. Let us, however, for convenience, speak of Bishopsgate as the northern entrance, and we shall see that two country roads came up to it, and meeting there passed on to the bridge through Bishopsgate Street and Gracechurch Street, or a little to the eastward to suit what was then the position of the bridge.

One of these two roads, when it left Bishopsgate, took its way nearly due north to Lincoln and York. The other tending eastward, crossed the Lea at Old Ford, which at that period was the lowest point at which a ford was safe,

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and went onward towards Colchester. The modern road runs almost over the same ground, but shortens the way by crossing a little lower down at Stratford.

All round about this ancient gate was the great cemetery of the later Roman London. Graves have been found in the Minories, in Mile End Road, and in Spital Fields. One or two which have been discovered on Holborn Hill show that the Romans passed that way, but the passage of the Fleet probably made it inconvenient to carry their dead so far, and they are comparatively rare. But in Hounsditch, Finsbury, Shoreditch, Moorfields, Goodmans Fields, Whitechapel, and especially just outside the wall in Eldon Street, Liverpool Street, and Bloomfield Street, interments of all kinds have been discovered.

This may be the proper place to inquire as to the Christian Church in London under the Romans. A great deal of legend and invention has been spent on this as on other subjects connected with the early history of our city. But it is important to note that among the hundreds—I might, perhaps, correctly say, thousands—of interments found in and about London, not one bears distinct marks of being the burial of a Christian; and that among all the remains of other kinds, only a few bone pins with cruciform ornaments and a stamp or seal, found in the Thames, can be classed as having Christian emblems on them. A British bishop, Restitutus, said to be from the city of London, was at the council of Arles, in 314. But if there were Christians in London, they can hardly have been either numerous or influential. St. Peter's upon Cornhill is traditionally said to have been the seat of Bishop Restitutus, and the fifteen predecessors and successors assigned to him by the mediæval historians; but I am here endeavouring to deal only with what has been ascertained to be true, and it is remarkable that of the sixteen names alluded to above, not one occurs as the titular patron of a church. The existence of a church in Roman London, is therefore, a thing to be classed among those unproved possibilities, perhaps it would be safe to say probabilities, about which nothing positive can be recorded.

And now we come to the last documentary mention of

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London by the Roman historians. In 368, Theodosius was sent into Britain to repel the Picts and Scots, who had begun to threaten London, and were plundering the surrounding country. Theodosius landed at Richborough, and finding the barbarians scattered about, defeated them in detail, restored the booty they had taken to its owners, and, reaching London, was joyfully received by the citizens who opened their gates to him. He rested his troops in the city for a short time, and then marched northward to complete the destruction of the savage invaders. These events took place in the reign of Valentinian. Theodosius was father to the emperor of the same name, who died in 395; and it was in the time of his successor Honorius, that the Roman legions, the second, posted at Caerleon, the sixth —which with the ninth—was at York, and the twentieth, which had its head-quarters at Chester, were withdrawn. The feeble emperor wrote a letter to the cities of Britain, exhorting them to guard themselves as best they could; and we have no further information. Although it is likely that until the last a very strong force was constantly in London, we know little for certain, and cannot even tell from which of the legions the troops of the propraetor were supplied.

London is not heard of again in history until after the arrival of Augustine, if we except a passage in the *English Chronicle* which makes it the refuge of the Britons defeated by Hengest at Crayford.

How the city fared during the great Anglo-Saxon invasion, we have little evidence, and that of a negative kind. That it enjoyed some years of comparative security after the departure of the Romans, we may perhaps conclude; but the history of its fate has yet to be written.

Although I have endeavoured to piece together the historical and monumental history so far, I fear that my attempt has been chiefly of a destructive character. If I have succeeded at all, it is only in showing that we know very little beyond the mere existence of the place. That it was ever the capital of Britain, as so many have asserted, can only be doubtfully proved for the period succeeding the reorganisation of the empire under Constantine and his successors. The remains discovered, plenty as they are, tell us very little in comparison with

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what we know of other Roman towns. But we know enough to show us that far beneath the feet of the busy throng which presses every day the pavements of modern London, there exist the traces of an ancient city, buried in places to the depth of a dozen yards below the present surface; and if a conjecture may be hazarded, it is that, from the days of Tacitus until now, there has been no cessation of that concourse of merchants, that crowd of foreign peoples, that activity and bustle, which have made it during nearly two thousand years a thriving commercial city, and rendered it at length, in the words of a foreign poet of the seventeenth century,

> "Cunctas celebrata per oras,
> Cor mundi, mundique oculus, mundique theatrum,
> Annulus Europes, præsignis adorea terræ."
> —*Wenceslai Clementis Trinobantiades*, lib. 1.

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Original Documents.

CHARTER OF CONFIRMATION BY RICHARD EARL OF CORNWALL AND POICTOU OF GRANTS OF LANDS IN THE HONOUR OF BERKHAMPSTEDE, A.D. 1256.

Communicated by G. T. CLARK.

The following charter is one of a large collection of similar documents and of private letters relating to the estates and family of the Verneys, still preserved at Claydon House, their ancient seat. The charter seems to have come into the possession of the family as one of the title deeds of the manor of Pendele or Pendley in the parish of Tring, which was the inheritance of Margaret Whittingham, who married John Verney in the reign of Edward IV, and was by him ancestress of Edmond Verney, who sold the manor in the reign of Elizabeth. It has been selected for publication on account of the strong local interest which attaches to it, for it contains the names of very many persons and places, mostly of and in the Hundred of Dacorum in Herts, and near to Tring. Had this document been known to Chauncy or Clutterbuck it would have enabled those industrious writers to give a far more perfect account of the descent of landed property in that division of their county.

Earl Richard, as Lord of the Honour of Berkhampstede, was chief lord of a sort of cape of the county of Hertford, about five miles broad at the base, and which extends to the north-west about eight miles into Buckinghamshire. Berkhampstede Castle stands at the base of this district, the parishes of Puttenham and Long Marston at its apex, and the town of Tring is included within it.

Mainly within this area a certain Rafe de Geyton[1] had acquired divers lands by charters from their owners, and as they were all also within the Honour of Berkhampstead he brought their charters, six in number, before the over-lord for his confirmation, which, with the recitation of each of them, is here given.

Richard Plantagenet Earl of Cornwall and Poictou, better known to posterity by his later title of King of the Romans, was the younger son of King John and brother of Henry III. He was born in 1209, and only eight years old at his brother's accession, by whom nine years later he was created Earl of Cornwall and Poictou. He was for a time heir to the throne, and always exercised great influence in the affairs of the kingdom. In the earlier part of the reign he sided with the Mareschals, and took up arms in their cause, marrying Isabel, daughter of the elder William Earl of Pembroke and widow of the Earl of Gloucester. He was a far wiser man than his brother, who seems to have consulted him on many occasions, although they were often at variance. No doubt his weight was much augmented by his

[1] Probably of Gayton near Blisworth, where a family bearing the local surname was flourishing in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. There are fine effigies of Philip de Gayton (died 1316) and his wife Scholastica, and a diminutive figure of a child, in Gayton Church.

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immense wealth, a part of which he squandered in bribes to the German electors. To the Castle and Honour of Berkhampstede, the caput of his Hertfordshire possessions, he attached great importance, excepting the castle from the estates settled by him in dower on Saunchia of Provence. Wallingford, however, whence the charter is dated, was his chief seat, where he lived with great splendour.

The charter bears date the year before he became King of the Romans. In his latter days Earl Richard took part with the king, and commanded at Lewes, where he was made prisoner. Subsequently, after the surrender of Kenilworth, his counsels, in conjunction with those of Prince Edward, compelled Henry to be merciful, and laid the foundation of the good order by which the new reign was ushered in.

The Earl died at Berkhampstede April 2, 1272, a little before his brother. Henry, his eldest son, died either before or just after him, childless, and Edward, his successor, died also childless in 1300, when the titles became extinct.

The charter contains thirty-nine lines, and is written upon a skin of parchment eighteen and a half inches broad by seventeen and three-quarter inches long, polled at the top and folded at the bottom to carry the cord of the suspended seal. It is written in a clear hand, with good black ink, with the usual abbreviations, which are here, for the most part, expanded. It is quite perfect, save that in the twentieth line a strip of the membrane, about five inches long and a quarter of an inch wide, has been cut out, and is replaced by a slightly larger strip, which is neatly sewn in all round. Although this inserted strip is blank, the top of the letters of the following line run into it, and it is pretty evident that the whole defect is as old as the charter, and was caused by the clerk having made some blunder in the writing which he could not erase, and for the sake of which he did not care to begin his work over again. Probably the Earl's chancery clerks found their own parchment.

The seal is imperfect, but what remains is well cut and clear. It has been circular, three and one-eighth inches in diameter, of dark reddish wax, and about one-third of its most important part remains.

On the upper side, that which corresponds with the face of the charter, is a knight on horseback galloping to the proper left. He wears a loose plaited surcoat, girdled at the waist, and with the skirt flowing freely backwards, shewing the right leg from the knee in armour, apparently mail, with a prick-spur. The right arm, in mail, is extended backwards, and holds upright a long straight sword. Above the upper edge of the surcoat is seen the throat, closely fitted with mail, and on the head a flat-topped helmet. The left arm is covered by a heater shield, which conceals the breast and bears a rampant lion, with probably a border. The saddle is raised before and behind, and the two girths cross saltire fashion under the horse's belly. Over the knight's right shoulder is a narrow embossed belt, for sword or dagger. The horse is cut with great freedom, and does not appear to be in armour. The legend is: "SIGIL[LUM RICARDI COMITIS CORNU]BIE."

Upon the obverse is a large, bold heater shield, about two inches high, bearing a lion rampant within a plain border, charged with fourteen roundels. Round and behind the shield is scroll work of an early

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English character. The legend, in place of the usual cross, commences with a crescent "SIG[ILLVM] RICARDI COMITIS[CORN]UBIE."

The seal is formed upon two plaited silk cords, either gilt or made with gold thread. The upper bend passes through four holes in the parchment, the lower ends are unravelled as tassels. A not very accurate engraving of Richard's seal is given by Sandford.

It is remarkable that Richard did not bear the arms of England, but took those of Poictou, "Argent, a lion rampant gules, crowned or," which he placed within "a border sable, bezantée," derived from the old Earls of Cornwall, and thus, as was not unusual, represented both his earldoms on his shield.

The present writer, not being familiar with the district, has failed to identify many of the persons and places named in the several charters. Almost all belong to the district, but most of the persons are tenants of the Earl, not tenants in capite, and consequently do not appear in the inquisitions or other records of the realm. Many of the places were those of private estates or farms, not of manors or parishes, and have been lost, and unfortunately there is no inquisition extant giving Earl Richard's estates at his death, and in which most of these local names would have appeared. What have been recovered have been found in Chauncy and Clutterbuck, in the Close, Patent, and Hundred Rolls, in the Testa de Nevile, and in similar records of the reign of Henry III. No doubt a further search on the spot, into parish terriers and estate maps, would shew many more of these names.—

"OMNIBUS ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, Ricardus Comes Cornubie et Pictavie, salutem, noverit universitas vestra nos inspexisse cartam quam Galfridus de Lucy fecit Radulfo de Geyton in hec verba.

"SCIANT presentes et futuri quod ego Galfridus de Lucy dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Radulfo de Geyton, pro homagio et servicio suo, unam virgatam terre et dimidiam, et unam acram prati et dimidiam, in feodo meo de Wygenton; scilicet, illam terram quam Willielmus Basset, quondam de antecessoribus meis, tenuit in Wygenton; et predictum pratum sicut prescriptum est in Lolleseye; habend: et tenend: de me et heredibus meis sibi et heredibus suis aut suis assignatis, exceptis viris religiosis et Judeis, bene et integre, pacifice, cum suis pertinenciis, reddendo inde annuatim ipse et heredes sui mihi et heredibus meis sex solidos et octo denarios ad quatuor terminos anni, scilicet ad Festum Beate Marie in m....o, viginti denarios, et ad Nativitatem Sancti Baptiste, viginti denarios, et ad Festum Sancti Michaelis, viginti denarios, et ad Nativitatem Domini, viginti denarios, pro omni seculari servicio, salvo forinseco domini regis, quantum pertinet ad tantam terram in eodem manerio, pro hac autem donatione concessione et carte mee confirmacione dedit in manibus dictus Radulfus viginti marcas in Gersinnam.

"Et quia ego Galfridus de Lucy et heredes mei dictam terram et prenominatum pratum dicto Radulfo et heredibus suis sicut predictum est contra omnes nomines warantizare debemus, hanc cartam sigilli mei impressione roboravi, hiis testibus, Johanne de Merston, Roberto fratre suo, Iuliano de Chenduit, Symone de Bisevile, Will'mo de Audebur', Will'mo de Wederore, Alexandro de Wygenton, Waltero de Beledon, Rad: de Nevile, et aliis.

"INSPEXIMUS et cartam quam Sylvester de la Grave fecit predicto Radulfo in hec verba.

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"SCIANT presentes et futuri quod ego Sylvest: de la Grave dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Radulfo de Geyton pro homagio et servicio suo totam terram meam quam habui vel habere potui in villa de Picheleston apud Yseleye cum omnibus suis pertinenciis in aliquo retenemento. Habend: et tenend: eidem Radulfo et heredibus suis vel cuicunque eam dare vel assignare voluerit de me et heredibus meis, libere quiete integre et plenarie, imperpetuum. Reddendo inde annuatim pro me et heredibus meis capitalibus dominis feodi illius, quatuor solidos et sex denarios ad tres terminos anni. scilicet ad Festum S'ti Andree octodecim denarios et ad Festum S'ti Marie in m.... octodecim denarios et ad Festum S'ti Petri ad vincula octodecim denarios, pro omni servicio, salvo forenseco servicio, et ego Silvest: et heredes mei warantizabimus predicto Radulfo et heredibus suis vel ejus assignatis totam predictam terram cum omnibus pertinenciis suis contra omnes gentes imperpetuum. Pro hac autem donacione et presentis carte mee confirmacione dedit mihi predictus Radulfus novem marcas argenti in Gersinnam, et ut hec mea donacio concessio et carte mee confirmacio rata et stabilis imperpetuum pleverit sigilli mei appositione eam roboravi. Hiis testibus Rad': Marescal':, Rob'to de Dalinghen: Rad': de Eston, Will'mo de Wylbesnade, Henrico de Dagenhale, Simone de Danevile, Adamo de Danevile, Will'mo de Audeburi, Rad: de Bratton clerico, et aliis.

"INSPEXIMUS et cartam quam Frater Albanus Martel milicie Templi in Anglia minister fecit predicto Rad': in hec verba.

"OMNIBUS et fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Frater Albanus Martel milicie Templi in Anglia minister humilis salutem in domino. Sciatis quod nos de communi consilio et assensu capitali nostri in Pasch: apud Dinesle concessimus et hac presenti carta confirmavimus Rad': de Geyton et heredibus suis totam terram illam in villa de Pandele quod appellatur la inlande, cum toto Grascrofto et Pinnokeshulle, et cum omnibus aliis pertinenciis suis, et illud messuagium quod fuit Alfredi de Woderore cum crofta que pertinet ad idem messuagium, et croftam illam que appellatur Clerke's croft, similiter croftam illam quam appellatur Musteleseroft, et croftam illam que appellatur la Stane, et totum, assartum in villa de Audeburi, quod est inter terram que fuit Will'mi filii Hugonis de la Grave ex una parte et les Hores ex altera similiter pasturam illam que jacet inter predictum assartum et fossatum quod se extendit ad Wyngate et inter les Hores ex una parte et Aylmerecrofte ex altera parte, et pasturam illam que jacet inter dictum fossatum quod est in superiori parte et viam que appellatur Pottereswey ex inferiori parte et vocatur pastura illa Saywedune et incipit a fine de Godwinstune et durat usque la Wyngate et de la Wyngate versus vallem usque ad pruam spinam, et de prua spina descendendo usque ad viam que appellatur Potteresweye videlicet usque ad illam locum ubi via que appellatur Mullesweye intrat in viam que appelatur Potteresweye et pratum illud quod est de quatuor acris in Lullesey et jacet inter aquam de Lullesey et pratum de Wingrave et circuitur ex omni parte de prato de Wengrave, et preterea totum jus quod habuimus de dono Hawysie de Bovill in communi bosco ubi Abbas de la Feveresham et dominus Galfrid: de Lucy communicantur; concessimus et eidem Rad: et heredibus suis quietum de pannagio in bosco de Audeburi quum dedit nobis predicta Hawisia, et preterea decem solidos de dimidia hyda terre in villa de Chetendon que fuit Radulfi de Chetendon et homagium de terra Ricardi filii

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Will'mi Meynardi, et duos solidos et corpus suum et consuetudines cum tota sequela sua de terra Bartholomei de Beininden, duos solidos et quatuor denarios et corpus suum et consuetudines cum tota sequela sua de terra Hugonis Grom, sexdecim denarios et corpus suum et consuetudines cum tota sequela sua de terra Will'mi filii Godwini, quinque solidos et corpus suum et consuetudines cum tota sequela sua et totam terram illam quam appellatur Edithecrofte quam Willmus de Wederore tenuit, et totam terram illam quam Alfredus de Wederore tenuit, et totam terram quam Alfredus Juvenis tenuit, et totam terram quam Willmus de Bonteslye tenuit, que terre jacent inter dominacium antiquum et terras hominum de Pendele, et dimidiam virgatam terre quam Rad: de Bonteslye tenuit et corpus suum et sequelam suam, que scilicet omnia predicta tenementa habemus ex dono predicte Hawisie. Habenda et tenenda predicto Rad: et heredibus suis cum omnibus pert's, libere quiete et integre; reddendo inde annuatim domui nostre quinque solidos ad duos anni terminos scilicet duos solidos et sex denarios ad festum S'ti Mich's et duos solidos et sex denarios ad Pasch: Florum: et nos omnia predicta predicto Rad: et heredibus suis warantizabimus. Hiis testibus, domino Galfrido de Lucy, Rad: de Glanvile, Rad': marescal, Radulfo milite de Pichelestorn, G:: milite de ejusdem ville, Gregorio de Lembur', Alano de Hyda, Symone de Frangleye, Roberto de Marisco, Alex: filio Fulcher, Samuele de Wygenton, Johanne de Merston, et aliis

"Inspeximus et cartam quam Ricardus Maresc: fecit predicto Radulfo in hec verba.

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Ricardus Marescal' dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Domino Radulfo de Geyton et heredibus suis vel cui dare vel assignare voluerit et quando, totam terram meam quam habui in villa de Magna Linford, in dominicis et redditibus in homagiis serviciis releviis et escaetis in pratis et pasturis in viis et semitis in boscis et planis et omnibus aliis dicte terre pertinentibus, vel que dicte terre pertinere possint pro homagio et servicio suo et pro sexaginta marcas argenti quas mihi pre manibus dedit: tenend: et habend: de me et heredibus meis sibi et heredibus suis vel aut dare vel assignare voluerit et quando in feodo et hereditate, libere quiete bene et in pace; reddendo ipse annuatim mihi et heredibus meis septem denarios, videlicet ad pascham, pro omni seculari consuetudine secta curie evictiones et demandas salvo forinseco servicio domini regis quando scutagium evenerit, scilicet quantum pertinet ad terciam partem unius feodi militis do proprio feodo de Morteyn; et ego predictus Ric: Maresc: et heredes mei warantizabimus acquietabimus et per predictum servicium defendemus predicto Rad: de Geyton et heredibus suis et eorum assignatis totam predictam terram cum omnibus suis pertinenciis nominatis et non nominatis contra omnes homines et feminas in perpetuum: et ut hec mea donacio concessio warantizatio et presentis carte mee confirmacio firma semper permaneat et stabilis eam sigilli mei impressione roboravi. Hiis testibus, Domino Stephano de Chenduit, Ivone de Picheleston, . . . orante de Pichelestorn, Ric: de Molend', Will'mo de Audebur', Will'mo filio Philippi, Willmo filio Willmi Thuriet, et aliis.

"Inspeximus et cartam quam Rogerus filius Ricardi de Dunesle fecit predicto Rad: in hec verba.

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Rogerus filius Ricardi de Dunesley dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Rad: de

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Geytone et heredibus suis pro servicio suo, dimidiam virgatam terre cum capitali mesuagio in Dunesle in parochia de Trenge, similiter cum capitali mesuagio in Dunesle similiter cum capite illius acre terre que jacet inter mesuagium predictum et mesuagium Radulfi Clerici de Dunesley et se habutat versus magnam viam in Dunesle, et etiam unam denarium redditus quam recipere solebam de Ricardo Coco de Dunesle de feodo predicti Radulfi, sine aliquo retenemento mihi vel heredibus meis de se vel heredibus suis: habend: et tenend: sibi et heredibus suis vel assignatis, libere quiete bene integre plenarie in pace et honorifice, in viis semitis pratis pascuis et pasturis et in omnibus locis, faciendo ipse Radulfus et heredes sui vel assignati capitali domino debitum servicium; pro hac autem donacione concessione et presentis carte mee confirmacione dedit mihi predictus Radulfus sex marcas et octo solidos et octo Denarios pre manibus; et ego supradictus Rogerus et heredes mei vel assignati predictam dimidiam virgatam terre cum capitali mesuagio et capite acra et denariis redditus predicto Radulfo et heredibus suis vel assignatis contra omnes homines et feminas inperpetuum warantizabimus; et ut hec mea donacio firma sit et stabilis huic presenti carte sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus, Johanne Blundel, Thoma de Huntendon, Will'mo de Wedebore, Johanne Forestario de Trenge, Will'mo de Audebur', Will'mo Coco, Johanne de Dove, Willmo de Hamel, Ada Serviente de Pendele, Waltero Clerico de Wygenton, et aliis.

"INSPEXIMUS et cartam quam Ricardus de Habinton fecit predicto Radulfo in hec verba.

"SCIANT presentes et futuri quod ego Ricardus de Habinton dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Radulfo de Geyton pro homagio et servicio suo totam terram meam quam Gilbertus calvus advunculus meus tenuit in Seybroc, in Pitcheleston, in Chetendon, cum omnibus pert's ad predictam pertinentibus: tenend: et habend: de me et heredibus meis dicto Rad: et heredibus suis vel assignatis, exceptis viris religiosis, libere quiete integre hereditarie; reddendo inde annuatim Simoni de Stukeli et heredibus suis ipse et heredes sui vel assignati sex solidos et octo denarios, scilicet ad festum St'e Marie in M.. tres solidos et quatuor denarios, et ad festum S'ti Michaelis tres solidos et quatuor denarios, et mihi et heredibus meis vel meis assignatis unum par cyrotecarum pro omni servicio, salvis duobus solidis solvendis pro quolibet scutagio quam scutagium currit per preceptum domini regis; et ego predictus Ricardus de Habinton et heredes mei vel mei assignati warantizabimus per predictum servicium dicto Radulfo et heredibus suis vel suis assignatis totam predictam terram cum omnibus suis pertinenciis contra omnes homines et feminas: pro hac autem donacione et concessione et warantizacione dedit mihi predictus Radulfus quinquaginta marcas argenti et ut hec mea donacio et concessio et warantizacio rata sit et stabilis presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus, Gileberto Greinvile, Johanne de Merston, Will'mo de Bello Campo, Nicholao Burdun, Militibus; Waltero de Belenden, Roberto de Merston, Will'mo de Wederore, Will'mo de Audeburi, Will'mo de Hamele, et aliis.

"NOS vero dictas donaciones et confirmaciones ratas et gratas habentes eas predicto Radulfo heredibus et assignatis suis quibuscunque, exceptis viris religiosis, pro nobis et heredibus nostris confirmavimus; habendas et tenendas prout predicte ante evidentius et plenius protestantur; in cujus rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum

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apposuimus. Hiis testibus, Stephano de Chenduit, Rogero de Amari, Will'mo Russell, Milone de Bello Campo, Will'mo de M'le, Roberto de Esthall, Will'mo Blundel, Will'mo Thuriet, et aliis. Datum apud Walingeford septimo die Julii anno gracie millesimo ducentesimo quinquagesimo sexto."

It will be seen that the charter commences and concludes with Earl Richard's confirmation of the contents to Ralph de Geyton, styled in one place Dominus, whom, however, he does not directly address. Of the Earl's witnesses, Stephen de Chenduit was the head of a family who had long held Charwelton and Middleton-Chenduit, corrupted into Cheyney, in Northamptonshire, and were tenants of the Honour of Berkhampstede. Hulian or Julian de Chenduit granted his manor of Ashridge with Pilston to Edmund Earl of Cornwall. In 1215 King John ordered the Constable of Berkhampstede to give to Rafe Chenduit seizin of his lands. The Amari family held lands under Wallingford, as did the Russells, in the fee of Mortaine, in Northamptonshire. Roger Amari held half a fee in Thornbury of the Earl of Warwick. Miles de Beauchamp held land at Lavenden, Bucks. Blundel was from Devon, and received from the elder Richard, Henry III's uncle, lands at Binstardeley, co. Northampton, which passed to his brother Robert as "Scutellarius" in the reign of Henry III. William Blundel is described as "Cancellarius domini comitis."

The Earl's part of the charter is very brief, and is confined to the introduction and conclusion, and a line introducing each of the six recited charters, to which his confirmation was necessary as over-lord of the Honour of Berkhampstede. All are in favour of Geyton.

Geoffrey de Lucy, the first grantor, conveys lands in Wygenton, and a meadow in Lollesey. He was a Baron of the realm, of Newington in Kent, the son and father of other Geoffries, the first and last Barons. He died 12th Edward I. They held Wygenton, and in Bucks lands in Chetendon. They also gave name to the manor of Lucy's in Little Gaddesden, which they conveyed to Earl Edmund when he founded a religious house at Ashridge. Wygenton is a parish and manor near Tring. Lollesey was near Albury. The Merstons of Merston, Beds, were local gentry. The Belendens were tenants of Feversham Abbey in Herts. Wm. Basset was probably of Adestoke, Bucks.

Pitcheleston or "torn" and Yseley, in the second charter, are, the one a parish, now Pichelestorn or Pitston, and the other a manor. De la Grace occurs at Chalfont St. Giles and in Gloucestershire.

Alban or Alan Martel, who grants the third charter, was in 1224 Master of the Temple in England, and Dinsley was one of their Preceptories. Of persons, Ralph de Glanvile was a Crevequer tenant, and the Hydes were an old family in Albury. The places named are probably in Tring parish. Chetendon or Cheddington, and Audeburi, Al- or Aldbury are parishes and manors near Berkhampstede. Wengrave is Wingrave, a manor in the Honour, but near Aylesbury.

Richard Mareschal, who grants the fourth charter, was of Great Linford near Newport Pagnel, as was Ralph, who was ordered in 1223 to hold Berkhampstede Castle. Rafe Chenduit was conjoined with him.

Dunesle or Dunsley, the land granted by the fifth charter, was in Tring. De Hamele held lands in Herts under Feversham Abbey.

Of the persons in the last charter, Nicholas Burdun held Kings Teignton in Devon, and lands in Wilts, Gloucester, and Northampton. He was probably connected with Richard's earldom of Cornwall.

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Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

February 2, 1877.

C. D. E. Fortnum, Esq., F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

At the opening of the New Session the Chairman adverted in feeling terms to the great loss the Institute had sustained in the death of Mr. Burtt. His intimacy with the method and the requirements of the Institute, and his extensive acquaintance throughout the kingdom, gave him a power which was long and ably devoted to the interests of the society. After referring to the course which had been adopted by the Council to mark their esteem for their late friend, and their sympathy with his widow and family, the Chairman alluded to the retirement of Mr. Ranking, and explained the arrangements which had been made for the Secretariat of the Institute by the appointment of Mr. Albert Hartshorne and Mr. William Brailsford. As to the condition of the Institute, it was most satisfactory. The Colchester Meeting had been eminently successful; much cordiality was evinced by the inhabitants, and the papers read were of great interest and value.

With regard to the inconvenience arising from the present restrictions upon the gratuitous access to Wills in Her Majesty's Court of Probate, Sir John Maclean proposed the following resolution:—

"That this Society should unite with the Society of Antiquaries and the Camden Society in making a representation to the Judge of Her Majesty's Court of Probate of the inconvenience suffered by authors under the present restriction upon the gratuitous access to Wills, and in a petition that free access to those documents for *purely literary purposes* be extended at the Chief Probate Court and allowed at the Local Probate Courts." This was seconded by Mr. Soden Smith, and carried unanimously.

Mr. E. C. Davey then read a memoir "On the recent discovery of a Roman Villa at Cranhill near Wantage." The author, who illustrated his remarks by maps and plans, compared it with one at Wheatley, which it closely resembled, and gave a detailed account of the hypercaust and the antiquities which had been found on the spot and in the neighbourhood. Mr. Tucker (Rouge Croix) made some remarks upon the Roman antiquities in the district which he had lately visited. Mr. Davey's paper is printed in Vol. xxxiii, p. 382.

Mr. Hartshorne read a paper "On a Monumental Effigy at Hughenden, Bucks, attributed to Richard Wellesbourne de Montfort," which will be printed in a future number of the "Journal." Mr. Waller

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made some observasions on the extreme interest and grandeur of the effigy and the very puzzling heraldry exhibited on the shield and surcote. The little coats of arms on the scabbard were, he thought, those of personal friends. Mr. TUCKER (Rouge Croix) said that the peculiarity of the heraldry had often been discussed at the College of Arms. He saw no reason to doubt the statements of Lipscombe, the historian of Buckinghamshire, which was based upon a record left by a vicar of Hughenden in the early part of the seventeenth century, that the effigy was intended to represent Richard de Montfort. The occurrence of a crescent repeated three times at the feet of the figure remained unexplained.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. E. C. DAVEY.—Maps and plans in illustration of his paper, some bronze celts and a gold coin of Tincomius found near Wantage.

By Mr. HARTSHORNE.—Three full-size drawings of the effigy at Hughenden.

By Sir JOHN MACLEAN.—Rubbings of a cross now at Trevena, Tintagel, formerly at Trevillet. This example of a Cornish cross of the tenth century, measuring 3 ft. in length, 1 ft. 5 in. in width, and 9 in. in thickness, is inscribed on one side in Romano-Gothic characters: + MATHEUS MARCVS LVCAS IOH; on the other, ÆLNAT + FECIT HĀC CRVCEM P ANIMA SŪ.

By Mr. H. F. CHURCH.—A collection of silver and bronze brooches and six rings from the Island of Lewis in the Hebrides, collected by Mr. W. S. Parker. In remarking upon these objects, Mr. SODEN SMITH said that they bore in their forms the traditions of a very early period, and were in fact the degenerate descendants of the ancient Celtic brooch. He described the various kinds shown, remarking upon the difference between a brooch proper and the "broch of gold full shene" worn by Chaucer's Prioress on her arm, which was a pendant jewel. Some of the examples shown were very late, one brooch being dated 1704. The fashion of wearing pendant brooch-jewels about the arms continued long after Chaucer's time. Such decorations appear in great elegance on the beautiful effigy, in Harefield church, of Alice Countess of Derby, the "sweet Amaryllis" of Spenser, and to whom he dedicated his *Teares of the Muses*.

By the Rev. HUGH PIGOT.— Cloth, probably of Persian needlework, formerly in use as the Altar-cloth in Stretham church, Cambridgeshire. This was of blue silk, quilted, and backed with linen The centre contained a representation in tent-stitch of a pelican feeding her young, surrounded by peacocks and other birds, the whole being contained within a border of wild beasts and hunting scenes, similar to what is often seen on circular Oriental shields. The employment of such a covering as this for the altar of Stretham church is a curious and perhaps unique fact, and worthy to be chronicled.

By Mr. O. C. PELL.—A fine example of a stone hammer and three beads found at Stretham.

By the Rev. C. H. BURNHAM.—An altar cloth of needlework of the time of Elizabeth in an intricate pattern and delicate shades, but now in a great state of dilapidation; and two other pieces of needlework of the same period, from Cogenhoe church, Northamptonshire.

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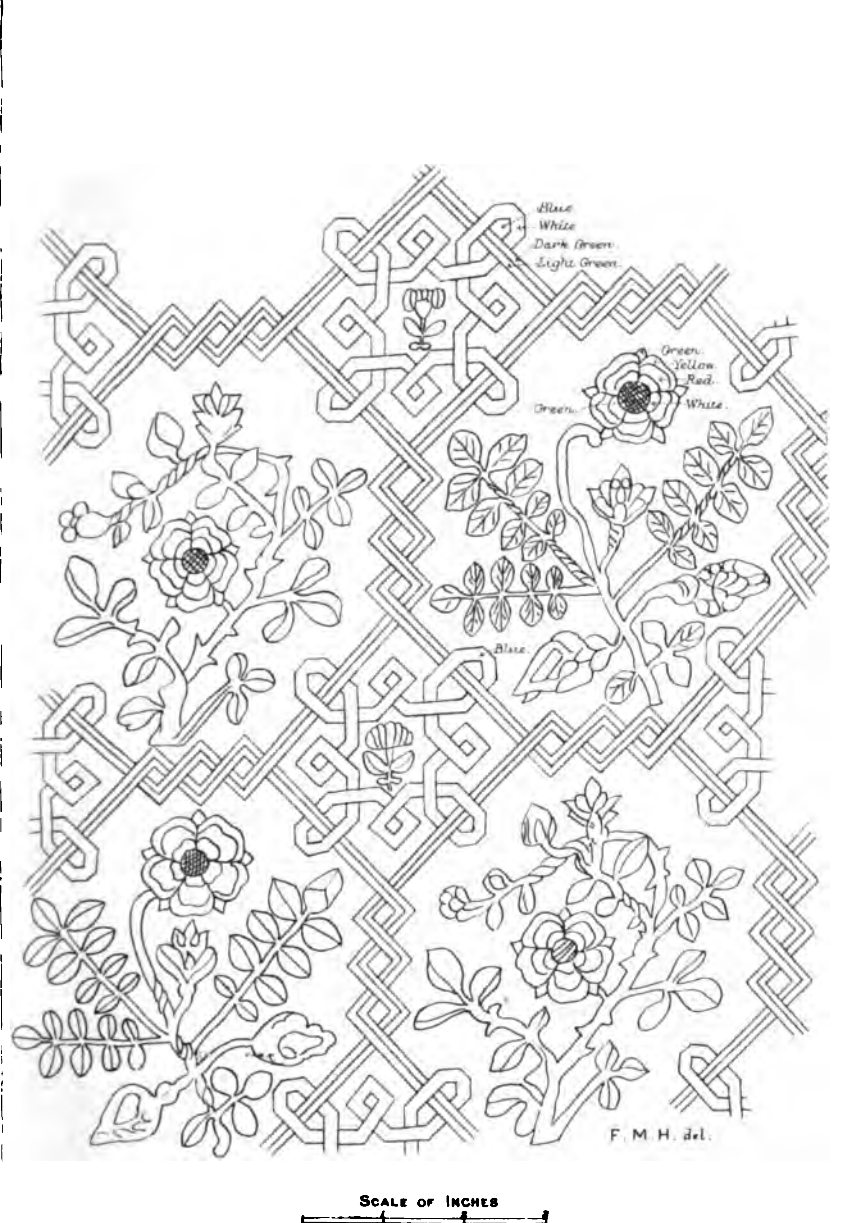

SCALE OF INCHES

DIAGRAM OF PATTERN ON OLD NEEDLEWORK IN COGENHOE CHURCH.

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By Mrs. Duffield.—Samplers of the seventeenth and eighteenth century in fine needlework.

By Miss Simson.—A tasselled cushion, said to be for the exhibition of relics, representing Adam and Eve, in needlework upon a ground of silver wire; and an embroidered "Maccaroni" coat and waistcoat.

By Miss Mears.—Samplers, including one dated 1662.

By Mr. Brailsford.—Embroidered waistcoat of the time of George I.

By Mrs. Willoughby.—Portions of a lady's dress of the close of the seventeenth century; and pieces of embroidery of the early part of the eighteenth century.

By Miss Hopkinson.—Embroidered purse of Charles I.

By Mrs. Barnwell.—Two French flower pieces delicately worked on satin, dated 1770.

By Mrs. Carlile.—An eighteenth century porte-monnaie.

By Mr. B. M. Ranking.—Two pieces of ecclesiastical embroidery representing saints, probably sixteenth century French work.

By Mr Soden Smith.—Leather flask found at the depth of twelve feet in excavating in the parish of St. George's-in-the-East in 1876.

March 2, 1877.

Sir J. Sibbald D. Scott, Bart., F.S.A., V.P, in the Chair.

The Chairman spoke of the loss that the Institute had sustained by the death of Mr. Talbot Bury, one of the earliest members of the Institute, and for many years an active and valuable member of the Council.

In pursuance of a resolution passed at the meeting on Feb. 2nd,—"That this Society should unite with the Society of Antiquaries and the Camden Society in making a representation to the Judge of her Majesty's Court of Probate of the inconvenience suffered by authors under the present restriction upon the gratuitous access to Wills, and in a Petition that free access to those documents for *purely literary purposes* be extended at the Chief Probate Court, and allowed at the Local Probate Courts,"—Mr. Brailsford read the following correspondence:—

"*To the Right Honourable Sir James Hannen, Knt., Judge of Her Majesty's Court of Probate.*

"The Memorial of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

"Sheweth,—That the advantages which have resulted to historical, genealogical and biographical literature through the liberality of your predecessors, judges of the Court of Probate, in allowing to historical students free access to Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury before the year 1700, without payment of fees, are conspicuous in the greater degree of accuracy in works of those classes. Many years have elapsed since this privilege was first granted, and it appears to your memorialists that the time has come when its extension may be granted with corresponding public advantages to literary students. Your memorialists, therefore, respectfully beg that you will be pleased to take the subject into your favourable consideration, and they venture to hope that you will see fit to take such steps, and give such orders, as will insure access, for purely literary purposes, to all Wills proved and Administrations granted, prior to the end of the

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reign of King George II in the Chief Court of Probate and also in the District Courts, the documents in which latter are scarcely less valuable for literary purposes than those in the former, whilst reference to them is barred by so much expense as to render them almost inaccessible for the purposes above-mentioned.

(Signed) "TALBOT DE MALAHIDE.

"Feb. 16th, 1877."

"The Probate Court, Westminster,
"Feb. 21st, 1877.

"My Lord,—I am directed by Sir James Hannen to acknowledge the receipt of the memorial of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland bearing your lordship's signature, and dated the 16th inst., and to state that Sir James Hannen considers that the period during which wills are permitted to be examined for literary purposes may properly be extended from A.D. 1700 to A.D. 1760, and that Sir James will give directions accordingly.

"I am, my lord,
"Your obedient Servant,
(Signed) "JAMES C. HANNEN,
"*Secretary*."

"To the Right Honble.
"The Lord Talbot de Malahide, President," &c., &c.

On the motion of Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, seconded by Mr. C. S. GREAVES, a cordial vote of thanks was passed to Sir James Hannen for his compliance with the request set forth in the memorial.

Mr. HARTSHORNE read "Some Observations upon the Venus di Medici and the Works of Nollekens," which will be printed in a future number of the "Journal."

Mr. OLDFIELD spoke at some length upon the early sources of Greek art. He alluded to the first introduction of the nude figure by the preference of the people of Cnidos for such a statue of Venus by Praxiteles, a draped Venus by the same artist being chosen by the people of Cos. The idea of the Venus di Medici seemed to have been derived from the statue at Cnidos, but each of the works of Praxiteles were frequently copied. With regard to the fancy that the Medicean Venus was the model of the height and proportions of a female figure, the Greeks had no such canon of excellence; but seven feet, the height of the Apollo Belvedere, and of the Venus of Milos, had been distinguished as the heroic standard. With regard to Nollekens, he was not an antiquary or a poetic sculptor.

Mr. WALLER considered that the restorations to the Venus di Medici were not admirable; he thought the head was by a sculptor of the *decadence*, an opinion in which Mr. OLDFIELD did not coincide, the ears of the figure being pierced.

Mr. GREAVES, speaking generally as to the idea the Greeks had of great size and stature, said, they ever considered these attributes as an excellence, as much in women as in men. This was clearly shewn in the works of Aristotle, Theocritus, and other Greek authors. In the "Odyssey" Minerva is described as making Penelope taller and plumper, in order to make her more admired, and Eurymachus afterwards lauds her for excelling other women in size, amongst other endowments.

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Thurible found at Pershore.

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Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. A. Hartshorne.—Four original drawings of the Venus dé Medici, by Nollekens, with autographic attestations.

By Mr. Henderson.—A Persian shield of steel, damascened in gold with horsemen engaged in the chase. An Indian shield of rhinoceros hide, formerly in the collection of Lord Canning. A battle-axe from Oude of great beauty, and five similar weapons from Delhi.

By Mr. W. Niven.—A thurible of bronze found at Pershore in 1856, among a heap of old metal in a founder's yard, and said to have been dug up near the Abbey church. This had been considered by some antiquaries as of Danish origin, but Mr. Micklethwaite thought it was English work of the twelfth century. He called attention to its general characteristics, and particularly to the special and unusual arrangement of its details, to prevent the entanglement of the chains. It does not appear that the directions of Theophilus (De Diversis Artibus seu Diversarum Artiam Schedula), written probably in the early half of the 11th century, have been adhered to in this particular example. There must have been a vast number of thuribles in existence in the middle ages, and, although their workmanship is often rude they are always thoroughly practical, considerable ingenuity being exercised in adapting them for their special purpose.

By Mr. S. Tucker (Rouge Croix).—Three small Roman intaglios in cornelian, viz.: a head of Bias set in a ring; a head of Hercules, and a fine head of a female, in gold seals; and a cameo in amethyst of a comic mask perforated at the mouth, and set in a gold ring.

By Mrs. Jackson Gwilt.—Rubbing from a brass at Isleworth, with the following inscription: "Margaret Dely, a syster professed yn Syon, who decessed ye viii. of October, 1561," and an engraving of the City Arms of Grosseti, from the church of S. Lorenzo in Florence.

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Notices of Archaeological Publications.

NOTES ON THE ETCHED WORK OF REMBRANDT, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE RECENT EXHIBITION IN THE GALLERY OF THE BURLINGTON FINE ARTS' CLUB. By the Rev. C. H. MIDDLETON. London: JOHN WILSON.

The collection of Rembrandt's etchings, which was held this year at the Burlington Fine Arts' Club, formed a very remarkable exhibition, and one which every one ought to have seen. It is probable that, although it included several works of doubtful authenticity, a more complete collection was never brought together. By the juxtaposition of different "states" it was made specially interesting and instructive, and while it served to spread a better knowledge of Rembrandt's work amongst amateurs generally, a rare opportunity was afforded to experts of pursuing their study of the master. Any one of the more important plates of the great artist who "rendered even darkness visible" is, no doubt, sufficient to astonish and to fascinate, and to illustrate, in the fullest manner we can imagine, the capabilities of etching; but to study seriously the master himself it is necessary to trace the chronological order of his work. If Rembrandt had dated and signed all his works a great deal of time and labour would have been saved to his admirers; but, out of about 350 plates that have been attributed to him, at least half of them are undated; 152 are not signed, and three or four different modes of signature were adopted in the remainder. The comparison of works of dubious authenticity with those undoubtedly genuine, the examination of signatures, and the collecting of all available evidence in order to distinguish the work of Rembrandt from that of his followers, and originals from copies, and to fix with some accuracy the dates of the undated plates, is no light or easy task, and one which is by no means accomplished yet.

In "Notes on the Etched Work of Rembrandt," published since the exhibition in Savile Row, by the Rev. C. H. Middleton, we find a very useful contribution to the fund of Rembrandt lore. This is we understand to be followed by a more complete work on the same subject now in progress; but we have in these "Notes" the results of much investigation of the disputed plates, and while awaiting the appearance of the larger work we content ourselves with a brief allusion to this first instalment. Amongst the independent theories regarding some of the plates we may mention the suggestion that the portrait of an old man in Jewish dress marked No. 15 in the catalogue may have been a portrait of the artist's father Harman. Concerning the "Resurrection of Lazarus" (No. 18) Mr. Middleton argues that, as also in the "Jacob Lamenting," we have "the design of Rembrandt, and

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probably some of his actual work, but that the greater part of what we see is the work of Van Vliet." "The Good Samaritan" he believes to have been designed and partly executed by Rembrandt, and finished by a pupil, differing from Mr. Haden, who attributes the plate to Bol. In his remarks on the plate traditionally called the "Great Jewish Bride," and which has generally been considered a portrait of his wife, the author remarks that Rembrandt's genius did not lie in accuracy of likeness. We confess we do not see that the fact of his so frequently idealising his models proved his incapacity for accuracy when that was the quality most to be desired. His large painted portraits were certainly accurate to the life.

The "Flight into Egypt" Mr. Middleton holds, with the catalogue, to be not a work in which Rembrandt has borrowed from another, but one in which he has taken an already engraved plate and altered it to his own purpose, the group of the Holy Family with some part of the foliage behind them, and parts of the foreground only being his. In reference to the peculiarity of the foliage in this print, consisting of "dots more or less thickly spread, differing in their form and tone, while the few strokes that can be discovered appear rather to have been added as an after-thought," Wilson's rather wild conjecture is quoted, namely—"If in spreading the varnish on a plate we bear hard with the dabber we find, on removing it, that the varnish has been penetrated, producing an infinite number of minute holes. . . . We may imagine that Rembrandt resorted to this manœuvre with effect, and that the masses of foliage were expressed, in the first instance, by the movement of the dabber, and completed by a second operation, preserving the lights from the corrosion of the acid by a brush dipped in liquid varnish."—(*Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 21). It is by no means certain that Rembrandt used a dabber in laying his grounds. He may have hit on a more convenient plan, as many etchers have at the present day, but we do not think that it is characteristic of him to trust to such a very haphazard process for his effects.

THE CHURCHES OF KENT. By Sir STEPHEN R. GLYNNE, Bart. 1877. London: MURRAY.

It was said of Sir Stephen Glynne, that he had visited every church in England, and those who talked with him on this, his favourite pursuit, became aware that he had not only visited and accurately observed a vast number of churches, but that he remembered their particulars with a readiness and correctness that was little short of marvellous, and not unfrequently besides the architectural details of the building he knew the name and something of the character of the incumbent. The note books in which he recorded his observations were a part of the man. Probably he never left home without one, and it was understood that he had accumulated a vast number of these records of his experience. But, though all knew the extent of his range, and the acuteness and accuracy of his power of observation, it is probable that few supposed his records to be so full, or were at all aware that his notes upon above 5,530 churches were so entered up as to be fitted for publication. Whether he himself contemplated such

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publication is not known, even to his family. He was a man of a very shy and retiring disposition, very averse from any personal display, and it is not improbable that he merely wrote up his notes, as he did every thing else, with a sense that he ought to do his best. However this may be, all will, we think, applaud his distinguished brother-in-law, Mr. Gladstone, for the publication of the present volume, which proves to the world that the reputation enjoyed by Sir Stephen as an ecclesiastical antiquary, so far as church architecture is concerned, rests upon a very solid foundation. The selection of the county of Kent for the subject of the volume is judicious. Archdeacon Harrison and the Rev. Scott Robertson have given it the benefit of their revision, and have added the illustrations by which the work is graced. Mr. Gladstone's introduction is just what was to be expected from so loving and so accomplished a kinsman, and all, and no more, than was suitable to the occasion.

The notes themselves are a model of what such notes should be, they are clear, comprehensive, show a thorough knowledge of church architecture, a very rare accomplishment when Sir Stephen began his work, and are besides brief. The following account of St. Peter's church, Sandwich, is selected almost at random, as an example of the style and general character of the notes :—

"The church has undergone considerable mutilation, and has at present a very unsightly, patched appearance. It consists now of a nave and chancel, with a north aisle, and a tower placed between the nave and chancel. The south aisle is destroyed, but part of its outer wall is standing, and the arches are visible, built into the south wall of the nave.

"The walls are mostly of flints; the tower is large, but the upper part is modern and built of brick. There is a rectilinear north porch, embattled; all the windows of the nave have been sadly mutilated. The interior is spacious and lofty; and the nave is divided from its aisle by three pointed arches with octagonal pillars. The chancel is divided from its aisle by two similar arches, and those which support the tower are of like character. There is no vestige of very early work about the church. The chancel has a fine curvilinear window on the north side, of three lights, but unfortunately walled up. In the north aisle is an ogee arch for a tomb, flanked by buttresses with pinnacles; there are also the effigies of a man and woman, and a slab with a cross flory and inscription in Lombard letters. A small altar-tomb is panelled with trefoils containing heads, and bears the mutilated effigy of a knight. There is one good carved pew-end. In the west gallery is an organ."

HISTORY OF THE DUNMOW FLITCH OF BACON CUSTOM. By WILLIAM ANDREWS. London: WILLIAM TEGG & Co. 1877.

The author of this little book has brought together with much care some interesting notes upon this singular custom, and few persons are perhaps aware that the custom of Dunmow has its origin as early as the time of Robert Fitz-Walter, if indeed it was not actually instituted by that famous opponent of King John. There is at any rate certain

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evidence that it was well established in the fourteenth century. Allusion is made to the custom in the vision of Piers Plowman, and Chaucer's Wife of Bath says :—

> "*The bacon was not fit for hem I trow*
> *That some men have in Essex at Donmow.*"

Mr. Andrews gives some extracts from the Cartulary of Dunmow Priory as to the delivery of the flitch to certain male claimants in the fifteenth century; but the Dissolution seems to have put a stop to the continuance of the custom until 1701. It would appear that the character of the proceedings now became considerably changed, and the boisterous hilarity exhibited in the picture by Ogborne of the "Dunmow Procession" in 1751, may be contrasted with the simple procedure when "one Richard Wright, yeoman, came and required the bacon of Dunmow on the 27th April in the 23rd year of the reign of King Henry VI, and was sworn before John Cannon, Prior." The revival of the custom in 1855, and subsequently, is characterized more by levity than dignity—such is the taste of the age—and we cannot help thinking that it would have been better to have allowed the Dunmow custom to remain, like its counterpart at Wichnor, obsolete, and well-nigh forgotten, save in such interesting records as Mr. Andrews has given us.

Like many other mediæval observances, that of the Flitch of Bacon has had its day, and we confess our dislike to this revival at Dunmow as much as to the recurring and senseless travesty of history at Coventry.

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Archaeological Intelligence.

The Eastness Sarcophagus.—In a copy of Camden's *Britannia* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the following note occurs:—

"Within a cornefield of Est-Nesse, the lordship of Mr. Crathornes in the weapon take of Rhydale in the county of Yorke, there was a coffin of ffree stone 2½ yards in length, 3 quarter's broad, digged up with a plough about 3 years since, with a cover thereon very closely fitted 3 quarters deep within the ground, the endes there of standing North and South contrary to the use of our tymes, within it were bones of men and the outside there of these wordes engravde very faire taken out by me Roger Dodsworthe June 2, 1619."

TITIA PINTA · VIXIT · ANN · XXXVIII
ET VAL · ADIVTORI · VIXIT · ANN · XX ·
ET · VARIALO · VIXIT · ANN · XV · VAL ·
VINDICIANVS · CONIVGIE · T · FILIS ·
F C.

In Gough's *Camden* (edit. 1789), vol. iii, p. 85, it is said of this inscription:—

"This inscription was found in a ploughed field at Eastness near Hevingham, the seat of Henry Crathorne of Crathorne, Esq., *and now remains there*. A drawing of it was taken by Sir William Dugdale at his visitation of this county in 1665."

Through the courtesy of the officers of the College of Arms we are enabled to reproduce Dugdale's drawing and his description of the sarcophagus from his *Yorkshire Arms*, p. 65b:—

"*Crathorne*.—Figura cujusdam vetusti Sarcophagi, in Agris arabilibus de East Ness, infra Dominium de Crathorne et Wapentachium de Ryedale (ab Austro ad Aquilonem jacentis), circa annum M.D.Cxxiiijm Aratro sulcante, reperti; et nunc juxta Portam Domus mansionalis Radulphi Crathorne de Crathorne prædicta Armigeri; existentis. Juxta quem locum diversa etiam Romanorum numismata sæpissime eruta sunt."

In { Longitudine septem pedum.
Latitudine et Profunditate. } duorum pedum et trium pollicium.

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Mr. W. Thompson Watkin has endeavoured to ascertain whether the sarcophagus is still preserved in the neighbourhood, but without success.

The Rev. C. H. Middleton is about to publish a Descriptive Catalogue of the Etched Works of Rembrandt, giving an accurate description of every print, or state of a print, and a reference to the large public collections in which it may be found, the whole forming an index of all the works of the great master in the British Museum, at Cambridge, Paris, Amsterdam, and Haarlem. This will be followed by a similar work on the prints of the Rembrandt school.

The excavations at Templeborough ceased on Dec. 15 until the spring. We shall look forward to some further particulars of these important discoveries from Mr. Thompson Watkin.

ROMAN LONDON.—We are indebted to Mr. J. E. Price for the following description of some discoveries recently made while excavating within the precincts of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

"In clearing what was once the site of Pye-corner for the erection of a new library and museum two stone sarcophagi were exhumed. They were eleven feet from the surface, situated some fifty feet from the new buildings in Windmill Court, and at no great distance from the line of the City wall, they lay east and west, are about seven feet long, of coarse oolitic stone, have massive lids or covers, and may be clearly identified as Roman. In one, two skeletons were found, the one of a man with his head to the west, the other a woman lying with her head towards the east; both the skulls and also the teeth are in good preservation. In the other tomb a leaden coffin had been placed. It is much corroded, and has been considerably injured by the efforts of the finders to convey it away piecemeal for sale, and ultimately to the melting-pot. It has, fortunately, been secured, and sufficient remains to identify the ornamentation upon it. It shows the rope or cable moulding disposed in a diamond pattern, resembling similar examples found years ago at Bethnal Green, Old Ford, Stratford, Stepney, to say nothing of those at Colchester and other places. The sarcophagi are alike in form to that found a year or two since near Sea-coal Lane, on the bank of the old Fleet river, and which is now preserved in the museum of the Corporation of London at Guildhall. At the head of one of the tombs was extricated a short stone column, with sufficient of the moulding remaining to indicate its origin. It is such as have been often found among the débris of Roman buildings, and possibly served as a head-stone or other memorial of the dead, the forerunner, doubtless, of the 'shattered column' familiar enough in our modern cemeteries. Smithfield has long been known as the site of one of the extensive cemeteries once attached to Roman London. The remains, however, usually found have been charred bones, cinerary urns, and broken pottery, there not being, so far as I can remember at the moment, any published description of so important an interment as that now under consideration.

"As the works are still in progress, further objects of interest may be revealed."

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The Archaeological Journal.

SEPTEMBER, 1877.

WHAT IS A TOWN?

BY THOMAS KERSLAKE.

When it is asked, what sort of a place is some "Northport," or "Southbury," or "Mudford," or "Sand-bridge?"— is it a city, or a borough, or a town, or a village?—if the answer should be that "it is a town," or perhaps more definitely, "it is a market town," we—at least, in South Britain—hear the word "town" in the sense in which it is here proposed to consider it.

The story of the west-country clown, who was laughed at because he "could not see the town for the houses," is very unjust to the clown. His blindness is unconsciously shared, not only by the broad majority of his betters, but even by the learned themselves. The "town is to be found neither in books nor in houses, but in the streets:" and has thus been hitherto undiscerned by those who have sought it. In one respect the countryman was wiser than the learned: he saw the mote that caused his blindness. The houses must be abstracted from our thoughts before we can perceive the original town. The houses have been replaced many times over and over again. Even the most ancient churches, abbeys, or cathedrals, are often comparatively late additions to the town. It is the ground plan of the highways and byeways which is the greatest antiquity of the typical or proper town.

Indeed, this particular class of our social concentrations seems to have been the very one that has been hitherto ignored by those who have professed to give us any account of the origin of the various kinds of our condensed populations that are usually included under the

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broader sense of the word "town." The learned seem to have come to what they deem to be a settlement of the etymology and meaning of the word, which has entirely excluded from their consideration the limited use of it that is here referred to. They have decided that it is the "tún" of the Anglo-Saxon Dictionaries, having the special meaning "an inclosed place;" and that it not only therefore describes fortified towns or boroughs, but is still visible in the very many names of English places which end in "ton." In this last position they are probably right; but the names so labelled are far too numerous, and the great majority of the places are too unimportant, to have ever belonged to that class here proposed to be looked at as being specially called "towns." Most of the places ending in "ton" are, and always have been, the merest rural villages, or more often hamlets. Inclosures they may have been from the beginning, being, in fact, the homesteads of the clans, or families, or tribal settlements, of the original colonies. Such places do not, however, satisfy the more conspicuous and limited meaning of the word "town" above defined; as when it is used to distinguish a community of the second class from one of the first class—a city or borough—on the one hand, or from one of the third class—a village or hamlet—on the other.

Our political and social antiquaries seem to have been content to look no farther back than to the military condition of the colonists for the earliest motive or initial principle of a town: that towns were first of all either themselves the fortified inclosures of governing powers, or that they sprang up under the shelter and protection of some baronial stronghold. To this they add that, in after times, the cathedral, or great monastery, became another attracting centre or cause of such communities; offering, as these no doubt did, a protecting and fostering influence, which by that time had become at least the rival of physical military protection. Mr. Kemble, in the chapter headed "The Towns," in his most instructive work, *The Saxons in England*,[1] although, as might have been expected, he has developed them with the great store of learning at his command, has been content with these

[1] Vol. ii. pp. 262—341.

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three sources of the existence of our towns, which may be shortly described as the municipal, the baronial, and the ecclesiastical.

With deference, however, it is presumed to think that the unmixed ideal "town," as distinguished, on the one side from cities and walled boroughs, and on the other from the inclosed settlements of early rural colonists, now perhaps villages and hamlets, or the homesteads of manors; had an actual existence—must from a natural or social exigence have existed—independent of these three artificial causes. That, although in aftertimes the original town has in many cases had one or more of these other causal agents grafted upon it, or has even been absorbed into them—has become fortified because of its strategic value; or its privileges have been both protected and overawed by the stronghold; or nourished and aggrandized by the growth of its missionary cell into a rich and powerful religious college—in its natural or unmixed state it was essentially uninclosed. In fact, its chief cause or initial purpose required that it should be a neutral spot and open to all comers.

But this state of it must not be expected to be found in books or records, all of which it pre-existed. Early written history almost entirely deals with war and defence. But the booty of war and the objects of defence must have preceded war and defence themselves. If war fills the pages of history; both the many antecedent ages, and the centuries of years themselves from which history has been gleaned, must have been filled in with a broad background, diapered with the variously chequered though uniformly recurrent incidents of ordinary life: not perhaps so much unlike our own condition as we are apt to think from the foreshortened backward view, of the more prominent events that overshadow them, which we get from history. The story—very likely a true one—that on the morning of Naseby a gentleman with his hounds was met by the King with his army, will be remembered as continuing this constant pacific subtexture of human affairs down towards our own times. The results of peaceful production and of, at least rudimentary, commerce, must have already existed before the attempts to seize, and the struggles to keep them.

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The pacific or commercial cause of these mere towns is however not only manifest in their obvious necessity—the positive need, from the very first, of places of mutual resort and intercourse between primitive neighbouring village settlements—but may, it is thought, be discerned in a general characteristic, still to be observed in the ground-plans of most of them. The typical contrast of plan between the ancient English city and the ancient English town must be familiar to even the most unobservant wayfarer. The ancient part of a city almost always still consists of a boundary, originally fortified, approximating to a quadrangle; with four principal entrances admitting four ways that meet in a rectangular cross at the centre. All the subordinate streets more or less obey this rectangular precedent, and even late accretions repeat the square masses. But a town has *three* principal approaches, meeting at a central triangular space, usually occupied by the market—where a market survives—and the smaller streets often acknowledge a governing tendency to feather off into repetitions of this triangular rule. In fact, whilst the original city was designed of set purpose, and fortified, and the primitive village or tribal settlement was planted or colonized, and probably inclosed, at a chosen spot; the town, on the contrary, has *grown up* between them spontaneously, out of a mere natural exigence.

As long as two neighbouring rural settlements desired to meet, either for conference or barter, any spot on the interval or path between them would serve; and no accustomed or appointed place of meeting would be necessary. They had only to approach each other until they met. But when the intercourse was to be between three or more, the point where two paths or trackways join into one would, from obvious convenience or expediency, become the appointed place of meeting. Conferences of this kind, where the parties are more than two, would soon bring into action a new principle. The presence of two buyers to one seller, or of two sellers to to one buyer, constitutes the substratum of Market-price—the first rudiment of trade. These triangular spots, therefore, are the first cradle of that giant whom we now see, with his seven-league boots—ships and

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railways—striding across oceans and continents. This new principle, which we now call commerce, once quickened, would induce a frequent repetition of the gatherings at these places, and they would speedily become periodical—that is, they would be markets, fairs, and perhaps religious festivals. The want of some permanent shelter would next be felt and supplied, afterwards continued to our day in the market cross, now being developed into the market-house with the town-hall. Close at hand would be pitched the refreshment booth, afterwards to become the more permanent inn. Then would follow the shoeing forge, the general shop, and the other appliances not only for the occasional wants of congregated numbers, but also for a supply of exotic home comforts until the next meeting. All this change and progress would meanwhile leave their first cause, the forked trackway, as they found it, and as we now find it. In aftertimes the missionary would take advantage of these central assemblages of the country district, and hold field-preachings in one of the three interval spaces left by the forked road; and his teachings would afterwards be perpetuated in the church, named perhaps after some famous apostolic teacher, whose disciple or suffragan he was, or after the name of his predecessor, who had been rewarded for his misconstrued message of peace by martyrdom upon that very spot.

The case of these towns of emergence includes their chief organic function, the market, as already suggested intimately involved in their cause. Not being sought beyond what is written, the origin of markets is usually attributed to special grants, actual or presupposed; but, like other steps in social progress, although of independent origin, political exigency speedily brought them under state control. This, it will be remembered, was the fate of the printing press: also of that greater institution, within which the memory of this native immunity, and the struggle against subjection, still smoulders. As central governments increased in power they purposely restricted the number of places where markets and assemblages of people might be held, both for the enforcement of police supervision against fraudulent sales, and for security against revolt. One of the laws of William

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the Conqueror expressly limits them to cities, walled boroughs, and fortresses. The original markets, therefore, may have been far more numerous than we now find them. A natural centralizing tendency must have since come into action in favour of the superior attractions of those within the cities and boroughs, and in the larger towns. Improvements of roads and in the means of travelling, and the passing of markets out of this original natural free or optional state into that of subjection to royal prerogative and manorial right, have no doubt greatly restricted their numbers. These original markets are in many cases, probably, still represented by the village green, with its maypole sometimes yet standing. For even here the fairs, revels, and annual festivals, and the occasional pitching of wild-beast-shows, conserve that sense of a public right to assemble there which has prevented their inclosure.

This initial triangular rule is still wonderfully persistent even in those towns which have grown up to be the rivals of cities and even of capitals It is not only still to be traced in the ancient nucleus around which the largest of our towns have gathered themselves, but is often so vigorous as to germinate throughout their most extensive accretions and suburbs. This may be partly due to the approaches from the country having necessarily conformed to the trifold character of their central terminus, and the overflows of the town have naturally flanked the roads already existing. In some cases even the necessary enlargement of the market-place itself, although very great, has continued the triangular form which had been first impressed upon its centre. In the noble example of Nottingham this triangular law is still supreme. In others of the largest towns it may still be made out, although much overlaid, or obscured, or almost obliterated. In Manchester some traces of it may be discerned in the old Market-place, contiguous to the parish—collegiate—now cathedral—church; but, influenced perhaps by remains of Roman streets, the present great town had already assumed the general quadrangular aspect of a city, long before it was tardily promoted to that dignity: or more likely its great sudden growth may have resulted in an analogy with Berlin. At Birmingham also the

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ancient triangular centre is still very conspicuous in "The Bull Ring," a name in which one of its festival purposes has deposed the utilitarian one of "The Market Place." The name "Bull Ring" also remains at the central area at Kidderminster; and in other towns not only in the Midland counties, but in other parts of England.

Good, perfect, and unaltered specimens of this ideal of a town are indeed very frequent all over the kingdom, and three or four at least used to be passed through during a short journey from one city to another. Tewkesbury is a good example; so also Shrewsbury, Faversham, Tiverton, and others; and although Leland failed to discern the general principle which now engages our attention, this characteristic of the plan of a town in one instance attracted his notice. He describes Thornbury, Gloucestershire, as we now see it,—"to the proportion of the letter Y, having first one long Strete and two Hornnes goynge owt of it."[1] This principle is also very obvious at Alcester, Warwickshire; from which it may be inferred that the Roman chester, still remembered in the name, had become desolate, and that travellers already passed by it, without using its forsaken streets, before the adjoining English town arose in the spontaneous manner here suggested. Not many increasing English towns have continued almost to our own time contracted within the limits of chronic fortification; but where this has happened, as at Sandwich,—still confined within an ancient earthen wall similar to that of Wareham—the feathered tendency of the street plan has, by compression, been contorted into some approach to what is called flamboyant.

In many cases the increase of the market, instead of enlarging the triangle, has preferred to overflow into one of its three arms, the one street being much widened to receive it; as at Chipping-Sodbury, Marlborough. Southmolton, and very many towns in the south-west of England. The large square markets resembling the Flemish Grande Place, especially frequent in the north of England—as at Ripon, Richmond, Leyburn, and Darlington—may be a still further development of this same

[1] *Itin.*, vol. vii, fol. 746.

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method of enlargement by widening one of the three arms. But in both of these classes it will generally be found that two entrances remain at one end, whilst there is only one outlet at the other.

What the numerous "tons" really represent are the centres of the original territorial unit, the colony or township or tithing which became the constituent of the hundred, and itself afterwards chiefly merged in the rural parish; in which the "tons," although still the merest villages, are now often called the "church-town." Whenever this settlement of the rural tithings or townships into parishes took effect, such of the upsprung towns as had provided themselves with churches of their own made good a share in that arrangement, resolving themselves into one or several independent parishes. But it does not seem likely that a plurality of parishes in a town, even in the old larger towns and boroughs, hands down any original divisions of it, or any planted constitution. Any such intramural plurality of parishes would arise from offshoots or accretions of emergency: constitutional organizations or privileges being superinduced when the community was ripe for them, or powerful enough to obtain them. It is hardly likely that even a municipal borough was, as has been claimed for it, "nothing more than a hundred, or an assemblage of hundreds, surrounded by a moat, a stoccade, or a wall."[1] Although apparently ignored in written evidences, their growth by successive accretion is attested by an extrinsic monument. The dedications of the churches, in the oldest of our large towns, indicate a succession of different ages, and even of different peoples. The town of Bristol, for example, shews a stratified succession of dedications from the first half of the eighth century (A.D. 741) downwards. And even the chesters, that still preserve their Roman plan and outline, have been materially resuscitated in this progressive manner. Exeter, for example, presents accessions of different ages and nations in the names of the churches; and a reference to a plan in this Journal[2] will shew the churches accumulated near the arterial centre, by later deposit, with a considerable unoccupied space nearer the

[1] Sir F. Palgrave, *Engl. Comm.*, p. 102.
[2] Vol. xxx, p. 212.

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walls. Dorchester is a smaller example of this. So that although country parishes may have, to a great extent, continued earlier civil divisions of land, those within even the most ancient towns do not transmit any ancient municipal organization, but are rather ratifications of the limits of those for whom the churches had been established, either as chapelries or offshoots of mother churches, or of additional colonies of townsmen. In the case of Exeter the civil division which survived was still later than the parochial; for while the parish boundaries had respected the more ancient line of street, the civic wards are found in accordance with the mediæval deviation from that line, made A.D. 1286.

On the other hand, existing specimens are far from uncommon, of important old towns, of our occasional or undesigned class, that must have grown up since the settlement of rural parishes, still remaining in a parasite condition within the precincts of the parishes, but quite distinct and even remote from the comparatively inconsiderable original head-centre or "ton." The ancient chesters, moreover, are not the only witnesses of the quadrangular result of the artificial or simultaneous design, as contrasted with the spontaneous cause. New Sarum, with its conspicuous "chequers," is an early mediæval one. The plan of Berlin may also be seen in immediate contact with its ancient suburb on the Spree; not to mention the great modern capitals of the new continents and the colonies.

Neither are entirely wanting similar monuments or continuances of the original "tons," or central homesteads of the rural territorial units, from which the present purpose is to discriminate our "towns" of the narrower meaning. The tide of modern life and great highways have rectilineated and nearly obliterated the original character of those that are more commonly seen. But in secluded nooks in the extremities of the land, a stroller is sometimes surprised, on passing through a gate or over a stile, to find that he has really entered a village instead of a farm-yard, as he may have expected. The clustered cottages are spotted about without order, and among them the larger farm-house, with its appendages; one of which at first sight seems to be the church, asserting its

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dignity, not by its situation, nor always by its size, but by the visible evidences of its middle-age ecclesiastical masonry and attributes. In more urbano districts, the manor-house, instead of degenerating to a farm, has grown into a palatial mansion, under whose wing the church remains, a humble but ornamental adjunct, often included within the park fence itself, but with a right of way from the still contiguous but now excluded village.

How then does it happen that the very class of the concentrated communities which are self-grown, and essentially open and neutral, should not only be called by a word which is understood to mean an inclosure, but that it is also so called in emphatic distinction from the other classes which are by their nature planted and inclosed or fortified, and therefore comprehended under the same word "town," but in a wider and more general sense of it? Can it be another example of, what is far more common than suspected, two words of different origins and meanings that have become identical in form? Much political evolution must have preceded the earliest outcrop of social institutions into written evidences, wherein we may expect to find them already in many distinct threads; and it need not be wondered at if some two of these, on coming into light, should be found to be of one colour. Can it be that the word "town," in our more limited sense, is closely allied to the word "two," as being the place where two roads or trackways joined into one—bivium; that it is a word of the same kindred as "twin," "twig," "twine," "twain," and their numerous fraternity? Places which occupy a similar confluence of two rivers very often have names formed upon this principle: as Twinham or Tweoxnam, now Christchurch, Hants; Twinèham, Sussex; Twickenham, Middlesex; T[w]iverton, Devon; Tw[iv]erton, Somerset; and very many more. In several of the Anglo-Saxon charters are boundary spots called the "twicene," explained by Mr. Kemble, "the angle or point at which two roads diverge or meet;" and an inspection of the Ordnance or other road maps will often confirm this interpretation, by showing that obscure places so situated are still often named "Twitchen," or "Twitching."

An example is indeed quoted by Lye, from Ælfric's

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Glossary, of the word "Tún-thorp," explained as "Compitum," a meeting of two ways; in which "tún" seems to have the meaning which we want, instead of that of inclosure usually imputed to it; and the word "Túnweg" of the Saxon Dictionaries, also from Ælfric, may be to the like effect. The word "tine," for the forks of a stag's antlers, will also come to mind. Even if it should be conceded that our word "town" proper has a more direct causal connection with the word "two," it would not necessarily withhold from the terminal "ton," which may be in fact another word, its received opposite meaning of an inclosure.

This explanation is confessed to be rather of necessity than choice; but the survival of what is apparently one word, not only with two opposite meanings, but also with two distinctly separate derivations, is believed to be much more common in topographical etymology than has been hitherto believed. If two egg-like stones picked up from one of the pebble beaches of our southern coast should be cracked, one might prove to be a flint and the other a limestone. Starting from two distant matrixes, innumerable tides, many storms, and constant encounters with their rugged companions, have not only finally laid these strange bedfellows side by side, but brought them both to the same complexion at last. So it is with names and words. Perpetually bandied during many ages from mouth to ear and from ear to mouth, many of them, which started on their career in different shapes and from totally different points, have been reduced to the same form with each other.

No doubt many of our towns, as we now find them, have had this general initial principle of an open neutral and spontaneous growth, variously combined with the other causes of origin or development. In some cases they may have occupied or continued the already fortified military post or chester, the seat of some earlier central government; in others they may have sought the shelter of some baronial castle, or the fostering munificence and sanctuary privileges of a great ecclesiastical college. Some of the towns as well as cities and boroughs may have arisen out of the presence of a convenient sea-port, or the accustomed ford of a river have established it as a

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halting-place. Others perhaps utilized, or continued a civilized occupation of, the sites of the less elevated hill fortresses, of which we see so many, less fortunate, that owe their present desolation to the remoteness of rivers or of the other needs of a more advanced social state. Some may even be the uninterrupted continuations, from an unsuspected antiquity, of such assemblages of "pit-dwellings" as those which, when abandoned, still excite our passing curiosity under the vague description of "British villages." All that is here proposed is that there was another and more universal cause of towns, independent of, and even antecedent to, all these, which has called into existence a great number, perhaps a majority of them: in fact, has created them as a distinct type, still to be discerned in their ground-plans.

But more often the other agencies are combined, as accidents, with towns of this typical origin and growth—have been added to them. Some towns, already formed by this natural growth, have afterwards been fortified as occupying strategic positions too important to be neglected by central supreme powers; a condition to which that convergence of roads which had been the cause of the towns would itself be a frequent contributory. Many in which had sprung up home-appointed and home-ruling municipal governments have fortified themselves, and not only commanded toleration or defied interference, but also exacted from superior governments recognition, and special privileges or franchises. Others, too populous to be trusted unawed, have had castles raised over them. Perhaps Totnes on the Dart is a good specimen of these compounds of our three-way germ with several other conditions, such as fortifications, added; or Launceston, where there was a "North-gate," a "South-gate," and a "West-gate," still so named, but no trace or possibility that there ever was an East-gate.

In many cases the church, which had taken root in one of the three unoccupied triangular areas or wards—where it is still generally found—has been garrisoned with a chapter of clerks, and become the missionary or baptismal centre of the entire rural district. In a like manner to that by which districts that had been reduced to a central civil polity had been called "civitates," so were probably

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such christianized circles called "Christianitates," a name which still remains in their centres, the home deaneries of some of our dioceses. The Vale of Evesham was a "Deanery of Christianity," and the deaneries of Exeter, York, Lincoln, Norwich, Leicester, Thetford, Warwick, Totnes, and some others, are still, or until lately have been, called "the Deanery of Christianitie." The secular clerks—the clergy of the world or of the people—in their turn were sometimes replaced by a congregation of monks or regulars. A settlement of either of these orders often had its provincial school of the liberal sciences, in some cases to become famous far beyond its original local purpose, even into distant foreign lands. Sometimes these churches, beneficed by neighbouring benefactors, or enriched by endowments of pious kings or penitent marauders, have thus grown up into the great monastery, and finally completed the material outline of the social group that makes up a town with the crowning grandeur of the minster church.

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ST. PETERS ON THE WALL, BRADWELL JUXTA MARE.

BY F. CHANCELLOR.

After the exhaustive and interesting Paper communicated by Mr. Lewin to the Society of Antiquaries in 1868, upon the Castra of the Littus Saxonicum, it would be presumption in me to attempt to add anything to his description of the Castrum of Othona, and I intend therefore, to confine my remarks to the chapel on the walls; not with the view of setting myself up as an authority upon the subject, but for the purpose of obtaining the opinion of those better able than myself, to give one as to its date.

The building is 49 feet 7 inches long by 21 feet 7 inches wide in the clear of the walls, and 24 feet 9 inches high from the present ground level to the wall plate. The walls are 2 feet 4 inches thick, and it is built, as its name denotes, upon the old Roman wall. We may dismiss the roof from our discussion, because that is undoubtedly of modern construction.

When the foundations were laid bare a good opportunity was afforded of ascertaining where the old Roman wall left off and the walls of the building commenced, and after a critical examination I arrived at the conclusion that there was a marked difference between the construction of the chapel walls and those of the castrum, which satisfied me that the wall of the castrum had been demolished to somewhere about the level of the ground before the chapel was erected.

Mr. Lewin, in his Paper, suggests that the principal entrance to the castrum was on the western side, and where the chapel now is. This appears to be a very reasonable suggestion, because the foundations of the gateway would probably extend somewhat beyond the face of the wall on either side, and thus a larger area of foundation would be found there than at any other spot.

It has been argued that this building was erected—

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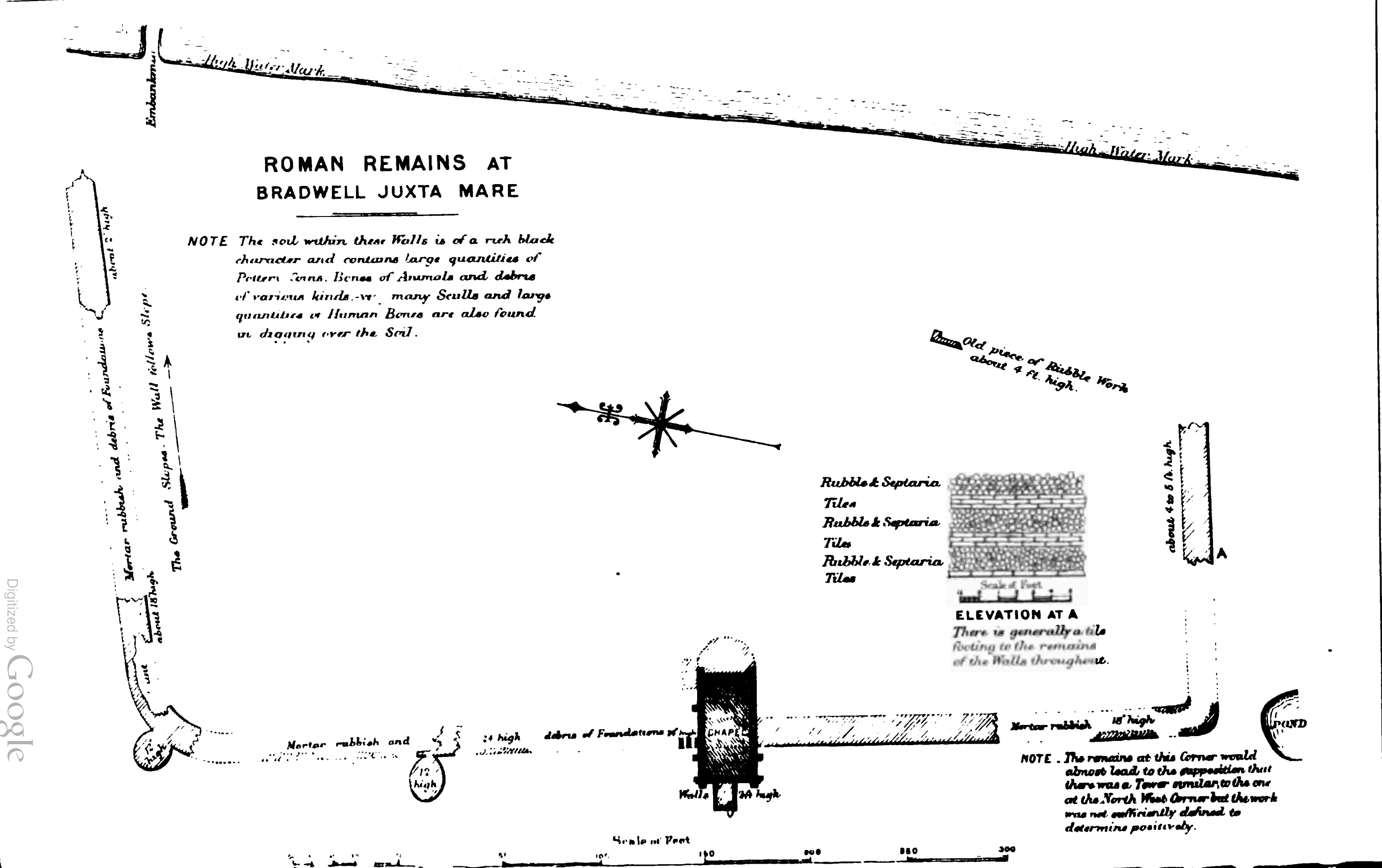

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1. By the Romans,
2. By the Saxons.
3. During the Norman Period, or even somewhat later.

I propose shortly to discuss the evidence upon which these theories rest.

As regards the Roman theory. I wish I could subscribe to this idea, and that the evidence of the building pointed to its being an undoubted Roman basilica.

That the walls are erected of Roman materials there can be no question, for undoubtedly the old Roman walls formed the quarry from which they were raised, and upon comparison, the materials, Roman tiles, septaria, and rubble stone are identical in each case, but the mode of putting them together is very different. In the Roman wall, as can be seen by the sketch of the fragment left, the first course consisted of a layer of tiles, then about eighteen inches of septaria and rubble, then three courses of tiles, then eighteen inches of septaria and rubble, again three courses of tiles, and again the septaria and rubble; and wherever the walls were of sufficient height to show any construction this arrangement of materials was carried out; and I would remark that the construction of the walls of the Roman villa, which was discovered in Chelmsford in 1849, were exactly of the same character as the walls of this castrum.[1]

With regard to the construction of the chapel walls the tiles are, as a rule, reserved for jambs of openings, or for quoins, the main part of the wall being built of the septaria and rubble without the intervening bands of tiles.

It must be remembered that the walls of the castrum were 12 feet thick, and the builders meant that it should be a stronghold in every sense of the word. We know how the Romans excelled in military engineering. Can it be believed that they would commit such a wretched engineering mistake as:

1. To build out upon their wall of defence any building not forming absolutely a building of defence, such as a tower to watch from, or to enable them to sweep the face of the wall with some of the engines of defence; and
2. To make a break of 21 feet in a wall of 12 feet in

[1] A precisely similar mode of construction occurs at Burgh Castle. See article on Porchester Castle in the Winchester volume.—ED.

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thickness, and for that 21 feet to trust solely to a wall 2 ft. 4 in. thick.

I submit therefore that upon the evidence of the construction of the walls not coinciding with the construction adopted by the Romans in works of a similar character, and the interpolation of such a building with walls not much thicker than would be put up by a speculative builder of the present day in the centre of a wall of huge strength meant for defensive purposes, the Roman theory must fall to the ground.

As regards the Saxon claim there can be no doubt that after the exodus of the Roman legions the whole country was in a disturbed state, and we are informed that the sea kings of the North amused themselves from time to time by swooping down upon the Eastern coast of England, and carrying off such loot as they could secure. Any building, therefore, of a military or defensive character would no doubt be preserved—and in such an exposed position as this Castrum occupied, the shelter it would afford would be peculiarly valuable. The military argument against the erection of the building by the Romans would therefore have equal force as regards the Saxons, but in addition there is an absence in the building itself of the chief characteristic of Saxon work, namely, the long and short quoins—and there is a peculiarity about the quoins which I shall point out presently in dealing with a later period which I apprehend will take it clearly out of the Saxon period. I may also mention that the presence of buttresses is an additional piece of evidence against the Saxon claim.

We now come to the Norman period. In a building which is absolutely devoid of mouldings, and about which there is not a fragment of carved or moulded work, it is somewhat difficult to fix upon any feature by which to determine its precise date, but there is one feature about this building which I think will afford strong evidence that its erection could not have been before a certain period, although we may not be able satisfactorily to fix any subsequent date. I allude to the buttresses.

Of these there are altogether seven. It has fallen to my lot to have to do with a great many of the old parish

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churches of Essex, and in very many of them I have found remains of Norman work. Indeed it is not all an unusual thing to find the shell of the building of the Norman or transition from Norman to the Early English period with windows and doors of later insertion. I might instance Great Waltham, Broomfield, and Great Canfield as examples, but I have invariably noted an entire absence of buttresses of the Norman period in these buildings.

I do not mean to say that there are no Norman buildings with buttresses, because I believe even in this county there are one or two examples, but they are the exceptions rather than the rule. The quoins are square, and in very many instances formed of Roman tiles or bricks, and I would here remark that from the large number of Roman bricks and septaria which I have found worked up in some old churches throughout the county, the buildings left by the Romans must have been far more numerous than we have any idea of; because, in addition to their serving as quarries for any new building, they were too irresistible to be neglected by the road maker. And not only in Essex do we find a general absence of buttresses in buildings of this class but in other counties as well, and where buttresses in buildings of a larger class are used, the projection is so slight that the wall space between has more the appearance of being recessed than the buttresses of being projected. And again when buttresses were used they generally covered the angle.

Now in this building we find the buttresses of considerable projection, and although from time and rough usage they have been much defaced, there is still sufficient evidence to prove that originally they projected at least 2 ft., thus indicating a period of erection coinciding with what we understand as the Early English period, or at any rate Transitional Norman; but there is still another feature which was certainly not in use prior to the Early English period, and that is the position of the angle buttresses. They are not exactly at the angle, but the quoin of the building is shewn for some few inches before the buttress breaks out. I should not like to make the sweeping assertion that in no building previous to the Early English period does such a feature exist. All I can

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say is, I have never met with an example, and I think I am justified in saying, that it is a feature admittedly of a later date than the Early Norman period.

I may be met with the suggestion, that these buttresses have been added, but upon a very close examination I could not find any evidence in support of this theory. The work is of the same character and materials as the bulk of the walls, and is, I think, unquestionably bonded in. I have met with many instances where buttresses have been added to buildings of an earlier date, but there has always been a marked difference between the work of the original wall and that of the buttress; I think a tolerably conclusive piece of evidence as to the buttresses forming part of the old work is the fact of their crumbling away to within a very few inches of the face of the wall, if they had been added they would in many cases have left the old work bodily from the rough usage they have undoubtedly received.

It is most unfortunate that we have no documentary evidence upon the subject of this building. It is true that Camden cites Bede, and Ralph Virgil, monk of Coggeshall, to show that Cedd built a chapel in the city of Mancester; but in addition to the arguments I have before named upon this point, I apprehend that the chapel was built in the city and not in the fortress, and therefore the chapel thus alluded to was destroyed with the city.

The only other mention we have of this building is by Morant, who informs us that in 1442, a jury found that this building, which was then undoubtedly used as a chapel, had a chancel, nave, and small tower with two bells, that it was burnt, and the chancel was repaired by the Rector and the nave by the parishioners, but when it was founded and by whom they know not. The nave only now exists, but when the excavations to which I have before alluded took place, we found a confirmation of this return by the jury of 1442, and I have marked upon the general plans the foundations of an apse at the east end, no doubt the chancel alluded to, and at the west end the foundations, no doubt of the tower, which were then exposed, and are now again all covered up; in further confirmation of the former existence of the apse, I would refer to the broken walls at the east

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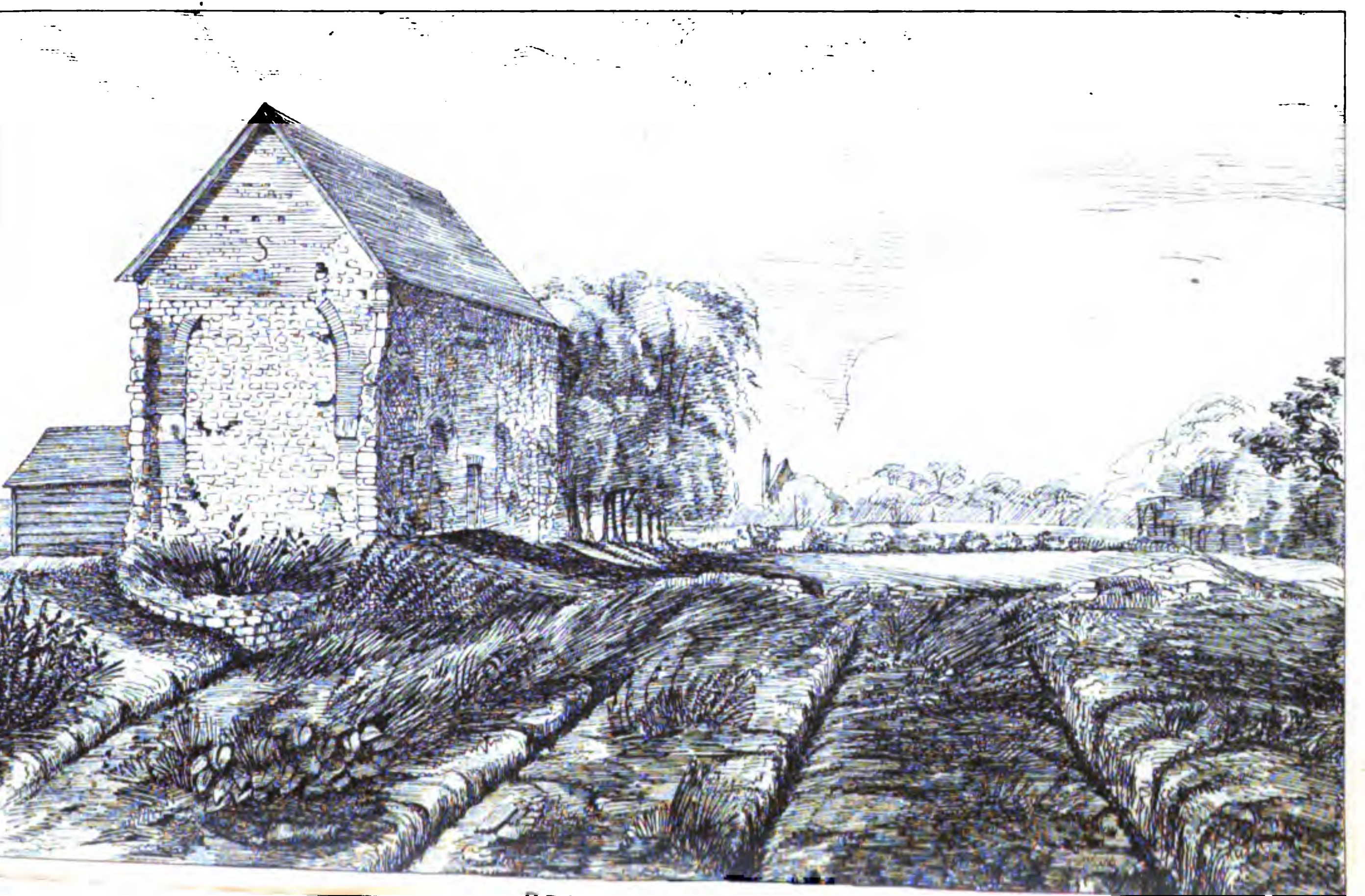

BRADWELL CHAPEL

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end, clearly proving that the building was in some form or another continued in that direction.

This semi-circular apse is strongly relied upon by some as proving its undoubted Norman character, but I think we must not place too much reliance upon this point, for it must be remembered that in old time the abbey of St. Valery, in Picardy, held one half of this parish. We also know that the round apse was very commonly adopted in France, even at a later period than that corresponding with our Norman work; and it is possible that the architect may have been of foreign extraction, and taking into consideration the very remote position of Bradwell, far away from the great thoroughfares of the county, access by sea was probably as convenient as that by land, and thus the introduction of the apse may be accounted for. There is one other point in connection with this apse which may be worth a passing thought.

It is clear that the old Roman wall was strengthened with at least one circular tower, and these towers may possibly have had narrow openings either for look-out or purposes. May not the materials thus worked to a defensive circular face have suggested their re-production in a circular form in the new building to be erected?

The absence of windows has been commented upon. If there is one feature of our Norman and Early English Churches in this district more decided than another, it is the extreme smallness of the windows, generally not more than six inches wide outside, but splaying off, of course, to a much greater width inside. These windows would, when the building was converted into a barn, be useless, and therefore I can readily imagine that they would be widened to the width of the inner splay or thereabouts, and converted into loops to enable the labourers to load the bays of the barn with corn. I apprehend that two of these narrow windows on either side, together with those in the apse, would be considered quite sufficient for lighting purposes.

A very curious feature is the starting of an arch at the east end. One would naturally expect to find the remains of an arch which would cover the whole width of the nave, but if this arch is completed in a semi-circular form it would scarcely cover half the width; it would seem, there-

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fore, that if there was only one arch it must have been very flat at the top or four-centred. The other alternative seems to be a double arch with a pier in the centre—a feature which, if I remember rightly, is to be seen in the so called chapel at Beeleigh Abbey.

Taking a survey of the whole building, both as regards the visible, and what is now the invisible parts of it, and relying mainly upon the buttresses which I might almost say are the only architectural features left, I would submit that the date of this building may be fixed at the latter end of the twelfth century, and that it was built for ecclesiastical purposes.

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ON THE WALL PAINTINGS DISCOVERED IN THE CHURCHES OF RAUNDS AND SLAPTON, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

BY J. G. WALLER.

During the autumns of 1875 and 1876, I paid visits to the church of Slapton, a small village four miles from Towcester, and to that of Raunds, a few miles from Higham Ferrers, both in the county of Northampton. And it is but right to state, that, in both places, I was the guest of the incumbent, with much kindly hospitality. The church of Raunds has lately been restored by Sir Gilbert Scott, and it was through him that I first became acquainted with the discovery of the extraordinary series of paintings in that church. The paintings of Slapton were discovered by the exertions of the late rector and his lady, Mr. and Mrs. Edman, the latter herself having worked in removing the whitewash.

As time after time, these discoveries are made, it is found, that there is a recurrence of the same subject, therefore to avoid a tedious repetition of description, it is now necessary to classify and to generalize, as well as to allude to the principles, which governed the decoration of our churches during the middle ages. A most useful list of the paintings discovered and recorded has been drawn up under the editorial care of our friend Mr. Soden Smith, and published by the authorities of South Kensington Museum. This list I hold to be valuable in more ways than one, and I consider it must be appealed to by those, who, in future, would study the religious teaching of our ancestors. Briefly let me state, one fact, that subjects from the Bible are *rare*, and one of the most so is that of the "Last Supper." Instead of illustrating the doctrine of the Eucharist by that, it is preferred to do so by an illustration of the story of St. Gregory's Mass, and this is significant, because it enforces

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the doctrine of transubstantiation. The subjects, mostly found, are taken from legends of saints, and from a class to which we must give the name of moralities. Some of the legends of the saints we must look upon as parables or apologues, and, as such, they have in them much beautiful teaching. Turn them into real histories and you degrade them. If we would comprehend these paintings in the spirit in which they were intended, which in all justice to our forefathers we ought to do, we must never forget what the ecclesiastical writers say of them from the eighth to the fifteenth century, viz., that they are for instruction, for the use of those who cannot read—in fact, the "Book of the ignorant." Any criticism which does not recognise this is unsound and unjust.

Now, of all subjects, St. Christopher is the most commonly found, and is always placed where it can be most readily seen by the worshipper on entering the church, usually, therefore on the north wall. The next most in favour in England was St. George, our patron saint, generally placed on the south wall, often opposite to that of St. Christopher. The legends of both these saints are typical. Both are unquestionably apologues and nothing more. The story of St. Christopher is fully illustrated in an article of mine, published in the collections of the Surrey Archæological Society,[1] and to that I must refer for full details.

Among the female saints, the most popular was St. Katharine of Alexandria, and her legend is of frequent illustration.

Of the so-called moralities, there are two, which are mostly found. One is "Soul weighing," the history of which carries us back into the remotest antiquity. Then comes that of "The three Kings dead and the three Kings living," which subject has been fully illustrated by myself in an Article on the Paintings in Battell Church, Sussex,[2] and also in one by our late friend, Albert Way, in the Journal of this Society. But of this no example, yet discovered, can compare in importance with that at Raunds. Not only is it finer for the art it displays, but its size is grand and imposing, the figures being much beyond the

[1] Vol. iii.
[2] Journal of British Archæological Association, Vol. ii, 152.

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size of life. It is on the north wall of the nave, filling up spaces between the spandrils of the arches. A figure of St. Christopher separates it from the symbolic representation of the "Seven Deadly Sins," and altogether it makes the most complete and effective decoration, yet discovered in any of our mediæval churches. The whole of this series, excepting the figure of St. Christopher, is dedicated to the exemplification of the sin of pride, and instability of all worldly things, with the moral that all ends in death. I will begin my description with the painting of the "Seven Deadly Sins." (Vide Plate I.)

It represents a female in rich attire having the long flowing garments of the fifteenth century. A closely fitting corse is at her waist, worn over a richly embroidered gown, and she wears an ample mantle lined with ermine. She is crowned, and holds a sceptre in each hand. Her face has somewhat of a scornful look, the eyes looking half shut: her neck, with a necklace around it, is bare, as well as her bosom. Beneath her is the yawning mouth of a monster, signifying Hell, out of which flames are issuing, and in the midst is a figure representing a soul in torment. At her head, on each side, is a demon. From her body issue six demoniac forms winged, each vomiting forth figures, illustrative of each sin; and these are accompanied by another figure, a shade, which seems to point the moral. Over the head of the principal figure is a scroll; some few letters remaining suggest, that it may have been "Imago Superbiæ et Inanis Gloriæ." Over each of the groups are other scrolls, on which has been written the name of the sin symbolised. Then, at her right hand, is a hideous cadaverous figure of Death, holding a lance in knightly fashion, with which he pierces the woman's side.

This composition is intended to illustrate the sin of Pride, as the mother of all the other sins, and the moral that all ends in death and punishment hereafter. That this view is not based on mere conjecture, I shall now proceed to show, and to give a history, as far as possible, of the growth of the ideas embodied, as far as I can trace them in the Christian Church, and particularly in mediæval theology.

First, let me direct attention to the writings of

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the monk Cæsarius,[1] who lived in the twelfth and thirteenth century, to whom I have often referred. In his dialogue on "Temptation," is a chapter entitled "Pride and her Six Daughters."

In the preceding one he says "Seven are the principal vices springing from one virulent root, that is to say, Pride, from which almost all temptations proceed. The first vice of Pride succeeding to it is "Empty Glory." The second is "Anger;" third, "Envy;" fourth, "Sloth;" fifth, "Avarice;" sixth, "Gluttony" (Gula vel Gastrimargia); seventh, "Luxury." He then classes these. He calls some spiritual, as "Empty Glory," "Anger," and "Envy;" others corporal, as "Gluttony" and "Luxury;" some mixed, as "Sloth" and "Avarice." He proceeds to say, Lucifer, ejected from Heaven on account of Pride, diffused himself in the human heart, darkened by mortal sins; and, that the sins were designated by the seven devils ejected from Mary Magdalene. He then minutely defines "Pride" as being of two kinds —one within, as in elation of the heart; the other without, as in works of ostentation. He then defines "Anger," quoting many passages of Scripture. "Anger," he says, "is a fire." "Envy," he continues, "is born of anger; "indeed, an inveterate anger, and is a hatred of another's "felicity. This vice makes a devil of an angel, and was the "cause of man being ejected from Paradise." The next vice, "Sloth" (Accidia) he states to be much too importunate to religious men. The Novice asks, "What is the meaning of Accidia?" it having a somewhat barbarous sound. The question is interesting, for our Monk is a scholar, and fond of quoting the classics. He explains the word as being "quasi acidia," rendering spiritual works acid and insipid, as malice, rancour, pusillanimity, desperation, a torpor concerning the commandments, a wandering of the mind about unlawful things. We now come to "Avarice," which he calls an insatiable and immoderate appetite of having all things, and he quotes the Apostle, "The root of all evils is Avarice."[2] The sixth vice is "Gluttony" (Gula), which he styles the

[1] *Dialogus Miraculorum*. Cæsarius was a monk of the Cistercian Order of the Monastery of Heisterbach, near Königswinter on the Rhine.

[2] Timothy vi, 10: "Love of money," in our Version.

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immoderate cause and appetite of eating and drinking. Last and seventh, "Luxury" (Luxuria), the which he minutely describes, and which in mediæval theology signifies illicit affections.

Having thus given the theology, I will now proceed to describe the emblematical figures in agreement with it. It will be observed that these, which represent the six daughters of Pride, are arranged on each side the principal figure. On her right, first comes "Avarice," and unfortunately some details here are indistinct; but the demon seems to issue from the head, as possibly indicating, that it was a vice peculiar to the mind. The figure also appears to be holding, what must be intended to represent, sacks or purses of money, but this is somewhat defaced. Next, beneath this, is "Ira" (Anger), and here the figure from the demon's mouth exhibits drops of blood issuing from the breast; and another figure, like a shade or shadow, stands by pointing at the wound, as probably showing the dangerous effects of Anger. Beneath this comes "Invidia" (Envy), tearing her breast, as it appears,—the shade again stands by pointing.

We now pass to those on the left side, which show the vices mostly corporal. First is "Gula," in which the figure has lost its distinctive emblem, and the shade seems to be an animal,[1] but is too defaced to speak with certainty. The next is "Luxuria," shown in a most unmistakable manner: lastly "Accidia;" here the figure seems as if wearily stretching, and the shade, apparently, quickly moving towards it with uplifted switch.

We must not for one moment suppose that in this curious and interesting composition, we get the work of an individual mind. It is the result of a series of developments, doubtless handed down from very early times. Though by far the most complete and the finest of the various illustrations of the "Seven Deadly Sins," with which we are acquainted, it will be well to make a comparison with others. One discovered a few years ago at Wisborough Green, in Sussex, gave a large nude female figure with a series of winged demons or dragons issuing from the different parts of the body, in which each sin is supposed to reside, or to be affected by. In this we get

[1] The emblematical animal usually given to Gula is a hog.

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another version but by no means so complete nor so full of thought as that at Raunds. On a screen at Catfield, in Norfolk, remain representations of three of the deadly sins, viz., Pride, a figure with a mirror and comb; Anger, with two knives in the breast, from which issue bloody drops; and Avarice, holding out two money bags.[1] Each issue from a yawning mouth.[2] At Ingatestone, in Essex, the "Seven Deadly Sins" are represented in the form of a wheel, the subjects being between the spokes. Pride is a lady seated, attiring by the assistance of a maid. Anger is a fight between two persons. Luxury, a man kissing a girl. Sloth, a man in bed, seemingly in a monastery.[3] Avarice, a miser with his money. Gluttony, men and women drinking in a cellar. Envy, scene before a justice, witnesses swearing falsely. In the centre is Hell's mouth.

In the early ages of Christianity there was no such classification as the "Seven Deadly Sins." This belongs to a later time, and was possibly due to the spread of monasticism. Amongst the poems of the poet Prudentius, who lived in the fourth century, and was the contemporary of St. Ambrose, is one entituled "Psychomachia," which arrays the Virtues in a struggle with the Vices. It is too classical in its allusions to help us much in the history of our subject; but it serves to point out the changes, which a later time had developed. Here are Superbia, Ira, and Avaritia. There is also Luxuria, but it is as we understand the word now; luxury as expressed in superfluity and excess in attire and mode of life. There is also "Libido," which of course has the meaning given in Monkish Latin to Luxuria; and lastly "Discordia," which, if expressed at all in the later time, must be found in the term "Invidia." The most illustrative passages are those relating to "Avaritia," whom he describes as, not content only to collect fragments of gold into heaps and to fill her ample bosom, but delights to stuff the base lucre into bags.

"Nec sufficit amplos
Implevisse sinus, juvat infarcire crumenis,
Turpe lucrum."

In a curious collection of mediæval sermons of the fifteenth century, entituled "Dormi Securè," there are

[1] This confirms the previous suggestion.

[2] Vide engravings in Norfolk Archæology.

[3] See the passages quoted from Cæsarius, *ante*.

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often allusions to allegorical figures and their mode of treatment by the Romans. I am not inclined to think these are references to classic times, exactly, but possibly to those succeeding, and a tradition of early art as it came to be developed in the Church. Among these is one given on the authority of Fulgentius, a writer of the sixth century, in which at least are some suggestions towards our subject, although having a wide divergence from it in details. He says: The Romans made the images of Vain Honour in the manner of an inconstant woman, writing above her in golden letters, "This is the image of Vain Honour, look at her and always fly her." This image had a crown on its head, and a sceptre in its left hand, and a peacock in the right, and was blind in the eyes and veiled, and seated upon a car drawn by four lions. And the meaning of these was, that whoever loves the vain honour of this world, is inconstant as an unsteady woman having a crown upon her head, because by the world, as by a king, she desires to be honoured. The sceptre in her hand is a sign that she always desires to command. Blindness in the eyes and with veiled face, because malice blinds her, so that she cares for no sin; whence the Book of Wisdom, "He blinded them by their malice." She has a peacock in one hand, for that as a peacock with its tail adorns its hinder part and front, but when it adorns its front it denudes its back, so such a one, adorning himself in the world, deprives himself of eternal glory. The four lions before her signify, that the four sins come with the vain honour of this world, namely Pride, Avarice, Luxury, and Envy.

Now in this description it is impossible not to see the analogy with the painting at Raunds. The subject is, indeed, substantially the same, for Vain Honour and Vain Glory are identical terms, and associated with it are the four principal vices. Moreover, we see other suggestions, such as the Crown and the Sceptre, signifying the vain-glory of this world, and its desire to rule.[1] It is to be noted that Fulgentius lived in a time, when there were two parties in the Church in fierce conflict with each other. The one, and that mostly in power, desirous to

[1] It is also to be noted that the woman is made *blind* There is a peculiarity in the appearance of the eyes in the figure at Raund's which may have the same intent.

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develop the ceremonial and decoration familiar to the temples of heathendom; the other section averse to this, as fearing from it the corruption of the simplicity of worship. The struggle continued long, and was saddened by the outrages of either side. There cannot be a doubt but, that from this time, we must trace the history of that art we call "Christian," and any relic of it, even in description, must be eagerly sought.

There is another work to which one must also refer as giving us some illustrations, and this is Spenser's "Fairy Queen." Spenser lived in an era of great development, when England was rapidly passing from the middle ages and its associations. Yet his poem shows abundantly where he had studied and enriched his mind. In the second Canto he describes the house of Pride; and Lucifera, whose name symbolises this vice, is associated with all the other deadly sins, forcibly painted, he often using the very words of the mediæval writers. In fact, in the whole poem there is no more noble passage than in this description of the House of Pride, and of Lucifera and her train. In one part she is thus described:—

> "Lo! underneath her scornful feet, was lain
> A dreadful dragon with an hideous train,
> And in her hand she held a mirror bright,
> Wherein her face she often viewed feign."

Then she issues forth in her chariot, and strove to match, in royal rich array, "great Juno's golden chair":—

> But this was drawn of six unequal Beasts,
> On which her six sage counsellors did ride,
> Taught to obey their bestial behests,
> With like conditions to their kinds appli'd;
> Of which the first, that all the rest did guide,
> Was sluggish Idleness the Nurse of sin;
> Upon a slothful Ass he chose to ride,
> Array'd in habit black and amirs thin,
> Like to an holy Monk, the service to begin.

It is impossible not to see the analogy in these passages with descriptions previously given. It would almost seem like a satire on the Monkish life, written by a Reformer so to typify Sloth, had we not read Cæsarius. But the whole passage, which occupies several stanzas, is rich in imagery, suggested or derived from mediæval influences; and it is singularly interesting to trace these

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in the production of one of the greatest poets of the Augustan age of English literature.

But nothing is so complete or so full of meaning as the painting at Raunds. It is a combinatian of all that mediæval symbolism has arrayed upon the subject. Pride, in all the fulness of worldly honour and glory, is attired as a Queen. She has two sceptres, showing that she rules over the vices of the mind as those of the body, and they issue from her head and heart. But Death strikes her down, and Hell yawns beneath her feet.

The whole wall was to illustrate the moral, that how great soever man's estate upon this earth, death may overtake him in the midst of all; even in the sport which he is enjoying, or in the pursuits of pleasure or of self-indulgence. The next subject, therefore, continues the theme; and we see three kings, richly attired, have issued from a castle to enjoy the pleasures of the chase or of hawking. They are attended by hounds, and carry hawks upon their wrists, when they are suddenly encountered by three grisly emaciated forms. These are three dead kings, who, in discourse, warn those living in their kingly honour "that such as they are now so shalt thou be." As this is by far the finest composition of this subject ever before discovered in this country, it would be most desirable could tracings from it be made, or at least good drawings, as a valuable record of our mediæval art, early in the fifteenth century, in case of their decay or future destruction.

The interest attending this example lies in its grand size, and the complete manner in which it is carried out. The figures are well proportioned and picturesquely composed, especially as regards the arrangement of the draperies. The first king, in the closely fitting jupon of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, has his ermined mantle thrown over one shoulder, thus shewing his entire figure as he turns towards the second king, who strides towards him, looking at the uncouth objects, that thus cross their path; this figure is also most picturesque. The third king, who is timidly advancing in the rear, has his mantle more closely wrapped around him. The whole group shows a very superior knowledge and artistic power to that usually seen in the ordinary paintings dis-

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covered in our churches. Some details are curious. In the rear of the last king, and in front of the castle, are two posts, through which a large chain has been drawn; but whether it belonged to the machinery of a drawbridge or not is not obvious. Rabbits or hares are visible on the ground by their feet. All the figures have scrolls, but none of the inscriptions are legible from below, but the character of all these is well known.

As one of the most popular of the subjects found in our churches, it merits attention, especially when treating of so fine an example. I shall have again to allude to it.

The north aisle contains remains of paintings from the legend of St. Katharine, and, originally, must have had eight subjects completely illustrating it. There are two dates to the paintings preserved; the earlier ones, and the best, are in monochrome, simple red outlines, and may be placed to the commencement of the fifteenth century. But the latter, though of the same subject, and overlying the earlier series, are executed in various colours after nature. They have not an equal merit with the earlier work, and from the broad-toed shoes belong to the early part of the sixteenth century. In some places these have been entirely removed in clearing off the whitewash, thus disclosing the older series.

The legend of St. Katharine of Alexandria is one of a class, evidently in high favour, illustrative of the early struggles of Christianity. Altars, dedicated to this saint, are found to have existed in some of the humblest of our parish churches. It is a strange story, altogether mythical, the chief tendency being to enforce what was called the "religious life," that is, monachism. It is proper, therefore, that we view it in its ancient spirit, and not in that of modern criticism. It is necessary to give an abstract of it, as we follow the description of the paintings preserved.

At the east end of the aisle, above and around the situation of the Altar, are traces of diaper work, but the illustrations of the story begin, and are continued, on the wall intervening between the windows of the north side. I do not doubt but that the first was that known as the "Marriage of St. Katharine," one which has exercised the art of many of the great masters, and is often found in

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our galleries. To explain it we must recount the legend. St. Katharine was of royal parentage, her father being King of Cyprus. The Emperor Maxentius summoned him, with many other of his vassals, to his court at Alexandria, whither he went with his wife and daughter; and whilst they sojourned in that city he took the opportunity of having Katharine instructed in all knowledge and science. She was of extreme beauty, and was eagerly sought in marriage; but the Emperor asked of her mother that she should espouse his son, and this she communicated to Katharine. But the young lady's reply to the proposal was, that she never would marry any man who was not as noble, as prudent, as beautiful, and as rich as herself; and although the Emperor's son might be in nobility and riches equal to her, yet in knowledge and beauty he was a long way off. Thereupon her mother, much distressed, seeks advice, and it is thought, that her daughter should see a pious hermit, who questions her, and finding out her disposition addresses her thus:—"Oh! beautiful young lady! if you will believe in Christ, you will have a spouse who incomparably excels thee in nobility, wisdom, and beauty." Katharine consents to his teaching, and he presents her with a picture of the Virgin Mary holding the Infant Jesus, enjoining her to pray that she would show her Son to her. She obeys, but ever the Child averts his face. On the Virgin Mother asking why, he answers, "Katharine is ignoble, foolish, poor and bare," and she is directed to go again for instruction to the holy man. This she does, and he converts her to the Christian faith. Returned home, when at night in bed, she had a vision of the Virgin with her Son approaching her joyfully. And now Katharine is pronounced fair and good, and wise and fairer in faith. From being as a crow, she is now white as a dove. The Virgin then takes her right hand and conveys it to her Son, who places upon her finger a ring of faith, and accepts her in perpetual espousals.

This, very much contracted, is the basis of this legend, but of this subject no traces remain, as the place wherein it would have been is occupied by a tablet. The next space, however, contains traces of both periods. Of the later time, there are but few remains, which consist

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chiefly of portions of an altar with candlesticks. Of the earlier work there are indications of a number of figures, and a Gothic structure in the background with trees, &c. One of the figures has a triple crown, in front of whom long trumpets are being sounded, and before it is a female crowned and nimbed. There is also one in mitre, chasuble, &c.

To explain this, one must continue the legend.

Now the Emperor commmanded all, both rich and poor, to assemble with animals and to sacrifice them to the gods, and the Christians were to do so on pain of death. St. Katharine, now eighteen years old, hearing the bellowing of oxen, the sounds of music, and the tumultuous singing of the people, issued forth signing herself with the cross, and found Christians, from the fear of death, sacrificing. Seeing this, she boldly walked towards the Emperor saying, "Salvation, O King, I offer to thee, if thou will recall thy mind from the gods;" and she continued reasoning against his idolatry. The Emperor, astonished at her boldness, and admiring her beauty, told her that after the sacrifices he would give her an answer. She is led to the palace, and the Emperor comes and asks her name and parentage, and finally appoints a time for the subject to be discussed with the learned men of his realm.

We now pass to the next subject, and here the later one is best preserved, but shows traces of the earlier series at the foot, which makes us regret that it is not uncovered. Here is a seated figure of the Emperor with triple crown, beneath a canopy, on his throne holding a sceptre in his right hand, with the end resting on his left, his right leg crossed over the other. He has long hair and beard, is in yellow robes and red mantle, and a dog is by his feet. Before him stands a female figure in royal robes, crowned, St. Katharine, who is arguing with an array of doctors in red gowns and black caps, one of whom conspicuously places one finger to his thumb.

This is the continuation of the legend. The Emperor has here assembled fifty of his wisest men from all the provinces who are to confute St. Katharine, one of whom has asserted this to be very easy. But the Saint reasons of Christ's passion and resurrection and reduces them all

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to silence, at which the Emperor was exceeding wroth, but they told him that the spirit of God was in her, and finally, that she had converted them to the Christian faith. At which the tyrant, inflamed with fury, commanded that they should all be burnt in the midst of the city. But, fortified by the sign of the cross, they rendered their souls to God, and neither hair nor clothes were injured by the fire.

Now the last portion of the subject is illustrated by one of the earlier series, and that which is the most perfectly preserved; which is the more interesting, as it is exceedingly rarely found. There is a pit, into which a number of figures have been thrust by officials with pitch forks. Some hold books, and a figure laden with books is about to cast them in. By the side stands the Emperor in triple crown, and holding a sceptre. He is giving orders. By his side stands his sword-bearer, the baldric wound about the uplifted sword, and he wears a kind of turban. The figures in the pit wear the cap or coif of doctors of law. (Plate II.)

Over the north door is the figure of St. George encountering the Dragon, but it is not a very complete rendering of the legend, allowance being made for its mutilated condition. It is executed in outline like the rest in this aisle and is of the same date. On the other side of this door the story of St. Katharine continues, with an illustration of the earlier series, but much more mutilated. It is nevertheless very curious. In the centre we see a castellated structure with embattlements and square towers at the angles. Through a large open window in this are seen the remains of the figures of St. Katharine crowned and nimbed, and on each side an angel, all very much defaced. In front, outside, is a crowned female figure kneeling, and by her side also kneeling we recognise by the turban like head-dress the sword bearer of the previous subject, *i.e.*, the Porphyrius of the legend. There are other figures, one on the left of the castle wears on his head, a hat similar to that worn by the Papa of the Greek Church, and on the other side a female is approaching with the well known horned head dress. The legend will explain this in continuation.

The Emperor then addressing the Saint in flattering terms, tells her that after the Queen she shall be called

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second in his palace, and her image should be placed in the city and be adored as a goddess. To which she answered, "Desist from speaking of such things, which are wicked to think of; I have delivered myself over as the Spouse of Christ, and not even torments shall make me recall." Then he, filled with fury, commanded her to be stripped and given up to be scourged, and to be taken to a dark cell in prison, and there kept twelve days without meat or drink. The Emperor had occasion to depart to the confines of his realm on certain urgent affairs. In the meantime, the Queen. accompanied by the chief of the soldiers, went in the middle of the night to the prison, in which, when she entered, she saw an ineffable brightness shining, and angels anointing the virgin's wounds. Then Katharine began to preach of eternal glory to the Queen, and converted her to the faith, and predicted for her a crown of martyrdom, which when Porphyrius had heard he threw himself at the feet of the virgin, and together with two hundred soldiers received the faith.

The next space, where a subject would naturally have been continued, is entirely defaced, yet it is easy to say what would have occupied it. For it is a subject which specially belongs to this legend. The Emperor again endeavours to shake her constancy, and, failing, threatens her with torment. He commanded her to be put between four wheels having iron teeth, and the sharpest nails around them. These, moving in contrary directions, were to cut the virgin to pieces. Then she prayed to God that he would convert the people, and break the machine. Forthwith, an Angel of the Lord descended and struck the wheels with such force that the broken parts killed four thousand men.

The Queen then avows herself a Christian, and is put to death. Porphyrius does the same, and is beheaded, and his body given to dogs. Maxentius orders St. Katharine either to sacrifice to the Gods or to undergo decollation. She replies, "Do what you will with me, I am prepared to suffer." She was then led to execution, begging permission to pray, and finally said to the executioner, "Do as you ought," and she was beheaded.

The decollation, as above described, is represented by one of the later series, and is on the west wall. It

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shows the Saint kneeling, her hands conjoined in prayer, whilst the executioner, in slashed doublet, with one hand holds the maiden's hair, and in the other brandishes a large uplifted sword; a figure in yellow stands by—perhaps, the Emperor.

The story is finally concluded by a painting which also belongs to the later time, on the other side of the west window, and shows a series of angels around a tomb. The execution is rather coarse. There is no difficulty in comprehending this subject, as the legend tells us that her body was conveyed by angels to Mount Sinai, and there honourably buried. The artists of the Renaissance often painted it, but perhaps none surpass the fresco by Luini, now preserved in the Brera at Milan. It is also given in the series in the Chapel of St. Sepulchre, of the Cathedral of Winchester, date thirteenth century. (*Vide* "Winchester Volume" of British Archæological Society.)

Over the chancel arch, there are representations of angels kneeling and holding the several instruments of the Passion between the four arms of a cross, which probably was raised above the surface and highly decorated. But all this is in a very mutilated condition.

Over the arch which opens into the tower there are the remains of a painted clock face, shewn as being held by angels kneeling, behind which are figures of a man and his wife kneeling, with hands conjoined as in prayer. These are the donors, and an inscription beneath desires a prayer for their souls. The face of the clock is remarkable for having the twenty-four hours of the day inscribed upon it, which is perhaps an unique instance in England of this practice which still retains in Italy. The date of these latter belongs to the fifteenth century.

The village of Slapton, a primitive place, four miles from Towcester, though close to a railway, may still be said to be—

"Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife."

Its church stands on the edge of a little knoll, and though small, has many interesting architectural details. It consists of nave and north aisle with porch forming the principal entrance, and a tower at the west end. It commends itself to Archæologists as, at present, it has not suffered restoration. It contains the original seats, possibly

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as old as the oldest part of the church, which may be referred to the thirteenth century. The arch, separating the nave from chancel, is remarkably small, being under 6 feet in height, and not quite 4 feet in width. The side piers have both been perforated at a later date in order to make the altar more easily seen. The floor of the nave rises from the chancel arch towards the west end, and preserves some very good specimens of early tiles. The features here described are shown in the several examples given in Vol. iii of this Society's *Journal* (p. 297, et seq.)

Entering by the porch we perceive that the north aisle is divided from the nave by an arcade of three arches of unequal size. The largest of these is the central arch beneath which leads into the nave. In the spandrils which face us are traces of paintings. One is too much defaced to give any clue to its subject, but the other is the Annunciation, having no particular features. Both figures are standing, and a scroll is between them, upon which has been inscribed, "Ave Maria, gratia plena." This is the only scriptural subject in the Church. As we proceed into the nave, on our right hand is a painting upon the voussoir of the arch. Its date is possibly at the commencement of the sixteenth century, and represents what is called "St. Gregory's Mass," or "St. Gregory's Pity," and is that subject which is intended to enforce the doctrine of transubstantiation. There is an altar, above which arising as from a tomb appears the figure of Christ displaying the wounds of his passion, and the "bloody sweat," the left hand elevated, the right at his breast. Kneeling before him is a priest in the vestments of the Mass, and by his side is deposited the triple tiara.

The story is told in the Golden Legend. A certain woman brought bread to St. Gregory, and when in the mass he offered the body of the Lord and said, "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ keep thee to eternal life," she smiled. He then removing his right hand from her mouth replaced that part of the bread on the altar. After which he asked her before the people why she laughed. Because, she replied, the bread which I have made with my own hands you call the Lord's body. Then Gregory put himself to prayer, and arising, found that particle of bread

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made flesh to the size of a finger, and thus the woman was brought back to the faith.

In art it is always represented as above described. It is rarely, if at all, found before the fifteenth century, but continued to be so treated until late in the sixteenth century, as by Albert Durer and others.

The next arch, abutting on the tower, has a subject in a similar position on each side. One representing the ecstacy of St. Francis, is very common with the painter of every school. Here the Saint is kneeling before a crucifix upon a rock or mound, and scintillations issue from the wounds, as rays to his hands, feet and breast. Usually it is a Seraphim displayed as a cross, by which the stigmata are affected, and which is most in accord with the legend, which says that "in a vision of God the blessed Francis beheld a Seraphim as crucified, and so to him evidently impressed the signs of crucifixion that he appeared as if he himself was crucified."

The painting on the opposite side shows two persons, apparently male and female, who are carrying a beam between them. I do not know of any story which answers to this, and consider it to be merely a record of some benefaction to the structure of the church, as neither figures are nimbed.

On the north wall is conspicuously placed, nearly opposite to the chief entrance, as usual, the figure of St. Christopher, differing in no material points from the usual conventional treatment. It is in tolerable preservation, but shows in many places traces of an earlier figure beneath the present one. Amongst the details most worth remarking is the figure of a siren or mermaid in the river, who is combing her long locks by the aid of a mirror, which she holds in her hand. Westwards of this is a painting of our Lady of Pity. The Virgin is seated in a chair with the dead body of our Lord across her lap. It is not common to find this subject in England, but one of the finest works of the sculpture of the Renaissance is a Pietà, by Michael Angelo.

On the splayed jamb of a window close by is a figure in long tunic and mantle, seemingly holding a bag, but it is a good deal defaced. The symbol is that given to

St. Matthew, as having been a Publican, but one cannot say with certainty if this be truly attributed.

Turning now to the south wall, we find the familiar subject of St. George encountering the dragon, and it is as usual to find this on the south wall as that of St. Christopher on the north; and they are frequently, as in this instance, opposite each other. Here again are traces of a previous painting of the same subject, and, as it appears to me, the later artist has utilised portions of the earlier work. Some parts of the design are boldly designed and executed with some degree of skill, the figure of the dragon especially so. The features of this subject are so common, and offer little variety of treatment. St. George encountering the dragon, with his lance in rest; in the background a lady, royally crowned with a lamb in tether; a castle, from which look out a king and queen, is the usual treatment observed. The story is told in the Golden Legend, as follows:—

George, a tribune of the country of Cappadocia, arrived by a certain way, in the province of Libya, to a city called Silena, near to which city was a lake as big as a sea, in which a pestiferous dragon lay concealed, who oftentimes put to flight the people who armed themselves against him, and by his breath killed all those approaching to the walls of the city. On account of which, the citizens were compelled to give two sheep daily to him, that they might appease his fury; otherwise he so invaded the walls of the city, that many were slain. Now, when nearly all the sheep had gone, counsel was taken that each man by lot should give of his sons and daughters, and these had nearly all been consumed also. In this strait the king's daughter is taken by lot and adjudged to the dragon. Then the king in great grief says, "Take my gold and silver and the half of my kingdom, but send back my daughter lest she likewise dieth." To whom the people in fury replied, "Thou, O King, hast made the edict, and all our children are dead, and thou canst scarcely save thy daughter. Unless you comply, as in other cases you ordained, we will destroy thee and thy house." The king, then, weeping, took his daughter, and besought that he might have eight days of mourning previously to her being

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given up. The time having expired, he took his daughter, indued her with royal robes, saying, "Alas! I had thought to have invited princes to thy nuptials, to have adorned the palace with pearls, to hear drums and trumpets, but you go to be devoured by the dragon." Then she, throwing herself at his feet, asks his blessing; and with tears he leads her towards the lake. Then the blessed George, as he passed by, saw their mourning, and asked her what it meant. She answered, "Good youth, mount your horse and fly, lest with me you likewise perish." To whom he said, "I fear not, damsel, but tell me what this means, with all this crowd looking on." At length she related her story, again beseeching him to retire; but he replied he would in Christ's name help her. As they were discoursing the dragon raised his huge head from the lake. Then George mounting his horse, fortifying himself with the sign of the cross, boldly put his lance in rest and went to meet the dragon, grievously wounded him, and cast him to the ground. He then said to the damsel, "Cast your girdle about his neck, nothing doubting," which when she had done, he followed her like a dog.

This is as much of the legend as is illustrative of this subject, so commonly found in our churches, and doubtless once universal in this country. That the story is like that of St. Christopher and many others, a parable to illustrate christian teaching in a familiar manner, one cannot doubt when it is well studied. The dragon is an old symbol of evil, and plays its part in numerous stories and christian legends, all tending to the same end. Here it is vanquished by the christian knight, that is, he conquers evil, fortified by the sign of the cross, the symbol of gospel truth. The legend of the Drachenfels on the Rhine (the Dragon's Rock) is exceeding pretty, having exactly the same tendency. It is the cross which saves and which conquers. So also in the story of St. Margaret and many others. To read it as a mere tale, the story of St. George may excite but little reverence; look upon it as we look upon the stories given to children, and as it was once addressed to minds scarcely more informed, and its teaching is beautiful. It is only when we would make it a real history, and analyze it as such, that we degrade it;

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because it would not then pass a critical analysis. As St. Christopher was addressed mostly to the common mind, as potent to aid in all the instant maladies and evils of this life, saving from fatigue or from sudden death, so St. George appealed to the knight or soldier, who was to succour the distressed and to be the scourge of evil. Such was the theory of chivalry.

Why St. George became the patron saint of England belongs to another history. It is stated that Robert Duke of Normandy, the father of William the Conqueror, fighting against the Saracens, saw St. George visibly on their side, giving them the victory over their enemies. Certain it is that the ancient war-cry of England, "God and St. George," appears nowhere before the Norman Conquest, and, most probably, not till some time after. It is easy to understand how, in this popular worship, the tradition of having given military aid made his figure an object of reverence, as the representative saint of the English knighthood. Spenser's Redcross knight is but the legitimate descendant from the ancient legend of St. George. Beneath the figure of St. George is the subject of "Weighing of Souls," which belongs to an earlier date, and it was partially, or wholly overlaid by the later work. The figure of St. Michael, holding the balance, is nearly obliterated, but on his left is a female figure in red mantle and blue tunic, holding in her left hand a little box and in her right a rosary, which she is laying upon one end of the beam. In one scale is a demon, in the other a small figure with hands enjoined as in prayer, representing the soul being weighed.

On a former occasion I gave a sketch of the history of this myth of "Soul weighing" as one of the most curious in the history of religion; and I alluded to the story here represented, but having forgotten my reference could not then give the original. I now supply the omission.

The story, speaking of a usurer, is as follows:—He, among all his vices, had one sole virtue, that he recited the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary daily, as it had been taught by St. Dominic. At length, when near to death, he had a vision, in which he saw St. Michael the Archangel placing in one part of the scale all the good,

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which this man had sometimes done; and in the other part, he saw demons placing all his vices, which were infinitely greater and drawing down the balance. Who, deep in thought and astounded in consequence of the vision, presently beheld the Virgin to come nigh; and she, nearing the scale, in which his good deeds were reared up high in the air, placed her rosary upon it; and immediately it began by its weight to fall and, by its sinking, to raise the scale on the opposite side.[1] The meaning of the *box* most likely is intended to represent the good works or offerings made to her by the departed during his life. It is not without precedent.

On the south wall of the aisle, within the screen which encloses a chapel, are remains of paintings, here as elsewhere, of two periods. Figures of skeletons in a mutilated condition, which shows others beneath them, indicate the well-known morality to which I have before alluded. Some undecipherable inscriptions are beneath. Close by these, at the extreme east corner, there are traces of the earlier series. A figure of a bishop in chasuble, in front of whom is a youth in a fringed tunic and a cap upon his head, which shows the date to be early in the fifteenth century, and other fragments obscured by the overlying painting only suggest the possibility that it may relate to the legend of St. Nicholas, and it is a matter of regret, that it has been covered over so ruthlessly by the painter of the sixteenth century. The later subject shews a figure tied to a tree, and being shot at with arrows by archers in short tunics and broad-toed shoes. The familiar St. Sebastian, of our picture galleries, at once seems to come naturally as a solution. But we must bear in mind, that our churches were only decorated by the stories of such saints as were commonly known to us. Now St. Sebastian was not a saint worshipped in England. He specially belonged to the Peninsula, Italy and France, where the name is frequent enough in families. But in England we have no churches dedicated to St. Sebastian, nor are children baptised with his name—a sure test of the reverence in which a saint has been held. In some parts of England there are saints localised, churches are dedicated to them there, and

[1] Quoted in Molanus *De Historia SS. Imaginum, &c., &c.*, Lovanii, 1771.

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scarcely anywhere else; but others are common to Christendom, and are found everywhere. The same principle obtains in every country.

In the eastern counties the saint of most honour was Edmund, King of the East Angles, martyred by the Danes in 870 in the woods of Hoxne, near the Waveney, which separates the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. He was bound to a tree and shot to death with arrows, and the homage to his memory extended as far inland as Northamptonshire. We must therefore rather ascribe this representation to him than to St. Sebastian, for the latter could scarcely have been introduced into an English village except through some foreign influence. I have therefore no doubt, that this represents the martyrdom of the Anglo-Saxon King, Edmund, one of the most celebrated of English saints, and about whom legends still exist in the village near which he met his death.[1] His body was for a long time sheltered in a little oratory of wood near Ongar, in Essex; and there can be little doubt that this now forms a portion of the church of Greenstead. Lidgate, a monk of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, where his shrine was, elaborated the story of his life, and the richly illuminated MS., which he presented to Henry VI, is now preserved in the British Museum. Beneath one corner of this painting, there also appears part of the subject of St. Anne teaching the Virgin. It is interesting to note, that the character of the painting of the sixteenth century, in both these churches, is so identical in style of execution, that, it is extremely probable, the same hand did both. The monk-artist, for such, doubtless, he was, paid little respect to what had gone before, and the new style, being more showy in its colouring, was evidently preferred. And it was painted over the older work without any preparation,

[1] At one end of the village is a brook crossed by a little wooden foot-bridge called Goldbridge. It is said that under this bridge, for there is another not far off, King Edmund concealed himself from his pursuers. But a bridal party returning home by moonlight, the bride saw his golden spurs glitter in the reflection of the stream, and her exclamation led to his discovery. The king then pronounced a curse on all who should afterwards cross that bridge on their way to or from marriage. The common people (at least eighty years ago) always avoided the bridge on such occasions, and would rather go miles round than run the hazard of the curse falling upon them. So relates a lady now ninety six years of age, born in this village, as one of the memories of her youth.

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a slovenly proceeding, which has its reward in being less durable, and yielding with the removal of the whitewash. There is a coarse diaper, done in black, showing a duck swimming, &c., perhaps some heraldic cognisance, which appear in many parts of the walls, and must be later than any other part of the painting. It is unimportant, and cannot be well understood in its mutilated condition. Altogether, the numerous objects here described, mutilated as they are, teach us a good many facts towards a general history of the painting in our mediæval churches.

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THE ANTIQUITIES OF SCANDINAVIA.

BY BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A.

The antiquarian traveller, especially if he has received a classical education, is for the most part tempted to move southwards, and visit those regions that were the subject of his early studies, and will ever be associated in his mind with the perfection of art and literature. But he would do well sometimes to turn his steps in an opposite direction, and investigate the monuments of that vigorous race which overthrew the solid fabric of Roman dominion, gave its name to a province of France, infused new life into an effete civilization, left its mark on the architecture of Southern Europe, and contributed the most healthy elements to our own national character.

We often regard these hyperborean countries as isolated from the rest of the world, but this is a mistake, for they are connected by many links with nations geographically remote.[1] During the heroic age of Norwegian history—from the ninth to the thirteenth century—foreign influences were working actively in the North. The

[1] For evidences of this connection we need not travel beyond our own metropolis; four churches in the City of London were dedicated to Olave the Norwegian. It was only just that St. Olave should be thus honoured in England, as he had assisted our forefathers in their wars with the Danes. The church named after him in Tooley Street was erected close to the scene of one of his most famous exploits, for in the reign of Ethelred he broke down London Bridge, and thus caused the surrender of the city by the Danes. Newcourt, *Ecclesiastical History of London*, i, 509; compare Carlyle's *Early Kings of Norway*, p. 103. St. Clement Danes, in the Strand, commemorates another branch of the Scandinavian race, which occupied our country for a comparatively short time, and has left behind it fewer traces than any other invader. Peter Cunningham, *Hand-book of London*, pp. 125, 364. But a remarkable slab with Runic characters may be seen in the vestibule of the Library of the Corporation at the Guildhall: upon it an animal is represented with horned head and spurred claws, bearing a striking resemblance in subject and style to the memorial stone of King Gorm at Jelling in Jutland. This curious relic of the eleventh century was discovered in St. Paul's churchyard, and has been fully described by the learned Danish antiquary C. C. Rafn, to whom we owe the interpretation of the Runes on the colossal lion of Piraeus, which now adorns the arsenal at Venice.

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Vikings and their followers were pirates; they were the scourge of the European coasts; they outstripped their neighbours in ship building and navigation, but had little inclination to cultivate the arts that minister to comfort and luxury. They were therefore obliged either to satisfy their requirements by direct importation from their more civilized neighbours, or to imitate the processes of superior skill as well as their own semi-barbarous condition would allow.

I do not propose on the present occasion to take a comprehensive view of Scandinavian antiquities, but rather to notice some proofs of these foreign influences, and to group them under the following heads:—1, Roman; 2, Byzantine; 3, Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman.

The Greek and Roman writers do not throw much light on the early history of Scandinavia, for even *in limine* we are met by a proof of their ignorance—they all assert or imply that this peninsula is an island. Strabo, as far as I am aware, is quite silent on the subject. For this omission two reasons may be assigned: he flourished under Augustus and Tiberius, and therefore at a period when the relations of Rome with the north of Europe were not so fully developed as in later times: he also knew how to weigh evidence, and to apply the tests of historical criticism to the statements of his predecessors—hence he shows great caution in describing those regions, which were then imperfectly known. Moreover, he justifies his reticence by remarking that Augustus forbade the Roman Generals to pursue the Germans across the Elbe.[1] The next author is Pomponius Mela, who lived in the reign of Claudius. We know his date from the passage in which he speaks of this emperor as revealing the Britons to his countrymen, and of his triumph over them as an impending event. Thus it appears that the Romans had already been brought into closer contact with the north-west of Europe. Accordingly, Mela is the first geographer who mentions Scandinavia; he calls it Can-

[1] Strabo, *Geographica*, book vii, c. 1, s. 4, *νυνὶ δὲ ἐυπορώτερον ʼυπελαβε στρατηγεῖν τὸν ἐν χερσὶ πολεμον, ἐι τῶν ἔξω του ʻΑλβιος καθʼ ἡσυχίαν ὄντων ἀπέχοιτο, καὶ μὴ παροξυνοι πρὸς τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς ἔχθρας.* The hostile confederacy, which the caution of Augustus foresaw and avoided, was formed under the Antonines, as will be seen below.

danovia, adding that it surpasses in size and fertility the other islands in the bay Codanus, and that it is inhabited by the Teutoni.[1] Pliny, in his *Natural History*, gives us the names Scandia, Bergos, and Nerigos, which bear a striking resemblance to Scania, Bergen, and Norway, or rather Norge, as the natives themselves call it. He quotes Xenophon of Lampsacus as his authority for stating that there is an island of immense size, Baltia, three days' sail from the Scythian shore. The name appears to be the same as we have in the modern *Belts* and *Baltic*, nor need we be surprised that Pliny has transferred this appellation from water to land. Again, he speaks of Sevo as a vast chain of mountains not inferior to the Rhipæan. This is probably Mount Kjölen, which separates Norway from Sweden, and of which the southern branch is called Seve-Ryggen.[2] Tacitus, repeating the error of his predecessors, says that the Suiones inhabit an island in the ocean. From the context, as well as the form of the word, we infer the Swedes are meant, for he tells us that the Sitones are their next neighbours, who are governed by women—an assertion which seems derived from the name of the Finns, Kainu-laiset, apparently a variation of the Norse *Qvind*, a woman.[3] Lastly, Ptolemy, who was a contemporary of the Antonines, mentions four Scandinavian islands east of the Cimbric Chersonesus, three smaller ones, and the largest opposite the mouth of the Vistula and inhabited by the Chædini.[4] Agricola's fleet circumnavigated Britain, but neither Greeks, Romans, Phœnicians, nor Carthaginians penetrated further; however, they were well acquainted with the existence

[1] Mela, De situ orbis, Book iii, c. 6. In illo sinu, quem Codanum diximus, ex insulis Codanonia, quam adhuc Teutoni tenent, ut fecunditate alias, ita magnitudine antestat. In this passage, according to Vossius, the best manuscripts have Candanovia.

[2] Pliny, *Natural History*, Book iv, c. 16, s. 104. Sunt qui et alias prodant, Scandiam, Dumnam, Bergos maxumamque omnium Nerigon, ex qua in Thylen navigetur. Baltia is mentioned, *ib.*, c. 13, s. 95. This name was interpreted to mean the peninsula of Samland by Monsieur Wiberg in the discussion that followed Monsieur Hjalmar Stolpe's Mémoire sur l'origine et le commerce de l'ambre jaune dans l'antiquité, read at the Stockholm Congress of Archæology, see especially p. 793. Pliny, *Natural History*, *ib.* c. 13, s. 96, Mons Sevo ibi immensus nec Ripaeis jugis minor.

[3] Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 44. Suionum hinc civitates ipso in Oceano, *ib.*, c. 45. Suionibus Sitonum gentes continuantur, cetera similes uno differunt, quod femina dominatur. Dr. William Smith's *Dictionary of Classical Geography*, s.v., Sitones.

[4] Ptolemy, *Geographia*, Book ii, c. 11. Ab Orientali parte Chersonesi (Cimbricæ) IV Scandiæ nuncupatæ, III quidem parvae, una vero quae maxima earum est et maxime orientalis juxta Vistulæ fl.

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of the Arctic ocean, as many passages both in the poets and in the prose writers abundantly prove.[1]

Naval and military expeditions contributed much to the spread of geographical knowledge, but commercial intercourse was still more efficacious, and the amber trade especially produced communication between the northern and southern parts of our continent.

Amber was a favourite substance with the Romans; the ladies used it for necklaces, both as an ornament and because it was supposed to possess properties that would cure diseases of the throat. Juvenal, speaking of a woman addicted to astrology, who has an almanac constantly in her hands, compares her to those who carry amber balls for the sake of their coolness and perfume.[2]

We can trace almost with certainty three routes by which this traffic was conducted—the eastern, the central and the western. The greatest quantities of amber were found in the peninsula of Samland, near Königsberg, between the Frische and Curische Haff—a fact which is curiously illustrated by its being mentioned in a Japanese map as the primary source of this material. From the embouchure of the Vistula, the first route followed the rivers Pregel and Pripetz, passed through the towns of Amadoka and Azagarion, marked by Ptolemy,[3] and then descended by the Dnieper to Olbia, on the Euxine, which has been happily described as the morning star of civilization for these barbarous regions.[4] Many autonomous Greek coins found in Prussia, Courland, Livonia, and even in the island of Oesel, near Riga, together with similar discoveries and deposits of amber in the interior, seem to indicate the activity of commercial relations

ostia . . . Vocatur autem et haec proprie Scandia et tenent ipsius occidentalia Chædini.

[1] It is needless to add references, as the most important of them are quoted in the *Dictionary of Classical Geography*, s.v., Oceanus Septentrionalis.

[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxvii, c. 3, s. 44. Feminis monilium vice sucina gestantibus, etc. Juvenal vi, 573. In cujus manibus, ceu pinguia sucina, tritas Cernis ephemeridas.

The dame, whose *Manual of Astrology*,
Still dangles at her side, smooth as chafed gum,
And fretted by her everlasting thumb.
GIFFORD's Translation.

Martial, Epigrams, iii, 65, 5, sucina trita. xi, 8, 6, Sucina virginea quod regelata manu.

[3] Ptolemy, iii, 5. Circa autem Borysthenem fl. hae Azagarium, Amadoca . . .

[4] Olbia was also called Borysthenes, Herodotus iv, 17, 18, 53, 78. It seems highly probable that the Father of History visited this city, and derived his information about Scythia from the inhabitants of that country and the Greek traders, who met at Olbia for the purposes of commercial intercourse: Baehr's edition of Herodotus. *Excursus ad* iv, 18, and *Commentatio di vita et scriptis Herodoti* vol. iv, p. 395.

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along this line of country at a period antecedent to Alexander the Great. The central route beginning from Pomerania, proceeded by the lower Vistula and Upper Oder; having traversed Silesia, it followed the course of the Waag and reached the Danube a little below Vienna. Recent investigations have brought to light at Hallstatt, near Ischl, a remarkable combination of industrial products from the North and the South—articles in amber from Prussia and bronzes from Etruria; hence we infer that the communication between the Danube and the Adriatic was carried through this place, in accordance with Pliny's statement that amber was brought by the Germans into Pannonia and received thence by the Veneti.[1] The western route may be easily traced from Jutland and the mouth of the Elbe along the Rhine and the Rhone to Marseilles. Though the coast of Denmark was visited by Pytheas, a Greek navigator supposed to be contemporary with Alexander the Great, his countrymen do not appear to have emulated his enterprising voyage, for Greek coins have not been discovered in the west of Germany. On the other hand, Roman coins of the first and second centuries of our era show that after Cæsar's Gallic conquest trade in this direction was considerably developed.[2]

I. In a paper I had the honour to read before this Society last summer, I noticed some antiquities discovered in Brittany as proofs of the vigour and extent of Roman civilization, but I now direct your attention to an illustration of the same subject, far more striking when

[1] Pliny, xxxvii, c. 3, s. 43. *Ib.*, s, 45, we are informed that the German coast from which the Romans obtained amber was about 600 miles from Carnuntum in Pannonia, which would agree with the situation of Samland. In the same chapter Pliny, describing a show in the amphitheatre, says that all the objects exhibited during one day consisted of amber exclusively (totus unius diei apparatus . . . e sucino).

[2] The trade in fur, as well as that in amber, diffused some knowledge of the northern regions amongst the Greeks and Romans. Their requirements in this respect were, of course, restricted by the warmth of their climate; however, as far as we can draw an inference from allusions in the classical writers, the south of Europe seems to have been colder in ancient than in modern times. "The Grecian colonies to the north of the Euxine . . . drew supplies of peltry, the skins of the otter and beaver, from the very interior of Russia, and possibly even from the shores of the Baltic." Heeren, *Historical Researches*, *Asiatic Nations*, i, 42. Compare Herodot. iv, 109, vii, 67. Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 17, implies that a trade in furs with Germany was carried on by the Scandinavians, as he mentions skins that were imported from the outer ocean and the unknown sea (exterior Oceanus atque ignotum mare).

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Bucket Handle and Ears, from Trondhjem.
From Lorange "Samlingen af Norske Oldsager i Bergens Museum."

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we consider the locality from which it is derived. The province of Trondhjem, which is as far north as Iceland, has yielded no unimportant supply of Roman bronzes. The most interesting of these has found a resting place in the Bergen Museum, and has been figured and described by Monsieur Lorange, the Curator of that collection. This object consists of a handle and ears that belonged to a bucket, which is lost; they are well executed and in good preservation. On the upper part of the handle there is a thick ring, and both its ends have the form of a serpent's head; the ears exhibit in the centre a female head of a somewhat Egyptian type, with long flowing locks, a necklace and fan-shaped collar, while on each side a long animal's head projects.[1] The snake as a finial frequently occurs in remains of Roman and Græco-Roman art—in rings, bracelets, pateræ, mirrors, ladles for sacrifices, (simpula), fibulæ, lamps, candelabra, and water-taps; the heads of rams, swans, and other birds are similarly used for decorations.[2] There can be no question about the Roman character of this object, as examples of the same kind have been found all the way from South Italy to Trondhjem. Some closely resembling the one under consideration are engraved in Montfaucon's Antiquitée Expliquée; he also gives what is of rarer occurrence, an instance of a head with the fan-shaped collar, which, he says, was an amulet worn suspended from the neck, like a bulla.[3] With reference to the serpents' heads, it may be observed that they are simple imitations of nature in the classical style, not grotesque or symbolical, as is the case with mediæval dragons. The Museum of Bergen

[1] Lorange, *Samling af Norske Oldsager i Bergens Museum*, p. 112; *Nordiske Oldsager i det Kongelige Museum i Kjöbenhavn, ordnede og forklarede af J. J. A. Worsaae*, p. 75, No. 307. This catalogue raisonné is most useful, and even indispensable, to the student of Scandinavian antiquities; it contains upwards of 600 well-executed engravings of objects belonging to the Stone, Bronze, Iron, and Middle Ages, with introductions to each period. The price is only two kroner, or little more than two shillings.

[2] Paderni, *Raccolta di Dipinti, Mosaici, &c., Napoli*, 1865; Bronzi, Pls. 130-134: Oggetti Preziosi, 136, 137, *Patera di vetro bleu*; Roach Smith, *Illustrations of Roman London*, steel for sharpening knives found in Princes-street, with handle consisting of a horse's head springing from the leaves of a lotus p. 141; compare the bronze cock of a fountain found in Philpot-lane, *ib.*, p. 145. Rich, Latin dictionary, s.v. simpulum. These specimens show how ancient art lavished ornament upon the most common utensils of domestic life.

[3] Montfaucon, *Antiquité Expliqueé*, Tome ii, p. 147, Pl. lvii, nos. 1, 2, 3, handles of vases. Tome iii, p. 71, Pl. xxxviii, No. 3, fan-shaped collar.

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contains also the following articles in bronze:—a strainer, which seems to have come from the Roman frontiers; a vessel holding burnt bones, and a hemispherical cooking utensil, like a saucepan;[1] and in Roman glass:—drinking horns with rings round them, like the natural horn; cups, of which the most remarkable peculiarity is the rows of ovals on the sides, and draughtmen—some black and others blue—round, flat on the lower side, but slightly curved on the upper.[2]

As far as I am aware, a denarius of Antoninus Pius and a gold medallion of Valentinian are the only specimens of Roman mintage found in Norway, but the barbarous imitations are more numerous. The Museum of the University at Christiania possesses a very curious example of the latter class; it was discovered in 1872 in the large chamber of a tumulus near Aak, a place well-known to English tourists from its picturesque situation at the western extremity of the Romsdal; this medal is of gold and copied from a coin of Magnentius, who reigned A.D. 350—353. In the preceding year an imitation of a coin of Honorius was found at Gunheim, in the Lower Telemark.[3] These facts assist us to explain the derivation of the bracteates, *i.e.*, thin pieces of money with a device upon one side, which are of frequent occurrence in the Norwegian series.[4]

Enough has been already said to prove that the Roman influence had extended much further northwards than is generally supposed, but this view receives additional

[1] These objects were found in the district of North Trondhjem, which also yielded other Roman antiquities, *e.g.*, two glass cups, a bronze strainer and dish, &c. Lorange, *Catalogue of the Bergen Museum*, p. 111. Some of these vessels came from the neighbourhood of Levanger.

[2] Lorange, *ib.*, pp. 66, 68 and 104, with engravings; Worsaae, *ib.*, nos. 312, 317, 318, 320. Roach Smith, *Roman London*, p. 124, mentions among remarkable examples of Roman glass found in London, a drinking cup covered with a pattern formed of incuse hexagons, and another with incuse ovals and hexagons; compare Plate xxxi, figure 7.

[3] Lorange, *ib.*, p. 99, note.

[4] Engelhardt, *Guide Illustré du Musée des Antiquités du Nord à Copenhague*, pp. 26, 27, and figs. 1, 2, 3. Deuxième période du fer; époque byzantino barbare, ou époque des bracteates, entre le vème et viiième siècles. The bracteates are often furnished with rings for suspension, and appear to have been worn as ornaments, like bullæ in ancient times and lockets in our own day. Worsaae, *Nordiske Oldsager*, *Jernalderen II Guldbracteater*, nos. 399-409, pp. 95-97; 409, Efterligning af en kufisk eller arabisk Mynt. Some of these bracteates have Runic legends, *ib.* Introduction, p. 93. Stevens' great work on *Northern Antiquities* contains many engravings of this class of coins, coloured so as to represent the originals very closely. *Norges Mynter i Middelalderen samlede og beskrevene af* C. J. Schive, tab. iv, sqq., shows the Norwegian bracteates from the twelfth to the sixteenth century.

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LIBERTINVS•ET•APRVS•
CVRATOR[illegible]VERVNT•

Bronze Vase of Farmen, and Sword from Einang.
From Lorange "Om Spor af romersk Kultur i Norges ældre Jernalder."

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confirmation from the statements made by Monsieur Lorange at the Archæological Congress held at Stockholm in 1874. Summing up the results of his investigations, he divides the tumuli of the Iron Age in Norway into three classes—I. Those which have no chamber and exhibit no traces of Roman influence. II. Those which have a small chamber sometimes containing objects of Roman origin. III. Those which have a large chamber, where such objects are almost invariably found. There were ninety examples of the second class and eighty of the third, as far as known at that date. In 1872 twenty-eight Roman bronze vessels had been found in Norway, ninety-three in Denmark, and twelve in Sweden. Of glass vessels, the numbers for these three countries were—twenty-four, thirty-six, and nine respectively, but these figures must be considered as approximate, because sometimes the attribution is doubtful.[1]

Among the monuments of this class a prominent place is due to the bronze vase of Farmen, in the parish of Vangs and district of Hedemarken. It was discovered in 1865 in the small sepulchral stone chamber of a round tumulus. The vase was cast in a mould, but the bottom of it was fastened to the foot by a row of nails, which form a pleasing decoration, like beading. We remark at first sight a great difference in colour between the upper and lower part; the former looks as if it had been covered with green enamel, while the latter is blackened with soot. The feature, however, which most attracts our attention here is the inscription, both for other reasons and because it is unique in Norway. Between the neck and the middle of the vase the following sentence is engraved in large, legible and separate characters:—

LIBERTINVS ∘ ET ∘ APRVS ∘ CVRATOR . . . . . VERVNT

The words are divided by small circles on a level with the middle of the letters, just as a leaf is often used for the same purpose.[2] A hole in the urn has produced a

[1] Lorange, *Om Spor af romersk Kultur i Norges aeldre Jernalder*, pp. 4, 5. Mons. Lorange, as a Norwegian, has defended the antiquities of his own country with patriotic enthusiasm against the disparaging misrepresentations made by Swedish and Danish archæologists.

[2] Mr. A. S. Murray, of the British Museum, has called my attention to the fact that a circle is used to divide the words because it could be conveniently made on a metallic substance, as in the

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lacuna, which, however, may be easily supplied, at least as far as the meaning is concerned, so that we should read CVRATORES ° POSVERVNT, and the translation is, 'Libertinus and Aprus, guardians of the temple, have placed in it this offering.' Some have conjectured that the urn once contained the ashes of a Roman, but this is highly improbable, because the deceased is not mentioned. Nor can we suppose that either of the names, Libertinus and Aprus, belonged to a native Roman, for the former signifies a freed-man, while the latter is an irregular variety of Aper, unknown to classical Latinity, and accordingly rejected by the grammarian Probus; [1] the appellations therefore must designate provincials. There is some difficulty in determining exactly the manner in which the final word should be supplied, as there appears to be room for a letter between S and V, so that it might have been POSIVERVNT, though an objection may be raised against this form as too archaic.[2] This vase, having been consecrated as an offering in a temple, should be considered in connection with the Apollo-vase found in Vestmanland, Sweden, as their origin, destiny, and inscriptions are similar. Devoted by their first possessors to the worship of Roman divinities, in all probability they became the property of barbarous chieftains, were employed by them as household utensils, and were finally applied to the purposes of sepulture. That the Farmen vase was so used before its deposition in the grave is proved by the soot on the lower part of it, as well as by

present case; on the other hand, a triangle or a leaf frequently occurs as a mark of separation, when the inscription is carved on stone. Dr. Bruce, *Roman Wall*, gives, p. 244, many examples of the triangle in an inscription discovered at Carvoran, which is identified with the Roman station Magna, and p. 245, of the leaf also on another stone from the same spot, *conf. ib.*, p. 17. Hübner, *Inscriptiones Britannicæ Latinæ, passim.*

[1] M. Valerii Probi *Grammaticæ Institutiones*, s. 38, quoted by Lorange; this reference I have been unable to verify, but in his *Catholica*, p. 1457, ed. Putsch, Probus gives the forms *aper*, *apri* for the common noun signifying a *boar*. The proper name *Aprus* does not occur in Forcellini's *Lexicon* or Smith's *Dictionary of Classical Biography*, but *Aper* is well known as one of the speakers in the *Dialogue on Oratory* ascribed to Tacitus; other persons of the same name are also mentioned; Vopiscus, *Numerian*, cc. 12-15; Gruter, *Inscriptions*, p. dcxii, No. 8.

[2] *Posivei* is found in Orelli's Inscriptions, No. 3308; *posivi* in Plautus, Pseudolus V, 1, 45; cf *posiveris*, Id. Trinummus I, 2, 108; Smith's *Latin Dictionary*, s.v., *pono*. These old forms sometimes reappear after a long interval, and many words, which are not Augustan, are at once *ante* and *post*-Augustan. Compare Trench, Sacred Latin Poetry, p. 24. So Horace says, Ars Poet., v. 70. Multa renascentur, quæ jam cecidere; cadentque, Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula.

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the traces of an iron band round its neck, which seems to have been placed there as a fastening for a handle.

It was a practice at this early age to convert into cinerary urns such domestic vessels as were most convenient, whether of clay or of metal, and to this custom we owe many proofs of the spread of Roman civilization, which are also records of a period concerning which the historians are silent. It seems almost idle to speculate about the province from which these objects originally came, but the discovery of two Roman burial places at Häven and Grabow, in Mecklenburg, suggests the possibility that they may have been carried across the sea to Norway from that part of Germany, especially if we adopt the view of Dr. Lisch, who regards these cemeteries as indications of a Roman trading factory in Mecklenburg-Schwerin. The form of the letters inscribed belongs, according to Professor Ussing, to the first or second century of the Christian era, and this would prove the date of the manufacture of the vase; secondly, the denarii discovered in Scania and Denmark, being chiefly of the second and third centuries, enable us to fix the time, at least approximately, when this work of Roman art arrived in the north, allowing, of course, some interval for the passage of the coins from their place of mintage to countries beyond the limits of the empire. This vase was full of burnt bones, so that there can be no doubt about the use to which it was applied. It only remains for us to explain its mutilated condition. By its side was found the upper part of a similar bronze vessel, crushed and bent by the weight of a stone, which, in its fall, pressed the one first mentioned against the wall of the chambered tumulus. Thus the fracture on both sides is clearly accounted for.[1]

Next in importance to the Farmen vase is the sword from Einang in Vestre Slidre, Valders. It closely resembles those which were dug out of the Nydam peat-moss, described and figured by Dr. Engelhardt, Plates VI, VII.[2] It bears two stamps, one wheel-shaped, the

[1] This account of the Farmen Vase is derived from Lorange's treatise, quoted above.

[2] Engelhardt, *Denmark in the Early Iron Age*, c. iii, s. 6, pp. 52, 53, offensive weapons, swords, lances, &c. Dr. Engelhardt is mistaken in saying that the stamps are *square*; they are long and rectangular.

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other rectangular, and containing the letters RANVICI. . .; a circumstance worthy of remark, since only eight or ten stamps have been found on one hundred swords at Nydam. This sword is bent like the one in Plate VII, No. 13, with this difference, that the curvature is made in the lower part of the Norwegian example, but in the upper part of the Danish. Many objects, especially weapons, have been brought to light by excavations in an imperfect condition, either broken or bent, in order to render them useless. Their withdrawal from all purposes of human life was probably intended to symbolize consecration to some deity. So Tacitus, in his account of the war between the Hermanduri and Catti, relates that the conquerors devoted their enemies to Mars and Mercury (Odin and Thor), and that all the property of the vanquished was utterly destroyed.[1] Orosius also informs us that when the Cimbri defeated the Romans near Orange, garments were torn, gold and silver cast into the Rhone, and coats of mail cut in pieces, so that there was neither booty for the conquerors nor mercy for the conquered.[2] As some of the subject nations, *e.g.* the Spaniards and the people of Noricum, were very skilful in the manufacture of swords,[3] the Latin letters RANVICI do not prove the Einang example to be of Roman workmanship, though they, of course, imply a certain amount of intercourse with the Romans, for the word seems to be a barbarous name that has undergone some modification. Besides the objects already mentioned, the wooden buckets bound with bronze form a class by themselves, which some have considered to be Roman; but this explanation may be fairly questioned, for while they frequently occur in Norway and Denmark, and sometimes in Germany also, they are very rare in France; thus, as we approach Italy, the number diminishes—a fact that seems to favour their attribution to the Scandinavians as their inventors.

[1] Tacitus, *Ann.*, xiii, 57, equi, viri, cuncta victa occidioni dantur; compare Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.*, vi, 17.

[2] For this passage in Orosius, Lib. v, c. xvi, I am indebted to Dr. Engelhardt's *Guide Illustré du Musée des Ant. du Nord à Copenhague*, p. 25.

[3] Pliny, *Natural History*, xxxiv, c. 14, s. 145, In nostro orbe aliubi vena bonitatem hanc praestat ut in Noricis, aliubi factura ut Sulmone. Martial, *Epigrams*, i, 49; xii, 18, and especially iv, 54, where he speaks of his birthplace, Bilbilis:—Saevo Bilbilin optimam metallo, Quæ vincit Chalybasque Noricosque, Et ferro Plateam suo sonantem, Quam fluctu tenui sed inquieto Armorum Salo temperator ambit. Cf. *Hor. Carm.*, i, 16, 9.

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With respect to Roman antiquities Sweden occupies an intermediate position between Denmark and Norway. Denmark contains many domestic utensils as well as arms and ornaments that are unquestionably of Roman origin: on the other hand, Sweden exhibits few articles that relate to comfort or elegance, but is comparatively rich in coins.[1] About 4,000 denarii have been found altogether, some of the first but most of the second century after the Christian era: approximately 3,200 in Gotland, 100 in Öland, 600 in Scania, and only twelve in the rest of the mainland. The cessation of the denarii at the close of the second century can be easily understood; at that period and under the Emperor Septimius Severus a great deterioration of the Roman coinage took place: denarii of copper plated with silver, like the modern groschen, were issued, and these the barbarians naturally refused to take,[2] just as Tacitus informs us that the Germans of the preceding century, preferring those kinds of Roman money with which they were acquainted--liked the denarii that had a serrated edge, and the biga for their device.[3] In the Constantine period medals and medallions of gold found their way to Sweden, and rude imitations of them gave rise to a type of bracteates exclusively Scandinavian. The total number of other objects discovered in Sweden, including the adjacent islands, is very small; amongst them are bronze dishes and bowls—one containing burnt bones—and a drinking vessel of white glass. A bronze vase from the province of Westmanland, now preserved in the museum at Stockholm, is the most conspicuous proof of Roman influence, because, like that in Norway above-mentioned, it has the peculiarity of being inscribed. The Apollo vase, as it is usually called, was found in a tumulus, and upon it were engraved the following words:

[1] Lorange, *Om Spor af Romersk Kultur, &c.*, p. 9.

[2] Archæological Congress at Stockholm, 1874. Le Musée royale d'archéologie de Stockholm, par M. Hans Hildebrand, *L'âge du fer*, p. 931. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vii, 167, s.v., L. Septimius Severus, complures (numos) ex his esse fabricæ rudioris . . . ejusmodi sunt etiam synchroni numi Caracallæ et item Domnæ. Cohen, *Médailles frappées sous l'Empire Romain*, iii, 232, speaking of the coinage of the first four years of Sept. Severus, uses the terms fabrique etrangère, très grossière, cf. *ib.*, note 2, and p. 322 Les médailles de petit bronze de Septime Sévère me paraissent toutes . . . des deniers faux antiques.

[3] Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 5. Pecuniam probant veterem et diu notam, serratos bigatosque. See the notes of Brotier and Orelli.

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APOLLINI ∘ GRANNO
DONVM ∘ AMMI.LIV.S
CONSTANS. PRAEF. TEMP
IPSIVS
VSLLM.

To Apollo Grannus Ammilius Constans, guardian of his temple, has offered this gift; he has paid his vow joyfully, willingly, and deservedly. This epithet of Apollo seems to be derived from the Granni, who lived on the river Granua, a tributary of the Danube. The word is perpetuated in the modern name of Gran, which belongs both to a river and to a city well-remembered by travellers on account of its magnificent Cathedral, whose vast cupola crowning a hill is visible for many miles. In this neighbourhood, amid the heaviest anxieties that could press upon the mind of a statesman and a general, Aurelius composed the First Book of his Philosophical Meditations.[1] The war in which he was engaged lasted twelve years with little interruption, A.D. 168-180, and was the result of the most formidable combination of the barbarians, which the Romans had hitherto encountered.[2] It is said to have included the Germans, Scythians, and Sarmatians, but, whether this statement is exactly true or not, these protracted hostilities on the frontier diffused the civilization of the south more widely through central and northern Europe. Accordingly, we find among existing remains in Scandinavia evidence of more active relations with Rome after this war with the Quadi and Marcomanni. If my interpretation of the word Grannus be correct, and the date of the vase, as inferred from coins, be assigned to the second century, a remote province of Sweden supplies an object which may be regarded as commemorating an illustrious personage and the commencement of the death-stuggle between the Gothic races and the Roman empire. Another explanation of Grannus derives it from a Celtic origin, and makes it equivalent to Grian, the sun, with whom Apollo is often identified. This may, perhaps, be the same as Brian, which occurs in Temple Brian, a place in the county of Cork, where a central stone was discovered,

[1] M. Antonini *De rebus suis*, Lib. i, fin. Τὰ ἐν Κουάδοις πρὸς τῷ Γρανουᾳ.

[2] Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, vol. vii, p. 584, note 1, where the northern nations are enumerated.

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and others round it, supposed to be the remains of a temple for heathen worship.[1]

The Roman antiquities in Denmark, taken collectively, are more interesting than those of Norway and Sweden, but they require less notice, because they have been fully described in the English language by Dr. Engelhardt. As might have been expected from the geographical position of North Jutland, very few denarii have been found in that province, while, on the contrary, they are abundant in Sleswig or South Jutland, and the islands, Sealand and Fyen.[2] The peat mosses of Thorsbjerg and Nydam have yielded specimens of the Roman silver coinage from Nero to Macrinus, A.D. 60—217. Two handles of bronze vessels bear makers' stamps, DIS⁄/CVS F. NIGELLIO F. resembling potters' marks, in which the abbreviation F for fecit frequently occurs.[3] On the tangs and blades of iron swords we find native names expressed in Latin characters, and sometimes with Latin terminations, the letters being raised on sunk plates, *e.g.*, RICVS, RICCIM, COCILLVS, TASVIT.[4] The last name is evidently barbarian; it may be compared with Tasgetius, mentioned by Cæsar as King of the Carnutes, and Tasciovanus, the

[1] Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary, and O'Brien's Irish Dictionary, s.v. Grian. Smith's *History of Cork*, vol. ii, p. 418, contains an engraving and ground-plan of an ancient heathen temple at Temple Brian. This word is said by Celtic scholars to be a corruption of Grian. Gruter has nine examples of Grannus, p. xxxvii, Nos. 10-14, p. xxxviii, Nos. 1-4; the last is from Enderask, which appears to be intended for Inveresk, near Edinburgh: compare Hübner, *Inscriptiones Britannicæ Latinæ*, p. 190, c. lxv, where this monument is given more correctly. Grannus occurs also in Brambach's *Inscriptiones Rhenanæ*, No. 484, in the Museum at Bonn, found in that city, No. 566 found at Erp in the district of Cologne, No. 1614 in the Royal Collection at Stuttgart, No. 1915 in the Library at Strasburg. Eckhart, *Dissertatio de Apolline Granno Mogouno in Alsatia nuper detecto*, contained in the Analecta Hassiaca, Collectio III, p. 220 seqq., considers Grannus connected with the Welsh *gro* and *grajan*, the French *grave* and *gravier*, and the German *Griess*—words signifying *gravel;* so he explains Aquisgrannum, "quia solum ejus sabulosum est magna sui parte." In the Breton language *grouan* means *gravel*; in the dialect of Vannes this becomes *groan*. It has been conjectured that Grannus is another form of Gryneus, which occurs in Virgil as an epithet of Apollo (Æn. iv, 345, cf. Ecl. vi, 72), but this seems very doubtful.

[2] Engelhardt, *Denmark in the Early Iron Age*. See map opposite, p. 8, showing where objects from this period have been found. The mark ⊥ denotes Roman coins.

[3] Compare Roach Smith, *Roman London*, p, 89, marks and names of potters impressed upon the handles of amphorae; pp. 99 and 101, engravings of these stamps; pp. 102-107, potters' marks on Samian ware discovered in London; pp. 107, 108, a list of those preserved in the Museum at Douai. In these collections the abbreviations F for fecit or factus, M for manu, and O or OF for officina, are frequent. Worsaae, *Nordiske Oldsager*, *Jernalderen*, i, 308. Brudstykke af Hanken til et Broncekar, med romersk Fabrikstempel.

[4] Engelhardt, Pl. vii, Nydam, figs. 18, 20, 21.

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father of Cunobeline, who figures so prominently in our legendary and numismatic annals. Taximagulus also occurs, a king of Kent when Cæsar arrived in Britain, and Moritasgus, a king of the Senones. From these analogies we may infer, with a high degree of probability, that TASVIT was a Cimbric chieftain.[1]

With respect to Roman inscriptions Denmark is inferior to the other two Scandinavian kingdoms, as the longest—if we exclude coins—consists of only two words AEL. AELIANVS on the boss of a shield, which may be the name of the owner or of his general.[2] A head-stall, found at Thorsbjerg, is remarkable, as the only object of this kind that is left from antiquity in tolerably good preservation. It is made of leather and decorated with bronze studs, of which the heads are silver-plated, so that it resembles the harness of the ancients, as we see it on the Antonine column. These ornaments, called phaleræ, were not only worn on the breast by men as military distinctions, but also used for the trappings of horses; so Juvenal describes in almost the same terms the soldiers and the animals pleased with their phaleræ.[3] But a breast-plate from the same find is still more worthy of notice on account of the mixture of classical and barbarian art. We have here Roman Medusa's heads, hippocampi and dolphins, a semi-Roman figure of a seated warrior, and barbarous representations of horses, fish, and mythical animals.[4] The

[1] The murder of Tasgetius is related by Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.*, v, 25. For the coins of Tasciovanus see Akerman's *Numismatic Manual*, pp. 219-224, and Evans' *Ancient British Coins*, pp. 220-245, Plates v, No. 7—vi, No. 9. Taximagulus occurs in Cæsar, *ib.*, c. 22, and *Moritasgus*, c. 54. Tasconus F., Tascilla, and Tascil M., are amongst the potters' marks found in London, Roach Smith, p. 106.

[2] Engelhardt, p. 49 and note; p. 76 index to the Plates; and Pl. 8, Thorsbjerg, Nos. 11, 11a, 11b, 11c: in the last engraving a full size fac-simile of the inscription is shown.

[3] Engelhardt, p. 61, Pl. 13, Thorsbjerg; Rich, Latin Dictionary, *phaleræ*, *phaleratus*. Juvenal, xi, 103, Ut phaleris gauderet equus: xvi, 60, Ut laeti phaleris omnes et torquibus omnes. W. Froehner, La Colonne Trajane, Appendice, Inscriptions relatives aux guerres Daces, No. 1, donis donato ab imp. Trajano Aug. Germ. ob bellum Dacic., torquib. armill, phaleris, corona vallar. Cf. *ib.* Nos. 3, 6, 8, 10. In the Trajan column the barbarian auxiliaries who served as cavalry are without headstalls or bridles, Fabretti, s. 197, Pl. xxxii,; on the contrary, the Romans may be easily distinguished by their pad saddles, caparisons, and reins.

[4] Engelhardt, p. 46, Thorsbjerg, Pl. 6, fig. 1: Pl. 7, fig. 7. With these engravings of breast-plates compare Thorsbjerg, Pl. 11, fig. 47, where there is a representation of an object that seems to have decorated a helmet; the figures upon it are a hippocamp, capricorn, boar, bird, and fox or wolf. As the first two are types common in classical art, I cannot agree with Dr. Engelhardt's assertion that there is here not the least trace of Roman influence, though it must be acknowledged that the style of execution is quite barbarous.

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hippocampi or sea horses in the border are so small that they might escape attention; however, an antiquary should not neglect details because they are microscopic. This type appears on the denarii of the gens Crepereia, and on large and second brass of Mark Antony's praefects of the fleet or admirals, in which case the device is peculiarly appropriate.[1] Again, we may trace a connection with British numismatics, and observe that our ancestors, like the Scandinavians, imitated Italian art in their own rude fashion. The coins of Amminus and Tasciovanus show the same marine monster, though his form varies in the Roman, Danish, and British examples; in the two former his hind-quarters are those of a fish, in the latter they retain more of the equine shape. Whether this emblem was simply copied without any special significance, or intended to represent maritime and insular position cannot now be easily determined.[2] Hippocampi and dolphins are often engraved on gems, sometimes carrying Cupid, sometimes drawing him in a shell instead of a chariot; they are also naturally associated with Neptune, Nereus, Doris, Galatea, Triton, and other marine deities.[3]

But we may go further and remark that amongst these antiquities some vestiges may be observed of a civilization older than the Roman; even here, in the neighbourhood

[1] Cohen, *Médailles Consulaires*, Pl. xvi, *Crepereia*, Nos. 1, 2: Pl. lxi, *Oppia*, 7; Pl. lxvi, *Sempronia*, 6, 7. Mr. Evans, *Ancient British Coins*, p. 259, mentions Mark Antony's *Praefects*, but has failed to observe that these officers commanded the fleet, which is specially worthy of notice in connexion with this *maritime* device on their coins; the legend contains the abbreviations PRAEF. CLASS.

[2] For the coins of Amminus see Evans, p. 211, Pl. v, No. 2, and Pl. xiii, No. 7. *Ib.*, pp. 258-260, Pl. vii, 9-11, the coins of Verulamium are described, which exhibit the same type; the letters TAS for Tasciovanus occur on the reverse of No. 11. In some of these cases it is difficult to decide whether the device is a hippocamp or a capricorn; its origin may be explained by comparison with the Greek; Combe's *Catalogue of the Hunterian Collection*, s.v., Syracusæ, p. 293, equus marinus ad sinistram, cf. tab. liv, fig. 15. Fr. De Dominicis, *Repertorio Numismatico*, Tome i, p. 341, s.v. Ippocampo, gives two examples from Emporiæ, in the province of Tarracona, with *Celtic* legends, which are therefore peculiarly apposite for our present purpose. The hippocamp also occurs in Pompeian paintings, and accordingly has been introduced among the decorations of the Pompeian Court at the Crystal Palace.

[3] Gori, *Gemmae Antiquae Musei Florentini*, Vol. i, Pls. lxxvii and lxxviii, p. 153, Cupidines cymbula, vel delphinibus vel hippocampo vecti per mare; Vol. ii, Pls. xlvi—li, lxxix, pp. 99 and 127, Circi aliqua præcipua ornamenta, delphines, etc. King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, Vol. ii, Pl. liv, No. 10; copper-plates of miscellaneous gems, Pl. iii, No. 4, Cupid steering a dolphin by the sound of his pipe; No. 10, Cupid driving, with trident for whip, a marine team of hippocampi, yoked to a great shell for a car; a parody on the usual Victory in her biga; compare Nos. 12 and 15.

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of the Cimbric Chersonesus, the Greeks have left a witness to oriental philosophy and mysticism. On a female skeleton, dug up near Svenborg, in Fyen, there was discovered, among other ornaments, a crystal ball inscribed with the word ΑΒΛΑΘΑΝΑΛΒΑ, which has been translated—"Thou art our Father"—a Gnostic invocation often occurring on gems, which was derived from the Syriac, and afterwards corrupted into the Latin Abracadabra.[1] But another example is still more interesting for the following reasons. The object itself belongs to an earlier age, viz., the bronze, which preceded the iron; it is copied from a more ancient original; it reproduces a beautiful device of classic art; and lastly, it resembles the old British coinage. A kind of cover or lid has been found in Denmark, shaped like a funnel reversed. On one of these a figure appears, which is doubtless a barbarous imitation of the charioteer in the stater struck by King Philip II of Macedon. The same type is frequent in the Gallic coinage, and may be traced through its successive stages of deterioration by means of Fairholt's admirably executed plates illustrating Mr. Evans' work above-mentioned.[2]

[1] Worsaae, *Nordiske Oldsager*, *Jernalderen*, i, p. 87, fig. 379, engraved of the actual size. Engelhardt, *Denmark in the Early Iron Age*, p. 13 and note. It is stated that this is the only crystal ball found with an inscription on it; cf. King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, p. 81. The invocation ΑΒΛΑΘΑΝΑΛΒΑ accompanies the pantheistic representation of the god Abraxas, with the head of a cock or lion, the body of a man and the legs of an asp. Ulr. Fr. Kopp, *Palæographia Critica*, Vol. iii, pp. 681-690, gives many varieties of this formula, and discusses at great length its origin and meaning. It seems connected with the New Testament phrases Ἀββᾶ ὁ πατήρ, Mark xiv, 36, Rom. viii, 15, Gal. iv, 6, and Μαραναθά, 1 Cor. xvi, 22. For the Latin word *Abracadabra*, which was used as a charm against diseases, and written in the form of an inverted cone, see Forcellini's *Lexicon*, s.v. Bailey's translation.

[2] *Congrès International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistoriques*, Stockholm, 1874, *Sur les Commencements de l'Age du Fer en Europe*, *par* M. Hans Hildebrand, Tome ii, pp. 600, sq. Engravings are given of a Macedonian stater, a Gallic coin and two barbarous imitations; according to MM. Montelius and Hans Hildebrand these last were fabricated towards the close of the Bronze Age.

If we take a comprehensive view of the antiquities discovered in the three Scandinavian kingdoms, we cannot but come to the conclusion that during the earlier Iron age an uniformity of style pervaded their art, manners, and customs, and that it was deeply imbued with Roman influence. Abundant corroboration of this statement may be found by studying the annual reports of the Norwegian Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments (Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesmerkers Bevaring) and Worsaae's *Illustrated Catalogue of the Museum at Copenhagen*. The Danish Branch of this subject has a special attraction for the archæologist, because it has been investigated with the greatest zeal and care by the local savans, and discussed with a view to establish a rational system of pre-historic chronology.

Mr. Fergusson, *Rude Stone Monuments*, p. 275, says, "The Danish antiquaries have been so busy in arranging their microlithic treasures in glass cases that they have totally neglected their larger

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II. Byzantine art had an extensive and lasting influence, overspread southern and central Europe, and left indelible marks even in the remote corners of the north and west. At first sight we may feel surprised that a style so conventional and rigid, debased by luxurious tyranny, and enslaved by hierarchical prescription, should have exercised dominion over various races and through many centuries. But the difficulty disappears, if we consider the circumstances, which were particularly favourable to Greek art. Constantinople was the only great city not taken and pillaged by barbarians till the close of the dark ages; the Lower Empire had retained many forms of the old classical period to which Christianity imparted new life; and Byzantine symbolism was widely diffused, because it alone satisfied the instincts and embodied the aspirations of humanity.[1] But, whatever may have been the cause, it remains an undoubted fact that the peculiarities of this school are as clearly visible in Scandinavia as in Italy or Greece itself. The coins of Magnus I, who reigned 1035-1047, show us a seated figure, like that of Christ, with a glory round the head, the book of the Gospels on the breast, and the right arm raised in benediction. This is clearly a Byzantine type, and may be seen on the solidi of emperors who were nearly contemporary, viz., John Zimisces, the Armenian, and Nicephorus III, Botaniates. Even the patterns of the richly ornamented robes worn by Greek sovereigns re-appear on the persons of Danish and Norwegian kings. Magnus is dressed like Justinian in the mosaics of Sta Sophia at Constantinople, or San Vitale at Ravenna.[2] Similarly, before the profile of St.

monuments outside:"—and again, p. 297, "In Denmark anything that cannot be put into a glass case in a museum is so completely rejected as valueless that no one cares to record it." Those who can read the elaborate work of Kornerup, with preface by Worsaae, on the *Royal Mounds* (Kongehøiene) *at Jelling* will find therein sufficient proof that the Danes do not deserve the censures with which they have been so severely visited.

[1] Kugler's *Handbook of Painting*, edited by Eastlake, Vol. i, pp. 46-91, The Byzantine style.

[2] For the coins of Magnus I see Schive and Holmboe, *Norges Mynter i Middelalderen*, pp. 20-24, especially p. 23 and note 4. Ligner byzantinske Præg fra Johannes Zimisces og Nicephorus Botaniates, se Banduri, Numismata Imp. Rom. II, p. 738 og 748. It is worthy of remark that the earlier pieces of this king have a crowned bust on the obverse, but the later a sitting figure, which is probably St. Olaf in the likeness of Christ. This device seems to have been adopted on account of the assistance which the saint was supposed to have afforded to Magnus at the battle of Lyrskov. The Byzantine dress on the Norwegian coins may be compared with the robes of Justinian and Theodora and attendant courtiers, as they

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Olaf, we have a cross raised on two steps, which also was derived from Byzantium; amongst many other instances the coinage of Heraclius and Constans II may be cited.[1] At this period the course of trade seems to have been from Asia to Constantinople, overland through Russia to Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, and thence to Great Britain and Ireland; somewhat later the crusades must have impelled traffic still more in the same direction, in consequence of hostilities prevailing through the Mediterranean. These commercial relations between Asia and the north of Europe during the epoch of the Vikings from the eighth to the eleventh century are proved by thousands of Cufic coins discovered in Sweden and Denmark, which are now deposited in the national Museums of Stockholm and Copenhagen.[2]

We shall find the same influence in the architecture of the north; the forms of the capitals and sculptured decorations in relief equally exhibit it. A good example is supplied by the church of Vaage, in Gudbrandsdal, the long and picturesque valley that leads from the Miösen lake to Trondhjem. The tracery of interlaced serpents, which characterizes Scandinavian art, and afterwards appears on Irish crosses, only reproduces Byzantine symbolism, typifying the Fall and Redemption.[3] Another

appear in the mosaics at Ravenna (Lübke, *Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte I*, 263, fig. 176. Von den Mosaiken aus San Vitale), of which large coloured copies may be seen in the South Kensington Museum. The seated Christ occurs frequently in the art of the Lower Empire; so Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, viii, 257, s.v., *Eudocia* says, *Christus sedens more solito*. Lübke, *ib.*, fig. 177, Mosaik aus der Vorhalle der Sophienkirche, which shows the Christ enthroned and the court dress of the Greek emperor.

[1] *Norges Mynter*, pp. 14, 15, tab. i, No. 16. Eckhel, viii, 223, *Crux insistens gradibus*, and *ib.* 225. The coins of Romanus I and Christophorus afford examples both of the seated Christ and the cross on steps; Sabatier, *Description générale des monnaies Byzantines*, pl. xlvi, 12.

Worsaae, *Nordiske Oldsager*, *Jernalderen*, ii, p. 95, gives examples of Byzantine gold coins used as ornaments, suspended from the neck, Nos. 397, 398a, 398b, and of gold bracteates, which were worn in the same way, Nos. 399-401. Dahl, *Denkmäler einer sehr ausgebildeten Holzbaukunst aus den frühesten Jahrhunderten in den innern Landschaften Norwegens*, says that at the nuptial ceremony the brides wore crowns on which were hung Byzantine gold coins, bracteates, and solidi of the Middle Ages.

[2] *Archæological Congress at Stockholm*, tome ii, 932 et sq. *Archæol. Journal*, iv, 199-203, contains some interesting remarks by Worsaae on the course of trade through Novogorod in Russia and Wisby in Gotland. The great importance of the latter as an emporium is attested by coins and seals, and still further confirmed by the number and magnitude of architectural remains, unparalleled in the north of Europe. Bergman and Save's book is the best authority for the antiquities of Wisby; it is written in Swedish, and accompanied by lithographs. The earlier work of Peringskiöld may also be advantageously consulted.

[3] Nicolaysen, *Norske Bygninger fra Fortiden*, p. 3, pl. v. Wornum, *Analysis*

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instance occurs in the church of Urnes, where the wood carvings bear a strong resemblance to the illustrations in the Bible of Charles the Bald and Greek manuscripts of the ninth century.[1]

The great variety and irregularity in the sculptures of these wooden churches must strike even a superficial observer. It is easy to explain, if we call to mind the Varangian body-guard of the Greek emperors.[2] The Scandinavians must have often seen in the south of Europe buildings for whose construction columns, architraves, and friezes of pagan temples had been used without any regard to architectural symmetry,—hence they repeated this confusion when they returned to their

of Ornament, p. 66. "The cross planted on the serpent is found sculptured on Mount Athos, and the cross, surrounded by the so-called Runic knot, is only a Scandinavian version of the original Byzantine image—the crushed snake curling round the stem of the avenging cross," &c. Besides the churches mentioned in the text, many others contain curious specimens of wood carving; good engravings of them may be seen in the following works:—Opdal and Aardal in *Norske Bygninger*, Hedal in the *Mindesmerker af Middelalderens Kunst i Norge*, both by Nicolaysen; *Hitterdal, Borgund and Vang* in Dahl's book cited above.

The affinity between Irish and Scandinavian art is evident, if we compare with these monuments O'Neill's Sculptured Crosses of Ancient Ireland, and the Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland, photo-zincographed by Major-General Sir Henry James. According to some writers this style, of which interlaced ornament is the chief characteristic, originated in Ireland, and was thence diffused into other countries; but I think a careful examination of the facts will show that it came from Constantinople, underwent many modifications in Scandinavia, and finally was carried into Ireland by the victorious Norsemen. A friend reminds me that the testimony of the Hiberno-Danish coins corroborates the opinion that the so-called Irish art is essentially Scandinavian.

[1] This name is also spelt Örnes and Urnaes. The termination *naes* is common in Norway, and corresponds to the English *ness* and *naze*. This church, which is not mentioned in Murray's Handbook, is situated on the promontory of Urnes, that juts out into the Lyster Fiord, the extreme north-east branch of the Sogne Fiord; *Norske Bygninger*, pp. 1-3, Plates i-iv.

Seroux d'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'Art par les Monuments*, Vol. iii, Plates xl, xlv, gives several engravings of the illustrations of this manuscript, which he calls the Bible of St. Paul from the Benedictine monastery, in which it was formerly preserved. The title page exhibits a king or emperor sitting on a throne, with a globe in his hand as a symbol of power. The name Charles occurs in a monogram as well as in an inscription under the painting, but whether this is Charlemagne or Charles the Bald cannot be ascertained. Plates xliv and xlv contain good specimens of interlaced ornament. Plate lxxxiii represents the Virgin laid in her tomb by the Apostles and holy women. There are *Runic* letters in the border, but the figures and dresses are *Byzantine*. Compare Strutt's *Chronicle of England*, Part i, p. 346, where there is a copy of the initial page of a Saxon MS. of St. Luke's Gospel; the letters are explained *ib.*, p. 363.

[2] Some account of the Varangians will be found in Gibbon, c. 4, Vol. vii, pp. 82, 83, edit. Dr. Wm. Smith; the etymology of the word is explained in the note, p. 80. The Varangians, Væringers, or Βάραγγοι, as the Greeks call them, re-appear in the English names Waring and Baring; Carlyle, *Early Kings of Norway*, p. 164. Earl Stanhope, in his article on "Harold of Norway," *Quarterly Review*, vol. cxxxv, p. 171, quotes from a modern traveller, who states that in Persia all foreigners are designated by the name Feringhee, a corruption of Varangian.

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own country, perhaps in some cases by the same means, namely, by interpolating fragments of earlier edifices.

The monuments of this class have unfortunately suffered much mutilation in the course of the present century. A fire broke out in the Grue-Kirche, which was attended with great loss of life because the doors were made to open inwards, and this was impossible on account of the crowd. A law was consequently passed requiring all church doors to open outwards, and in effecting the necessary alterations much ancient carving was destroyed.

These churches are specially interesting, because they are built of wood. As this material is so easily worked, it would naturally be employed at an early period, so that we may here trace back to their origin designs afterwards executed in stone.[1] The absence or deficiency of foliated and floral patterns in these buildings is very remarkable, but arose naturally out of the circumstances under which they were erected.[2] In a large part of Norway there is scarcely any tree but the fir, whose needle-leaves do not readily lend themselves to artistic purposes, and the severity of the climate during a large portion of the year almost precludes the contemplation of external nature.

III. From the ninth to the eleventh century the Northmen were constantly invading and pillaging the English coast; they were therefore brought into contact with a nation more civilized than themselves. The former excelled in the arts of war; the latter had made considerable progress in luxury and refinement, inheriting manners and customs and technical processes from the Romans. Hence we may expect the monuments of the conquering race to show that the experience of classical antiquity was repeated:—

> Grœcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
> Intulit agresti Latio.[3]

[1] The tombs of Lycia and the temples of Greece afford the best examples of this progress in the arts of construction. Sir C. Fellows, *Lycia*, c. 6, pp. 128-131, Plates ix-xii, shows many varieties of rock architecture and tombs sculptured in imitation of wooden buildings. Sir Henry Ellis, *Elgin Marbles*, Vol. i, p. 132, explaining the metopes of the Parthenon, quotes from Vitruvius, "The Greeks, by the word ὄπαι, signify the beds of the beams, which we call cava columbaria; thus the space between two beams obtained the name of a metopa." Similarly the Roman lacuna meant the decoration inserted in the square compartments formed by the rafters of a roof or ceiling intersecting at right angles; it was afterwards applied to the same spaces in brickwork or masonry.

[2] O'Neill, *Essay on Ancient Irish Art*, p. 1, after enumerating the characteristics of this style, says, "Vegetable forms are very rare."

[3] Horace, *Epistles*, Book ii, 1, 56.

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The fibulæ, which are perhaps the most curious remains of this epoch found in England, have been divided into three classes—the circular, the cross-shaped, and the concave. These abound in the museums of Bergen and Copenhagen. The materials and form are identical, and the resemblance may be traced in minutest details—in the gold filigree work, concentric circles, ovals, chain or cable patterns, and stones or vitreous pastes used as ornaments.[1]

If we turn to the coins we shall find proofs of relations between England and Scandinavia at this period. The pennies of Ethelred the Unready compared with those of St. Olaf may be taken as an example.

One of the most frequent types of the former exhibits on the obverse the king's head to left without sceptre or diadem, and the hair represented by divergent lines, each terminating in a pellet. The device on the reverse consists of a voided cross, with an annulet in the centre and three crescents at the end of each arm.[2] In Olaf's coin all these particulars are exactly copied, and therefore need not be described, but the legends deserve notice:—

Obverse +VNLAFI+E+ANOR

Reverse +ASÐRIÐ MO NOR

i.e., Olaf Rex a Normannia, and Asthrith Monetarius Normannorum.[3] There is here a strange discrepancy between the inaccuracy of the first and the correctness of the second line. It was necessary to cut a new die to express the name and title of the Norwegian king, which was done in a very clumsy fashion, the R of Rex

[1] The fibulæ, distinguished as concave or saucer-shaped, are also circular. With Wright, *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, pp. 415-420, and engraving opposite p. 416, and Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, Pls. iii, vii, viii, xi, xii, xiv, xvi, &c., compare Lorange, *Samlingen af Norske Oldsager i Bergens Museum*, pp. 88-90, figs. 564a, 564b; pp. 117, sq. fig. 451; pp. 148, sq. figs. 2017a, 2017b; p. 172, fig. 1097; p. 180, fig. 709. Lorange remarks that the cross-shaped fibulæ are far more numerous in Norway than in Sweden, referring to Hans Hildebrand, *Den äldre Jernäldern i Norrland*. The Bergen Museum alone possesses 42 specimens, and there are also a great number of them in the University Collection at Christiania. He adds that in the English graves they occur often and with rich variety, but are unknown in the other old Germanic lands. See also Worsaae, *Nordiske Oldsager i Det Kongelige Museum i Kjöbenhavn*; Nos. 415 and 416 are clover-shaped, similar to that figured in Wright, p. 417; Nos. 428 and 429 resemble the cross-shaped.

[2] Hawkins, *Coins of England*, Æthelræd II, A.D. 978-1016, vol. i, pp. 67, sq.; vol. ii, pl. xvi, Nos. 203-207, especially the last. Schive, at the commencement of the *Norges Mynter*, p. 4, has six woodcuts of different types of Ethelred's coins, which he explains fully on account of their importance as elucidating the Norwegian series.

[3] See *Norges Mynter*, Olaf II, Haraldssön (den Hellige) (1015-1028 † 1030), pp. 13-17, pl. i, Nos. 15-20, especially No. 15.

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being omitted. On the other hand, as Schive plausibly suggests, an Anglo-Saxon die was used for the reverse without any alteration, since the letters NOR, which originally stood for Norwich, would answer equally well for Norway. VNLAFI is an Anglo-Saxon form of Olaf,[1] for the Danish language frequently omits the letter N, *e.g.* using the preposition I for IN, and the particle U for UN in such words as *ulig*, unlike; *Ukyndighed*, unskilfulness. The interchange of U and O is so common as to call for no remark. In the legend of the reverse we have two examples of the Saxon barred Đ, which resembles the Greek *theta* both in form and sound; moreover the Royal Cabinet at Stockholm contains a coin of Ethelred bearing the same inscription, ASĐRIĐMONOR. During this reign the invasions of the Danes and Norsemen were more systematic, and affected a larger portion of the kingdom than at any former period.[2] Heavier contributions of money were therefore levied, amounting to 167,000 pounds of silver, according to Dr. Hildebrand's calculation.[3] St. Olaf also visited England in the year 1014, and Ethelred's coins must have been familiar to him. Lastly, the reign of this monarch was a long one, hence the circulation of his money was large, and it would on this account be more readily imitated by the

[1] Olaf is called Unlaf in Strutt's *Chronicle*, vol. ii, p. 79. The letter N often occurs before another consonant in Anglo-Saxon names, as may be seen in the genealogies of the kings of Mercia, Northumberland, East Anglia, Kent and Wessex, and in the chronological table of the seven kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons, Rapin, *History of England*, vol. i, pp. 47, 55, 57, and 80, and in the lists of English Archbishops and Bishops, vol. v, pp. 238-254. Edmund, Alcmund, Osmond, Ormond, Andred, Anfrid, and Kenrick will suffice as examples. Rapin uses the forms Anlaff or Anlaf, besides Olaph and the Latin Olaüs. This old writer will be found useful, not only for philological illustration, but also for the history of the connection between England and Scandinavia during the Saxon period, which is related in Books iv and v. Various forms of the name Anlaf appear also on Hiberno-Danish coins; Lindsay's *View of the Coinage of Ireland*, p. 10; Anlaf iv, p. 12; Anlaf v, p. 18; Anlaf vi, plate i, Nos. 8, 17-21. "The type of No. 20 is exactly that of Svend Estrithson, king of Denmark, who began to reign in 1047. . . . The legends are composed of those Runes, so common on the Danish coins minted in Ireland, and which consisted of a mixture of letters and strokes, the latter supplying the place of asterisks, and denoting the place of a letter." The blundering in the legends of Irish coins closely resembles that in the Norwegian examples mentioned above. For instance, in the coins of Anlaf IV the king's name is scarcely intelligible, and in those of Ifars II, the legends of the obverse and reverse are very rude; Lindsay, pp. 10 and 12.

[2] Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, i, 285-287.

[3] The accounts of the historians are confirmed by the great number of Anglo-Saxon coins found in Sweden; accordingly the Royal Cabinet at Stockholm is very rich in this department, even surpassing the collection of the British Museum; Hildebrand, *Monnaies Anglo-Saxonnes en Suède. Anglosachsiska Mynt i Svenska Kongl. Myntkabinettet, funna i Sveriges Jord*

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less civilized nations that had relations with him, either peaceful or hostile.

Two classes of objects found in Norway, viz., glass drinking vessels and wooden buckets bound with metal, which have been referred to a Roman origin, may, in some cases at least, with great probability be assigned to the Saxons, as they were accustomed to imitate late Roman work.[1]

Subsequently to the Norman conquest, Norwegian architecture exhibits striking proofs of English influence. The King's Hall at Bergen and the Cathedral at Trondhjem are the most remarkable monuments of the middle ages in the three Scandinavian kingdoms, and the style of both may be characterised as English. The hall was built of stone by King Haakon Haakonsön between the years 1245 and 1260, in place of an earlier wooden structure. It was originally used on festive occasions, such as coronations and royal marriages, but it has undergone so many alterations that its former beauty and magnificence can with difficulty be discerned.[2] However, by careful examination of existing remains and comparison of them with some old drawings, Mr. Nicolaysen has been enabled to produce a restoration that may be accepted as almost certain.[3] There were two storeys, the lower of which was subdivided by a floor. The upper had seven great windows on its west side or principal front, and smaller ones at the back. These great windows were constructed in the pointed arch style, each probably containing two lights and a quatrefoil above. But there was one much

[1] For Anglo-Saxon glass compare Wright, *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, pp. 428-431 and engravings, with Lorange, *Samlingen af Norske Oldsager i Bergens Museum*, p. 67, No. 2132, woodcut, and Worsaae, *Nordiske Oldsager*, p. 76, No. 312.

[2] This building has been most fully and accurately described by Nicolaysen in the *Norske Bygninger fra Fortiden*, pp. 6-18, plates x-xvi. From his introductory narrative we learn that shortly previous to 1580 this hall was a kind of warehouse, that it was afterwards used as quarters for soldiers, and in the following century converted into a corn-magazine, and lastly, that in our own time it has been employed as a prison and a place of worship for convicts.

[3] Copies of three old drawings of the King's Hall are given in pages, 8, 9, 10 of the *Norske Bygninger*. The first shows a projection in the roof, which must have been added for the purpose of fixing a pulley or crane, and proves that the building was used as a warehouse about the year 1580. The second exhibits the mutilated appearance of the building about the year 1653, after the injuries it sustained in the wars, during which it was one of the batteries for the defence of the castle. In the third, which is dated 1743, we see a double roof and other alterations that had been made towards the close of the seventeenth century.

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larger in the north gable, which by its position shows that the roof consisted of open timber-work; below it was the king's seat in the centre of the dais. A music gallery extended across the south end, and the space under it was employed as an ante-room. The hall was one hundred feet long, forty wide, and fifty-four high. From these particulars and proportions we see that it resembled those baronial and collegiate halls, which are more beautiful and numerous in our own country than any other.[1]

But this building, interesting as it is, especially to Englishmen, cannot vie with the cathedral at Trondhjem, which stands pre-eminent among the ecclesiastical edifices of Scandinavia on account of its size, its elaborate details, and its intimate connection with mediæval history. At Trondhjem the petty states of Norway were consolidated into a nation by Harald Haarfager: at Trondhjem, in the following century, the Christian religion was established, and a church erected by Olaf Tryggvessön. Here the first archbishopric was founded, here many kings were crowned and interred, but, above all, here was the shrine of Olaf, the patron saint, revered by the neighbouring nations, and visited by pilgrims from regions more remote.[2] A minute account of this structure would be superfluous, but it is worth while to observe that the great transept is a fine specimen of the Norman style, while the choir and

[1] Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, Vol. ii, pp. 76-78. The Kongehalle at Bergen is more than a century older than Westminster Hall as we now see it, for it was rebuilt under Richard II, 1397-1399. Both in external appearance and interior arrangements, the great Hall at Eltham resembled the one at Bergen; it was used for similar purposes, the sovereign often dined there, Edward III held more than one parliament, and gave a splendid reception to John, King of France, within its walls. See *Archæologia*, Vol. vi, pp. 366-372, Plates li, lii, and liii. The author of this excellent memoir calls attention to the small window in the upper end of the Hall, and at a considerable height from the floor; through it the king, in his private apartment, could see all that passed below. This assists us to explain a passage in Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*, act v, sc. 2, where the monarch and his physician are introduced as entering at a window above. Bishop Jocelyn's Palace at Wells is of nearly the same date as the Kongehalle, and its general construction is analogous; Murray's *Handbook of the Southern Cathedrals*, Part i, pp. 264 sq., and Mr. J. H. Parker's *Architecture of the City of Wells*; the latter work supplies much curious information, it is also copiously illustrated by plans and views.

[2] Mr. Nicolaysen has recently published a pamphlet relating the history of the cathedral, and accompanied by engravings that show its ground-plan, present appearance, and intended restoration. This church is rendered very accessible to visitors, who are conducted through it by a candidate for the ministry. Good photographs of the whole structure, of its principal divisions, and of the architectural details, can be purchased from the attendants.

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tomb-house are Early English, with details of the Decorated period in the interior of the latter. The dimensions remind us of our smaller cathedrals, the total length being 350 feet, and the width of the nave 84. Exeter is 383 feet by 72, and Lichfield 319 by 66.[1] The wonderful lightness and elegance of the tomb-house suggest a comparison with the extreme east end of Canterbury, called Becket's Crown, while the west front of unusual breadth, adorned by sculpture and gilding, must have produced an effect not unlike the façade of Wells.[2] Such are the merits of Trondhjem Cathedral; on the other hand, it is disfigured by want of symmetry, caused by many unfavourable circumstances. In the twelfth century a group of three churches stood where we now see one; when additions were made it was necessary to retain the high altar on the spot where St. Olaf was buried, and to include his sacred well within the walls; the side-aisles of the choir could not be sufficiently enlarged on account of the adjoining sacristy and chapels; lastly, after the Reformation, the simplicity of the Protestant ritual interfered with a design conceived in Roman Catholic times.

It is gratifying to be able to state that this noble edifice which has suffered so much from destructive fires and tasteless alterations, is now at last recovering much of its pristine beauty, though we cannot expect that it will ever again be enriched with the splendid ornaments lavished on it by mediæval pietism. It will, however, hold its place as a national monument, restored with a skill which our own architects would do well to imitate—the glory of the citizens who dwell in its shadow, and a powerful attraction for visitors from foreign lands.[3]

[1] Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, ii, 78. Comparative Table of English Cathedrals.

[2] See *Throndjems Domkirkes Historie og Beskrivelse af C. N. Schwach*, frontispiece, No. 1A ground-plan, No. 4, Throndhjem Cathedral from the north-west side; and Murray's *Handbook to the Southern Cathedrals of England*, Wells, ground-plan and west front, p. 220. The three portals in the west front at Throndhjem, (Drontheim), though very inferior, bear some resemblance to the three great arches in the corresponding part of Peterborough Cathedral; Schwach, frontispiece, No. 6, view of the west end as it appeared in 1661, from the copper-plate of Maschius; Murray, *Eastern Cathedrals*, pp. 57-60; Ferguson, *History of Architecture*, ii, 49.

[3] *Norske Mindesmærker aftegnede paa en Reise igjennem en Deel af det Nordenfjeldske, og beskrevne af* Lorentz Diderich Klüwer, 1823. Pages 1-39 and Plates 1-10 of this valuable work are devoted to Trondhjem Cathedral, and especially to the grave-stones dating from the eleventh century to the Reformation, together with the Runic and monkish inscriptions. One

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This account of Northern antiquities is necessarily very imperfect, but I hope it may induce some younger tourists to remember that these countries contain other objects of interest besides snow-capped mountains, romantic fiords, and giant forests: that a heroic race lived there in the olden time, that its monuments still remain, that its words and deeds are so blended with the language and traditions of Englishmen, that we may almost regard them as belonging to our own inheritance.

of a later date is in English, and may amuse the reader by its quaintness; it was composed in honour of a Scotch ship-master:—

Tho' Borious blasts & Neptune waves
Hath tost me to & fro,
Yet by the order of gods decree
I harbour here below.
Where now I ly at anchor shure
With many of our fleet,
Expecting one day to set sail,
My Admiral Christ to meet.

Klüwer mentions, p. 13, his discovery of speaking-tubes, rather more than an inch in diameter, which went through the vaultings and the walls of rooms in the upper part of the choir. He adds that these tubes were provided with small holes in their sides, as in a flute, to increase or diminish the sound at pleasure, and conjectures that they were used for monkish deceptions (Munkebedragerier), especially because they proceeded from secret apartments, where the monks, themselves unobserved, could see all that passed both in the choir and the church. Schwach, in his *Historie og Beskrivelse*, 1838, pp. 15-16, confirms this account, but thinks the tube might also have been used for a special purpose on Good Friday, viz., to utter the painful cry of Judas, "I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood." Schwach also mentions a small room in an octagonal pillar of the choir—"It received light from a high narrow window in the north-east side of the pillar, and was called the Chamber of Excommunication (Banlysningskammeret,) because, according to tradition, the Archbishop, when an excommunication was to be promulgated, remained there unseen till he stepped out on the balcony, and hurled down his bolts as if they issued from the clouds." The classical traveller will remember similar arrangements in the Temple of Isis at Pompeii.

The most elaborate work on Trondhjem Cathedral is that by Professor Munch. Christiania, 1859, but an account of still more recent investigations will be found in the transactions of the Norwegian Society of Antiquaries, *Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesmerkers Bevaring, Aarsberetning* for 1866, pp. 6-25.

APPENDIX.

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This Memoir is derived from personal observation during a journey through Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, in the summer of 1876, from conversation with eminent antiquaries in these countries, and from a careful study of their writings, especially those of MM. Nicolaysen and Lorange, Worsaae and Engelhardt, Wiberg and Hildebrand, whom I have closely followed, and in some cases translated.

My special thanks are due to Overintendant Kammeherre Holst, Secretary of the University of Christiania, for the great kindness and courtesy with which he facilitated my researches, and placed at my disposal sources of information not easily accessible to foreigners.

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Besides the works above mentioned, the following will be useful to those who wish to pursue the study of Northern antiquities:—

Nicolaysen, *Norske Fornlevninger*, 1862-1866.

C. A. Holmboe, *Norske Vaegtlodder fra* 14de *Aarhundrede.*

—— *En maerkvaerdig Samling af Smukker, forstörstedelen af Guld, og Mynter . . . paa Gaarden Hoen.*

—— *Det Oldnorske Verbum oplyst ved Sammenligning med Sanskrit og andre Sprog af samme Æt.*

F. C. Schübeler, *Die Altnorwegische Landwirthschaft.*

Det Oldnorske Museum i Christiania.

The ancient vessel found in the parish of Tune, in Norway. Christiania, 1872.

Carl Andersen, *De Danske Kongers Kronologiske Samling.*

Den Kongelige Mynt-og Medaille-Samling paa Prindsens Palais. Kiöbenhavn, 1869.

Oscar Montelius, *Führer durch das Museum Vaterländischen Alterthümer in Stockholm*, übersetzt von J. Mestorf.

—— *Antiquités Suédoises.*

A. P. Madsen, *Danske Oldsager og Mindesmerker.*

Bibliographie de l'Archéologie Prehistorique de la Suède pendant le xixe Siècle. Stockholm, 1375

British Scandinavian Society, *Library Catalogne*, including Icelandic books.

Quaritch, *General Catalogue*, 1874, "Scandinavian Philology," pp. 1073-1084.

—— *Supplementary Catalogue*, 1876, "Bibliotheca Septentrionalis," pp. 1018-1089.

Quaritch's list, though long, omits some of the most important authors.

The prospectus of the University of Norway *(Index Scholarum in Universitate Regia Fredericiana . . . habendarum)* gives the names of distinguished Norwegian savans, such as Daa, Rygh, Bugge, &c.

It is much to be regretted that some English authors have written on Scandinavian history and antiquities without a competent knowledge of the Danish language. This has been a fertile source of error. Names are frequently misspelt, and their true significance therefore lost; for example, *Hardrade* is written for *Haardraade*, which is compounded of *haard*, hard, and *Raad*, counsel. Those who wish to learn Danish only for literary purposes will find the Norwegian Grammar of Frithjof Foss, pp. 49, sufficient, the Norwegian language differing from Danish only in pronunciation. Swedish is so closely connected with Norsk that it can be mastered with little difficulty.

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THE MURAL PAINTINGS AT KEMPLEY CHURCH, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

BY C. E. KEYSER, M.A.

The village of Kempley is situated in the north west corner of Gloucestershire, about seven miles from Ledbury, the nearest station on the Worcester and Hereford line. The church, which is some distance from the present nucleus of the village, does not possess any special external attractions, but contains some of the most interesting mural paintings in the kingdom. It is dedicated to St. Mary, and is a plain Norman fabric, with a chancel, nave, and a west tower, a later addition, on which a slate cap now occupies the place of a former spire. There is a plain Norman doorway within the tower, formerly the western entrance to the church, but the present and only entrance is through a fine Norman doorway on the south side of the nave, within and partly concealed by a wooden porch. The arch over the door is ornamented with several rows of chevrons and a double row of pellet moulding, and on the tympanum is the tree of life, similar to that on the south door of Moccas church in Herefordshire. There is one shaft on each side unusually massive, and with an early foliated cap of a peculiar type, which also occurs in the chancel arch, and of which other examples exist at the neighbouring churches of Dymock and Pauntley, and at the churches of Bromyard and Thornbury in Herefordshire. Within the church with the exception of the paintings, the only ornamental work is on the chancel arch, which is a fine specimen of Norman work, and is enriched with the chevron and star mouldings. The windows with one exception are small, round headed, and deeply splayed, and on the north wall of the chancel is a plain aumbrey, or, as has been suggested, an early example of an Easter sepulchral recess. The church was restored in 1872, and

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it was then, on the removal of the whitewash, that the numerous paintings about to be described were discovered, and, as far as possible, most carefully preserved.

On entering the church the first painting to be noticed is that on the west wall of the nave, on which are remains of blue letter Scripture texts, which date either from the latter part of the fifteenth or early part of the sixteenth century. In removing the whitewash in the nave two or three courses of colouring of various periods were discovered, but on account of the crumbling and rotten character of the distemper it was exceedingly difficult to discern the scheme of any particular subject. This is especially the case with a large painting on the south wall of the nave. It is much obliterated, and appears to be a jumble of more than one series. One subject seems to have been in compartments; in the lower part are two figures in armour, one holding out a sword; above their heads is a cross surrounded by rays of white light. It has been suggested that this subject represents the Conversion of St. Paul or the History of Constantine. Within the splay of a window, an insertion of the fourteenth century, on the south side of the nave, is the figure of an archbishop with a crozier. On the north wall of the nave is a large wheel with ten spokes radiating from the centre and terminating in as many medallions, within the outer circle. The subjects of the medallions, if any ever existed, are all obliterated. Similar wheels exist at Rochester Cathedral, at the west end of the original north aisle of the Priory Church at Leominster, and another one could be seen twenty years ago at Catfield in Norfolk but is now hidden by a fresh coat of whitewash. These wheels are commonly called "Wheels of Fortune," and must be distinguished from such wheels as those now existing at Arundel and formerly at Ingatestone and elsewhere, and exemplifying the Seven Deadly Sins. These Wheels of Fortune probably date from the thirteenth century. Within the splay of a Norman window, also on the north side of the nave, is, on one side an Archangel weighing a soul, with the Blessed Virgin Mary interceding on the soul's behalf, and on the other St. Anthony with his usual symbol of a pig; the figures are all as on tracings on a red ground, and appear to belong to the Norman period, though no

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other example of the subject of an Archangel weighing souls treated in this particular manner, is known as belonging to so early a period. In the head of the arch is a pattern of blue roses on a white ground; on the south side of the chancel arch is a large figure of a Saint under a semicircular canopy, doubtless dating from the twelfth century; there was probably a corresponding figure on the north side, but here the plaster had been destroyed and a tablet was erected in the last century, which has now been removed. The mouldings of the chancel arch have been coloured in red, yellow and white, and the soffit of the arch is ornamented with alternate squares of red and white. Above the west face of the chancel arch is a diaper pattern of the Norman period, and above again and partly mixed with the diaper pattern, is a large and indistinct subject probably representing the Day of Judgment.[1]

Far more perfect and interesting than the paintings in the nave are those in the chancel, which will, it is hoped, be conclusively proved to be entirely of Norman workmanship, and to be the most perfect and brilliant specimens of colouring which we have remaining from that early period.

The chancel is small, about 20 feet by 12 feet, having one window on the East, North, and South, and a plain barrel roof. There is no ornamental moulding of any kind, which tends to prove that the painting of the ceiling and walls formed part of the design of the original building.

Those who have seen the better known paintings in the apsidal chancel of Copford Church in Essex will be struck with the numerous coincidences which occur in these two churches, the general scheme being almost identical in each case. At Copford there is little doubt that the paintings have been restored at some time subsequent to their execution, and they have, within the last year or two, been in a great measure repainted, while at Kempley the paintings remain exactly in their original condition.

At Copford again, the various ornamental patterns are, with one or two exceptions, if Norman, of unusual design, while at Kempley the chevron and other ornaments are

[1] A complete set of coloured drawings of the paintings in the chancel is about to be published in the *Archaologia*.

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such as are commonly found among the distinguishing mouldings of the twelfth century.

The whole of the ceiling or vault is occupied as at Copford and in the chapel of St. John in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, with a painting of Our Lord in Glory. Our Lord is represented as seated within an irregular vesica, with His head to the west, and in the act of benediction. The monograms "IHC" and "XPS" are within the vesica, and the difference between the "sigmas" is especially noticeable. Our Lord is surrounded by the emblems of the four evangelists, two on each side, while at His head stand two cherubims with folded wings and with pennons in their hands, and two more cherubims and St. Peter and the Blessed Virgin, with the names SCS. PETRUS and SCA. MARIA, stand at His feet. By His side are the seven candlesticks, and scattered about on the groundwork, which is of a deep red colour, are the sun, moon, earth, and stars. As a border to the east and west ends of the picture are some interlacing chevrons or lozenges in red, yellow, and white, forming a most elegant design. On the north and south walls of the chancel, filling up the whole space between the chancel arch and the windows on the north and south sides respectively, are paintings of the twelve apostles, six on each side, seated on thrones, and in attitudes of profound adoration. As at Copford, where however only ten of the apostles are depicted, St. Peter, in this instance, only holding one key, occupies the most eastern place on the north side, and he is the only apostle who has his distinctive emblem. The apostles are represented as being seated under semicircular headed canopies painted yellow, the pilasters supporting the arches being pierced with long round headed openings. Within the splays of the windows on the north and south sides of the chancel is a pattern of alternate semicircles of red and white on a black ground, with a semicircular bordering of red and white to the one and of yellow to the other, and above the heads of the windows are painted numerous towers and turrets, doubtless meant to convey an impression of the Heavenly Jerusalem. Between these windows and the east wall are, on the south side beneath a canopy, a female Saint with a curious mural crown and holding a sword, and

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supposed to be the Blessed Virgin, and on the north, St. James the Great. The scraping off of the whitewash has not been completed in this north-east corner of the chancel. On each side of the east window, under a canopy, is a large figure of a bishop in mitre and eucharistic vestments holding a pastoral staff, and in the act of benediction. On either side, at his feet were discernible on the north, the chalice, and on the south, the host. The splay of the east window, only partially exposed, contains similar ornaments to those on the north and south sides. Above it within medallions are three angels, seated and holding what appear to be scrolls. Two much larger figures of angels occupy a similar position at Copford. On the east face of the chancel arch, is a sort of ornamented "tau" pattern, similar to the embattled parapets of Flemish houses, the pattern being carried round the outer courses of the arch in successive orders of red, white and yellow. It is the opinion of a very high authority on this subject, that this pattern is one of the ornaments used only in the style of Byzantine architecture. Round the inner course are a series of ten medallions, the subjects of which are entirely obliterated. These may have contained the signs of the Zodiac, which are painted on the soffit of the chancel arch at Copford, and though here there are only ten medallions, it is possible that two signs may have been represented in the same medallion, as is the case in the Norman arches at Shobdon and Brinsop, in the neighbouring county of Hereford.

Such is a brief description of these most interesting paintings. The whitewash still remains undisturbed at the west end of the north and south walls of the nave, in the north-east corner of the chancel, and on one side of the splay of the east window; but in these particular localities it was found that some comparatively recent disturbance had taken place, so that it was deemed useless further to interfere with the surface. There can be no doubt that the whole of the painting in the chancel, and a considerable amount in the nave, date from the Norman period. On close examination, it appeared that the paintings in the chancel, and some of those in the nave, were executed on a very thin coating of distemper, probably not exceeding one-sixteenth of an inch

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in thickness. It seems, therefore, highly probable that as the paintings are executed on this very thin coating of distemper, which is directly laid on the rough surface of the wall, the paintings are, as has been previously suggested, coeval with, and formed part of the original design of the building. As to the date of the building of the church, no record exists. Kempley is mentioned as Cheneplei in Domesday Book, and seems to have been situated in the centre of a forest district. It may be worthy of discussion as to how these elaborate paintings came to be executed in a place, which seems always to have been out of the way and of no importance; and one theory suggests that it may have served, as in the case of Greenstead in Essex, as the temporary shrine or resting-place of the body of some saint or important personage.

Judging from the massive character of the chancel arch and the south and west doorways, the date of the church can hardly be later than the year 1130, and to this date, or very shortly afterwards, the execution of the paintings may be assigned. In a gazetteer of Gloucestershire, in which some account of the paintings is given, the probable date of them is said to be 1160; while it is stated that Mr. Gambier Parry considers them as late as 1180.

The paintings at Kempley are, in all probability, by far the most interesting of the Norman period, which are at present known to be in existence in England, and they certainly remain as most valuable examples of the manner in which even the plain and comparatively poor Norman buildings were beautified in order to atone for deficiency in stone or ornamental carving, and they afford an additional proof, if any were required, that the interior of churches, even as far back as the twelfth century, did not present the bare and cheerless appearance that one is accustomed to notice in their present condition.

A list and short account of such other examples of Norman paintings, of which any information has been obtained, though probably only a portion of those actually in existence in England, will perhaps form a fitting conclusion to this subject.

1. *Deerhurst.*[1] The earliest existing paintings in England are probably ose at Deerhurst in Gloucestershire, which are assigned to a period

[1] *Archæological Association Journal*, ii, 390.

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anterior to the Norman conquest, though, as we know that this church was consecrated in the year 1056, the early date given to these paintings must be received with some hesitation.

Canterbury. The earliest mention of church painting in England is a record by one of the early chroniclers of the splendid paintings in Prior Conrad's Choir at Canterbury Cathedral. It is not improbable that those now remaining in St. Michael's Chapel, on the north side of the north choir aisle, and consisting of parallel bands of colour, zigzags, foliage and other Norman decoration, may belong to this early period. The paintings in St. John's (or more properly St. Gabriel's) Chapel, on the south-east side of the crypt, certainly belong to the Norman period. On the ceiling of the nave are numerous medallions, which are still partially concealed by whitewash. On the ceiling of the diminutive chancel is a representation of Our Lord in Glory, and on the walls the incidents connected with the Birth of Our Lord and St. John the Baptist, the Vision of Ezekiel, and St. John writing the "Book of Revelation," with the Angels of the Seven Churches and the Seven Stars in medallions.

Durham.[1] At Durham Cathedral traces of colour remain on the chevron mouldings of the arches of the Galilee, and on the east wall of the same building are two full length figures, supposed to represent Richard I and Bishop Pudsey, and to have formed part of a painting of the crucifixion of the latter part of the twelfth century.

Peterborough. At Peterborough Cathedral, on the ceiling of the nave are various figures, supposed to have been painted in the twelfth century. The ceiling was probably put up by Abbot Benedict, who ruled the monastery from 1177 to 1193.

Ely. At Ely Cathedral round the arches at the eastern end of the nave, and on the vault of the south aisle, are cable, zigzag, and flower ornaments. In two chapels on the east side of the north transept are some circles and other ornaments, and in the vestry on the west side of the south transept are some scroll and floral patterns partly restored, these are all late twelfth century.

Norwich. At Norwich Cathedral are remains of painting on the arches and capitals at the east end of the choir in the choir aisles, on the ceiling of the sacrist's room and of St. Luke's Chapel; also (restored) on the eastern face of the chancel arch, and on the ceiling of the Jesus chapel, date about 1170.

Worcester. At Worcester Cathedral round an arch on the east side of the south transept is a roll moulding with an elaborate beaded cable pattern painted on it.

St. Albans. At the Abbey church of St. Albans, the tower arches, and the Norman arches and piers of the choir to the west of the tower and the north side of the nave, are ornamented with patterns of roses, cables, chevrons, and squares or oblongs in alternate colours, red and yellow being the most common; the capital of one column at the east end of the north side of the nave is painted so as to represent the early cushion capital, and round the windows in the north transept are painted arches resting on Norman shafts and caps. In the spandril

[1] Murray's *Handbook of Durham;* Scott's *Antiquarian Gleanings*, Pl. VII & VIII.

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of the arch opening from the south transept to the south choir aisle is the figure of a seraph with a scroll.

Doncaster.[1] Round the arches of the church of St. Mary Magdalene, Doncaster, now destroyed, were scroll and other patterns of the twelfth century.

Hovingham. At the Norman church of Hovingham, in Yorkshire, were discovered and destroyed numerous layers of paintings, the lowest of which probably dated from the Norman period.

Halesowen and Beaudesert. Round the splay of a Norman window at the churches of Halesowen in Shropshire, and of Beaudesert in Warwickshire, are some masonry ornaments of the twelfth century.

Yaxley.[2] At Yaxley church in Huntingdonshire, in the north transept is a representation of the Torments of Hell, which has been re-whitewashed, though drawings are in existence.

Leominster. At Leominster priory church, on the south side of the original Norman nave triforium story are remains of elaborate Norman decoration, the chevron and scallop ornaments being most used.

Tewkesbury. At Tewkesbury Abbey church, numerous most interesting paintings, stated to be of the twelfth century, have recently been discovered.

Devizes. At St. John's church, Devizes, on a Norman arcade, walled up in the chancel, remains of early painting were discovered.

Avington. At Avington church, Berkshire, on the columns of the chancel arch is a lozenge pattern, and on the soffit of the arch an irregular row of stars.

Stanford Dingley. At Stanford Dingley, in Berkshire, are masonry patterns, late twelfth century.

Stewkley. On the soffit of the chancel arch at Stewkley in Buckinghamshire a floral pattern was discovered and destroyed. The design has been copied in the present decoration of the vault of the chancel, the original being probably late twelfth century.

Castle Hedingham.[3] At Castle Hedingham church, Essex, on the south wall of the chancel is a painting of a bishop in full pontificals, now whitewashed over.

Hadleigh.[4] At Hadleigh, Essex, within the splay of a window is a figure with the inscription "Beatus Tomas" below it. This is by some supposed to have been painted between the years 1170 and 1173, the dates of the martyrdom and canonization of Thomas a Becket.

East Ham.[5] At East Ham, Essex, are some masonry patterns.

Guildford.[6] At St. Mary's Church, Guildford, are numerous paintings of the twelfth century, conjectured to be the work of William the Florentine; the subjects represented are, St. Michael weighing souls,

[1] *Builder*, 1864, p. 688, and a work on the Church, by the Rev. J. E. Jackson.
[2] *Ecclesiologist*, iii, 55.
[3] *Builder*, 1864, p. 724.
[4] Murray's *Handbook of Essex.*
[5] *Builder*, 1864, p. 688.
[6] *Builder*, 1864, p. 724. Collin's *Gothic Ornaments*, *plates* 37-40 and 44. *Archæological Journal*, xxvii' 413. Brayley's *History of Surrey.* Murray's *Handbook of Surrey.*

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the Torments of Hell, Our Lord in majesty, and various others, in medallions, with numerous scroll patterns.

Pirford. At Pirford church, Surrey, are paintings assigned to the early part of the twelfth century, viz., on north wall of nave "a scroll with figures above it, and beneath it two angels welcoming a soul to Paradise."

Brabourne. At Brabourne, Kent, at the east end of the chancel, some walled up Norman arches with a floral pattern have been recently discovered.

Ulcombe. At Ulcombe, Kent, on the soffit of an arch are some chevrons, late twelfth century.

Chichester.[1] On the east wall of the church of St. Olave, Chichester, are paintings of "The Assumption," "twelve figures in niches, &c.," assigned to the twelfth century.

Westmeston.[2] On the east wall of the nave of Westmeston church, Sussex, were subjects from the Passion, &c., twelfth century, now destroyed.

Slindon.[3] At Slindon church, Sussex, are ornamental patterns, partly of the twelfth century.

Battle.[4] On the north wall of the nave clerestory at Battle church in Sussex were discovered "a series of paintings of the twelfth century, with outlines of red ochre and flat tints of green, blue, yellow and red representing sacred subjects, with figures of saints and worthies in the window jambs." These are now very faint.

Winchfield. On the exterior of the tower of Winchfield church, Hampshire, is a large, though now faint, representation of a Salamander or serpent, probably coeval with the Norman tower.

Milton Abbas. At Milton abbey, Dorsetshire, on two panels, are early portraits of Athelstan and his queen, which may possibly date from the Norman period.

Tintagel.[5] At Tintagel, in Cornwall, beneath several layers of later paintings, a bold chevron pattern was discovered, which is now again concealed by a coating of yellow wash.

Brabourne. In conclusion should be mentioned as an unique specimen of Norman painting in a perfect state, a small window on the north side of the chancel of Brabourne church in Kent, the glass of which remains in perfect condition. This is believed to be the only perfect window remaining in England of the Norman period; and in Normandy there is also but one perfect relic of the glass of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

[1] *Sussex Archæological Journal.*
[2] *Archæological Journal,* xx, 168.
[3] *Sussex Archæological Journal,* xix, 130.
[4] Rev. E. C. Mackenzie Walcot's *Battle Abbey,* p. 77; *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ii, 147-155.
[5] *Ecclesiologist,* xii, 234.

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NOTES ON AN EFFIGY ATTRIBUTED TO RICHARD WELLESBORNE DE MONTFORT, AND OTHER SEPULCHRAL MEMORIALS IN HUGHENDEN CHURCH, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

BY ALBERT HARTSHORNE.

After the decisive victory at Evesham in 1265, in which Simon de Montfort, with his eldest son Henry, was slain, his widow Alianora, second daughter of King John and Isabella of Angoulême, with her only daughter Alianora, retired to a monastery at Montargis. His second son, Simon, after holding out for a time in Kenilworth Castle, and being excepted from taking any benefit under the *Dictum de Kenilworth*, fled finally to the Continent, and we hear of him in 1270 as taking part in the murder of Henry, eldest son of Richard, king of the Romans, at Viterbo. He was Count of Bigorre in France, where he founded a family bearing his patrimonial name. Almeric, the third son (Dugdale calls him the fourth), was first a priest in York; he embraced the military profession abroad, became a knight, and died shortly after 1283. Guy, the fourth son, (whom Dugdale calls the third) was taken prisoner at Evesham, and afterwards escaped into Italy, where he joined his brother Simon in the murder of his first cousin above mentioned.

> "For scarcely mass was done
> When Leicester's offspring, Guy and Simon fierce,
> Pierced his young heart with unrelenting swords."

He was Count of Anglezia and progenitor of the Montforts of Tuscany. Of the fifth son, Richard, Dugdale makes no mention; and Brooke, in his *Catalogue of Nobility*, says that Edward and Richard, sons of Simon de Montfort, died young, a statement which has not been corrected by Vincent on Brooke.

In Nichols' *History of Leicester*,[1] is the following deed, quoted as from Vincent's MSS., p. 40 b:

(1) Vol. i., part ii, appendix, p. 39, Charters and Grants of the early Earls of Leicester, *paragraph* 15.

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"Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Wellysborne filius comes Symonis de Monteforte unus filiorum domina Alianora filia Johannis Regis Angliæ dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea et concessione Mariæ ux mei Ricardo de la Rosehulles, unum messuagium cum gardino et cum tilag' et cum aliis pertin. supra Kingshull in parochia de Hugenden. Hiis testibus, Symone de Hugenden, Galfrido Tykfer, Ricardo Tere, Willielmo Brand et aliis."

There are two seals appended to this document. The one represents a man in coif, hauberk and gambeson, holding a banner of St. George in his right hand, armed with a sword suspended in front, and carrying a shield on his left arm, slung by a gigue, and charged with a lion rampant, double queued, and holding a child in its mouth. On either side of the figure, on a lozengy ground, is a fleur-de-lis. The legend runs: + S WELLISBVRNE · BELLATOR · FIL · SIMONIS · DE · MONTEFORTE.

The other seal exhibits a shield within a cusped circle, sub-cusped at the sides, hanging from a bough of a tree and charged with the lion rampant, double queued, holding a child in its mouth, with the legend: WELLESBVRNE · DE · LA · MONTEFORTE. The reverse is a *secretum* representing a shield within a cusped circle, and charged with a griffin segreant, a chief chequy,

At *paragraph* 16 of Nichols, as above, the following deed is quoted:—

"Ricardus Dominus de Wellesburne, miles, nuper de villâ de Wellesburne Monteforte, in com' Warwyke Dat' apud Wellesburne in com' War', anno 1 Edw. II.

To this deed is attached a seal containing a shield displaying a griffin segreant, a chief chequy, over all a bendlet dexter, with the legend, S. RICARDI DE WELLESBVRNE MILITIS. All these seals are engraved in Nichols, (Plate xii, figs. 4, 5, and 6).

There is no notice of Richard de Montfort in any of the Calendars of Inquisitions or Patent Rolls, but there is mention in a Close Roll of 49 Henry III. (1264), of a grant by the king to Richard de Montfort, son of Simon, Earl of Leicester, of fifteen head of deer in Sherwood Forest to stock his park, *where* is not mentioned.

The following entry appears in one of the old parish

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registers of Hughenden: "Memorandum, Nov. 1690, y^{t} in the Isle of the Chancel of Hitchenden Church was a brass Inscription taken off one of the tombstones, which certified y^{t} two children of Richard Wellesbourne of Kingshall were buried there above three hundred years agoe, whose names were formerly Montforts as ye Inscription specifieth. The brass was stolen away in October, 1690. Witness my hande, John Jenkins, Vicar."

A copy of Vincent's deed in Cotton MSS.,[1] has the following note, signed "W. Camden Clar."

"It is thought to be a forged deed by reason of the false Latin, the character new and the style absurd both in deed and seal."

Camden was no doubt the earliest writer on heraldry whose works are of real value, but whatever force his remarks may have as regards the wording of this document, it does not appear that he ever compared the heraldry of the seals with that on the effigy in the church. Since the genuineness of this remarkable figure is unquestionable, the joint evidence thus afforded must have due consideration, and in regard to Camden's scruples, the remarks of Langley, in his History of Desborough Hundred, himself no mean authority, are not without significance. He says: "No one would forge a grant from persons who did not possess the property granted; it at least shows that a son of Simon de Montfort and his wife Mary possessed lands in this parish, and it is remarkable that *true seals* were annexed to the deed."

Making allowance for the inferior work of Nichols' engravings there is certainly nothing in the style of the seals which is not of the period to which they pretend to belong. The only differences in the armorial bearings are that the griffin on the surcoat of the effigy holds a child in its paws which that of the *secretum* does not, and the lion rampant with a child in its mouth on the shield

[1] Nic. Charles Collectanea genealogica e cartis et registris cum sigill, delineat, *Julius C* vii, Plut. xviii, D. fol. 141.

We have not been able to find the deed quoted by Nichols among Vincent's MSS. at the College of Arms; the reference appears to be inaccurate. The copy by Nicholas Charles varies slightly in the orthography, but *his* drawings of the seals appear to have been exactly followed by Nichols' engraver.

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of the effigy is contained within an orle of crosses, trefflećs fitcheés, which does not appear upon either of the seals. The effigy being of course of a later date than the deed, these charges may have been subsequently assumed. It is not so easy to explain the non-appearance of the child in the griffin's paws in the seal to the deed dated 1 Edward II. The authenticity of this seal has, however, never been questioned, and it will be shown that this singular addition occurs in every sculptured example of this coat exhibited on and about the effigies in the church. It would seem that Langley cannot have compared the "true seals" with the effigy, because he says it represents Henry de Montfort, a Knight Templar, which he was not, and who certainly belonged to the family of the Montforts of Beaudesert who bore arms Bendy of ten or and az. With some inconsistency he goes on to say that the posterity of Richard, son of Simon de Montfort, are said to have assumed the name of Wellesborne, and to have lived at Wreck Hall in Hughenden.

Stothard says that Richard, fifth and youngest son of Simon de Montfort, did not fly the country after the battle of Evesham, but retired to Hughenden and assumed the name of Wellesborne. He confidently appropriates the effigy to this personage, and adds that the faulty Latin of Vincent's deed is "perhaps no proof of its being fictitious."

Lipscombe gets over the difficulty of the number of Simon de Montfort's sons by considering that Almeric and Richard were the same person; and we accordingly find that Almeric was banished after the battle of Evesham, that he returned to England, probably after having been to the Holy Land—for which there is not the slightest evidence—and assuming the name and arms of Wellesborne, lived at Hughenden.

Dugdale implies that Almeric died in Italy; and the one point in favour of his claim to be the founder of the family which continued at Hughenden until the time of Henry VI, is the peculiarity of the armorial bearings, the child in the lion's mouth. This has a certain foreign appearance, calling to mind the arms of the Visconti of Milan—a serpent with a female child in its mouth—so admirably exemplified in the fine equestrian statue of Bernabo Visconti, in the church of St. Giovanni in Conca,

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in Milan, who died in 1385; this resemblance, however, may well be fortuitous.

Now, supposing for a moment that the deed is fictitious, we still have the Close Roll entry, showing not only that Simon de Montfort had a son Richard, whose existence Dugdale ignores, but that he was in favour with the king at a time when his father and brothers were in open war against the crown, for the year before the battle of Evesham fifteen head of deer were granted to him from a royal forest. Whether he at once settled quietly at Hughenden, or was one of the 120 knights—the *cruce signati*—who received the cross at the hands of Ottoboni at Northampton in 1268, with the view of accompanying Prince Edward to the Holy Land, in 1270, it is needless to speculate much. The cross-legged attitude of the effigy is of course of itself no proof of such a voyage having been taken, but the intention may possibly be thus signified, and the addition of the crescent, thrice repeated at the feet, has appeared to certain authors to lend some colour to the belief.

If, on the other hand, we put faith in the deed and seals, we have to consider why the grantor used a *secretum* with the arms of Wellesburne. Langley thinks that the subject of the effigy took the name and arms of Wellesborne, from a place in Warwickshire belonging to the Montforts of Beldesert, called by Dugdale "Wellesborne Montfort." This is reasonable enough as far as it goes, and is corroborated by the heraldry of the effigy, but there does not appear to be the same confirmatory evidence to support him in his conjecture that Richard de Montfort married a Bishopsden, of which family one of the coats was, Bendy of six arg. and sa. a canton erm.—for it will be noticed that Bendy of ten, a canton, occurs only upon the scabbard of the sword, and it is unlikely that the arms of the wife would be placed in such a minor position.

Again, we may utterly ignore both the deed and the *secretum*, and we still have the authentic evidence of the effigy, which exhibits on the surcote the arms of Wellesborne. The not unreasonable inference to be drawn from this is, that Richard de Montfort married a Wellesborne heiress, who brought him lands there and probably the property in Hughenden. As regards this property we

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may for the moment recall the wording of the deed, where the consent of the wife was thought necessary.

It will be further shown that the coat of Bishopsden occurs only upon minor shields in connection with the effigies in the church, while the arms of Montfort of Beldesert are quartered with those of Wellesborne upon the principal shield of an effigy of an early period, probably of Richard's son; upon the jupon of a later effigy, and upon the shield of a figure of a still more recent date.

Juliana, a daughter of Henry de Montfort of Beldesert, (also called Peter,) was married to William de Bishopsden, who was enfeoffed by Henry with lands in Wellesborne; it is an open question whether Richard's wife was not also a daughter of Henry de Montfort, and thus possessed of property in Wellesborne and elsewhere. It is not easy otherwise to account for the appearance of the Beldesert Montfort coat in so conspicuous a manner on the later effigies, for it represents quite a different family. Against this theory it may be urged that the Beldesert Montfort coat does not appear at all on the effigy of Richard, where it might be expected. The date of the figure would partly account for this omission, marshalling by quartering being then quite in its infancy, and the arms of Wellesborne alone would have the preference as representing the property.

As regards the differences exhibited in the heraldry of the effigies, taking the deed of 1 Edward II, quoted by Nichols, we find on the seal the coat of Wellesborne without the child, and differenced with a bendlet dexter, like that of Henry of Lancaster (the arms of England differenced in the same way). On applying this to the effigy, which probably represents this second Richard, we find a quartered shield exhibiting—1, Montfort (much defaced); 2, Montfort of Beldesert; 3, defaced; 4, Wellesborne without the bendlet. On the effigy of the end of the fourteenth century we have Wellesborne without the bendlet, and Wellesborne without the chief; coming later still, an effigy apparently of the time of Henry V, exhibits a quartered shield of Montfort with the child, Montfort of Beldesert, and Wellesborne, differenced with an inescutcheon; lastly an effigy of the time of Henry VI presents a shield with the arms of Wellesborne, differenced with a

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bendlet, which is again differenced with three crosses, pattées fitchées.[1] As regards the differences of the Montfort coat, the orle of crosses trefflées fitchées appears only on the shield of the earliest effigy. The lion of Montfort is invariably shown with the child in its mouth, and the child in the Wellesborne griffin's paws is similarly a constant feature. The crescent occurring upon the slabs of three of these effigies is very noticeable. It was no doubt originally assumed as a badge with some significant allusion.

Thus, we have at Hughenden, in addition to the historical points which are involved, a most interesting display of heraldry, heraldic differences and devices; and it is probable that no five effigies in any parish church in the kingdom exhibit such valuable illustrations of cadency. Since these authentic memorials have suffered not a little from the inaccurate descriptions of historians, and the careless work of engravers; and, as Weever says, "such is the despight not so much of time, as of malevolent people, to all antiquities, especially of this kind,"[2] it may be well to place on record the information which is still afforded, both as regards the heraldry and the costume of the figures.

These sepulchral monuments appear to have remained undisturbed until 1818, when they were "cleaned" and placed much in the positions they now occupy by the late Mr. Norris.

> "What call unknown, what charms presume,
> To break the quiet of the tomb?
> Who is he with voice unblessed,
> That calls me from the bed of rest?

Taking them in chronological order, No. I is the effigy attributed to Richard Wellesborne de Montfort. It lay, in the time of Langley, under an arched recess in the north wall of the chapel. Mr. Norris placed it on a new tomb in the midst of the chapel, where it now remains.

The figure represents a man in the usual military costume of the end of the thirteenth century, viz.: in a coif,

[1] One of eight shields of arms, painted on paper and fixed on the cap of a shaft supporting the arcade that divides the chapel from the chancel, exhibits the coat of Wellesborne with the dexter bendlet with three crosses pattées fitchées, which are each again differenced with an ermine spot. These shields were apparently put up by Mr. Norris.

[2] *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, p. 661.

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hauberk and chausses of mail, a gambeson, and a surcote, confined at the waist by a cingulum. On the forehead, the coif is arranged in a most unusual way. An oblong opening is shown over the temples, closed on the right side by a lace threaded at intervals through a band of mail of two rows, with the links set in the same direction, like the mail on the effigy of Peter, Earl of Richmond, in the church of Aquabella, in Savoy, who died in 1267. The lower edge of the lining of the coif is shown, and the object of this contrivance was to enable the wearer to put off the coif when he chose. The lace being unfastened, this hood would fall backwards upon the shoulders, in the same manner as we see it represented in the effigy of a De Ros, in the Temple Church; in that of Brian Fitz Alan, at Bedale, and in the effigy of Robert, son of St. Louis, formerly in the church of the Jacobins, at Paris. This arrangement answered the same purpose as that shown in a different manner in a knightly figure at Pershore.

In this opening is shown the cervelière or scull cap of iron. Joinville in his Memoirs, speaking of St. Louis, says, "he raised the helmet from his head, on which I gave him my chapelle de fer, which was much lighter."[1] The gambeson, here represented in the usual manner, calls for no special remark; it was a hot substantial garment, padded with cotton or tow, and quilted, as in this example, in parallel lines. The knight wears a ponderous broad-bladed sword with seven shields on the scabbard, viz :—1, defaced; 2, bendy of ten, a canton, Bishopsden; 3, a chevron, Stafford (?); 4, a cross, Bigod, Earl of Norfolk (?); 5, chequy, Warrenne (?); 6, quarterly, Mandeville, Earl of Essex (?); 7, a pale, Grantmesnil (?). In his right hand he grasps a dagger, slung from the cingulum by a thin cord. The figure is considered by Meyrick to exhibit the earliest example of a dagger worn with the sword. He puts the date as about 1275.

In the *Statutes* of William the Lion, King of Scotland, (1165—1214) a knight is thus spoken of :—"Habeat equum, habergeon, capitium è ferro, ensem et cutellum, qui dicitur dagger.[2] Again, St. Gelais, in his *Viridario Honoris*, says, "à son costé chascun la courte dague,"

[1] *Meyrick's Ancient Armour*, v. i, p. 102.
[2] *Meyrick*, v. 1, p. 139.

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Effigy in Hughenden Church

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and, with regard to the sword, "à leur costé l'espée longue et large."[1]

On the dexter side of the head of the effigy is a coat, bendy of ten, a chief, Betun (?).[2] The principal shield is of large size, as in all early effigies, and is charged with the following arms:—Within an orle of crosses trefflées fitchés, a lion rampant double queued, preying on a child. Three crescents are sculptured on a block at the feet. The effigy is executed in a light red stone, and represents a powerful and life-like figure. There is no departure from the usual manner of representing the deceased at this period, but there is an amount of repose and vigour about the statue which is extremely striking, and we may justly admire the dignity which it presents.

No. II represents a figure in low relief, carved in Purbeck marble upon a greatly disintegrated slab, narrowing to the feet, and probably originally placed level with the pavement as the lid of a coffin. It is now placed upon a low modern tomb in the arched recess from which the effigy No. I was ejected by Mr. Norris.

A man is here shown in a plain coif and chausses, and a "cote gamboisiée." Meyrick tells us[3] that these gamboised coats were made more ornamental than ordinary gambesons, and this is confirmed by the present example which has a collar ornamented with roundels, similar decorations occurring on the lower edge of the skirt. It is perhaps a unique instance of the representation of such a garment on a military effigy. Upon the body is a large shield covering the arms of the figure and exhibiting the coats of Montfort with the child, Montfort of Beldesert, and Welllesborne; the third quarter was entirely defaced in Langley's time (before 1798). The knight holds up in his right hand a naked sword and in his left a staff with a cross on the top. In front of the right leg is a second sword, not suspended in any way, and piercing the neck of a mutilated lion. Lipscombe compares this beast to an owl, and his engraver has turned it into a cherub. On the slab, at the dexter side of the face, are two small shields, one charged with a chevron,

[1] Vol. i, p. 139.

[2] The bends being only just out of the vertical direction it is impossible to say whether these charges or pales are intended.

[3] Vol. i, p. 139.

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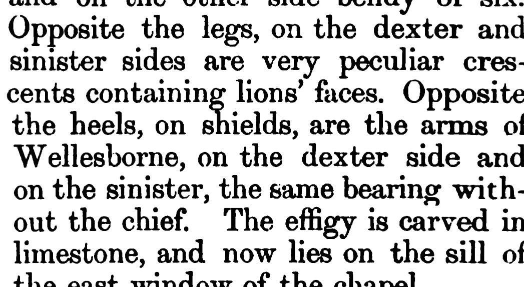
the other showing bendy. On the sinister side are two similar shields, the one with a cross, the other with a saltire. On the breast is a heart, and close by it a small shield entirely defaced.

No. III is an effigy in the well known military costume of the time of the Black Prince, consisting of a bascinet, camail, and jupon, a skirt of mail and the usual defenses of plate for the arms and legs, the latter resting upon a lion with a shield on its chest, charged with the arms of Wellesborne. The original fore-arms and gauntlets had been broken away before the time of Langley and rudely re-carved, partly out of the upper portion of the body. On the jupon, below the waist, are the arms of Montfort of Beldesert, Wellesborne without the chief, and Montfort with the child. On the breast below the camail is a heart. The head reposes upon two couchant griffins, much mutilated, and each holding a child within its outstretched paws. On the slab at either side of the camail are shields bearing the arms of Montfort with the child. Opposite the waist on the dexter side is a shield with bendy of four, a canton sinister, and on the other side bendy of six. Opposite the legs, on the dexter and sinister sides are very peculiar crescents containing lions' faces. Opposite the heels, on shields, are the arms of Wellesborne, on the dexter side and on the sinister, the same bearing without the chief. The effigy is carved in limestone, and now lies on the sill of the east window of the chapel.



Quarter Full Size.

No. IV is the effigy of a man of the time of Henry VI. This represents a bare-headed figure wearing a close garment with a collar, and skirts in vertical folds. It is much abraded and no armour is visible. He holds up a sword in his right hand and on his breast is a shield quartering :—1, Montfort with the child; 2 and 3, Montfort of Beldesert; 4, Wellesborne. Above the head on the slab are two shields with the charges entirely defaced and between them a crescent. The feet are clear of a greyhound courant. It is carved

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in limestone, and is now reared up against the wall on the north side of the east window of the chapel.

No. V represents a man in a costume of a slightly later date than No. IV. It is similarly carved in limestone, in low relief, and formerly lay on the floor of the chancel. It is now placed in a vertical position against the wall, on the south side of the east window of the chapel. Here we have a knight wearing a helm for the *combat à l'outrance*, with a single cleft, and perforations for breathing in the upper part. On his body he has a shield with the coat of Wellesborne, debruised by a bendlet dexter, charged with three crosses, pattées fitchées. He wears tassets reaching to the middle of the thighs and a skirt of ring mail. In his upraised right hand he carries a mace or *masuel*, perhaps the only instance of such a weapon occurring upon a monumental effigy in this country. It reminds us of the *martel* or horseman's hammer, borne by a figure of an earlier period, at Great Malvern. The example at Hughenden is no doubt a mace for the tournament of which the herald in Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* thus speaks:

> "God speed you goth and layeth on fast,
> With swords and long mases fighten your fill." [1]

It was the special weapon of the sergeant-at-arms, and as such is represented in an incised figure now in the church of St. Denis. On the dexter side of the slab, which is 6 ft. 3 in. long, 2 ft. 1 in. wide, and 9 in. thick, the following arms are sculptured upon shields:—1, a saltire and a cross, pattée grady; 2. a cross of St. George, and an inescutcheon; 3, on a chief three pellets; 4, Montfort of Beldesert; 5, a chevron, between three crosses pattées, Berkeley (?) ; 6, bendy of 10, a chief chequy ; a coat of Wellesbourne (?). On the sinister side are these coats:—7 as 3, 8 as 2, 9 as 4, 10 as 1, 11 as 5. The effigy probably represents John Wellesborne, whose name occurs among the gentry of the county in 12 Henry VI. (1433), and who was Member for Wycombe in several sessions during that reign. The costume is of the latter part of the time of Henry VI.

Upon a high tomb, in an arched recess in the south

[1] Edit. 1597.

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wall of the chapel, is a ghastly representation of a full sized corpse, stretched upon a winding sheet or shroud, which partly envelops it. The *sternum* or breast bone is hollowed out in the shape of "a mystic oval," containing a little figure, with the hands elevated. This represents the departed soul, and may be compared with a similar object in the hands of a knight of the fifteenth century in the church of Minster, Isle of Sheppey;[1] On the breast are eight incised crosses.

The figure shows considerable power of sculpture and knowledge of anatomy, and is of a kind not unusually found in most cathedral churches. Here, as elsewhere, the foolish legend is attached that the deceased endeavoured to fast for forty days. These repulsive memorials were no doubt intended to convey a salutary lesson to the living, and are striking instances of the terrors with which death was associated in the minds of our forefathers.[2] We happily live in a more rational age, and "the lively picture of death" merely appears at the present day as a strange ensample of the religious teaching of the fifteenth century.

It is a matter for congratulation that these valuable memorials of an ancient family are now under the enlightened protection of the noble owner of Hughenden; and that, in this instance at least, we cannot say with Weever:—"Alas! our own noble monuments and precyouses antiquyties wych are the great bewtie of our lande, we as little regarde as the parynges of our nayles."

[1] See *Archæological Journal*, vol. vi, p. 354.

[2] A similar figure at Tewkesbury has lizards and other reptiles creeping about the body.

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DR. SCHLIEMANN'S TROJAN COLLECTION.

BY BERTRAM FULKE HARTSHORNE, B. A.

Few persons can have anticipated that the wild and uninhabited plateau of Hissarlik would surrender to the excavator such treasures as are now exhibited at the South Kensington Museum. The history of Dr. Schliemann's discoveries on this memorable site is well known to all archæologists, but the fruits of his successful labours can at length be fully realized and appreciated. The collection which he has generously brought to England for exhibition fills twenty or thirty cases, and consists of about one-twentieth part, but that by far the most important portion of the total number of objects brought to light.

It will be remembered that below the remains of the Greek city, Ilium Novum, the strata of four separate cities were found one below the other, the native rock being only reached at a depth of fifty-two feet from the surface. The earliest of these cities extends upwards for nineteen feet, thus occupying in the series of the strata the space lying between the depths of thirty-three feet and fifty-two feet from the the present surface soil.

The principal objects discovered in this stratum consist of highly glazed black vases with two vertical tubular holes for suspension, funeral urns of black clay, brooches of bronze or silver, indented flint knives, spindle whorls of clay with or without incised ornaments, needles of bone and ivory, whetstones, stone hammers and axes, hand-mill stones, black and highly glazed hand-made pottery, with incised ornamental patterns filled in with white clay, and a glazed red goblet with one handle, closely resembling the Mycenæan goblets. All these remains afford evidence of a very early, but not of the rudest, stage of civilization. They are, indeed, the relics of the city, which, according to the tradition preserved by Homer, underwent destruction at the hands of Herakles himself.

Ὅς ποτε δεῦρ' ἐλθὼν ἕνεχ' ἵππων Λαομέδοντος
Ἕξ οἴῃς σὺν νηυσὶ καὶ ἀνδράσι παυροτέροισιν
Ἰλίου ἐξαλάπαξε πόλιν, χήρωσε δ' ἀγυιάς

Il. v, 642.

"With but six ships, and with a scanty band,
The horses by Laomedon withheld
Avenging, he o'erthrew this city, Troy,
And made her streets a desert."

Lord Derby's Translation.

The next succeeding city, which Dr. Schliemann identified with the Troy of Homer, reaches upwards, from the depth of thirty-three feet to the depth of twenty-three feet. The discoveries made in this

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stratum probably attract the most general interest. They may at once be readily distinguished, owing to the simple and convenient method of classification which has been adopted, whereby each individual object in the entire collection is marked with a printed label, shewing the depth at which it was found. In this city, the second from the bottom and the fourth from the top, was brought to light that which Dr. Schliemann called the "Treasure of Priam," and which is here designated the "Trojan Treasure." It has already been rendered familiar to English readers by the excellent illustrations given in his well known work "*Troy and its Remains*," and it now forms the contents of two large glass cases. Most conspicuous among the numerous golden ornaments are the two diadems, severally identified by Mr. Gladstone, with the *πλεκτὴ ἀναδέσμη* such as Homer describes Andromache to have worn. Either of them may possibly be the very one which she tore from her head in her grief at the death of Hector.

> *Τῆλε δ' ἀπὸ κρατὸς βάλε δέσματα σιγαλόεντα,*
> *Ἄμπυκα κεκρύφαλόν τε ἰδὲ πλεκτὴν ἀναδέσμην*
> *Κρήδεμνόν θ' ὃ ῥά οἱ δῶκε χρυσέη Ἀφροδίτη.*
>
> Il. xxii, 470.

> "Far off were flung th' adornments of her head;
> The net, the fillet, and the woven bands;
> The nuptial veil by golden Venus giv'n."
>
> *Lord Derby's Translation.*

They appear bright and perfect as if newly made, whilst the ingenuity and regular workmanship shewn in their construction, at once gives them a high artistic value. The larger one of the two consists of sixty-one small chains, formed by leaves of repoussé work, and evidently originally suspended from a flat golden band or *ἄμπυξ*, which would have encircled the head of the wearer. Seven of these chains, at either extremity of the band, are about ten inches in length. They would probably have fallen over the sides of the head, whilst the remainder formed a sort of fringe, four inches long, over the forehead. At the bottom of every chain hangs a peculiarly shaped flat piece of gold, stamped with a line down the centre and two dots on either side, forming, as Dr. Schliemann thinks, an unmistakeable representation of the Γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.

In the other diadem the corresponding pendants of the chains are differently ornamented, but it is possible to observe in them a conventional configuration of the human form.

The beautiful golden cup with two handles is one of the most striking and the most interesting features of the Trojan Treasure. Its intrinsic value is also considerable, as may be inferred from its weight, one pound and six ounces. Until quite recently, Dr. Schliemann was of opinion that it had been cast in a mould. It now appears, however, that this is not the case, for it has been discovered that the body of the cup is composed of two separate plates of gold welded together by the hammer, *σφυρήλατον*. In this respect it answers to the description of the cup or dish given by Achilles, for the fifth prize in the games celebrated after the funeral rites of Patroclus:—

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πέμπτῳ δ' ἀμφίθετον φιάλην ἀπύρωτον ἔθηκεν.
Il. xxiii, 270.

"For the fifth, a vase
With double cup, untouched by fire, he gave."
Lord Derby's Translation.

There can be no doubt that it is, as Dr. Schliemann says, the Homeric δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον, and that the meaning of these words is not, as was formerly supposed, a double cup with a common bottom in the centre, but a cup with a handle on either side, an interpretation supported by the analogy of the word ἀμφιφορεὺς, and more consonant with the idea implied by the word ἀμφί. It is suggested that the mouth at one end, being larger than that at the opposite end, may have been used for pouring libations, and that the worshipper afterwards drank from the smaller end, as when Achilles poured a libation to Zeus from the cup which he treasured up in his chest. The cup is not, however, here called ἀμφικύπελλον; none ever drank from it save Achilles himself, and he poured libations from it to Zeus alone.

ἔνθα δέ οἱ δέπας ἔσκε τετυγμένον, οὐδέ τις ἄλλος
Οὔτ ἀνδρῶν πίνεσκεν ἀπ' ἀυτοῦ αἴθοπα οἶνον
Οὔτέ τεῳ σπένδεσκε θεῶν, ὅτι μὴ Διῒ πατρί.
Il. xvi, 227.

"There lay a goblet, richly chas'd, whence none
But he alone, might drink the ruddy wine,
Nor might libations thence to other Gods
Be made, save only Jove.
Lord Derby's Translation.

A passage in Virgil seems fully to illustrate the use of a cup of this nature:—

"Dixit, et in mensam laticum libavit honorem
Primaque, libato, summo tenus attigit ore,
Tum Bitiæ dedit increpitans; ille impiger hausit
Spumantem pateram et pleno se proluit auro,
Post alii proceres." Æn. i, 740.

Here Dido first poured the libation and then drank herself, handing the cup on to Bitias, who in turn passed it on to the other chiefs. The two handles would seem to be necessitated by the shape of the cup itself, and they would be convenient for the purpose of sending it round at the banquet from one person to another.

Other cups of gold and of silver, together with golden bracelets and earrings and an immense number of small gold jewels, also form part of the Trojan treasure, as well as six flat blades of pure silver, which Dr. Schliemann thinks are most probably Homeric talents; they consist of three pairs, differing in size, the largest pair weighing about one pound, and the smallest pair about one ounce less. Their several values therefore would not have been uniform. Irrespective of the Trojan treasure, the principal relics of the Homeric Ilium were numerous hand-made vases and wheel-made dishes, many of the former bearing the owl-headed or the human type, idols or figures of

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bone, marble, clay or common stone with incised owl heads, funeral urns with human ashes, spindle whorls, either plain, ornamented, or bearing inscriptions in Cyprian characters, lyres of ivory, needles of bone or ivory, silver brooches, and immense jars of baked clay ; and, as in the lowest stratum of all, indented flint knives and hammers and other stone implements were found along with bronze weapons.

Among the remains of the city next above this Homeric Ilium, hand-made pottery was also discovered, but it was inferior in character to that of the older and lower city ; spindle whorls, owl vases, and stone hammers were common, but goblets in the form of hour glasses were peculiar to this stratum.

In the next succeeding city, the remains of which extended from the depth of six and a half to thirteen feet from the surface, the buildings were chiefly of wood, a fact now attested by the vast layers of ashes which have taken their place. Here, the implements were mainly of flint, and the level of civilization generally indicated is lower than that of either of the two preceding and older cities.

This curious concurrence of stone and bronze instruments in the older cities, coupled with a progressive decadence in the social arts, betokens perhaps somewhat of an anomaly, but as Mr Philip Smith, the learned editor of the English edition of "*Troy and its Remains*," has pointed out, it demonstrates the impossibility of fixing by a hard and fast line, at any rate in this locality, the respective ages of stone and bronze.

The collection of pottery is very large, and it embodies a great variety of shapes and forms. Some of the long narrow necks and spouts closely resemble the wares which are made at the present day at Chanak Kalessi, the seaport town, about fourteen miles from the site of Homer's Troy. The representations of the Ilian goddess, the θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθηνη, are quite evident in many of the vases or jars, particularly in that splendid example discovered in the palace of Priam, which now stands in the case where three human skulls are shown. It forms illustration No. 219, at p. 307, of "*Troy and its Remains*." Occasionally, the lid or covering of a jar is made in imitation of the φάλος or helmet, as may be seen in illustrations No. 195, at p. 283, No. 207, at p. 294, and No 173 at p. 258; but there are other examples in which it is less easy to discover the characteristics of the owl countenance, whilst in two instances at least the whole human face is clearly delineated—see No. 185, p. 268, and No. 74, p. 115. In cases where the sharp beak and large eyes of the owl are unmistakeable, the addition of the breasts and ὄμφαλος in the same figure is of course inconsistent with the view that it represents the θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη, unless it is conceded, as regards the age to which these examples must be assigned, that this expression signifies "Athene, with the face or countenance of an owl," and not merely "with large or bright eyes." In this connexion it is interesting to note that Dr. Schliemann, in 1872, anticipated the subsequent discovery of the image of the βοῶπις Ἥρη upon idols, cups, or vases at Mycenæ (*Troy and its Remains*, p. 113) and a few specimens from that place, exhibiting the cow's head and horns, one being beautifully engraved as a seal on a piece of agate, are added to the Trojan collection at South Kensington.

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Dr. Schliemann's summary of the arguments, with his final conclusions, regarding the respective meanings of the epithets γλαυκῶπις and βοῶπις will be found at page 22 of his most interesting work upon his discoveries at Mycenæ. "No one," he writes, "will for a moment doubt" that these Homeric epithets shew that Hera and Athene were severally represented at one time with the face of a cow, and with the face of an owl, but that in the history of the two words there are evidently three stages in which they had different significations. In the first stage the ideal conception and the naming of the goddesses took place, and in that naming the epithets were figurative or ideal, that is, natural. Hera, as deity of the moon, would receive her epithet βοῶπις from the symbolic horns of the crescent moon and its dark spots, which resemble a face with large eyes; whilst Athene, as goddess of the dawn, received the epithet γλαυκῶπις, to indicate the light of the opening day. In the second stage, to which the prehistoric ruins of Hissarlik and Mycenæ belong, the deities were represented by idols in which the former figurative intention was forgotten, and the epithets were materialized into a cow-face for Hera, and an owl-face for Athene. The third stage, in which the Homeric rhapsodies are included, is when, after Hera and Athene had lost their cow and owl faces, and received the faces of women, the cow and owl had become the attributes of these deities, and the ancient epithets βοῶπις and γλαυκῶπις continued to be used probably in the sense of "large-eyed" and "owl-eyed." An unprejudiced and careful examination of the present collection will tend to confirm this theory. It will further illustrate the general anthropomorphous tendency of the pre-Homeric as well as of later ages in regard to culture and the arts.

The projections which at the sides of some of the vases are manifestly meant for ears, as in illustration No. 132, p. 171, and No. 185 at p. 268, appear in others in an altered shape, and are affixed to the sides so as to serve merely as handles or ledges for lifting the vessel, as in illustration No. 136, p. 171; hence we meet with such an expression as τρίποδα ὠτώεντα, Il. xxiii, 264, of which an admirable representation may be seen on page 152, No. 106, or p. 229, No. 161.

Numerous specimens of terra cotta δέπα ἀμφικύπελλα, of exceedingly graceful shape, are grouped together in one case, each with supports to keep it in the proper position for holding liquid, for the bottom terminates in a point which would not preserve equilibrium. Some belong to the stratum of the Homeric Troy, whilst others of similar design and character come from the latest Greek city, having been discovered at a depth of about only six feet from the surface. Spindle whorls of terra cotta were found in great numbers at all depths at Hissarlik, and several hundreds of them are exhibited. They are of innumerable kinds, and display great diversity of ornamentation. Rude figures of animals or representations of lightning, or of the stars of heaven are here and there plainly discernible; several small round balls of terra cotta are marked in a somewhat similar manner. One which is suspended in order to show the whole of the design upon its outer surface is described thus: "The Ilian Minerva, in form of an owl, with two hands (one of which has three fingers) rising to heaven,

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having to her right a wheel symbolical of the sun, to her left the full moon, and between the sun and moon the morning star. On the reverse, the hair of the goddess is distinctly engraved." No. 2579.

The actual purpose served by the spindle whorls is not very clear, unless they were, as Dr. Schliemann suggests, ex voto offerings; this explanation however does not seem to be founded upon anything but supposition, nor does it account for the reason why these offerings should have assumed so peculiar a character in such numerous instances. They do not appear to have been, in any case, used for the practical operations of spinning as they show no signs of friction or marks of wear and tear. In shape they answer to the description of the *σφόνδυλοι*, given in the tenth book of Plato's Republic, § 616, where the Spindle of Necessity, the mother of the Fates, is said to revolve to the songs of the Sirens as a new cycle of mortal existence is prepared for the departed spirits.

"*τὴν δὲ τοῦ σφονδύλου φύσιν εἶναι τοιάνδε, το μὲν σχῆμα οἵαπερ ἡ τοῦ ἐνθάδε· νοῆσαι δὲ δεῖ ἐξ ὧν ἔλεγε, τοιόνδε αὐτὸν εἶναι, ὥσπερ ἂν ει ἐν ἑνὶ μεγάλῳ σφονδύλῳ κοίλῳ καὶ ἐξεγλυμμένῳ διαμπερὲς ἄλλος τοιοῦτος ἐλάττων ἐγκέοιτο ἁρμόττων, καθάπερ οἱ κάδοι οἱ εἰς ἀλλήλους ἁρμόττοντες· καὶ οὕτω δὴ τρίτον ἄλλον καὶ τέταρτον καὶ ἄλλους τέτταρας. Ὀκτὼ γὰρ εἶναι τοὺς ξύμπαντας σφονδύλους, ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἐγκειμένους κύκλους ἄνωθεν τὰ χείλη φαίνοντας, νῶτον συνεχὲς ἑνὸς σφονδύλου ἀπεργαζομένους περὶ τὴν ἠλακάτην ἐκείνην δὲ διὰ μέσου τοῦ ὀγδόου διαμπερὲς ἐληλάσθαι.*"

Or, as Professor Jowett translates, "Now the whorl is in form like the whorl used on earth; and you are to suppose, as he described, that there is one large hollow whorl which is scooped out, and into this is fitted another lesser one, and another and another, and four others, making eight in all, like boxes which fit into one another; their edges are turned upwards, and all together form one continuous whorl. This is pierced by the spindle which is driven home through the centre of the eighth."

It should be added that among the patterns engraved upon these Trojan whorls, and other terra cotta objects, is frequently found the Swastika, one of the most ancient emblems of the Aryan race, a circumstance which would seem to indicate the common Aryan descent of all the successive inhabitants of the site of Hissarlik, before the age of the Greek city Ilium Novum. But the chief point of interest in the whorls is the discovery of inscriptions upon some of them in ancient Cyprian characters; it is not improbable that one of these has been correctly deciphered by Professor Gomperz of Vienna, who reading from right to left, made out the characters to represent the Greek words *ταγῷ δίῳ*, "to the divine commander." This interpretation cannot be utilized at all as a key to the solution of the meaning of the other marks or characters which can be traced on whorls or vases, terra cotta balls, or other objects; still it is sufficient, as Professor Gomperz maintains, to prove that although no direct mention of the art of writing is made in the poems of Homer, still the Greeks before that epoch were acquainted with a written language.

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Original Document.

Communicated by JOSEPH BAIN, F.S.A. Scot.

This document was noted some time ago in consequence of hearing and in due time reading Mr. G. T. Clark's interesting memoir on Guildford Castle (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xxix, pp. 1 et seqq.) There is no date or signature, nor is the name of the king given. So these particulars can only be guessed at from the persons who are suggested as fit gaol-deliverers for the counties of Sussex and Surrey. William Brayboef appears as one of the Justices itinerant at Winchester in the Octaves of Hilary, 1280-1 (*Calendar of Documents, Ireland*, by Mr. H. S. Sweetman. No. 1778). William de Braybof, possibly the same person, appears a little earlier in letters of attorney, directed to the king's bailiffs in Ireland, about 4th June, 1278 (Ib., No. 1458). William de Wintreshill is a witness to a deed by Thomas de Clare on 30th March, 1270 (Ib., No. 867). From Brayley and Mantell's *Surrey* (vol. ii, pp. 31 and 53,) it appears that William de Wintreshull was a landowner in the Hundred of Woking in 1270, and died in April, 1287. And though his brother Justice, W. de Braboef, is not mentioned by name, yet as there was a manor of Brabeuf or Brabief, near Guildford, which was owned by Geoffry de Brabeuf and his descendants from the 16th of Henry III (1232) for 130 years, it is more than probable that this Justice was also a Surrey landowner (Ib., vol. i, pp. 302-3). Sir William de Wyntershylle and other Justices are found sitting at Winton, in August, 1271 (Luard's *Annales Monastici*, Rolls' Pub., ii, p. iii). I do not find any mention of Sir Dauid de Jargovile, so far as I have been able to look. It may thus be concluded that the document is, in all probability, to be referred to the end of Henry III's reign or beginning of his son's. And as the keep of Guildford Castle, doubtless the "prison" referred to, does not seem to have been converted to that use before the 51st of Henry III (1267), (Brayley and Mantell, vol. i, p. 320,) it would appear that it was very soon found to be defective in its accommodation; though, as we learn from authorities, it continued for upwards of two centuries to be the common gaol for Surrey and Sussex, till the inhabitants of Sussex, making a strong representation to Parliament (3rd of Henry VII., 1488), obtained the prayer of their petition, that their county gaol should be at Lewes (Brayley and Mantell, vol. i, p. 321). The contractions of the original are supplied. It is seven inches long by two deep, and forms No. 4692 of the collection of Royal, &c., letters in the Public Record Office. Mr. W. D. Selby of that Office has kindly decyphered several doubtful letters in the last sentence, shewing that the matter was very urgent.

"Por ce que la prison de Guildeford est plaine et grant mestier et auroit de deliurance nos vos prioms que vos voillez granter que mon sire Willaume de Braiboef Sire Willaume de Wintreshull et Sire Daui de Jargonüile ou un [ou] deus de eus par autres cheualiers que il porront acompagner a eus—des Contes de Sussey ou de Surrey. poussent deliurer les prisons des deus Contez. Aussi ceus qui [sont] rete de mort de home com dautre ret. Ceste chose vos prioms nos a ceste foiz despecial grace."

[No Endorsement.]

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Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

April 6, 1877.

The Lord Talbot de Malahide, President, in the Chair.

A paper, by Mr. G. T. Clark, on Norham Castle, was read, in the absence of the author, by Mr. Brailsford. The value of this careful account of the celebrated "Castle Dangerous," of the Marches, was spoken of by the noble Chairman, who expressed his great satisfaction that this interesting building had found such an accomplished exponent. The author had added one more to the long list of the valuable memoirs which had proceeded from his pen. A cordial vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Clark for his paper, which is printed in vol. xxxiii, p. 307, of the Journal.

Mr. M. H. Bloxam then read the following notice :—

"On an Ancient Inscribed Sepulchral Slab, found at Monkwearmouth, in the County of Durham.—Of the original church of the ancient Monastery of Monkwearmouth, near Sunderland, in the County of Durham, erected by Benedict Biscopius, A.D. 674, ten years earlier than the foundation of Jarrow, which took place A.D. 684, no part of the structure now exists, except the tower.

"Interesting particulars of the foundation of Monkwearmouth Monastery, and of the erection of the church, are given by Venerable Beda. He, indeed, may be considered as a contemporaneous writer. The workmen were from Gaul, brought over expressly by Biscopius. The windows were glazed, and the walls covered with paintings and other decorative embellishments.

"Biscopius himself was the first Abbot. He died A.D. 690, and was succeeded in the Abbacy by Ceolfrid, who died A.D. 716, when Huaetbertus became the third Abbot.

"This Monastery was destroyed by the Danes about A.D. 869, and again A.D. 1070. The church has been recently restored, and was reopened for divine service A.D. 1875.

"On the 24th of September, 1866, the *Porticus ingressus*, forming the lower or ground stage of the tower, was excavated under the superintendence of Canon Greenwell, the Rev. J. F. Hodgson, and other members of the Archæological Society of Durham and Northumberland. In the excavations which then took place—the rubbish, which covered the floor of the porticus—was cleared away, and about eight feet below the external surface the labourers raised with their picks an oblong sepulchral slab of sandstone, which had evidently been removed from its original position, as the inscribed face had been laid downwards. Beneath this slab was found a stone coffin, said to be of a mediæval type, full of human bones, mixed together indiscriminately

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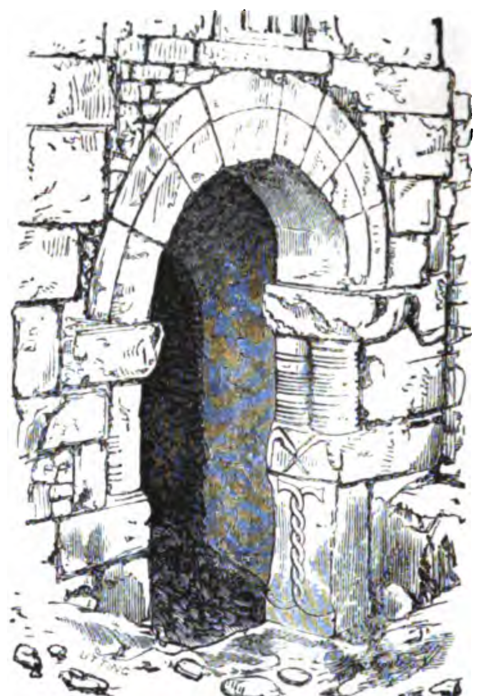

The Porticus Ingressus,—Monkwearmouth Church.

Sepulchral Slab
found at Monkwearmouth Church.

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with upwards of a dozen skulls. This sepulchral slab was four feet long by two and a half feet wide.[1] It was covered with a cross in low relief, and on either side of the cross was a Latin inscription, in letters carefully cut by some skilled workman, well defined, and very perfect. The shape of the cross is that of a rare and early Anglo-Saxon type, of, I should think, the seventh or eighth century. An ancient sepulchral slab, with an incised cross approximating this shape, was, in the year 1833, discovered at Hartlepool. This slab, bearing a Runic inscription, has been considered by Professor Stevens, of Copenhagen, to be of the seventh century.

"In the famous Gospel, called the Gospel of St. Chad, now preserved in Lichfield Cathedral, and supposed, from the paleography, to have been written about A.D. 700, is an illumination which exhibits in outline much the same form of cross as that on the sepulchral slab found at Monkwearmouth.

"The inscription on this slab, which is peculiar, is as follows:—

Hic in sepulchro requiescit
corpore Herebericht P̄R̄B

The three last letters with the line over forms the abbreviation of the word "Presbyter."

"Venerable Bede or Beda died and was buried at Jarrow, A. D. 735. In the twelfth century, A. D. 1104, his remains were translated to Durham Cathedral. William of Malmesbury, one of our ancient Chroniclers, who flourished in the early half of the twelfth century, gives us the original epitaph over the tomb or grave of Beda at Jarrow. The first line of which is as follows:—

Presbyter hic Beda requiescit carne sepultus.

"On comparing this inscription with that on the slab at Monkwearmouth, we may at once perceive how nearly they coincide. One indeed appears to have been a plagiarism on the other. For if "*in sepulchro*" we read "*sepultus*," and for "*corpore*" we read "*carne*," the rest is a mere transposition of words.

"But who was Herebericht, of whom this sepulchral slab at Monkwearmouth was commemorative?

"Beda, in the fourth book of his *Ecclesiastical History*, chap. xxix, A. D. 687, tells us of a companion to St. Cuthbert of this name, 'Erat enim Presbyter vitæ venerabilis nomine Hereberct.'

"There was a certain Priest of venerable life called Hereberct."

"Then the legend goes on to state that he died on the same day as St. Cuthbert, the 11th of the kalends of April (20th March), A. D. 687. This Hereberct lived a solitary life on an island in the lake of Derwentwater, but as he was accustomed to visit St. Cuthbert every year, and paid his accustomed visit shortly before the death of the latter, it is probable he died at a distance from his hermitage. To this Presbyter Herebericht I would assign this sepulchral slab, which, if I am correct, is probably the earliest Christian sepulchral monument in this country, to which a precise date can be assigned.

"The discovery of this slab, therefore, the form of the cross, the latinity of the inscription, the formation of the letters by a skilled hand; carrying us back probably to the days of St Cuthbert and to

[1] Another account states it to have been forty inches long by twenty inches wide.

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those of venerable Beda—to a somewhat remote period in our Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical history, is a matter not devoid of importance.

"The name of Herebericht occurs in the Durham *Liber Vitæ*, but at what period this Hereberieht lived I am ignorant; the entry in that book is said to have been of the ninth century, but I think the slab is of an earlier period. There is, however, room for a difference of opinion.

"Unable during the last summer and autumn, to visit Monkwearmouth, as I had hoped, I feel under obligations to Mr. R. Danks, of 19, Olive street, Sunderland, for having most courteously answered several of my letters of inquiry. To him, also, I am indebted for photographs of the sepulchral slab, and of the Anglo-Saxon doorway of the Porticus ingressus of the church of Monkwearmouth, published by Mr. A. M. Carr, Bridge street, Sunderland."

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Professor CHURCH.—A silver-gilt mounted and inscribed Mazer bowl of knarled root-wood of maple, six and a half inches in diameter and two inches high. This had been long preserved in private hands at Cirencester, where a tradition of a somewhat indefinite character, states that it belonged to one of the hospices of a religious guild in that town. It was taken to Gloucester and purchased by Professor Church in the spring of 1876. It has no Hall mark, but is undoubtedly of English manufacture, and may be compared with a *ciphus* of the same period, which it greatly resembles, belonging to Mr. Fountaine, of Narford Hall, Norfolk, engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii, p. 393. The date of the Narford Mazer may be safely placed at 1532, and the Cirencester example cannot be much earlier, although the monogram in the bottom, consisting of two interlaced A's, engraved upon a circular plate two and a half inches in diameter, has been attributed to Alice Avening, a local benefactor, who was alive in 1501, but who was probably not living after that year. On the outside of the rim, which is one and a quarter inches deep, is the following inscription in letters seven-eighths of an inch high :—"MISEREMINI · MEI · MISEREREMINI · MEI · SALTEM · VOS · AMICI · MEI."

These letters appear to be about thirty years later in date than the monogram. The ground is engraved in zig-zag lines, technically called "nurling," like that of the inscription on the Narford bowl. The field of the monogram is partly ornamented in the same way, and partly with chevron punctures.

Successors of the Drinking-horns (which are still in use in German University towns), the *ciphi murrei*, were made of hard or knotty wood of maple, walnut, ash, or chestnut; and were in common use among all classes of society in the middle ages. They were hooped and mounted or "harnessed" in silver; special names were given to them by their owners, and they are mentioned in ancient inventories among the most costly objects. Physical properties were attributed to the various kinds of wood; and the inscriptions or sentiments round the silver rims vary in character from grave to gay. Thus the fine mazer in the possession of the Ironmonger's Company bears the following inscription: —"AVE · MARIA · GRA' · PLENA · D'NS · TECUM · B'NDICTA · TU · I · MULIERIBZ · T · BENEDICTUS · FRUCTUS"—while

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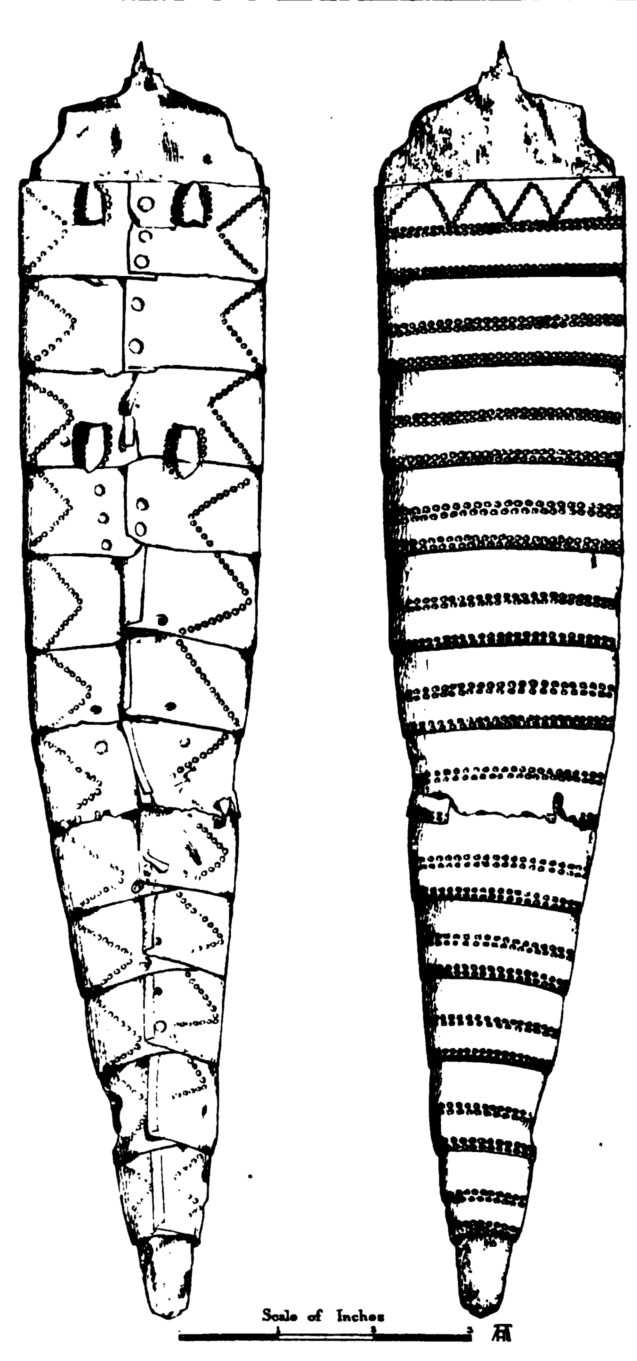

BRITISH SWORD.

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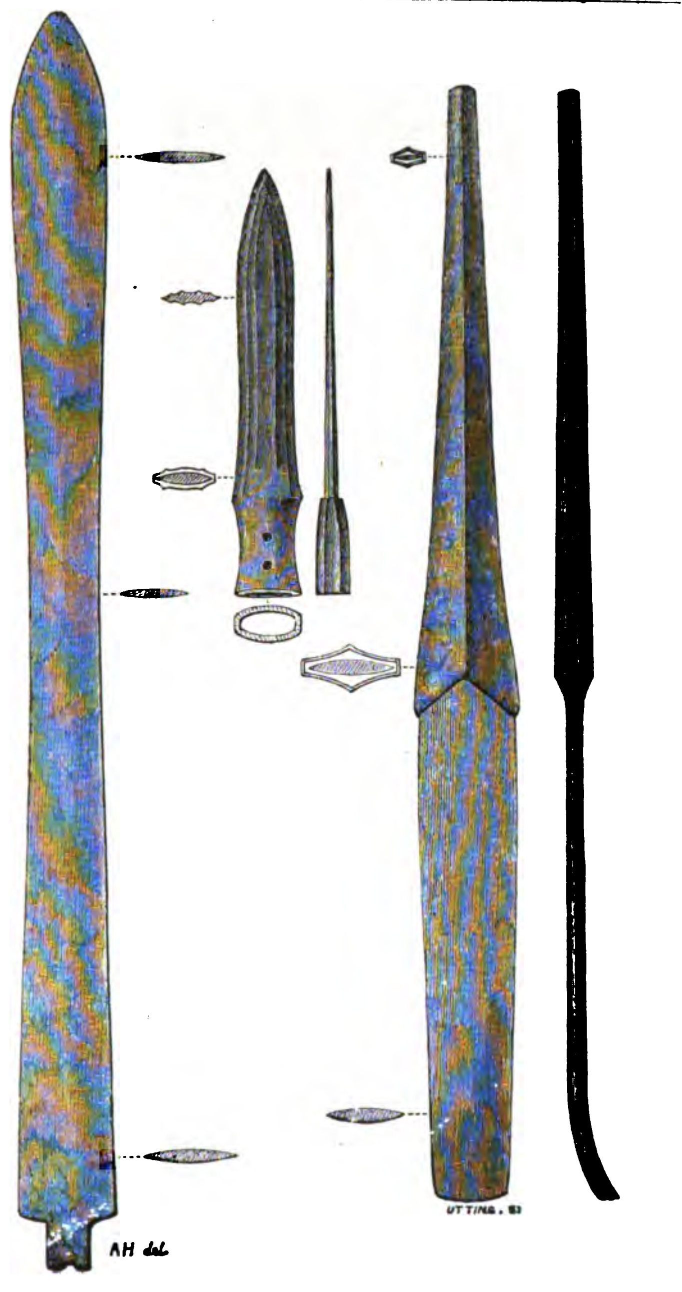

Fig. 1. Fig. 2. Fig. 3.

Bronze Weapons from the bed of the Thames.
One quarter full size.

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Mr. Shirley's well known example of the time of Richard II, allures the reveller in the following words:—"IN · THE · NAME · OF · THE · TRINITE · FILLE · THE · KUP · AND · DRINKE · TO · ME."

Mazer bowls were of all sizes, some with covers like a *hanap*, others with feet like Archbishop Scrope's Indulgence Cup at York. The expression "harnessed in silver," was a common one in the middle ages. In the *Vision of Patrick's Purgatory*, by William Staunton, (Royal MS., 17, B 43), he relates how he saw people in 1409 with "harneist horns about their necks;" and in the will of Thomas Raleigh, of Farnborough, Warwickshire, who died in 1404, he bequeaths to his son William a sword "harnessed with silver."

Mazer bowls were in use in the time of Pepys, and with his usual appreciation of anything of a convivial kind, he does not fail to mention in his *Diary*, 1659-60, that when he visited the almshouses at Saffron Walden, "they brought me a draft of their drink in a brown bowl tipt with silver, which I drank off, and at the bottom was a picture of the Virgin with the Child in her arms, done in silver." This mazer still exists. The custom of giving a bowl of spiced wine to criminals on their way to Tyburn was evidently a remnant of the use of drinking vessels of this kind.

By Mr. T. LAYTON.—A large collection of bronze weapons and implements, chiefly from the bed of the Thames. Among these objects was a sword or dagger (see plate), found in the Thames ballast off Mortlake in 1861, and pronounced by Mr. Bloxam to be British. This was an iron blade, rusted in a sheath, formed of thin overlapping plates of brass, rudely rivetted at the back, where also the sockets for the suspending loops remained. Several fine leaf-shaped sword blades of bronze, in remarkably good condition as regards the edges, were also exhibited. Figure 1 represents an example found at Greenwich. An empty sword sheath of bronze, and another rusted on to a blade, found in the river off Isleworth in 1865, (fig. 3) were specially noticeable. Many of these blades had been greatly bent and twisted by violence, but the tenacity and cohesion of the metal was well shown by the absence of any cracks or flaws in it. Among the many examples of spear heads was a very elegant one (fig. 2). A number of celts, chisels, gouges, and other implements found at Hounslow and in the neighbourhood, also came from Mr. Layton's collection.

By Mrs. FITZPATRICK.—A marble slab, from the Catacombs of St. Calixtus, in Rome, incised with a dove bearing an olive branch.

By Mrs. JACKSON GWILT.—A Roman lamp, found in Paternoster Row; a similar object from Southwark; a lachrymatory from Italy; a piece of painted glass, representing a man's head, from Lacock Abbey; rubbings of sixteenth century brasses; one of a priest holding a cup and wafer, in the Chapel of Merton College, Oxford; and rubbings from the well known brasses of "Sire Johan D'Abernoun Chivaler," about 1277, and Sir John D'Abernoun, who died in 1327. In remarking upon the figure of the "Chivaler," Mr. Waller said it was the earliest example of a sepulchral brass, not only in England, but also on the Continent, and the only instance of a knight bearing a lance. He remarked upon the large size of the blue enamel plates on the shield, which were contained in shallow copper trays, let into the slab. Mr. Hartshorne made some observations upon the costume exhibited on the brass of Sir John D'Abernoun (1327), and the number

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of garments which were worn, including the cyclas, a rare military vestment, and of which so few instances occur in monumental effigies and brasses. The fluted bascinet, also of very infrequent occurrence, and which was compared with a similar example on a wooden effigy at Paulersperry, in Northamptonshire, and the distinct kinds of mail shown, all tended to prove that mediæval sculptors not only worked from actual armour but also represented their patrons accurately "in their habits as they lived." Mr. Waller called attention to the engraver's marks—a mallet and a mullet—and explained the most probable method of construction of "Banded Mail," so long the *crux antiquariorum*.

By Mr. A. Sawyer.—A curious self-feeding breech-loading gun, which had been converted from a matchlock, with the name, "Robert Smyth" on the lock, and a scrap-book containing portions of illuminated MSS.

It was reported that two Roman pottery kilns had been discovered at Lexden, near Colchester, on the property of Mr. P. O. Papillon, who was kind enough to offer facilities to any members of the Institute who might wish to inspect them.

May 4th, 1877.

The Lord Talbot de Malahide, President, in the Chair.

At a meeting of the Council of the Institute, held on April 14th, 1877, it was proposed by Stephen Tucker, Esq., *Rouge Croix*, seconded by Sir J. Sibbald D. Scott, Bart., and unanimously resolved that the Diploma of the Institute and congratulatory addresses be offered to Dr. and Mrs. Schliemann on May 4th. In accordance with this resolution a large and distinguished company assembled in honour of the great explorer. Among those present were the Lord Acton, A. J. B. Beresford Hope, Esq., M.P., Sir J. Sibbald D. Scott, Bart., Sir W. H. Drake, K.C.B., O. Morgan, Esq., Canon Venables., C.T. Newton, Esq., C.B., C. S. Greaves, Esq., C. Drury E. Fortnum, Esq., John Henderson, Esq., W. Jeremy, Esq., J. Bonomi, Esq., H. G. Bohn, Esq., R. H. Soden Smith, Esq., S. Tucker, Esq., *Rouge Croix*, Col. Pinney., John Stephens, Esq., H. Vaughan, Esq., The Rev. J. Fuller Russell., H. T. Church, Esq., Capt. Malton., The Rev. C. W. Bingham., J. G. Waller, Esq., Sydney Hall, Esq., A. Dryden, Esq., etc. Mr. Gladstone was prevented from attending by a prior engagement.

Lord Talbot de Malahide, in introducing Dr. Schliemann to the meeting, spoke in the highest terms of his discoveries, which had placed him and Mrs. Schliemann in the first ranks of explorers. The noble Chairman then read the following addresses :—

"To Dr. Henry Schliemann,
Honorary Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, &c., &c.,

"We, the President, Vice-Presidents, and Council of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,

"For ourselves, and on behalf and in the name of the Society we represent, beg to tender you our heartiest welcome here, and our warmest congratulations on the great achievement in antiquarian investigation and discovery by which you have placed your name in the foremost page of archœological history and distinction.

"Sympathising as we naturally do, in all such objects as that in which

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you have been so honorably and successfully engaged, we need not say that we have watched from the first, with the most profound interest, the progress of the great work upon which you entered, and which you pursued with such indomitable energy and ability, and we feel that we are not employing the hyperbole of complimentary address when we say that to you is due one of the greatest antiquarian discoveries which has yet been chronicled, and which, by reason of its classical associations, has conferred a benefit and diffused an interest throughout the whole educated world.

"It is our privilege to number you amongst our members this day, and we are sensible how much their list is honored by the addition.

"In conclusion we wish you "God speed" in your return to your labors, and we hope that it may be at times an encouraging and gratifying reflection to you to remember how entirely those labours are appreciated by your friends in England, and how sincerely they will welcome their completion and your presence again amongst them."

"To MRS. HENRY SCHLIEMANN.

MADAM,

"We, the President, Vice-Presidents, and Council of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,

"Beg to tender to you the homage of our most respectful admiration in the work in which you have proved yourself, in its truest sense, a help-meet to your distinguished husband. We who know and honor him here are loth to detract in any way from the merit we ascribe to him, but we are justified by his own affectionate testimony to your devoted and chivalrous aid, in what will ever be accounted as your joint work, to associate you in our congratulations and thanks, and to ask you to permit us to enrol your name on the list of our Honorary Members.

"It is a disappointment to us that we are deprived of the greater pleasure of receiving and personally honoring you here; but you will be at least assured by this and the other testimonials you will have received, that the essential part you have taken in the unprecedented discoveries of Troy and Mycenæ is fully understood and gratefully appreciated by numberless sympathising friends in this country. As the first lady who has ever been identified in a work so arduous and stupendous, you have achieved a reputation which many will envy—some may emulate—but none can ever surpass."

These were signed respectively, in behalf of the Royal Archæological Institute, by the Lord Talbot de Malahide, A. J. B. Beresford-Hope, Sir J. Sibbald D. Scott, Bart., C. Drury, E. Fortnum, O. S. Morgan, John Henderson, W. D. Jeremy, R. H. Soden Smith, H. Vaughan, H. T. Church, Sir W. H. Drake, K.C.B., S. Tucker, John Stephens, A. Hartshorne, and W. Brailsford.

The Diplomas, engrossed and illuminated upon vellum, sealed with the seal of the Institute, and contained in a morocco leather box, were then presented by the noble President to Dr. Schliemann, who spoke as follows:—

"MY LORD PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

"I warmly thank you in my own name and in that of Mrs. Schliemann for the high honour you confer upon us by these diplomas of honorary membership, and I assure you that we shall endeavour to the utmost of our abilities to render ourselves worthy of them. You are aware that

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we have a *firman* for the continuation of our excavations at Troy, and that we intended to resume them at once, but unfortunately, as long as the war lasts, it is impossible to return to the Troad, for my servant writes me that Mount Ida abounds now with deserters from the army, who have turned robbers to satisfy their hunger. In Mycenæ, I think I know for certain the exact place to which tradition pointed as the sepulchres of Clytaemnestra and Ægisthus, but I will not divulge it to the Greek Government, for they think that nothing is more easy than to find treasures at Mycenæ, and consequently the Greek Parliament has voted 50 m. dr., 45 m. fr. annually for continuing my excavations by their own officials and without me. But an experienced pickaxe is necessary to discover treasures; thus I expect they will not find anything, and that after having worked in vain for six months, and after having spent one thousand pounds, they will get tired of it and will beg me to continue the excavations for them, which I shall gladly do. But meanwhile, I may go to the island of Ithaka, because, except the small excavation which I made there in 1868, it is virgin soil to archæology. In the Odyssey, the town of Ithaca is merely called πόλις, and there are two places in the island which may claim the honour of being identified with its site. One of them is a valley still called πόλις, and the ancient ruins we see in it can leave no doubt that a city once stood there. The other place is at the foot of Mount Ἀετός, and in fact all over the small isthmus by which the southern part of the island is joined to the northern one; here also once stood a city; the deep accumulation of débris proves this with certainty. A man who buys a house must, before he concludes the bargain, carefully inspect it; in the same way, he who wishes to explore an ancient site ought, before anything else, to examine into the state of the débris in order to see whether it is worth his while to undertake the excavation. This is easily accomplished by sinking a few shafts down to the virgin soil, because each shaft must necessarily bring to light the remnants of all the houses which stood on the site since the first settlement. If then the explorer sees, by the monuments he brings to light, that the prospects hold out encouragement, he must as soon as possible get well acquainted with the underground topography, and to this end he at once sinks a large number of shafts in all the most promising parts of the site, and according to the result he arranges the exploration. But the archæological researches, whether on a vast or on a very small scale, should be made with tact, system and plan, and unless monuments are found which prevent the explorer from digging deeper, all excavations should invariably be made down to the virgin soil, and the débris which are thrown out should be removed to a place where they can never be in our way. He who throws the débris on the site he has to excavate invariably makes himself double and treble labour. Wheelbarrows should only be used where the distance does not exceed one hundred feet; if the distance is longer man carts should be used, and invariably horse carts if the distance exceeds two hundred and forty feet. Tramways are only useful if the distance exceeds one mile.

"My Lord President and Gentlemen, I again warmly thank you."

On being called upon by the President, Mr. Newton said that "the true value of Dr. Schliemann's discoveries at Mycenæ could hardly be appreciated yet. It would be necessary carefully to compare the objects found at Mycenæ with specimens of archaic art extant in various museums, and by such comparison to fix, if possible, th

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period to which they belonged. His impression was, that the result of such a comparison would be to shew that the Mycenæan antiquities belonged to a very remote antiquity, that they were probably pro Homeric. But in making this remark he would carefully guard against too hasty an assumption that these antiquities from the Mycenæan Akropolis could be identified as belonging to the tombs of Agamemnon and his companions, which Pausanias notices. It must be borne in mind that the dynasty of the Atreidæ can hardly be regarded as an historical one. This line of Pelopid kings, projected on the blank background of an unknown past, seems to the sceptical eye of modern historians hardly more substantial than that shadowy procession of kings shewn to Macbeth by the witches, or to take a more modern illustration, it might be likened to one of Mr. Whistler's portraits in the Grosvenor Gallery. And even if we admit that the Greek belief in a Pelopid dynasty rested on an historical basis, how are we to decide how much in the legend of the Atreidæ is true, and how are we to disengage this residuum of truth from the mystical compound in which it is involved. He who attempts to solve such problems as these, finds himself constantly at fault, he is for ever trying to steer between the quicksands of specious pseudo-historical myths and the shifting shoals of an uncertain chronology. But, admitting that the problems raised by Dr. Schliemann's discoveries are yet to be solved, let us not forget how deep is the debt of gratitude which we owe him for what he has achieved. Those who have been engaged in enterprizes similar to his, can testify how much of ungrateful labour, anxiety, and weariness of spirit has to be gone through before success can be achieved. To parody well known lines, he would say,

> " How little knowest thou who hast not tried,
> What toil it is in digging long to bide,
> To speed to day to be put off to-morrow."

" He would then hold up the enterprize of Dr. Schliemann as an example of single minded and disinterested devotion which has no parallel in the annals of archæology. And here, addressing an Institute specially devoted to kindred research, he would exhort the members present to aim at a discovery which it would be in the power of any of them to make. The discovery which he had in view, a discovery, the ultimate value of which to archæology might be almost incalculable, would be to find, somewhere in the rank and file of British millionaires,—some of whom are so rich that their money is a burden to them—some one whose enthusiasm, intelligence, and love for archæology would entitle him to rank as another Schliemann."

MR. BERESFORD HOPE begged to be allowed to add his thanks to Dr. Schliemann, as himself one who desired the alliance of classical archæology and classical literature, for the eminent explorer's discovery, not only of the topography, but to so great an extent of the very ways of living in those far off days, aye and of the household stuff and of the cunningly wrought bullion πολυχρύσοιο Μυκήνης of the Mycenæ,—not only of Homer but of Æschylus. It was not so long since that even the most accomplished scholars would read those wonderful descriptions with eyes blind and minds dead to all the living accompaniments. The learners were not so lazy, perhaps, and they turned to the frontispiece of their well-thumbed books only to realize Agamemnon as a ruffianly Roman soldier of the later

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days of the Empire, apparently issuing from a building that might have been designed by the office boy in Palladio's studio. Now, thanks to that noble band of discoverers of whom Dr. Schliemann, though latest, is anything but least, Greek is no longer as Roman, nor heroic Greek as Athenian Greek; now even the arms which Agamemnon bore and the type of face which he exhibited have burst into the light of day. With such helps, the men and women of those great poems are again the men and women of their age, and not merely abstractions or the dull creations of ignorant draftsmen earning the wages of Paris or Leyden engravers. He prophesied for classical literature, thus brought face to face with life itself, a deeper rooted popularity and a stronger grasp of intelligent sympathy.

A general discussion ensued, in which the President, Mr. Greaves, and Mr. Tucker took part, and the meeting closed with the usual courtesies.

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Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR 1876.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance at Bank, 1st January, 1876	39	5	1						
,, ,, in House ,, ,,	6	0	0						
,, ,, Petty Cash ,, ,,	7	14	1½						
				52	19	2½			
,, Investment in New 3 per Cent (£220) as per last year's account				209	5	0			
							262	4	2½
,, Annual Subscriptions, including arrears and payments in advance				658	7	9			
,, Entrance Fees				29	8	0			
,, Life Compositions				31	10	0			
,, Sale of Publications				37	16	3			
,, Extra Copies, Postage, etc.				1	14	8			
							758	16	8
,, Miscellaneous Receipts:									
Dividend on Investment in New 3 per Cent.				6	10	9			
Balance of Account of Canterbury Meeting				14	7	11			
Receipts on Account of Colchester Meeting				174	15	8			
							195	14	4
							£1216	15	2½

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Publication Account:									
Engraving for Journal				107	16	6			
Bradbury and Agnew				150	0	0			
James Parker and Co.				5	0	0			
							262	16	6
,, Library Account: Matthew Bell							2	16	0
,, House Expenses:									
Rent of Apartments, one year				155	0	0			
Secretary's Salary, three-fourths of year				67	10	0			
J. Burtt, Esq., editing Journal and Index	40	0	0						
W. S. Johnson, printing	17	6	6						
Partridge and Cooper, stationery	7	3	3						
"Notes and Queries"	3	0	0						
"The Athenæum"	3	3	0						
Insurance	2	5	0						
W. Edwards, messenger	3	5	0						
C. E. O'Donnell ,, gratuity	5	0	0						
Draft Stamps		4	0						
				81	6	9			
							303	16	9
,, Petty Cash Account:									
Messenger, Commissionaire, Washing, &c.				63	19	1			
Postage Stamps and Delivery of Journal				34	3	6½			
Gas				1	4	11			
Cabs, Omnibuses, and Porterage				4	10	0			
Carriage of parcels, booking, etc.				1	18	3			
Travelling expenses Mr. Burtt				1	18	6			
Stationery, for office					10	10			
Sundries, not included in above				9	12	2			
							117	17	3½
,, Balance at Bank, 31st December, 1876	145	1	2						
,, ,, Petty Cash, ditto		6	10						
,, ,, Colchester Bank, ditto	154	19	4						
,, ,, in hands of Local Secretary, Colchester, ditto	19	16							
				320	3	8			
,, Investment in New 3 per Cent., as per last year's account				209	5	0			
							529	8	8
							£1216	15	2½

Audited and found correct, 1st August, 1877, } H. S. MILMAN, JAMES HILTON, } *Auditors.*

Presented to the Meeting of Members at Hereford, August 9th, 1877, approved and passed,

(Signed) TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, *Chairman.*

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Notices of Archæological Publications.

INDUCTIVE METROLOGY; or, the Recovery of Ancient Measures from the Monuments. By W. M. Flinders Petrie. (London : Hargrove Saunders.)

The object of the author of this book is to obtain from existing monuments the standard measures used in ancient times. For this purpose he employs three or four modes to ascertain the ratios between the different measured lengths; and from these ratios he derives the probable number of units of which the lengths are formed.

It would seem, however, that, as a graphic method is employed in planning, and an analogous method in setting out for construction all buildings and monuments, that the standards of measurement used by the ancients would be more easily arrived at, especially by those who are not mathematicians, by adopting such a method in order to trace, from actual measurement of the monuments, the units employed. For instance, in the example of the Cypriote Tablet from Dali, the readiest mode of proceeding would be to mark off to scale, on a straight line, the measurements 1·45, 2·15, 2·92, 3·24, 5·77, 25·49, and 44·2 inches; then, it will be readily seen, by dividing off the lengths with a pair of compasses, as near as may be into multiples of the smallest measurement, that if 1·45 was the unit of measure used, there were respectively, 1, 1½, 2, 2¼, 4, 17½, and 30½ units in the different measurements given; or, to do away with the fractional multiples, if $\frac{1\cdot45}{2}$ was the unit, there were respectively 2, 3, 4, 4½, 8, 35, and 60 units.

It may also be seen by setting the compass to the length of 5·77 inches, that the difference between 44·2 and 25·49 or 18·71 is very nearly equal to 3 × 5·77 + 1·45 and 25·49 is very nearly equal to 4 × 5·77 + 2·15 or in terms of units 44·2 = (3 × 8 + 2) + (4 × 8 + 3) units = 61 units instead of 60 as given in Mr. Petrie's results. If 44·2 is divided by 61 it gives the unit ·7245, if by 60 it gives ·7366 as the unit. The latter multiplied by 35, 8, 4½, 4, 3 and 2, gives the lengths 25·78, 5·89, 3·31, 2·95, 2·21 and 1·47, while the former gives 25.36, 5·80, 3·26, 2·90, 2·17 and 1·45, which evidently agree much better with the actual measurements; and as Mr. Petrie proposes that surveyors and others who have opportunities for measuring ancient monuments should furnish plans as accurately as possible of them, it would be well, in order to have their assistance in obtaining the different standards of measures, to add for their guidance in more detail than is possible in a short review, a description of such a method as that indicated above, and any result they might obtain could afterwards be proved by calculation, whereas on the other hand, where the units have been obtained by calculation, as in his book, they could easily be checked by the graphic method.

If the standards found by the inductive method are sufficiently

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accurate, as they ought to be, they should, where any literary record exists, receive full confirmation.

The second and third chapters of the book give the application of the doctrine of probabilities in order to ascertain the limits of error, and treat also of the sources of error in the mean units found, and here the author very justly remarks that the number of mean units resulting from his investigations is not astonishing. Even in our own day, in works of a building or of a monumental character there would probably be a large number of mean units arising from any attempt to find theoretically the standards of measures used, and this would appear of necessity to be the case in all works which do not require in a high degree accuracy of measurement.

Mr. Petrie appears to have made his investigations with great care and precision, and the case of the Royal Egyptian cubit is worth noting, where the mean derived from twenty-eight monumental examples agrees almost exactly with the mean of about a dozen examples of cubit rods which have been discovered.

THE VISITATION OF THE COUNTY OF WARWICK IN THE YEAR 1619. Edited by JOHN FETHERSTON, F.S.A. (Harleian Society).

This valuable Society has recently issued to its members another sumptuous Volume of more than 460 pages, inclusive of the full Index of Names, being the "Visitation of the County of Warwick" made by William Camden, Clarencieux King of Arms, and his deputies in 1619. The greater part of the MS. from which it is printed is in Camden's own handwriting, nevertheless it does not appear to be the original record, neither is the official copy preserved in the Herald's College. Both are transcripts. In the British Museum (Harl. MS. 1195) are some of the original loose papers signed by the representatives of the families whose pedigrees are recorded. Of these signatures Mr. Fetherston gives fac-similes at the end of his volume. The last Visitation of Warwickshire was made in 1682, the only MS. of which extant is in the Herald's College. An alphabetical list of the pedigrees recorded at this last Visitation, made by the Editor some twenty years ago through the courtesy of a Herald now deceased, is printed in the Preface to the work before us.

The volume appears to have been very carefully edited, and all the Arms are engraved in outline, the blazon being supplied underneath. It would, however, we think, have been better had the tincture marks been shewn on the shields, so that the blazon of the Arms might have been read at a glance.

The same objection obtains with respect to the appropriation of the quarterings. If, instead of this information being given in a table preceding the pedigrees, the names had been inserted under the arms, or had been introduced, within parentheses, in the blazon, it would have been far more convenient. In some cases this has been done. We do not know, however, if, in this respect, the Editor has followed his MS. We annex the engraving of the arms of DIGBY (p. 16) as an example of the manner of treatment.

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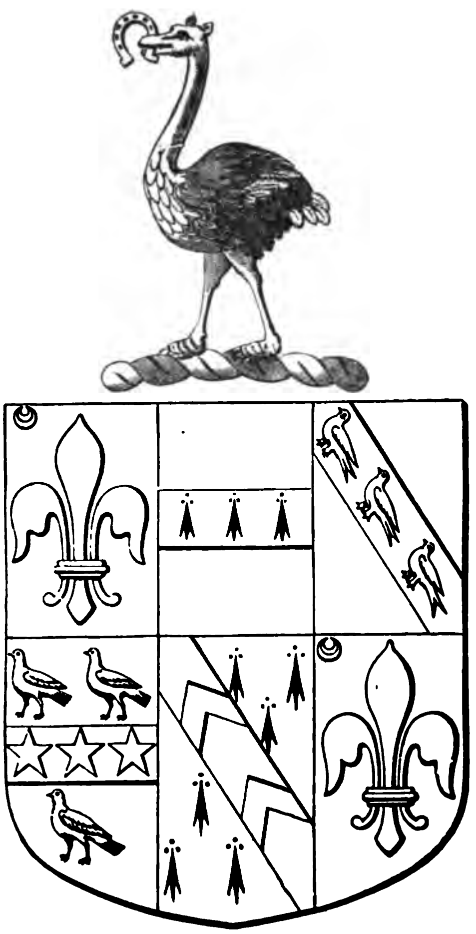

Arms—Quarterly of six. 1. *Azure, a fleur-de-lis argent, in dexter chief a crescent for difference.* 2. *Gules, a fess ermine.* 3. *Argent, on a bend gules, three martlets or.* 4. *Argent on a fess between three birds sable as many mullets of the field.* 5. *Ermine, on a bend gules two chevrons or.* 6. *As first.*

Crest—*An Ostrich proper, in its beak a horse-shoe (untinctured).*

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Archaeological Intelligence.

THE ROMAN FORUM.—*The Monument of Marcus Aurelius.*—We are indebted to the courtesy of Mr. S. Russell Forbes, of Rome, for the following communication :—

"In excavating the open space of the Comitium upon the Forum in the summer of 1872, an interesting discovery was made of two marble screens or balustrades sculptured on either of their sides, the one being some historic scene, the other representing animals. At the time, and since their discovery, many suggestions have been offered as to their signification and use; but none seemed satisfactory; at least to us. After considerable thought, examination of the ground, and putting this and that together we have arrived at an estimate of their use and meaning entirely different from the hitherto received opinion; in which we are supported by their construction and the classic passages relating to them.

"From this it will be seen that we have made an important discovery bearing upon the topography of the Forum, which will be of interest not only to classical students but to every one interested in the word Rome.

"We have discovered that the reliefs on the screens upon the Comitium in the Forum portray scenes from the life of Marcus Aurelius, showing in their back grounds the buildings occupying two sides of the Forum; and that these marble balustrades led up to the statue of that Emperor; the space where it stood can be plainly traced upon the pavement, and that is why these pictures refer to epochs of his life. The statue is still existing, and now stands in the square of the Capitol, where it was erected by Michael Angelo, who brought it from the Lateran in 1538, where it had been placed about 1187, when it was removed from the Forum near the column of Phocas, where it had long been looked upon as a statue of Constantine, and is so called in the Regiona Catalogue, hence its preservation.

"The four ends of the screens or balustrades are finished, showing that they could not have been attached to any building. It is worth while to look into the details of these reliefs. Commencing in their historic order, we see the Emperor standing on the Rostra Julia, which fronts towards the Fig-tree and Marsyas, he is holding in his left hand a roll and addressing the people below; the two foremost figures are holding up their togas with their left hands, whilst their right hands are held out with fingers extended, five by one, three by the other, thus making eight; the number of years Marcus Aurelius had been away and the number of pieces of gold which they demanded. Just above the hands of the Emperor and of one of the figures, which nearly meet, are two small round pieces of marble which could not be connected with the roll, as one is not in its line, and the other is

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separated from it by one of the extended hands. The highest is the *attaché* of the Emperor's hand. May not the other represent the money given by the Emperor? One of the other figures of the group, further back, likewise has his arm extended. The head of the Emperor is unfortunately gone, and the others are very much damaged. The next scene represents a female figure approaching a man seated on a curule chair, behind which four people are standing. The female figure had evidently a child on her left arm, the usual arm to carry a baby, whilst by her right hand she leads a child up to the Emperor, to thank him for founding the orphan schools in memory of Faustina, the fragment of whose head is far more like the head of Marcus Aurelius than anyone else. Then we have the Ficus Navia and the statue of Marsyas, whose pedestal still stands upon the Forum. The next relief commences with the Fig-tree and Marsyas, so that if it were turned round it would form one with the other. There we have represented figures bearing packages and depositing them in a heap upon the ground, to which one figure is applying a torch, which is just discernible. At the end, just a fragment remains, showing the old Rostra which looked towards Marsyas and the Fig-tree, in the opposite direction to the other, the marks where it stood can be traced on the Comitium, upon which we may presume the Emperor stood to witness the burning, whilst in the background was seen the Temple of Concord, but this piece is unfortunately missing.

"Thus we have two scenes of history, one taking place between the Rostra Julia and the Fig-tree and Marsyas, the other between the old Rostra and Marsyas and the Fig-tree.

"The whole group was evidently erected in honour of Marcus Aurelius, and in commemoration of the important events in his life depicted on the screens, as recorded by Dio Cassius;

"Giving the donation of eight pieces of Gold.

"Roma, or perhaps Faustina, thanking him for the Puellæ Faustinianæ.

"Burning the 46 years' arrears of taxes.

"After he had come back to Rome, as he was one day haranguing the people, and speaking of the number of years he had spent abroad in his expeditions, the citizens with a loud voice cried out 'Eight,' at the same time extending their hands to receive as many pieces of gold. The emperor smiling repeated 'Eight,' and ordered every Roman eight pieces, which was so considerable a sum that so great a one was never given before by any emperor."

"After that he remitted all that had been due to the Public and Imperial Treasuries for the course of 46 years, without including therein Hadrian's reign, and ordered all the papers of claims to be burnt in the Forum."—*Dio Cassius.*

"This was on the marriage of his son Commodus with Crispina.

"From a long and careful study of *bas* and *alto* reliefs we are convinced that the buildings represented in their back grounds actually existed; this is borne out when we compare these designs with the remains and with the buildings as shown on coins. Reliefs generally present to our view some historic scene—in fact, they are pictures in stone; and when there were so many ancient monuments for the artist to depict, perhaps in the neighbourhood of which the scene took place, there would be no occasion for him to draw upon his fancy for buildings to fill up his back ground. To demonstrate our idea we will notice some

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reliefs, which after study and comparison present to us the buildings surrounding three sides of the Forum Romanum.

"We will take first, the relief No. 43 from the stairs of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, which represents the Emperor Marcus Aurelius in his chariot passing in triumph along the Via Sacra, in front of the temple of the deified Julius and arch of Fabius; the second, the marble screen in the Forum nearest the arch of Septimius Severus; third, the other marble screen; and fourth, the relief over the left hand archway of the arch of Constantine facing the Colosseum. Placing them in the order mentioned we have a panoramic view of three sides of the Forum presented to us. The first building shown is a temple on a lofty basement with four Corinthian columns in front and a pilaster at the side; this agrees with a coin representing the temple of the deified Julius, the remains of which are at the lower end of the Forum. Next is represented the Fornix Fabius, remains of which were found in making the excavations between the temples of Cæsar and Castor. The second relief represents the same arch, as can be seen by comparing them. The next building shows a temple approached by a lofty flight of steps with Corinthian capitals, exactly resembling the remains of the celebrated temple of Castor and Pollux. Then we have a space marking the line of the Vicus Tuscus which turned out of the Via Sacra between the temple of Castor and Basilica Julia, which latter is represented by the arcade of Doric columns. At the end of this relief is the Fig-tree planted by Tarquinius, in memory of Attius Navius cutting the whetstone in two with a razor; and the figure of Marsyas, the emblem of civic liberty. The next relief shows the same Fig-tree and Marsyas in the same position, but the relief is to the right instead of to the left, as in the other. This shows that the same line of buildings is continued; and, carrying on our story, the first building represented is the remainder of the Basilica Julia. This was confirmed in rather a singular manner. When the Basilica was excavated Signor Rosa found one of the columns of the arcade in fragments, which he has had restored *in situ;* and a fragment of this relief was found afterwards broken from the rest, which, when fitted into its place, exactly represented the restoration made by Signor Rosa. In the next building we have a temple shewing six Ionic columns in front; this agrees with the ruin of the temple of Saturn. Next further back is shown an arch; this is one of the closed arches of the portico of the Tabularium, the lines of which arch can still be seen between the Temples of Saturn and Vespasian when viewed from our standpoint. Next in order is a Temple with Corinthian columns agreeing with the remains of the temple of Vespasian. Unfortunately the remainder of this screen was not found, which would have shown the temple of Concord; this we have restored from a coin. The fourth relief represents the buildings along the head of the Forum at a lower level. First, the Doric columns of part of the Basilica Julia, agreeing with the other reliefs and the fragments; then the arch of Tiberius, which spanned the Vicus Jugarius, and which is not yet excavated; then the third Rostra (ad Palmam), showing the statue of the Genius of Rome, Constantine (minus his head), addressing the people, and the statue of Claudius II. Remains of this rostra, which should not be confounded with the first rostra, still exist with the Umbilicus Roma at one end, whilst the Milliarium Aureum stood at the other end, under the temple of Saturn. The last building repre-

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sented is the arch of Septimius Severus, with which it corresponds, as comparison will show.

"In our lectures upon the Forum we have demonstrated this many times, and when pointed out our audience has agreed with us that it must be so, the remains corresponding with these pictures in an extraordinary manner, the Romans themselves having left us a graphic sketch of the buildings on three sides of their principal Forum.

"Upon the inner sides of the avenue are represented on each balustrade, a boar, a ram, and a bull; the animals offered at the triple sacrifice or Suovetaurilia (from sus, ovis, taurus), which was performed once every five years, or Lustrum, for the purification of the city.

"It was an institution of Servius Tullius, the ceremony consisting in leading the boar, ram, and bull, thrice round the assembly of the people, and then offering them to Mars. There is a similar representation upon a relief of Trajan on the arch of Constantine and upon a pedestal at the entrance to the Palace of the Cæsars, found near the arch of Septimius Severus.

"We were ourselves present at the discovery of these remains of what must have been a grand and unique monument; a tower of the middle ages being built over them, this was destroyed, and the stones of the balustrades fitted close together, they having fallen somewhat apart; and a new piece of marble was inserted under them, so that they do not now rest upon the travertine as when found, but they are exactly in the same position. Close by, was found a piece of an inscription, evidently referring to this monument; but it has been placed upon one of the restored bases of the Basilica Julia, (the last to the right). It is in beautiful characters filled in with red.

FORTISSIMO
INVICTISSIMO
DOMINO NOSTRO
MARCO AVRELIO.

"At the time of their discovery it was stated, and this has been the received opinion, that the scenes referred to events in the lives of the Emperors Trajan and Hadrian; and that it represented the burning of the bonds which Hadrian had remitted. We could not accept that opinion, because the Fig-tree represented to our mind a scene in the Roman Forum and not Trajan's Forum, where the bonds where burnt under Hadrian. The Fig-tree, planted by Tarquin, gave us the key to our important discovery of the scenes here depicted, and of the panoramic view of the Forum left us by the Romans. From the accounts handed down to us of this act of Hadrian we shall see that it does not agree with the scene before us.

"As soon as he entered Rome, Hadrian released all that was due from private men for sixteen years together, amounting to 900,000,000 sesterces (£8,541,666, 13, 4), both to the private treasury of the Emperor and to the public one of the Roman people." *Dio Cassius, Hadrian.*

"Hadrian remitted innumerable sums which were due from private debtors to the privy purse of the Emperor in the city and in Italy, and even in other provinces; he collected the bonds of the sums remitted; and for greater security he enclosed them in oak boards and burnt them all in the Forum of Trajan; and he forbade any of the

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money that had been forgiven to be received into the public treasury." *Spartianus in Hadriano.*

"As we have demonstrated, the scene on the relief is an act taking place in the Forum Romanum, and not Trajan's Forum; and further, the bonds, as here shown, are only tied together, not "enclosed in oak boards," as Hadrian's were. Marcus Aurelius, it is true, only followed his example; and according to *Ausonius*, *Gratio actio* 21, the Emperor Gratian did the same. This scene is represented on a coin of Marcus Aurelius; as is also the act of Hadrian, upon a medal of his time.

"The orphan schools founded by Marcus Aurelius had special reference to Rome, whilst those of Trajan were for the whole of Italy. They were endowed by him in the form of loans to the landed proprietors in the different districts, they paying the yearly interest. Coins and inscriptions still present this subject to our view. Near Piacenza a bronze tablet was found 10 ft. by 6 ft. containing 670 lines of the mortgage deeds on the sums lent by Trajan in this neighbourhood for the maintenance of these schools, the interest being 5 per cent. Part of a similar inscription was found at Beneventum. Hadrian Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius followed this wise and good example, and in A. D. 177 the latter Emperor founded orphan schools in Rome in memory of his wife, and called them after her name, Puellæ Faustinianæ. Upon the walls of the Villa Albani are two small reliefs, representing processions of girls called the orphans of Faustina, but by what authority, or where they were found we cannot discover.

"It has been asserted that such good sculpture, as these reliefs evidently were, was not made after the time of Hadrian, and so they must be of his time; such a statement could hardly be made by any one who knew anything of art in Rome under the good Emperors. The reliefs from the arch of Marcus Aurelius, his equestrian statue, his column, numerous busts and statues, equal anything we have of the time of Hadrian. Sculpture did not fall so low in the short space of twenty-five years, that these balustrades could not have been executed. Their style is very similar to the reliefs from his arch, perhaps they are by the hand of the same master."

Mr. Russell Forbes has arranged a most interesting photograph, giving a panoramic view of the Forum as shown on ancient reliefs.

"The fore-ground of our photograph we have filled up with a plan of the Comitium, in order to show the position of the two marble balustrades, Marsyas, and the Fig-tree. This tree has been confounded by many writers, both ancient and modern, with the Ruminal Fig-tree which grew upon the south west slope of the Palatine; and which had nothing whatever to do with the tree on the Comitium, which was planted by Tarquin, in commemoration of Navius Attius cutting the whet-stone in two with a razor; these being buried at the spot where was erected the prætor's seat called Puteal Libonis. This is represented on a coin as round, and was probably erected over the deep round hole existing on the Comitium, and marked on our plan. Near by "stood the statue of Attius Navius, over the very spot where he had cut the whet-stone in two, to the left of the Curia."—*Pliny* xxxiv, 11. *Dio Cassius* says it stood near the fig-tree, and we place it upon the pedestal existing to the right of the hole, (see *Livy*, i, 36). To the left of the hole is another pedestal, and upon this we place Marsyas, with the fig-tree beside him, thus agreeing with the reliefs. It is rather a curious

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coincidence, but since this ground has been cleared a fig-tree has sprung up by the ruined pedestal on which we place Marsyas."

THE SANTO CALIX OF VALENCIA.—Through the kindness of Mr. J. C. Robinson, we are enabled to reproduce a portion of a communication upon Art Treasures in Spain, made by him to the *Times* at the end of last year, and which, as coming from such an authority, cannot fail to interest our readers:—

"The *Santo Calix* of Valencia, like the so-called emerald dish at Genoa, has from time immemorial been considered one of the most sacred relics in Christendom. The Genoa dish was thought to be the veritable *San graal*, whatever that mystical vessel may have been, while the holy chalice of Valencia is still held to be the veritable cup used by our Saviour at the Last Supper. As to how and when it found its way to Valencia there is no record; its advent is shrouded in the mist of antiquity. At all events, it is likely enough that generation after generation of devout believers, for a thousand years or more, have adored it with bended knees and downcast eyes, scarcely daring to cast even furtive glances at the sacrosanct utensil. Need it be said that to see and examine such a treasure had long been a desideratum with even a heretic like myself? There were, moreover, special reasons for wishing to get to know the real form and fashioning of this venerable cup; the curiosity of archæologists and ritualistic antiquaries had always been stimulated by innumerable pictorial and other representations of it, executed centuries apart; but scarcely any two of these representations were alike. In short, a delightful and tantalizing mystery prevailed in regard to the *Santo calix*.

"I will, however, now set speculations at rest by describing exactly what the *Santo calix* really is, and approximately when it was made. It is clear from the utter disagreement of the various graphic representations, that they were all made from memory, and that nobody had ever been allowed to look long enough at the precious relic, to be able to carry away the precise details in his mind's eye. All the representations, however, agreed in one thing—that is, in depicting the *Santo calix* as a cup-shaped vessel, of some precious stone or other, mounted on a tall stem, flanked by two large loop-shaped lateral handles. Now, two-handled chalices are of extremely rare occurrence, and always of great antiquity. My own impression was that it would prove to be a work of the seventh or eighth century.

"The chalice is—or, at all events, was, when I was at Valencia—exhibited on certain days to parties of eight or ten persons at a time, who were required to kneel before it. After a prolonged interval of expectation, the chalice was brought out with great solemnity by its priestly guardian, and, the stem being enveloped with a linen cloth, it was held in succession, for a brief instant only, before the face of each person; at the same moment the worshipper was allowed to kiss a certain precious stone, projecting from the gold framework of the foot of the vessel. In this way the entire ceremony occupied only a few minutes. Being forewarned as to the conditions of the exposition, I awaited it with eager eyes, with a little card in the palm of one hand and a pencil in the other, ready, although in frantic haste, to make some sort of graphic memorandum in the presence even; but whether my fixed and earnest gaze contrasted too strongly with the reverend glances of my neighbours, or whether the astute priest caught sight of the poaching apparatus in my hands, certain it is that, when my turn

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came, the chalice was unceremoniously whisked from under my nose, and all I saw was a passing formless gleam, while the ready, but I fear faithless, kiss died on my lips. The defeat was complete and ignominious. Fortunately, I was not pressed for time in Valencia, and there was nothing for it but to undertake a siege *dans les règles.* There is, however, a key to every lock, and it is not necessary to explain how, with patience and perseverance, I finally got a view of the *Santo calix*, all to myself. The following is the result:—The chalice consists of a circular cup, nearly four inches in diameter, hollowed out from a single splendid hair-brown sardonyx. A plain but tasteful moulding wrought in the stone, round the lip, in addition to the evidence of the precious material itself, showed it to be of antique Roman origin. The base is formed of another fine sardonyx cup of shallower form, and fixed in an inverted position. This is of larger size, not less than about 6½ inches in diameter. In one or two places I detected some incised marks, very like ancient Cufic characters, and from these and the general shape I suspect that the base is less ancient than the bowl. The bowl and the base are united by a straight stem in pure gold, with a circular knop in the centre; four strap-work bands of gold connect this stem with the sardonyx base, the lower edge of which is also bound round with a gold band or gallery. The stem, as has been already noted, is flanked by two peculiar "ogee" shaped handles, also in pure gold. The stem, knop, and handles are inlaid with delicate arabesque patterns in black enamel. The band or gallery round the base bears on the summit a string of fine Oriental pearls, which are also continued on the vertical bands. In the midst of each of these bands is set, projecting in high relief, a splendid Cabochon gem. These stones, four in all, are respectively two rubies, a sapphire, and an emerald. Finally, the entire height of the chalice is about 8½ inches. As I have said, the cup itself is of Roman work, therefore, however improbable, it is not actually impossible, that it should have been used at the Last Supper. The sardonyx base is, I think, of Morecco origin, probably of the eighth or ninth century, and I have now little doubt that the original gold mountings were of the same period. A moment's glance at these sufficed to tell me their story. This is what has evidently happened: The ancient gold mounts in the course of time becoming dilapidated, some time about the year 1400 the band or gallery round the foot was renewed, and a current Gothic pattern of the day, consisting of small pierced quatrefoils within lozenge-shaped panels, was substituted for the original design, whatever it may have been; somewhat more than a century later (probably about 1520) all the rest of the gold mounts were renewed, but this time the original pattern was, I have no doubt, followed, except in one respect—that is, in regard to a beautiful arabesque pattern in black enamel with which the various decorative surfaces are uniformly adorned; this consists of an elegant pattern of interlaced work and delicate foliage, the peculiar style and workmanship indicating, without any doubt, the hand of a skilful Spanish goldsmith of the period above indicated. The *Santo calix* as it stands is thus a work of four distinct periods—namely, of the Roman Imperial epoch, the eighth or ninth century, and the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively. Ford states that the chalice was broken in 1744 by a clumsy canonigo, one Vicente Trigola; but I saw no evidence of that disaster, and if it occurred it was probably only some dislocation of the gold mountings.

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"In regard to five of the thirty pieces of silver which Judas received for betraying our Saviour, and which, being only filthy lucre, are handed round for inspection after the exposition of the *Santo calix*, I can only say that the coin put into my hand was a fine Greek tetradrachm of, I think, Thurium.

"Among the other precious *alhajas* of the Cathedral at Valencia, are three large altar frontals, each about 12 ft. long by 3 ft. 6 in. high, the designs representing subjects from the Passion of Christ, finely executed in raised work of gold and silver thread and silk embroidery. The special interest of these frontals, however, is from the fact that they originally belonged to old St. Paul's Cathedral in London, and were purchased and brought to Spain, at the time of the Reformation, by two Valencian merchants, named Andrea and Petro de Medina. Their English origin is revealed in many characteristic details of costume, architecture, ornamentation, &c. To all appearance they were made in the earlier years of the sixteenth century, probably not very long before the change of religion in England."

ADDITIONAL REMARKS ON A "TABULA HONESTAE MISSIONIS," FOUND AT WALCOT, NEAR BATH.—"Since I published Mr Lysons' remarks upon this *tabula*, (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxiii, 250), I have endeavoured, in every possible way, to recover the original fragment, or in default, the drawing of it made by Mr. Lysons. In the latter respect, I am glad to say that I have been successful. Mr. C. Roach Smith wrote me to say that he believed he at one time had a tracing of the drawing, but he could not then find it, much to my disappointment. Soon afterwards Mr. J. T. Irvine, a well known antiquary, who had happened to see my paper on the subject, wrote to me to the effect that the original drawing was preserved in the collection of Mr. W. Long, F.S.A., of Wrington, Somerset. On applying to that gentleman, I found that Mr. Irvine was correct, and Mr. Long has most courteously allowed a copy of the drawing to be made. Mr. Long informs me that "it is pasted in one of two very large folios, which were purchased for me some years ago from Mr. Lilly, the London bookseller. This purchase gave rise, I think, to Mr. Scarth's statement that the 'tabula' had been in Mr. Lilly's possession. It appears to be a copy of the inscription made by Mr. Lysons of the same size as the original, and has written upon it 'Tabula honestae missionis, illustrated by Mr. S. Lysons from the original brass fragment in the possession of John Cranch, Dec., 1815, found at Walcot, 1815." The following words appear to have been added afterwards 'now of Jos. Barratt, 1817.' Barratt was a bookseller, and at one time the owner of the large folio volumes in which the copy of the inscription is placed."

"From the annexed plates it will seen that the fragments of inscriptions remaining on each side of the plate were only:

(1.)

IIA
T · III · A
ANN SVB · C ·
RIBVSVE · STIPE
EST · MISSION
T · IPSIS · LI

(2.)

VMVXO
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VLISINGVLAS
XVII K · OCTOBR
III ARTIDIO CELE
PROCVLEIANCVIP
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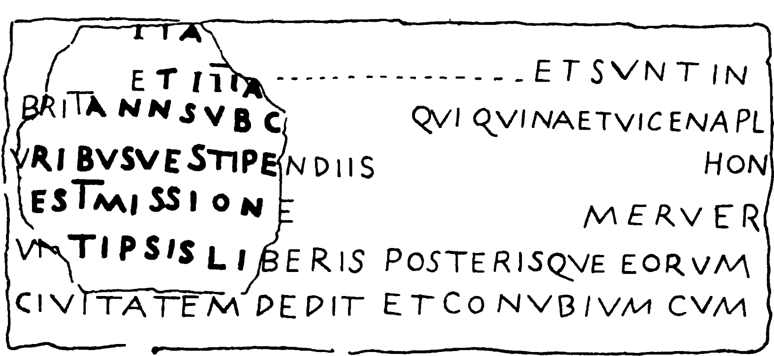

FRAGMENT OF A

TABULA HONESTŒ MISSIONIS.

FOUND AT WALCOT NEAR BATH IN 1815.

REDUCED FAC-SIMILE FROM

LYSON'S DRAWING.

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"These letters will be seen embraced within a border, marking the limits of the fragment; those outside of this line in the plate are Mr. Lysons' restoration of the remainder of the lines, which commence at the conclusion of the list of cohorts named; ET . III · A ·, referring to the third cohort of a people whose national name commenced with A. As stated in my previous remarks, the name of the imperial legate is lost. There is, however, one discrepancy between the drawing and the account given in the minutes of the Society of Antiquaries. In the latter the words "*quorum nomina subscripta sunt*" occur. In the drawing they are absent, but "*meruerunt*" is in their place.

"I must thus publicly express my thanks to Mr. Long for the facilities he has given me, to enable a copy of the drawing to be made.

"Like most of the other *tabulae*, this one bears the duplicate inscription on its reverse, at right angles to that on its front, which accounts for so much more of the lettering being left on one side, to what there is on the other."

THE CHAIR OF ST. PETER.—The following account, for which we are indebted to Mr. S. Russell Forbes, will be specially interesting at the present time:—

"As January 18th was the feast of the chair of St. Peter in Rome, some remarks on the chair (which does duty for St. Peter's) may be of interest to our readers. A photograph of this famous object was taken in 1867 when it was last exposed to view; and can be had at any of the shops in Rome; visitors must be content with looking at the photograph for the chair itself is not to be seen. At present it is enclosed in the bronze covering, which is supported by the four colossal figures of the Doctors of the church, in the apse of St. Peter's.

"It is encased in a frame work, in which are the rings through which the poles were inserted in order to carry the person seated; this casing, consisting of four posts and sides, is made of oak, and is very much decayed. The straight vertical joints are easily distinguished where the frame is attached to the chair itself, which is composed of dark acacia wood. The front panel is ornamented with three rows of square plates of ivory, six in a row, eighteen in all, upon twelve of which are engraved the labours of Hercules; and on the other six constellations, with thin *laminæ* of gold let into the engraved lines; some of the ivories are put on upside down, and had evidently nothing to do with the original chair; they are Byzantine in style of the eleventh century. The ivory band decorations of the back and sides evidently belonged to the chair and correspond with its architecture, and fit into the wood-work. They are sculptured in relief, representing combats of men, wild beasts and centaurs; the centre point of the horizontal bars has a portrait of Charlemagne crowned as Emperor. In his right hand is a sceptre (broken) and in his left a globe; two angels on either side offer him crowns and palms, they having combatants on each side. The chair is 4 ft. 8½ in. high at back, 2 ft. 10½ in. wide, 2 ft. 2½ in. deep, and 2 ft. 1½ in. high in front. Fancy St. Peter using such a chair as this!

"It is asserted by the Roman church that this chair was used by St. Peter as his episcopal throne during his rule over the church at Rome. Even, if we grant for argument's sake that he was Bishop in Rome, there is no evidence to prove that this was his chair; in fact every evidence is to the contrary. All the primitive episcopal chairs are of marble and as unlike this one in construction as possible, which

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is not an episcopal throne, but a *sella gestatoria* or cathedra, similar to the chairs introduced in Rome in the time of the Emperor Claudius, mentioned by *Suetonius*, *Nero* 26; and *Juvenal* 1-64, 6-90. It is not unlike in shape to that used to carry the Pope in grand ceremonies in St. Peter's. Some early authors speak of a *sella gestatoria* which was placed in the baptistry of old St. Peter's by Damasius, and which formerly, on the 22nd of February, was carried hence to the high altar, where the Pope with much ceremony was enthroned upon it.

"It was eventually passed on from one chapel to another, till it is said that when Rome was sacked by the Imperialists in 1527, they stripped it of its ornaments and covering, for the sake of its value; and that beneath they found an old carved wooden chair with the inscription, "*There is only one God and Mahomet is his Prophet.*" This same formula is engraved upon the back of the marble episcopal chair in the church of St. Pietro in Castello, at Venice. In 1558 the feast of the chair of St. Peter was fixed in Rome for the 18th of January; and in Antioch for February 22nd; and in 1655 Pope Alexander VII placed the present chair where it now stands. It is mediæval, ninth century, and is not unlike early representations in art of the chair used by the Apostle Paul, which we may look upon as episcopal.

"The ivory diptych of St. Paul, (A.D. 400) the property of Mr. Carrand, of Lyons, engraved by the Arundel society, represents Paul seated on a chair holding in his left hand a roll, the symbol of apostleship, whilst the right hand is raised in the act of blessing Linus, who carries a book in his hand. At the back of the chair is St. Mark, holding a roll in his left hand. The chair is light, and not unlike a modern library one in shape. Later art agrees with the present chair. A fresco at St. Clement's (Rome), 1050, represents St. Peter installing Clement into the Papal chair—a chair, as far as can be seen, not unlike the present one of St. Peter—which was made after the coronation of Charlemagne as emperor of the Holy Roman Empire A.D. 800."

INTERESTING DISCOVERY IN ROME.—We are further indebted to Mr. Russell Forbes for the following communication:—

"In making a new drain in the Piazza Pietra, near the Temple of Antoninus Pius, the workmen came upon an interesting piece of sculpture:—

"It consists of a large base six and a half feet high by five feet wide; the marble is cut so as to form a panel, with a projecting cornice, in the centre of which is a female figure five feet high in alto relief standing upon a projecting base; the face is unfortunately gone, but the head is surmounted by a Phrygian cap, and one of the curls of the hair is still distinguishable. The figure is clothed in the Roman toga which comes down to the feet, which peep out beneath, showing the shoes, which are not unlike what we term an Oxford shoe; the right foot is more advanced than the other, so it can be plainly seen, showing that it was not a sandal. The right hand is gone, but the remains show that something was held in the hand; between the fore-finger and thumb of the left hand, which is nearly perfect, the lady holds something small. The back of the base is hollowed out, as though it had been erected against a column. It is of a good period of art, of white marble with a dark grain, and excellent workmanship, the drapery being very fine though rather thick over the left leg.

"Cicero Ad Atticus XIII, 33, informs us that Julius Cæsar commenced a Septa in the Campus Martius for the Comitia Centuriata

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and Tributa. It consisted of a beautiful building of marble surrounded with a portico a mile square. It adjoined the Villa Publica. It was completed by Lepidus the triumvir, and dedicated by Agrippa, Dio 53-23. Frontinus, Aq. 22, says the arches of the Aqua Virgo ended in the Campus Martius, in front of the Septa. Donati says such arches were found in front of the Church of St. Ignazio, not far from where this base has been found.

"The Comitia Centuriata, when the people meet in their military order to elect their highest magistrates, to pass their laws, and to vote upon peace or war, always met outside the walls in the Campus Martius. Comitia Tributa for less important magistrates, tribunes and aediles, met sometimes in the Campus Martius. The Septa consisted of pens, (hence the name) into which the tribes passed to record their votes, which were given by ballot; every voter received a tabella, tablet, on which he wrote the name of the candidate for whom he voted, he then dropped it into an urn. Near by, Agrippa built the Diribitorium, a large building, used for distributing and counting the balloting tickets. It was dedicated by Augustus, Dio 55-8, Pliny 16-40. During a fire Claudius passed two nights here, Suetonius 18.

"We may conclude that this fragment belonged either to the Septa Julia or the Diribitorium. The figure has been supposed by some to represent an eastern city, by others a Dacian We think it represents Liberty, as shown by the cap, which is an emblem of liberty all over the world, and that it formed the side of an entrance into one of the pens of the Septa; that the something between the finger and thumb of the left hand is the voting tablet, and that in the other hand she held an urn, denoting that everybody should have perfect liberty to vote as he pleased.

"With this was found a beautiful piece of a marble frieze, with the egg pattern, below which is a design that we do not remember to have seen elsewhere. The soil beneath the find is an accumulation; below this was found a piece of a paved road. The soil above is an old accumulation, as shown by the base of the columns of the temple opposite. Some fragments of Corinthian capitals were also found, and a statue broken into pieces, one foot of which is in a good state of preservation."

Royal Institution of Cornwall.—This useful Society was established in 1818, and has just issued its Sixtieth Annual Report. It is, we believe, one of the oldest of our Archæological Societies, and has done good service throughout its long career. Its objects, however, embrace natural philosophy and natural history as well as antiquities; and it possesses a museum at Truro, in which are preserved many objects of great interest in each of these branches of study. It has collected a most valuable series of meteorological observations, extending from 1728 to the present time, of which a digest is being prepared for the use of members of the Institution and the public. The valuable papers printed in its earlier annual reports, and during later years in its Journal, sufficiently attest the value of the work of this Society.

The Fifty-Ninth Annual Meeting was held on the 19th Nov. last, when Mr. William Copeland Borlase, F. S. A., the author of *Nenia Cornubiæ*, was elected President, in succession to Mr. Jonathan Rashleigh, Sheriff of Cornwall.

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.—As the Society, to which we have just alluded, is one of the oldest, so is this

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of which we now treat one of the youngest of such Institutions; and we are glad to add that it displays all the vigour of youth, which vigour, we trust, will continue over as long a period as that enjoyed by her elder sister. The Society was formed only in April, 1876, and already it numbers nearly 600 members. Its Annual Winter Meeting was held at Gloucester, on 24th January last, when there was a good attendance of members. After dining together at the "Bell Hotel," the members and a large number of friends assembled at the Art and Science Institution for a conversazione, where, through the praiseworthy exertions of the local committee, a temporary Museum had been formed, containing objects of great interest. Several papers by local archæologists were read in the lecture room, which will be printed in the next Volume of the Transactions of the Society, now, we are informed, in the press. The First Volume of the Transactions has been issued some time, and contains several very valuable and interesting papers by well-known antiquarian and historical authors, including Prof. Rolleston, Dr. Beddoe, Sir John Maclean, Mr. G. T. Clark, Dr. Smith, and others.

We have pleasure in announcing that Mr. B. Montgomerie Ranking has in the press an annotated edition of Milton's *Comus*, on the principle of the Clarendon Press Text Books. It is prefaced by three essays, on the Masque proper, on the history of this special example, and upon its actual origin; in the last, by parallel passages and otherwise, Mr. Ranking attempts to establish the sources from which Milton took his idea. A short derivative glossary, in which the author has had the assistance of his brother, Mr. D. F. Ranking, of Hertford College, Oxford, will conclude the work, which is published by Henry West, 381, Mare Street, Hackney.

We are glad to know that the Rev. C. W. Boase, Fellow and Librarian of Exeter College, Oxford, has in the press a "Register of the Rectors and Fellows" of that College, from the date of its foundation, in 1314, to the present time. The work is not merely a list of names and of dates of the admission of the several parties, but contains also much biographical matter and many curious and valuable memoranda from the College Registers.

The Members of the Institute will be glad to hear that the General Index to the first twenty-five volumes of the Journal is progressing well under the editorship of Sir John Maclean, who has with great labour and care, verified every entry as left in MS. by the late Mr. Burtt. The appearance of this "encyclopædia of Archæological information" may be expected by the end of June. Upwards of 200 pages are now in type, nearly all of which have been worked off. Subscribers' names will be received by the Secretary.

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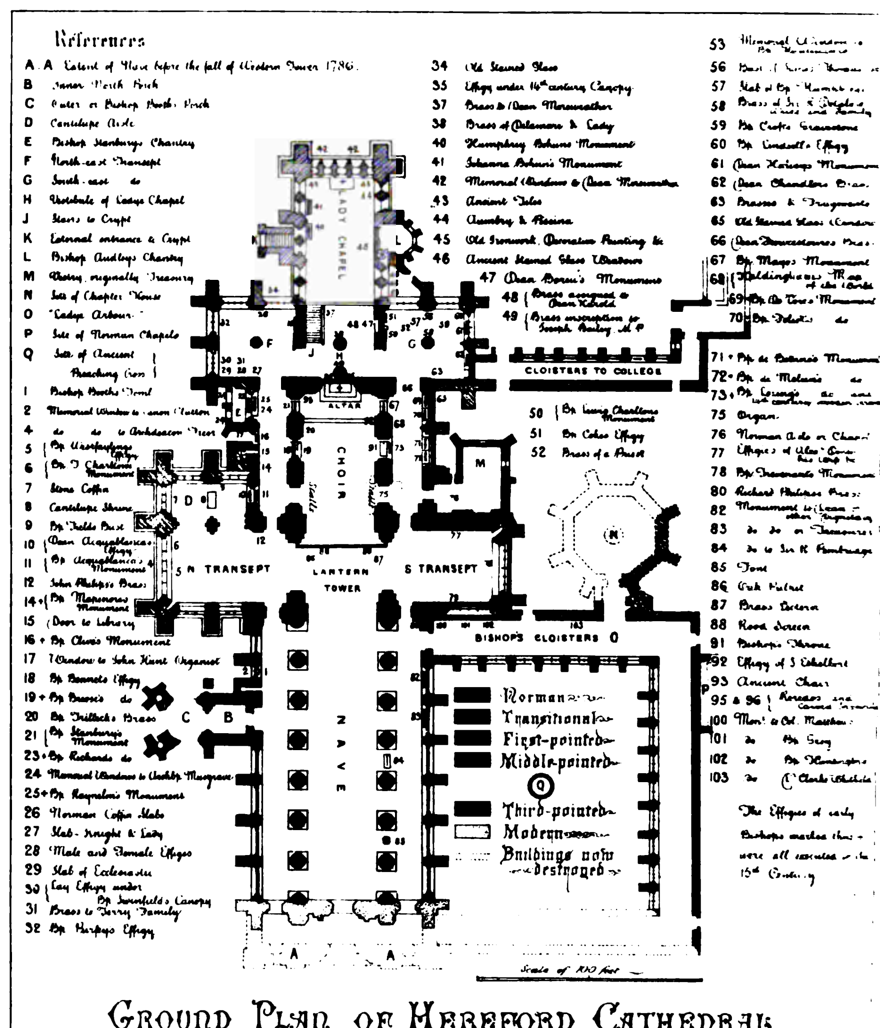

Ground Plan of Hereford Cathedral

Deighton & Son Lith. Worcester

J. S. W. del.

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The Archaeological Journal.

DECEMBER, 1877.

HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.

BY SIR G. GILBERT SCOTT, R.A.

When our annual gatherings are at a cathedral city, it is but reasonable that the *cathedral* should be our primary object of study. The architectural history of our cathedrals form the first page in the history of the architecture of our country; and when a great Archæological Society, such as ours, summons its annual synod under the shadow of one of these great typical edifices, it is naturally expected to be the signal for the full investigation and elucidation of its architectural and antiquarian history; and such it was when we had a Willis for our leader. His monographs on Canterbury, York, Winchester, and others of our cathedrals, have given world-wide celebrity to our Institute. Would that his mantle, as well as—on this occasion—his duty, had fallen on me! Having, however, at an unwary moment, consented to undertake this duty as regards Hereford cathedral, I was not long in discovering that I had undertaken a most difficult task.

In some cases the difficulty in telling the architectural history of a great building arises from too great a plenitude of information, an *embarras de richesse* of historical fact. Such, I dare say, was felt by that prince among those who undertake such tasks, Professor Willis, when he compiled his unrivalled architectural history of Canterbury Cathedral; for there, thanks to Ernulph, Gervase, and others, the most important parts of its history were so fully and accurately chronicled, that he must have found difficulty in condensing his facts, rather than in searching them out.

Far different, however, is the case at Hereford. Here we have—I will not say a *paucity*, but almost a *nullity*

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of historical information bearing upon the building, otherwise than indirectly and uncertainly; and one's task is to search in every conceivable direction for such mere waifs and strays of History as may suggest or furnish excuses for guesses and theories, which after all, in a majority of cases, it is impossible either to prove or to test.

Professor Willis, in writing on this cathedral in 1841, says,—"It is much to be regretted that the period of erection of *no one part* of this cathedral has been recorded, with the exception of its first foundation." (Willis's *Report*, p. 9.) How then can I, who am no investigator of antiquarian documents, venture to give the history of a structure whose builders, and those who were eye-witnesses of its erection, have neglected to record what they did and what they saw? Having, however, rashly accepted the task, I must beg for kind consideration of the difficulty of its performance, for, strange as it may appear, the very paucity of sources of knowledge has increased tenfold the labour of searching for it; and, poor as is the result, I should be ashamed to relate the amount of time and labour I have devoted to the pursuit of faithless phantoms, which only held out hopes of knowledge to lure me to the doom of disappointment.

I must, however, beg a *further* indulgence. I know not whether we view our sister society—the Archæological Association—with feelings more of affection or of rivalry. Anyhow, they have been beforehand with us on this ground; and a paper has been published in their journal, written by my friend Mr. Gordon Hills, which is, to all appearance, so nearly exhaustive of the documentary information at present within reach, that any idea on my part of ignoring it, or doing its work over again, would be absurd. I shall, therefore, with his kind consent, make free use of Mr. Hills' collected information, adding, if possible, any I may have elsewhere picked up; and, if in any instance I may happen to differ at all from his conclusions, I trust that this may in no degree be considered as evincing any want of the highest appreciation for his very able and laborious researches. I should add that I am indebted to him for much information privately communicated.

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The See, which now takes the name of Hereford, dates from very early times; and it is likely enough that there was a church of some importance here at least as early as the time of Offa, the great Mercian king, who in the year 793 treacherously murdered somewhere hereabouts his son-in-law (or intended son-in-law) Ethelbert, king of East Anglia, for the purpose of adding his kingdom to his own. Hereford was then known by another name—Fernleigh—and hither the body of King Ethelbrt was brought for re-interment by a pious noble named Brithfrid.

In the year 830, or thereabouts, the church was rebuilt in stone by Milfrid, ruler of Mercia, in honour of the now sainted King Ethelbert.

This church was, after about two centuries, rebuilt in Edward the Confessor's day by Bishop Athelstan, whose cathedral, however, was but short-lived, being burnt in 1056 by Griffin the Welsh king or prince, who slew Leofgan the bishop and many of his clergy. To him succeeded in turn two natives of Lorraine—the first, Walter, nominated by the Confessor, and after him Robert appointed by the Conqueror.

Robert de Lorraine, commonly called Lozing (a corruption of Lotharingus), was consecrated in 1079, and held the See sixteen years. He undertook the reconstruction of the cathedral, which had lain waste since the invasion by Griffin, and he is said by William of Malmesbury to have built it of a *rounded form*, imitating the basilica of Aix-la-Chapelle: "Quí ibi ecclesia in tereti ædificavit scemate, aquensem basilicam pro modo imitatus suo." It has been suggested that some other basilica than Charles the Great's round church is here referred to; but the expression "*tereti schemate*"—on a roundish or rounded scheme—appears to shew what church was meant.[1]

Now, we know something of the church he chose for his model. It was on a round or polygonal plan, imitated, as it is said, from the church of San Vitale at Ravenna, which had, about the year 550, been erected by Justinian, possibly in imitation of the Temple of Minerva Medica at

[1] The word may be susceptible of other meanings, but I fancy that the fact of the cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle being of a roundish form, warrants this interpretation.

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Rome, and more probably still of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. These imitations were, however, all of them but *very rough* ones, and consisted mainly in the adoption of a round or polygonal plan.

Charlemagne's church at Aix-la-Chapelle in all probability still exists, and is in ideal very similar to those built afterwards by the Templars in rough imitation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which he probably had in his eye quite as much as that at Ravenna, though he had seen the latter only, and perhaps connected it in his mind with its more sacred type. Be all this, however, as it may, the unfortunate fact remains that we have not in the Norman cathedral here at Hereford a *trace* or a *suggestion* of any of these buildings; and, if Robert of Lorraine did really imitate Charles the Great's sepulchral basilica, his successors, and probably Bishop Reynelm, must have utterly obliterated his work.

Reynelm held the See from 1107 to 1115. His reputed effigy bears what may be a model of a church, and his obit styles him as "fundator *Ecclesiæ* Sancti Ethelberti," altered in a later hand (and, I think, erroneously) to "*Hospicii.*" Writers on the cathedral seem disposed either to deprive him of all claim as a builder of the cathedral, or to attribute to him the completion of the work begun by Lorraine. Neither of these suppositions seems to me agreeable to common sense. If Robert of Lorraine completed his own design, or if Reynelm completed it, how is it that we have not a vestige of anything agreeing with William of Malmesbury's description? Instead of this we have a church on a very straightforward Norman type, apsidal truly, but less pronouncedly so than usual, and bearing no resemblance whatever to that at Aix-la-Chapelle. Again, the architecture is not of the *earlier* Norman type, but that of a more advanced period. Nor did Reynelm complete the cathedral, for we find that it was not finished till thirty years after his death. I therefore incline to the belief that Robert of Lorraine only began the church, and that being a German he was proud to do honour to the imperial basilica of his fatherland; while Reynelm, being probably a Norman, reverted to the manner of his own country. One cannot but regret that Robert's church does not

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HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.

D C

D C

B A

LADY CHAPEL.

DE VERE'S EASTERN CHAPELS.

A B

ORIGINAL-NORMAN-CATHEDRAL.

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exist, as it would have been quite unique among English cathedrals. Robert was a man learned in all the wisdom of his age—a favourite, as Dr. Rawlinson says, of the Muses as well as of his king. He was a poet, a mathematician, and learned in the stars and their influence on human affairs; and though intimate with Remigius, the builder of Lincoln minster, with Wolstan, who built that at Worcester, and probably with the builders of Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and other vast churches then rising, he perhaps *scorned* to follow in their wake, and gloried in imitating the basilica which overshadowed the great hero of his own race—a church of which Mr. Fergusson says: "It is the oldest authentic example we have of its style; it was built by the greatest man of his age, and more emperors have been crowned and more important events happened beneath its venerable vaults than have been witnessed within the walls of any existing church in christendom."

Unhappily, what I have said is all we know of the building of the Norman Cathedral, excepting that it was not finished by Reynelm, but by his third successor, Robert de Bethune or Betun, who held the see from 1131 to 1148, and who, having suffered, and his cathedral likewise, during the wars of King Stephen's days, lived to recover and repair the injuries incurred, and whose biographer says of him, "Sepultus est in Ecclesia suâ matrice quam ipse multa impensa et sollicitudine consummavit ipse solomonis exemplo, solemnisse dedicavit."

The cathedral, then, throwing Lorraine out of the calculation, took forty years in building in its Norman form. The scheme of its design was as follows:—

Its nave was of eight bays of not unusual Norman type, supported by massive round pillars, to which double shafts are attached, both to the north and south. The triforium was of moderate height and good design; the clerestory somewhat lofty. The choir, (or rather the presbytery, for the choir proper was beneath the central tower), was of three bays, supported by piers which are rather masses of wall than columns; and judging from the great projecting pilasters upon their inner faces, I agree with Mr. Gordon Hills that it must have been vaulted, which was very unusual at that time in churches of so great a span.

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It terminated eastward in an apse, not formed, as was so frequent, by the swinging round of arcade, triforium, clerestory and aisles upon the altar as a centre, and uniting themselves together in semi-circular continuity; but a separate and narrower structure, opening into the presbytery by an arch of moderate dimensions, over which the eastern wall returned in a square form. Each aisle also terminated in a smaller apse, and each of the three apses had its own separate roof.

The transepts, of which one only remains, were of an ordinary type, without (at least the remaining one is) the apsidal chapels which are so usual.[1]

I have elsewhere shown that the three not distant monastic Churches of Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and Pershore followed a scheme peculiar to themselves, and displaying great originality of invention. There is no trace of this scheme at Hereford. I am not sure, however, whether the nave here was not more beautiful than that of its more original neighbours. The less lofty columns, surmounted by a well proportioned triforium and lofty clerestory, formed a more elegant composition than the exaggeratedly lofty columns of Gloucester and Tewkesbury, unduly stunting the upper storeys of the nave; though it is possible that the two ranges of aisles in the choirs of those churches, running unbroken round the apse, and the continuous aisle with its apsidal chapels may have produced a more pleasing effect than the non-continuous arrangement at Hereford.

It matters little, however, which may have looked the best. They display two quite different systems, each good, and each nobly carried out. We see them now but in imagination, for all these churches have been so altered that the true effect is visible in none.

I have said that the architecture at this cathedral is not *early* but *advanced* Norman. Its details are, in all the principal parts, decidedly rich in ornamental character; very different indeed from those of Remigius' work at Lincoln, at the consecration of which Lorraine would have been present had the stars been propitious. No concurrence of stars, however, could render such details

(1.) The style of this transept is so simple as to lead to the impression that it is earlier than the choir, which, however, I think unlikely.

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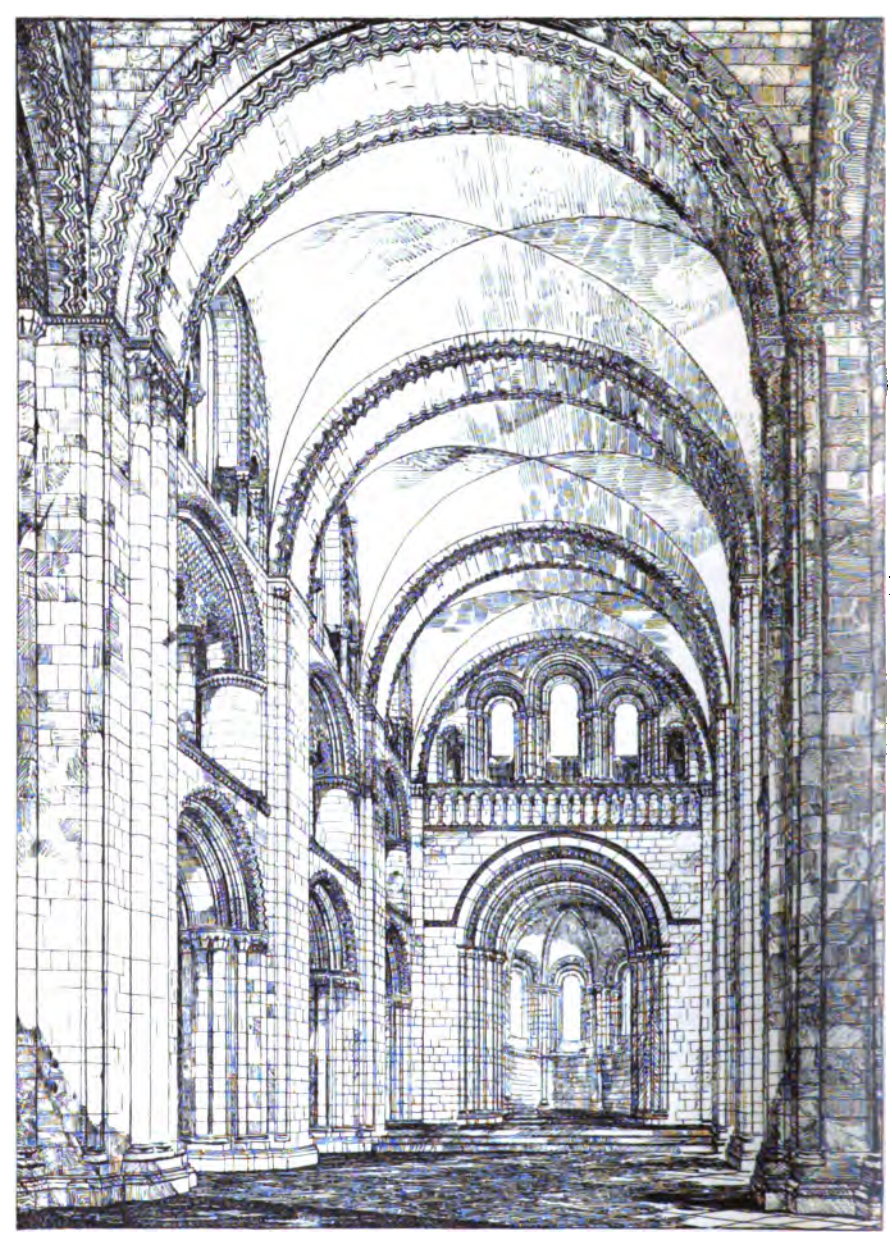

HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.
REPRODUCTION OF ORIGINAL PRESBYTERY.

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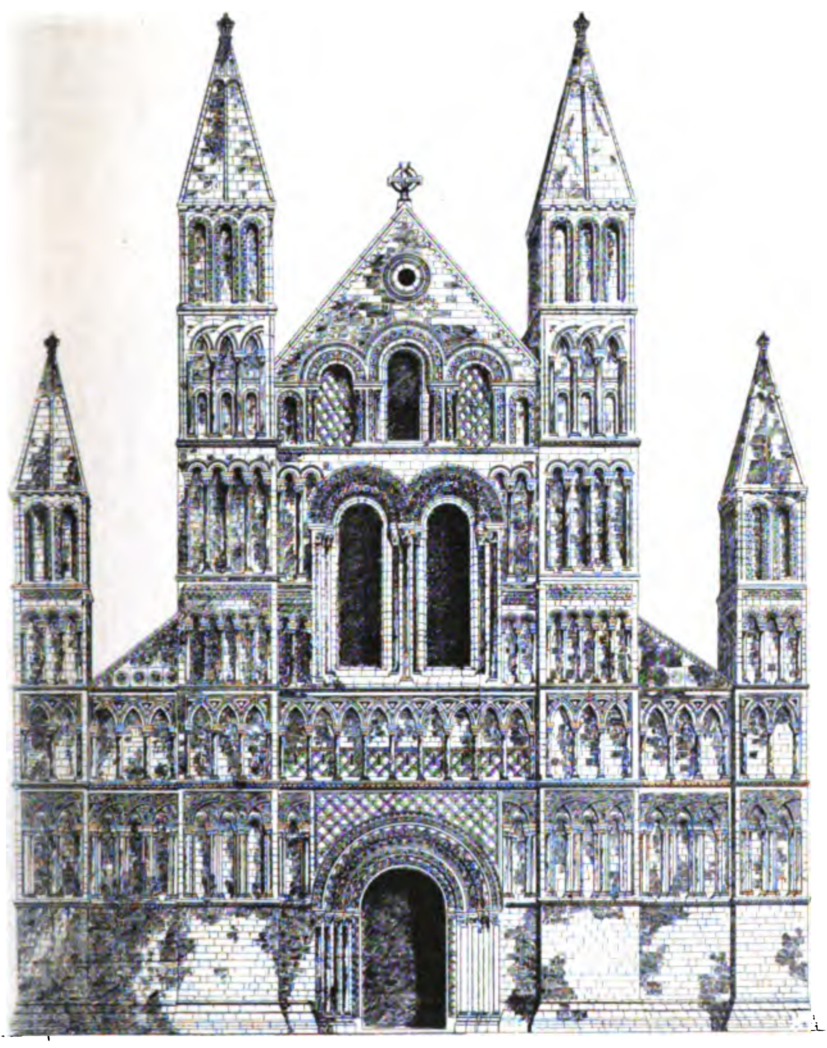
HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.
IMAGINARY REPRODUCTION OF ANCIENT WEST FRONT.



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as those at Hereford, *possibly* contemporaneous with those of Remigius' work. *Not a stone* do I believe remains in place of Robert of Lorraine's cathedral.

The great glory of the Norman cathedral at Hereford was its West front. We get a good idea of its design from Merricke's view, given by Browne Willis. I have attempted a restored elevation of it, which I exhibit. It was probably the work of Robert de Bethune, and was consequently very late in the style. I may mention that what Norman vaulting remains (which is right little) is without diagonal ribs. Possibly, Bethune's work may have been otherwise, as that feature had become frequent in his day. At some time during the Norman period was erected the great timber hall of the Bishop's palace, and the very curious double chapel of St. Margaret and St. Catherine, which adjoined it.

Bethune's successor was the famous Gilbert Foliot, who, after ruling here for fourteen years, was translated to London in 1163. We hear nothing of him respecting the Cathedral, but he was too great a man to be passed by unnoticed. He was a most strenuous opponent of Becket; so much so, that the Evil Spirit is said to have addressed him, while revolving as he lay on his bed the plans he had been devising with the King against the Primate, as follows :—

> "O Gilberte Foliot,
> Dum revolvis tot et tot,
> Deus tuus est Ashteroth."

The Bishop intrepidly replied :—

> "Mentiris Dæmon, Deus Meus est Deus Sabaoth."

Forgive my egotism in saying that a great ecclesiastic has done me the honour, while remarking on my wanderings about on church matters, to parody the words on me, in the more favourable version, saying : —

> "O Georgi Gilberte Scott,
> Dum revolvis tot et tot,
> Deus tuus est Sabaoth."

Two more prelates succeeded, of whom nothing is told us relating to the church. During this period Norman architecture had been undergoing a gradual but radical change. I had the honour, two years back, at Canterbury, of reading a paper before this Institute on this

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great transition in mediæval architecture, and I shewed that, while it had been going on for some time in England and in an English way, it was precipitated, and its manner changed in a French direction through the rebuilding by William of Sens of the choir at Canterbury. Unluckily, in this cathedral, we have no specimen of the earlier and more English phase of the transition. The cathedral was complete, and as yet unaltered, during its rise.

Bethune's two successors, Gilbert Foliot and Robert of Melun, had not seen French transitional art in an English building. The third, Robert Foliot (the friend of Becket), saw it, but as far as we know, was not architecturally disposed. The fourth, William de Vere, took more to my art. Godwin says of him, "Qui multa dicitur construxisse." Leland says: "As appears by his epitaph, he constructed many excellent buildings;" and his epitaph itself said: "Strenue rexit spatium xxx annis et multa edificia egregia per spatium construxit." Dean Merewether thus gives the epitaph, but he must have copied the number of years incorrectly, for De Vere ruled but fourteen years. As usual, we are not told what buildings these were: but, judging from style alone, we may fairly guess that the alteration of the east end of the cathedral was *his*. It *may* have been by his predecessor, who died just after the Canterbury work was done, but we do not hear of him as a builder; and De Vere reigning from 1186 (two years after the Canterbury choir was finished) to 1199—just the time of the two greatest transitional works in the west, Glastonbury and St. David's—is more likely to have been the promoter of this work, which displays some marked resemblances to both of those splendid structures. I may mention that the older abbey at Glastonbury had been burnt in 1186, the very year of De Vere's accession at Hereford. The few next years were devoted to the exquisite chapel of St. Mary, now known as that of St. Joseph of Arimathæa; while the last decade of the twelfth century saw the rise of the unequalled abbey church itself. The chapel is more Romanesque in its character than the church, though both alike display a refinement of detail and workmanship, and an artistic sentiment impossible to be excelled. They are the

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right glorious cotemporaries of De Vere's work here at Hereford.

This work is in very fine transitional architecture, with a large supply of that rich semi-Norman decoration which characterises the two great works alluded to; yet with other features derived from France, and with evidences, such as the great projection of the foliage of the capitals, that it is not quite early in its style.

This great alteration consisted of the entire removal of the three apses, and the substitution of an eastern aisle, supplying the deficiency in the first scheme of a continuous aisle or ambulatory round the apse, and the adding to this aisle eastward a range of chapels.

I do not think that it was a part of De Vere's scheme to make what now take the form of eastern transepts. These, I think, resulted rather by accident from his plan. I rather imagine that an ambulatory and chapels were all he thought of. His scheme was some years later imitated on a less scale at Dore Abbey, where it takes the simpler form of an eastern aisle with five chapels, occupying only the width of the church. Here at Hereford either six chapels, or one wide central one and four narrower ones, two on either side, were aimed at; and as either the central *two* chapels or *one* occupied the width which at Dore Abbey is given to *three*, it followed that the scheme had to be extended in width to the north and south, which is clearly proved on the south side both by the base of the corner shaft, and by the remains of a transitional doorway at the extreme end of the ambulatory.

Whether this scheme embraced a *Lady Chapel* cannot now be ascertained; the division of the central space into two by columns is rather against it, while, on the other hand, the triple shaft on either side of the second bay, which by the ranging of its courses is shewn to belong to De Vere's work, shews that the central chapel or chapels were intended to go at least one bay eastward of the others. I think it probable that all the chapels gabled towards the east. It may be mentioned that, while the central bays were divided by single columns, the side chapels were separated by heavy piers.

The point most open to objection in De Vere's alterations was the blocking up of the fine eastern arch of the

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presbytery, by which the interior was deprived of its culminating feature without the substitution of any thing in its place, and the beauty of the choir was most seriously damaged. The re-opening of this arch is a work of our own age, and has done much to remedy this radical defect.

We have now passed through what may be gathered of the cathedral's history through the Norman and semi-Norman period, and have arrived at the opening of the *great thirteenth century;* and here we must start afresh with, if possible, less direct information than we have hitherto found, though the church is rich in noble work of every part of the century, but every part left to tell its own tale, almost without the suggestion of a date.

I pass over, at present, the mere guess that the first bishop in this century, Egidius de Bruse, built the central tower (the predecessor of that which now exists), of this we have no other evidence, than that his reputed effigy holds the model of a tower in its hands. This certainly was not the *western* tower, as some have supposed, for no such structure existed before the 14th century; and, as to its being the central tower, I am content to say with Dr. Rawlinson, "which supposition I cannot altogether confide in, therefore must leave it dubious, till I am convinced by a more sufficient proof."

First of all, then, comes the noble Lady Chapel, wholly undated, and unappropriated to any founder. Mr. Gordon Hills seems to suppose it to have gone on continuously from Vere's time to its completion. The arguments in favour of this seem to be the transitional details of the porch leading down into its crypt, and also of the arcade of intersecting arches over the exterior of the windows. Against these evidences we have to balance, firstly, the circumstance that, though the porch leading to the crypt has unquestionably some transitional details, the crypt to which it leads has none. Secondly, there is a well defined break in the work inside after passing the triple vaulting shaft above named; for, while the courses of stone forming those shafts range with the courses of De Vere's work to the west, they are wholly disconnected from those of the Lady Chapel to the east. Thirdly, the mouldings and decoration of the ribs of the vaulting in

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the Lady Chapel wholly differ from those of De Vere's work. Fourthly, the details generally of the Lady Chapel are not Transitional, but are developed Early English, and the same may be said of the crypt below it. I conclude, therefore, that, though the Lady Chapel is somewhat early in its style, a marked interval must have elapsed between the closing of De Vere's works and the beginning of the Lady Chapel. True it is that at Lincoln, Ely, St. Albans, and Winchester we find developed Early English work at the very beginning of the thirteenth century; but, nevertheless, where we have Transitional work of a very pronounced character up to the very end of the twelfth, we can hardly believe that the style at the same place suddenly changed without an interval. I will not, however, venture to assign it to any particular bishop. The bowing down of the vaulting upon the side wall, which necessitated the arcading over the windows, has an early look, yet, by no means, so early as to class it with Transitional work. I should call this work a fine design of the earlier period of Early English, though the details of the crypt seem too late even for this.

The next work I will call attention to is the clerestory of the presbytery. This is a specimen of very advanced Early English, the windows of which have what Professor Willis has named "plate tracery." It is not improbable that the original clerestory and vaulting had become damaged by the setlement of the tower; for one can hardly otherwise account for their having put themselves to the expense and inconvenience of reconstructing so important a part of the building. This raises the question, whether the central tower had been erected (or at least above the roof-line of the church) by Norman builders, or whether, as has been supposed, it was first built by Giles de Bruse, the first bishop in the thirteenth century; a question to which I shall have by-and-by to revert.

The style and details of this clerestory are peculiarly elegant. Curiously enough, its architect did not lose sight of the design of the Lady Chapel. His overhanging cornice is a beautiful translation of that of the Lady Chapel into a more advanced phase of the style, and the intersecting arcade of the upper part of the walls of the

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older work—the result there of construction—is imitated by arcading of another design in the presbytery without any such necessity—merely, as it would appear, because they liked the look of it. On the whole, this work is a perfect specimen of the later form of Early English. Would that we had the smallest clue to its date or its promoter! It may have dated about 1240 to 1250.

We now arrive at a yet more marked era, in the architecture of our cathedral. The pointed style made its début here in the transitional work of De Vere—transitional from the Romanesque or Norman. We now reach a second transition—that from Early English to Decorated, or from first to middle Pointed. The windows of the Lady Chapel are strictly lancet-shaped; those of the clerestory of the presbytery have plate tracery; but those of the part to which we now come,—the north transept,—have bar tracery, that is to say, tracery pierced in all its little spandrils and corners, so as not to look like a flat surface, perforated by ornamental openings, but rather like an ornamental pattern, produced by bending about the mullion or stone bar, so as to produce the pattern required. This invention was the Magna Charta of Gothic architecture, setting it free from all the trammels of its earlier years. This development had begun earlier in France than in England. We see it strongly suggesting itself in the later parts of Salisbury, about 1240; but it seems to have been first systematically adopted in this country—as the rule—in Westminster Abbey, begun in 1245, while we have in the Chapter-house at Westminster, which we know to have been finished in 1253, large four-light windows with perfected tracery.

The north transept here is throughout of this type. It does not look so early as the Westminster Abbey work in all respects; but that, having been a royal foundation, is *likely* to have taken the precedence of others in the march of development. Lincoln cathedral is perhaps the most parallel case, where the eastern limb was added in this style, between 1260 and 1280. The nave at Lichfield and that at Newstead are equally parallel to it, but I do not know their dates. The history of the see at about

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this period is remarkable, and throws more perplexity perhaps than light upon the origin of this great work.

It was held from 1240 to 1268 by Peter de Aquablanca, a very turbulent foreigner, who came over in the train of William de Valence, half-brother of Henry III, of whose escapades we read so much in Mathew Paris, who, indeed, is equally uncomplimentary to our bishop. Aquablanca was a favourite of the king, but hated by the clergy. He was absent from England from 1250 to 1258 in the Holy Land and elsewhere. In 1264 the king, passing through Hereford, found there neither bishop nor clergy, and the church in a ruinous state; and was thereat so sorely enraged that, forgetting his former favouritism, he severely reprimanded the bishop by letter, threatening that, if he did not quickly return and mend his manners he would take the temporalities into his own hands. Aquablanca thereupon returned, but only to be taken prisoner and robbed of his wealth by the insurgent barons, who imprisoned him in the castle at Ordelay. He died in 1268 of a terrible complication of diseases, of which one was leprosy.

The great difficulty, if Aquablanca built this beautiful transept, is to imagine how he came to have either the will or the way; either inclination or time for such a work. The interval between his accession in 1240 and his absence in 1250 seems too early for its architecture. It would better suit the presbytery clerestory. He could not have built it, one would think, during his absence in the Holy Land, while only six years intervened between his return and the king's reprimand for leaving his cathedral in a ruinous condition, which seems inconsistent with the fact of so noble a work being in hand. Nor can we suppose he had time or money for it after being seized by the barons. Yet, that he *had* a hand in it is certain: His exquisite tomb—which we may be sure that no one would erect to such a man but himself—bears so close a resemblance to the architecture which overshadows it as to leave no doubt that they are by the same hand; indeed, I can point out details of the transept and the tomb which are *identical*, except in scale.

Need we, however, always suppose the bishops to be the originators of every work? Surely the deans and

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chapters had a hand in many, and we know that in secular cathedrals the greater and lesser chapters were often severely taxed for the works in their cathedrals.

Now, we have clear proof that the central tower (whoever built it) had been giving way and crushing this transept; and it requires no stretch of fancy to think that the Chapter, though deserted by their Bishop, would set about the remedying of this serious danger. Perhaps the Bishop aided the funds, for we have no record, I think, that he was parsimonious, and he would naturally be stirred up by the royal reprimand; anyhow, he built his own monument in connection with the new work. Perhaps in 1264 it had fallen into neglect through the civil war, or perhaps was only then begun. The building itself shows evidence that it was not completed at one effort; for the lower stage of the buttress adjoining the nave was pushed severely out of the perpendicular by the continued subsidence of the tower, while its upper parts were built and remain vertical; and at the same level we find, in the north-eastern buttresses, a decided change of design; the lower stage having the bases of intended shafts, which were not carried out above. I shall shew also later on that the upper finish of these buttresses is twenty years later in date.

I conclude therefore that the lower part of the transept was carried out—probably by the Chapter—in Aquablanca's time, but that its continuation and completion were during the three succeeding episcopates, extending, probably, to about 1288.

The great faults of this design are the remarkable straight-sided form of the arches and the thinness of the details of the triforium, but, with these exceptions, it is an exquisite architectural design, deserving to be classed on equal terms with those I have enumerated. I mean Westminster, the "Angel Choir" at Lincoln, and the naves of Lichfield and Newstead; nor is Aquablanca's tomb surpassed by any of its period. He and his master William de Valence, however careless their lives, took care that their bodies should be sumptuously housed when dead. I may mention that we find work of precisely the same architecture in parts of Ledbury Church. We now arrive at another period in the history both of the see and the cathedral.

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Aquablanca's successor, De Breton, was a man of character and ability, and though we hear nothing of him respecting the building, there can be no doubt that during the six years of his rule the north transept was proceeding towards completion. His successor, Thomas de Cantilupe, was a man of great family, great political position, and great piety. He was Chancellor of Oxford, and Lord Chancellor of England. We do not know of any architectural works in which, during the seven years of his episcopate, he was specially interested; but I think the transept was still in hand, as I find the marks of his successor's hand on its topmost stones. Cantilupe produced, however, greater impression on his cathedral after death than during his life; for dying in Italy in 1282, he was at once pronounced by his chaplain and secretary, Richard de Swinfield, who succeeded him, to be a saint, though the Popes hesitated another thirty years in formally assenting to it. Swinfield, after interring his flesh in Italy, brought his heart and his bones back to England; the former was deposited in the church of the college of Bonnes-hommes at Ashridge, in Buckinghamshire, and the latter in the Lady Chapel at Hereford. Some five years later the bones were enshrined and translated to the chapel of St. John the Baptist, in the aisle of the new north transept; partly, I dare say, built by himself, but not till then completed. The shrine, some sixty years later, was removed into the Lady Chapel. The document which records its translation also states that where it was, it interfered with the fabric of the church. I have not seen the *ipsissima verba*, and am not able to judge how it so interfered; but, in the absence of explanation, I fancy that the concourse of pilgrims in the centre of the church produced inconvenience, possibly through some repairs going on owing to the pressure of the tower. It remained there apparently till the sixteenth century, when it was brought back to its old place. Leland saw it in the Lady Chapel in Henry VIII's time, but Godwin saw it where it is in Queen Elizabeth's time.

It has ever since been undoubtedly acknowledged as the substructure of the shrine of Cantilupe, or St. Thomas of Hereford, till quite recently, when a doubt has by a

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high authority, yet as I venture to think without sufficient grounds, been thrown upon it. The objections to it are, I think, the following:—First, it seems strange that, having first been erected in St. John's Chapel, and afterwards translated to the Lady Chapel, it should, when despoiled of its relics and its treasures, find its way back after two centuries to its old place. Secondly, its eastern end is plain, whereas in the Lady Chapel it would be exposed to view all round. Third, the paucity of ecclesiastical and the abundance of military emblems displayed in the work; for what, it is said, have the fourteen figures of knights which surround the lower stage of the monument to do with a bishop or a saint? It has consequently been suggested that it may be the substructure of St. Ethelbert's shrine.

I do not, however, think that these objections have much force as against the unbroken tradition of its belonging to the Cantilupe shrine. That tradition has—

First, the advantage of possession, which forms, to start with, "nine points in the law."

Secondly, there is the fact that on the marble slab round which the whole is constructed, and to which it is accurately fitted, is the matrix of the brass effigy, or at least the bust, of a bishop, and that slab is semée with the two cognizances of Cantilupe, the leopard's head, and the fleur-de-lis; the latter, it is true, not issuing from the mouth of the former, but separate, a liberty which, I dare say, an antiquarian herald would condone.

Thirdly, the plainness of the east end would naturally result from the monument having been first prepared for the place it occupies (or nearly so), not for its subsequent position in the Lady Chapel.

Fourthly, it is objected that we ought to find some work agreeing with the period (1350) of its translation to the Lady Chapel; but, curiously enough, such is the case, for the two arches of the upper range at the head differ in character from all the others in belonging to the later Decorated style. The original arches were probably broken by some accident during the removal, for we found in the floor near the monument a broken fragment of two original arches, which is now fixed for preservation against the foot.

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Finally, the objection to the military figures vanishes instantly, before the explanation given by Mr. King in his history of the cathedral—that they represent knights templars, of whose order Cantilupe was provincial grand master.

We may, therefore, safely rest satisfied in the old tradition, that this is the *bonâ fide* substructure of the shrine of St. Thomas of Hereford, which was first set up by Bishop Swinfield in this place in 1288; afterwards translated by Bishop Trelick in 1350 to the Lady Chapel, and finally, removed to its old place, after having been deprived of the precious shrine it supported, and of the relics which that shrine contained.

But how, it may be asked, did they know its old place after its absence of two centuries? I would reply that Leland knew of this old position not long before its return to it, and that Dingley, in the seventeenth century, and Stukely, in the eighteenth, tell us of a painting in fresco of Cantilupe on the wall, at the foot of the monument, which would have remained all the time as a witness of the old position.

From its removal to this position, until Dean Merewether's time, was another interval of three centuries; yet, when he cleared away the library from the Lady Chapel, about 1842, he found in the floor the mark of Cantilupe's shrine. It consisted of a curb of stone level with the floor, fitted on its inner side to the shape of the shrine, and on its outer side, sunk or rebated to receive the encaustic tiles of the pavement. Many of these tiles remained cemented to the stone frame, and were deeply worn by the feet and knees of pilgrims. The dean had them removed and placed near the shrine in the north transept, from which position they were, in 1857, transferred for safe custody by Mr. Havergal to the present library, where these interesting relics may still be seen.

I will not attempt to describe the architecture of the shrine, as it may be itself inspected, but I will mention two or three circumstances about it:—First, it is quite in the style suited to its reputed date of 1287 or 1288. Secondly, it is *bonâ fide* the support of a precious shrine, to receive which, its upper surface is sunk about

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one and a half inch, and in the corners of this sinking are still the irons by which that shrine was fixed. Thirdly, its details are so peculiar that a like piece of work by the same man may be readily recognized.

This brings us to the next architectural question: What other works did Bishop Swinfield carry out during the three and thirty years of his episcopate? I think I can detect some, at least, of his works. I have already stated that he finished the top of the buttresses of the great north transept. This is proved by their peculiar gabling, similar to that to the stair turret of the north porch, which I shall presently shew to be his.

There is, leading from the north porch into the nave, a doorway of remarkable design, especially as to the cusping of its arch. Of what age is that doorway? It (with the outer doorway of the same porch) contains both the conventional foliage of the Early English period and the crisp natural foliage of the Early Decorated, so admirably exemplified in Cantilupe's shrine. This affords a *primâ facie* suggestion of its being by the same hand; but it does not exhibit the *studding* which characterises the mouldings of the shrine, suggesting their inlaying with gems.

Now, at a church some fifteen or sixteen miles away, that at Grosmont, is a beautiful piscina, whose mouldings are *studded* or *gemmed* like those of the shrine, while its arch is decorated with cusping closely resembling that of the porch doorway. The one shews it, as I think, to be by the same hand with the shrine, the other to be by the same hand with the doorway; *ergo*, the doorway was by the same hand with the shrine.

Again, the coursing of the stone-work shows the porch and the entire aisle (so far as the original work remains) to be one and the same work; in confirmation of which we find the little capitals in the windows, both within and without, to have the same union of Early English and crisp Early Decorated foliage. It follows that the porch and the whole north aisle of the nave were built by Swinfield, and that in his earlier years, about 1288-90, when he constructed the shrine.

Again, the *south* aisle, though less ornate, is clearly of the same age or thereabouts; consequently Swin-

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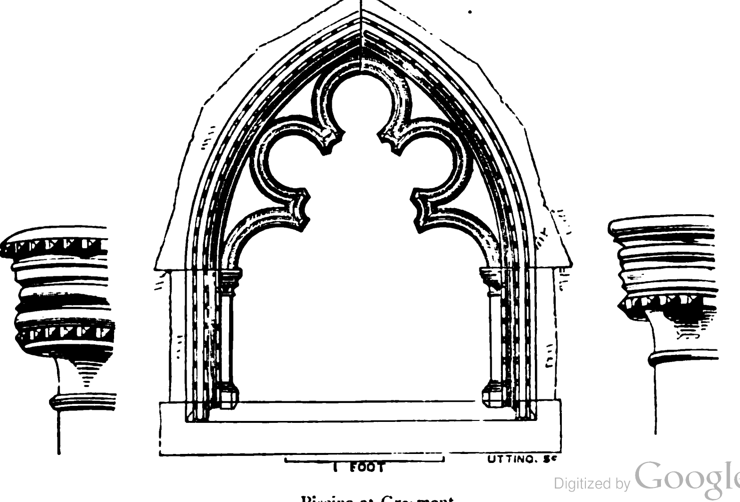
SCALE OF 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 FEET

Doorway of North Porch.



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Piscina at Grosmont.

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field rebuilt *both* the aisles of the nave. The north aisle does not course with the north transept, yet its base mould imitates it, though on another level. Probably the Norman aisles had given way, but Swinfield had another object in view. The old aisles were low, as we see by the weathering of the older roof against the side of the north transept. The new aisles were made so lofty as almost to include the triforium, as is shown in Hearne's view of the nave when in ruins after the fall of the west tower.

Did Swinfield, however, stop here? I think not; for, though later in the style, the aisles of the presbytery are in the main a carrying on of the design of those of the nave, and the same may be said of the north-east transept. I should therefore call the style of the nave aisles "Early Swinfield," and that of the presbytery aisles and the north-east transept "Late Swinfield," the latter term applying to the vaulting of the whole; for the foliage in the corbels of that to the nave aisles is not of the crisp kind of the earlier, but the softer type of the later variety of the style.

In the north-east transept is the monument which Swinfield, no doubt in his later days, erected to himself. In it we first find a profusion of the ball flower; and the foliage which ornaments the surface within the arch is of the softened form of his later style.

It is not improbable that we owe to him also that series of recessed monuments and effigies, by which so many of his predecessors are commemorated, in the walls of the presbytery aisles, though some of the effigies may be of later date, especially those which are not placed in these wall recesses.

This brings us down to the period of his death in 1316, with, however, the reservation of the question whether or not he had a hand in the rebuilding of the central tower, which Professor Willis seems to have thought.

Swinfield's successor was Adam de Orleton, who held the see from 1317 to 1327, when he was translated to Worcester and subsequently to Winchester. Two years after his accession, that is to say in 1319, one of the most remarkable circumstances in the whole architectural history of this church occurred. The Dean

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and Chapter, backed by the sanction of the Bishop of Salisbury (the reason of which will immediately appear) petitioned the Pope to sanction the appropriation to the fabric of the church of the tithes of the parishes of Shinfield and Swallowfield in the County of Berks and Diocese of Salisbury, on the following grounds.—"That they (the Dean and Chapter) in past times, wishing to restore the fabric of the Church of Hereford, upon an ancient foundation, which, according to the judgment of masons or architects, who were reputed to be expert in their art, was thought firm and solid, had caused to be built many superstructures in sumptuous work, to the honour of the house of God, on the construction of which they had expended twenty thousand marks sterling, and more; and that owing to the weakness of the aforesaid foundation, that which had been built upon it now threatened ruin so severely that, according to similar judgment, there was no remedy to be had, unless the said fabric of the church were to be totally renewed. On account of which, and the expenses caused by the prosecution of the canonization of Thomas de Cantilupe of good memory, Bishop of Hereford, they were oppressed with various burdens of debt." The Pope in a bull dated the following year, 1320, grants their request, accompanying it with the assurance of a special devotion to "the blessed Thomas the Confessor, whose venerable relics the church contained," and whose canonization he had so tardily granted only in the same year, the thirty-eighth from his decease.

Now, this opens many and very complicated questions.

First, what were the buildings which had thus been erected on ancient foundations? Not the eastern chapels, for they were built on new foundations. Not the new aisles, for they had not given way. I can only conceive of its being the tower and the north transept, though, it is true, they may have casually thrown in other parts not exactly tallying with the premises, as a makeweight, just as they clearly exaggerated the circumstances in other respects, or we should now have no remains anterior to the bull of 1320.

Second, what was done with the funds thus obtained?

Third, was the existing tower built previously and

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caused the failure, or was it rebuilt in consequence of that failure?

Fourth, had the Norman builders erected a tower? and, if not, had one been subsequently built, and by whom?

I will begin with the last questions.

There can be no doubt, from Professor Willis's description, that a tower had existed before the present one, for its weight had *bent down* the courses of stonework in the old parts below, which bending has been corrected in the later superstructure. This tower could hardly have been Norman, or it would not have been said to have been erected on ancient foundations; nor could it be the present tower, for that did not probably fail seriously till long subsequently. It was therefore of intermediate age. It was older than the north transept, for it had pressed hard upon that before it was raised to half its height. It may or may not have been older than the rebuilding of the clerestory of the presbytery. Its having bent that clerestory down by half a foot at least, looks at first sight as if the tower was of subsequent date; but, on the other hand, I can hardly think that the clerestory would have been rebuilt at all had the older one not have been ruined by the subsidence of the tower. I am, therefore, inclined to place it earlier, and this gives a colourable ground for the idea that it may have been built by De Bruse, whose later effigy holds in its hand what appears to be the model of a tower.

The architecture of the present tower is of a type common in the district. It seems intermediate between Early and Late Decorated, and is surcharged with ball-flowers. In this it agrees well enough with Swinfield's monument. It also agrees with the architecture of the south aisle at Leominster, to whose date I find no clue, and with a north chapel at Ledbury, built in honour of St. Catherine Audley, who lived there as an anchoress in the days of Edward II.

It further agrees in style with the south aisle at Gloucester cathedral, built by Abbot Thokey about 1318. It looks, however, just a shade later than this, so I conclude that it was set about as soon as they began to receive the funds granted them in the bull of 1320; and

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this is confirmed by the circumstance that the piers were strengthened, and at least one adjoining arch of the nave altered for greater strength, in a style agreeing with that of the tower. There is no old material to be detected in the renewed superstructure, all having been built of new blockstone, to give strength to its studiously light construction. It was, I dare say, a work occupying some years, but I cannot quite agree with Mr. Hills in prolonging it to far beyond the middle of the century. Possibly the outlay he founded this conjecture upon may relate to the western tower, which was—likely enough—a subsequent imitation, probably for the reception of the bells.

The tower is of singularly beautiful design throughout. It has some features precisely like those in St. Catherine's Chapel at Ledbury, and some exactly like some in the south aisle at Leominster, and in the north aisle at Ludlow; so, if we knew their dates, we could get at a fair clue to that of our tower. It is also much like parts of some other churches in the district, especially at Weobley and at Badgworth in Gloucestershire.[1]

Mr. Gordon Hills tells us that on the 14th of April, 1325, Bishop Orleton consecrated three altars in the church at Weobley, and that certain parts of this church have every appearance of having been rebuilt at that time; "and that the nave arcade is decorated with ball flowers placed in a hollow moulding on the arch precisely as in the tombs at the base of the work of Orleton's time in the cathedral." This is confirmatory of the supposition that the tower (which is full of ball flower) was begun at once after obtaining the bull in question, but rather against Mr. Hills' idea that it was still going on some forty years later.

Mr. Gordon Hills, however, produces a piece of evidence pointing the other way in the bequest of Bishop Charlton, who held the see from 1362 to 1369, to the fabric of the belfry of St. Mary's Church at Oxford, which in its upper parts is also replete with the ball flower. Now, Charlton's tomb is nearly Perpendicular in style; and I confess that it seems to me quite at variance with our evidences of the

[1] It also bears some resemblance to the upper stage of the south-western tower at Lichfield. The north-western tower there has recently been proved to be a subsequent imitation.

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progress of the Decorated style to carry a work of such early character on to the extreme verge of the duration of the style. There are at Westminster, York, and at Gloucester, as early as the time of this bishop, works in purely Perpendicular style, and when we come to think of the advanced Decorated of the Eleanor crosses in the last decade of the previous century; of the Lady Chapel at Chichester about 1308; of Prior Eastry's screens at Canterbury, 1304 (in which the lines of tracery are the same as in this tower); and of the Lady Chapel at St. Albans, in which we have flowing tracery filled with ball flowers before 1326, I cannot conceive that our tower work, which is so early in its appearance that Professor Willis places it quite early in the century, could have so lagged behind as to linger on till close upon its third quarter. Mr. Parker (whose absence, and yet more its cause, we all so deeply regret), thinks that the ball flower work in St. Mary's steeple was the work of Adam de Brom, the first provost of Oriel, who died in 1332; so that I feel convinced that it was not to that part of the campanile that Charlton's bequest of forty shillings (which he says he had promised) was devoted. The spire may have remained unfinished or been, as so often was the case, injured by lightning, and our Bishop may have promised a subscription.

The beautiful stall-work was of the late period of the Decorated style. It is of great delicacy and originality of design, and finely executed. The throne seems somewhat later, but is a very fine work.

We are now getting towards the end of the more interesting parts of the Cathedral history. The transformation of the south-eastern chapels into a transept was probably late in the fourteenth century, when the style had much deteriorated. Oddly enough, earlier windows were initiated; not those in the Cathedral, but perhaps those in St. Catherine's Chapel at Ledbury, though with a sad falling off in merit.

Not long after the same time the beautiful Chapter-house and its vestibule were erected, in which a great revival in artistic taste is evinced. It was built before 1375, because it contained in its vestibule, as Mr. Hills tells us, a monument of that date. The series of monu-

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ments about this time is interesting, as shewing the gradual passing off from the Decorated to the Perpendicular style. I leave the elucidation of these, however, to my friend Mr. Havergal, to whom we owe so very much for the careful identification and replacing in their proper positions of such as had been removed about 1841, owing to the repairs of the tower and presbytery by Mr. Cottingham.

Bishop Travenant's monument may be mentioned as the earliest purely Perpendicular work in the cathedral, and because its erection was accompanied by the rebuilding of the south wall of the south transept. He died in 1404. Possibly he also vaulted this transept and the crossing. Sometime before 1438 William Lockard, the Precentor, introduced a large Perpendicular window in the west end. Bishop Spofford, 1421-48, is said to have expended 2800 marks on the buildings of his cathedral.

Towards 1474 Bishop Stanbury erected his beautiful chapel adjoining the north presbytery aisle. His monument is not in, but opposite it. The monument and its effigy are very fine works indeed. His chapel contains the effigy of Bishop Richard de Capella, whose monument, formerly in the aisle, had been displaced by the erection of this chapel. About 1500 Bishop Audley erected his chapel hard by the shrine of St. Thomas (Cantilupe) on the south side of the Lady Chapel. About 1520 Bishop Booth made a very beautiful addition to the north porch, with a chamber over it for the bishop's archives.

The later works to be recorded are rather works of deterioration than of improvement. Bishop Bisse early in the last century clothed the east end internally with work, of which, judging from the prints of it, even the Anti-Restoration Society can scarcely regret the loss; and, possibly about the same time, some futile attempts were made to remedy the failure of the central tower; works most successful in imparting hideousness to it, but utter failures as concerns strength.

Towards the close of the last century the western tower (an addition of the fourteenth century) shewed unmistakable symptons of impending failure. More than one architect was consulted, and the worst advice accepted. On Easter Monday in 1786 it fell, bringing ruin upon

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the adjoining parts of the nave. Its state after this catastrophe may be judged of by Hearne's view in his *Antiquities of Great Britain,* reproduced by Britton. James Wyatt was called in, and to him we owe the present western façade, probably the dullest piece of work to be found in any English cathedral, excepting perhaps the southern transept front at Chester. He shortened the nave by one bay; and, strange to say, took down the fine triforium and clerestory which remained to the bays which had escaped, and substituted for them a wretched design of his own, having no connection with any work in the cathedral.

In 1840 serious symptoms of failure were observed in and about the central tower, so that public meetings were held and definite steps taken. For a scientific description of these evidences of failure, I refer to Professor Willis' statement of 1841. Mr. Cottingham elaborately reconstructed the failing piers with (in great measure) the presbytery, and also the east end of the Lady Chapel externally, as well as repairing the work of De Vere behind the altar. At that time also the nave arcades were dealt with, and the very unsuccessful decoration applied to the vaulting of the nave and its aisles. Of the work since that time I will say nothing, but that I am myself responsible for it.

Having thus, hurriedly and with scanty materials, given an outline of the probable architectural history of the building, I will only add in recapitulation that few of our cathedrals contain a more perfect series of specimens of the different styles of English architecture. We have Norman—not in its earliest, but in its more perfected phase. We have the Transitional style in De Vere's work behind the altar, in the vestibule to the Lady Chapel. We have Early English in its earlier phase in the Lady Chapel, and its later phase in the clerestory to the presbytery. We have a noble specimen of that style in which perfected tracery is added to otherwise Early English work in the north transept and in Aquablanca's tomb; we have developed Early Decorated in the Cantilupe shrine, and the nave aisles; Decorated of one step later in the choir aisles, and another step later in the centre tower, and later yet in some minor features; we have

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Early Perpendicular in the south wall of the south transept, later, in Stanbury's Chapel, later again, in the Audley Chapel, and later than all, yet still excellent, in Booth's porch.[1] So, were it not for the fall of the west tower and the consequent spoiling of the nave, few cathedrals would offer a wider field for study, as I hope will be found, when its work is examined on the spot.

Mr. Gordon Hills is of opinion that the high altar was not placed in the eastern bay of the presbytery, but that this bay was cut off by a screen, as at Westminster and St. Alban's, as a place for the shrine of St. Ethelbert. I am not able to form an opinion on this subject, but feel a difficulty in receiving it from the fact that, if such were the case, the approaches from the north and south to such chapel are shut off by the introduction of Stanbury's monument on the north and Bishop Matthews' on the south, leaving it to be approached only by the two doors in the altar screen, which seem suited only to the use of the clergy.

I will here mention that in the arrangement which existed till the repairs undertaken by Mr. Cottingham in 1841, the stalls were placed beneath the central tower, the eastern limb of the cross being the presbytery. I confess myself responsible for this change. No trace of the old arrangement remained when the work was entrusted to me, and for fifteen years the stalls had been stowed away in the crypt. At that time great stress was laid by ecclesiastical writers upon fitting the arrangements of our cathedrals to modern necessities, and at the same time to true church arrangement, making their choirs purely ecclesiastical, and opening out their naves to the uses of the congregation. I was strongly carried away with this theory, and on again fitting up the choir I limited it to the eastern limb, introducing an open instead of a close screen. I am not sure that I should do so were my time to come over again, but I do believe that the uses of the cathedral have gained by it.

[This paper was revised and corrected by its distinguished author a fortnight before his lamented death.]

[1] The date of the cloisters is uncertain. Some of their details resemble those of Stanbury's Chapel.

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ROMAN HEREFORDSHIRE.

BY W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

Situated in Silurian territory, Herefordshire was, no doubt, the scene of some of the leading events in the campaigns of Ostorius and Julius Frontinus. Whether the defeat and capture of Caractacus took place in this county, in Shropshire, or elsewhere, I do not however intend to enter into, but simply collate the information we possess of discoveries made, and of traces existing, of the Roman period, with the deductions that can with certainty (and without theorising) be made from the same.

Leaving for the moment the Roman roads, (which will be considered immediately), we find that at the time of the compilation of the *Antonine Itinerary*, A.D. 138-144 (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xxviii, pp. 112-113), there were three stations, named *Magna*, *Ariconium*, and *Bravinium*, which can, beyond doubt, now be proved to have existed in this county; whilst there are, in all probability, the sites of two or three others, named by Ravennas, existing within the same limits, stations of minor importance, and which possibly were not built until some time after the date of the *Itinerary*.

The first and last named of these three stations were on the Roman road from *Uriconium* (Wroxeter) to *Isca Silurum* (Caerleon), and occur only in the twelfth Iter of Antonine, in which, at a distance of twenty-seven miles from Wroxeter, is placed a station, named in some MS. copies of the work *Bravinium*, and in others *Bravonium*. Until very recently the general opinion of antiquaries was, that a square camp on the line of the above road, about a mile south of Leintwardine, and which went by the name of "Brandon Camp" was the site of this station. This camp, which contains from six to eight acres of ground, is on a slight elevation, rising from the middle of a plain, and has a rampart which on the south side is eighteen to

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twenty feet high, and on the eastern side is also very perfect. The northern rampart is much shattered, whilst on the west it appears never to have been of any great elevation, owing to the nature of the ground, the hill rising very precipitously on this side. The vallum in some places seems composed of earth, in others of loose stones. The only entrance is on the middle of the east side, and is very perfect. It closely overlooks the Roman road, which is a short distance to the east. At present there appears to be no vestige of a trench round it.

But though this camp occurred very conveniently on the line from Wroxeter to Caerleon, at a proper distance, it was puzzling to antiquaries, that no Roman traces had been found there—not even a coin—whilst its surface presented, even when under tillage, none of the usual signs of a Roman station, in fragments of tiles, pottery, &c. The key to the solution of the site of this station would, however, appear to have been originally given by the Rev. J. Pointer in his *Britannia Romana*, published at Oxford in 1724, in which, when treating of the Roman camps in the various counties of England, he says at p. 54, "*Herefordshire*—in Dindar parish, near Hereford, is a camp called Oyster Hill. Another at *Lanterdin*, between this county and Shropshire. Another at Ledbury."

This camp at *Lanterdin* or *Leintwardine* appears to have been completely overlooked, but in 1874 the truth was divulged. Mr. Banks, of Kington, in a letter to the *Archæologia Cambrensis* (April, 1874, p. 163), after speaking of the position of Leintwardine at the junction of the Clun and Teme rivers, says,—"From the junction of the rivers a strong and high entrenchment runs on the west of the village in a northerly direction for about 380 yards; its present height above the ground level outside the enclosure is about eight or nine feet, and its width twenty yards; the fosse has been filled up, the inner part of the entrenchment is gradually sloped off to the ground level, and the outward face is steep. Alterations of the ground make it now impossible to trace the form of the vallum, and account for its unusual width. Another old entrenchment runs from the river Teme which forms the southern boundary of the enclosure, northward, for the same distance, leaving a space within about 208

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yards wide. Within this area most of the observations have been made. Whenever graves have been dug in the churchyard to the depth of eight feet, two layers of ashes and charcoal intermixed with tiles, broken pottery, bronze articles and coins, have been passed through, the uppermost layer at a depth of six feet, and the lower one about a foot or eighteen inches beneath. A few years since, on the restoration of the church, a drain was cut through the eastern entrenchment, but no trace of the ashy layers was found without the enclosure. The remains from time to time found were generally thrown away as rubbish, or dispersed, until Mr. Evans (the churchwarden) commenced his observations. Among the articles which he has stored away are half of a circular stone handmill or quern, pierced with a hole; the upper part of an earthenware pounding mill, with a lip or rim; fragments of Roman pottery, a bronze ring, and a third brass of Constantine the Great, with a square altar on the reverse. At the north-east corner of the enclosure some grains of wheat in a charred state were found at the depth of a few feet in excavating the foundations of a cottage, and on the south-west fragments of thick brown pottery, apparently roof tiles, were turned up. There can, therefore, be no doubt that this was a Roman station, occupied for a considerable period. I think, therefore, we have now sufficient data to say it is the site of *Bravinium*, which appears in the twelfth Iter of Antoninus to have been situated midway between *Magna* (Kenchester) and *Uriconium*." Mr. Banks was apparently unaware of the Rev. J. Pointer's observation as to the fact of a Roman camp existing at Leintwardine, but I fully concur in his decision as to its being the site of *Bravinium*.

The camp at Brandon would seem to have been either a temporary camp erected whilst that at *Bravinium* was constructed, or a summer camp to the latter station. Either of these hypotheses will account for the absence of Roman remains within it. At a further distance of twenty-four Roman miles the *Itinerary* places a station of the name of *Magna*, and accordingly at a corresponding distance, we have at Kenchester grand and undoubted remains of a large *castrum*, which has been known and

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noticed since the days of Henry VIII, when Leland, in his *Itinerary*, says of it—"Kenchester standeth a three mile or more above Hereford, upward, on the same side of the river that Hereford doth, yet it is almost a mile from the ripe of the Wye. The towne is far more ancient than Hereford, and was celebrated in the Roman's time as appearethe by many things, and especially by antique money of the Cæsars, very often found within the towne, and in ploughing about, the whiche people there call Dwarfe's money. The cumpace of Kenchester has been by estimation as much as Hereford, excepting the Castle. The whiche at Hereford is very spacious. Pieces of the wall yet appear *prope fundamenta*, and more should have appeared if the people of Hereford Towne and other thereabout had not in time past pulled down much, and picked out of the best for their buildings."—Hearne's *Leland*, vol. v, p. 66.

Camden and Stukeley also notice at considerable length this station, which they very erroneously call *Ariconium*. The great antiquary, Horsley, in his *Britannia Romana*, published in 1732, was the first to give it its proper name, *Magna*. The *castrum* is situated about five miles W.N.W. from Hereford; its form, as first described by Dr. Stukeley, is an irregular hexagon. Until about sixty years ago, it appears to have been a waste covered with *debris* of buildings, &c. Leland saw it in this state, for in addition to what I have already quoted, he adds in his *Itinerary*:—"By likelihood men of old time went from Kenchester to Hay, and so to Breknok and Cairmardin. The place wher the towne was is all overgrown with brambles, hazels, and like shrubs. Nevertheless, here and there yet appear ruins of buildings, of the whiche the foolish people caull on (one) the *King of Feyres Chayre*. Ther hath been found *nostra memoria lateres Britannici et ex eisdem canales aquae ductus tesselata pavimenta fragmentum catenulae aureae calcar ex argento*, byside other straunge things." Dr. Stukeley also saw this "Chair" on the 9th of September, 1721, and has engraved it in his *Itinerarium Curiosum*, p. 66, pl. lxxxv. It was again engraved at the commencement of the present century for Britton and Brayley's *Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. vi, p. 583. From these en-

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gravings it would appear to have been part of the wall of some public building, containing a niche for a statue. Messrs. Britton and Brayley say of it (p. 584)—"Towards the east-end is a massive fragment remaining, of what is supposed to have been a Roman Temple. It consists of a large mass of cement of almost indissoluble texture, in which are imbedded rough stones irregularly intermixed with others that have been squared. This fragment is called "The Chair," from a niche which is yet perfect. The arch is principally constructed with Roman bricks, and over it are three layers of the same materials disposed length ways. Here, in 1669, a tesselated pavement and stone floor were discovered, and in the succeeding year, according to Aubrey's *Manuscripts*, buildings of Roman brick were found upon which oaks grew.—(Gough's *Camden*, vol. ii, p. 449). About the same time, Sir John Hoskyns discovered an hypocaust about seven feet square, the flues of which were of brick, three inches square, artificially let into one another. Another tesselated pavement of a finer pattern was found about seventy years ago, (1735?) but soon destroyed by the ignorant and vulgar. An aqueduct or drain of considerable extent, with the bottom entire, was also opened here about twenty years ago, (1785?) and various other vestiges of the ancient consequence of this city are very frequently found."

It was in the second decade of the present century, however, that the greatest damage (in an antiquarian sense) was done. At that time the site which was, as Mr. Hardwicke (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xiv, p. 83) observes "a complete wilderness of decaying walls and *débris*," was cleared, and no doubt many interesting remains were found, only to be again and more effectually lost. The exterior walls, however, remained in many places, disappearing gradually by being from time to time taken down in small portions. It is certainly within the last fifteen years that the last portion of them has been destroyed. In the summer of 1861 I inspected some fragments of them at the north western portion of the site. They were from six and a half to seven feet thick; where large facing stones had been used they had been removed, and only the core of the wall was seen; in other places

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they were composed of "herring bone" masonry, well cemented with mortar.

In 1840 the late Dr. Merewether (Dean of Hereford), commenced some excavations on the site. Through the courtesy of Mr. Franks of the British Museum, I have copied from some volumes of MSS, &c., in his possession, belonging to the late Sir Henry Ellis, a portion of a letter from the Dean to Sir Henry, dated from the Deanery, Hereford, 24th Oct., 1840, which refers to these excavations, as follows:—

"My dear Sir Henry—During the last three or four days I have indulged myself with a holiday, after a long period of work, in making some examination into the site of Magna Castra (Kenchester), in this neighbourhood, and with remarkable success, at least, such as to prove that the whole extent of the twenty-one acres is replete with Roman remains, and many of the richest character. We have uncovered portions of three tesselated pavements, of different styles or gradations, the second and third being extremely beautiful; the second, the border of a room, the centre of which has been destroyed—composed of red, yellow, blue, and white tesserae; the third being a portion of the area of a room, highly decorated, and shewing the compartments of the various devices, amongst which are a dragon and a fish, beautifully delineated and executed in variegated tesserae."

"The annual ploughing of the land has reduced the protecting stratum of soil to a very thin covering at this spot, and Nos. 1 and 2 had been within an inch of the ploughshare; and of course from that cause a part had been destroyed long since, as it was just on the brow of a slope in the field. My hope is that we may be able to take up in divisions, what has now been discovered; to suffer it to remain would be to sacrifice either to the plough, or to the more relentless hands of the rustics and others (as we have already found), who visit it in our absence. The main piece is covered up now pretty deeply. . . . . . No. 1., I ought to have said, was a plain pavement of a bluish colour, and the apartment was quite small in which it was found. . . . . The walls were well built and faced. Quantities of stone, variously

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painted were found, also coins and mill stones." A rough plan of the rooms and pavements is given in the letter.

I am not aware whether the Dean made any subsequent excavations, but Mr. Wright, in his *Wanderings of an Antiquary*, says that "about 1846" the Dean found a pavement thirteen feet long and two feet wide; the *tesserae* were red, white, blue, and a dark colour. Is this one of the pavements described in the Dean's letter, or another? Certainly, a portion of one pavement discovered by him is in the Hereford Museum, whilst another, as the letter asserts, was covered up again.

From the account of the site given by Mr. Hardwick, the owner, it appears that the soil within the area is very dark, almost black, and quantities of charred wood, and molten iron and glass, have been found. The stones having been removed from the surface as deep as the plough penetrates, very good crops of corn are now raised. The land is loose and friable, and fine as a garden. In the drought of summer, streets and foundations of houses are quite visible in the verdure. The principal street ran in a direct line through the town from east to west, and was twelve or fifteen feet in width, "with a gutter along the centre to carry off refuse water, as is traceable by the difference in the growth of crops. The streets appear to have been gravelled." Mr. Hardwick also says that no doubt many of the buildings were of timber, "for along the lines of streets, at regular distances, the plinths in which the timbers were inserted have been taken up, the holes being cut about four inches square, the plinths measured two feet in each direction, and lay two feet beneath the present surface."

The sites of the gates of the *castrum*, four in number, were until lately (if not at present) plainly visible. They nearly correspond with the cardinal points.

Amongst the most interesting relics found at Kenchester are two inscriptions. The first was found at the close of the last century in the foundation of the north wall of the *castrum*, and is on a *milliarium* or milestone of the Emperor Numerianus, A.D. 282. The inscription as given by Mr. Lysons in the *Archæologia*, vol. xv, p. 391, Appendix, and Pl. 27, fig. 2, is—

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IMP. C
MAR. AVR
NVMERIAN
O
R. P. C. D.

The first four lines plainly read *Imp*(*eratore*) *C*(*æsare*) *Mar*(*co*, *Aur*(*elio*) *Numeriano*, but the last line, as given in the copy, is unintelligible. Professor Hübner suggests that the letters may be PFAVG. As the letters RP are found in an inscription at Caermarthen standing for *reipublicæ*, I think it probable that BONO has been obliterated from the fourth line, and that the fifth has originally been R. P. NATO. Mr. Lysons gives this last line as very doubtful, it being nearly obliterated. In 1800 this stone was in the possession of the Rev. Charles J. Bird, F.S.A., but has since been completely lost sight of. If any one in the neighbourhood of Hereford can give any clue as to its whereabouts at present, they will confer a boon on archæologists. This is the only inscription to the Emperor Numerian found in Britain, and they are very rare upon the continent.

The second inscription occurs upon a small square piece of stone, one of the well-known medicine stamps of the Roman oculists. It is inscribed on all four sides as follows:—

(1)
T. VINDAC · ARIO
VISTI ANICET

(2.)
T. VINDACIAR
OVISTI NARD

(3.)
*. VINDAC ARI
OVISTI CHLORON

(4.)
T. VINDACARIO
VISTI *******

The asterisks mark missing letters. On the upper surface the stone is inscribed SENIOR, on the lower SEN., the latter doubtless the abbreviation of the former, both being probably made subsequent to the larger inscription, and referring to the owner's name. All four of the sides it will be seen bear the words T. VINDACI ARIOVISTI; to the first is added the name of the medicine ANICET(VM), to the second another medicine NARD(VM), to the third the name of the medicine CHLORON, whilst in the fourth the name of the medicine has been obliterated. The English translation simply is that they are the *Anicetum*, the *Nardum*, and the *Chloron* of *Titus Vindacius Ario-*

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vistus. The latter name "Ariovistus" is German. This stamp was exhibited in 1848 to the British Archæological Association at Worcester by Mr. R. Johnson of Hereford, in whose possession it then was. (*Vide* their *Journal*, vol. iv, p. 280). At the same meeting Mr. Johnson exhibited a horse's head in bronze, apparently made for a knife handle, a bronze fibula, some jet beads, and eight brass coins of Carausius, one of a unique type, all found at Kenchester. Mr. Johnson had in 1867, when the Cambrian Archæological Association held their congress in Hereford, a large collection of coins from the site. They were chiefly of the Lower Empire. Mrs. Hardwick of Credenhill had also another collection, besides a number of fibulæ and bronze figures. Mr. Wright, in *Wanderings of an Antiquary*, p. 38, engraves and describes the figures of a mouse, a lion, a cock, and a small hatchet or *cultrum*, all in bronze, found at Kenchester (probably children's toys), whilst on the 4th December, 1874, Mr. Soden Smith exhibited to the Institute a Roman bronze ring with original intaglio on glass plate, in imitation of niccolo onyx, from the same site. Lewis (*Top. Dict. of England*, edit. 1850, article 'Kenchester') tells us that in the hypocaust found in 1670 by Sir John Hoskyns there were entire leaden pipes.

In 1829 a small bronze image of Hermes was found in excavating some ground in the city of Hereford. It was probably a lar (*Liverpool Times*, March 24th, 1829). There was also found some years ago, in excavations in one of the streets of Hereford, a Roman altar which had borne an inscription, but it was completely defaced. It is now in the local museum. The Rev. H. M. Scarth informs me that in the second line he thought he could trace the letters—

. . NIIV

and suggests the word MINERVÆ as being contained in the line, but all this is doubtful. Probably both the altar and the *lar* came from Kenchester originally, for there appears to be nothing Roman at Hereford. Many inscribed stones from Kenchester have certainly perished. Mr. Wright tells us that in reply to a query as to whether any inscribed stones had been found, asked of an old villager at Kenchester, the old man replied in the

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affirmative, but added that "they meant nought." From the discovery of the molten lead and glass and burnt wood, the destruction of *Magna*, like that of *Ariconium*, would appear to have been by fire.

The third station, *Ariconium*, which occurs only in the thirteenth Iter of Antoninus, and is there stated to be fifteen miles from *Glevum* (Gloucester), is now generally allowed to have been situated at Bury-hill, near Bollitree, about three miles east of Ross. At this place there is an area of about 100 acres, over which the soil presents a deep black colour, and in which numbers of Roman coins, fragments of pottery, fibulæ, &c., are found. Horsley conjectured *Ariconium* to have been somewhere in this neighbourhood, but was not aware of the existence of the site of any Roman town in the locality. As Mr. Thomas Wright, in his *Wanderings of an Antiquary*, p. 25, says, "But while his (Horsley's) conjectures as to the exact locality fell first upon one spot and then upon another, he was totally ignorant that close within the range of his conjectures, on the bank I have just being describing, an extensive thicket of briars and brushwood only partially covered from view the broken walls and the rubbish of the very *Ariconium* of which he was in search. Such was the condition of the old town at Weston under Penyard, in the middle of the last century. Soon after that period, the proprietor of the estate, a Mr. Meyrick, determined to clear the ground and turn it into cultivation, and when he came to stub up the bushes, he found some of the walls even of the houses standing above ground. All these were cleared away, not without considerable difficulty; and in the course of the clearing, great quantities of antiquities of all sorts are understood to have been found."

In vol. vi, p. 514, of Britton and Brayley's *Beauties of England and Wales*, (published 1805), we have a fuller account of these discoveries. There were found "an immense quantity of Roman coins and some British. Among the antiquities were fibulæ, lares, lachrymatories, lamps, rings, and fragments of tesselated pavements. Some pillars were also discovered with stones having holes for the jambs of doors, and a vault or two in which was earth of a black colour and in a cinerous state. . . .

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Innumerable pieces of grey and red pottery lie scattered (at present, *i.e.* 1805) over the whole tract, some of them of patterns by no means inelegant. . . . . Some of the large stones found among the ruins of this station, and which appear to have been used in building, display strong marks of fire. During the course of last summer (1804), in widening a road that crosses the land, several skeletons were discovered; and also the remains of a stone wall, apparently the front of a building; the stones were well worked and of considerable size. The earth within what appeared to have been the interior of the building was extremely black and shining." The same writer also informs us that the coins, which were chiefly of the Lower Empire, were of gold, silver, and copper.

Mr. Wright further tells us (pp. 25-26) "that all the remains that were near the surface were destroyed, and the antiquities which might have enriched some local museum appear to have been scattered about and lost. . . . . The place can hardly be said to haye been explored by antiquaries, but Roman antiquities are often turned up by the plough, and Roman coins are so plentiful that they may be procured of almost any of the cottagers. I was told that a gentleman of the neighbourhood riding across one of the fields had recently picked up a rather large Roman bronze statuette. Finding it somewhat cumbrous he put it up in the fork of a tree, intending to take it as he returned, but somebody had discovered it in the interval and carried it away. The present possessor of the land is Mr. Palmer of Bolitre, close to the site of the town called Aske Farm, perhaps from the ashes or cinders in the neighbourhood. . . . One of his (Mr. Palmer's) men, whom we questioned on the subject, (of antiquities) could give us no further information than that he knew such things were found, and he remembered that about twenty years ago when they were digging a trench in the field where the old town stood, the labourers came upon walls and the foundations of buildings. The gentle slope of the ground on the western side of the site of the town towards Penyard is called Cinder Hill, and we have only to turn up the surface to discover that it consists of an immense mass of iron scoriae. It is evident that the Roman town of Ariconium possessed very extensive forges

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and smelting furnaces, and that their cinders were thrown out on this side of the town close to the walls. No doubt the side of the hill was here originally more abrupt until it was filled up by these materials. The floors of some of the forges are said to have been discovered, but as I have just stated the place is almost unknown to antiquaries."

In September, 1870, the members of the British Archæological Association, during their Hereford Congress, visited the site, when the above-mentioned Mr. Palmer sent a collection of articles found on the site for inspection, which form the subject of a paper in the Journal of the Association, vol. xxvii, pp. 203-218. These consisted of one gold, six silver, and two copper British coins, some of them of Cunobelin; one hundred and eighteen silver, billon, and brass Roman coins, ranging from Claudius, A.D. 41, to Magnentius, A.D. 350-353; twenty fibulæ of bronze, a silver ring, six bronze rings, bronze keys, pins and nails, four intaglios (two of them cornelian), glass beads of various colours, bronze buckles, and other bronze instruments. This site is only eleven English miles from Gloucester, whereas the *Itinerary* gives the distance between *Glevum* and *Ariconium* as fifteen Roman miles; but until we are certain of the Roman method of measuring, whether it was the same in a flat country as in a hilly one, it is useless to attempt to explain the discrepancy. Certain it is, that there is no other site in the neighbourhood which will at all suit the distances from the surrounding stations; and upon these grounds, together with the fact of this ruined town being otherwise nameless, there can be little doubt of the correctness of the conclusion which places *Ariconium* at Bury-hill. The road from Ross to Gloucester, which is probably on the site of a Roman predecessor, passes about half a mile from it, whilst the modern road from Ross to Newent actually passes through the station. In the *Archæologia*, vol. ix, Appendix, p. 368, a figure of Diana, said to have been found at this station, is described.

As the Rev. J. Pointer was the first to point out (in the extract I have quoted) the site of *Bravinium*, so I think that when he says that there is "another (camp) at Ledbury" he points out the site of another station of which there is now even less visible above ground than

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at Leintwardine, though at the commencement of the present century this was not the case. In Brayley and Britton's *Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. vi, p. 593, we gather a little more information as to this camp. It is there said that at a mile-and-a-half north-west from Ledbury there is a conical eminence called Wall Hills, the lower part of which is surrounded by large trees, and the upper part is crowned by a spacious camp, the area of which is between thirty and forty acres. It was then (1805) under cultivation, and had a single rampart and ditch, then half levelled. There were three entrances, one called the "King's Gate." In ploughing the area, spear and arrowheads had been found, with brass coins, antique horse shoes, and human bones. This camp has now entirely disappeared. Baxter, in his *Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum* (1733) places *Magna* here, but very erroneously. From the combined evidence of Baxter and the Rev. J. Pointer I think that a *station* rather than a temporary camp existed here, though it might have been a British town originally, and subsequently made use of by the Romans, especially as there appear to be some traces of a smaller summer camp at Haffield.

The Roman villas in the county, if we may judge by by the number discovered, appear to have been singularly few. The first one to which any notice was prominently given was discovered at Bishopstone, about a mile and a half westward from Kenchester, three and a half miles from Credenhill, and seven miles from Hereford, in the year 1812, when digging a drain for the parsonage house. In the *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii, p. 417, there is an account of a tesselated pavement found in it, of which a drawing was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, June 10, by Thomas Bird, Esq., F.S.A.[1] This gentleman says,—"It appearing to me, that from its having been laid on a common bed of clay without any foundation, it was in great danger of being destroyed by the worms or by persons treading upon it in wet weather, I have had a plan taken upon a scale of one inch to a foot, for the

[1] From the sonnet written by the poet Wordsworth on these remains, which he saw at the time of their discovery, the colours of the pavement would appear to have been as bright as when it was first laid.

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purpose of preserving so beautiful a remnant of antiquity, which you will have the goodness to exhibit to the Society. The principal injury which this pavement has received is on the north side, where a path appears to have been made from the north-east corner to the western end. The centre part is entirely destroyed, which is much to be regretted; but from a careful and attentive consideration of the pattern, which was found to correspond diagonally, my draughtsman has been enabled to restore the whole pavement, with the exception of the centre." (I have been recently informed that this plan of the pavement has been published by A. Friedel, 15, Southampton-street, Strand, but have not been able to see a copy). The pavement, from information which I have gathered upon the spot, was afterwards removed into the cellar of the rectory, but has now disappeared. There is little doubt but that the rectory stands upon a portion of the villa. Mr. Bird, in the above-named article, says that he had addressed some queries to the then (1830) rector of Bishopstone, the Rev. A. J. Walker, and gives a portion of his reply, from which I extract the following:—"At distances of one and two hundred yards round this house we have dug up on every side Roman bricks, pottery, both coarse and fine, and many fragments of funeral urns, and I am rather surprised that only three coins have yet been found; a regularly pitched causeway or rather foundation has been found repeatedly; and in June, 1821, in my kitchen garden, south-west of the house, a foundation of *sandstone* (which seems also at Kenchester to be the *only* stone the Romans employed) at the east end about three feet deep, and at the west deepening to about five feet deep, was discovered. This foundation is full three feet wide, and increases towards the angle, where it turns to five feet. I traced it to fifty-five feet; it was substantially laid, but without cement. I found also a twenty-inch foundation wall, most strongly cemented, on the east side of the house. Considerable quantities of black earth, near the places where fragments of urns have been found, are also discovered. Bones have likewise been collected at about the general depth of sixteen or eighteen inches, at which most of these Roman remains are met with at Bishop-

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stone. . . . .

"I ought to remark that the foundation above mentioned of fifty-five feet, with its right angle turn, was parallel as far as I believe with the respective sides of the tesselated pavement; there was no appearance of walls round the pavement."

Another Roman villa (though not yet explored) exists on the boundary of the parishes of Whitchurch and Ganarew, at the extreme southern part of the county, and in the midst of the Roman iron mining district (of which more immediately). A tesselated pavement has been found and a number of coins, but no further researches have been made, although there are considerable inequalities of surface. It is situated in a meadow on the right hand of the road to Monmouth. (Lewis, *Top. Dict.*, edit. 1850, article 'Whitchurch;' Wright, *Wanderings of an Antiquary*, p. 14). Coins have also been discovered. Mr. James Davies, in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. ii, 2nd series, p. 50, says that in a Roman *camp* at Walterstone vestiges of a Roman tesselated pavement have been found. This probably implies the site of a villa, unless the camp is full of foundations, in which case a considerable station may have been here.[1]

At p. 46 of the same vol., the same gentleman says in a note—"In making excavations, during the construction of the Gloucester and Hereford Canal, which crosses the parish of Stretton Grandison, several Roman remains were found, consisting of several pieces of pottery, a small weighing balance, resembling in form our common steelyards, and other curiosities, which are now in the custody of Mr. Philip Ballard, Widemarsh Street, Hereford, civil engineer to the Canal Company." There was probably another villa at this place.

The only other villa known to me has been quite recently discovered at Putley, about five miles west of Ledbury. At a meeting of the Woolhope Club, at Hereford, March 9th, 1876; and at a meeting of the British

[1] In *The Archæologia*, vol. vi, p. 13, Mr. Strange says that a Roman tesselated pavement had been discovered at a place called *Cored Gravel*, which he says was two miles north of Old Castle. This spot is in Herefordshire, and barely half a mile from the camp at Walterstone. Does Mr. Davies refer to the same pavement? His remark that it was *in* the camp would seem to make the pavement he names totally distinct from that named by Mr. Strange.

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Archæological Association, March 15th, 1876, (*vide* their *Journal*, vol. xxxii, p. 250), Mr. T. Blashill exhibited several Roman flue tiles, flange tiles, bricks having the marks of sandals, woven cloths, cat's feet, and thumb marks, together with Roman pottery, &c., found in the foundation of the north wall of the church at Putley. Subsequently (Feb. 21st, 1877), the same gentleman reported the discovery of a number of Roman wall tiles, roof tiles, pottery, and other objects, found by John Riley, Esq., on his estate at Putley; thus confirming the previous anticipations of a villa being on the spot. It is not, however, yet explored.

Another important feature in the Roman antiquities of the county is the immense beds of iron scoriae and cinders, which cover nearly the whole of the southern part of the county, a great part of Monmouthshire and a portion of Gloucestershire. The parishes of St. Weonard's, Hentland, Peterstow, Tretire, Bridstow, Weston-under-Penyard, Llangarran, Walford, Goodrich, Welsh Bicknor, Ganarew, Whitchurch, &c., abound with them. Hand blomeries, with ore imperfectly smelted, have been found on Peterstow Common. The beds of cinders are in some places from twelve to twenty feet thick. Many Roman coins and fragments of pottery are found in them. Round Goodrich Castle the writer has traced them for many miles, and the number of mines and smelting places in this neighbourhood must have been immense. The hills called the Great Doward and the Little Doward have been considerably mined. In the first named, the entrance to one of the Roman mines still remains in the hill side. It is a large cave-like aperture, with galleries running from it into the hill, in several directions, following of course the vein of the iron. It is now called "King Arthur's Hall." *Ariconium* would seem to have been the capital of this district, but there were doubtless other small towns, which remain to be discovered. At Tretire. about forty years since, Mr. Charles Baily, F.S.A., discovered a Roman altar, which had been cut into the shape of a font, and used as such in the parish church. It is over twenty-nine inches in height, by sixteen inches in breadth, and contains the remains of an inscription, as follows:—

DEO TRIVII.
BELLICVS. DON
AVIT ARAM

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(*Wanderings of an Antiquary*, p. 17, and *Proceedings, London and Middlesex Archæological Society at Evening Meetings*, Session 1874, p. 147). It is to my mind very doubtful whether this is not an early Christian inscription, reading DEO TRIVNI, but it is at the same time scarcely probable that any Christian in that period *would erect an altar* "to the Triune God." Dr. Mc Caul, in a recent letter to me, expresses the same doubt, and indeed, it is only just to say that Mr. Wright, when he first published the inscription some twenty-five years ago, made much the same remark. But so far modern antiquaries (including Professor Hübner, of Berlin) have read the inscription as *Deo Trivii, Bellicus donavit aram.* "To the god of the three ways, Bellicus gives the altar." No doubt three ways or roads converged on the spot where the altar was first set up.[1]

In most of the English counties the discovery of hoards of Roman coins buried in the earth (not necessarily near a Roman station) is a very common occurrence, but in Herefordshire there are few discoveries of this nature recorded. At "Copped Wood Hill," close to Goodrich, a large collection of coins of the Lower Empire was dug up about 1817 (*Wanderings of an Antiquary*, p. 14); and in 1855 a deposit of many thousands, of the same period, were found during draining operations in the Coombe Wood at Aston Ingham, in the south-east corner of the county, on the Gloucestershire border. They appeared to have been deposited in two chests, and ready for transport. Thirty-seven of them (now in the Gloucester Museum) were exhibited at the Gloucester Meeting of the Institute by I. Irving, Esq. They were all small brass, and were of the reigns of Maximianus, Maximinus Daza, Licinius, Constantine the Great, his wife Fausta, Crispus, Constantine II, and Constantius II. The most singular fact connected with the discovery is, that near the spot where the coins were found "there is a gate, and according to local tradition the spot was considered to be haunted, and after nightfall persons

[1] It was announced a few months since that the present rector of Tretire, the Rev. E. F. Owen, was about to present this altar to the Hereford Museum, but I am not aware whether this intention has been carried out.

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preferred taking a long circuit to venturing through the gate."—*Catalogue Gloucester Temporary Museum*, p. 10.

At Longtown, close to the Roman road leading to Abergavenny, there is a spot called "Money Farthing Hill," which has, no doubt, derived its name (as is the case elsewhere) from either the discovery of a large hoard of coins, or the fact of their having been for a long period occasionally picked up.[1]

The Roman camps in the county, or such British camps as were subsequently occupied by the Romans, in addition to that at Brandon, already described, must now claim attention. The first of these is the great camp at Credenhill, probably originally British, and after its capture converted by the Romans into a summer camp to the station at Kenchester. Situated on the summit of a hill, at about a mile and a half from the latter place, it is of an oblong shape, with the exception of one of the shorter sides, that to the south-west, being rounded. It encloses an area of about eighty acres, and has an entrance on each side, but, instead of their being in the centre of the sides, they are all near the angles. Generally a single rampart and ditch suffices, but in weaker places there are two. The rampart is from ten to twelve feet high in places. Roman coins and other remains have been found within the area, and at the south-east angle is a covered way, leading to the Roman road from *Magna* to *Bravinium*. The close proximity of this immense camp to Kenchester, and its intimate connection with it by means of the covered way, and the fact of the latter station being only about one-fourth the size of the camp, seems to have been the origin of the name "*Magna*,"—the Romans considering them both as one large town. In all probability the suburban buildings of the *castrum* (like similar cases on the Roman Wall) reached from the latter to Credenhill camp. This seems confirmed by the fact that in the cuttings for the Hereford and Brecon Railway, near Credenhill, quantities of coins, pottery, horse shoes, and various other articles, were reported as

[1] Mr. Banks, in describing the site of *Bravinium*, at Leintwardine, says that "about twenty years ago a quantity of Roman coins were found on the drainage of part of the Brampton Brian estate, near Walford, and that fragments of pottery are often turned up in a field a little higher up the valley, opposite to Coxall Knoll."

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having been turned up; also a Roman road running from Kenchester to Credenhill, which the engineer (Mr. Roberts) reported to have been cut through transversely about two feet below the surface of the ground. (Mr. Jas. Davies, in *Hereford Times*, Aug. 17th, 1867, reports these latter facts.)

At Acconbury Hill, four miles south of Hereford, is another large Roman camp of a square form; the rampart on the east side is comparatively perfect. At Dinedor Hill, three miles south east by south of Hereford, there is another conspicuous Roman camp—the one alluded to by the Rev. J. Pointer as "Oyster hill." It is also called "Oster hill," and has been said by various writers to have derived its name from Ostorius Scapula, one of the Roman governors of Britain. There is not the least probability of such an origin of the name. Far more likely, that, as is usual on most Roman sites, quantities of oyster shells have been discovered, and the hill afterwards called "Oyster hill."

At Bishop Eaton, about four miles west from Hereford, another Roman camp occurs on the banks of the Wye. It is from thirty to forty acres in extent, and is situated on the banks of the Wye; with a single rampart and ditch. The area is under cultivation. Vestiges of another occur at Eardisley, five miles south by east from Kington. Britton and Lewis both report the existence of a small square camp at Pyon Grove, in the township of Yatton, parish of Aymestrey, seven miles north west from Leominster. It overlooks the Watling street, on the opposite side of which is the large British camp of "Croft Ambrey." Lewis says that "the embankments of both are well worth the visit of the antiquary."

A little to the south west of the village of Michael Church is a large square camp; the turnpike road to Hereford runs through it. It is marked in the Ordnance Map as "Camp Field," and is known in the locality as "Gaer Cop." This is close to Tretire, where the altar was found. At Burghill, four miles north west of Hereford, Mr. Britton says that a square camp exists. This probably is a reference to the earthworks adjoining the churchyard at Burghill, which are well defined, and to which the "Portway" seems to have led. They were

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visited by some of the members of the Cambrian Archæological Association, on 15th August, 1867. Britton reports the existence of another *square* camp, three miles to the north west of this, and about a mile from Canon Pyon. I have no information as to it. On Bradnor mountain, near Kington, there is a square camp of small size. In the Golden valley, on an eminence above Vowchurch, there is another small square Roman camp, with extensive views to the south east. This overlooks, though at the distance of two or three miles, the Roman road from *Magna* to *Gobannium* (Abergavenny). Further to the south there is another camp overlooking the line of this road. It is about a mile to the west of the railway station at Pandy, on a spur of the Black mountains. The original camp is rectangular—485 feet by 240 ; but attached to its south east side is a similar sized camp, of a semicircular shape, and having a double ditch and rampart. At nearly two miles north east of this, there is, above Walterstone, another camp; which, I presume, is the one referred to by Mr. Davies, as containing a tesselated pavement. Its shape, however, being circular, it must have been merely occupied, and not made, by the Romans. About a mile north of Brockhampton there is on Caplar Hill, another large camp, probably occupied by the Romans ; whilst three miles further northward is the camp at Blackbury, clearly made, as I think, by that people. Mr. Duncomb, in his *History of Herefordshire*, vol. ii, p. 236, from information derived from the MSS. of Silas Taylor, says that in the park of the Bishop of Hereford, at Whitbourne, there was a Roman intrenchment, (and on the opposite side of the valley a British camp, which was circular). Another fine square Roman camp exists about a mile east south east of Upper Sapey.

On the line of the Roman road from Kenchester into Worcestershire there exist some traces of a square camp at Stretton Grandison. Baxter in his *Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum*, from this circumstance, placed the Roman station *Cicutio*—named, with five others, by the anonymous Ravennas in his *Chorography* as existing between *Caerleon* and *Kenchester*—at this spot. Mr. James Davies (in several papers), from the slight discoveries of pottery, &c., made on the site, promulgates

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the same idea, for which I cannot see the shadow of a foundation. Nothing but future discoveries of inscriptions can decide the situation of any of the above named stations.

In addition to these *Roman* camps, I think there is little doubt, from the course of the Roman roads, that the British camps at Sutton Walls (three and a half miles north of Hereford and containing thirty acres) at Risbury, St. Ethelbert's camp above Mordiford, another camp formerly existing (if not at present) half mile north of Fownhope, and the great camp at Thornbury called "Wall Hill," were occupied at one period or another by the Romans. It is possible that there may be other decided Roman camps in the county, but unless that at Ivington be classed as one I am ignorant of any others; however, in such a case, some local antiquary may be able to supply the omission.

Having thus considered the Roman stations, camps, villas, iron works, and other remains in the county, it is necessary to speak of the means of communication between them in the shape of roads.

The first road, which was probably also formed earlier than the others, and now bears the name of "Watling street," enters the county at its north-west extremity from Shropshire near Marlow and runs to the station *Bravinium* at Leintwardine, past its summer camp at Brandon, by Wigmore, past the small square camp at Pyon Grove, through Aymestrey, and Mortimer's Cross, past Street Court, through the parish of Eardisland, to Bainstree Cross, and Stretford. Thence it runs through the valley between Dinmore and Canon Pyon to Burghill. Here it bears the name of the Portway, and turning to the south-west it passes through the village of Credenhill under the camp, and so on to Kenchester. As the author of the *Itinerary* considers the road south-west from Kenchester to Abergavenny and Caerleon to be a continuation of this one, it is best to consider it as such in the present instance rather than treat it as an independent road. After leaving Kenchester it proceeds to the bank of the Wye, crossing that river near the "Old Weir," and runs south-west by Wormhill to Wyddyats Cross at Madley. Here it is very conspicuous, and has

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long been known as Stone or Stoney street. Thence it proceeds by Brampton Hill, but is much obliterated beyond; traces of it are, however, found at Abbey Dore and Ewyas Harold, at which latter place we find the name "King street" applied to it. It then passes near Old Castle, by the camps at Walterston and Pandy, and immediately afterwards enters Monmouthshire and proceeds to Abergavenny *(Gobannium)*. This road, part of the twelfth Iter of Antoninus, is decidedly, from its remains, one of the Higher Empire. The other road mentioned in the *Itinerary* (thirteenth Iter) enters the county from Gloucester, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Aston Ingham (where the find of coins occurred), and proceeds to Bury hill (*Ariconium*). It is now altogether obliterated. Its direction after leaving *Ariconium* is uncertain. According to the *Itinerary* it led to a station called *Blestium*, eleven miles from *Ariconium*, which has been fixed at Monmouth, though upon no sure grounds. In any event its course through the southern part of Herefordshire is a short one. Another fine Roman road coming from Builth, eastward, crosses Offa's Dyke, near Down's hill, and running south of Bishopstone enters Kenchester, upon leaving which it proceeds by Stretton Sugwas and Holmer, crossing the Lug at Lug Bridge, past the "Black Hole" by Moor-end and Purbrook to Street lane, and on to Stretton Grandison, after which, passing Frome hill, it enters Worcestershire, running by Malvern and Worcester. Near the "Black Hole" another Roman road appears to cross it, which, in a southern direction, passes by Hagley and Bartestre Chapel, and points towards Mordiford. Sir R. C. Hoare traced this road southward to *Ariconium*. It apparently went by Fownhope, under the large camp on Caplar hill, by Brockhampton and How Caple to Bury hill (*Ariconium*). In vol. xxvii of the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, p. 381, Mr. James Davies says that there was a road from *Bravinium* branching off the Watling street at Wigmore, by Croft, Stockton, Ashton to Corner Cop, "thence to a place called the 'Trumpet,' by Stretford, and along a lane called Blackwardine lane, under Risbury Camp to 'England's Gate,' and so on to Stretton Grandison, *where Cicutio was situate*. This is

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the only road in Herefordshire which is not noticed by Sir R. C. Hoare, but there is the evidence of nomenclature in support of it in many localities."

As far as "England's Gate" I can endorse Mr. Davies's remarks, but, instead of leading thence to Stretton Grandison, I think he will find that it is a continuation northwards of the road I have just described as starting from the cross at the Black Hole. Northwards this road leads through Withington, and just beyond this is called "Duck Street," pointing direct (through Preston Wynn) towards "England's Gate." But another road may be traced south-east from Stretton Grandison, leading very straight through Ashperton, Pixley, east of Aylton, and Little Marcle, where it is only a mile from the Putley villa, and a short distance from the large camp at "Wall Hill," near Ledbury. It then enters Gloucestershire by Preston and Newhouse Bridge, leading through Dymock to Newent. About a mile from the latter town a "Cold Arbour" occurs upon its route.

From the occurrence also of "Street Field," near the great camp at Thornbury (Wall Hill), it is probable that a Roman road ran in that direction, but if so it has not yet been traced.

I also incline to the opinion that a cruciform earthwork at St. Margaret's, described in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. x, p. 358, and vol. xi, p. 55, was a Roman *botontinus* similar to several found in recent years in Yorkshire, and described by Mr. Monkman, of Malton, in the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*.

Such, as far as I am able to trace them, are the footprints of Rome, in the county of Hereford. I by no means assert that I have reached perfection in the matter. Far otherwise. The subject is a difficult one; and local antiquarians may be in possession of much information which it is impossible for a non-resident of the district to obtain. If so, I would ask them, for the benefit of archæology in general, to make public whatever knowledge of the subject they may possess. In the meantime, I trust that my imperfect endeavours to mould into shape and form, the scattered fragments which we possess of "Roman Herefordshire," may not be without interest to

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the members of the Institute, when meeting in the city around which they radiate.

Mr. Thomas Wright, in his *Uriconium*, p. 48, makes the branch road which I have noticed as passing through "England's Gate," run to Brodert's Bridge, near Worferton, and adds—"In fact, Blackwardine appears, by the great quantities of Roman remains found there, to have been some rather important station."

Since then I have made several important enquiries as to this place, and find that it takes its name from the black colour of the soil, different to all the land around it, like the site of many other Roman stations. I cannot hear of any foundations being discovered, but Roman coins of brass, silver, and copper have been found, among them those of Augustus, Trajan, Constantine the Great, and coins of the *Urbs Roma* type, with the reverse of Romulus and Remus being suckled by the wolf; also great quantities of Roman pottery, bones of animals, human bones, and various other relics. Several local antiquaries make the road, passing this station, fall into the Watling street at Wigmore.

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THE FAMILY OF LINGEN.

BY J. TOM BURGESS.

"The glory of children are their fathers," we are told in the well-known motto of the Harleian Society, and the men and women of Herefordshire may be fairly congratulated on their glorious ancestry, and the long array of noble and historic names they have added to the roll of fame and the annals of our common country. If our pride of ancestry gives place in any degree, it is to that courtesy and "simple faith" of which the Laureate sings as being superior to "Norman blood." In Hereford we have met with courtesy, and have seen so many manifestations of simple faith, that we may fairly say that the fathers of the land are not disgraced by their children, who have received us so hospitably during the present Meeting.

It is not my purpose to give a general disquisition on the fathers of Herefordshire, but to trace out the stream of life of one family as far as possible, and to show how it has had its volume increased by other streams, and how it in its turn has lost to a great extent its distinctive name, which, though not unknown at the present time in our midst, is no longer associated with the historic sites, lordly castles, and baronial halls which once resounded with their names and were filled with their retainers. Many families of renown yet quarter the white roses on the red bend crossing the gold and azure barry of six of the family of Lingen, and consider it a honour to do so. The Princes of Powis no longer wage war against the Lords of Sutton Walls, for in the veins of the descendants of Sir John Lingen, living when Hereford gave a title to the reigning king, the blood of both families flow in harmony and in peace. The story of the family of Lingen, with its loves, its tragedies, and romances, can hardly be separated from

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the places which they made their own, and some of which are included in the programme of the Meeting.

At a time when the City of Hereford was in its infancy, and its distinctive name was hardly known, a family of some importance resided in the chattellany of Wigmore, a place afterwards renowned as the seat of the Norman family of Mortimer. Their early history is involved in doubt, but at the time of the Domesday survey one Turstin (the Fleming) de Wigmore, who married Agnes, daughter of Alured de Merleberge, held the manor of Lingen, on the borders of Shropshire, under the Mortimers. It is worthy of note that many Flemings had settled in South Wales previously to the Conquest, and in the course of the next fifty years large colonies were formed in Pembrokeshire. This Turstin is admittedly an ancestor of the Lingens, who assumed that patronymic in the reign of the first Richard (circa 1190), when Ralph de Wigmore founded the Priory of Limebrook. This adoption of a fresh surname is not uncommon, a well-known instance occurring in the case of Turchill, the Sheriff of Warwickshire at the time of the Conquest, who, on being dispossessed by the Conqueror, retained certain manors under the Norman earls, and assumed the surname of Arden, from the forest land in which the estates were situate. The coat armour of the early Lingens was argent, charged with three chevronells sable; or, as an old pedigree has it, three greyhounds; but a change of coat armour was not uncommon, for the ancient family of Shirley changed their simple pales of or and sable in the same manner, when the distinctive lines of Norman and Saxon became merged into one general English nation, and the laws of heraldry better developed.

By his marriage with Agnes Merleberg, Turstin acquired the manor of Much Cowarne, and his son Ralph appears to have married Joyce, the daughter of Sir Jasper de Croft, of Croft Castle, a family long and honourably distinguished in Herefordshire history. He appears to have left two sons, the first Sir William Wigmore, who, like his father-in law, became a knight of the Holy Sepulchre, and married Rose, the daughter of Sir Walter Pedewardine, but left no descendants. His brother Ralph

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succeeded to the estates and founded the Priory of Limebrook as before mentioned. His eldest son, Sir John Lingen, first bore the Lingen arms, barry of six or and azure; on a bend gules, three roses argent. We have no record of who his mother was, or whom he married. His brother Brian became a secular canon in the monastery of Wigmore. We have no record of the doings of the Lingen family during this period (circa 1086—1250), but as the Lingen estates were held of the Lords of Wigmore, and the Mortimers were busy now against the Welsh, and now opposing the Empress Maud, these feudal vassals would follow their fortunes and engage in the crusades. This Sir John Lingen appears to have left four sons and one daughter—a daughter renowned among the romances of Herefordshire, and whose name in the family pedigree is surrounded by a gilded band. Constantia Lingen married in 1253 Grimbald, son and heir of Richard Pauncefort, a name not unknown in Leicestershire pedigrees, and her marriage settlement is dated 1253, by which John de Lingain gives to the bridegroom's father, Richard de Pauncefort, "sexies virginti et decem marcas, duodecim boves et centum oves" and the manor of Much Cowarne. Richard de Pauncefort gives his son Grimbald "centum solidates terræ in maneris de Hatfield de quibus dictus Grimbaldis dictam Constantia dotabit ad ostium Ecclesiæ quando ipsam desponsabis;" he also promises to settle further property as a jointure. This dower shows the wealth and position which the family had acquired. This lady is said to have been not only very beautiful, but noted for her conjugal attachment, which is vouched for by the following anecdote:—"In 1720 Grimbaldis Pauncefort joined Prince Edward, son of Henry III, and Louis IX in the ninth and last crusade. He does not appear to have reached the Holy Land, but to have been captured by the Saracens at Tunis, about the time that Louis IX was struck down by the plague. The infidels demanded for the ransom of their captive no less a price than a limb of his wife Constantia, of whose beauty and constancy they appear to have heard. The present rector of Much Cowan, the Rev. J. G. Graham,[1] has thus embodied the incident in

[1] Formerly Curate at Holy Trinity, Coventry.

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his memoir of Much Cowarne Church:—

> No sooner hears Constantia that no less
> Will free her husband than her sever'd hand,
> At once she decides with love's promptitude
> To fulfil the hard condition. O when
> Did hardness e'er deter woman from deed
> Of kindness? The hardness which others see,
> She sees not; or rather heeds not: true love
> Shall conquer all. Like the fair Godiva
> She laughs at hard conditions which depend
> On her alone. Or, like that lady brave
> Who gave her arm to serve for bolt to guard
> The precious lives of those she lov'd so well.
> But to our tale. The limb is lopp'd and sent;
> The captive is set free. How can we think
> But that he hastens home as fast as horse
> And ship can bear him? Let Prince Edward[1] win
> His bootless honours—love is more to him
> Than aught on earth—though he be belted knight,
> Honour lies now in speeding to his home.
> We can almost mark the spot—almost track
> The winding lane 'long which Grimbaldus rode—
> The very spot on which these lovers met.
> For who henceforth would love as they?

We may smile at this legend, romantic though it is, notwithstanding that Duncumb, in his *History of Herefordshire*, tells us that Constantia Pauncefort's heroic conduct is confirmed and proved by the fact of her husband's altar-tomb, with their recumbent effigies, once existing at the east end of the south aisle of the church, the latter cross-legged, and habited like a Norman knight, the former exhibiting her left arm couped above the wrist. The battered and defaced remains of Grimbaldus's effigy have alone survived the ravages of time, and now lie on the north side of the chancel, a precious relic of the past. When and why it was placed there the writer has been unable to ascertain. Duncumb informs us that the dispersed fragment (alas! we have now to use the singular number) of the effigies and monument were examined in the sixteenth century by Mr. Silas Taylor, and the following is his account in his own words (MS. Harl. Bibl.):—"To gainsay the report about it, I diligently viewed the record which might have between the two figures: the female laid next the wall of the south aisle, on her right side, by which means his left side might be

[1] Two years afterwards King Edward I.

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contiguous to her right, the better to answer the figure; also, the stump of the woman's arm is somewhat elevated, as if to attract notice; and the hand and wrist cut off are carved close to his left side, with the right hand on his armour, as if for note." In Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, part ii, vol. i, ccxxviii, 1796, there is an allusion to this monument, but the account is evidently taken from Duncumb, and contains no new particulars. The story may have some foundation in fact, but it probably arose from the mutilated effigy.

Passing from the realm of fable, we know that the text of the marriage settlement of this memorable pair is preserved by Blount.

Constantia's brother, the second Sir John Lingen, received a grant of free warren of Lingen, in the 40th year of Henry III. He lived during the long and troublous insurrection of Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, and appears to have been one of the Commissioners, with Roger de Mortimer and the Earl of Gloucester, appointed to settle terms with the discontented Welsh, for the injuries done to Prince Edward. In these disturbances we find the name of Peter de Montfort of Beaudesert, in Warwickshire, a follower of his namesake, the great Earl of Leicester, and the first Speaker of the English Parliament. This Sir John de Lingen was, in the year 1260, one of the witnesses to a grant from Walter de Clifford, Lord of Corfham, to Sir John de Haleton, of six acres of his "bog" (?) at Cleobury, to be measured by the royal perch, and with license to dig coals within the Forest of La Clie, to sell or *give away*. One of the first records of coal in Shropshire. He appears to have fought with the Mortimers against Simon de Montfort at Evesham.

A third John de Lingen was knighted by Edward the First, according to Ashmole, "at a great solemnity, in order to a royal voyage against the Scots." The family was becoming more influential in the county, for Ralph, son of this Sir John, became M.P. for Hereford in 1374, and married Margery, sister of Sir Robert Pembrugge, of Tong Castle, Salop; and his second son, Richard de Lingen, married Isabel, daughter of Philip Holgate, 4th of Henry IV. This Richard appears to have been entrusted with some special powers by the king. A

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warrant is extant and printed in Blount's *Law Dictionary*, of such an unusual nature that I give it in full:—

"Richard de Lingein, Emprover desueti commission. Nostre ne dont Seigneur le Prince deins le Comte de Hereford et le Marches ad joygnant a toutry y ceuxt qui cests letters verront ou orront salutez. Sachery moy aver grant a une Ianin de Brompton, loyal et leige nostre Seigneur le Roy et ses servantes de vendre et le Marche ad joygnant sans empechment ou arrest de nulluy come loyal et leige hommes a son propre use et encrese *sans refreshment des Rebels de gales*. Et cest mon lettre serra son garrant. En temoinage de quel chose a y ceste jay mise mon seal. Don a Lemestre le 11th jour de Jules le Ann de Rege 6 Roy Henric le quart apres le conque quarte," 1403. Owen Glendower being then in arms against the king.

Long before this Ralph Lingen, the nephew of Richard and son of the first Ralph Lingen, had succeeded his father in the representation of Herefordshire. He sat in the Parliament of 1382, and married Jane the daughter of John Russell, presumably judging from her arms of the Strentham family in Worcestershire. We no longer find the Lingens identified with the manor from which they took their name. This Ralph Lingen is styled of Sutton, or of Sutton Freene, a place historically interesting from its connection with the seat of the Mercian kings, and the site of the palace where the tragedy took place, which disgraced Offa's name, and induced him to found, as some retribution, the grand cathedral of Hereford, of St. Alban, and made a pilgrimage to Rome in expiation of his crime. The event is noticed by Phillips in his *Georgic Cyder* :—

"And Sutton acres drench'd with regal blood
Of Ethelbert, when to th' unhallow'd feast
Of Mercian Offa, he invited came
To treat of spousals; long connubial joys
He promis'd to himself, allur'd by fair
Elfrida's beauty, but deluded, dy'd
In height of hopes—oh! hardest fate to fall
By shew of friendship and pretended love."

Sutton appears to have remained in the possession of the Crown until the Conqueror granted it to Nigel, the physician to the king. Henry I. granted free

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warren of this part of Sutton, then known as Sutton St. Nicholas, to Alexander the Secular, whose daughter married Walter de Freene, Lord of Moccas (circa 1290). Two parts of it became the property of the Talbots, but were sold by Sir John Talbot to Clementina, daughter of of Stephen Weite, who married Richard Walwyn, of Hellens, 1420, whose descendants sold it to the Lingens, who held the other portion of the lordship. As early as Henry III the Lingens held the royalty of fishing and fowling in the king's manor of Marden, adjacent to Sutton.

Isabel, the sister of this Ralph Lingen, who died in 1446-47, married her cousin Fulke de Pembrugge, and the last male of his line. She was busy in the twelfth year of Henry IV (1410) in the foundation of the religious establishment since known as Tonge College. In the chancel of the college are the arms of Lingen and the arms of Ludlow empaling Lingen, a lion rampant double queued empaling Lingen (Dudley or de Montfort), which Blakeway, in his *Sheriffs of Shropshire*, does not say. She appears to have married three times —first, Fulke de Pembrugge; second, Sir John Ludlow; third, Sir Thomas de Peytevine, whose arms I have not been able to discover.

The first time the name of Lingen occurs in the roll of the Sheriffs of Herefordshire is in 1470, when Sir John Lingen, knight, of Sutton and Lingen, held that office. We find him holding it again in 1476. In 1486, in 1495, and in 1522, and for the next century, the name of Lingen is conspicuous in the sheriff roll. This Sir John Lingen married Isabella, the third daughter and coheir of Sir John Burgh, knight, Lord of Mawddwy, who died in 1471, the last heir of the princes of South Wales, Lords of Powis. The de Burghs exercised great power during the reigns of the Lancastrian princes. Sir John was four times Sheriff of Shropshire, and was a person of great magnificence. He had greatly "increased the family estates by marrying Joane, the younger daughter and coheir of Sir William Clopton, of Radbroke, knight, whereby he acquired the manors of Radbroke and Clopton, in the county of Gloucester, and divers other lands and manors, in the counties of Warwick and

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Gloucester."[1] The other coheir of Sir William Clopton married first, Roger Harewell, of Wotton Wawen, in the county of Warwick, and secondly, Thomas Herbert. As the descendants of the coheiresses of Sir John de Burgh still exist, I may briefly here mention that Elizabeth, the eldest, married William Newport, the ancestor of the Earls of Bradford; Ankaret, the second daughter, married John Leighton, of Leighton, Salop; Isabella, the third daughter, married Sir John Lingen; and the youngest daughter also named Elizabeth, married Thomas Mytton, of Shrewsbury, a well-known family in Shropshire annals.

The property of Sir John de Burgh does not appear to have been divided for several years after his death. Among the Loton papers is preserved a singular letter on the subject of this partition from Sir John Lyngen to Sir Thomas Leighton, written in 16th Henry VII:—

"To my ryght worshipfull cosen Sir Thomas Leghton [be] this delivered in all haste."

"Right worshipfull Syr,—I recomaunde me unto you desyring to hear of your prosperitie, whiche J'hu p'serve, Amen. Lettying you to underston that my brother Mytton and my nevow John Newporte hath wryttyn unto me to have partyc'on of all the londs that wher my fader in law Sir John de Bourgh's, and my lady hys wyff; and I have wryttyn unto them under this form; that we should have a mettyng, and there to have a comynycac'on for the partyc'on of said londs, and to put the 4 partyse of the londs equally devydyd in waxe, and so to take the parts thereof as fortune comythe: yf so be that they fynde any defaute in the mackyng of the books of partyc'on lett them amend hytt. Also I have poynted the plase of mettyng at Lodlow, the 7th day of the monythe of May, and yf so be that ye wylle be greable therto, praying you to sende me in wrything under yor seale whether ye wylle be greable or no, by my serv^t^, the whyche shalle bring you answere betwixte this and Estyr, as avoute the maryage betwixte my cosyn Acton, and my dortyre Jane. No more unto yow at this tyme, but J'hu p'serve, Amen. Yo^r^ lovyng wncull, John Lyngen, knight."

This meeting apparently took place on the 12th of May, 1501, thirty years after the death of Sir John de

[1] Bridgeman's *Princes of South Wales*, p. 275.

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Burgh, when Sir John Lyngen and Isabel his wife received "the lordships and manors of Yocelton and Stretton, with the mill and the park, part of the forest of Cawes, Kynnerton, Sturchley, Wentnor, with the advowson of the church Gravenor, Overs, Shelve, and the fourth part of Walton, with the appurtenances in the said county," as the portion which fell to the said Isabel, as daughter and heiress of Sir John de Burgh, and of her mother's inheritance; "the lordships and manors of Rodbroke, Gretson, Wykelford, Upton Haselor, Exhall, Binton, Barton, Betford, Benhall, and Mickleton, within the co. of Warwick; lands and hereditaments in Rodbroke, Gretson, Wikelford, Upton Haselor, Exall, Binton, Barton, Betford, Benhall, and Mickleton, with the appurtenances."

Sir John Lingen died in 1522, and was buried at Amestry church, near Lingen, by the side of his wife, and their beautiful monumental brass yet remains on their tomb. The sisters of Sir John married well. Isolda espoused Brian Harley, an ancestor of the Earls of Oxford; Matilda married Thomas Devereux, ancestor of the Earls of Essex.

The fortunes of the family still continued to rise: the son of Sir John and Isabel, the second Sir John Lingen, of Sutton, was sheriff in 1505, 1516, and 1520. He married in 1512 Eleanor, daughter and heiress of Thomas Milewater, of Stoke Edith, and acquired thereby that beautiful and picturesque estate. Stoke Edith is supposed to take its name from the Saxon Saint Editha, daughter of King Egbert, whose story I have told in my *Historic Warwickshire.* It was the property of Ralph Toderic (the king's standard bearer at the battle of Hastings), at the time of the Domesday survey. Like Sutton, it came into the hands of the Walwyns. It continued in the Lingen family till the Restoration, when it was permanently alienated. The Lingens now seemed to have attained the height of their prosperity. A third John Lingen succeeded his father in 1530, and married Margaret the daughter of Sir Thomas Englefield, of Englefield, co. Berks, K.B., Speaker of the House of Commons and Chief Justice of Chester. In his time Catherine of Arragon held Marden (p. 28) during her

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forced widowhood. There seems to have been many disputes between the Lingens and the Crown, according to Lord Coningsby's *History of the Manor of Marden*, judging from the Inquisition printed in page 30, which recites the previous agreement between the Crown and the Lingens. John Lingen seems to have taken part in the conspiracy to put Lady Jane Grey on the throne at the death of Edward VI. (p. 42), and he died the same year that Mary came to the throne, 1544. He was succeeded by the fourth John Lingen, who married a daughter of John and Sibell Ruynton, co. Hereford. He represented the city in 1523. His daughter Jane married William Shelley, described in the *History of Marden*, as of Clapham, Surrey, but in the Bridgeman pedigree as of Michelgrove, co. Sussex. It would appear as if the Shelleys had conformed to the old religion, and were connected with the various conspiracies to release Mary Queen of Scots, and with the projected invasion under the Duke of Guise. He was attainted in 1583 and executed in 1597, and his property confiscated to the Crown. Mrs. Shelley was also imprisoned, but was subsequently released and permitted to enjoy for her life the estates she inherited from Sir John de Burgh. These passed away at her death (childless) by the grant of King James I. to Sir Richard Preston, Lord Dingwall.

The male branch of the family was continued by William Lingen, uncle of Mrs. Shelley, who married Cicelia, daughter of Anthony Ingram, of Wolverhampton. Their son Edward succeeded to the estates of Sutton and Stoke Edith on the death of his cousin. He appears to have been mixed up in the troubles of the previous reign, for in the manor of Marden he is spoken of as "the traitor." He was, however, sheriff of Herefordshire in 1618, and married Blanch daughter of Sir Roger Bodenham, of Rotherwas, co. Hereford. Edward Lingen left two sons; from the youngest, Roger, who purchased the ancestral manor of Radbroke from Lord Dingwall, the the Lingen-Burtons of Longner, Salop, are descended. The eldest stands forth prominently in the Lingen annals as the last male Lingen of Stoke Edith and Sutton, and a famous cavalier. The manor of Lingen had been given by King James to Sir John Peyton, nor

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was it ever restored to the family, though they were distinguished for their loyalty throughout the civil wars. Henry Lingen raised a regiment in the king's service and joined with the Coningsbys, Scudamores, Crofts, and Pyes against the Harleys, Kyrlés and Westphalings against the parliament. His siege of Brampton Brian and defence of Goodrich are matters of history. In 1645 he received the honour of knighthood from the hand of King Charles, at Mr. Pritchard's house near Grosmont. He was cast into prison after the king's defeat, and fined £6,342. Besides his expenses in maintaining a regiment of horse in the king's service, it is stated that Sir Robert Harley's losses at Brampton Brian Castle were estimated to exceed £12,990, and the Parliamentary Commonwealth ordered the greater amount to be levied off the Lingen estates, but Edward Harley, Sir Robert's son, generously forgave the whole. The following curious memorandum shews the extreme distress to which Charles I was reduced for want of money March 23, 1623, and what plate was due to Sir Henry Lingen, high sheriff co. Hereford, upon a privy seal for the loan of £20 lent to His Majesty :—

> "One guilt salte with a cover, one guilte salte with a cover, one guilte trencher, one great silver salte, one caudle cup, one little spoon, and one tonne or tankard."

The caudle cup is now in the possession of Mrs. Geo. Unett, of Castell Frome, Leamington, who is one of the coheiresses of Sir Henry Lingen; for though the gallant cavalier had three sons and seven daughters, only one, Frances, had descendants as far as known, and she married John Unett, of Castle Frome, co. Hereford. His great grandson Henry Unett married Jane, the daughter of William Lingen, of Sutton Court, who was grandmother to Mrs. Geo. Unett and her sisters, the surviving coheirs of Sir John de Burgh and Sir Henry Lingen. In the *History of the Manor of Marden*, p. 537, there are some particulars of the old Cavalier, who was born at Rotherwas, near Hereford, and who died of small-pox at Gloucester, on his way from London, where he had been attending to his duties as representative of Herefordshire in January, 1661-2. The *Chronicler* says:—"Sir Henry Lingen, eldest son of

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Edward the traitor, died, having been in the compass of five years a knight, and no knight, and a knight again, and after having (between the years 1647, the year before King Charles I was murdered, and the year 1660, when his son was restored) with equal vigour and zeal acted the glorious part of a loyal cavalier and a complying Roundhead; the last part so near the time that it pleased the Almighty to restore its lawful prince to the throne of his ancestors, and his injured mother, the Queen, to her jointured lands in Marden and Sutton, that it could no more be covered than excused, as 'tis said, broke his hardy heart." It is said also that he was in debt to the Crown at least £400, for the rent of Sutton and his royalties in Marden. He died, however, the owner of the demesnes of Stoke Edith and Sutton Freene, with the mills there called the King's Mills; also the demesnes of Sutton St. Nicholas, Aymestry, Connop and Lye, with 500 acres of wood there, the demesnes of Burghill and Tillington, the manor of Broxwood, the demesne of Weston, in the parish of Brewardine, then in course of litigation, which terminated against his heir, who established a right to a fee farm rent of £13 6s. 8d., payable out of the manor of Weston. Sir Henry had also possessions in the counties of Salop, Warwick, and Essex. His rent roll amounted to £1250 per annum. His property was divided between his seven surviving daughters in 1670. Stoke Edith was sold to Paul Foley of Bromsgrove, an ironmaster, and a great friend of Richard Baxter, in whose family it still remains. Sutton Freene or Freene Court was sold by Mrs. Unett and her sisters in 1873. Sutton Walls is in the possession of Mr. Arkwright.

Castle Frome, near Ledbury, the married home of Frances Lingen, was a former manor of the Lacies, and passed from them to the Devereux, and thence by marriage to the Braces, whose heiress married John Unett, who then became *(jure exoris)* lord of Castle Frome. The Unetts intermarried with nearly every family of importance in the county of Hereford, and remained lords of Castle Frome until the last century, when they made Freene Court their principal seat.

There are many collateral branches of the Lingen

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family remaining in different parts of the country,—the Lingen-Burtons of Longner, the Lingens of Wytton, co. Salop, and the branch represented by the Secretary to the Committee of Council, Ralph W. Lingen, Esq,, and Dr. Lingen, of the city of Hereford. Thus though the old name has like many a mighty river lost its distinctive title, it still survives in the minor streamlets, whose names are written in the *Libro d'Oro,*—the noble and gentle men of England.

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ON THE DISCOVERY OF THE REMAINS OF JOHN, FIRST EARL OF SHREWSBURY, AT WHITCHURCH.

BY STEPHEN TUCKER, ROUGE CROIX.

Although full accounts, which I will presently enumerate, appeared at the time as to the discovery of the great Talbot's bones beneath his well-known effigy at Whitchurch, I hope the subject may be deemed of sufficient interest, from the intimate connection of the Earl and his family with this immediate neighbourhood, to justify me in again bringing it forward, and particularly as there are one or two points not hitherto referred to, which appear to me to add importance to the curious evidences of identity of the remains already collected.

Any lengthened details of the history and exploits of the great soldier, John Talbot, will not be expected from me, for, devoting as he did, the best part of his eighty years to the service of his country in the warlike periods of Henry the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth, and embracing the whole career of Joan of Arc of France, his chivalrous deeds have been again and again recounted, and rendered specially immortal by Shakespeare himself.

He was the second son of Richard Talbot, of Goodrich Castle, in this county, to whom, by the death of the elder brother, he became heir, and marrying the heiress of Lord Furnival had summons to Parliament in that dignity. He subsequently earned and received many other honours and the Earldom of Shrewsbury, and after a life of brilliant military achievements, died on the field of Chatillon, 20th July, 1453.

On the 9th of March, 1874, some workmen removed the effigy of the Earl, at Whitchurch, in preparation for some contemplated repairs of the canopy and front of the monument, and found underneath a sort of case or coffin, containing (with the exception of some vertebræ) an entire skeleton, each bone of which was separately and carefully encased in cere cloth. The rector (the Rev. W. H. Egerton) at once communicated with the repre-

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sentative (the recently deceased Earl of Shrewsbury), with Earl Brownlow, the present owner of the Blakemere property, and others, and forwarded an account of the discovery to the Society of Antiquaries, which was there read on 12th March, Mr. Knight Watson giving a *resumé*, from contemporaneous chroniclers, of the manner of the Earl's death. Later in the month, Mr. Earwaker, of Merton College, Oxford, communicated Ashmole's own notes (from his MS., No. 854, Bodleian), taken at Whitchurch, 31 August, 1663. He describes the tomb, says there was then no epitaph remaining, but quotes, from a MS. of 1598, of some extracts from the Whitchurch Register, a full roll of his titles, which had formed an inscription; and gives also the Latin wording of a brass which formerly existed in the church, recording his name and titles and his death, "*in bello apud Burdowe*," as on the 17th July, 1453. I may here say that a lengthened notice of the discovery of the bones and the Earl's history appeared in the *Shrewsbury Journal* of 18th March, and more full ones still, with an account of the ceremony and service on the re-interment of the remains, in the *Whitchurch Parish Magazine*, in the monthly numbers for April and May, 1874.

Mr. Egerton corresponded with me, and I took some pains to ascertain where the Earl was really buried, and to assist in identifying the remains from the various circumstances recorded of his death. I found conflicting statements as to the place of his burial. Most modern writers, and several early ones of repute, were agreed that he was interred at Whitchurch; but he was otherwise said to have been buried at Rouen and at Blakemere. There were grounds, as I will show, for both these statements. Ralph Brooke, in his *Catalogue of Nobility*, gave Rouen as the place; and Augustine Vincent (*Windsor Herald)*, in his *Discoveries of Errours* in Brooke, ever ready, and, I may add, able to correct him, points out the mistake. I referred to the Earl's will, which was dated at Portsmouth, 1 Sept., 1452, and was proved at Lambeth 18th January, 1453-4; and there I found the direction "My body to be beryed at Blakemere in the paryshe church on the right side of the chancell." I wrote to the rector (the Rev. Andrew Pope), and heard

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that there was not even a tradition of this direction having been acted upon, for although contained in one of the last instruments he could have executed, it was overruled by a promise he is reported to have made to his body-guard of Whitchurch men, who, rallying round him when in imminent danger in one of his battles, said to be that of Patay, saved his life, that he would be laid in Whitchurch. That he was first interred at Rouen there can be no doubt, and hence that place has been recorded as that of his burial, but his remains were brought from thence forty years after his death by his grandson, Sir Gilbert Talbot, of Grafton, who led the right wing of Richmond's army at Bosworth, and buried where they were found—the heart embalmed, in a silver urn covered with crimson velvet, had been buried in the porch, probably immediately after his death. Sir Gilbert was the founder of the chauntry at Whitchurch, and died 9th year of Henry VIII.

I now come to the means of identifying the bones. The Earl was not only wounded at Chatillon, but his horse being killed, he lay on the ground, and in this position was "despatched," as it has been said, by a blow on the head, probably from an axe. Shakespeare's account of Sir William Lucy coming to the French prince, when seeking for Talbot's body, will be remembered:—

Sir W. Lucy: Herald, conduct me to the Dauphin's tent,
To know who hath obtained the glory of the day.
Charles: On what submissive message art thou sent?
Sir W. Lucy: Submission, Dauphin! 'tis a mere French word;
We English warriors wot not what it means.
I come to know what prisoners thou hast ta'en,
And to survey the bodies of the dead.
Charles: For prisoners ask'st thou? Hell our prison is.
But tell me whom thou seek'st?
Sir W. Lucy: But where's the great Alcides of the field,
Valiant Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury,
Created, for his rare success in arms,
Great Earl of Washford, Waterford, and Valence;
Lord Talbot of Goodrig and Urchinfield,
Lord Strange of Blackmere, Lord Verdun of Alton,
Lord Cromwell of Wingfield, Lord Furnival of Sheffield,
The thrice victorious Lord of Falconbridge;
Knight of the noble order of Saint George,
Worthy Saint Michael and the Golden Fleece;
Great Marshal to Henry the Sixth
Of all his wars within the realm of France?

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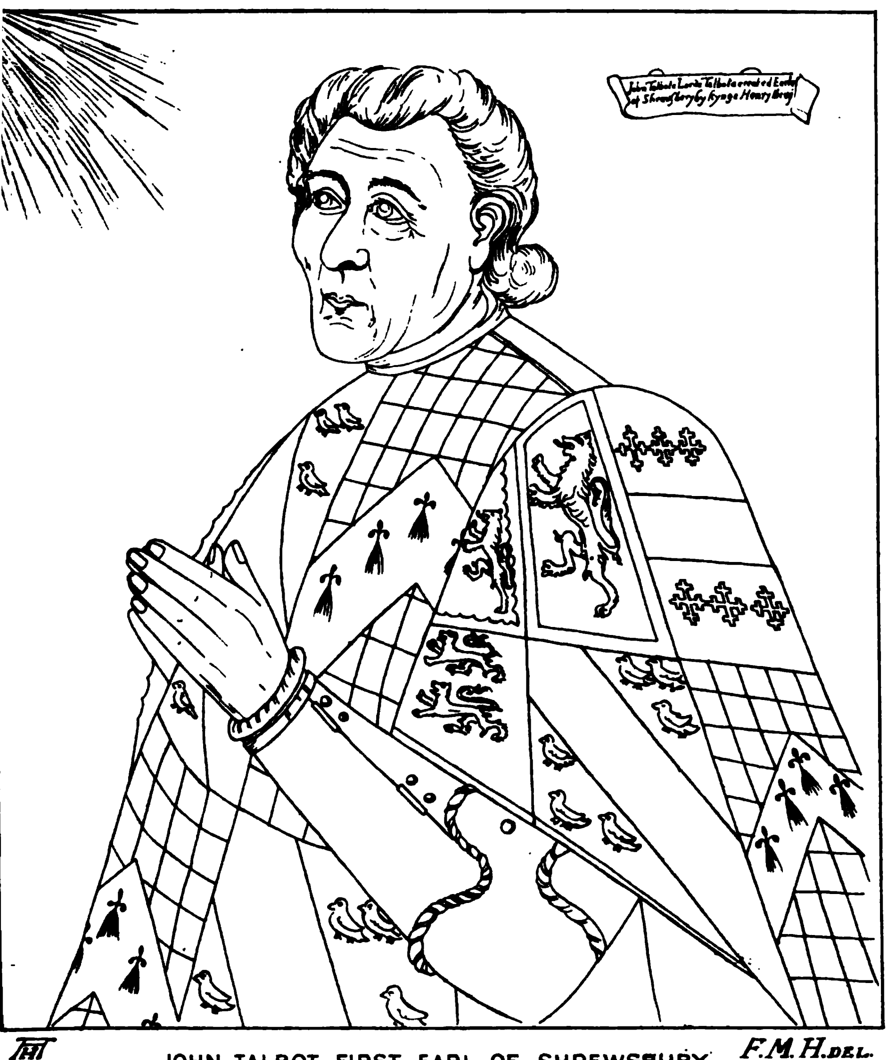

JOHN TALBOT, FIRST EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

FROM THE PORTRAIT AT CASTLE ASHBY.

F.M.H. DEL.

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Shakespeare was right in this. The body was anxiously sought for by many, and was at last identified by the Herald of the Earl, who, although it was so mangled and disfigured as to be scarcely discoverable, recognised him by the loss of his hinder teeth. I find the following account of this in the MSS. of John Anstis, Garter King-of-Arms, in the Heralds' College. He says—

"But we are assured by a contemporary French historian that his Herald attended on him when he was slain at Chastillon, who had then been his officer-of-arms above forty years, so that he had such in 1st Henry V. The passage is remarkable in discovering to us the customs of that age—that many officers of arms being sent to find out the body of this most valiant Earl, among whom was 'Le Heraud du dit Sieur de Tallebot qui avoit vestu sa cotte d'armes,' and knowing his master by the want of some of his hinder teeth, though his face was so mangled and disfigured with wounds. "Il le baisa en la bouche, en disant ces mots, Monseigneur mon maistre, ce estes vous, je prie a Dieu qu'il vous pardonne vos mesfaits, j'ay esté votre officier d'armes quarante ans ou plus, il est temps que je le vous rende, en faisant piteux crys et lamentations, et en rendant eau par les yeux trés pitousment, et alors il revestit sa cotte d'armes et la mit sur son maistre."

It is worthy of note that the painted portrait effigy of the Earl of Shrewsbury, which used to hang in Old St. Paul's, represented him in his Tabard and in the act of prayer. The original of this picture is in the collection of the Marquis of Northampton at Castle Ashby, and a copy is now in the Record-room of the Herald's College.[1] It is a curious confirmation of the story of the Herald.

But more interesting than this is a photograph, for which I am indebted to the Rev. W. H. Egerton, and from which the engraving is taken, of the skull and jaw found at Whitchurch. In the former the remarkable confirmatory evidence of the axe blow will be observed, and in the latter the no less remarkable testimony of the entire loss of the back teeth.

[1] Mr. Tucker exhibited an engraving of the picture from his own collection.

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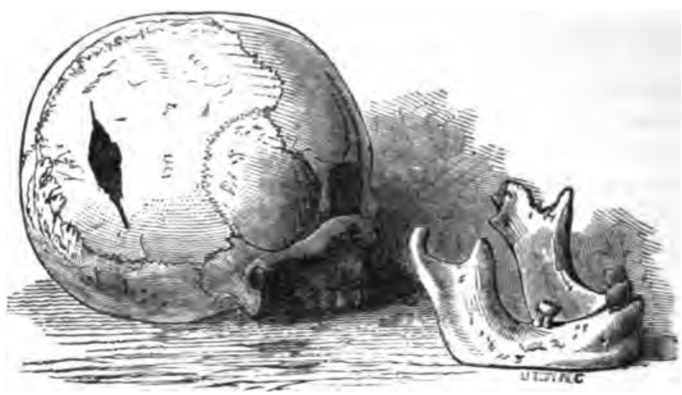

Not the least curious circumstance in connection with the discovery of these bones is, that amongst them was the skeleton of a mouse! "As poor as a church mouse" we have often heard, and this poor mouse had not only sought the shelter of the great Earl's coffin, but the *Imperium in imperio* of his skull, as a nest to give birth to her young. "It is an ill wind that blows good to no one," and the fatal axe blow had created a convenient entrance for the mouse. Her bones were found mingled with those of the mighty soldier, while those of her young were found within his skull!

Shakespeare, who knew and recorded so much of the Earl, had surely a forecast of this when he wrote—

Hamlet: To what base uses we may return Horatio! Why may not imagination trace the noble dust of Alexander, till he find it stopping a bung-hole!

Horatio: 'Twere to consider too curiously to consider so.

Hamlet: No, faith, not a jot; but to follow him thither with modesty enough, and likelihood to lead it: as thus—Alexander died, Alexander was buried, Alexander returneth to dust; the dust is earth; of earth we make loam; and why of that loam whereto he was converted, might they not stop a beer-barrel?

Imperious Cæsar, dead, and turned to clay,
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away:
O, that the earth, which kept the world in awe,
Should patch a wall to expel the winter's flaw!"

For the following, I am indebted to Lord Talbot de Malahide, who copied it from a narrow parchment document in his possession:—

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En la presence de moy Jehan d'Estampes maistre d'ostel de Monsg[r] le Conte d'Angoulesme, Guillaume le Vesville commis par mon dit S[r] a la recepte generale de toutes ses finances a aujourdhui paié et baillé par l'ordonnance et commandement de mon dit S[r] les sommes cy après declarées aux personnes et pour les causes qui ensuivait. C'est a savoir a Reslandire trompette d'icelluy S[r] pour don a luy fait pour les bonnes et joyeuses nouvelles par luy apportées a mon dit S[r] en la ville d'Angoulesme de la mort de Talbot et de la disconfiture des Anglois devant Castillon cinquante cinq sols tournois et a Colinet Goulon pour aler de la dite ville d'Angoulesme a Blois et a Remiremont pour les dites nouvelles a Monsign[r] le Duc d'Orleans et a Madame la Contesse d'Angoulesme cinquante cinq sols tournois. Tesmoing mon seign manuel cy mis le xviij jour de Juillet l'an mil cccc cinquante trois.

D'ESTAMPES.

The following letter appeared in the *Standard* of the 15th August, 1877, from which it was copied in the *Shrewsbury Journal*. It was to the Editor of this latter Journal that the reply of the Rector of Whitchurch was addressed :—

DEAR SIR,—In a paragraph that appeared in your paper of August 15th, giving a short account of the Royal Archæological Institute's excursion to Goodrich Castle, I find several inaccuracies in connection with the first Earl of Shrewsbury, mentioned in Mr. Stephen Tucker's Paper. The first one is that the great warrior's remains were found at Whitchurch, in Shropshire, in 1864, whereas they were *refound* in 1874, at the time the church was undergoing some slight alterations or renovations. The next point I would like to call your attention to is—"At Chatillon (he was then 80 years old) he was unhorsed, and lay for some time on the ground, until, we are told, he was 'despatched' by a blow on the head from a battle-axe." When the bones were lying in the vestry of the church at Whitchurch, I had the opportunity of examining them, and on taking up the skull (before I knew that the valiant warrior had been killed by a battle-axe) I remarked that the fracture observable on the left parietal bone had been made with a battle-axe or a sharp weapon having a segmented edge, judging from the shape of the fissure and the marked incision in the bone of the skull at either end of the perforation, I did not measure its length, but [should say that it was about 3½ inches long, and the piece of bone that had been forced into the brain by the stroke was about two inches in length. The blow had evidently been struck as he was standing unhorsed engaged to a hand to hand fight with an enemy in front, by an enemy coming somewhat behind him and striking him with a battle-axe on the left side of his head, which felled him to the ground, and he, as I imagine, fell

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on his right shoulder and forehead or face, and the blood that flowed from the wound over the left side of the head and face, which was uppermost, disguised him to such an extent as to make his body difficult of recognition, especially if he fell in a muddy or dusty spot. On viewing the skull (a cast of which was taken for the Archæological Society if I am not mistaken) from the clean cut of the gaping fissure and its perpendicular line with the body when in an erect position, shows plainly that it was not received at a time when he was lying unhorsed on the ground, and at the same time, from its position on the skull, there can be no doubt but that he was taken at a disadvantage, and the foeman that dealt it was not facing him at the time fighting hand to hand. Again—"His body was long sought for, and was at last recognised by his herald, by the absence of the hinder teeth, the features having been so injured as to be undistinguishable. The skull found at Whitchurch wants the hinder teeth, and has the hollow caused by the fatal blow." Now the skull at Whitchurch is wrapped round with a kind of narrow linen cloth, about the width now used in bandaging (and as I imagine in those days taken to the field of battle with them to be used for bandaging up of wounds). After the burial of the body at Rouen, come few years must have elapsed before the skull and bones were wrapped in the cerecloth that now covers them, for every trace of flesh or integument is entirely gone, and it is almost an impossibility to say what teeth he had at the time of his death; from what I could see and judge by the drepressions, risings, or markings on the cerecloth covering the bones of the jaw, he had only one tooth remaining, and that was a dens sapientiæ or wisdom tooth on the left side of the lower jaw, and I also thought that five or six lower front teeth had fallen out from want of attachment before the bones were covered with the cloth covering that is now on them. It was my intention to have endeavoured to have obtained permission to have taken a cast of the jaw bone, and without the present covering, so as to have been able to have given a decided opinion as to the age, &c., &c., of the person to whom they had formerly belonged; from what I could see of them I concluded the individual was upwards of 80 years of age, but on my next visit to the town I learnt that the valiant old Earl was being buried for the third time, and that the late noble Earl was attending his funeral. Again, "Among the bones was found the skeleton of a mouse who had made her nest in the skull of the great Talbot, where the remains of her young were still remaining. It is an ill wind that blows no one any good. The mouse had entered through the breach made by the battle-axe, but having been unable to escape again from the coffin, had suffered a fate more severe than that which is the proverbial lot of the ordinary church mouse." Now all that reads very prettily, but it will not do, the breach in the skull might admit a silver crown piece, but never a mouse in an interesting condition, who must have gone into the skull to have been confined, for even her progeny never could have squeezed through the fissure; she must have entered through the foramen magnum at the base of the skull before

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it was covered over with cerecloth, and most likely they were in a mummified condition when that was done, otherwise there is no accounting for the circumstance.

Apologising for trespassing so much on your valuable time, I would not have done so had I not considered it my duty if possible to prevent such errors of traditional or hearsay evidence being taken as matter of fact, as every day I am the more convinced of its unreliability.

Yours faithfully,

FREDERICK DALBY,

Doctor of Dental Surgery.

47, Darlington-street, Wolverhampton,
August 16th, 1877.

Sir,—The interesting letter quoted in your columns last week from the *Standard* invites a few remarks. The purport of that letter was to correct supposed inaccuracies in a lecture on the discovery of Talbot's bones at Whitchurch, delivered by Mr. Stephen Tucker (Rouge Croix) before the Royal Archæological Institute at Hereford. The first inaccuracy is an accidental misprint of 1864 for 1874. Setting this aside, the writer begins by objecting to the word *found* as applied to the discovery of the warrior's bones. He says it should have been *refound*. No such word exists; but its equivalent in meaning seems to me needless. Talbot's bones were *found* for the first time in the present church on the 9th of March, 1874. Dr. Dalby's next remarks have reference to the circumstances of Talbot's death. From the vertical character of the cut on the skull, he argues that the body must have been erect when the fatal blow was given. I should have accepted Dr. Dalby's reasoning on this point without hesitation if history had been silent on the subject, but we are confronted by the authority of Hollinshed, who, after having described the siege of the Tower at Chastillon and Talbot's victorious pursuit of the French into their own fortified camp, thus records his death—"Though at firste with manfull courage and sore fighting the Earle wanne the entrie of their camp, yet at length they compassed him about, and shooting him through the thigh with an hand-gunne, slew his horse, and finally killed him, lying on the ground, whom they never durst look in the face, while he stoode on his feete."—*Hollinshed*, black letter copy, vol. ii, p. 1285.

The next point in Mr. Tucker's letter, criticised by Dr. Dalby, is that Talbot's body was recognised after the battle "by the absence of the hinder teeth." When the skull was examined there were three incisors and one molar tooth in the lower jaw. There were aparently no teeth in the upper jaw. Certain it is that the body lay for some time on the field of battle until discovered by the Earl's herald, "who broke out into compassionate and dutiful expressions, disrobed himself of his coat of arms, and flung it over his master's body."

We now come to the incident of the mouse's nest in the skull. Mr. Tucker asserts that the entrance to the nest was "through the breach made by the battle-axe." Dr. Dalby says that this "reads very prettily, but that it will not do." In proof of this he states that the gash in the skull was only wide enough to admit a crown piece, and that therefore the mouse must have entered by the foramen magnum. Now the actual dimensions of the gash are 2¾

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inches in length, and fully ⅜ of an inch wide in the centre part. Moreover the sides of the orifice bore evidence of ingress and egress, having that peculiar brown semi-polished look which we know so well in the appearance of a mouse-hole. The entrance to the nest was directly beneath the hole, and the cerecloth for some distance round it had been gnawed away by the mice. If the mouse had made her entrance and exit by the foramen magnum she must have done so before the bones were brought from Rouen, for that orifice was closely bound up by the cerecloth. That a French mouse should have increased her progeny in the cavity of Talbot's skull would indeed have been an indignity; but the fact that fragments of the torn leaves of an English prayer book formed part of the substance of the nest, proves to demonstration that the tenant of the skull was none other than an English church mouse. Dr. Dalby is right in condemning the substitution of traditional or hearsay evidence for matter of fact. I have endeavoured to supply him with some facts which reduce his list of inaccuracies to a minimum, and substantiate in every important particular the correctness of the statements made by Rouge Croix.

I am, &c.,

W. H. EGERTON.

As an actual instance of the base uses to which even kings return, it may be mentioned that when the tomb of King John was opened in 1797 "a vast quantity of the dry skins of maggots" were found within the royal coffin. Some of these were purloined by an ingenious gentleman of Worcester, who, baiting his hook with them, and toiling for three days, finally drew a dace out of the Severn, which he bore in triumph through the streets. A workman stole a finger-bone, and sent it to London to be tipped with silver, but it was lost on the road. —See GOUGH'S *Sepulchral Monuments*, vol. ii, part i, p. 331, and GREENE'S *Account of the Opening*.—ED.

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ON THE "ROMAN MILIARIES" FOUND IN BRITAIN.

By the REV. PREBENDARY SCARTH.

Professor Hübner, in his collection of "*Inscriptiones Britanniæ Latinæ*," has stated "Tituli Miliarii Britannici plus minus quadraginti," and has arranged these forty mile stones under different heads, according to the districts in which they were found; and he has also classed them according to date, allotting them to the several emperors whose name or titles they bear. This arrangement is very convenient, and he has thus called attention to their importance, and afforded an opportunity of comparing them, and eliciting any information which can be gathered as to the date of construction of the several Roman roads which traversed this island. He has also given an opportunity for rectifying any misreading of each stone, and of adding to his collection any stones that may be wanting to make the list perfect.

Something has already been done towards making his list more complete. Mr. T. Watkin, in two papers printed in the *Archæological Journal*, has noticed eight omissions, which he has supplied, and more correct readings have been obtained of others, as for instance of the first recorded, viz., that found at S. Hilary in Cornwall, the reading of which Professor Hübner has amended in his *Additamenta*, in consequence of a correct impression of the stone having been procured. Attention having been thus called to these monuments, it is not beyond hope that others may be rescued from oblivion, and that any more which may come to light in the future will be at once read and recorded. It is not improbable that by means of such monuments a correct, or at least an approximate date, might be assigned to the formation of the several Roman military roads in Britain.

The earliest Miliaries that have yet been found, or at least recorded, are *two* of the date of Hadrian, (see

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C. I. L., vol. vii Nos. 1169, 1175); two of Caracalla, (Nos. 1164, 1186); and a third of uncertain reading (No. 1191), but probably of the date of Elagabalus. There are also four of the Emperor Gordian (Nos. 1149, 1159, 1183, 1184); four of Philip, father and son (Nos. 1172, 1173, 1178, 1179); four of the Emperor Decius (Nos. 1163, 1171, 1174, 1180); two of Gallus and Volusianus (Nos. 1148, 1182); one or two of Postumus (1161, 1162); one of Victorinus (1160); two of Tetricus (1150, 1151); one of Aurelian (1152), one of Florianus (1156), one of Numerianus (1165), one of Diocletian and Maximian (1190), one of Maximinus Daza (1158); four of Constantine (1157, 1170, 1176, 1177); one of Crispus (1153); three of Constantine Junior (1147, 1154, 1188). Add to these the eight supplied by Mr. Watkin, viz.,—Tetricus, Tacitus; three which are undoubted miliary stones, but which are illegible, found in Shropshire; one at Uriconium, and two found in a pool when drained near Rowton (Rutunium); one lately found near Bakewell, in Derbyshire (see *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxiii, p. 53); one found at Segshill, fifteen miles from Leicester, on the line of the Foss road (see *Arch. J.*, xxxi, 353), both of which unfortunately have the imperial titles effaced; and another dug up at Middleton, three miles from Kirkby Lonsdale (see *Arch. J.*, xxxi, 354).

We have them extending from the time of Hadrian, A.D. 120, to Constantine Junior, A.D. 336, embracing a period of above two hundred years. There is little doubt, however, that the Roman roads in this island must have been begun before the time of Hadrian, and kept in order to a later period than that of Constantine Junior. We have evidence in Somersetshire of a Roman road traversing the Mendip mineral district, on the line of which pigs of Roman lead are found, bearing the stamp of the Emperor Vespasian, A.D. 70, or still earlier that of Britannicus, A.D. 49. Along the line of this road, which extended from Old Sarum (Sorbiodunum) in Wilts to the Bristol Channel at Brean Down in Somerset, no Miliaries are recorded to have been found; neither have any been found or recorded in the neighbourhood of Bath, and only one in Kent.

It seems impossible to believe that the roads here

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named were without the measured distances or imperial titles recorded on stone. It must have been that the stones once standing by the Roman roads have been found so valuable for mere stones or for building, that they have been used for such objects. Miliaries are chiefly found in unfrequented districts in Cornwall, in Wales, in Cumberland, and in Northumberland. The formation of macadamised roads since the commencement of the present century has doubtless caused many to be broken up for material. The fact of a cylindrical column with a few letters upon it, hardly readable, would provoke no great curiosity to enquire further into their meaning, and the stone would at once be consigned to the wayside heap, there to undergo a speedy process of demolition, and so a historical record would perish for ever.

The first Roman roads constructed in Britain were doubtless those three which run from the Kentish coast, at Lymne, Dover, and Richboro', to Canterbury, and from thence to London. But one solitary uninscribed and obliterated "Miliary" at Southfleet[1] denotes the lines of these important roads, the courses of which are ascertained beyond a doubt.

The campaign of Aulus Plautius began A.D. 43, and the capture of Caractacus took place A.D. 50. This war opened out all the south-west portion of Britain to the Roman arms, and to this period we must look for the first formation of Roman roads, but the only spot in this region where Miliaries have as yet been noted is at Bittern, near Southampton. Here four are recorded in Hübner's collection, and two more added by Mr. Thompson Watkin, but all are of a late date.

Gordianus	-	A.D. 238–244
Gallus and Volusianus	-	251–253
Tetricus -	-	267–273
L. Domitius Aurelian	-	270–275

and another Tetricus, and the one containing an inscription not yet properly decyphered, but supposed to have the station LANDINIS or LINDINIS recorded on it, probably *Lyme Regis*.

[1] See Hübner's *Insc. Brit. Lat.* p. 20, after No. 1152.

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The Itinerary of Antoninus does not go beyond Exeter, but that Roman roads extended into Cornwall is clear from the traces of them, and the stations that remain, and from the "Miliary" found at S. Hilary, which is given in Hübner's work (No. 1147), but which has only been correctly read very recently. (See *Additamenta ad Corporis*, vol. vii, p. 1147, and a paper lately read to the Cornwall Royal Institution of Truro, by Dr. Barham, in which he has pointed out the direction of these roads). The date of this "Miliary" is of the time of Constantine the Great, A.D. 308–437, and is very similar to one found in the high road between Cambridge and Huntingdon, about three miles from Cambridge (see No. 1154).

In Devonshire and Wilts we have the Foss Road and the Icknield Street, and also lesser Roman roads, but no Miliaries are found, nor yet in Dorset, where we have the Acling Street, Portway, the Street, and Romansleigh Ridge. Nor are any recorded to have been found in Sussex.

The "London Stone" in Cannon Street, in the city, has been supposed to be a Roman "Miliary," and the centre from which the Roman roads were measured, as was intended to be the case with the famous "Miliarium Aureum" at Rome,[1] but this is very doubtful, and there is no further proof of it, than that many of the Itineraries terminate in London.[2] It is doubtful if this stone was ever inscribed.

Throughout the eastern portion of Britain Roman Miliaries are equally rare. In Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire four have been found (1153, 1154, 1155, 1156), and one in Worcestershire (No. 1157). All these, except the last, belong to the Roman road between Lincoln and London.

One is preserved in Trinity College, Cambridge, but the exact point at which it was found is not known. It is inscribed to the Emperor Crispus, and is of the date A.D. 317–326; and the lettering rude. We gather from

[1] See Parker's *Forum Romanum*. "It was the intention of Augustus, when he erected this milestone (B.C. 28), to have had all the milestones on the carriage roads measured from this point, but the design was never carried out."

[2] The Itinera which begin or terminate at Londinium are seven in number, viz., iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix. This is sufficient to show the importance of the city in Roman times, although it does not seem to have been the capital city of Britain.

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it no name of a place or distance, but simply imperial titles. And this is the case with that found three miles from Cambridge, on the road to Huntingdon, which seems to be of the same date as that found at St. Hilary in Cornwall, some time between A.D. 308–337.

Another was found at Casterton, near Stamford. It is inscribed to M. ANNIO. FLORIANO. A.D. 276.

Worcestershire has yielded one, found at Kempsey, inscribed—

VAL. CONSTANTINO
P·FE. INVICTO. AVG.

And Herefordshire one, found at Kenchester, on the line of Roman road from Caer Leon to Chester, inscribed to the Emperor Numerianus (A. D. 282), and apparently ending with uncertain letters, which may probably be read "Bono rei-publicæ nato."

A "Miliary" with this inscription, found at Uriconium (Wroxeter), is preserved in the museum at Shrewsbury, and the fragment of another, which I made a sketch of in 1854, used to lie in the rectory garden. The letters remaining were apparently

CORN
NLLIAN

very badly formed, and evidently of a late period of the empire.

Two other fragments, one given by Professor Hübner (No. 1167), and another bearing the letters T. G., which used to be at Donnington, about two miles east from Wroxeter on the Roman road, called the Watling Street, leading to London, are probably also relics of "Miliaries."

Uriconium was the centre of five lines of Roman road, viz.:—The Watling Street coming from London; the Roman road coming from Gloster and Worcester up the Severn Valley; the Roman road from Caerleon through Kenchester, which passed on through Uriconium to Deva (Chester); and the Roman road which continued on into Wales to Caer Leon and beyond. Here, therefore, we might naturally expect to find some remains of Miliaries.

Buxton, celebrated like Bath for its mineral waters, and the Roman "Aquæ" of Ravennas, has not been so prolific in Roman remains as its rival "Aquæ Solis," but

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a Miliary of some importance was discovered in 1862 at Higher Buxton. This has been read by Mr. Thompson Watkin from a cast made of the stone, unhappily now lost, or not to be traced at present.[1] Drawings of the stone are given in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxiii, p. 49. The inscription is important, as fixing the site of another station mentioned by Ravennas, *Navio*. This was probably at Brough near Buxton.

Few of the Miliaries like this have the name of a station, or the distance marked; the lettering is either erased, or the portion of the stone wanting. Where the lettering is perfect the value of the stone in enabling the student to trace the lines of the itinerary, and identify the stations, is very great. The most perfect "Miliary" is that found near Leicester, and it is the earliest inscribed stone yet found. The inscription is as follows:—

IMP. CAES.
DIV. TRAIANI PARTH. F. DIV. NER·NEP.
TRAIAN. HADRIAN. AVG. P.P. TRIB.
POT. IV. COS. III. A. RATIS
II

The date is fixed by the imperial titles to A.D. 120-21, and the name of the nearest principal station, Ratæ or Leicester, is given. Another stone has been dug up also at Segshill, fifteen miles from Leicester (1855) on the line of the Foss Road, which is now in the Leicester Museum, but the only letters that can be traced are IMP (see *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxi, p. 353).

We might naturally expect to find Roman Miliaries more plentiful in Wales than in the south, west, east, or midland parts of Britain, because the Roman roads in that country pass over mountainous tracks, where stone is abundant, and the lines of Roman road have been in many places left untouched. Those, however, recorded by Prof. Hübner number only seven, and another given in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxi, p. 353, may be added to these, making eight in all. They are all of the third century, except one, which is of the fourth.

The earliest is that found near Ty Coch, parish of Bangor, and of the date of M. Aur. Antoninus, or between

[1] This stone is stated to have been in the possession of a bookseller in Buxton eight years ago.

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A.D. 211–217. The latest of the date of the Emperor Maximin, A.D. 308–313. These stones, therefore, embrace a period of nearly 100 years.

They are, however, valuable testimonies to the courses of the Roman roads in Wales, which have been very inadequately described, except by Sir R. C. Hoare, in his introduction to *Geraldus Cambrensis*. Horsley and Burton, in their maps of the Roman roads in Britain, only give the roads indicated in the Itinera of Antonine, and the latest published maps, as that of Roman Britain in the *Monumenta Historica*, and that in Professor Hübner's *I. B. L.*, only indicate some of the roads.

Five of the Itinera of Antonine relate to the Roman roads of Wales,[1] but these do not extend into the middle portion of the country, being confined to the eastern and the maritime parts, but Sir R. C. Hoare enumerated *seven* distinct lines of road, all of which are verified by Roman remains or by stations along their course.

Having just touched upon the Miliaries of Wales, I must pass on to those of the west and north of England. Following the lines of Roman road which passed from Chester through Lancashire into Westmoreland and Cumberland, we have only ten Miliaries recorded, nine by Professor Hübner, and one added since by Mr. T. Watkin. The earliest is of the date of Hadrian (A.D. 119-138), and was found in the bed of the Arkle beck,

[1] The Itinera relating to the Roman roads in Wales are the xi, part of ii, part of xii, part of xiii, and a small portion of No. xiv.

The Miliaries found in Wales are—

1 at Port Talbot, near Neath, Gordian, A.D. 308-313.

1 at Aberavon, A.D. 238-244.

1 at Pyle, near Neath. Victorinus, A.D. 267

2 at Trecastle, Postumus, unreadable, probably date, A.D. 258-268.

1 at Llandiniolen, Decius, A.D. 249-251.

1 at Dynevor, Caermarthenshire, Tacitus, A.D. 275-6.

1 at Ty Coch, Parish of Bangor, Carnarvonshire, Antoninus, A.D. 211-217.

Another stone, (although its purpose is not yet clearly ascertained), was found at Caermarthen, and has the letters BONO . R P. NATO. It is an altar shaped stone, and may have been a "Miliary." See *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxi, p. 344, and Hübner's *Additamenta*, No. 116, p. 139.

The Roman road over the Trecastle Mountain is not included in the Itinera of Antoninus. It is called by Sir R. C. Hoare, the Via Julia Montana, or Superior.

Antiquaries are much indebted to Mr. W. Rees, of Tonn Llandovery, for elucidating the Roman remains of this neighbourhood, and for giving a plan of the Roman camp, and the direction of the Roman roads on Trecastle Mountain. See *Archæologia Cambrensis*, new series, 1854, which says, "Near Trecastle two Roman roads branched off, one direct to Llandovery, and the other through Talsarn, in Llanddensant, towards Llangadoc, and the Garn Coch."

We have also the same conjunction of Roman roads at Luentinum or Loventium, Llandovery, where four Roman roads appear to meet. See *Archæologia Cambrensis*, April, 1873.

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near Caton, Lancaster. There is some doubt of the reading of the last line (see Hübner, No. 1175). Of the remainder, five belong to the date of the Emperor Philip, A.D. 244-248; two to Decius, A.D. 249-251; two to Constantine the Great, A.D. 306-337; and the one dug up in 1836 at Middleton, three or four miles from Kirkby Lonsdale, on the Roman road from Overborough to Borrow Bridge, on which the letters MP and numeral LIII only can be read. (See *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxi. p. 354.)

Taking the line of the military way which led from York to the Vallum of Hadrian, we have two Miliaries found at or near Aldborough, the ancient *Isurium*. The one is a mere fragment found at Alborough, but the one found at Duel Cross, three miles from it, has been clearly read—(see Hübner, No. 1180). It was erected in the time of Decius, and is of the usual kind, the date A.D. 249-251. Going further north another has been found at Greta Bridge, inscribed to Gallus and Volusianus, A.D. 251-253; and another at Spital on Stanmore, but the lettering has almost perished. These two are on the line of road which crosses the island obliquely between Cataric Bridge (Cataractonium) and Carlisle (Luguvallium), and seem to point out that this road was made somewhat later (two years) than the direct northern road from York. Thus at Lanchester and at Ford, on the direct north road, we have two more Miliaries of the date of the Emperor Gordian, A.D. 238-244, some years earlier than those on the cross road.

The military way which accompanied the Vallum of Hadrian has yielded at least six found along its course. The most important one is that which is inscribed to the Emperor Caracalla, and which is of the date A.D. 213. It is conjecturally restored by Hübner (No. 1186), but the ending seems a doubtful reading, as on the Miliaries found in Britain the name of the Legate never appears joined with that of the Emperor.

A Miliary found near Old Walker, and containing only a few letters, cannot be assigned to any emperor, and it is doubtful if it was found *per lineam valli*, but probably in the neighbourhood. The last stone mentioned in Hübner's collection (1191) appears to be of very doubtful

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reading, and has most certainly been tampered with and corrupted, if not a forgery.

It is much to be regretted that the Imperial Titles alone are to be gathered from most of these records, by which we can only fix the date of their erection; the names of places, and the distances which ought to appear on the lower portion of the column, are for the most part wanting.

The Miliary found near Leicester, and that lately found near Buxton, can alone be said to have preserved this important part of the lettering; all may have had originally the distance from some important station, as well as the date of their erection. But from the date of the erection we may probably infer the completion of the roads in Britain. None have been found as yet earlier than the time of Hadrian (A.D. 120), but from that time they occur consecutively to the date of Constantine the younger, so that road making went forward without intermission for more than 200 years. May we not hope that by calling attention to these memorials fresh information may be gleaned about the Roman roads in Britain.

List of Miliaries.

FOUND IN BRITAIN, EASTERN PORTION:

Cornwall, Kent, Hants, Cambridgeshire, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Worcestershire.

1 St. Hilary, Cornwall.
6 or 7 Bittern, near Southampton, Hants.
1 Southfleet, Kent.
1 Preserved in the Trin. Coll., Cambridge, formerly at Conington, not known where found.
2 *One* found between Cambridge and Huntingdon, the *other*, exact spot not known, but preserved at Cambridge.
1 Casterton, near Stamford.
1 Kempsey, Worcestershire.

13 or 14

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FOUND IN WALES:

Glamorganshire, Carmarthenshire, Carnarvonshire.

2 Port Talbot, near Neath, Glamorganshire.
1 Pyle, " "
2 Trecastle Hill, near Brecon, Caermarthenshire
1 Dynevor, Caermarthenshire.
1 Llandiolin, Caernarvonshire.
1 Bangor, Ty Coch "
—
8

MIDLAND:

Hereford, Salop, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire.

1 Kenchester, Herefordshire.
3 or 4 fragments, Wroxeter, Salop.
2 Near Hawkstone, "
2 Buxton, Derbyshire.
1 Thurmaston, near Leicester, Leicestershire.
1 Segs Hill " "
1 Ancaster, Lincolnshire.
—
11 or 12

WEST:

Lancashire, Cumberland.

1 Ribblechester, Lancashire.
1 Ribchester, Township of Ashton, Lancashire
1 South from Lancaster, Lancashire.
1 Castle Hill " "
1 Arkle Beck, near Caton "
1 At confluence of Loder and Eimote, Lancashire.
2 At Old Carlisle.
1 Hangingshaw, near Old Carlisle.
—
9

GREAT NORTH ROAD:

Yorkshire, Durham.

1 Duel Cross, three miles from Aldborough, Yorkshire.
1 Aldborough, Yorkshire.
1 Greta Bridge, Yorkshire
1 Spital on Stanemore, Yorkshire
1 Lanchester, Durham.
1 Ford, near Bishop Wearmouth, Durham.
—
6

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Line of Roman Wall:

Northumberland and Cumberland.

1 Old Walker, Northumberland.
1 Welton, near Harlow Hill, Northumberland.
1 Little Chesters, Northumberland.
1 Thirlwall. "
1 Lanercost. "
1 Old Wall, near Carlisle, Northumberland.
1 Boulness, doubtful, but probably authentic.

—
7

Total, 54 or 56 (2 being doubtful.)

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ON CERTAIN SEPULCHRAL EFFIGIES IN HEREFORD CATHEDRAL

By MATTHEW HOLBECHE BLOXAM.

Whilst none of the sepulchral effigies in Hereford Cathedral present distinct features of peculiar rarity or of great antiquity, for we do not find one earlier than the middle or latter half of the thirteenth century, they are sufficiently varied as to be of interest. The episcopal effigies, indeed, exhibit a series in which the change of fashion of the vestments in succeeding ages, from the thirteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century of the pre-reformation bishops, and the change which took place on the Reformation in the vestments or habits of the post-reformation bishops of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is very apparent. The effigies of deans of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, those of the one century differing from the other in fashion rather than in variety of the habits canonical or choral in which they are represented, are more numerous than we generally find in one Cathedral church. There is but one effigy of a priest, who probably may have held some subordinate office, attired simply in the sacerdotal vestments. There are four effigies in armour, one of some degree of rarity as to costume; four effigies of ladies, and three of civilians.

The number of effigies of pre-reformation bishops is eight, exclusive of a series of eight episcopal effigies sculptured by one and the same hand about the middle or late in the latter half of the fourteenth century, commemorative of bishops of a much earlier period, whose names are painted over them. Of the bishops of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, whose real effigies sculptured at or immediately after their death, viz.,

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Peter de Aquablanca and Thomas Charlton, we find they wore the short crisp beard, a fashion which prevailed till about the middle of the fourteenth century, after which period the chins of all ecclesiastics were close shaven, in accordance, I think, with some Canon or Provincial Constitution. This new fashion continued to the Reformation, after which the bishops of the Reformed Church of England wore first the spade-shaped and afterwards the flowing beard, a custom which continued to the middle of the seventeenth century.

Of bishops of the post-reformation period we have one busto and four effigies.

Of the effigies of deans, or at least of those of canonical rank, there are only two to whom names may possibly be assigned, viz., Dean Ledbury, who died A.D. 1324, and Dean Harvey, who died A.D. 1500.

Of pre-reformation Bishops.

The earliest episcopal effigy is that of Peter de Aquablanca, who died A.D. 1268.—In my description No. 32.

Bishop Thomas de Charlton, who died A.D. 1343. Of this effigy an engraving is given.—No. 35 in the description.

Bishop Lewis de Charlton, who died A.D. 1369.—No. 15 in the description.

Bishop Trevenant, who died A.D. 1403.—No. 5 in the description.

Bishop Stanbury, who died A.D. 1474. Of this effigy an engraving is given.—No. 19 in the description.

Bishop Mayo, who died A.D. 1516. Of this effigy an engraving is given.—No. 11 in the description.

Bishop Booth, who died A.D. 1535.—No. 37 in the description.

Bishops, unknown.—Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9, 27, 28, 29, 31, in the description.

Of post-reformation Bishops.

Bishop Westphaling, who died A.D. 1601.—No. 36 in the description.

Bishop Bennet, who died A.D. 1617.—No. 30 in the description.

Bishop Lindsell, who died A.D. 1634.—No. 13 in the description.

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Bishop Field, busto of, who died A.D. 1636.—No. 34 in the description.

Bishop Coke, who died A.D. 1646. Of this effigy an engraving is given.—No. 14 in the description.

Of pre-reformation Effigies of Deans.

Dean Ledbury, who died A.D. 1324.—No. 3 in the description.

Dean Harvey, who died A.D. 1500.—No. 12 in the description.

Dean unknown, hitherto ascribed to Dean Borew but a century earlier in date. Of this effigy an engraving is given.—No. 18 in the description.

Nos. 18, 21, 33, effigies of Deans unknown.

In Brown Willis's *Survey of the Cathedral*, published A.D. 1727, an ichnography or ground plan is given, defining the positions of the various monuments as they then existed. In the ground plan of this cathedral which appears in the new edition of the *Monasticon*, published A.D. 1846, only nineteen of the monuments are set down, and some of these appear to have been subsequently re-arranged. In the ground plan in Britton's *History* of this cathedral, published A.D. 1836, the sites of some thirty-five of the monuments are given.

In Dingley's *History from Marble*, compiled in the reign of Charles II, edited for the Camden Society by the late Mr. John Gough Nichols, a name to be had in remembrance, and printed in 1867 and 1868, several rude representations by the author from monuments in this cathedral, reproduced in fac-simile in photo-lithography, are given. These consist of the stone work or pedestal of the shrine of St. Thomas de Cantelupe, Bishop of Hereford from A.D. 1275 to A.D. 1282, who, according to Dingley, died at Civita Vecchia in Italy in 1282, and whose remains were translated to this cathedral. Of the monument in the Lady Chapel attributed to Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, a fact contested, as his remains were not interred in this cathedral. Of five of the effigies sculptured by the same artist in the latter half of the fourteenth century, commemorative of bishops of a much earlier period. Of the effigy of Bishop Bennett, who died A.D. 1617. Of

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Bishop Charlton, who died A.D. 1343. Of the monument and effigy wrongly ascribed to Dean Borew, and of Bishop Booth, who died A.D. 1535. Rude delineations are also given of some of the incised brass effigies, including those of some of the canons, who are portrayed in the canonical or choral habit, consisting of the surplice, amess or furred tippet and cope, but none of the sculptured effigies of deans now in the cathedral are represented wearing the cope.

The brasses in this cathedral were formerly very numerous, no less than 170 are said to have been taken away by the Parliamentarians in 1645, and soon after the fall of the west end in 1786 no less than two tons in weight were sold to a brazier. At present the number of brasses, including fragments, does not exceed fifteen; on these I have not dwelt.

In Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments* are engraved the representations of two of the sepulchral arches and effigies of bishops executed by the same hand in the latter half of the fourteenth century, commemorative of bishops of a much earlier period, and here assigned to Bishop Robert de Lotheringa, who died A.D. 1095, and to Bishop Reynelmus, who died A.D. 1115. Now both these bishops would have worn the moustache and short crisp beard, a fashion which fell into disuse about the middle of the fourteenth century. The effigies of bishops then sculptured appear all close shaven.

Of the pedimental canopy crocketted and finialed, and moulded arch beneath cinque-foiled within and cusped, over the effigy of Thomas Charlton, Bishop of Hereford, who died A.D. 1343.

Of the canopied high tomb and effigy of Lewis Charlton, Bishop of Hereford, who died A.D. 1369.

Of the tomb and effigy of Sir Richard Pembridge, who died A.D. 1375, depicted with pointed sollerets.

Of the monumental arch and effigy in the Lady Chapel with paintings on the back of the arch, wrongly ascribed to Dean Borew, being of a date at least a century earlier than his time.

In Briton's *Cathedral Antiquities* we have engraved the monument and effigy ascribed, but it is contended erroneously, to Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford.

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A portion of the monument of Bishop Lewis Charlton.

The monument of Bishop Mayo, and the stone work which supported the shrine of St. Thomas de Cantelupe.

In Murray's *Handbook to the Western Cathedrals* are engraved the stone work which supported the shrine of St. Thomas de Cantelupe, and the monument of Bishop Aquablanca.

I now proceed to give my notes of most, if not all, of the sculptured sepulchral effigies in the cathedral, and I have taken them in order, commencing with those in the south aisle of the nave, and going thence round the cathedral, rather than describing them in a more chronological arrangement.

1. Between two of the piers which separate the nave from the south aisle is the monument of Sir Richard Pembridge, who died A.D. 1375. This consists of a high tomb, constructed of alabaster and stone, the sides of which are covered with quatrefoils, inclosing shields, four on each side and two at each end. On this tomb is the recumbent effigy of the knight. This is of alabaster. A tilting helm and crest supports the head; the helm is wreathed above the ocularium with roses. A conical basinet, with a camail or tippet of chain-mail, covers the head and neck, excepting the front of the face, eyes, nose and mouth; the armpits are protected by gussetts of chain-mail, epaulieres, rerebraces, coudes, vambraces and gauntlets, all of plate, protect the shoulders, upper arms, elbows, the arms from thence to the wrist and hands, which latter are conjoined on the breast. Over the body armour or breast-plate is worn a close-fitting jupon of silk or linen, escalloped at the skirts and emblazoned with the same armorial bearings as are displayed round the sides of the tomb. Beneath the skirts of the jupon appears an apron of mail. A rich bawdrick or belt, horizontally disposed round the loins, is buckled in front; the sword is gone. Cuisses, genouilleres, jambs, and sollerets, the latter of overlapping laminæ, protect the thighs, knees, legs and feet. Below the knee of the left leg is a garter, buckled on the side. Rowel spurs are affixed to the heels by leathers, buckled on the insteps. At the feet is an animal, collared round the neck. The left leg and foot

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have been restored, but without a sufficient knowledge of detail, for the new solleret is sculptured *broad-toed*, a fashion which came not in before the close of the fifteenth century; it ought to have been *pointed*. This is an anachronism to be regretted.

This monument is said to have been originally in the church of the Blackfriars, and on the suppression to have been removed to the cathedral. Such removals of monuments from Conventual churches which were suppressed were not unusual.

In the ground-plan of the cathedral given by Britton, this monument is represented as placed against the south wall of the south aisle of the nave, but in Willis's earlier *Ichnography* it is set down in the place it now occupies. It may have been removed at the close of the last century, on the reparations effected at the west end of the cathedral, and subsequently restored to its original position.

2. In the south aisle of the nave, under an arch in the wall, cusped within and pedimentally canopied, of the fourteenth century, is the mutilated recumbent effigy, in stone, of an ecclesiastic. Of this, the head is gone. On this effigy the usual eucharistic vestments of a *priest* only appear, amice, alb, stole, and chesible, with the maniple hanging from the left arm. Over the shoulders and down the front of the chesible appear the orfreys of that vestment. The shoes or sandals are pointed.

As there are no indications of either tunic or dalmatic, this is simply the effigy of a priest; the drapery is well defined. Brown Willis, in his *Ichnography*, ix, sets this monument down as that of "a dean unknown." In this I differ from him; it is the effigy of a simple priest, of one, probably, who had some office of a subordinate nature to that of a dean or canon. Britton speaks of this as "a stone effigy, erroneously said to represent Bishop Athelstane."

3. Eastward of the last described monument, and beneath a well moulded sepulchral arch of the fourteenth century, in the south wall of the south aisle of the nave, is the recumbent effigy of an ecclesiastic of canonical

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rank. The head is partly defaced, but the *biretum* or close-fitting scull cap is worn, and the chin is close shaven. The person commemorated appears in the *toga talaris* or cassock with close-fitting sleeves, the ordinary dress of the clergy when not engaged in divine offices. Over this is worn the surplice with sleeves, and the *almacium*, amess, or furred tippet, with its pendant bands hanging down in front, whilst at the back of the head it appears like a standing cape. The head reposes on a square-shaped cushion, and the hands are conjoined on the breast. Brown Willis, in his *Ichnography* R, sets this down as the monument of Bishop Walter, who died A.D. 1079,[1] but there are no episcopal insignia whatever. It is that of a dean of the fourteenth century, and may be commemorative of Stephen de Ledbury, dean from 1320 to 1352, when he died.

"In the great south transept" saith Brown Willis, "is a very handsome raised tomb of Alexander Denton, of Hillesden, co. Bucks, Esq., and his lady, the effigies curiously wrought in white marble or alabaster, lying on the tomb in full proportion, round the verge of which is this inscription:—Here lieth Alexander Denton, of Hillesden, in the Countie of Buckingham, and Anne his wife, dowghter and heyr of Richard Willyson of Suggerwesh, in the Countie of Hereford, which Anne deceased the 29th of October, A.D. 1566, the 18th yere of her age, the 23rd of his age."

"But this (says Willis) was but a cænotaph, for Alexander Denton, the husband, who lived some years after and marry'd another lady, was bury'd with her at Hillesden, co. Bucks, where he died January the 18th, 1576."

Here we have an instance, of which the examples are numerous, of the sculpture of an effigy in the lifetime of the person of whom it was intended to be commemorative. For on this tomb is his recumbent effigy in armour, together with the effigy of his first wife.

He is represented bare headed, with a moustache and beard; his body armour consists of a globular shaped

[1] Walter became consecrated at Rome by the Pope A.D. 1060. He died A.D. 1079, and was buried in the cathedral, where in the south aisle, between the cloyster doors, is yet shewn the effigies of a bishop cut in freestone, lying in a tomb under an arch, said to be for him.—Brown Willis, *Bishops of Hereford*.

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breast-plate, with a skirt of taces overlapping upwards so as to prevent the thrust of a lance. To this skirt two tuilles are attached by straps; beneath is an apron of mail of rings set edgewise with a protuberance—common at this period—in front of the fork. The shoulders and arms are protected by pauldrons, epaulieres, rerebraces, coudes, and vambraces; the hands, bare and ruffed at the wrists, are partly gone. Cuisses, genouilleres, jambs, and round-toed sollerets, cover the thighs, knees, legs, and feet. On the right side of the body the gauntlets are represented lying; a sword is suspended on the same side from a belt crossing the waist; a short ruff encircles the neck, from which latter is suspended a double chain. Beneath the head is represented a tilting helm with mantling and crest, resembling not a real but a funeral helm, such as formed part of an heraldic achievement.

The effigy of the lady reposes on the left side of that of her husband. She is represented wearing a close fitting cap on the back of her head, disclosing her hair. Her body attire consists of a petticoat with close sleeves, ruffed at the wrists; pendant in front of this and reaching nearly to the feet is a round and flat pomander box. Over the petticoat is worn a gown or robe open in front with shoulder guards, and rising on each side of the neck like a stiff cape. At the back appears a mantle or cloak, but this is unattached. On the left of the lady is the small effigy of a child wrapped in swathing bands, an early instance of a Chrisom. Both effigies are of alabaster and painted.

5. On the south side of the south transept under a triple canopy, apparently of the fifteenth century, is the recumbent effigy of a bishop. The head is gone. The apparel of the amice is richly wrought. The other vestments consist of the alb, the stole, the ends of which appear, the tunic which is fringed at the extremities, the dalmatic which is plain and open at the sides, and the chesible. The maniple is rich and fringed at the extremities. The pastoral staff, which is veiled, is held in the left hand, and the feet rest against a lion.

This monument and effigy appears to be of local stone. Brown Willis ascribes this monument to John Trevenant

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Bishop of Hereford from A.D. 1389 to A.D. 1403. "In his will" says Willis, "he appointed to be buried in this cathedral in St. Anne's Chapel in the south part, where is yet to be seen his tomb, under the great south window in the cross isle, containing his effigies of freestone under a canopy."

I think this monument was not executed till some years after his death, as it appears of a later style to that prevalent in 1403, the date of his death, but there is no other bishop to whom I can assign it.

6. In the south aisle of the choir, under four sepulchral arches, marked by Brown Willis in his *Ichnography* v, w, y, x, are four recumbent effigies of bishops, evidently executed at the same period, and by the same sculptor. Recumbent effigies of ladies in the churches of Ledbury and Much Marcle, appear to have been sculptured by the same artistic hand A series of sculptured effigies, executed at one and the same period, are to be found in the churches of Aldworth, Berkshire, and Houghton le Street, county of Durham.

These effigies of bishops are of the fourteenth century, as are also the arches beneath which they are placed. It is to the builder of this portion of the cathedral, about the middle of that century, that we may ascribe the formation of these and other like recumbent effigies, which I shall point out, destined to be commemorative of some of the early Bishops of Hereford.

The westernmost of these effigies appears with the mitre on the head, the *face close shaven,* a practice introduced about the middle of the fourteenth century, up to which period we find the beard in both episcopal and sacerdotal effigies to be worn; the vestments consist of the alb, stole, tunic, and chesible. No dalmatic is visible, the maniple is plain. The right hand, which is gloved, is upheld in act of benediction; in the left hand, also gloved, the pastoral staff is held, the crook of which is foliated. This effigy is in high relief. There is no great finish, but breadth is displayed in the arrangement of the drapery.

7. The second effigy which lies eastward of the former is very similar.

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BISHOP MAYO.

8. The third effigy differs very slightly from the two former, the sleeves of the tunic or dalmatic are wide.

9. The fourth effigy exhibits a very slight deviation from the other effigies.

10. On the opposite side of the choir aisle, westward, beneath a sepulchral arch of the fourteenth century with the ball flower in a hollow moulding, is the recumbent sepulchral effigy of a bishop, executed in the fourteenth century, similar to and of the same class as the four effigies I have thus described, but with a low mitre. The representation of a church is held in the left hand. This may be considered as commemorative of Bishop Rainelm, who occupied the episcopal throne from A.D. 1101 to A.D. 1115. This bishop, as Willis informs us, built a good part of the cathedral now in being. This monument to his memory could not have been constructed till nearly two centuries and a half after his decease.

Above the sepulchral arch is some decorated woodwork of good character of the fourteenth century.

11. Eastward of the last, in the same line, under a rich canopy of late florid hanging tracery, and beneath a Norman arch, is a high tomb panelled in front in eight divisions, with a statuette in high relief, but more or less mutilated, in each panelled recess.

The first statuette is that of a bishop.

The second, that of St. Paul, with a book and sword.

The third, that of St. John the Baptist.

The fourth, that of the Blessed Virgin and Infant Christ.

The fifth, that of our Lord.

The sixth, that of St. Matthew, with a book and palm branch.

The seventh, that of St. Peter with a sword and the representation of a church.

On this tomb lies the recumbent effigy of Bishop Mayo, sometime President of Magdalen College, Oxford, who filled the episcopal see of Hereford from A.D. 1504 to A.D, 1516, and in the fashion of the vestments we may observe that change which appears to have taken place

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in the early part of the sixteenth century. His head reposes on a square cushion, his hair is clubbed in the fashion of the age, and he wears the *mitra pretiosa* with the *infulæ* depending behind, and the face is close shaven. He is represented as vested in the amice, the apparels of which are richly worked, in the alb, tunic, dalmatic and chesible; the extremities of the stole are not visible, the maniple is richly ornamented and fringed, and depends from the left arm. The sandals are *round toed* in accordance with the fashion which prevailed in the early part of the sixteenth century, and which continued for a considerable time. The pastoral staff, which is veiled, is on the left side, and the crook is richly worked. The sleeves of the tunic (?) are wide, the episcopal gloves are covered with rings, and jewels at the back, and the wrists have *pendant tassels*, the latter a fashion of the age. At the east end of this monument is a bracket for an image.

12. Against the south wall of the eastern south transept is a high tomb with quatrefoils in front inclosing shields. On this reposes the recumbent effigy of a dean. On his head the biretum or close fitting scull cap is worn, and it reposes on a double cushion, square and lozenge shaped, supported by mutilated figures of angels. The apparel consists of the *toga talaris* or cassock, the *almucium*, amess or furred tippet with pendant bands, and the surplice with large hanging sleeves. On the breast is a large morse. This effigy, which is of alabaster, is in high relief but much mutilated.

This monument is assigned by Willis to Joan Harvey, Dean of Hereford from A.D. 1491 to A.D. 1500, and there is nothing about the tomb or effigy irreconcilable with that date.

13. To the east of the last tomb is the recumbent effigy of a bishop clad in the episcopal habit of the Reformed Church of England. On the head is worn the square cap, the face is represented with the moustache and beard. He wears the rochet and chimere with the tippet over, the rochet is plaited in front with a worked border, and

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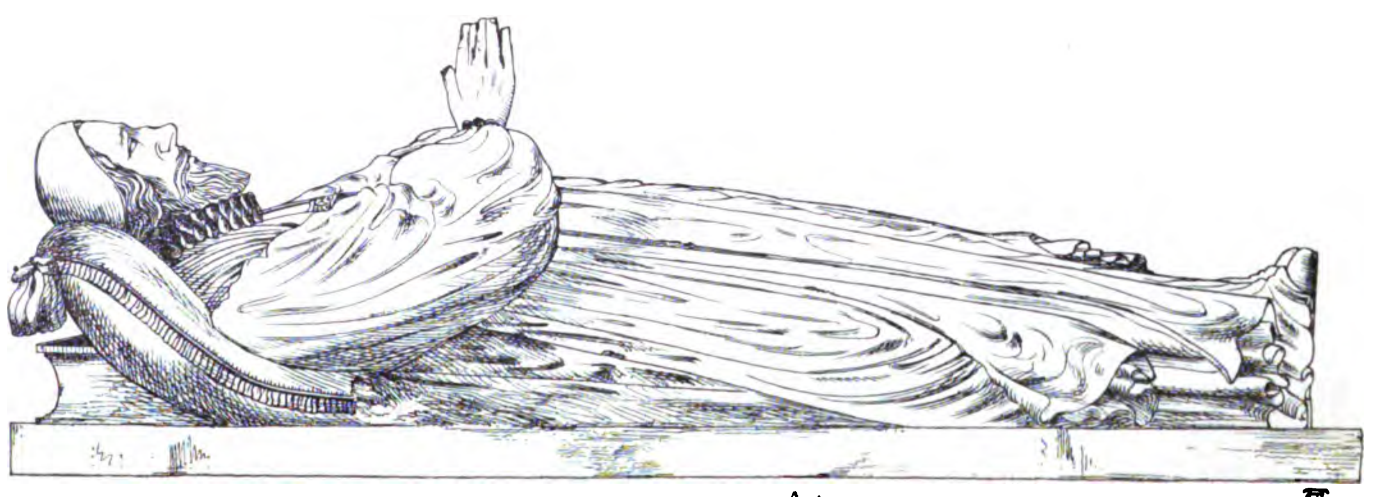

BISHOP COKE

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the lawn sleeves are very full, the lappets of the breast of the chimere are thrown back.

This is the effigy of Augustin Lindsell, Bishop of Hereford from A.D. 1633 to A.D. 1634.

14. Against the north wall of the south eastern transept is another recumbent effigy of a bishop of the Reformed Church of England. On his head he wears the close fitting scull cap, he has a moustache and beard, with flowing locks of hair, and round his neck is a ruff. He is vested in the rochet with lawn sleeves edged with a worked border in front of the breast and reaching to the feet, over the rochet is worn the black chimere, and over that the tippet. At the wrists are ruffs, and the hands are upheld vertically and conjoined as in prayer.

This is the effigy of George Coke, Bishop of Hereford from A.D. 1636 to A.D. 1646.

15 Westward of the foregoing, lies the mutilated effigy of a bishop. The head is gone. He is represented as vested in the amice ornamented with the parures or apparels, alb, stole, the fringed extremities of which appear, tunic, dalmatic fringed at the borders, and chesible. The maniple is suspended over the left arm, and the feet rest against a lion. The pendant bands, lappets or infulæ of the mitre appear, and are fringed at the extremities.

This effigy is attributed to Lewis de Charleton, Bishop of Hereford from A.D. 1361 to A.D. 1369.

16. On the north side of the Lady Chapel, near the east end, under a plain pointed, but moulded sepulchral, arch of the fourteenth century, is the recumbent effigy of a lady. She is represented in a veiled head-dress, with a wimple over the chin. She is habited in a close-fitting gown, open at the sides. The sleeves of the inner vest appear close-fitting and buttoned. The hands are bare and conjoined on the breast as in prayer, and the feet rest against a dog. Above the head of the effigy is an ogee-shaped canopy crocketted and finialed, and foliated within.

This effigy appears to rest on a stone coffin, and has

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been attributed to Joanna de Bohun, Countess of Hereford, who died A.D. 1327.

17. On the north side of the Lady Chapel, westward of the last effigy, is a high tomb surmounted with a rich canopy. This tomb is panelled in front in seven divisions. On it lies the recumbent effigy of a knight. On his head is worn a conical basinet, attached to which is a camail of mail of rings set edgewise. At the armpits are gussetts of mail. Epaulieres of one plate each, brassarts, coudes, and vambraces, protect the shoulders, upper arms, elbows, and lower arms. Gauntlets cover the hands. The cyclas, which preceded the jupon, covers the body armour, coming down lower behind than in front, with fringed skirts, open at the sides; beneath this appears the gambeson and a skirt of mail; genouilleres, jambs, and sollerets protect the knees, legs, and feet. Round the loins is a rich bawdrick or belt, from which depends a chain to which a dagger is fastened. A cross hilted sword is on the left side. The hands are conjoined on the breast as in prayer. At the feet is a dog.

This is one of those scarce monumental effigies showing the cyclas, a linen or silken close-fitting habit worn over the armour, and which succeeded the surcoat, and was, in some instances, worn in the reign of Edward III. The monument of tabernacle work, within which the effigy is placed, is very rich and chaste; it is divided horizontally into two divisions, and appears in design and workmanship to be very considerably later than the effigy placed beneath it. In the upper portion are statuettes representing the Saviour and Blessed Virgin, these are well executed. It is possible that this tabernacle work may have been designed for the Easter Sepulchre, and afterwards converted into a monument.

18. In the Lady Chapel, on the south side, near the west end, beneath a sepulchral arch of the fourteenth century, is the effigy of a dean. He wears on his head a cap, and on his face is the moustache and beard, an early fashion which prevailed not later than the middle of the fourteenth century. He is attired in a cassock, with close sleeves, a surplice and tippet. This monument has

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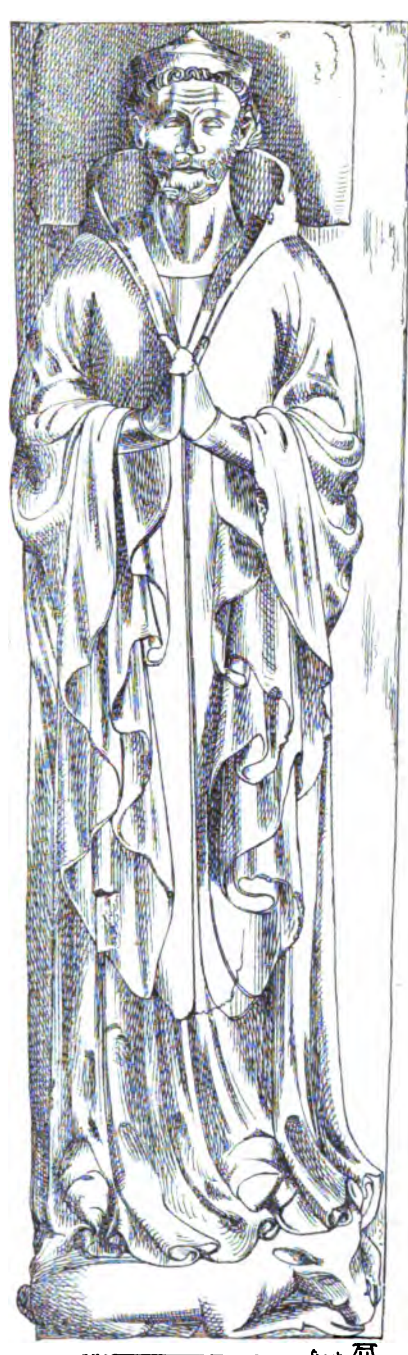

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EFFIGY OF A DEAN IN THE LADY CHAPEL

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BISHOP STANBURY.

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been very generally ascribed to Dean Berew, who died in 1462, but both the sepulchral arch and effigy are of earlier date by a century than that of his death. It is the effigy of a dean who lived about the middle or early half of the fourteenth century, as is evident, not only from the fashion of the vestments or choral habit, but also from the moustache and beard worn over the upper lip and on the chin.

19. On the north side of the choir, at the east end, on a high tomb with statuettes on the side in front, is the effigy of a bishop, sculptured in alabaster. He is represented wearing the *mitra pretiosa*, and with the face close shaven. Beneath the alb the skirts of the cassock, *toga talaris*, are visible; the alb exhibits the parures or apparels in front of the skirt. Over the alb appear the extremities of the stole; above this is worn the dalmatic, for no tunic is apparent. The chesible over the dalmatic is richly worked with orfreys in the front and at the sides or borders. About the neck is worn the amice, and gloves are worn on the hands. The pastoral staff, veiled, is on the left side, but the crook is gone. At the feet is a lion. This effigy is mutilated, and I should consider it to be of the latter half of the fifteenth century. It has been attributed, and I think fairly so, to Bishop Stanbury, who died A.D. 1474.

20. In the north-east transept near the south-east corner is the effigy of a knight, apparently of the latter part of the thirteenth or early part of the fourteenth century. This is too much mutilated for the details of the armour to be made out. It is not set down in the *Ichnography* of Brown Willis, and has seemingly been removed from some other place, but it appears to be one of which Dingley made a slight sketch.

21. In the north-east transept, on the north side, on a high tomb, apparently of the fifteenth century, is the mutilated effigy of a dean. He is represented as wearing the cassock, over which is the short surplice with sleeves, and over this is the almucium, aumasse or furred tippet. The head is gone. This may be the effigy of Dean Berew, who died A.D. 1462.

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22. Westward of the last effigy is that of a layman, of which the head is gone. He is represented as simply habited in a tunic with close fitting sleeves and hood, *tunica talaris cum capucio.* This is of the fourteenth century.

In the north-east transept, lying on the floor side by side, are four effigies, evidently removed hither from other positions, as they are not laid down by Browne Willis. They are as follows :—

23. Effigy of a layman in a tunic and hood. This is of the fourteenth century.

24. Effigy of a lady in a wimple and veil and a gown with close fitting sleeves. This effigy is much mutilated. It is of the fourteenth century.

25. Effigy of a lady in a veiled head-dress. This effigy is much abraised and the face is gone. It is of the fourteenth century.

26. This is a fine effigy of a layman of the fourteenth century. He is represented bare-headed, in a tunic with close fitting sleeves and hood. The arrangement of the drapery is good.

27. In the north aisle of the choir, under an arch in the north wall, is the recumbent effigy of a bishop, one of the series executed by the same hand in the fourteenth century.

28. On the other side in a sepulchral chapel is the like effigy of a bishop, one of the series.

29. Westward of the last, in the north wall of the north aisle of the choir is the effigy of a bishop, one of the series.

30. Beneath a Norman arch, on the south side of the north aisle of the choir, is the recumbent effigy of a bishop, arrayed in the vestments worn by bishops of the Reformed Church of England. On his head is worn the

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close-fitting scull cap. Over the upper lip the moustache is worn, and the chin is bearded. Round the neck is a ruff. He is represented as vested in the rochet, chimere and tippet. The hands are gone, and the head reposes on a cushion.

This effigy is of alabaster, and represents Robert Bennet, Bishop of Hereford from A.D. 1602 to A.D. 1617.

31. In the north wall of the north aisle is the effigy of a bishop, one of those of the series executed by the same hand in the fourteenth century.

32. Under a canopy of the thirteenth century, on the north side of the north aisle of the choir, and beneath an arch partly separating that aisle from the north transept, west, is the recumbent effigy of a bishop of the thirteenth century. His face exhibits both the moustache and beard. He is vested in the alb, stole, tunic, dalmatic and chesible, with the maniple. Gloves cover the hands, and the feet rest against a canopy.

This is the monument of Peter de Aquablanca, Bishop of Hereford from A.D. 1240 to A.D. 1268.

This is, I think, the most ancient of the episcopal effigies in the cathedral. The canopy, beneath which it is placed, is of chaste Early English design, exhibiting, at the sides, three acute pointed arches, with tracery in the heads, supported by slender shafts, with pedimental canopies over the arches.

33. In the north-west transept, on the floor, is the effigy of a dean or canon. This is sculptured in relief, and is apparently of the fourteenth century. The person commemorated is represented in the *toga talaris* or cassock with close fitting sleeves, and vested in the canonical or choral habit, the surplice and tippet, with a large lozenge shaped morse on the breast. The head of this effigy is gone. This may, I think, be commemorative of John de Aquablanca, Dean of Hereford from A.D. 1278 to A.D. 1320.

34. Against the east wall of the north-west transept is the busto, sculptured in marble, of a bishop of the

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Reformed Church of England. His head is covered with a close fitting skull cap, he wears a moustache and beard, a ruff encircles the neck, and he is vested in the rochet and chimere. In his left hand a book is held. This is commemorative of Theophilus Field, Bishop of Hereford from December 1635 to June 1636.

35. Under a richly decorated pedimental canopy in the north wall of the north-west transept is the effigy, recumbent, of a bishop of the fourteenth century. He is represented mitred, and wearing a short crisp beard. He is vested in the amice, alb, stole, tunic, dalmatic and chesible, with the maniple. The pastoral staff, which is veiled, is on the left side. This is the monument of Thomas Charlton, Bishop of Hereford from A.D. 1327 to A.D. 1343.

36. Against the north wall of the north-west transept, westward of the monument of Bishop Thomas Charlton, is the reclining effigy of a bishop of the Reformed Church of England. He is represented with the moustache and beard, the latter long and flowing. On his head is worn the scull cap, round the neck is a ruff. He is vested in the rochet and chimere, over which is worn the tippet; the drapery of the rochet or cassock at the skirts is gathered up and held by the left hand. The right hand supports the head, the body reclines on the right side. The folds of the cassock, rochet, and chimere are very numerous, but the arrangement is not good, and the execution of the effigy, which is of stone, is indifferent. This effigy is commemorative of Herbert Westphaling, Bishop of Hereford from A.D. 1585 to A.D. 1601.

37. In the north wall of the north aisle of the nave, under an ogee arch of late fifteenth or early sixteenth century work, which arch is crocketted and finialed on the exterior and cusped within, is a high tomb. This tomb is divided on the front into six square quatrefoiled compartments, each containing a shield with armorial bearings. On this is the recumbent effigy of a bishop of the early half of the sixteenth century. He is represented as vested with the *mitra pretiosa* with pendent

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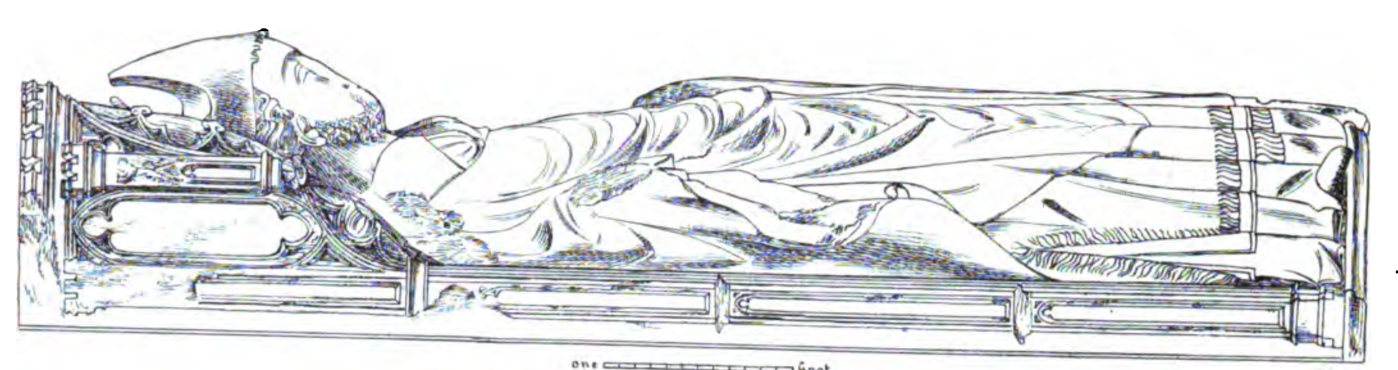

BISHOP CHARLTON.

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infulæ or fillets. He wears the cassock, *toga talaris*, and is vested in the amice, alb with its parures or apparels, stole, fringed tunic, fringed dalmatic and chesible with orfreys in front. Broad-toed sandals appear on the feet; the hands are gloved and conjoined on the breast; the pastoral staff is veiled and appears on the right side, an unusual but still occasional position. The crook and ferule are gone. The head reposes on a double cushion, and on the right side is a feathered angel. This tomb is commemorative of Charles Booth, Bishop of Hereford from A.D. 1516 to A.D. 1535. By his will he appointed his body to be buried in the vestments in which he was consecrated.

38. Perhaps the most interesting feature in the cathedral of a monumental description is the stone work erection pertaining to the Shrine of St. Thomas de Cantelupe, in the eastern part of the north west transept. The design is a rich specimen of Decorated work of the fourteenth century, and consists of a high tomb arcaded along each side in six divisions by cinquefoiled pointed arches, each containing the statuette of a knight in a hooded hawberk of mail with a sleeveless surcoat over, heater shaped shield and sword. At the west end are two similar divisions. The spandrels of the arches are covered with sculptured foliage. Above this, forming as it were an upper story in the design, is an open arcade of six pointed arches trefoiled within, and the spandrels enriched with sculptured foliage. The slab which covers the upper portion of this work is flat. On it probably was placed the wooden feretrum chest or shrine which contained the actual remains of the canonized Bishop.

Of the stonework of the shrines, or the remains of such, still existing in our churches, we have that of St. Dunstan in Canterbury Cathedral, with its coped lid or cover, which has been erroneously, I think, ascribed as the monument of Archbishop Theobald, but which, probably, still contains the remains of St. Dunstan, this work is of the twelfth century. The low coped coffin stone of St. William in Rochester Cathedral, also of the twelfth century. The shrine of St. Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey, raised in two stages, like the one

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at Hereford, of the thirteenth century. The shrine at Hereford of the fourteenth century. That in St. Alban's Cathedral of St. Amphibalus, lately restored as far as was practicable from the fragments recently discovered. Fragments of the stonework of the shrine of St. Werburg in Chester Cathedral, and of St. Winifred in Shrewsbury Church, are still existing.

In conclusion I must acknowledge that I am altogether indebted to my friend Mr. Albert Hartshorne, the present worthy Secretary of the Royal Archæological Institute, for the several illustrations which accompany this paper. His intimate knowledge of ecclesiastical, military, and civil costume will sufficiently vouch for their accuracy.

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MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY OF HEREFORDSHIRE.

BY THE REV. CHARLES J. ROBINSON.

If the history of Herefordshire yet remains unwritten it is not from lack of materials. For the last two centuries collectors have been busy amassing stores of information for the coming historian, who, perhaps, is on that very account, reluctant to undertake so vast an enterprise. At any rate something seems to keep him back, and generation after generation passes away without even the completion of that work which Mr. Duncumb began more than seventy years ago. It is customary to depreciate his labours, and to point, as one may very readily do, to the many inaccuracies which disfigure the pages of his history. But none except those who have tried their hands upon the subject know how difficult it is to secure anything like exemption from error in tracing the descent of lands or families, and how prone the mind is, when wearied with a fruitless search, to accept with unquestioning gratitude the first plausible suggestion that is made to it. To be a good historian of a county, a man should possess a variety of qualifications. Vigorous health, studious habits, untiring patience, and a facile pen, should be his; but above all things, he should have a full purse and a vein of stubborn though unobtrusive scepticism. He will find abundant scope for the exercise of this last qualification when he enters upon the field of genealogical research, and if he retires from that field without having given offence by having uprooted or denuded of its topmost branches many a "family tree," he may consider himself a fortunate man.

But the special subject which I have to consider at the present time is not the county historian, who I fear is not immediately forthcoming, but the materials for the history, which, as I have said, exist in unusual abundance. First among these in chronological order must be mentioned the documents in the custody of the Dean and Chapter of Hereford. They have, indeed, been so jealously guarded that we are without any very definite idea as to their character, and as to the period of time to which they belong, but I have reason to believe that many of them relate to the possessions of the Church before the Norman Conquest, and that in the muniment chests will be found numerous charters and deeds of an early date brought from Gloucester at the dissolution of Religious houses. I cannot but express my earnest wish that the custodians of these most interesting and valuable records would see fit to follow the good example set them on every side, and without loss of time have them duly arranged and calendared and then thrown open to the archæologist. With their aid the historian might be enabled to fill up many a gap which now exists in the parochial and ecclesiastical annals of the diocese, and without their

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aid it would be simply impossible to treat in an adequate manner the history of the county. As an illustration of the value of these Chapter Records I will briefly mention the contents of Charter No. 585, a copy of which exists in Mr. Robert Phillipps' Collection of MSS. It is of comparatively recent date, viz., the thirteenth year of Edward IV, *i.e.*, 1473-4, and relates to the foundation of a Chantry in Clehonger Church. The founder was Sir John Barre, the last of an an ancient Herefordshire family, whose name is perpetuated in the designation of the Great Western Railway terminus, which occupies the site of his mansion in Hereford. The deed of foundation recites not merely the estates with which the Chantry was endowed, but it also enumerates in a most distinct manner all the founder's immediate relatives, specifying in each case the exact degree of kinship. It is obvious that such a deed as this (which I believe may be taken as a fair sample of the contents of the Chapter chests) is of the utmost value both to the local historian and to the genealogist.

Of equal, if not of greater, importance, are the Episcopal Registers, which commence with the episcopate of Bishop Canteiupe in the year 1275, and have been continued with brief intermissions from that date until the present time. It is unnecessary to specify the contents of these Registers, as they are well known, and, through the courtesy and liberality of their custodian, well used. It may be added that in conjunction with them should be consulted the Registers of the Archbishopric of Canterbury (abstracts of which are in the British Museum Library), as during the vacancy of the See of Hereford appointments are made by the Metropolitan, and particulars enrolled in his archives. That portion of the Domesday Survey which relates to Herefordshire has been reproduced in fac-simile, and forms a very interesting record of the county at the date of the Conquest. I would again suggest to the local antiquary that his time would be well employed in identifying the places mentioned in the Survey, some of which either from alterations in spelling, or from the present insignificance of the places themselves, are very difficult to recognise. A map showing the boundaries of the various lordships would be serviceable, and would prove not only how extensive were the possessions of the Church, but also how invaluable must be the records, which relate to so large a section of the county.

Next in order come the Chartularies of Monastic Foundations Those relating to Herefordshire which are to be found in public libraries are neither numerous nor very ancient. So far as I know they include only the Chartulary of Aconbury Priory (printed in the eighth report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records); a few relating to foundations in the city of Hereford, several relating to Leominster, one to Wigmore and the Mortimer family, and one of considerable importance to Wormesley. This last deserves to be copied, as it is rich in topographical and genealogical information, and would afford many unknown particulars about the Talbot family and the extensive parish of Dilwyn.

It is scarcely necessary to mention such obvious materials as are afforded by the Records of Knights' Fees, the Plea Rolls, the Close and Patent Rolls, and the Eschaetors' accounts. All these records are of acknowledged value to the historian, and have now been made entirely accessible to the student, who needs only the knowledge

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which practice alone can give to decipher their contents and grasp their meaning. I must admit that this knowledge is not readily gained, and that a county historian ought to have a more thorough acquaintance with the legal value of these documents than is possessed by a cursory enquirer. But the genuine antiquary is not baffled by difficulties which require only patience and labour to overcome. The experience of a Surtees, an Ormerod, or a Hunter is tolerably well expressed by the verse of the Roman poet—

Multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit,

the last two words having a decided reference to the heated atmosphere of the Museum Library and the chilling draughts of the Record Office.

Next in order we may take the Inquisitiones post mortem, which extend from the reign of the first Edward to that of the first Charles. They tell us—not always with perfect truth—what lands were held by the deceased at the date of his death and upon what tenure; who was the next heir, how related to the deceased, and of what age the said heir then was. It would not be a very gigantic undertaking tc collect into a volume all the Inquisitions relating to Herefordshire, and if this volume were provided with a twofold index—one of names of persons and the other of names of places—it would form one of the most valuable books of reference which the county could possess.

The records of Fines (which begin as early as the reign of Richard I) and of Recoveries (which date from the year 1472) are of similar importance. To borrow the words of Mr. Sims, "the value of these records will be readily acknowledged, when it is considered that they prove marriages and the issue of these marriages, at a time when there were no parochial registers, and that even now they can supply the place of lost or defective parish books."

More popular, but less trustworthy, sources of information as to the descent of family, and in some degree of property also, are the Heralds' Visitations, which in the case of Herefordshire were made upon four occasions, viz., in the years 1569, 1586, 1634, and 1683. The statements contained in them must be accepted with considerable caution. We may, of course, presume that the heads of families who furnished information to the Heralds were themselves acquainted with, at least, the names of their fathers, mothers, and grandparents; and we may, therefore, place a general reliance upon so much of the pedigrees. But with regard to the earlier generations, it would be very unwise to believe all that was written. The Herald, when he made his Visitation, was often received at great houses as an honoured guest. If he fared well, and obtained easy payment of his fees, he would not be disposed to criticise, or regard with suspicion, the statements of his host, who (perhaps with no intention to deceive), repeated the traditions of family antiquity. In some cases, no doubt, the contents of the muniment chest were examined, and the pedigree proved, point by point; but all Heralds were not so careful or conscientious (nor, we might add, so skilful) as Camden, and Glover, and Segar in these particulars. My own experience amounts to this. The pedigrees entered at the Visitations almost invariably rest upon a basis of truth; whether the superstructure is substantial or the reverse, is a question quite as easily settled now as it could have been two or three centuries ago. Our public records have been made so

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accessible that we can get at the best authorities with the utmost readiness; by the evidence which they supply the authenticity of a pedigree must in most cases be tried.

We tread upon more solid ground when we come to Wills, Marriage Licences, and Parish Registers. The copied wills in the Diocesan Registry date from the year 1664, and are, of course, in very good condition; but the earlier and uncalendared wills and inventories, extending back, at least, another century, are in a disgraceful state, and are not accessible under any restriction, even to the historical student. What is wanted here is a grant of money, —£100 would probably be sufficient—to defray the expenses of sorting and calendaring these documents. There could then be no reason for refusing access to them, under such restrictions as the circumstances might justify, and we might venture to hope that they would be suffered to remain in their present depository. Every effort should be made to resist that spirit of over centralization which abstracts from the county the records specially belonging to it.

The Marriage Allegations for the last two centuries have been carefully kept in well-indexed volumes. These, through the courtesy of their present custodian, may be always consulted by those whose object is something more than the gratification of idle curiosity.

With regard to the Parish Registers of the county not much need be said. A few of the town parishes, viz., Leominster, Ledbury Bromyard, and St. Peter's, Hereford, can show well-kept books which date from the reign of Elizabeth. At Ross and Kington the earlier volumes have been lost, and in the country parishes (with such notable exceptions as Dilwyn, Bosbury, Much Marcle, Much Dewchurch and Bishop's Frome) we rarely meet with any records which go back more than two centuries. The transcripts in the Episcopal Registry are of very little use inasmuch as they are arranged not according to parishes but according to years, and although nominally dating from 1663, are extremely imperfect and much injured by exposure to damp.

Of MSS. Collections relating to the county, the most important are those of Silas Taylor, Blount, and the late Mr. Robert Biddulph Phillipps.

Silas Taylor was an officer in the Parliamentarian army, imbued with much the same antiquarian spirit as animated Richard Symonds, who followed the royal standard and made his church notes as he marched. Taylor was more of an antiquary than Symonds, and had also far greater opportunities for obtaining information, as he had access to the Cathedral Library and Archives (many of which he never restored), and to the rentals and other documents which were submitted to him while engaged in sequestering the Royalist estates in the county. His copious materials now form part of the Harleian Collection of MSS. in the British Museum (6726, &c.), and it may be worth mentioning that Taylor was a personal friend and frequent correspondent of Sir Robert Harley, himself no mean antiquary.

Thomas Blount of Orleton is better known as a legal writer than as a county historian, but his claim to the latter title rests upon a solid foundation. He compiled a very valuable history of all the parishes of Herefordshire, partly from the Public Records (with which he was well acquainted) and partly from personal observation. He was on intimate terms with Sir William Dugdale and Anthony à Wood, and

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was not inferior to the latter in his habits of patient research. Unfortunately for us only the second volume of his MS. history has survived; the first (and probably the most important) volume was lent to Sir Robert Cornewall, and, if it be still in existence, cannot now be traced. Copies of the surviving volume (which begins with the parish of Laysters) are to be found in the Library of Mr. Clive at Whitfield and also among Mr. Phillipps' Collections at Belmont, and I need scarcely add that I have freely availed myself of its valuable contents in my notes upon the *Castles and Manor Houses of the County*.

Almost contemporary with Blount was Thomas Dingley, who resided for some years at Dilwyn, and preserved in his *History from Marble* many monumental inscriptions and ecclesiastical features which have since been swept away by that zeal for "Church Restoration," which has dealt ruthlessly with many an ancient edifice in Herefordshire.

Lord Coningsby's *History of the Manor of Marden* was compiled by Anstis, the Herald, and contains a good deal of valuable matter interspersed with not a little personal abuse which his lordship supplied. The book has become very rare, and I am not aware that there are any other copies of it in the county except those at Hampton Court, Belmont and Moreton. Far more important and extensive than any of the preceding collections are those made by the late Mr. Robert Biddulph Phillipps, and now deposited at Belmont Monastery, within an easy distance of the city of Hereford. Mr. Phillipps intended to have completed Mr. Duncumb's history, and certainly possessed many qualifications for the task. His position and influence secured for him the co-operation of most of the landowners in the county; he was allowed to inspect their title deeds and obtain information about their families and the descent of their properties which would not have been vouchsafed to a stranger. And his ample means enabled him to purchase from time to time books and MSS. relating to Herefordshire and to expend upon transcripts of wills, pedigrees, and parish registers, an amount of money which few individuals have at their command In his library will be found the valuable notes made by Richard Walwyn in the last century, the MSS. of Hill, Brome and others, a copy of the Visitation of the County in 1634 and copious extracts from that made in 1683, some of the late Mr. Duncumb's collections, and a voluminous correspondence relating to nearly every part of Herefordshire, from which much information may be derived. While we cannot but regret that Mr. Phillipps should have left his project unachieved, we may be grateful that his collections have fallen into the hands of custodians whose care for them is only surpassed by the courtesy displayed towards those students who desire to consult them.

I must not quit my subject without noticing the additions made to Duncumb's *History*, by Mr. William Henry Cooke, a County Court Judge whose duties leave him scanty leisure for other work; were it otherwise, we might hope that in him we might find the long-looked-for Historian of the county, and that the present generation would see the adequate achievement of what has been so often begun and so soon abandoned. But the slow progress made by Mr. Cooke forbids us to indulge in any such hopes; it is scarcely probable that his pen will move faster in the future than it has done in the past, or that, unless his term of life be unusually prolonged, he will be

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able to accomplish more than the completion of the *History of Greytree Hundred.* Possibly his efforts might be stimulated by the knowledge that others were working in the same field as himself, and I trust that one result of the Meeting of the Institute at Hereford may be to supply that stimulus.

These are days when most enterprises are conducted upon joint-stock principles, with limited liability. Cannot those principles be extended to the compilation of a County History? The man who might naturally shrink from undertaking so vast a work as a History of Herefordshire might volunteer to write that of the parish or hundred within which he lives, and now that distances are so much abridged, it is not necessary that the general editor should be resident within the limits of the shire. Surely by extending the area of search the right man for the post might readily be found.

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NOTES ON THE DATES OF THE PAINTINGS IN THE ROMAN CATACOMBS.

By J. H. PARKER, C.B.

Dr. Spencer Northcote has been publishing in the Roman Catholic Magazine called *The Month* an attack on the volume of my great work on the "Archæology of Rome," which relates to the catacombs. The Pagan tombs on the sides of the great roads assist very much in the proper understanding of these subterranean tombs connected with the subterranean sandpits and sandpit roads, and my two volumes on the "Tombs" and the "Catacombs" are closely connected together. My object was an archæological one only, and by the history of art, to ascertain the dates of the *paintings* in the catacombs Dr. Northcote appeals to the *inscriptions* as proofs that they were used as burial places in the second and third centuries, which I have never doubted. I have always said that the inscriptions are of the time of the interments, but *the paintings are not.* Dr. Northcote follows the example of the Roman Catholic writers in general, in *assuming*, as a thing that nobody thinks of doubting, the really important and doubtful question—*the age of the wall paintings* in the catacombs. In his popular abridgment of the great work of De Rossi on this subject the title of *Roma Subterranea* is calculated to mislead and does practically mislead many persons. Nearly all the visitors to Rome expect to find the catacombs under Rome itself instead of two or three miles off. The three thick quarto volumes of De Rossi all relate to *one* catacomb, that of St. Calixtus, in which the bishops of Rome were buried, and which was therefore more likely to have been *exclusively* Christian than any of the forty (?) catacombs, and yet even in this there is a Pagan tomb at the entrance and a flight of steps from it down into the catacomb, which seems to have been an original entrance; and in that of Prætextatus, where also an entrance is through a Pagan tomb. There is no improbability in the same family having made a tomb and a catacomb connected with it before they became Christians.

The history of art has not always been connected with religious disputes, and the history of painting has never been my study, but the question of the dates of these paintings has interested me from the first season that I was in Rome, when I used to go every Monday morning into one of the catacombs with my friend Mr. Long, who took the opposite view, as he always had faith in the Roman Catholic view on the subject. I kept my book back until I found that my views as to the dates of the paintings were confirmed by so very competent a judge as Mr. Gambier Parry, and then I cancelled all the leaves in which I had accused De Rossi of making the restorations, on information given to me originally by a Roman Catholic priest, who was a good antiquary on ecclesiastical subjects. When De Rossi distinctly contradicted what he had told me, I cancelled the leaves, but

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I believe one has escaped me, which I regret. I do not wish to say a word against De Rossi, from whom I have received much kindness.

Dr. Northcote finds great fault with the dates that I have given for these subterranean cemeteries, but he omits to say that these dates are those of Anastasius; they are no conjectures of mine. All I have done is to add the *anno domini* to the names of the popes whom Anastasius says *made* them or restored them. I never voluntarily touch on theological questions, but I have been an archæologist from my youth, and as such necessarily a searcher after *truth* on all points.

Dr. Northcote asserts and assumes that the greater part of these paintings belong to the first three centuries of the Christian era, in the time of persecution. De Rossi himself is careful never to say so, because he knows perfectly well that *three fourths of them* are of the eighth or ninth century, about the time that Charlemagne was in Rome, when so many of these tombs were restored by the popes. The dates which De Rossi has given, and Dr. Northcote quotes and misapplies, apply to the inscriptions, not to the wall paintings, which *he* is quite aware have largely been *restored*. Those at Naples have also been restored at the same time, and in that instance the upper coat of *gesso* (or fine plaster) has fallen off in several places, and shews the earlier paintings under it. I am almost certain that I once saw the same thing in one of the many *cubicula* in the great cemetery called after Nereus and Achilleus and other martyrs, but this was before I had obtained leave to have photographs taken, and I had not taken sufficient notice of the particular *cubiculum* to be able to find it again. In another of these *cubicula* a different process of *restoration* has been employed, the original paintings are in outline only, and some of these are left, others have been *restored* by filling up the outlines with colour. Anastasius, the Librarian of the Vatican, who was authorised by the Pontifical Government to publish the Bishop's Registers, as the best history of the Roman Church, always calls these subterranean tombs *cemeteries*, and records the *restoration* [1] of thirty-

[1] The cemeteries (or catacombs) recorded to have been *restored* in the eighth century by the popes are —

731—741. Gregory III. *(a)*
S. Urbanus. (*See* Plate XXVII.)
„ Maximus.
„ Petronilla. (Plate XXII.)
772—795. Hadrian I. *(b)*
SS. Peter and Marcellinus. (Pl. XVII and *Hist. Photos.* 2115 to 2119.)
S. Tertullian.
„ Felix.
„ Agapetus.
„ Januarius.
„ Cyrinus.
„ Cyriaca. (*Hist. Photos.* 468, 472, 479, 482.)
„ Hermes.
„ Prothus.
„ Hyacinthus.
„ Felicitas.
„ Daria.
„ Hilarius.
The Jordanes.

772—795. Hadrian I.
S. Alexander.
„ Vitalis.
„ Martialis.
„ Silvester.
„ Abdon and Sennen.
„ Candida.
„ Hippolytus.
„ Laurentius. *(c)*
795. Leo III. *(d)*
S. Sixtus.
„ Cornelius.
„ Zoticus.
857. Benedictus III. *(e)*
S. Marcus.
858—867. Nicolas I. *(f)*
S. Priscilla. (Plates III and V, and *Hist. Photos.* 612, 1460, 1467, 1469, 1470, 1471, 1472.)
„ Basilla,
„ Saturninus.
„ Felix.
„ Pontianus.
„ Sebastianus.

(a) Anastasius 202. *(b) Ibid* 325. *(c)* 350. *(d)* 361. *(e)* 572. *(f)* 601.

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three of them by the Popes between 731 and 860, and, as might naturally be expected, the paintings usually belong to the *latest* restoration. No one who has paid any attention to the history of art can believe that the *drawing* of the beautiful wall pictures and stucco ornament in the painted tombs on the Via Latina, which are dated by brick stamps in the walls as being of the second and third centuries, are of the same periods as those in the catacombs. It is only necessary to compare the photo-engravings in Plates XV and XVI of my volume on the Tombs, or, still better, the Historical Photographs themselves, Nos. 2091 to 2103, from which they were taken,[1] with any of the paintings in the catacombs that are of religious subjects, to see that they belong to a very different period. Three-fourths of them, as I have said, are of the eighth or ninth century, especially those in the catacomb of St. Pontianus,[2] which are the most perfect and therefore the most popular. Of the remainder of these paintings many are of the time of Pope John I, A.D. 523-536, "who *made (fecit)* the cemetery of the blessed martyrs Nereus and Achilleus on the Via Ardeatina, and renewed (or restored) the cemetery of St. Felix and Adauctos and Domitilla on the Via Ostiensis, and Priscilla on the Via Salaria."[3] The same subjects, in the same style of painting, are found in all these three cemeteries or catacombs.[4]

If *all* the very numerous Pagan inscriptions found in the catacombs were taken there as old marble, only to be used again, why did the learned Padri Marchi, the predecessor of De Rossi in the post of *custode* of the catacombs, think it necessary in his excellent work on the subject to mark carefully on his plans the exact site where each Pagan inscription was found?[5] Nor does De Rossi ever go so far as Dr. Northcote in his assertions on this subject. The last time I was in the catacomb of St. Agnes there was a large slab of marble at the least a yard square and quite an inch thick, of which the back is

[1] These photographs can be seen in the Bodleian Library and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and most of them at the South Kensington Museum, and in the British Museum, or they may be obtained by order from Mr. Stanford, at Charing Cross, for one shilling each, and are sold separately. This will enable any one to satisfy himself on a doubtful point, by ordering the number mentioned.

[2] See the *Historical Photographs* of them, Nos. 463, 607 A and B, 608 A and B, 609 A and B, 610 A and B. Those marked A are taken from the original with the magnesian light, and those marked B are from modern drawings of them. By comparing these enquirers may see the difference between the pretty pictures of modern artists, such as those in Dr. Northcote's book and the originals, and can also judge of the date of the originals if they know anything of the history of art.

[3] Anastatius, lv, 89.

[4] See the sixteen photo-engravings of these paintings from the Catacombs in my volume on that subject, or again, still better, the photographs themselves from which the engravings were made. The photographs were taken for me by the late Charles Smeaton, a very clever Canadian photographer, whom I had taken from London for that purpose—with the help of the light of magnesium. All the Roman photographers had told Cardinal Antonelli that it was *impossible* to take photographs in the catacombs, and gave apparently very strong reason for saying so. No one has been allowed to take any more since these were taken.

[5] The following inscription is given by Padre Marchi in his work entitled *Monumenti delle arti Christiane Primitive della Metrapole del Christianismo*, Roma, 1841, 4to., plate XXX:—

COMPARATI SATVRNINVS AGVSTO LOCVM VISOMVM AVRI SOLIDVS DVO, IN LVMINARE MAIORE QVI POSITA EST IBI QVI FVIT CVM MARITO.

This shews the custom of purchasing a *loculus* in a catacomb the same as in a tomb, by the side of the road.

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rough, with the mortar still adhering to it by which it has been affixed to the wall, on the face of the slab was a Pagan inscription. In this catacomb there are entrances from below, also into three Pagan tombs, the upper parts of which are either destroyed or buried in the garden of the monks; this is made on the site of a great public cemetery, with the *cubiculum*, or burial vaults, of St. Agnes at one end and that of St. Constantia at the other, over one of which the church of St. Agnes has been built, and over the other the mausoleum of St. Constantia. Several of these burial chapels may still be seen at the original entrances to the catacombs, especially in that of Prætextatus, which is the earliest of them. Professor Settele, who was *custode* before Padre Marchi, has recorded also the finding of Pagan inscriptions in his time; this is cited by De Rossi and repeated by Dr. Northcote, but he does not appear to see the natural inference.

It is remarkable that the original entrances are very rarely now used, and new entrances have been made at the expense of the Roman Curia, and most of them within the last twenty years. One of the original entrances to that of Prætextatus is through a Pagan tomb near the Via Appia, but this has never been allowed to be used since an entrance was made on the road to St. Urban's, the reason assigned being that there was a dispute between the pontifical authorities and the owner of the vineyard. I obtained an introduction to that gentleman, and he assured me that *he* was not even allowed to have a key of it; *he* had not the least objection to this catacomb being visited. The steps that lead down to it are so covered with nettles and thistles that it is very difficult to descend, so that practically the only entrance is by a long ladder from the top to the floor of the third storey of the catacomb; such a ladder the proprietor told me the gardener had, but that the pontifical authorities had some one always on the watch to see that it was not used, and threatened him with all sorts of punishment if he allowed it to be used. The persons whom I employed, knowing all this, persuaded "the man on the watch" to go to breakfast with them, and as the *osteria* was two miles off the opportunity was taken by the gardener to place the ladder, by which I descended, and also sent an artist down, who made me the drawings of the interior and of the Pagan figures engraved in plates xii, xiii, xiv.[1]

If the catacombs were *exclusively* Christian, as Dr. Northcote asserts, how does it happen that *three* of them are distinctly the burial places of the Jews, with Jewish emblems in all parts?[2] and another has all the paintings in it belonging to the worshippers of Mithras?[3] Can any one look at the pictures of gilt glass vases in Plate VIII of that subject in my book, and say that they are Christian, when they represent an idol of Hercules and the Three Graces?

I have said that the name for these subterranean tombs always used by Anastatius is *cemetaria;* catacomb is a mediæval or modern name for them, and originated in a mistake; *Catacumba* was the name of a locality—the valley under the hill on which stands the well-known

[1] There are three family burial chapels at the top of these steps; they are all of the time of Constantine, evidently built immediately after the "Peace of the Church" was proclaimed (see pl. x, xi, xv).

[2] *Historical Photographs*, Nos. 562, 773, 774, 775.

[3] See Plates XV and XVI, and *Historical Photographs*, Nos. 1781, 1791, 1792.

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tomb of Cecilia Metella, and which valley has the church of St. Urban at one end, and that of St. Sebastian at the other.[1] The great catacomb of Prætextatus is between the two, and probably extended from one to the other, or perhaps did not cross the Via Appia, but only *extended to it*. Each of these churches was at the entrance to an extensive range of subterranean cemeteries called catacombs, probably called so from the locality. The Circus of Maxentius[2] was also made *in Catacumbis*, and this is close to the church of St. Urban and to the catacomb of Prætextatus, the earliest of the catacombs. Pope Paul I. (A.D. 757-768) complained bitterly of the damage done by the impious Lombards, and began the removal of the relics into Rome for security.[3] Anastasius describes "the church of St. Sebastian, where the bodies of the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul are said to have been deposited for a time, as being at the third mile on the Via Appia outside of the Porta Appia, in the place (or valley) which is called THE CATACOMBS, where the body of St. Sebastian rests with the others."[4] [5]

The attempt of Dr. Northcote and his Roman friends to deny that there was any connection between these cemeteries (or catacombs) and the sandpits or sandpit roads is really absurd to any one who knows them. There is hardly one but what has a sandpit in it or close to it, and one entrance was always from a sandpit road. The one at St. Agnes has been shewn to the archæologists by scores for some years past, because that cemetery being under the garden of the monks was in some degree independent of the usual authorities, and people could go and see it at any time without *asking for permission* from the Cardinal Vicar, a ceremony that English people do not like. The good monk who shewed it used to amuse the people by popping out into the sandpit at different levels. In that of St. Generosa, excavated by the Germans, the sandpit was very distinctly left visible. I do not attach the slightest importance to this one way or the other, and cannot understand why the Roman Catholics object to acknowledge it, unless it is that formerly the catacombs were supposed by some to have been sandpits.

The earliest mention that we have of these cemeteries is that Anicetus, A.D. 167, the Syrian bishop and pope and martyr, was buried in the cemetery of Calixtus.[6] According to the Roman Catholic authority Anastasius, St. Peter, the first pope (?), was buried in the temple of Apollo, near which he was crucified, and near the palace of Nero on the Vatican[7] (?). Anacletus, A.D. 103, a Greek from Athens in

[1] See the plan of this valley in Plate ix, on a small scale, shewing also the Circus Maxentius. It is intended merely to mark the site, which included also part of the catacomb of Prætextatus.

[2] Maxentius . . . Fecit Thermas in Palatio . . . *circum in Catacumbas*—fames magna fuit.—*Ancient Catalogue of the Emperors*, published by Eccard.

[3] Anastasius, xcv, 260.

[4] "Verum etiam et ecclesiam apostolorum foris portam Appiam milliario tertio, *in loco qui appellatur Catacumbas*, ubi corpus beati Sebastiani martyris cum aliis quiescit in ruinis præventam a novo *restauravit*."—Anastasius, 343.

[5] See Plates xx and xxi.

[6] Anastasius XI.

[7] This catacomb is stated by the modern Roman Catholics to have been entirely destroyed when the present great building was erected. We have no archæological evidence that there ever was a catacomb on that site; no inscriptions from it are preserved. The crypt of the present church is the floor of the old church, with a number of tombs upon it of emperors, kings, and popes, going back as far as the fourth century, but not earlier.

Ibid. I. See also *Les Eglises de Rome*, par Mgr. X. Barbier de Montault : Arras,

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the time of Domitian in the same place.[1] St. Evaristus, also a Greek[2] (?), but of the name of *Juda*, from Bethlehem in Judæa, *in the* same place. St. Alexander, a Roman, in the time of Trajan was beheaded at the seventh mile on the Via Nomentana, and buried there,[3] and a catacomb was made there, long forgotten and discovered by accident in 1855. SS. Sixtus, also a Roman; Telesphorus, a Greek anchorite; Hyginus, a Greek philosopher from Athens; Pius, an Italian from Aquileia, in the time of Antoninus Pius; Eleutherius, a Greek; Victor, an African, were all buried near St. Peter in the Vatican palace (?). Zepherinus, a Roman in the time of Marcus Antoninus and Septimius Severus, was buried in the cemetery of his own family, *near* that of Calixtus. St. Calixtus, a Roman in the time of Macrinus and Heliogabalus, made the cemetery that bears his name, in which several of the bishops and popes—St. Anterus, a Greek, St. Pontianus, a Roman, St. Fabianus, a Roman, St. Cornelius, a Roman, St. Lucius, of Lucca, St. Stephanus, a Roman, St. Dionysius,[4] St. Eutychianus, an Etruscan of the city of Luna, St. Caius, a Dalmatian of the family of the emperor Diocletian, St. Eusebius, a Greek, under Constantine, were buried in the cemetery of Calixtus, and St. Calixtus himself was buried in the cemetery of Calepodius at the third mile on the Via Aurelia.[5] St. Urban, a Roman in the time of Maximinus, and St. Sixtus, a Greek philosopher, were buried in the cemetery of Prætextatus on the Via Appia. St. Felix, a Roman, was buried in a church which he had built at the second mile on the Via Aurelia.

St. Marcellinus, a Roman, was beheaded in the great persecution under Diocletian, and his remains, with those of other martyrs, were collected by St. Marcellus, and buried in the cemetery of Priscilla. St. Marcellus himself was afterwards pope and a martyr under Maxentius, his remains were collected by the blessed Lucina and buried in the cemetery of the martyr Priscilla, which he had made in her property, after he had converted her.[6] It seems more probable that this good lady was the enlightened one *(Lucina)*, who collected his remains and interred them in *her* cemetery, than that they were two distinct persons.

St. Silvester was also buried in the cemetery of Priscilla.

This brings us to the time of the proclamation of the Peace of the Church, which put an end to the persecution, excepting a short one under Julian the apostate, which, however, seems to have been severe from the evidence of the catacombs, but that is entering on another question. There is no doubt about all that relates to the burial of several of the bishops and popes and martyrs in the cemetery of Calixtus in the third century, the inscriptions on the slabs that closed the *loculi*, or graves, are preserved, some in Greek characters, others in Latin. I have photographs of them all, and have given photo-engravings of the most important in plate iv of my book.[7] But for

1877, pp. 197 and 223. The earliest tombs that this diligent antiquary has been able to find are two sarcophagi of the fourth century, although he enumerates no less than 232 objects of archæological interest in this crypt.

[1] *Anastasius*, 5.

[2] *Ibid*, 6.

[3] *Ibid*, 7.

[4] *Ibid*, 26.

[5] *Ibid*, 17.

[6] *Ibid*, 31.

[7] Some say that these inscriptions in the catacombs are copies only, and that the originals were carried to the Vatican for security; if so, the copies are so exact that they are as good as the originals.

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the earlier period the usual story is extremely improbable; that the Christians in the first and second centuries should be allowed to have burial places for their bishops in the temple of Apollo, in the palace of Nero, in the Vatican, seems hardly credible; there are no inscriptions of that period or from that burial place. This makes people accustomed to examine the evidence of history very doubtful of Roman Catholic traditions. It is generally considered by those who have studied the matter that the life of Pope Sylvester in the time of Constantine, given in Anastasius, is not genuine, but an interpellation of his own in the Bishop's Registers, which are for the most part genuine. The early history is said to have been written by Pope Damasus in the latter part of the fourth century, who also put so many inscriptions in the catacombs After that time it seems to have been a custom of the early Christians that each succeeding bishop should write a short account of the works of his predecessor, and this custom was long continued, as we see by the Bishop's Registers of Lincoln of the middle ages, still preserved as of great value for the history of the churches of that great diocese, through, unfortunately, they have not yet been published. It happens that a large proportion of these paintings in the catacombs are just of the time of the celebrated forgery of the Decretals of St. Gregory, on which the system of the *temporal power* of the popes is based, and the forgery of several paintings for the pilgrims is probable. In the instance of the catacomb of St. Pontianus in the Trastevere there can be no doubt that this is the case. Anastasius, 111-112, records the bitter complaints of the Popes of the great damage done to the catacombs by the Lombards in the eighth century, when they besieged Rome, and blockaded it for some months. They did not succeed in entering the city, but they had ample time to destroy the catacombs, and they had especial spite against them, because the priests had received such large sums from the offerings of the faithful in the catacombs, and the Lombards announced that they made war upon the priests, not on the people of Rome. The strong expression used by Anastasius is that they *annihilated* the catacombs, and it is not likely that they left many of the paintings. Not a fourth part of that great subterranean cemetery or catacomb has been restored. In one place a wall of the ninth century is built across one of the corridors or passages, and behind that wall everything is left in ruin and confusion. On the front of the wall the figures of three saints are painted—Marcellinus, Pollius, and Petrus—of which I have a photograph No. 610, and have given a photo-engraving on Plate VII in my book. All the other paintings in that catacomb are of the same style of drawing, as are many others in the other catacombs, including some of those in the one got up for show to the modern pilgrims, St. Calixtus.[1] The two fine heads of Christ, so generally admired, are in the catacomb of Pontianus. The

[1] In the part restored of this catacomb it is quite evident that many of the walls are modern, but these are left plain without any paintings upon them. It is *possible* that all the restorations of the paintings were made for the pilgrims of the ninth century and not in the nineteenth, and that I was misinformed on this subject by a person whom I thought I could depend upon in the first year that I was in Rome, or possibly I misunderstood him when he told me that all the paintings had been restored, and the figures of St. Cyprian and other saints introduced, he meant to say that this was done in the ninth century, though I did not so understand it.

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art is not bad, but it is very different from that of the earlier period. The *copies* of them usually published are works in the style of the drawing of the nineteenth century, not of the ninth.

The popular story that the early Christians in time of persecution *lived* in the catacombs for concealment probably originated in an error; the locality called *catacumbas* was mistaken for the burial vaults first made in that valley. The monastery of St. Sebastian and the hermitage of St. Urban are both in that valley, and when the bishop and his chaplain went to reside for a time in one of these places they were said to have gone to reside *in catacumbis*, and this was afterwards understood to mean in these burial vaults. All the medical men in Rome are agreed that it would be *impossible* for any one to live many days in these vaults, and there is not the slightest sign of anything prepared for habitation in any one of them; but as each of these establishments was situated at the entrance of a long range of subterranean passages, which probably led from one to the other, and had many exits, known only to the Christian *fossores*, they afforded excellent opportunities of escape in case of danger. One of the Popes is said to have been seized when performing service in a chapel at the entrance to one of them, which is probably true; but any one who knows this chapel knows how near the surface it is, and that there is plenty of air and light there from a *luminarium* or well, for air and light which descends into it. This could not apply to the lower storeys of the catacombs. When Anastasius says[1] that St. Liberius, after his return from his exile in the time of Julian the apostate, resided for a time in the cemetery of St. Agnes, he did not mean in the vault, but in the imperial villa which was built in that large burial ground to which the mausoleum of Constantia belonged. He went to visit his cousin Constantius, until by his intervention and persuasion arrangements could be made for the return of Liberius to the city. The empress Constantia, who remained faithful to true Christianity, succeeded in persuading the emperors Constantius and Valens, who were Arians, to allow Liberius to return, and when he returned Felix, the Arian Pope, was deposed, and Liberius, the orthodox Pope, recalled to the city. There had been a persecution of the clergy and some martyrdoms just before under Julian the apostate, but these were now at an end.

In what I have said about the wall paintings in the catacombs I do not in the least mean to deny that there are several of the second and third centuries, but they are few in number, and the subjects of them are not scriptural or religious—they are merely ornamental. There is a vine spreading over the vault of the chapel just within one of the entrances to Prætextatus[2] (No. 1822), which is of the second century, and the same subject is on the vault of an entrance corridor to St. Nereus, Domitilla, &c., which is of the third. The Four Seasons (Nos. 618, 619) in this catacomb is probably of the third, though the

[1] *Anastasius* 51.

[2] On the wall of this chamber was a figure of the fourth century of the Good Shepherd, which I have seen many times. The last time was in 1876 with my friend Mr. Gambier Parry, who has paid much attention to the history of painting, and who confirmed my view as to the date of this catacomb picture. To my surprise when I went again in 1877 with another friend to shew him the difference between the drawing of the second century and that of the fourth on the walls, that had disappeared during some recent repairs.

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art is very bad for that period. Those in the Capella Græca (No. 612) in St. Priscilla are sometimes claimed as early, but are probably of the sixth century. It is very doubtful whether there is a single painting of a religious or scriptural subject before the time of Constantine and the "Peace of the Church." There is *one* small picture about two feet square on the flat soffit of an arch of a tomb (No. 1467),[1] which some good judges think *may be* of the third century, and this is made much of by the Roman Catholics.

On the other hand, the inscriptions are quite genuine and very interesting. There are the names—one in Greek, others in Latin—of four of the popes of the third century in St. Calixtus, and the numerous inscriptions by Pope Damasus in the fourth century shew that in his time the legends were believed. But there has evidently been a great deal of misunderstanding about them, as I have pointed out. The locality called "The Catacombs" being that in which the earliest of these underground tombs is found is an important point, which has been very much overlooked; that of Prætextatus seems to be the earliest, as there is brickwork of the time of Nero (No. 616) there at the entrance from a subterranean road, which has brick walls of the first century on each side of it with the burial vaults behind it. In one instance De Rossi discovered that the tomb of a martyr, which had been originally an arco-solium in the wall of this road, had been moved and put back to the further wall of a cubiculum or burial-vault in order that others might be buried in the same vault with the martyr, and it is said that large sums were paid for this privilege. This subterranean road is very curious; it is not an ordinary sandpit road, which often is the case, because such a road was very convenient for the *fossores* to send away the sand dug out in making these burial places; but this has well finished walls on both sides; it is not more than twenty feet from the surface, and appears to have been originally open at the top, as there are well finished cornices on the walls on both sides; it was probably vaulted over in the middle ages, when the roads were frequently brought up to the level of the ground. But this fosse-way, or hollow-way, was preserved as a subterranean road, apparently going along the valley called *Catacumbas*, from St. Urban's to St. Sebastian's. At least I have seen that there was an entrance from a sand pit, very near St. Urban's, which seemed to lead quite straight in that direction, but this is now closed by a modern brick wall, and on the other side of that wall the end is completely filled up with earth, which seems to have been recently brought there, when excavations were made in the other parts of this catacomb. There are two flights of steps down into it which would be wanted when the road was twenty feet deep. One theory is that there was a sort of promenade at that place, and that the steps led down into it at one end and up again at the other, but this does not seem very

[1] If the photograph from the original is compared with the very pretty drawing of it in Dr. Northcote's book no one would suppose that they are meant for the same picture. In the same catacomb is another celebrated picture of seven men carrying a wine-cask, to which the Roman Catholics attach a symbolical meaning, but which appears to me to be over the grave of the wife of a vine-merchant. Under the painting when my photograph was taken was the following inscription:—

BONAVIAE CONIVGI SANCTISSIMAE.

Since my photograph was taken in which this inscription is legible, it has been removed by order of the authorities.

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probable. The Via Appia is a fosse-way between the cemeteries of St. Calixtus and Prætextatus, the bank of earth on each side is twenty feet above the level of the road, the tombs are some on the banks and others behind them, and an entrance is cut through the bank to the tomb. This is the case at St. Calixtus, the path is cut to a pagan tomb, probably that of the family of Calixtus before they became Christians; a short flight of steps in that tomb leads down to a door which is not often seen, being below the surface, and which is rigorously kept locked, but behind the door it is seen that the steps continue to descend to a considerable depth, and evidently led into one of the corridors of the catacomb, but all the lower part is studiously kept full of earth, so that the connection cannot be seen, and another passage has been knocked through the wall on one side of the steps, from which there is a steep access to another part of the catacomb. The present entrance is at the other end of the vineyard above, and to the catacomb below, so that ladies have to go across the vineyard in all weathers to the new entrance, when they might just as well be permitted to enter at the original entrance close to the door from the road. A man stationed on the bank of the cemetery of St. Calixtus can see over a great part of that of Prætextatus on the other side of the road.

When Dr. Northcote says that *all* the catacombs are made in the tufa LITHOIDA, he goes too far: as regards St. Calixtus, of which De Rossi has given such an elaborate account, it is true no doubt, and it was of *this only* that the Cavaliere Michele Stefano De Rossi was thinking when he wrote that part of his brother's book; but Dr. Northcote has applied it to *the whole* of the catacombs, which is not by any means the case. That this particular kind of tufa suited the *fossores* best is evident; the sections of that of St. Cyriaca given in plate XXV of my book shew this plainly, and it is curious to see how the *fossores* have deviated to the right or left, up or down to avoid any hard rock, and used only that which suited their purpose (this is still better seen in the Historical Photographs, Nos. 1131, 1132, 1133). But the *fossores* had to make these burial vaults on the ground that belonged to those who employed them, and in the soil of that ground, whatever its nature might be; at least two of the catacombs are made in clay, one outside of the Porta di St. Pancrazio, the catacomb of that name, another is one of the three catacombs of the Jews; this is near the tomb of Cecilia Metella on the Via Appia, on the right hand, just beyond the Church of St. Sebastian, on a cross road connected with *Via di Sette Chiese*; it is one that is much neglected, and in wet weather it is hardly practicable to get into it, on account of the clay which almost fixes you where you stand. If there ever was a catacomb under St. Peter's on the Vatican Hill, it must have been in clay, as the greater part of that hill is clay, and the foundations of that enormous building are recorded to have been made in clay, and carried to a depth in proportion to the weight they have to carry. That of S. Pontianus is in alluvial soil.

Dr. Northcote charges me with inconsistency, because in different parts of my volume I have spoken of the beds of tufa in the campagna as being of a different thickness. He is evidently not aware of the enormous difference in this respect that there is in nature. In one instance there is a bed or layer of tufa not more than two or three

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inches thick, which runs all through one of the catacombs at the same level. In other instances these beds or layers of tufa are twenty feet thick, and in these the sandpit and sandpit roads were made. The roads themselves are sandpits in a certain sense; that is, the tufa that has been cut out in making the roads when reduced to powder is Pozzalana sand, and answers the same purpose, and pits were made in these roads as more convenient. You may follow (as I have done in parts) a horse and cart along one of these subterranean roads for miles, and they have been in use for many centuries. The earliest trade of Rome was the exchange of Pozzalana sand for salt, and saltpits were made at Ostia by the kings for that purpose. This peculiar sand is still sent all over the world for iron casting at the present day; it was no doubt used for casting *bronze* before the use of iron. It has peculiar properties that no other sand has, which makes it specially suited for making the moulds for casting; it also makes the best mortar, from its gritty nature. Tufa varies extremely also in the degree of hardness that it has attained, and differs equally in colour and in many other respects I have seen the same tufa wall appear of a dark colour while it was wet, and quite white when it was dry, and on the Aventine some of it is red from another pit close by. Some of it was hard enough to be used as building stone, and was used in large blocks in the time of the kings; but the builders were afraid to trust it to carry a weight, as may be seen in the walls of the Colosseum, where piers of travertine are used everywhere to carry the superstructure, and the intervals between these piers are filled up with the large blocks of tufa taken from one of the walls of the kings which had formed part of the second wall of Rome passing close by, and no longer of any use at the time that the Colosseum was built. The same variation may be seen in the natural beds; the *fossores* made use of that best suited for their purpose in the ground that was given to them for making these burial vaults; but this was purely accidental. There was no choice in the matter further than making these vaults a few feet above or below a certain level, the same bed of tufa being always at the same level. It was all originally volcanic dust from the volcanoes on the Alban hills, similar to what overwhelmed Pompeii from Vesuvius.

That my great work on the Archæology of Rome, of which the catacombs forms a tenth part, was dictated by any hostility to Roman Catholics, as Dr. Northcote assumes, I entirely deny. The work has grown under my hands from accidental circumstances far beyond anything that I contemplated when I began it. I saw that the Archæology of *Murray's Handbook*, the best book to be had, was a generation behind-hand, and I wished to remedy this, and so I was led on step by step at an enormous expenditure of money to this great work. I saw the importance of photography for historical objects, because no one could say that the artist had *doctored* his drawing to suit the views of his employer, as is too often done. I saw also that what I had to explain by the objects that I saw before me would not be believed in England, because they were so different from the established faith on the subject. I saw from the walls before my eyes that the early history of the City of Rome agrees remarkably with the old legends which English schoolmasters (who have generally adopted the modern notion that the old legends *are entirely false*) would not believe

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either from words or drawings—they may, perhaps, eventually be convinced by photographs. I have no doubt that *truth* will prevail in the end, though I may not live to see it. In like manner for the early history of the Fine Arts, there is no place like Rome for examples. For the early history of Architecture the ruins of Rome give the most important information; for the history of Sculpture the collection formed by Winckelman, preparatory to writing his history, and still preserved in the Villa Albani, affords the best information; and the great collections in the Vatican, Capitoline, and other museums in Rome, are equally important.

For the history of Painting, or rather of Drawing, those in the catacombs are indispensable. They *seemed* to contradict the general history of Art, but this was only because people were generally ignorant of the numerous *restorations* of these wall paintings. It is obvious that the date of the actual painting is that of the man who restored it. I dislike the so-called restoration of some of our mediæval churches in England, the *sham Gothic* that has been so much the fashion, just as much as the restoration of these paintings. I never considered that polemics or religious questions had anything to do with the matter. The Roman Catholics themselves have always introduced that element, but the paintings do not prove Roman Catholicism. I have always maintained that one of the advantages of Archæology is that it is *neutral ground*, and Dr. Newman used to say that the room of the Archæologists was the only neutral ground in Oxford. Cardinal Antonelli also admitted this neutrality.

I have been into every one of the Roman catacombs at least once, and in some of them scores of times, and with many different persons sometimes very well informed. My object was to ascertain the *truth* about them, and if three-fourths of the paintings in the catacombs really are of the eighth or ninth century, I was bound to say so.[1] I enquired in the first instance of my Roman Catholic friend what was the most authentic book to give me the dates of them, and he told me Anastasius, and from this only I drew out my chronological table of these cemeteries. To assert, as Dr. Northcote does, that the name of *cemeterium* included all the buildings in a large burial ground, and that the popes restored those buildings on the surface, not the burial vaults, is simply begging the question. I can find no such explanation of the word either in Scheller's excellent *Lexicon*, or in Ducange's admirable *Glossary* for mediæval usage. That it might include the burial chapels on the surface of the ground at the entrance to the subterranean cemeteries seems probable, only there is not a single instance of any of them having been *restored*, they are all in ruins; in some cases, indeed, they have been replaced by large churches, such as St. Agnes, St. Lorenzo, St. Sebastian's, St. Paul's, but these could hardly be called restorations only, nor do they occur in Anastasius as belonging especially to the catacombs, though each of them is at the entrance of a catacomb, and replaces a burial chapel. The *Archæological Journal* is very properly not the place for polemics. I have studiously avoided them, and confined myself to archæological ground.

[1] Dr. Northcote would be rather surprised if he knew who first told me that three-fourths of the paintings belonged to that period.

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Original Documents.

Communicated by JOSEPH BAIN, F.S.A. Scot.,

In the course of researches for another purpose in the Public Record Office, several documents relative to Hereford and the Western Counties have come under my notice.

When Edward I was preparing for one of his expeditions to Scotland—that of the year 1300, in which, according to Lord Hailes, his army did little except capture the Castle of Carlaverock on the western marches—he issued writs to the sheriffs of various counties to supply provisions to his army at Carlisle by the Nativity of S. John the Baptist. Seven of these writs have been preserved for that year, and are very curious, the returns showing the difficulty in meeting the King's wishes. The style of writ being the same, it is unnecessary to give more than one at length. Here is the writ to Hereford, supplying contractions :—

Writ to Hereford.

"Edwardus Dei gracia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie Dux Aquitanie Vicecomiti Hereford Salutem. Quia ad salvacionem corone nostre regie communem quare magnatum et procerum ac tocius popule regni nostre utilitatem ordinauimus et proponimus Domino concedente esse in proximo festo Natiuitatis beati Johannis Baptiste apud Karliolum cum equis et armis et toto seruicio nobis debito ad proficiscendum ex inde contra Scotos inimicos et rebelles nostros ad eorum rebellionem perfidam et nequiciam viriliter et potenter cum dei auxilio reprimendas ; propter quod necessarie indigebimus tunc habere victualia habundantia pro sustentacione nostra et fidelium nostrorum qui nobiscum venient et ad nos eciam ibidem dante Domino sunt venturi : tibi precipimus firmiter iniungentes quod omnes mercatores bonarum villarum infra balliuam tuam ex parte nostra inducas moneas et requiras quod circiter dictum festum Natiuitatis beati Johannis Baptiste versus Karliolum contra adventum nostrum et exercitus nostri ibidem victualia ducant venalia et duci faciant sui alias cariari. Ita quod ex hoc ipsis mercatoribus grates scire merito debeamus quibus fideliter ex parte nostra promittas quod eis pro victualibus que ad nos et ad predictum exercitum nostrum ducent seu duci facient plena et prompta fiet satisfactio

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indilate et quod in omnibus conseruabuntur indempnes. Volumus eciam quod penes certos mercatores de balliua tua instes sollicite et procures tantum quare facias quod ipsi manucapiant et se constituant obligatos quod versus partes predictas ut predictum est victualia facient venire venalia in quanta habundancia potuerunt et valebunt. Et nomina mercatorum illorum de balliua tua quos contigitur taliter obligari nobis circiter festum Pentecostes proximo futurum mittas liberanda in garderoba nostra. Preterea volumus et tibi precipimus sicut prius quod de bobus porcis et multonibus viuis necnon gallinis pullis ouis caseo et aliis huiusmodi victualibus interim prouideri et ea omnia usque Karliolum contra aduentum nostrum venire facias omnimodo. Et hoc sicut te et tua diligis non omittas. Teste meipso apud Blidam[1] xvij° die Januarii anno regni nostre vicesimo octauo."

[Sheriff's return.]

"Istud breue retornatum fuit Balliuis Ciuitatis Hereford et eciam Balliuis libertatis Leoministrie qui habent returnum omnium breuium qui sic respondent.

Hereford can do nothing in aid,

"Unde Balliui Ciuitatis Herefordie respondent et dicunt quod ex parte Domini Regis moniti fuerunt et requisiti omnes mercatores Ciuitatis predicte prout in brevi continetur set nullus concessit nec se obligari voluit venienti [sic] apud Karliolum ut continetur in brevi.

But Leominster is willing.

"Balliui libertatis Leoministrie respondent et dicunt quod quo ad istud breve preceptum Domini Regis in omnibus et singulis executi sunt. Ita quod quidam mercator [de Leoministria][2] Adam Lythewynd nomine se obligauit prout in breui continetur."

2. *Worcester.*

[The King's writ to this shire is similar in its terms and date, and also dated from Blyth. The Sheriff's return is as follows :—]

The merchants of Worcester think Carlisle too far off.

"Non sunt aliqui mercatores in balliua mea nisi in Ciuitate Wygornie quos una cum balliuis predicte Ciuitatis induxi monui et requisiui ad faciendos ea que continentur in hoc breui nec inuenio aliquem qui potens sit aliqua [huiusmodi] victualia ad partes tam remotas cariare nec qui se velit obligare secundum tenorem brevis. Preterea postquam breve istud mihi liberatum fuit aliud breve mihi transmissum fuit sub privato sigillo ad emendum CC quarteria frumenti ad opus Gaylardi de Painte (?) procuratoris mercatorum Vasconie. Ita quod de bobus porcis multonibus viuis et aliis in hoc brevi nominatis nichil facere possum pro eo quod expendi omnes denarios de balliua mea qualitercunque exeuntes in empcione dicti bladi."

And the Sheriff has been obliged to expend all his funds under another writ.

[1] Blyth in Nottinghamshire, a well-nown halt on the route for the border of Scotland.

[2] Interlineation.

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3. *Salop and Stafford.*

[The King's writ to these shires, then apparently under one Sheriff, is similar, from the same place, and of same date. The return here is :—]

The Sheriff appears to have been active however, and to have done his best.

"Istud breve michi liberatum fuit die Lune proxima ante Festum Ascensionis[1] Domini per Petrum de Gorettona (?) clericum Thome Corbet nuper vicecomitis et receptoris breuium. Et que adeo tarde ad me venit plenam execucionem inde facere non potui. Et nichilominus inducere monere, et requirere feci et procurare Johannem le Mareschald de Stafford. Hugonem Heruy de eadem. Hugonem de Holond de eadem. Robertum le Barbor de eadem. Stephanum de Brochols de Bromk (?) Radulfum Drambul de Tamworth. Willelmum Steel de eadem. Radulfum le Blak de Nouo Castro subtus Lymam, et Robertum atte Brok de eadem secundum tenorem brevis."

In the following year (twenty-ninth of his reign) Edward again led an expedition into Scotland, this time by the way of Berwick on Tweed and the Eastern Marches. A muster roll and pay sheet of the army (possibly only a part of it) is preserved among the Exchequer Miscellanea in the Public Record Office, which is very interesting.

The men, with the exception of a few cross-bowmen, and about forty "cementarii" and "minerarii," with twenty-two "hobelarii" of the Forest of Jedburgh (doubtless native troopers acting as scouts of the force) were nearly all archers on foot, their commanders only being mounted. They were raised in the five western counties of Hereford, Worcester, Salop, Stafford, and Gloucester—from "Diverse counties," not specified—and from the great counties of York and Northumberland, which two shires, with contingents from "the Bishop of Durham's men" of Tynedale, "the Earl of Anegos' men" of Redesdale, and Foresters of Knaresborough commanded by a Byron, furnished considerably more than half of the whole force of somewhat under 7000 men. No regular cavalry appear in this roll. Lord Hailes, in his *Annals of Scotland* (sub ann.) says that Edward wintered at Linlithgow, where he built a castle, *and where his cavalry suffered severely from the weather and the scarcity of forage.* For this he cites Fordun as his authority. Yet on looking at the new edition of that historian, by W. F. Skene, LL.D., I find the building of the "Peel of Linlithgow" is noticed, but not a word about cavalry. From the line of march which the king took, by Selkirk, Peebles, and Cambusnethan to the west of Scotland, where he arrived in the end of August,[2] heavy cavalry could not have acted, and I should think there were none with the army, though they may have joined afterwards by another route.

The small force too, by which the Scots were at this time held in subjection, is worthy of notice. For we have been accustomed to read of such enormous numbers on both sides in previous and subsequent years,

[1] Ascension Day in A.D. 1300 fell on 19th May. The Sheriff had little time to make his return before Whitsunday.

[2] The army was paid at the last named place on 18th August; they only got a few miles down the vale of Clyde to Bothwell by the 6th September. Their march was thence northwards to Donypas on the River Carron, where they were paid on 29th September.

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that this authentic roll of an English army, commanded also by the king in person, is most valuable.

There is no doubt that Edward was there, for twenty picked men, some of whose names are given, are specially detailed as the "Royal Body-guard" and received an increase of pay.

Hereford commences the muster roll with 5 officers and 351 men. Worcester follows with 3 officers and 340 men; Salop, with 6 officers and 546 men; Stafford constitutes 5 officers and 346 men; and Gloucester, 2 officers and 225 men. The mounted officer's pay was 12d., a corporal's 4d., and a private archer's 2d. per diem.[1]

(Extracts.)

"Solucio facta peditibus apud Berewicum super Twedam xii^{o} die Julij.

"De Comitatu Hereford."

"Willelmo Waryn constabulario cum equo cooperto . . . . et lxxix Sagittariis peditibus quorum quatuor vintenarii . .

"Willelmo Deveros, constabulario cum equo cooperto et lxi sagittariis peditibus . . .

"Thome Pichard constabulario cum equo cooperto et lxv sagittariis peditibus . . .

"Godefrido de Gerteford constabulario cum equo cooperto et lvj sagittariis peditibus . . .

"Willelmo de Waltona constabulario cum equo cooperto et iiij^{xx} x (*i.e.* xc) sagittariis peditibus . . . .

"De comitatu Wigornie."

"Howele le Galeys constabulario cum equo cooperto et ciiij^{xx} v sagittariis peditibus . . .

"Andree de Baskervill constabulario cum equo cooperto et iiij^{xx} vj sagittariis peditibus . . .

"Phillippo de Colyntona constabulario cum equo cooperto et lxix sagittariis peditibus . . .

"De comitatu Salopie."

"Thome de Boreford constabulario cum equo cooperto . . . et cxxiiij sagittariis peditibus . . .

"Galfrido de Bureford constabulario cum equo cooperto et iiij^{xx} sagittariis peditibus . . .

"Simoni Randolph constabulario cum equo cooperto et cxliij sagittariis peditibus . . .

"Ricardo de Etona constabulario cum equo cooperto et lxxviij sagittariis peditibus . . .

"Stephano de Actona constabulario cum equo cooperto et xlvj sagittariis peditibus . . .

"Henrico Normaund constabulario cum equo cooperto et lxxv sagittariis peditibus de hominibus Ricardi de Etona, &c. . . .

[1] The master of the "cementarii" received 6d. and each of his men 4d. per diem. Each "hobelar" received the latter sum.

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"De comitatu Stafford."	"Johanni de Chorletona constabulario cum equo cooperto et lix sagittariis peditibus . . . "Stephano de Barnevilla constabulario cum equo cooperto et liij sagittariis peditibus . . . "Johanni de Sparham constabulario cum equo cooperto et iiij^{xx} xij sagittariis peditibus . . . "Willelmo Griffyn constabulario cum equo cooperto et liiij sagittariis peditibus . . . "Egidio de Staundona constabulario cum equo cooperto et iiij^{xx} viij sagittariis peditibus . . . .
"De comitatu Gloucestrie."	"Ricardo de Lendesay et Nicholaio le Lung constabulariis cum equis coopertis et ccxxv sagittariis peditibus . . . .
"De comitatu Hereford."	Apud Selkyrk xxv^{o} die Julij anno xxix. "Domino Miloni Pichard pro vadiis unius hominis portantis standardum . . . xvj*d* . .

These extracts may possibly interest the antiquaries and genealogists of Hereford and the other counties adjacent, as a brief record of the part which their forefathers took well nigh 500 years since in the Scottish wars.

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Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

June 1, 1877.

The Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, President, in the Chair.

The noble CHAIRMAN alluded to the great loss which Archæology and Architecture had sustained in the deaths of Mr. Edmund Sharpe and Sir Digby Wyatt. Widely different in their views and writings, the deaths of these two earnest workers had caused a loss to the students of both sciences which it would be extremely difficult to replace.

Mr. J. G. WALLER read a paper of much interest "On the Wall Paintings discovered in the Churches of Raunds and Slapton" (printed at page 219). The Chairman, in conveying the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Waller, spoke of the peculiarities and value of the paintings of "The Seven Deadly Sins" and "The Three Kings" at Raunds, mentioning an instance of the latter subject in Ireland. The paintings at Slapton were remarkable, and we owed much to Mr. Waller for his careful elucidation of them.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. J. G. WALLER.—Drawing of subject of "Seven Deadly Sins," and tracing of subject from the "Legend of St. Katherine."

By Mr. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.—A collection of thirty-six plans of British earthworks, &c., surveyed during the last two years, principally in Wilts and Dorset, and drawn on large scales varying from $\frac{1}{20}$ to $\frac{1}{1000}$. The plans were classified as (1st) Defensive, proved by position and form: (2nd), Industrial, subdivided as domestic, pit dwellings, &c.; Pastoral, cattle enclosures, with ditch inside bank, and in low positions; and Agriculture, slight divisions of land into regular portions: (3rd), Sepulchral, mounds, &c.: and (4th), Religious, including those for which no other purpose can be assigned.

Mr. PETRIE made some remarks on the general objects and details of the surveys, and on the peculiarities of some of the remains. This series of plans was begun in order to examine the accuracy and geometric skill of the earthworkers, as no collection of accurate and detailed plans has yet been produced for such a study. In these plans every point fixed and bearing taken in the survey is shewn, and a distinction made between triangulated and measured points, and between absolute and magnetic bearings. An accurate plan will give much information that could not be obtained in any other way; the relative date of conjoined

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or neighbouring works, the abilities of the constructors as to the lowest sort of accuracy, straightness, or the higher attainments of equality of dimensions and rectangularity, which last is the least usual refinement,—all these can only be properly studied by a detailed plan.

One of the principal results obtained by the examination of these plans, is that symmetry and a repetition of equal lengths is often found, as in the North American earth works surveyed by Squier; this leads to the same conclusion that he has drawn, *i. e.*, that in some cases the earth workers used definite standards of length, though of course many of the remains are evidently quite irregular and destitute of all traces of metricality. By comparing the lengths found together, which are clearly intended to be equal, or in some such simple relation to each other, the average error of workmanship can be ascertained; and though this is the average of very different dates in different works, still it gives some definite idea. This average is $\frac{1}{100}$th of the lengths in question, and this is the average error of the Assyrians in their masonry, and double or triple that of classical nations, a very small amount considering the nature of the earth works. If a length is found repeated several times in one earth work, or with its double or half, there is a presumption that it was a simple multiple of some unit used by the constructors. By examining the dimensions, therefore, the unit can be recovered;[1] and when the same unit is found in many different works, a cumulative proof of its use is obtained. The units most commonly found in earth works and rude stone remains are two cubits of 21·38 and 22·51 inches respectively; both of these were common in ancient civilized Europe, the latter, however, is only found in countries colonized by Phoenicians.

Thus two entirely separate results are obtained, both of much importance for our knowledge of unhistoric civilization, the accuracy and regularity of workmanship, and the metric units used, by which links to other civilizations are obtained.

The method of survey is one modified and adapted expressly for the requirements of archæological work, though the same in principle as that occasionally used in nautical surveying. The requirements are, to obtain a plan quickly, with but little apparatus, with tolerable accuracy, and with the fewest workers. This method, which may be called the "Three Rod Method," enables the points of the survey to be fixed in about 1½ minutes each, quicker even than mere pacing and compass; the apparatus weighs only 5lb.; the accuracy is usually about $\frac{1}{500}$ or less of the whole distance measured, and one person can survey without any attendant.

The apparatus required consists of three ¼ inch three or four foot steel rods, taper-squared at head, with fitting handle to push them into ground; some tall signals, such as telescoping fishing rods, to drop on to them; a box sextant to take all angles; and a prismatic compass for occasional use. The surveyor places the three rods upright in any position on the ground (an equilateral triangle is best), only taking care that there is about 100 feet between the nearest; next he measures one side and the three angles (or all three sides) of the triangle thus formed; and then begins the survey by holding the sextant over any point required to be fixed, measuring the two angles between the rods, and entering them between the signs used for the rods as seen from that point; this

(1) For details of the process and results see "Inductive Metrology," pp. 9, 112.

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absolutely fixes the position relatively to the triangle; and the next point is done similarly, noting the nature of the bank or ditch, &c., between the points. One of the principal advantages of this method is that the surveyor can walk irregularly over the ground, to find or trace details, and at any moment can fix the position of a required point, without needing to go back to a previous point to continue chaining, or pacing and compass work.[1]

The above is all that the surveyor needs to do in the field, and the plotting may be left for a draughtsman; there are some minor details to which it is well to attend, and by calculation the usual plotting can be much improved in accuracy and rapidity.[2]

The whole of the plotting usually takes about four times as long as the field work, so that ordinary remains with about forty points to be fixed take two hours' field work and eight hours' plotting; this is far less time than would be required for surveying by chain and plotting.

In conclusion, Mr. PETRIE said he should be happy to receive any suggestions, and to give farther information that might be required by any Archæologist taking up this much needed and highly interesting branch of investigation. A set of these plans is deposited in the Map Department of the British Museum Library, numbered $\frac{1112}{2350}$ and is accessible to any reader.

Col. LANE FOX made some remarks on the plans and the remains. He quite agreed that the plans of the Ordnance Survey were very defective, archæologically; and wished that there should be a proper authority on the subject attached to the survey staff. On the object of remains with the ditch inside the bank, he stated that, according to Catlin, such a form is sometimes used for warfare among the North American Indians, and thus it is not a certain criterion of a civil purpose in the works.

By Mr. R. H. SODEN SMITH.—A carved Anglo-Saxon bone comb, found in London in 1876, figured full size on the following page:—

[1] The usual objection to the sextant (of error from the parallax between the glasses) is neutralized by overlapping the image a constant quantity, *i. e.*, making the reflected image stand a given amount ($\frac{2}{10}$ths inch most instruments require) beyond the position of the direct vision image from which the angle is taken; this is a perfect correction, and is easily applied by knowing the diameter of the rods used. The only defect of the three rod method is that a point lying on, or close to, the circle passing through the three rods, cannot be fixed; but this is easily avoided when placing the rods, or by other means.

[2] The following notes are added for those already acquainted with plotting. Lay down six radial lines at the proper angles, three alternate for the perpendiculars to the sides of the triangle, and on the three others lay off radius of triangle from the centre, and so fix corners, *i.e.* places of rods. Letter every angle, three alphabets for three sides of triangle, and number every point fixed. Half side of triangle × contangent of angle subtended by whole side = distance from *side* of triangle to centre of plotting circle along perpendicular; thus calculate the length corresponding to each angle measured, doing them all together; then lay them all off together, lettering each centre; observe that the centre is laid off on the proper side of the triangle side, according to the recorded order of the two rods. Then taking field book, strike a circle from each of the two centres corresponding to the two angles of each point fixed, with radius = distance from said centre to the two rods of its own side of triangle; then where the said two circles of each point intersect, is the position of the point whose two angles were recorded; number the point, and proceed to another. Then fill in between the points according to description in field book. This plotting is based on Euclid III, 20, 21.

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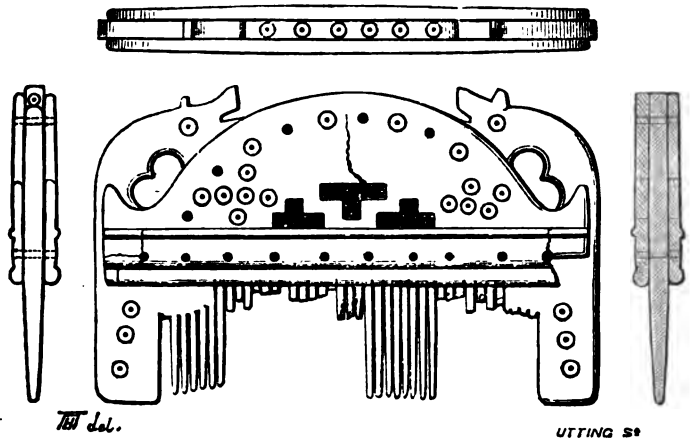

It will be seen that the comb is made in three pieces, viz.,—the centre part, out of which the teeth and beasts are cut, and two side pieces pinned through with flush brass pins. Having been thus put together it was then cut with a fine saw into forty teeth, the saw marks showing more or less on the lower edge of the side pieces; the *tau* sinkings are green at the bottom, as if they had been originally inlaid with brass. Mr. Soden Smith observed that antiquities of the same type had been found at Pompeii, and that this was the traditional form that had come down from Roman times. He contributed the following notes upon combs of a similar kind:—

"Sir Thomas Brown in his *Hydriotaphia*, 1658, as quoted by Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, pp. 7, 8, mentions that at Walsingham, in Norfolk, were dug up urns in which were found, among other things, 'Combes handsomely wrought.'"

"In Douglas's *Nenia Brit.* is figured a comb about seven inches long, described as ivory but really bone; this was found in 1771 at Kingston Barham Downs, and was deposited in the Fausett Collection. It is now in the Liverpool Museum. It is scored with lines, and further ornamented with dots similar to that now exhibited. It was contained in a wooden box which had been strengthened by brass rivets, the grave from which it was taken being believed to be that of a woman. This is figured in Akerman, plate xxxi."

"A bone comb now in the British Museum was found in an urn at Eye, Suffolk, in the last century. It is figured in Akerman, plate xxii. The solid part is somewhat triangular, and ornamented with border lines and concentric circles."

"Two others of the long shape were found in 1767 and in 1773 in graves on Kingstown Down. These are now in the Liverpool Museum. They were found with the skeletons of women."

"In 1828, in excavations at Lancing, in Sussex, four bone combs were found. The graves in which these were found are described as being Roman, and certainly contained many Roman coins."—*Collectanea Antiq.*, vol. i, p. 93.

"In 1851, during the excavations at Little Wilbraham, Cambridge-

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shire, carried on by Mr. Neville (afterwards Lord Braybrooke), a considerable number of bone combs or fragments of combs were found in sepulchral urns. One of these, of the long shape, is ornamented with several lines of small circles each with a central dot; one is finished with rude birds' heads, in the same position as the heads on the specimen now shown. These were taken from Anglo-Saxon graves."

"In Ireland a considerable number of bone combs have been found, and various types of them are figured in Roach Smith's *Collectanea*, vol. iii, p. 43. The ornament on these, though very rude, is not without interest—the well-known bird's head design occurring on one, the usual concentric circles on others, and a peculiar wavy continuous pattern on another. The material is not named by the describer, but I presume them to be of bone."

By MR. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—Dag or Petronel with Wheel-lock, German, circa 1600. A hind is engraved on the lock plate, which is also stamped with two small shields of arms:—1st, party per pale, a dimidiated eagle and three bends; 2nd, seems to be an eagle displayed. The weapon is entirely composed of steel.

Tile, and portion of another bearing stamp of maker from Rome.

By permission of Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY.—Two leather ink bottles (fig. 1), said to be of the time of Henry III, formerly in the Chapter House at Westminster, and now preserved in the Public Record Office. A case for a piece of plate of *cuir bouilli*, stamped all over with fleur de lis, like the Forcer, formerly in the Pyx Chamber at Westminster, which is engraved at p. 96 of *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*.

By Mr. W. MEYERS.—A black jack, dated 1515.

By Mrs. COATES.—A black jack, ornamentally stamped and dated 1691 (fig. 3).

By Miss MATHESON.—A leather bottle, said to be of the time of James I.

By Sir HENRY DRYDEN, Bart.—Three leather bottles; one of a large size painted white, another smaller, and one with a "clout" cut out of the side (fig. 4).

In illustration of these objects Mr. BERNHARD SMITH contributed the following ballad:

THE LEATHER BOTTEL. *(Somersetshire Version.)*

God above, who rules all things,
Monks and Abbots, and beggars and Kings,
The ships that in the sea do swim,
The earth, and all that is therein;
Not forgetting the old cow's hide,
And everything in the world beside:
And I wish his soul in Heaven may dwell,
Who first invented this leathern bottèl!
Oh! what do you say to the glasses fine?
Oh! they shall have no praise of mine:
Suppose a gentleman sends his man
To fill them with liquor as fast as he can,
The man he falls, in coming away,
And sheds the liquor so fine and gay;
But had it been in the leathern bottèl
And the stopper been in, 'twould all have
been well!
Oh! what do you say to the tankard fine?
Oh! it shall have no praise of mine:

Suppose a man and his wife fall out,—
And such a thing happens sometimes, no
doubt,—
They pull and they haul; in the midst of
the fray
They shed the liquor so fine and gay;
But had it been in the leathern bottèl
And the stopper been in, 'twould all have
been well!
Now when this bottèl it is worn out,
Out of it's sides you may cut a clout;
This you may hang upon a pin,—
'Twill serve to put odd trifles in;
Ink and soap, and candle-ends,
For young beginners have need of such
friends,
And I wish his soul in Heaven may dwell,
Who first invented the leathern bottèl!

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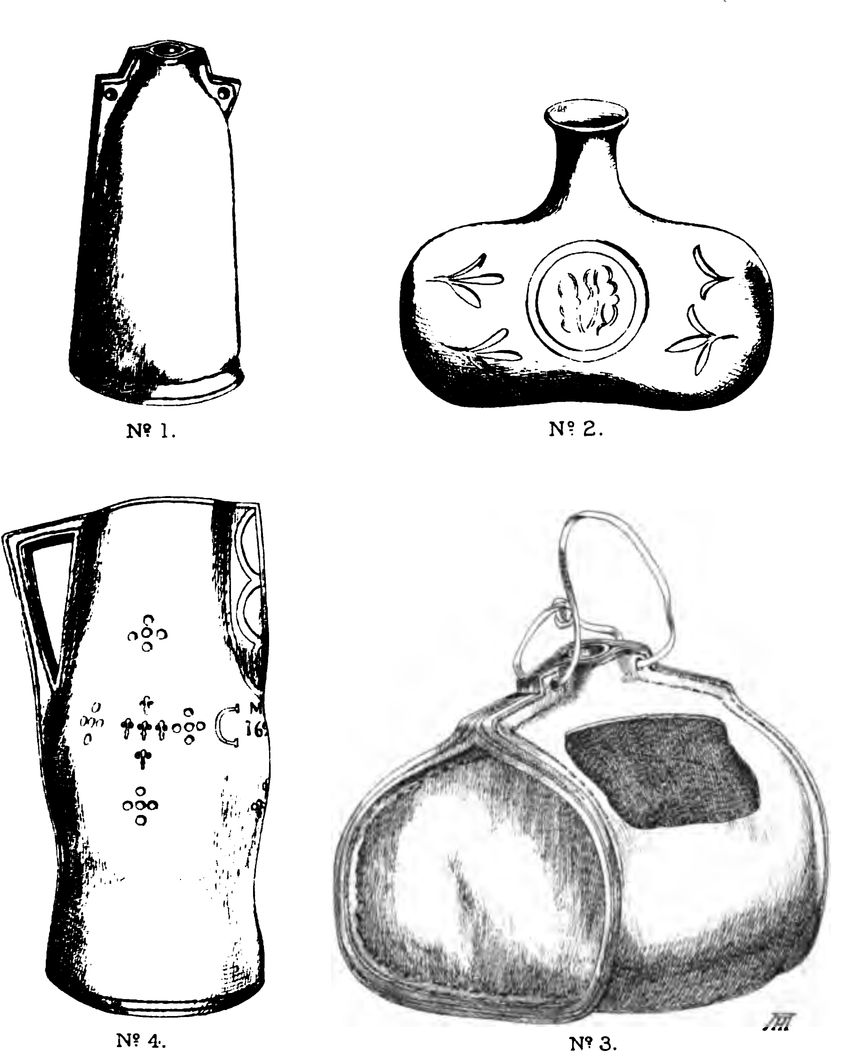

EXAMPLES OF LEATHER VESSELS.

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A variety of this old song, probably the Herefordshire version, of the year 1600, is given in Chappell's "Popular Music of the Olden Time." Sir Walter Raleigh, speaking of the equipment of a pilgrim, mentions his "bottle of salvation," and Shakspeare, in his well known lines in Henry VI, on the happiness of a shepherd's life, says:

> His cold thin drink out of his leather bottle,
> His wonted sleep under the fresh tree's shade."

These were no doubt bottles, properly so called, of the flask shape, the earliest form, now very rare, and of which kind an ancient example was exhibited at a meeting of the Institute on Feb. 2nd (see page 189). A fine inscribed example is preserved at Stoneleigh Abbey (fig. 2).

Bottles of the barrel shape were specially for out-door use, and were employed in isolated agricultural districts, certainly within the last fifty years. They are still occasionally to be met with in country places, degraded to the purpose of carrying grease at cart tails. They have been replaced at the present day by little wooden hooped barrels of precisely the old shape, the original name being retained.

Black Jacks were for household purposes and are less commonly met with than bottles, but they are still to be found, sometimes in actual use, in old country houses. They were of all sizes, sometimes very large, like the example at Chirk Castle, which is 1ft. 10in. high, and 2ft. 6in. in circumference,—or very small, like one exhibited in the temporary museum at Hereford, which only measured 4½ inches in height.

It is interesting to observe how these really practical, though perhaps not very cleanly vessels, so common throughout the country within living memory, have so rapidly fallen into disuse, and become comparatively rare. Considering the ills to which crockery is heir, the re-introduction of the Black Jack has become almost a desideratum; but here we are met by the difficulty as to how they were made. Possibly upon wooden moulds, somewhat after the fashion of a boot-tree, with a central key-piece or wedge to be drawn out after the bottom was sewn in. Some such an arrangement would answer also for the barrel-shaped bottle; but it does not appear that a "bottle last" has ever been noticed. In the case of the bottle proper, the matter is more perplexing still, because if a mould was used at all it must have been one of sand or clay, to be picked out afterwards through the cork hole. A practical Northampton shoemaker would perhaps be able to solve the mystery.

It was announced that a special meeting would be held on June 8th for the reception of Mrs. Schliemann.

SPECIAL MEETING, June 8, 1877.

A very large and brilliant company assembled this day, under the presidency of Lord Talbot de Malahide, to receive Mrs. Schliemann. Among those present were the Duke of Argyle, Lord Houghton, the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., the Very Rev. Dr. Hieronymus Myriantheus (Archimandrite of the Greek Community), M. Gennadius (Greek *Chargé d'Affaires*), Dr. Schliemann, Lady Alcock, the Hon. M. Mostyn, C. T. Newton, Esq., C.B., Robert Browning, Esq., Sir J. D. Scott, Bart., J. Bonomi, Esq., Sir W. H. Drake, K.C.B., Professor Donaldson, M. Karl Blind, Baron Julius Reuter, Rear-Admiral Spratt, Dr. Birch, E. Oldfield, Esq., the Rev. J. Fuller Russell, C. D. E. Fortnum,

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Esq., M. Ralli, E. J. Reed, Esq., M.P., S. Tucker, Esq., *Rouge Croix*, M. Lascaridi, Dr. L. Schmidt, J. Murray, Esq., A. H. Grant, Esq., Miss Amelia B. Edwards, the Rev. H. J. Bigge, J. Thorne, Esq., &c. His Excellency the Turkish Ambassador was prevented from being present by a previous engagement.

The noble CHAIRMAN introduced Mrs. Schliemann to the meeting in a few happy words of welcome, and presented her with a bouquet of flowers, representing the Greek national colours.

Mrs. SCHLIEMANN then read the following paper:—"On the High culture of the Ancient Greeks; the Long Series of Agents which contributed to it; the reason of its Decay; of the Advantages of the Language of Plato; and further, of the Share she had taken in the Discoveries at Troy and Mycenæ,"

"At a time when the rest of the world was still living in barbarism's dark night, my ancestors, the ancient Greeks, had in science and arts reached such a pitch of perfection as can never be surpassed by man.

Of the hundred thousands of master-pieces of sculpture which once ornamented the public edifices, the Agoras, and the streets of our ancient cities, only a few have escaped the pious zeal of the early Christians, or the ignorance of the barbarians, who turned them into lime, and those few now adorn the modern museums as precious relics of Greece's past glory, and as mournful monuments of the fragility of human things.

Our political institutions, our statesmen, our orators, our philosophers, and our poets have in all posterior ages been objects of wonder and admiration to the world at large; they have for thousands of years been the ideals of perfection to all those who aspired to a high culture; in fact, so much so, that even at the present day no one is considered to have a high education unless he be thoroughly acquainted with them. But, alas! Greek books have had a like fate as Greek works of art, and I make bold to say that not even one-thousandth part of our ancient classics has escaped destruction. But I must not forget that my ancestors have also distinguished themselves by their heroism and military skill, and that our Greek history is full of names such as Agamemnon, Achilles, Diomedes, Ulysses, Aristodemos, Miltiades, Themistocles, Phocion, Pericles, Epaminondas, Philip II, Alexander the Great, whom the mightiest of the mighty and the proudest of the proud warriors of posterior ages took as ideals of military virtue. But with their superior wisdom and all their other great qualities, my ancestors had a great vice, without which they would probably have subjugated the world by their arms, in the same way as they in later ages subjugated it by their genius. That vice was 'envy.' The decay of Greece dates from that unfortunate day, in 413 B.C., when some Athenians, who were envious of Alcibiades' past and coming glory, succeeded in persuading the people to send out a ship to Sicily to fetch him back as prisoner, in order that he might be judged for his irreverence to the gods. Had this not happened, Sicily would in a few weeks have fallen into our hands, because Alcibiades' genius had already captured Catania, and was on the very eve of capturing Messina; and, when once in possession of Sicily, the Athenians would have had no trouble in conquering the whole of Italy, because Rome was at that time still weak and powerless. But it was our ill fate that it should be so. The fragile fingers of men cannot arrest the rotation of destiny's wheel.

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The question now arises how it came that, in the midst of nations which lingered in barbarism, Greek genius could lift its head to the heavens. I think that this could only be produced by the combination of a whole series of fortunate circumstances, of which I must first mention our beautiful, sonorous language, the mere sound of which filled my husband with wild enthusiasm at a time when he did not know yet a word of Greek. Further, the quickness and vivacity of the Greek mind, the beautiful sky of Greece, from which the sun shines nearly always the whole day in full brilliancy; in fact, there is no day in the year on which we do not see the sun, there is seldom a night in which the starry heavens cannot be seen in all their splendour. Further the indescribable beauty of the outlines and colours of the Greek mountains; then the marvellous beauty of the sea, studded as it is with magnificent islands, which, by the reverberation of the sun-light, present the appearance as if they were floating; hence the myth of the floating Greek islands. I further mention the infinite number of gods and the firm faith people had in them. But this world of gods could only be engendered in the minds of Greeks and in an atmosphere like that of Greece. Thus the natural enthusiasm of my ancestor for the sublime was stimulated by their beautiful language, by the splendour of the sky by day and night, by the magnificence of the mountains, the sea, the seemingly floating islands, and by the firm belief in the supernatural power and beauty of their gods. But, in spite of all these stimulants, Greek genius could never have reached such a lofty height as can never again be attained by man had it not been for divine Homer, from whom orators and sculptors, statesmen and painters, wise men and poets, freely borrowed their grandest ideas. So, for instance, Phidias, when asked whence he had taken the idea for his Olympian Jupiter, answered with the verses of the "Iliad:"—(I, 528—530.)

> "Ἠ, καὶ κυανέῃσιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων·
> Ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος
> Κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο· μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὄλυμπον."

> "He said, and nodded with his shadowy brows,
> Waved on the immortal head the ambrosial locks,
> And all Olympus trembled at his nod."

Alexander the Great never slept without having under his pillow a copy of "Homer," which he called "the store of military virtue." To Dr. Schliemann's and my admiration for Homer are we indebted for the discoveries of Troy and the five royal tombs of Mycenæ with their treasures. The part I have taken in the discoveries is but small, in Troy as well as in Mycenæ. I have only superintended thirty workmen. One of my explorations at Troy was the excavation of the large heroic tomb which, according to Homer, was attributed by the immortal gods to the Amazon Myrine and by men to Batieia, the Queen of Dardanus. In Mycenæ I excavated the large treasury close to the Lions' Gate. This excavation, one of the most difficult works we ever accomplished, lasted four months, and though I found no treasures there, yet this exploration has been of some importance to science, because, besides a number of sculptures, I found there a mass of most interesting pottery, which shows us the remote antiquity in which the treasury was shut up.

I have further taken an active part in the excavation of the five royal

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tombs in the Acropolis; all of them were rock-cut, and at a depth of from twenty-five to thirty-three feet below the surface of the ground. The flat bottom of these tombs was covered with a layer of pebble stones, which can have had no other intention than that of giving ventilation to the funeral pyres, which were put on it, and on which the dead bodies overladen with jewels were laid. There were in all fifteen bodies in the tombs, and each of them had been burnt on a separate pyre. The fire of the pyres was not yet extinct when the whole of the sepulchres were covered with a thick layer of white clay, and then with another layer of pebble stones, upon which earth was thrown. Above these tombs were erected sepulchral slabs, and, when these had been covered up by, and disappeared in, the dust of ages, other tombstones were erected three or four feet above them. Until the upper layer of pebble stones the excavation was easy, because we had only to direct our workmen to dig here or there; but from thence it was exceedingly difficult, because, on our knees in the mud, my husband and I had to cut out the pebbles, to cut away the layer of clay, and to take out one by one the precious jewels. But the joy we felt in seeing our efforts crowned with such marvellous success made us forget our hardships, and our enthusiasm was so great that we often thought we had breakfasted and dined when we had not got anything at all for the whole day.

We Greeks owe to England an everlasting gratitude, because without the generous assistance of this great country Greece could never have attained her independence. Only lately, again, England has with generous liberality ceded to us the beautiful Ionian Islands. But it is said that gratitude is a lively anticipation of future favours, and so I venture to hope that England will not desert the cause of Greece in the present eventful crisis.

I conclude with an appeal to the English ladies to teach their children the sonorous language of my ancestors, so that they may be enabled to read "Homer" and our other immortal classics in the original. The immense difficulties of our ancient language could be easily overcome by the highly intelligent English children if they first thoroughly learnt our modern Greek language, and afterwards the ancient tongue. Instead of ten years, the children would in this way acquire in less than one year a thorough knowledge of ancient Greek, and they would have the immense advantage of our modern language, which, as a spoken tongue, would make it totally impossible for them ever to forget the language of Plato and Homer. I, therefore, with intense enthusiasm advocate and advise you to get from Greece teachers for all your schools.

I terminate in warmly thanking you for the indulgence with which you have listened to an enthusiast for Homer.

Dr. Schliemann said: My Lord President,—I beg leave to offer a few observations on Mrs. Schliemann's paper. To the long series of agents which have been instrumental in producing the high perfection of art in ancient Greece must be added the entire absence of our present code of conventional proprieties and the perfect freedom which the fair sex enjoyed regarding dress, which was consequently in analogy to the hot climate, and hardly amounted to any thing at all. Being thus all his life surrounded by masterpieces of nature, whose forms were not screened from his eyes by a conventional amount of clothing, the ancient Greek artist was at liberty constantly to study the symmetry and anatomy of

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the female body, and he could produce wonders by merely copying what he saw. A similar advantage can never again be enjoyed by any artist, and therefore sculpture and painting can never again reach the high pitch of perfection which it had attained under such exceptional circumstances in antiquity. I would further remark that the English pronounciation of Greek is purely conventional, and no man can prove that it has ever been in use anywhere except in England. On the other hand, we have the most certain proofs that ancient Greek was spoken with the modern Greek pronounciation a thousand years ago, when the Muscovite dukedom adopted the Greek religion, because all the Greek words which at that time entered the Russian language have in the latter perfectly the modern Greek pronounciation. There is further conserved a Greek prayer of the fourth or fifth century A.D., written with Latin characters, from which it is evident that even at that time the present Greek pronounciation was in use. I may further mention that the Greek names found in the cuneiform inscriptions of the time of the Seleucidæ are spelt with the present Greek pronounciation. Thus we have the certainty that for more than 2,000 years the pronounciation has remained the same. Besides other inconveniences, the English mode of reading Greek without observing the accent increases enormously the student's difficulties in the acquisition of that noble language.

Mr. Gladstone, having been next called on to address the meeting, referred to the most interesting autobiographical details prefixed by Dr. Schliemann's first publication and to others more lately given to the world as to how he caught his enthusiasm for the Greek tongue and for Homer. Gliding off to the question of Greek pronounciation, he begged Dr. Schliemann to favour the meeting with a few lines from Voss's German version of Homer, and that gentleman having done so, Mr. Gladstone said he found the German much nearer to the modern Greek than he had expected. He had thought the German pronounciation of Greek differed from ours in scarcely anything save the vocalization. Mr. Gladstone said he was not a convert to the claims of modern Greek orthoepy to represent that of the ancient tongue, and adduced considerations against conceding the demand. He then entered a vigorous protest against confounding accent, which he defined to be musical pitch, and to which, instancing the accents of the Homeric particles, almost every utterance was amenable, with emphasis, which all understood well enough. It had been pointed out, and he had himself pointed out, that the Greeks had grown in their sense of colour, and they might have grown, too, in their sense of sound. He thought we should never understand Greek accentuation, on which the Romaic orthoepy was based, until we had plumbed the depths of the problem of musical pitch. In general he could not at all admit that the modern Greek pronounciation fairly represented the Homeric. At the same time he gallantly said that Mrs. Schliemann's reading of the three lines she had quoted from Homer had been enough to win his suffrage, but for the sobering consideration that the charm was due to her peculiar and personal grace of delivery. In answer to Dr. Schliemann, Mr. Gladstone said he was no believer in that gentleman's deduction of the perfection of Greek statuary art from the commonness of nudity or immodest exposure amongst that nation. The history of dress was a most curious and interesting one, into the details of which he could not enter. But he could not agree that the ancient

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Greeks too liberally exposed the nude form. The nation at large were very decorously clad; their persons were wholly covered. The exception, which proved the rule, was Sparta, the least Greek of all Hellas in the fine feeling for art. The subject of Greek mythology was most curious, and of the deepest interest, but the unravelling of its mysteries was still an unsolved problem. Doubtless the Greek religion was essentially anthropomorphic, and Mr. Gladstone having used this word, took occasion to bring back the word, to its strict and primitive signification. Anthropomorphism was a system which exhibited the gods in the form and likeness of men, and it was not right for objectors against the figurative language of Scripture and religion sneeringly to brand as "anthropomorphic," in an opprobrious sense, Bible expressions which, for convenience of popular currency, spoke of God as the subject of love, anger, and other passions and qualities, which, properly and philosophically speaking, were restricted to humanity. Mr. Gladstone wished that such cavillers would restore the word anthropomorphism to its legitimate and proper use. The Greek habit of shaping their idea of divinity according to their notions of humanity was the well spring of their national life, and the true explanation of their greatness. It gave them an ideal in everything, in politics, literature, poetry, and art. This profoundly religious idea was the root of that people's life. Like the mathematical curve called the asymptote, which was always getting nearer to a given straight line without ever touching it, this idealizing spirit of the Greeks was ever panting after a perfection which they were ever nearing, but, from the nature of the case, could never quite reach. This was the glory of Greek life and of its noblest expression, Greek art. In the course of his remarks, Mr. Gladstone repeated in the warmest terms his high appreciation of the extraordinary energy and enthusiasm of Dr. and Mrs. Schliemann in the work of Homeric Archæology.

Lord HOUGHTON, in moving a vote of thanks to Mrs. Schlieman for her interesting paper, said the resolution expressed his own personal feelings. He, too, touched on the controversy as to the true pronounciation of Greek, and discussed Mrs. Schliemann's views of Greek art.

In seconding the motion, Mr. NEWTON said: We have heard to-day, in the eloquent discourse of Madame Schliemann, a grateful acknowledgment of the aid which Europe has given to Greece in establishing her independence; and this expression of gratitude on the part of the Hellenic people reminds us that, if modern Greek civilization owes much to Europe, Greece has in these latter days done something to repay this obligation by the zeal and intelligence they have shewn in the prosecution of archæological research, and, above all, by the ceaseless energy which they have exerted in the preservation and publication of ancient Greek inscriptions. It is not as generally known in this country, as it ought to be, that ever since the establishment of the Greek kingdom there has not been wanting a succession of native scholars at Athens and elsewhere in Greek communities, who with very slender means at their command, and with but scant encouragement either from their own Government or the general public, have devoted their lives and best energies to the publication and interpretation of those most precious historical documents, Greek inscriptions; and among these scholars I would particularly draw attention to the names of Pittakys, Rangabè, Eustratiades, Rhosopulos, and last, but not least, of Kumanudes. Wherever in the civilized world Greek archæology

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is a subject of study, reference is constantly made to the works on inscriptions which have been published by these single-minded and self-denying representatives of modern Hellenic culture; therefore I say they deserve not only our commendation and respect, but all the encouragement and material aid which societies such as this our Institute can render internationally for the promotion of the common purpose which they profess.

In proposing a vote of thanks to the noble Chairman, M. Gennadius took the opportunity of heartily thanking Mr. Newton for his kind expressions as to the progress of archæology in Greece, and testified to the enthusiasm which modern Greek society exhibited in the matter.

This interesting meeting then came to a close.

July 6, 1877.

The Lord Talbot de Malahide, President, in the Chair.

Mr. Parker gave a short account of the principal excavations in Rome during the last season.

"In carrying on the Via Nazionale, which is an enormous work, and cuts through part of the Quirinal Hill at the depth sometimes of thirty or forty feet, in order to make a gradual incline for carriages from the high level of the railway station to the low level on which the City of the Popes is built, in the course of which, as we have heard before, many discoveries have been made. At the point where it makes an angle, at the south end of the Quirinal, between that and the Esquiline, going down to the level of the *Piazza dei Apostoli* and the Corso, the Porta Fontinalis was found in the wall of Servius Tullius, and at about 100 feet outside of this three sarcophagi made of tufa, and of very early character, were found imbedded in clay at a great depth; the tufa had become so soft from long exposure to moisture, that it was more like soap than stone, and it was found impracticable to take up the sarcophagi. There was a skeleton in each of them, and one had a crown on the head, of the early character called Estruscan, which is now in the new museum on the Capitol. It is supposed to have been one of the Etruscan kings.

Considerable parts of *the great Agger* of Servius Tullius were brought to light; some were destroyed and others were preserved for a time. The most remarkable discovery of the season was the tomb of Statilius Taurus in the old Exquiliæ, just within the Porta Maggiore. In this tomb a large number of inscriptions to members of the family, extending from the time of Sylla to the second century; a large number of lamps and other small objects were found, and were preserved in a small museum near the building called Minerva Medica; there was also a remarkable series of fresco pictures illustrating the early history of Rome, and agreeing better with the Aeneid of Virgil than any other author; Virgil was living at the same time as Statilius Taurus, and it is probable that these paintings were made under his direction. During the whole of that season the very interesting substructures of the Colosseum, which had been excavated in the previous year, were ten feet under water, Signor Rosa had employed a steam-engine to pump the water out at an enormous expense, but as the water came from a copious natural spring in a subterranean reservoir for the aqueducts, it came in again as fast as it was pumped out. This reservoir was formerly called the *Vivarium*, it

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had been full of water, and what was supposed to be *luminaria* to give air and light to the animals were in fact wells for keeping the water fresh and letting down buckets. A new drain was begun to carry off the water into the Cloaca Maxima, which is not yet completed. Signor Rosa was deposed from his office of Royal Superintendant for what was considered to be his bad management and extravagence, and all the excavations are now placed under the direction of Signor Fiorelli, the head of the department of Archæology in the Italian government. He has always been very friendly to me and encouraged my excavations, which were continued in the Mamertine Prison, in the subterranean chambers of the Thermæ of Caracalla, and at the Porta Capena, which has been more thoroughly excavated than before. On the previous occasion I could not get leave to remove a wine press, which stood in the middle of the chamber, which had been in the western tower of the gate. Two of the walls of this chamber are of the time of the kings, and through one of them the *specus* or channel of the earliest aqueduct passes, with a thick bed under it of the peculiar cement used only for the aqueduct, called *opus Signinum*, or in Italia *coccio pisto*. This specus had evidently passed over the gate upon the arch, coming from the reservoir before-mentioned on the Celian, and a part of it was also found at the depth of twenty feet in a garden half way between the two points. A continuation of it was also excavated upon an arcade in the garden of St. Gregory, near the modern road, and left open for the present. It was traced further on to another cave reservoir under St. Sabba in the Pseudo-Aventine.

At the Thermæ of Caracalla a part of the porticus added by Heliogabalus was brought to light, and shewn to have been an arcade of two storeys. This is on the eastern side of the central building of the Thermæ; it is now in the vineyard of Signor Brocard. At the N.W. corner of the same great building a subterranean passage was cleared passing through a series of chambers, and leading to another porticus at the north end, which had been the original state entrance. There is reason to believe that there are subterranean chambers under the whole of that enormous structure, and under some of the adjoining vineyards which had been part of it. Signor Bernabo, to whom the vineyard at the north end belongs, is willing to have that passage kept open; and it leads in one point to a staircase going up to the top of a tower in the old porticus which has been repaired, and from the summit there is a splendid view over the whole. Signor Brocard is also willing that the excavations in his vineyard should be left open so long as he holds it, but he is expecting to leave Rome. For the Mamertine Prison and the Porta Capena my leases have expired, and unless the money is found for renewing them these very interesting excavations will all be filled up again."

A discussion followed in which the noble Chairman and Mr. O. Morgan took part.

Professor BUNNELL LEWIS read a paper on "The Antiquities of Scandinavia" (printed at p. 242), treating at length upon the Roman influence on the antiquities and architecture of that country.

Mr. G. T. CLARK spoke of the Romanesque style and its vigour in Scandinavia, and hoped Professor Lewis would work out its origin in that part of Europe; its early appearance there and in Ireland, where it was

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used with the entablature, and before the introduction of the arch, was a question which required solution. The style could not have come, *via* Normandy or England, and was possibly derived from the Iberian Peninsula.

Mr. C. E. KEYSER read a paper on "The Mural Paintings at Kempley Church, Gloucestershire" (printed at p. 270).

Mr. SODEN SMITH spoke of the zeal and ability with which Mr. Keyser was prosecuting his labours in this interesting branch of archæology, and the assistance he had derived from him in the list of paintings published under his editorial care by the authorities of the South Kensington Museum.

Mr. MORGAN expressed his great gratification that the subject had been so well taken up by a younger member of the Institute, and Mr. Parker added some general remarks to the effect that ignorant people in the middle ages were taught by pictorial works such as these. He was glad that the prejudice against paintings on church walls was dying out; if legends were avoided and Bible subjects illustrated he saw no possible objection to them. Mr. Waller and Mr. Micklethwaite followed with further remarks upon the details of the Kempley paintings.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

BY MR. PARKER.—A large plan of Rome, and photographs and draw ings in illustration of his remarks.

BY PROFESSOR BUNNELL LEWIS.—A series of illustrations of Scandi navian architecture and antiquities, and a collection of coins.

BY MR. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE.—A set of measured drawings of the paintings in Kempley Church.

BY THE EARL AMHERST.—An antique Roman ring found in Sicily, on the property granted to Lord Nelson as Duke of Bronté. This was described by Mr. Soden Smith as probably of the second century, with a good original stone and bead decorations on the sides characteristic of a style which continued up to Merovingian times. Mr. Fortnum thought it a fine example, and perhaps of the early years of the third century.

BY MR. MORGAN.—Drawings of a Roman Tesselated Pavement at Caerleon, in Monmouthshire, with the following notice:—

In the spring of this year (1877) it was found necessary to make some improvements in the sewerage of the town of Caerleon, and a narrow channel about five feet deep was cut through the middle of some of the streets, for the purpose of laying down some large stoneware pipes. The soil cut through was all made ground, and seemed to be the filled-in rubbish of various ages. At the bottom was found a layer some inches thick of burnt wood and ashes, as if it were the result of a conflagration, for Caerleon seems to have been, like all other Roman towns, destroyed by fire whilst in the occupation of the Roman inhabitants; probably by the native population of the country when the Roman power became weak. In this thick bed of so filled-in rubbish were found numerous fragments of black pottery, ornamented with scored patterns, coarse red Roman pottery, fragments of amphoræ, fragments of mediæval red pottery with green lead glaze, fragments of bronze fibulæ and pins, bone pins and needles, and a very pretty bronze figure of a game cock, with its comb, and spurs and wattles neatly finished and in good preservation; a

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portion of a bowl of brown sand coloured glass, internally coated with white enamel, and a small fragment of *plate-glass* which shewed that it was made by pouring out the mass of liquid or viscid glass on a bed of smoothed sand-stone, and flattening it to the required thickness by passing over it a heavy polished roller, the same process as is used at the present day; a very perfect earthenware mortarium, 11 in. diameter, was found, having on the rim the name of the potter, ALBINUS FLVGVD.

The principal discovery however was a tessellated pavement, and which had it been perfect, and had it been possible to remove it, would have been very beautiful, but unfortunately the narrowness of the street and the fact of its extending under the walls of the houses rendered such an operation impracticable. The excavation however came across the corner of it, and as it was the pavement of a large square chamber, we were enabled to uncover so much of it as to show what the size of the chamber must have been, and the design and pattern of the mosaic work. In the course of these operations the workmen broke through a wall, on the inner surface of which they found plaster with traces of coloured painting. They then came upon a level surface of white tesseræ which proved to be a portion of a very elegant tesselated pavement of large size. In consequence of the narrowness of the street, it was not possible to clear a very large surface, but under the careful superintendence of a gentleman present the workmen were enabled to expose sufficient to show that they were near the centre of a chamber, and so to render it possible to construct a plan of the whole. The pavement was terribly broken, for the pillars of the hypocaust beneath it had given way, and the whole was crushed into the cavity below; but under the same superintendence the fragments of the pavement were carefully collected and brought out, and are now deposited in the basement storey of the museum at Caerleon, placed as nearly as possible in their proper positions, and so retained by having cement run into the interstices between them. As has been said, it was not possible to enlarge the excavation laterally, but on continuing the cutting along the middle of the street the workmen came upon a portion of the border at the further end of the chamber, which shewed that the pavement must have been a large one, and the chamber about 34 ft. square, a room of considerable size.

The ground of the pavement seems to have been composed of white tesseræ, having on it a light open design in bright colours, dark greyish green, red, and yellow, which in combination with the white produced a brilliant effect, the colours being very vivid when first washed. The border was formed with bands of the dark colour, red and white, and within this was a large circular wreathed band of light open design. In the corner spandrels was a curious pear shaped object, with curved leaves formed with the dark tesseræ, interspersed with other colours, but what it was intended to represent I cannot say. Within the circle was another square of coloured bands, and within that again a series of concentric circular scrolls, bands, and wreaths having designs in colours in all the square and circular spandrels. What the central design was has not been found, but from the small size of the central circle, it could not have been large. The plan and drawing give an excellent idea of what was discovered, and shew that when perfect it must have been extremely brilliant and effective, for when the dirt was first washed off the colour

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and contrasting bands were strikingly vivid and effective. It is impossible to conjecture to what building this pavement may have belonged, but, from the large size of the chamber, it must have been a portion of one of the principal houses of the town.

Mr. MORGAN also exhibited a tile bearing the arms of Henry of Lancaster, second son of Edmund Earl of Lancaster, second son of Henry III, viz. : Gu. three leopards or, a label of three points az, each charged with three fleur-de-lys or. Before he became Earl of Lancaster by succeeding his brother, he bore the arms of England differenced by a bendlet dexter. This was one of the earliest instances of a bendlet used as a mark of cadency. The tile measured 5in. square by ⅞in thick.

Mr. MORGAN also exhibited and gave the following notice of a book said to have belonged to Queen Anne of Denmark :—A small book in a richly embroidered cover, containing the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, all finely wrought in needlework with silk on fine lawn, in imitation of Black Letter printing. The extract from the twentieth chapter of Exodus, containing the Ten Commandments, is not from the authorised version, which was not printed in 1611, but from an earlier translation, which was called Cranmer's Great Bible, and was printed in 1539. I have in my possession an extremely rare copy of this Bible printed in 1553. In the title page it is called "The Bible in English, according to the translation of the Great Bible, 1553." The type is very small Black Letter, and the chapters are not divided into verses. I have compared this extract with that Bible, and the words are exactly the same. This fact therefore seems to shew the date of the little book, which must have been worked before the publication of the authorised version in 1611. It was therefore cotemporary with Anne of Denmark, Queen of James I, and the traditional history of its having belonged to her in the family which has possessed it, may well be credited. The book is the property of Mr. F. Moggridge of Caerleon, in whose family it has been long preserved.

The meeting was further indebted to Mr. Morgan for the exhibition and the following description of the pedigree of Sir William Morgan, of Tredegar ;—

The history of this Pedigree is unknown. It was made in 1633, by one Walter Hopkins of Brecon, but who he was I cannot find. Nor does it appear whether it was made for Sir William, Kt., who was owner of large estates in the counties of Monmouth and Brecon, and a personage of importance in those counties, or simply by some friend on that account. He was ninety years old in 1650, and he married a daughter of the Admiral Sir William Wynter, of Lydney. Had it been made for him, it is strange that it should not have been among the Tredegar family papers and pedigrees, of which there are several, some earlier and some contemporary, and apparently some by the same hand.

The Pedigree is arranged in twenty parallel columns, at the head of each of which is the name and coat of arms of the great personage from whom the descent is traced, and at the foot is the name of Sir William Morgan. These descents are for the most part traced down to Lord Audley, whose daughter is represented as wife of Lord Whittney, whose daughter Joan, or Jane married Roger Vaughan, of Talgarth, in county Brecon, and their daughter Elizabeth married Thomas Morgan, of Machen, in the county of Monmouth, grandfather to Sir William Morgan. But

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neither this Elizabeth nor either of the other ladies mentioned, through whom the descent comes down, were heiresses or representatives of their respective families, and therefore transmitted neither estates nor quarterings, and not one of these here given was ever borne by Sir William Morgan or his descendants.

The personages from whom the descents are traced are as follows: 1, Edward I, King of England; 2, Alfonso, King of Castile; 3, Edward II, King of England; 4, Philip, King of France; 5, Edward III, King of England; 6, Peter, King of Spayne; 7, Edmond Langley, Duke of York; 8, William, Earl of Henault; 9, Edmond of Woodstock, Earl of of Kent; 10, Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent; 11, Edmond Holland, Earl of Kent; 12, Richard, Earl of Arundel; 13, Roger Quenty, Earl of Winchester; 14, William, Earl of Ferrers; 15, Lord Wake; 16, James, Lord Audley; 17, Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers of Churtley; 18, Ralph, Lord Boteler; 19, Robert, Lord Whittney; 20, Thomas, Lord Roche.

"This pedigree is a good illustration of the practice of ostentatious pedigree making which prevailed in the reigns of Q. Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I. It probably took its rise from the researches which were made in the time of Henry VII, to ascertain the Tudors' descent, and was afterwards revived in the time of Edward VI, when a great stir was made to draw out the Herbert pedigree, on the creation of the second Earl of Pembroke, to shew his from the Chamberlain, or, as some say, the natural son of Henry I, thus connecting him with the royal line, the correctness of which, however, although registered by royal authority in the College of Arms at the time, has been shewn by Sir Samuel Meyrick not to be quite free from suspicion when all the evidences are accurately and carefully examined."

The pedigree is on paper, 7 ft. 5 in. long, by 1 ft. 3½ in. wide.

By Professor Church.—A silver "cup," 5½ inches high, inscribed—"THE · CVPPE · P'TENYNG · TO · RANYNGHAM," and bearing the Norwich Assay mark, and a "cover" inscribed—RANYNGHAM Aº 1568. The peculiarities of the Norwich Elizabethan church cups were spoken of by Mr. W. Cripps, who said that they were invariably short in form and have the name of the church to which they belong marked on the band round the bowl in the place of the woodbine pattern of earlier times. The Hall marks gave the date of this example as 1566-7. Most of the church plate in Norfolk was of this period, the weight being sometimes added. The appearance of Mr. Cripps' exhaustive work on plate is something to look forward to.

By Mr. Parker.—A stirrup iron found in September 1876, in the Old Ford at Islip, near Oxford, in excavating for the foundations of a new bridge over the river Ray. This was found, entirely free from rust, about ten feet down, and appears to have been worked by the hammer only. The sides are bound with a flatted gold wire, the edges of the foot being gilt in the same way and the under side beaten up as if to give more hold for a mailed foot, or possibly for such a naked or stockinged foot as is shown on an effigy in Tewkesbury Abbey. Mr. Fortnum thought it was mediæval, and this opinion was borne out by the mask head on one side resembling the label terminations so constantly seen in connection with the architecture of the reigns of the three first Edwards, and not after.

Mr. Parker also exhibited two iron horse shoes found in Oxford in

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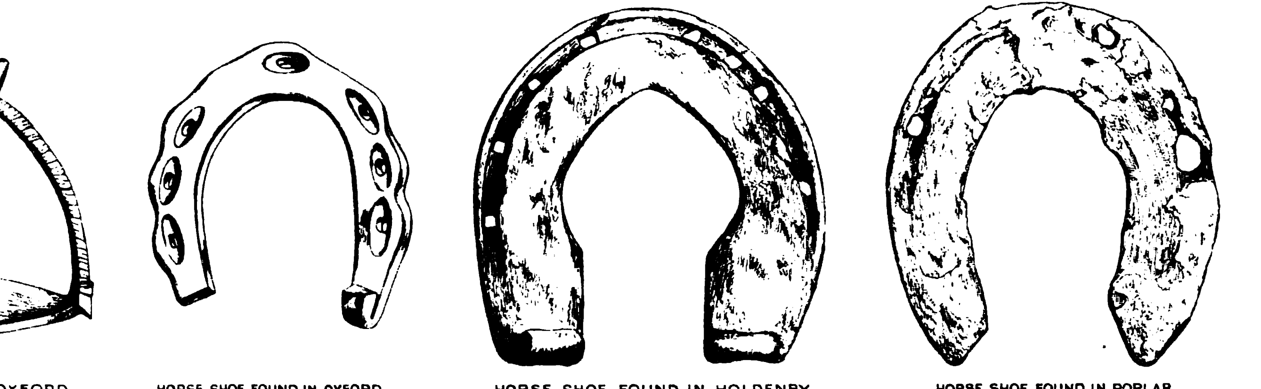

STIRRUP FOUND IN OXFORD. HORSE SHOE FOUND IN OXFORD. HORSE SHOE FOUND IN HOLDENBY. HORSE SHOE FOUND IN POPLAR.

Scale of Inches.

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June 1876. Concerning these objects, Mr. G. A. Rowell has obligingly contributed the following account:—

"During the recent drainage works in Titmouse-lane (leading from the Canal Wharf to the Old Castle) several iron horse shoes of a peculiar form were found at about fifteen feet below the surface. One, from a sort of clay not far from the Castle, is bronze-like in appearance, and, although somewhat worn, as bright as if just made; the others were from a mixed soil, and are more or less incrusted with it, but there is not a speck of rust on any of them, although it is probable they had been underground from Romano-British times.

"From Fleming's exhaustive work on "Horse-shoes and Horse-shoeing," it appears that neither the Greeks or Romans, until a century or two after the Christian era, shod their horses with metal, or, at least, with such shoes as were nailed to the feet; but that horse-shoes, similar to those now in question, have been found, with the well-known celt and other bronze articles, in Celtic and Gaulic graves on the continent and in Great Britain; all such horse-shoes being small in size and similar in form, showing that the horses of these regions in those days were diminutive as compared with those generally of later times. The quality of the iron of one shoe has been tested by Mr. Neill, of Corn Market-street, who states that is of the very best quality, and such as it would be difficult or hardly possible to procure in the metal market.

"Several persons by whom they have been seen object to the high antiquity assigned to them, and, from their proximity to the old Castle when found, hold that they were within the boundaries of the old moat, thus accounting for the depth at which they were found, and assigning them to a period not earlier than the Norman, or perhaps that of the siege of the Castle by King Stephen. Such at first were my opinions on the subject, but on consideration, I believe there are fair grounds for the opinion that they are of a period long anterior to the Normans, and probably preceding that of the Roman invasion.

"No objection grounded on the long period since Celtic times can hold good on this question, as the conditions which have preserved these shoes in the earth without a spot of rust, during several centuries, would, if continued, have preserved them in like manner during centuries to come.

"Now it appears certain that these were not shoes of horses which had died on the spot, either from being killed in battle or drowned in the moat, or even thrown into it when dead; as in such cases the shoes would have remained attached to the hoof; or, even if it had been possible that the hoof had completely decayed, the nails would still have been in the shoe, but of the whole of the ten or twelve which were found only four had a nail in them, and these one only. Doubtless horse shoes in early times were far too valuable to throw away, and some of those found have only been worn in a very slight degree. They were not found together, as if lost in the water by accident, but were here and there, some in the lane, others beneath Messrs. Ward's coal wharf, and two, at about the same level, some feet below the bed of the river where the iron tunnel is laid beneath it. It can hardly be imagined that the castle moat extended to this distance.

"The question, then, is, "How are we to account for horse shoes being deposited as these were found?" One was in clay, and had at the time,

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and still has, a bright polish on the whole of the surface; it was fully imbedded, and it is difficult to conceive how this could have come about at a distance of several feet below the surface of water, as a horse shoe thrown into it would sink to the bottom and rest on the clay, but not become imbedded in it. The other shoes, although equally free from rust, were more or less incrusted in hard concrete of coarse drift sand. My own opinion is that the shoes were cast (or lost) off horses' feet in this place, which (I believe) was the bed of a water course where in dry seasons horses went to drink, although probably in wet seasons it was a deep and rapid river. With such conditions we may understand how a horse treading on clay might leave a loose shoe imbedded in it; and how the other cast shoes, left in the shallow water, were lost to sight at the time, being afterwards covered over by the drift from a rapid stream in flood times, the gravel or sand becoming concreted by the deposit of lime from the Thames water. To fairly consider the existence of such conditions, we have only to imagine what would be the state of the country, even now, if the whole of the locks, mill-dams, railway obstructions, bridges, &c., were altogether away. The floods might at times be sudden and tremendous, the rivers furious torrents, while in dry and hot seasons the water courses, except in the deepest parts, would be empty and dry. Such, doubtless, were the conditions in England in Celtic times, and from the whole of the circumstances under which these shoes were found, I am decidedly of opinion that they are of that period.

"Much could be advanced on the small size of these shoes, showing that they could not have been fit for war horses of Norman or later times; and also on facts in proof of the diminutive size of those of early British times. Those points, however, I will pass over, as my purpose is not so much to prove the great antiquity of the shoes in question, as to direct attention to the state in which the outskirts of Oxford have been in past times, and to suggest that a record should be kept of objects which have been found, and the nature or conditions of any remarkable character, in the earth through which the drainage excavations have been made. Such a record would not only be interesting, from an antiquarian point of view, but might be valuable as regards future works which may have to be carried out.

"The horse shoes have been sent to Chatham for the inspection of Captain Fleming, R.E., author of the work on "Horse-shoes and Horse-shoeing," and I have been favoured with a letter from that gentleman, from which the following is an extract:—'There can be no doubt as to the great antiquity of the shoes. They are exactly the same pattern—nail holes, calkins, weight, and about the same size, as those found with British and Roman remains in this country; also they are identical with shoes I have had from Alesia, in France, found in Gaulish graves, as well as from Rhine grave-yards and from Belgium."

Mr. ROWELL compared these Oxford horse shoes (which have been deposited in the Ashmolean Museum and classed as British) with some of a precisely similar kind found some years ago, with Roman remains, in Gloucester. (See Fleming, p. 253). In 1864 an iron horse shoe of an entirely different type was found with two bronze fibulæ, pottery, and the umbo of a shield, together with many skeletons, all of the Romano-British period, on Coneybury Hill at Holdenby in Northamptonshire.

Mr. DONALD BAYNES exhibited three iron horse shoes found in April

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1877, at depths varying from 18ft. to 24ft. below Trinity high water mark, in excavating for a graving dock at Poplar, Isle of Dogs. The illustration represents that found at the greatest depth.

By the kindness of Miss Eden, Mr. SODEN SMITH exhibited some fragments of ancient Indian pottery, stone arrow-heads and a "bark peeler," from mounds in Florida and Utah.

By Mrs. FREDERICK MEAD.—A watch made by Nat. Chamberlayne, who was admitted a member of the Clockmakers' Company in 1683.

ANNUAL MEETING AT HEREFORD.

August 7 to August 14, 1877.

The desire was expressed some years ago, by many persons who take warm interest in the work of the Institute, that it should visit Hereford, one of the few cathedral cities that still remain unexplored by the Society. The cordial assurance of the warm encouragement that such a visit would receive from the Bishop, the Dean and Chapter, the Municipal authorities, and the leading persons in the city and county was indeed brought before the members at the Meeting at Bury St. Edmund's in 1869. But the prospects of the Institute in this charming neighbourhood had then been lately, in a way, checked. For the Cambrians had crossed the Border in 1868, and, with no disposition to dispute with our learned brethren the debateable ground of the Marches of Wales, it appeared that the suitable time for a visit to Hereford had not yet arrived. Five years later the British Archæological Association made Hereford their head quarters, and in the mean time the Institute have been welcomed and have done good work in other parts of the kingdom, notably at Ripon and Exeter. The kind renewal of the invitation from Hereford, that the Institute should pay a visit thus long contemplated, was an earnest of the cordial reception which it received on the far famed banks of the Wye.

Tuesday, August 7.

The members of the Town Council assembled at the Guildhall shortly before ten o'clock to proceed in state to the Free Library, to present an address of welcome to the Institute. The Mayor (Mr. P. Ralph) wore his robes and chain of office, and was accompanied by the Aldermen and Councillors, several of the magistrates, the clerk of the peace, the sword and mace bearers and nearly all the city officials.

On arriving at the Free Library the procession was conducted to the Woolhope Club Room, and the Mayor took the presidential chair. The Corporation officials then left to escort to the room the President of the Institution, Lord Talbot de Malahide, who was accompanied by the Rev. Sir Talbot Baker, Bart., Mr. Fairless Barber, the Rev. C. W. Bingham, Mr. M. H. Bloxam, Mr. D. Laing, the Rev. J. Lee Warner, the Rev. C. R. Manning, Sir John Maclean, the Rev. J. Fuller Russell, the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, Sir G. Gilbert Scott, the Rev. F. Spurrell, Mr. S. Tucker, Rouge Croix, and many other members of the Council and of

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the Institution. Among others present were the Lord Bishop of Hereford, and a large assemblage of the clergy and gentry of the town and neighbourhood. The proceedings commenced by the Mayor inviting the noble President of the Institution to take the chair and calling upon Mr. F. Bodenham, Clerk of the Peace (acting for Mr. J. Carless, jun., who was absent in consequence of a domestic bereavement), to read the following address of welcome:

To the President and Members of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of Hereford, in Council assembled, desire most cordially to welcome you on the occasion of the holding of the thirty-third annual congress of the Institute in this city.

Hereford has a history dating back to the time of the ancient Kingdom of Mercia, and the see of which it is the cathedral city is now upwards of one thousand years old.

The proximity of Hereford to the Marches of Wales rendered it a place of importance during the troublous times through which England in its earlier history passed.

The district which is included in the different excursions during the ensuing week offers a large and varied field of research to the archæologist; and we look, therefore, with confidence to the congress of 1877 being not the least successful and not the least important in the results which shall have been obtained of the many annual meetings which have been held by the Institute.

It is only of late years that there could be shown to be any connection between a municipal corporation and archæology, but thanks to recent legislation, we can now say that there is, and that we in this city have a practical proof of that connection by the existence of our Free Museum maintained and supported out of the public funds.

It is to archæology we are indebted for a large and interesting portion of the collection which is now in our museum, and it is to the archæologist we must look for its further enrichment, and the addition of objects of interest for exhibition and instruction.

One of the important features of the present day, as contrasted with times past, is the manner in which the ministers of all denominations identify themselves with our principal scientific and literary societies; and it is a matter of congratulation to us to find our esteemed Diocesan presiding at the congress, because his acceptance of the office of president shows not only what importance he attaches to the extension of historical and antiquarian knowledge, but also how he appreciates the district in which he has been called to occupy so high a position.

Given under the Corporate Common seal of the City of Hereford, this 2nd day of August, 1877.

JOSEPH CARLESS, JUN., Town Clerk.

In presenting the address to the President the Mayor said:—

"MY LORD TALBOT, MY LORD, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

"In the name of the citizens of Hereford, I have very great satisfaction in offering you a hearty welcome to this city of Hereford, which has deservedly obtained the epithet of ancient; and as it possesses that epithet it will, I have no doubt, afford you a very interesting field for your

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inquiries, and I sincerely trust we may be blessed with fine weather and that when your rambles through this beautiful county are complete, you will have no reason to regret having selected the city of Hereford as your place of visit on the present occasion."

LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE said: It affords me and our society great satisfaction to meet with a cordial welcome such as is now tendered us by the Corporation of the city of Hereford. We have visited, I may say, all the cathedral towns in England; but this is the first time in our general body that our society have made Hereford their head-quarters. I am sure the meeting will be a very agreeable one, and that we shall derive a great deal of information during our progress and by the papers which will be read by the local antiquarians; and on the other hand perhaps we may be able to communicate some information to those gentlemen who have not roamed much out of this district. The advantages will be mutual, and that is one of the great benefits of these gatherings. Independent of this I am delighted to see this Corporation attaching so much importance to the antiquity of the city and to those monuments of which they have so much reason to be proud. I trust it will be an incentive to them to retain that feeling, and to resist any of those vandalic attempts to destroy buildings and monuments to which so many associations are attached in future times. Some years ago there was no value whatever attached to an ancient building; in fact people all vied with each other who should destroy and who should spoil. But those times I trust are gone by, or nearly gone by, and it will be a very important thing to have the different Corporations assisting us in the work of staying this evil spirit. I must again express the gratification we feel at the great honour you have paid us. Before I sit down you will allow me to introduce to you the President of this meeting. You are all well aware of the great and estimable qualities of your worthy Diocesan, and I am sure you will welcome him as President. You are all acquainted with the great amenity with which he receives all persons presented to him, and with whom he comes in contact; and I am sure he will make a most excellent president. At present he is exceedingly modest as to his archæological attainments. I have no doubt he will find in the course of his presidency that upon a great many subjects of which he professes now to be ignorant, he already had information. In fact a great number of people have hardly a clear idea of what archæology means. Many of the things which they suppose to be very mysterious are found to be not so puzzling as they imagined when they come to examine and discuss them, and they find that they can take interest in them. I am sure that in the Bishop of Hereford we shall have a most excellent and worthy president; and, therefore, without any further words, I beg to move that the Lord Bishop of Hereford do take the chair as our president during this meeting.

MR. R. HEREFORD said: On behalf of the magistrates of this county, of whom I happen to be an old member, and on behalf—I think I may say of the country gentlemen generally—I assure you there is a great feeling of gratitude to the Institute for having chosen this part of the world for their present meeting. I may say that the body generally of the county gentry do feel very warmly the interest of the Society. They, I think, are proud of their county and of the objects which it may and can present to the Institute for inspection. The weather at present is rather unfortunate, but I do hope it will be fine, and that all will be

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highly satisfied with the excursions in the country; that all will be pleased with the various objects of interest with which they will meet, and that they will leave this county impressed with pleasant recollections of their visit.

The BISHOP of HEREFORD having been placed in the chair, then rose and said: Mr. Mayor, my Lord, my Friends and Neighbours,—When Lord Talbot was good enough to mention to you as he did just now that I had considerable diffidence as to my acquaintance with archæology, he did me no more than justice; but at the same time he put me some little at my ease when he told us that there were many people in the world who did not know very much what archæology was. I am one of those unhappy persons, and I think Lord Talbot will bear me witness when I say that when he did me the honour of asking me to undertake the highly responsible office of President of this meeting at Hereford, I assured him that if it was to involve an archæological speech I must respectfully beg to decline it, for I do think very sincerely that for a man to stand up and talk upon a subject of which he really knows nothing, is not only a very serious inconvenience to himself but an insult to those who have to hear him. So it was with very considerable apprehension that I received a paper, a copy of which I hold in my hand, informing me that at ten o'clock this morning I was going to give an "Inaugural Address," for I thought "It is impossible: What am I to say? I have told the President that I really and truly do not know anything about archæology. What can I say which will at all come under the designation of an inaugural address?" Perhaps the last sentence of the address which the Mayor, Aldermen, and citizens of the City of Hereford have presented to the members of the Institute would furnish me with a text on which I might say just a few words by way of shewing the interest which I, in common with the rest of the clergy, must naturally take in such a subject as that which the members of this Institute are going to bring before us during the following week. It is stated in this address that one of the important features of the present day as contrasted with times past is the manner in which the ministers of all denominations identify themselves with our principal scientific and literary societies. And I suppose that is meant to draw attention generally to the fact that the clergy of the Church of England with the clergy of all denominations do really and truly welcome and take a very great interest in any such work as that in which the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland are engaged. In the course of the proceedings which will follow our meeting of to-day you will have evidences I am sure that the clergy of the Church of England at all events do take a great interest in the work. You have, for instance, as the vice-president of Antiquities, the Rev. H. M. Scarth, Hon. Canon of Wells; and as vice-president of the Historical section the Rev. John Jebb, D.D., Canon of Hereford. So I feel I might point to these two names, prominently and immediately connected with our work during the week, to show that the Mayor and Corporation were quite right in drawing public attention generally to the fact that the clergy identify themselves with our principal scientific and literary societies. When they go on to say it is a matter of congratulation to them to find me presiding, inasmuch as my acceptance of the office of president shows not only what importance I attach to education and historical and antiquarian knowledge, but also how I appreciate

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the district in which I have been called to occupy so high a position, that I hope and trust is literally and strictly true. If it were that my previous life had fitted me to take a prominent part in the discussions which will naturally be held during this week, nothing would have given me greater satisfaction than to have borne myself in the fray as well as I could. But it has not been so; my life has been directed—the principal part of it—to another sphere, and I am unable to take any prominent part in any archæological discussions. But, as president of the meeting, I assure you whatever I can do towards promoting harmony in our discussions, and freedom of discussion within the limits which are laid down for us by the title of the papers which have to be read and the subjects which are to be discussed, that I will most willingly and cordially do. . There is an allusion in this very interesting address which has been presented by the Mayor, Aldermen, and citizens of Hereford to-day, to the district in which those interested are about to ramble during the following week; and I can assure them that whatever interest may have attached to other districts which in previous years they may have visited, they will find within our county of Hereford, and in the adjacent counties in which they are about to make a foray, many valuable architectural remains and other archæological associations. When for instance we find they are about, as part of their proceedings to day, to hear first in this room and then in the Cathedral, from the lips of him whom I think I may without any flattery regard as being one of the fathers of archæology,—when they hear from his lips a description of the Cathedral, I feel quite certain that they will go away convinced at all events that the city of Hereford has one building which is worthy of most careful and diligent study. To morrow, under the guidance of that same prominent architect, they are privileged to visit the churches of Ludlow and Leominster, and to hear from him a description of the two churches in these several towns, and also from Mr. Clark an account of that most interesting Castle of Ludlow. That alone, I say without any hesitation, would amply repay a long journey; and I am quite certain that they will derive very great pleasure and profit from that visit. On the following day (Thursday) they will exercise their powers of locomotion in the city and neighbourhood. On Friday a singularly interesting excursion is proposed, through Haywood Forest, to Kilpeck Church and Castle, thence to Kenderchurch, Ewyas Harold Castle and Church, and Abbeydore Church, to Whitfield; thence to Madley Church, and home by Clehonger and Belmont Priory. Those of us who live in the immediate neighbourhood are well acquainted with the present condition of Kilpeck Church and the remains of that most interesting castle; but seeing that Mr. Clark, who surely we all know is the man in all England to talk about castles, will be your guide on that occasion, and will give an account of the Castle of Kilpeck, that, I am quite certain, is an inducement which no lover of archæology will, if he can help it, omit to embrace. A nicer drive than that, if the weather is propitious, you will not find I venture to say in any part of the world. On Saturday Ross, Goodrich Castle, and Flanesford Priory will be visited. On Monday again there is an interesting excursion to the great camp at Magna Castra, Kenchester, along the Roman road, crossing Offa's Dyke, passing through Garnon's Park, visiting Byford and Monnington Churches, Moccas, Bredwardine, crossing the bridge

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by way of Staunton-on-Wye, Norton Canon, through Foxley Grounds to Mansell Lacy, Brinsop, and Credenhill Church, and Camp. Now, will you allow me as president, to assure the strangers who are present here that the bill of fare which has been provided for them on this programme of the proceedings of the Congress is really and truly a very delightful one indeed, and that of all the places which I have thus cursorily mentioned whilst I have been going through the intended excursions, there is not one that will not amply repay careful and diligent study. Just for instance, take Moccas Church. I suppose in that neighbourhood there are three or four churches of peculiar and singular interest. You have Kilpeck Church, Moccas Church, and Peterchurch—three singularly interesting specimens of Norman, of slightly post-Norman, and possibly in one of them even pre-Norman work. But these are points on which I think it would be impertinent in me to dwell, because there are those present who have made these matters their study, and the public generally will much rather listen to them than to me, who can only derive such information as I possess at second-hand. I should like to say with respect to Leominster Church, that that is one of the churches which, if you will forgive me for saying so, lies most heavily on my heart. It is a church which ought to be restored; it is a church which deserves the most careful study and restoration, and if we may judge from the way in which the restoration of the old Norman nave has been carried out—if we may judge from that, seeing that the progress of the work has been entrusted to the same eminent architect who carried out the former work, I feel sure we may be perfectly confident that under Sir Gilbert Scott's auspices, those two naves which now form what we call the parish church will some day, if funds are forthcoming, present that aspect which every lover of church architecture will desire they should present. I hope and trust that at all events one advantage of this visit of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland to our county of Hereford will be, that it will stir up such a spirit through the diocese that we shall put our shoulders to the wheel, and, as a memorial, possibly of the visit of this Institute, resolve that Leominster Church shall be restored. At present the funds are not in a state in which I for one should like them to be, but I won't despair. Why should I? I hope and trust the good hand of our God is upon us, and he prospering us, we His servants will arise and build. I hope that not only will that magnificent west window of the church be preserved, as I know it will, but that those interesting specimens of the ball-flower ornaments which go all round the south side of the church will be preserved in all their beauty; and that the time will come when the chancel, which you will see is absolutely necessary, will be projected from the east; and that we shall see Leominster at last once more provided with church room in some degree, at all events, commensurate with the wants of the place. The members of the Institute have a hard day's work before them, and therefore it would be unwise in me to trespass at any greater length on their patience, the more so because, as I said when I first rose, I cannot pretend that this is in any sense an inaugural address; that did not enter into the bargain between me and Lord Talbot. I was simply to take the chair from time to time at the various meetings, and to do my best to make things pleasant and agreeable to the various members of the Institute. That I will endeavour to do. I

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should like to say on the part of the Cathedral authorities what I am sure would have been said more ably by the Dean than by me if he had been present. As he is not here, Dr. Jebb will forgive me if for one moment I venture to make myself a member of the Chapter, and say I am sure that the Cathedral authorities will welcome you, gentlemen and ladies, members of this Institute, with the utmost cordiality, and that they will show, both by the manner in which they open the Cathedral and its treasures to your consideration, and also by the very interesting lecture which one of their body is about to deliver upon a very abstruse subject, that they as well as the Mayor and Corporation and Magistrates of the county do take very deep and heartfelt interest in the work to which you devote so much time, and patience, and money. It will be my business as president of the meeting, to place myself at at your service as much as possible during the week upon which we have entered archæologically to-day. I only hope that you will command my services in any way in which you think they will conduce to the prosperity and success of the meeting. I think it would be an improper thing to say how certain we are that the members of the Institute will be gratified by the way in which they have been received. When the proper time comes Lord Talbot will have a few words to say to you as to the manner in which the city of Hereford from end to end has received them on this most interesting occasion.

Lord Talbot de Malahide said, I am sure you have listened with great attention and interest to this excellent inaugural address of your President, and he has shewn most completely by his address that he is fully competent to go much more into the subject than he imagines. He has completely borne me out in the few sentences I made before, and I may say he will make a most suitable President of the meeting.

The Bishop then said that as President of this meeting it became his duty to inform them that strictly speaking the inaugural proceedings of of the day had now come to a close. According to the programme, they would meet at twelve o'clock for a far pleasanter object than that which brought them together in that room. They would meet at the Mayor's *déjeuner*, and enjoy his hospitality. Afterwards Sir Gilbert Scott would give a lecture on the Cathedral.

The Bishop added that Mrs. Atlay and himself would be most happy to receive members of the Institute at the Palace from eight to eleven.

The Mayor's luncheon party took place at the Green Dragon Hotel under the presidency of his Worship, and numbered about a hundred and fifty guests. The usual loyal toasts having been given and honoured, Lord Hampton proposed the health of "the Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese, and the Ministers of all Denominations," which was responded to by the Bishop and the Rev. J. O. Hill. Mr. Evan Pateshall, M.P., proposed the toast of "the Army, Navy, and Reserve Forces," for which Major Arbuthnot returned thanks. The Hon. and Very Rev. the Dean proposed the health of Lord Talbot de Malahide, who, in returning thanks, spoke of the great pleasure the members of the Institute felt at their hearty reception in Hereford, and concluded by proposing the health of the Mayor, whose genial hospitality they had enjoyed. The Mayor, in responding, alluded to the great loss that the city had lately sustained in the death of Mr. Townshend

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Smith, which had cast a gloom over their proceedings. As the funeral was to take place in the afternoon he would only propose one more toast, namely, that of Sir John Maclean, through whose indefatigable exertions the meeting of the Institute had so happily commenced. A few remarks from Sir John Maclean brought the proceedings to a close.

At 2.30 the Historical Section opened in the Woolhope Club Room, under the presidency of Mr. T. Gambier Parry, when Sir G. Gilbert Scott read an admirable paper on Hereford Cathedral, treating minutely and at full length upon the architecture and the historical features of the building, and illustrating his remarks by plans and drawings. (This is printed at p. 323.)

At half-past four Sir Gilbert Scott led a very large company round the Cathedral, pointing out with great lucidity the various parts of the building which he had referred to in his paper, the reputed shrine of Bishop Cantilupe receiving a large share of attention. The cloisters were subsequently examined under the same able guidance, and finally the crypt, and the company broke up at seven o'clock.

In the course of the afternoon many of the members inspected, under the guidance of the Rev. F. T. Havergal, the interesting Library over the north transept. Here the MSS and chained books on their original shelves excited much attention, and the hearty thanks of all antiquaries and bibliophiles are due to Dr. Jebb and Mr. Havergal for the care and labour they have bestowed upon them.

A party numbering nearly 200 ladies and gentlemen were received at the Palace in the evening by the Bishop and Mrs. Atlay. Here in the hall, probably built by Bishop Foliot in the time of King Stephen, Dr. Bull read an able and lively paper on the "Myths and Folk-lore of the Apple," which brought a long and interesting day to a close.

Wednesday, August 8.

A large party started at 9.20 by rail to Ludlow. The weather was unpropitious, and Ludlow of all places requires sunshine to do justice to its silvan beauties. Mr. Clark met the party, which had much increased, at the outer gate of the castle, and commenced his work by making the tour of the exterior, taking advantage of the excellent walk provided for that purpose. He thence pointed out the junction of the town wall with the castle, the ditch in the upper part of the natural slope, and the deep rocky ravine of the Teme, which, before the country was cleared of wood and drained, must have been often choked with trunks of trees brought down by the floods, adding much to the difficulties of an attack on the Welsh and most exposed side. He then shewed Mortimer's tower on the outer wall, an Early English insertion, with Decorated internal fittings, the Bakehouse tower, square and Norman, standing on the junction of the outer and inner wards, the Postern tower and doorway, also Norman, and marking the junction of the inner and middle wards, and the Curtain wall, the base of which is Norman. At the north-east angle was seen the stately height of the Buttery tower, mainly Norman, with a curious squinch arch containing the outlet of a garderobe, as on the walls of Southampton and Porchester, and along the same northern part the wall of the great hall with its long narrow windows and polygonal staircase turret. Next beyond the hall was seen the magnificent

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Garderobe tower, of great height and dimensions, and wholly of Decorated date, and an addition to the old line of wall. It is named from two very large and very perfect shoots which occupy each of its three faces, at the basement, and mark the purpose for which it was in part constructed. Beyond this are seen windows of various dates and patterns, two, low down, with fine Early Perpendicular tracery; and above some wretched Tudor or Stuart insertions pertaining to the domestic apartments, and connected with the remains of the timber supports of the balconies. Beyond this a Norman rectangular tower stands at the junction of the walls of the middle and outer ward, and is succeeded by the outer ward wall, a modern restoration, of which the ditch has been filled up. Upon this stands another mural tower, also Norman, which completes the proof that the original castle stood on the same exterior lines with that at present seen.

Having thus completed the round Mr. Clark entered the outer gate, of which the ditch is filled up and the drawbridge gone, but the doorway, Early English or Decorated, seems to be an insertion into a Norman wall. There is in fact no gatehouse, only a sort of passage between two lateral walls, not uncommon in Norman castles.

Entering the outer ward, was seen on the left a row of stabling erected for the accommodation of the Council of Wales, and further on the remains of some perpendicular buildings, possibly a chapel, now walled off from the ward. The ditch between the outer and middle ward was next crossed by a bridge. The ditch itself has had its counterscarp revetted with masonry, and its V shaped bottom made level, like the ditch of Walmer and the blockhouses of Henry VIII. Attached to the gate were seen the flanking walls of the old drawbridge. The archway is an early insertion, no doubt replacing a Norman gate. The gatehouse is Tudor. Probably there was no original gatehouse, only a doorway in the curtain, as at Ogmore and Newcastle-by-Bridgend, and at Cardiff.

On the left was seen the Norman keep, a very peculiar structure, T shaped, with two doors upon the curtain. The original entrance was on the ground floor, with a mural stair ascending to the first floor, as at Chepstow, Carlisle, and Bamborough. The basement was an Early English vault, and a Late Norman addition has been added to the east side. Mr. Clark was of opinion that the north side with the turnpike stair were not original. Near the keep was the Bakehouse tower, so called from a Tudor oven of large size inserted in its basement. The tower, like one at Porchester, had originally an open gorge, to prevent its being held, when taken, against the garrison. Near it is the well, placed most inconveniently, in front of the Postern tower. These buildings stand in the inner ward, which occupies one corner of the middle ward. It is entered by a small Norman door in the curtain.

Leaving the inner ward by this door, on the left was seen the ruins of the kitchen, a detached building of ample size and Decorated date, along on one side of which was part of the old fire-place, and at one end of it an oven. A door behind the kitchen had been broken into the inner ward to reach the well.

The interior of the Buttery tower came next, in substance Norman, and originally open at the gorge, the cross wall at the upper level having been added when the late buttery was built in its rear. Right

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and left in the basement are seen two tunnels leading to chambers in the Norman wall.

Next to the buttery is the Great Hall, a very fine room, having a timber floor upon a cellar or store, an open timber roof, now gone, and in the south side three large windows and a handsome door opening into the court, the latter by a fine flight of steps. The north side is the outer curtain, and is pierced by three long, narrow Decorated windows of one light crossed by a transom, and looking out upon the meads of the Corve. There was no fire-place, that last in use having been constructed by closing the central large window. As at Penshurst, the hall was warmed by a central stove or grate. The gallery was high up in the east end of the hall, opening from the domestic apartments, a large and lofty range of buildings, mainly of Decorated date, with some handsome windows and fire-places at different levels. Beyond these, in the north-east corner of the ward, is the Norman tower, with a passage which led to the curtain rampart.

Having thus conducted the party through the different parts of the castle, Mr. Clark closed with the curious circular church, the castle chapel, one of the six round churches known in the kingdom, the others being the Temple, that at Cambridge, that at Northampton, one at Maplestead, and the foundations of one on the West Cliff at Dover. This is late and highly ornate Norman. The roof and chancel are gone, but the west end chancel arch is very rich, as are the windows of the nave and the interior arcade which surrounds it. Here, notwithstanding the rain, Mr. Clark recapitulated the features of the castle, gave a sketch of its history, and entered at some length into its position in the defence of the March, and into the history and privileges of a Marcher Lordship. The audience, umbrellas in hands, shewed consummate patience, and the lecture was brought to a close by an allusion to the interest shown in those and similar historic ruins by the English speaking visitors from the United States, and to the fact that in the gate house Butler wrote a part of *Hudibras*, and in the great hall the *Masque of Comus* was first given to the world. A very cordial vote of thanks to the lecturer was proposed by the Bishop of Hereford, and carried by acclamation, when the visitors moved to the great parish church of St. Lawrence, where Sir Gilbert Scott had the advantage of a roof over his head.

This noble cruciform edifice consists of a nave of six bays with north and south aisles, a central lantern and tower, transepts, chancel, south chancel aisle, and a chapel of St. John the Evangelist on the north side of chancel. The internal dimensions are 205 feet in length by 80 feet across the nave and aisles, and 135 feet at the transepts: the central tower, which is of good proportions, is 166 feet high to the pinnacles. Sir Gilbert Scott drew attention to the slight traces of Norman work in the jambs and bases of the west door, and of Transitional or Early English substructure to within one bay of the east end of the chancel. The south aisle windows are Early English, but those of the north aisle are exactly similar in pattern—two cinquefoil lancets under a cinquefoil head—to those in the central tower of Hereford Cathedral, and many Herefordshire churches, although unfortunately no date can at present be ascertained in any instance. In early Perpendicular days the piers were rebuilt, and the lofty central tower erected, support being ob-

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tained by the device of flinging half arches as flying buttresses to the tower-piers, across each aisle-end from the transepts, which themselves have flamboyant windows. There were evidences that the reconstruction of the nave preceded that of the tower. The members then proceeded to examine the church. The rood loft still exists (as well as the stairs), and has panelled imitation of groining on its soffits. The stalls are fine specimens of fifteenth century wood-carving, and are ornamented beneath with grotesque carving. The church was re-decorated by Sir Gilbert in 1860, when the lantern—previously concealed by a ceiling—was opened out, and the piers straightened. In the chapel of St. John the Evangelist are three fine north windows, filled with stained glass, which have been carefully repaired and refitted by Mr. Powell. Two of the windows, which appear to be fifteenth century in date, represent in several compartments the twelve Apostles, each with his proper symbol, and composing part of the Apostles' creed, the rays of inspiration being shed from the Dove on the head of each; the tones are quiet and severe, and more pleasing in effect than the somewhat earlier third window, which is to the west of these. Mr. Bloxam called attention to the exquisite arrangement of the drapery and sculpture of the effigies on the tomb of Dr. John Brydgeman, who died 1637, and his wife. They were the work of Fanelli, an Italian sculptor, also employed on the tomb of Alderman Blackleach at Gloucester Cathedral. The church is rich in monuments of the Lords of the Marches; the stained glass east window representing the martyrdom of St. Lawrence, and the series of figures in the fifteenth century reredos beneath are worthy of detailed study. Some discussion took place with reference to a singular cavity in the east wall, which was lighted by a lancet trefoiled opening, with grated bars, of fourteenth century design. Mr. Bloxam expressed the opinion that it was a treasury or place for plate. The Heart of Arthur, Prince of Wales, was buried in the chancel. Some years ago the silver box, in which it was encased, was taken up, and the Heart found to be double. The case was embezzled by the sexton, and the inscription on the wall recording the interment whitewashed over in 1748, and forgotten. Some curious recesses in the wall of the north aisle excited some discussion, as these features have been conjectured to have some connection with the interment of Prince Arthur's heart.

Luncheon was provided in the well-known Feathers Inn. A visit was afterwards paid by invitation of the Mayor to the town museum, a well-arranged and cared-for but rather small establishment, containing a series of charters granted the borough by Edward IV (1461), Henry VIII (1509), Edward VI (1552), Mary (1553), Elizabeth (1596), James I (1604), Charles I (1628), Charles II (1665), and James II (1685), some of the earlier ones being admirably illuminated—flint weapons, natural history, and geological collections, the last being very complete. The members then returned by train to Leominster, where the company was met at the station by the Mayor (E. Gunnell, Esq.) Some of the members went in carriages through the town to the church, the rest taking a shorter cut to it by the mill. The building is now undergoing restoration. Sir Gilbert Scott said that the church was built by King Henry I, about 1125, for the monastery dependent on his great abbey at Reading. It

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consisted of a fine and massive Norman nave with its narrow aisles—a central tower, an apsidal presbytery or sanctuary eastward, with a continuous aisle or ambulatory—transepts, and five chapels; two projecting from the transepts, two from the ambulatory, and a lady chapel of considerable size (probably owing its dimensions to a later date) to the east. The nave has the usual stages in its height of arcade, triforium, and clerestory. The choir of the monks was, no doubt, mainly under the central tower, but projected by one bay into the nave. The use of the nave itself may not improbably have been shared by the townsmen. Whether it was the result of a disagreement between the monastery and the town, like that which led to such disastrous consequences a couple of centuries later, at Sherborne, we do not know; but in the earlier half, apparently, of the thirteenth century a remarkable alteration was made in the structure of the church. The south aisle of the nave was taken down, and a new nave, fully as large as the older one, was added, side by side with it, and of such height as to enclose on one side both the arcade, triforium, and clerestory of the Norman nave. This new nave was probably used by the townsmen, and in the next century seems to have been found insufficient; for, strange to say, they then added a third collateral nave, of the same size as the others; so that (the eastern portions having disappeared at the dissolution) the church now consists, besides the small north aisle, of three naves side by side of about equal dimensions; one of the twelfth, the second (originally) of the thirteenth, and the third of the fourteenth century. The architecture of the church, the lecturer said, was of the greatest possible degree of plainness, and it might on that account be attributed to an earlier age, but, as he said at Hereford, plainness was not proof of earliness but often of paucity of funds. He wished that the curtains put up across the arches to screen the work going on at the other side of the building had been removed to give them a full view, and in criticising the blocks on the arches, expressed his opinion that the late Mr. Roberts had in his theory made out a *primâ facie* case.

The members also visited the Town Hall, where light refreshments, offered by the Mayor, were partaken of, and the maces inspected. In the Corn Exchange below stood the ancient ducking-stool for scolds, said to have been used during the last generation, consisting of a wooden arm-chair balanced on a beam some twenty-four feet in length, the whole being supported on a stout frame and massive wheels, or rather circular discs of wood. The ancient Town Hall was also visited; it is a fine half-timbered building of great solidity of construction, and formerly stood in the centre of the town; some years since it was moved to an open space near the church, and is now occupied under the title of the Grange House, as a residence, by Mr. Moore.

The arrival of the party at Hereford shortly after six o'clock brought an eminently successful day to a close.

In the evening the Antiquarian Section met in the Woolhope Clubroom, when the President, Sir W. Guise, Bart., gave an address on the archæological results of the past year.

No such year of success in all branches of archæological research as this had occurred previously within the speaker's remembrance. Referring first to the excavations made at Olympia, where the site of the great Temple of Zeus, described by Pausanias, had been

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disinterred under the superintendence of Professor Von Curtius, of Berlin, the discoveries of Dr. Schliemann were alluded to, regret being expressed that the learned doctor had done but scant justice to his precursors in the field of Troy—notably to that of Charles Maclaren—in his published work and in his addresses before the learned societies of London. Whether Dr. Schliemann's finds were really those of the treasures and tomb of Agemmenon and his companions must still remain a doubtful question. The discovery of an ancient Etruscan sepulchre, rich in jewels and gold, in a field at Palestrina during last year, had more than passing interest in the controversy as to the origin of the Etruscan language. Amongst the contents of the tomb was a silver tazza, exhibiting in its ornamentation the same mixture of Egyptian and Assyrian styles as that upon a tazza from Cyprus and another from Salerno. It was interesting to observe that all the archaic remains found in Cyprus, Salyons, Ilium Novum or Hissarlick, Olympia, Mycenæ, and perhaps the tombstones of the second period at Bologna, have a general resemblance in style and ornamentation. Antiquarian and linguistic science had sustained an irreparable loss by the removal from amongst us of Mr. George Smith, of the British Museum. He seems to have discovered the site of Carchemish, a chief place of the once powerful Hittite people, who have been claimed by Mr. Hyde Clarke as the ancestors of the Etruscans.

The President further suggested that each member of the Institute might do something to aid in the onward march of archaic science by accurate observation in his own neighbourhood, and most of all by aiding in the conservation of ancient monuments. For this latter object he hoped that Sir John Lubbock's bill would soon become law, and that the Institute would share in the honour by using all its influence to overcome the private and territorial scruples to the bill.

The Rev. Prebendary Scarth then read a Paper on "The Roman Milliaries of Britain," which is printed at page 395, and the meeting terminated with some remarks from the President on the great work that remained to be done by the local societies in tracing out the course of the Ancient Roman Roads.

The Rev. E. Hill read a Paper, by the Rev. C. J. Robinson, on "Materials for a History of Herefordshire," which is printed at page 425.

Thursday, August 9.

At nine a.m. the General Meeting of the Members of the Institute took place in the Woolhope Clubroom, Lord Talbot de Malahide in the chair.

Mr. Hartshorne read the balance sheet for the past year (printed at page 307). He then read the following

"Report of the Council for the Year 1876-7.

"In presenting the Report for the past year the Council has much pleasure in congratulating the Members of the Institute upon the great success, both archæologically and financially, of the last Annual Meeting at Colchester. In respect to attendance by the members and by the local gentry, from the latter of whom the most cordial hospitality was received, the meeting was eminently satisfactory.

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"The Council would further congratulate the Members on the flourishing financial condition of the Institute, as shown by the Balance Sheet. Two causes have materially contributed to this result—the unusual amount of the receipts from the Colchester Meeting, and the successful collection of outstanding and overdue subscriptions.

"The Council is, however, impressed with the necessity for a watchful economy in expenditure, and to this end, upon a careful review of the cost of printing the Journal, it has deemed it desirable to discontinue the employment of Messrs. Bradbury and Agnew as printers of the *Journal*, and to entrust that work to Mr. Pollard, of Exeter, thereby effecting a saving of upwards of £80 a year, the execution of the work being in every respect as satisfactory as heretofore.

"The General Index to the first twenty-five volumes of the *Journal*, for the publication of which the Members of the Institute and others have for several years been anxious, has been compiled by the late Mr. Burtt, and some portion of it had been sent to press when the work was interrupted by his fatal illness and lamented death. The Council have, however, the pleasure of reporting that Sir John Maclean has kindly consented to complete the work thus commenced, and to state that he hopes to be able to issue the Volume to the special Subscribers within the present year. The names of additional Subscribers are, however, earnestly invited to supply the place of those who have unhappily been removed in the course of the time during which the work has been in hand.

"With the exception of a temporary interruption arising from the fatal illness of Mr. Burtt, the work of the Institute has been carried on and the general meetings held as usual. Of the latter, two meetings have been of remarkable interest and importance. At the first in consideration of the great services to archæological science rendered by Dr. Schliemann in his discoveries at Mycenæ, the Institute had the gratification of presenting to that distinguished man a diploma of honorary membership for himself, and also through him a similar diploma to Mrs. Schliemann, his able assistant in his laborious investigations. At the second meeting referred to, at which the Duke of Argyle, the Very Rev. the Archimandrite of the Greek Community, his Excellency the Greek Chargé d'Affaires, Lord Houghton, and the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone were present, Mrs. Schliemann favoured the Institute with a most interesting lecture on the "High Culture of the Ancient Greeks, the long series of events which contributed to it, the reasons of its decay, and the advantages of the language of Plato." In the discussion which followed the above mentioned distinguished persons took a conspicuous part.

"Mr. Ranking's engagement as Librarian and Secretary having been terminated, the Council has appointed Mr. Albert Hartshorne and Mr. William Brailsford as joint Secretaries. To the former has been assigned the responsible editorship of the *Journal*, and the latter to act as Curator and Librarian.

"The Council has already alluded to the great loss the Institute has sustained in the death of Mr. Burtt, for many years the active Honorary Secretary of the Institute.

"It is difficult to estimate too highly this loss. From Mr. Burtt's long association with Mr. Albert Way he had to a considerable extent

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acquired the habits of business and the practical knowledge of that lamented friend of the Institute. The death of Mr. Burtt must therefore for some time be severely felt by the Institute. It having come to the knowledge of the Council that Mr. Burtt had left his family ill provided for, the Council, in recognition of his valuable services for many years, deemed it right to give the members of the Institute an opportunity of contributing to a fund for the benefit of his widow and children. This appeal was met by a ready and liberal response. A sum exceeding £390 was subscribed, the greater part of which, at the wish of the family, has been paid to Mrs. Burtt, the balance remaining for the present in the hands of the Honorary Treasurer of the fund.

"Among our other losses by deaths of members since the last Annual Meeting the Council have to lament that of Mr. Talbot Bury. That gentleman was for many years a member of the Council and a constant attendant at its meetings as well as at the ordinary meetings of the Institute. He was ever ready to aid and assist by his advice, and his kindly smile and genial manner will long be missed. Although not a member of the Institute, the death of Mr. Edmund Sharpe cannot be passed over in silence, and it is seldom that the Council is called upon in its Annual Report to express regret at a greater loss to the archaeological world. Of his well-known attainments it is unnecessary here to speak at length. His magnificent work, "the Architectural Parallels," is unequalled of its kind, and will ever form a monument to his unrivalled skill and ability. At the Annual Congress at Ripon the zeal and energy with which Mr. Sharpe entered into the proceedings contributed very largely to the success of the meeting.

"In accordance with the resolutions adopted at Canterbury in 1875 the Council recommend the election of Mr. E. Oldfield, Sir John Maclean, Colonel Pinney, and Mr R. H. Soden Smith as Vice-Presidents; and Mr J. Winter Jones, the Rev. J. Fuller Russell, the Rev. R. P. Coates, Sir S. D. Scott, Bart., Mr. O. Morgan, Lord Alwyne Compton, Mr. R. Clutterbuck, the Rev. H. O. Coxe, Mr. C. T. Newton, Sir G. G. Scott, and Mr. G. L. Watson as ordinary members of the Council. As Auditor in the place of Mr. H. S. Milman the Council recommend Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith."

The adoption of the Report having been moved by the Rev. C. W. Bingham and seconded by Mr. Fairless Barber, a letter was read by Mr. Hartshorne from the Mayor and Corporation of Northampton, inviting the Institute to visit that town. On the motion of Mr. M. H. Bloxam, seconded by the Rev. W. Dyke, it was unanimously carried that Northampton be the place of meeting in 1878.

Mr. S. J. Tucker *(Rouge Croix)* referred to the serious illness of Mr. Parker, and proposed that a letter should be written to him by the Secretary, expressing the great regret of the members at the cause which prevented his being among them, and their hope for his speedy recovery. Sir Gilbert Scott and Mr. Bloxam expressed their sorrow at the state of Mr. Parker's health and alluded in kindly terms to their long friendship. The noble President said he had known Mr. Parker for many years; he had always given them most valuable assistance in every way. No man had done more to call public attention to the investigation of the architecture of this and

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other countries, and his writings would always be standard works. Latterly he had taken up the subject of Roman antiquities, and no man had worked more assiduously and more laboriously, both by mind and purse, in order to elucidate and explain the question of Roman antiquities. The numerous photographs which he had caused to be taken would remain most valuable memorials of the state of Roman monuments. Mr. Parker possessed a faculty which very few men—least of all archæologists—possessed in any great degree, and that was that he was not wedded to any particular theory. He had great pleasure in seconding the proposition, and he hoped it would be a solace and comfort to Mr. Parker in his present position. The proposition was carried with acclamation. Sir William Guise proposed and Canon Jebb seconded a vote of thanks to the noble President, and the meeting separated.

The members then visited some of the principal antiquities of the city, proceeding first to All Saints Church. Here Sir Gilbert Scott said that he had lately made an examination of the building, and the only documentary evidence he had seen relating to the church was that it was made over to a certain hospital at Vienna in the time of Edward I, and his conviction was that it was wholly rebuilt at that date. If they looked at it they would see that the work appeared to be a little too late for Early English, and too early for Decorated architecture. The clerestory was clearly Early English, and if it had not been for that he should have said that the whole was Early Decorated. The capitals were very peculiar, being of different forms, but that, he thought, was simply to be attributed to the love of the people of that time for variety. The first church, he thought, had no chancel aisle, but it must have been added by the very people who built the church first without the aisle, because it would be noticed that the mouldings were identical with those of the older work. The alteration must have been made by the people who built the church. He supposed some one must have endowed the chantry, and that they at once continued the building. He pointed out signs of there having been a wall right across, from one pillar to another, in front of the chancel. The removal of that and the building of the chancel aisle was the first alteration. The windows of the aisle had been much altered, but he thought they were of the fourteenth century. The tower they could see nothing of from the nave, but they could see the arch leading into it. The wall across it, which they saw, was nothing but lath and plaster, though it was made to look like stonework. It was very cleverly done. The aisle had been restored, and early capitals had been inserted. Some of the work was of a transitional form between Early English and Early Decorated. The west window was of the time of Edward I, and the work about it was Early English; and he had no doubt the windows on the north side were of the same date, but the heads had been raised since. The other things he should mention in the church were, first, the stalls. They were very much like those in the Cathedral, and were well worth examination. The pulpit was a splendid specimen of a seventeenth century pulpit. It had a very good sounding board, which he hoped would not be removed in the restoration. There had been one restoration and it was not removed. It had been the fashion for the last thirty years to sweep away sounding boards

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altogether—there was a regular crusade against sounding boards. He then pointed to the rood loft, and said that what appeared to be the stonework there, also, was really only lath and plaster, which was so cleverly done that they could not see the doorway. The next thing he would mention was the very fine old chest which they would see in the chapel, and at the end of the chapel there was a library of chained books. He would also mention that there was a very pretty porch to the chancel. The west tower was blocked up, and they could not make much of it, but no doubt when they came to restore the church they would find out all about it. He should like them to go up into the tower and see the very hideous ruin that was there, and the failure that was threatened. But it had been made safe by very uncouth buttresses.

The party then moved to the Cathedral, where the Library was again inspected under the direction of Canon Jebb. Mr. Bloxam, in describing the large number of episcopal effigies in the Cathedral, said that many of them could be dismissed in a single sentence, for they were alike in style, size, and appearance, and seemed to have been the work of the same sculptor, and to have been executed in the fourteenth century. They are arranged under a series of cusped arches, recessed around the Cathedral. The other effigies were not always named or dated, but could be identified, to some extent, by the style of dress, beards, &c., for bishops, like other men, followed the fashions of the times. Many of this series represented the bishops in full canonicals, mitred, and with veiled pastoral staffs, and some of the later monuments had the same peculiarity. This was usually supposed to signify that the bishop was also an abbot, but this could hardly have been the case at Hereford. It was very customary from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century to paint the effigies. More effigies were painted in the latter period than in the earlier. Pointing to one of the episcopal effigies executed in the fourteenth century, the lecturer said that the name of the bishop whom it was supposed to represent had been placed over it. The right hand was in the attitude of benediction, and the pastoral staff was in the left hand, and there were represented the chasuble, dalmatica, tunic, alba, stole, and maniple. In describing the effigy of a bishop of the reformed church, Mr. Bloxam pointed out that he was represented as wearing a square cap, which at one time was a great abomination to the Puritans. There was a frill round the neck, which all persons at that time wore. The deans' monuments were numerous and interesting; that inscribed and known as Dean Borew's, on the south wall of the Lady Chapel, was the most beautiful piece of sculpture in the cathedral, the disposal of the robes being especially graceful. It was not, however, Borew's effigy, for he died in 1462, whereas the style of this was of 1362, or, more probably, just prior to 1350; besides, this figure was bearded, whereas Borew must have been shaven, and would be so represented. The canopy, which bears in the chamfer of the label Borew's rebus (a series of boars with sprigs of rue in their mouths), was unquestionably his, but the monument did not fit its position, and had evidently been brought from another spot. With regard to the alabaster effigy of Sir Richard Pembridge, one of the early Knights of the Garter, Mr. Bloxam related a story that many years ago part of the roof of the cathedral having fallen in and destroyed the right leg, a carpenter was employed to carve a wooden substitute, and taking

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for his pattern the left leg (in both senses of the word) the figure appeared wearing two garters. This anomaly has been subsequently changed to another equally absurd, for the knight now exhibits on the left foot the pointed sollerets of the fourteenth century, and on the other the broad-toed sollerets of the time of Henry VII. With regard to the monument attributed by some authorities to Sir Peter de Grandison, and which had been also assigned to one of the Bohun family, he would not venture to say what date it was, or who it represented.

Mr. S. TUCKER (Rouge Croix) said that in a genealogical point of view it was important that this monument should be correctly named. He did not believe it to be the memorial of Humphrey de Bohun. There were three Humphrey de Bohuns, to whom from its style it was possible the tradition could refer, viz., the 4th, 5th, and 6th Earls of Hereford, who died respectively in 1298, 1321, 1361. Neither of those Humphrey de Bohuns was buried in Hereford. He was much more inclined to believe it was the monument to Sir Peter de Grandison. The adjoining tomb had been named "Johanna de Bohun," simply because it was in proximity to the other "de Bohun." No Earl of Hereford ever married a Kilpeck or a Plokenet. It had been recorded that in 1645 no less than 166 brasses were uprooted from this cathedral, and in 1684 a great many more were found to have been taken away. When the tower fell in 1786 there was a most wholesale destruction of the brasses in the cathedral. Mr. Havergal had heard of a workman metamorphosing one into a mason's square. A great many of those brasses passed into the hands of the late John Bowyer Nicholls, and Mr. John Bruce Nicholls (who still had them intact) said he should be delighted to carry out his father's intention of restoring them to the Cathedral. The importance of preserving monuments of this kind could not be too strongly urged. Many had been destroyed and no pains taken to preserve even the inscriptions.

The Rev. J. LEE WARNER also spoke of the importance of preserving church monuments of all kinds. He compared the effigy attributed to Humphrey de Bohun, with that of Sir Oliver de Ingham at Ingham in Norfolk, who died in 1343.

Mr. HARTSHORNE said that the monument presented a very peculiar example of a tomb canopy. It was Late Decorated in detail but Perpendicular in manner of arrangement. The style of some of the carving might be as early as the end of the reign of Edward II, the characteristic horned flower about the canopy and effigy being very noticeable. He would not undertake to say who the effigy represented, but if Peter de Grandison, who died in 1368, he should have expected to find a costume somewhat similar to that represented on the effigy of Pembridge. The cyclas here shown on the effigy was a very rare garment, which was in fashion for about forty years; the earliest example that had been noticed was shown on the brass of Sir John de Ifield, at Ifield in Sussex, who died in 1317. It had entirely passed away before 1350, and not more than fourteen examples of it occur on sepulchral effigies in the kingdom. It was long behind like the surcote and nearly as short in front as the jupon, and formed the connecting link between the varieties of these two military vestments. It was possible that this effigy may have been made during the owner's lifetime and the canopy subsequently added, for the former does not accurately fit the latter. The architectural details of this particular period were often extremely puzzling, for the

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Late Decorated and the Early Perpendicular overlapped each other to such an extent that it was extremely difficult in a special district to assign to either its proper date without an intimate knowledge of the local peculiarities of each style.

The features of the cathedral were again carefully examined and their pecularities pointed out by Sir Gilbert Scott. Much time was spent in again scrutinizing the details of the Cantilupe shrine, and in endeavouring to fix its date, and to find reasons for its singular form, and the great disparity in the character of the sculpture upon it. Some of this is most spirited and free, other parts being of very inferior workmanship. That the shrine is late thirteenth-century work all agreee, and that it commemorates Cantilupe the exquisite figures of armed knights in bas-relief on the plinth appear to prove, as well as the unbroken line of tradition. With regard to the poor sculptured spandrels, and the generally inferior workmanship in the upper part, it was suggested by Mr. Hartshorne, that the lower stage was carved by a sculptor, and the upper part was left to a stonemason to complete, and that the fractures caused by the four well-authenticated removals were repaired as well as possible, but Mr. Fairless Barber considered that the upper part of the shrine was later than the lower. The walls supporting the central tower exhibited, as Sir Gilbert Scott pointed out *in situ*, a combination of lightness and strength to which there is, perhaps, no parallel example. The walls are hollow; the inner one, for a height of twenty-six feet above the turning of the arches from the great piers at the crossing, consists on every side of piers of compact masonry, bonded by a cross-bar of stone, the intermediate spaces being left open, so as to form a series of gigantic stone gratings, on which the upper stages of the tower rest. Cottingham revealed this unique piece of Transitional Norman construction, which had been concealed by a sixteenth-century fan-vaulting. A somewhat similar arrangement may be observed in the central tower of Worcester Cathedral. In the south-east transept (or Audry chapel) hangs the celebrated map of the world, engrossed and coloured on a sheet of vellum, not later than 1314, by an ecclesiastic named Richard de Haldingham and Lafford, afterwards Archdeacon of Reading. Rivers, seas, and countries are interlined with grotesque sketches of men and animals, and the ideas of comparative topography are very remarkable, the Holy Land occupying about a third of the map, which is circular in form. The admirable fac-simile reproduction of this map, brought out by the energy of Mr. Havergal, is perhaps less known than such a work deserves to be, while the accuracy with which it has been reproduced leaves nothing to be desired.

Leaving the cathedral, the members, under the escort of Mr. J. E. Norris, passed by a cloister on the north side of the south-east transept, to the *College of Vicars Choral*, a low series of buildings erected around a cloistered quadrangle in 1462-72, of poor Perpendicular design. Passing through these they visited the *Castle Green*.

The weather was so unfavourable that there was not much opportunity of carefully examining the site of the castle and what remains of the walls of the city, but Mr. CLARK was kind enough to send the following remarks upon them:—

Hereford is a city of English origin, and first known from having been made the seat of a bishopric in 680. A century later it was the residence

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of Offa, and the cathedral largely benefitted towards the close of the century by his late repentance for the death of Ethelbert. Edward the Elder is said by Grafton to have fortified Hereford, and to have erected a castle there, and by means of the new works Æthelflaed his sister beat back the Danes in 915. In 1055, Ralph the Timid, Earl of Hereford, was beaten by the united Welsh and East Anglians in a pitched battle, after which the city was burned and what the *Brut* calls the "gaer" destroyed. The gaer was, of course, the castle, and the destruction evidently did not extend to its earthworks. This is the inroad the traces of which so long remained, and are recorded in Domesday, and in consequence of which Harold, as Earl of the West Saxons, restored the defences of Hereford, and walled the city, which seems to have been a bank of earth and stone of great strength, "vallum latum et altum" it is called by Florence of Worcester. The defence, however, is in Domesday called a "murus."

In that record, Hereford occupies some space. It contained 130 burgesses and 7 moneyers; and the men of Irchenfield, the tract between the city and the Welsh territory, had the dangerous privilege in local wars of forming the van in an advance and the rear guard in a retreat.

The castle stood on the left bank of the Wye, south-east of the cathedral, and occupied an angle of the city defences, within which it was included, though beyond the Liberties. It was in the parish of St. John, and is described by Leland as one of the fairest, largest, and strongest places in England. It was composed of two wards placed side by side on the river, which protected one side, on the three others being a wet ditch, a branch from which divided the wards. The lower ward was rectangular, or nearly so, having the river on the south, the cross ditch on the west, and the main ditch to the north and east. The latter arm has recently been filled up. The northern still remains, deep and wide. On these two sides are very lofty broad banks, with a wide mound at the north-eastern angle, as at Cardiff. The entrance was on the north. Probably there was a bank on the west side, and no doubt a wall all round. The upper ward, that next the cathedral, is destroyed and levelled. Here was the great mound, with its lofty and strong shell keep, of which all traces are now gone. There remain a few buildings on the river at the junction of the two wards, probably of Decorated date, and now used as a Museum. The whole castle covered 8¼ acres, the upper ward 5½ acres. The mound measured nearly 400 yards circumference at its base.

The city wall was in plan about three-quarters of a circle, from river bank to river bank. It had a wet ditch, and was covered, landward, with a low marshy tract, now in part occupied by the railway and its station. There were six gates and fifteen mural towers, the basements of some of which remain and on the west front of the city, near the river, there remains also a part of the wall, of Norman date.

St. Ethelbert's Hospital, a one-storied sixteenth century almshouse for women, was subsequently inspected, and the party proceeded to St. Peter's Church, a large building with lofty spire, said to have been founded by Walter de Lacy in 1070. There seemed, however, nothing in the church giving evidence of workmanship earlier than the reign of Edward III. It is a ceiled and galleried edifice, containing some fairly-designed Perpendicular stalls. To the south of the chancel is a chapel, now bricked-up. The Market House in the open space beyond was far

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more interesting. This large half-timbered house was erected in 1621, and forms the only remaining portion of a set of half-timber structures known as "Butchers' Row." It is scarcely necessary to say that the demon of improvement which is filling up the castle ditch has doomed this interesting remnant of old Hereford.

Some of the party proceeded to the Blackfriars' Monastery and Cross in the Widemarsh suburb. The cross was conjecturally restored in 1864.

In the afternoon a carriage excursion was made to Sutton Walls and Marden Church. The first pause was made at the church of Pipe and Lyde, where the Rev. G. M. METCALFE described the features of the building. Mr. FAIRLESS BARBER also made some remarks upon this Early English Church, and Mr. HARTSHORNE pointed out a niche for a relic in the base of the churchyard cross, of which several similar instances were noticed during the week. Mr. BLOXAM believed they were confined to crosses in these positions, and that they were local peculiarities. At Marden Church, a fine Decorated building on the brink of the river Sugg, the bells rang merrily as the party drove up. Here was much to be seen, including a brass of Lady Chute, 1614, represented with a radiating crown over her head, and a well at the west end of the church, concerning which the Rev. H. T. CLUTTON-BROCK related some truly marvellous traditions, with regard to the murder of King Ethelbert and the consequent origin of this spring, which is erroneously said never to fail, and about a large copper bell (exhibited in the temporary museum) of a type which is in use for sheep on the Wiltshire Downs and the northern parts of Scotland at the present day. It has been shown that wells were the usual appendages of large churches; the examples at Beverley and York are instances.

A toilsome walk brought the party up the steep ascent of Sutton Walls. Here the Rev. PREBENDARY SCARTH said, that from the strong nature of the defenses he believed it to be a Silurian camp. It was not on a Roman road, and too high for the purposes of the Romans. Mr. BLOXAM considered it as one of the systems of strongholds thrown up and held by the Silures on their borders, although it might have been subsequently occupied by the Saxons. The following remarks by Mr. CLARK will be read with interest:—

Sutton Walls is a work of some note, from its repute as a seat of the kings of Mercia, in the middle of the ninth century. In *Domesday* it is mentioned as held by "Nigel Medicus." It had belonged to Leflet. Whatever may have been its connection with the Mercian kings, it is certain that the enclosure which crowns the hill of Sutton is a British and not an English work, of similar origin with the entrenchments of Risbury, Credenhill, Backbury, and Dindor, which lie within or a little over a radius of six miles.

A Roman road ran within three miles south of Sutton, upon which was the station of Magna Castra, represented by Kenchester, and from this, a mile west of Hereford, branches the Watling street, making for Stretford and Wigmore, but there is nothing Roman about the camp of Sutton. If it was ever occupied either by the Romans or the English no traces of such occupation remain in our day.

Sutton is a work of the usual Hill-camp type, its outline being governed entirely by the natural configuration of the ground, a detached but not very lofty hill, with a flat top, about half a mile long by from

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200 to 250 yards broad. Its general form is a rounded oblong, but one corner is produced as a sharp angle or spur. On the south face, near the west end, a considerable shoulder projects at a right angle. The defence is a scarp of from thirty to forty feet in parts nearly vertical. There is no internal bank remaining at the top of the scarp, and only here and there are traces of a ditch at its base. The western part of the area is the narrowest, and in it are three rather deep depressions to the north, south, and west, as though there had been three entrances to the work. That to the west was evidently the main entrance. It is of rather a peculiar character—deep, narrow, and curved—the curvature being produced by two bastions of earth at the foot of the slope, between which the entrance lies, coming up by a sharp turn from the south. As it seems pretty well ascertained that Sutton was a Mercian residence, it is possible that traces of earthworks may remain below the hill. They should be looked for on the southern slope, near the parish church.

Mr. J. A. Bradney then conducted the party to Freene Court, the ancient seat of the Lingen family. In this damp dilapidated house were several armorial bearings in painted glass, and some good Jacobean work. On the journey home the church of Sutton St. Nicholas was visited. Mr. Bloxam called attention to a piscina and the remains of an altar in the east wall of the nave on the south side, and to an aumbry opposite. These were the traces of one of the rood-loft altars that have only recently caught the eye of antiquaries, and of which the history carries the enquirer back to the early Greek Church of the fourth century. They were still in use in many parts of the continent. The party returned to Hereford at six o'clock.

At 8.39 a large company assembled at a *conversazione* in the Temporary Museum at the Free Library, when the Rev. CANON JEBB gave a learned address on "The Hieroglyphic or Ideographic Writings of the Mexicans and Central Americans." Tea was served in the Woolhope Club Room, and the members separated at a late hour.

Friday, August 10.

The weather was happily all that could be desired, and a party, numbering over a hundred, started in carriages at 9.30 for an excursion into Irchenfield. The antiquaries saw a fine country to great advantage, first crossing a broad flat tract of land—once a swamp—but brought into order by Alan de Plokenet of Kilpeck, in the reign of Edward I, and thence called "Alan's Moor." The remarkable church of Kilpeck was first reached. This late Norman building, with apsidal sanctuary, is perhaps the most interesting of its kind in the county. The whole is replete with grotesque carvings, the corbel table and south doorway being very fine of their sort. The choir arch presents a series of carvings that are without parallel. Here are sculptured almost life-size figures of acolytes apparently nailed through the ancles, marked with the *stigmata* in their hands and feet, and vested as for a procession, each bearing an emblem, such as bell, chalice, paten, &c. Mr. Bloxam compared them to figures in the west front of Rochester Cathedral and at Shrewsbury Abbey, and considered the date of the church to be 1150. The general characteristics of the building were pointed out by Mr. Beresford-Hope, including the font, which is a large shallow basin of "plum pudding" stone, measuring 4 ft. 6 in. in diameter. He called

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attention to the great completeness with which the members had pictured before them an ideal Norman church. The building was restored in 1848, apparently very conscientiously, by the late Mr. Cottingham. Outside, at the west end, at the level of the wall plates, three extraordinary blind gurgoyles, in the form of dragons' heads, project about three feet from the wall, apparently for the support of an external gallery. or possibly of the timber work of an occasional porch. The surprising character of these objects, which recall rather the work in the wooden churches of Scandinavia than any known designs of Norman builders, excited speculation, more perhaps than admiration. Like the work at Shobden and Fownhope, they were probably the devices of an entirely local school of artists.

This is the Church of St. David, mentioned in records as placed upon the edge of the castle ditch, but it was not the chapel of the castle. About a furlong south of the church stood the priory, founded 1134 by Henry de Kilpeck. All trace of it is however lost.

The Castle of Kilpeck, which was described by Mr. Clark, stands close west of the church, and upon rather higher ground. Below and to the north is the fertile valley of the Worm with the old church of St. Devereux, with some mural monuments to the Gunters and their kinsmen the Clarks. To the south the ground rises slowly.

The castle is at this time chiefly composed of earthworks, and probably, so far, presents much the aspect that met the eye of the first Norman lord when he arrived and took possession. A low but well-defined mound, mainly artificial, has a table top, and is girdled by a circular ditch. Outside of, and applied to this ditch, to the south and east, is a base court, lunated in plan, and also defended by a ditch, while along its outer edge is a bank, which probably conceals the foundation of a wall, of which, however, nothing is visible. This was the outer ward, the mound being the keep. Beyond this is a second and much larger area defended by a scarp, and no doubt intended for a safe pasture for the garrison cattle, or for those of the tenants, in troubled times. These earthworks seem of one date, but to the north is another large enclosure, which looked older than the rest, and may have been a British camp.

The only masonry remaining consists of two fragments of a polygonal shell keep, each about 7 ft. thick and 18 ft. high: one contains a part of a fire place, the other what may have been the upper part of a well shaft, although there was a well rather nearer the centre of the mound, which was discovered and reclosed a few years ago.

Kilpeck is the Chipcete of *Domesday*, and was the seat of Cadiand, who was dispossessed in favour of William Fitz-Norman, whose son Hugh gave the Church of St. David and the Chapel of Our Lady with the Castle to St. Peter's, Gloucester. Henry son of Hugh, called of Kilpeck, was ancestor of that family. It ended in coheirs, of whom Isabel had Kilpeck, and Joan married Philip Marmion, Champion of England. Isabel married William Waleran, from whom descended Plukenet and finally De la Bere. The castle was afterwards alienated in favour of the Butlers, Earls of Ormond, who again sold it. Enough remained of it to be tenable as a post during the civil wars of the King and Parliament, and it was in consequence dismantled by order of the latter in 1645.

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE suggested that the name Kilpeck was Celtic in

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origin. Mr. JAMES DAVIES said that Kilpeck Church was dedicated to Saints Mary and David, most of the churches on the south side of the Wye were dedicated to Cimbro-British Saints.

The party then proceeded to Ewias Harold Church and Castle. In the restored Early English church is an effigy of a lady of the de la Warr family, who died 1320, holding a heart in her hands. Mr. TUCKER *(Rouge Croix)* called attention to the very unusual feature of the flattening of the eye-balls as giving the appearance of pupils. A supposed reliquary close by is said to contain a human heart.

The party then moved on to the castle, on the top of the high mound opposite the west end of the church. Mr. CLARK said :—

Ewias Harold, so called in distinction from Ewias Lacy, was a castle of some note in the Marches. Like Kilpeck, its main feature is a moated mound, here formed by cutting off the end of a long ridge by a deep and broad ditch. On the mound was a circular keep of which only a trace of the foundation remains. On the eastern side at the foot of the mound is the base court, a considerable area, defended exteriorly by a ditch, beyond which the ground falls naturally and very steeply towards the junction of two streams, which form the outer defences of the castle to the north and east. There is no masonry remaining, but the outer ward appears to have been walled. It must have been a work of great strength even before the Normans occupied it, for the earthworks are evidently much older than the conquest, and probably the work of some English lord of Irchenfield.

Earthworks of this character were constructed by men who had a great command of labour, but who if they could take advantage of natural circumstances invariably did so. No doubt this place was palisaded lower down ; so that not only was it an enclosure in which the garrison would be safe from the Welsh, who were immensely active people, but a place in which the flocks and herds would be safe, without which, of course, a garrison could not long exist. The mound was not too high to prevent soldiers getting up, without much fatigue, even if loaded with armour. Although the attention of antiquaries had only lately been called to these mounds, they were exceedingly common all through England ; and they were especially common in the Marches of Wales, and in all those parts of the Marches where the level land ran into the hilly ground. Wherever there was good pasture land worth taking or keeping there they found these mounds. They were clustered pretty thickly all along the course of Offa's Dyke, and evidently intended to enable those who threw them up to hold the pasture land which was spread near them, against the enemy on the other side of the dyke. They had certain points in common, and were different from the ordinary hill camp. At Hereford, between the Castle Green and the Cathedral there was a fine mound, which was taken down in comparatively modern times. There was also an exceedingly curious but small mound about half a mile from the Cathedral, down the river, on the left. It was in a garden, and could be just seen from the railway. It was clearly a moated mound. He had not seen any description of it. With respect to the British earthworks, it was impossible to say when they were thrown up. No one could pretend to say positively whether they were thrown up 1000 years ago or just before the coming in of the Romans. He was of opinion that these

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moated mounds were thrown up by the English in the ninth and tenth centuries. Using a general word, he would say that they were Teutonic and not Celtic. He was also of opinion that timber defences were used. When William conquered England there were as good castles in England as in Normandy; he overran England, not because there were no castles but because there was no chief among the people. Not being properly directed they were conquered.

Ewias is named in *Domesday* "Castellaria Aluredi Ewias," and another entry shows Alured the holder of the Castelry, to have been "Alured of Marlborough who holds the castle of Ewias from the king." In 1100 however it belonged to a certain "Harold" son of Ralph the Timid, Earl of Hereford, great nephew to the Confessor. Robert de Ewias, the third in descent, left a daughter who married Robert de Tregore from whose descendants the castle came to la Warre, and thence to the Montacutes, Earls of Salisbury. The owners were from the first connected with Wiltshire, and of the connection Teffont-Ewias in that county is an evidence.

A short drive into the Golden Valley brought the members to the Cistertian Abbey of Dore, founded in the reign of Henry I by Robert de Ewias. This highly beautiful church, dedicated like all Cistertian abbeys, to the Blessed Virgin, consists now of a choir and transepts, or, speaking more strictly, an eastern area of three bays and a processional path and spaces for five altars, like Fountains Abbey.

Mr. Beresford Hope said that here they might learn for themselves two very interesting lessons in Ecclesiology. They saw what a monastic church of the second order of architectural amptitude was, and they had a typical specimen of that revival of constructional ritual which marked the seventeenth century. The church was ruined at the time of the dissolution, and was "re-edificed and furnished" by Viscount Scudamore, a strong cavalier, a strong churchman, and a friend of Archbishop Laud. In that church they therefore saw a very interesting specimen of what church fitting and arrangement was according to the ideas of that day. He called attention to the lofty Renaissance screen, carrying out with other details the idea of a chancel screen of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The altar was the original stone altar of the church, which Lord Scudamore found and replaced on three fragments of early pillars. It had been shockingly desecrated and used "for the salting of meat and the making of cheese." The church was consecrated on Palm Sunday, 1634 (according to an order drawn up by the then diocesan, the famous Dr. Wren recently consecrated Bishop of Hereford), by his substitute, Dr. Field, Bishop of St. David's. It was expressly stated in the consecration service[1] that the Bishop should "stand with his face to the table about the midst of it." That table was twelve feet long and four feet wide, and if Bishop Field did stand in the midst of it, there could be no mistake about the action and meaning of it. Furthermore he could not have stood at the end had he wished to do so, for the still existing contemporary footpace was (as all present could observe) made intentionally wide in front, while at each end it stopped short at the length of the Holy Table itself. That was an interesting point in our ecclesiastical

[1] The "Form and Order" of this remarkable ceremony was published by the Rev. J. Fuller Russell in 1874, from the original MS. used on the occasion, now in the British Museum.—(Add. MSS. No. 15, 645.)

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history, and he mentioned it purely as a valuable archæological fact, though bearing on a question of the present day as to which the votaries of either opinion ought to be grateful for the irrefragable evidence of historical monuments.

Mr. FAIRLESS BARBER wished to add a few words to what Mr. Beresford Hope had told them about the recovery of the choir and transept of this noble church, and its preservation for use according to the services of the Church of England. It was probably the only Cistercian church in England thus preserved and used,[1] for the rule which led the monks of this order to seek quiet and secluded sites for their abbeys, away from the haunts of men, left their churches, on the wreck of the monasteries in the sixteenth century, practically unavailable for any parochial purpose.

In the simplicity of its architecture there was everything that was characteristic of the early Cistercian type of building, and the church, as it now stood, would serve well to reproduce for them the corresponding portions of the still larger church at Byland, the only difference being that there were aisles on the west side of the Byland transept.

Here at Abbey Dore the conventual buildings were, by reason of the exigencies of the site, placed on the north side of the church instead of the south side, which was the more usual arrangement, and the traces of them, apparently hitherto unexplored, would be found disposed round the enclosed space, which still roughly indicated the original cloister garth. So far as could be seen without digging there appeared to have been no material departure from the model plan of an abbey of this order, as laid down by Mr. Edmund Sharpe, whose loss all students of architecture, and specially of Cistercian buildings, must ever deeply deplore. A small excavation recently made at the entrance to the vestibule of the Chapter House has disclosed the bases of the shafts by which the portal was decorated, and there can be little doubt that a careful and not very expensive exploration of the other remains surrounding the cloister would yield details and mouldings of very considerable interest.

The tower on the south side of the church has been a puzzle to many persons. It is in harmonious correspondence with the rest of the fabric, but is really, he believed, the work of a later time, and, possibly, of Lord Scudamore, when he re-roofed and refitted the structure for the services of the Church. No early Cistercian church had a tower, for, to have had one, would have been contrary to the second rule of the first division of their constitutions, which runs thus:—

"*De turribus lapideis ad campanas.* Turres lapideæ ad campanas non fiant, nec ligneæ altitudinis immoderatæ, quæ ordinis dedeceant simplicitatem."

Sir GILBERT SCOTT, who was prevented from being present, contributed the following remarks:—

Though unable to join the excursion in which Abbey Dore will be

[1] Scarborough has been classed by some as a Cistercian church. It was certainly given to a Cistercian abbey and a vicarage ordained therein, to which the abbot and convent of Albemarle, an alien Cistercian house, presented up to the time of the seizure of the possessions of the alien priories, including Scarborough Rectory, by Henry IV. The vicarage continues to this day as at first ordained, in fact the church never seems to have lost its original parochial character, and the continuance of divine service in it furnishes no real parallel to its revival and continuance at Abbey Dore.

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visited, I take the liberty of offering a few observations suggested by a recent visit.

This Cistercian monastery, founded probably in the time of King Stephen, but its church, as I think, built in the time of King John, was dissolved in the twenty-seventh of Henry VIII, 1535; and the church reduced to a ruin.

Its architecture may be said to be of an intermediate character, between what we call "the Transitional Style" and the developed Early English. The greater part of its columns and shafts retaining the square abacus of the one, but others having the round abacus of the other. It is a *transition from a transition.* Nothing can be more beautiful than the internal architecture of this church. It represents just the interval which elapsed at Hereford between the transitional work of Bishop de Vere and the building of the Lady Chapel, and is, in my opinion, more beautiful than either. It has cast off the semi-Romanesque asperity of the one, and has not descended into the typical normalism of the other. I recommend its details to careful study and examination, as being of a period of art not abundantly represented, but one of peculiar originality and refinement. The foliage in its capitals is partly of an Early English character, and partly in a style more *Byzantine* or *Byzantinesque* than *Romanesque.* It is of a *Greek* type, such as I called attention to in my Paper read two years ago at Canterbury.

My object, however, in writing these observations is less *architectural* or *archæological* than moral. There is a history connected with this church more valuable and more impressive *by far* than that of its architecture. I refer to the history of its restoration from a state of desolate ruin to its uses as a *House of God.*

It is said that, about a century after the dissolution of the monastery, "the parishioners were destitute of a place for Divine Service and the worship of God, till by private permission they began to assemble themselves in this place, not evidently known whether ever a consecrated place or noe, but ruinous and mean howsoever, and in former time before their assembly in it, altogether prophaned and applied to secular and base uses, and in every condition and state of it wholly become a Lay fee."

We find "for several years successively, that sometimes forty-eight, and sometimes fifty shillings sterling, and no more, was paid . . . for serving the cure of Dore."

"So *miserably poor* this stipendary cure! so sad and ruinous the fabric of this church! till God was pleased to put it into the heart of John Lord Viscount Scudamore, to pity both their circumstances and effectually redress them both."

We learn that this nobleman—to whom both this "lay fee" and the alienated tithes belonged—"upon his reading of *Hooker's Ecclesiastical Politie,* seems first to have apprehended by that excellent book . . . that tithes, howsoever alienated, were the Church's property and right."

Lord Scudamore "having an intimate friendship with Bishop Laud," then Bishop of Bath and Wells, "consulted on the validity of his ancestor's purchase of the Rectory of Door, and the conveyances of other tithes by other means, so far as his conscience was concerned."

Laud's reply is one of the most striking and remarkable documents extant on such a subject.

He declines to pronounce on the question "Whether tythes be due to

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the priest, and him only *jure divino*, by divine Law, or [only] by ecclesiastical constitution." He says that, "If tythes be due *only* by ecclesiastical and civil laws, or either of them, then the Church and the State may alter the law of tythes upon just and good grounds," "but if your conscience be persuaded that tythes are due only by church or state law, then you are either *truly* or *erroneously* persuaded." . . . "If you be erroneously persuaded, *then* you should not keep nor sell, because you have a better guide than an erring conscience."

He answers the plea that his "ancestors had bought them," by saying "It was *of him that had no right to sell*, and *they* had as little to buy. For if one man be so daring as to sell God's altar, yet his daring is no warrant for *him* to sell, or *another* to buy it." To the plea that Henry VIII had reserved an annual pension to his heirs, he replies: "He did but sell *one part* of the sin, and reserve the other. Loth he was it seems to part with all, and fain he would his heirs should inherit some little of it," &c.

To the argument that it was made a Lay-Fee by an Act of Parliament, he replies: "Well, if any man think an Act of Parliament is an absolution from sin against the moral law of God, he is much out of his way, and it will be a poor plea at another Barr."

If the appropriation of tithes to abbeys by the Pope be pleaded, he says: "Let the Church of Rome answer that sin; their fault cannot excuse another." "So," he adds, "*I think this is clear:* if tythes be due *jure divino morali*, which is the opinion of many great divines, *you cannot hold impropriations to your own use without sin.*"

The argument is carried on at great length, and the result was that Lord Scudamore at once determined on the restitution of all the tithes he held to their respective churches; and the old statute of mortmain being interpreted with rigour, he obtained from the King, Charles I. a special licence to enable him to do so.

"Thus licensed, the Lord Scudamore set about re-edifying of this venerable place, which had been reduced to a condition so ruinous and mean, that one, who 'well remembered the building of the church at Door, saith, Mr. John Gyles, otherwise then called Sir Gyles, curate here, before the present church was rebuilt, read prayers under an arch of the old demolished church, to preserve his Prayer-Book from wett in rainy weather.'"

My author—Mathew Gibson, Rector of Door—evidently uses "re-edify" and "rebuild" for "restore" and "reinstate:" and he goes on to say: "It is apparent from the *single-cloyster* [the aisle] on each side, and the *double-cloyster* [the ambulatory and chapel] at the east end, and the breaches upon the west, that it was antiently built after the *cathedral form;* and that it was the *quire* and the *cross-isle* of the *sumptuous Abbey Church.*

"The roof, which his lordship timbered and tiled entirely new (for it is supposed that it was arched with stone, and leaded formerly), is very lofty and magnificent; the tower which he raised upon an old arch, neat and strong; the *transept* or *skreen* dividing the chancel from the body of the church, both beautiful and grand; the carved *altar-piece*, very suitable and proper; the *seats* decent and uniform; and, in short, everything far surpassing anything in these parts, and every way suitable to the honour of God, and the credit of the pious Restorer of it."

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Mathew Gibson goes on to describe its "consecration and dedication," "which was performed [on Palm Sunday, A.D. 1634] by D(r.) Theophilus Field, Bishop of St. David's, by virtue and authority of a commission from *Dr. Mathew Wren*, Bishop of Hereford, detained in necessary attendance upon his Majesty in his Royal closet."

The account of the ceremony is extremely minute and interesting; and it followed in the main Bishop Andrew's form of consecration. He goes on to say, after reference to the Temple at Jerusalem, "And as the *Altar* there had been prophaned, so the *Communion Table* here had been pulled down, and buried in the Ruines of the Church; till, carrying a great deal of stone away for *common uses*, it was dug up, among the rest; and appropriated (if by way of abuse I may be allowed to call it so, though I tremble at it) to the *Salting of Meat and making of Cheese upon.* Thus it continued for a while till it was very strangely (though without a miracle) discovered what it was, whereupon the Lord Scudamore, when he rebuilt this church, with great awfulness, ordered it to be restored and set upon three pilasters of stone. Where now it stands, the most remarkable *Communion Table* of any in these Parts, being one entire Stone, twelve foot long, four foot broad, and three inches thick. The fine east window over the Communion Table was made by the Lord Scudamore, and the *glass* so *painted* by him, as I have been told, at the expense of one hundred pounds."

And thus the restored church stands, after more than two centuries, little changed but by time and neglect. The seventeenth century roofs, ceilings, screen and fittings, still bear silent witness to the pious and conscientious zeal of the good Lord Scudamore; and I would say, as emphatically as I can find words to express, that *in all future restorations and repairs, it is the duty of all concerned to pay as pious and reverential regard to the works of this admirable man, as to those of the original builders of the church.*

GEO. GILBERT SCOTT.[1]

9th August, 1877.

The carriages conveyed the members to Whitfield, where they were most hospitably entertained by the Rev. Archer Clive. Some time was spent in examining the collection of pictures and portraits, conspicuous among the latter being some fine examples of Rubens.

The party proceeded from this well favoured spot to Madley Church, a late Decorated structure, and one of the finest churches in the West of England. Mr. F. R. Kempson, under whose direction it was undergoing restoration, gave a description of the church, which appears from the foundations lately discovered to have been originally a small cruciform Norman church. Mr. Beresford Hope said that they had that day seen a series of churches illustrative and forming a compendium of the history of our ecclesiastical progress and change of thought and fashion. First was Kilpeck, which was completed nearly as they had seen it, in the earliest period after the Norman conquest. Abbey Dore was of the thirteenth century, but showed also what restoration was like 200 years ago; and, lastly, they saw around them Madley, a thoroughly English church of the last period of fourteenth century architecture.

[1] The members of the Institute will have a melancholy interest in reading this last contribution of the author to the pages of the *Journal.*

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Time did not allow the party to accept Mr. Wegg Prosser's kind and hospitable invitation to visit St. Michael's Priory at Belmont, and the interesting Phillipps' MSS. and books there preserved, but the members saw in passing the stately church erected from Pugin's designs.

Hereford was reached at half-past seven o'clock.

The Architectural Section met at nine in the Woolhope Club-room, the Rev. H. M. Scarth, in the chair, when Sir Gilbert Scott's notes on "The Seventeenth Century Restoration of Abbey Dore" were read (printed at p. 492.)

Mr. Bloxam said he hardly thought that the altar was the original one. The altar slabs were generally of great thickness. There was a very thick one at Peterchurch.

Lord Talbot said that the type of fonts was a particular feature in Herefordshire. They were different to anything of the sort he had seen elsewhere, and their size was very remarkable.

Several of the members having spoken of the expedience of the *débris* being removed from the foundations of the monastic buildings at Abbey Dore, the meeting separated.

Saturday, August 11.

At 9.45 an excursion was made by rail to Ross, Walford Church, Flanesford Priory and Goodrich Castle. On arriving at Ross carriages were in waiting at the railway station, by which the party proceeded at once to the Church of St. Laurence at Walford, which is the more interesting from having, as yet, escaped "restoration." Sir John Maclean acted as guide and pointed out the chief objects of interest. The church consists of a chancel, nave, north aisle, a chapel on the north of the chancel, north of which is the tower; and there are north and south porches. The chancel now rises two steps above the nave. Some portion of the old rood-screen remains, the staircase to which is within the substance of the massive pier on the north side. The sanctuary is two steps above the chancel, but in this case the level was probably altered in the early part of the seventeenth century, by adding a second step which raises the floor above the base of the responds. The sanctuary has a solid wall on the north side, in which is a deep recess having an elongated trefoil head of Decorated date, originally used as an aumbry. The piscina on the south side has been walled up. The chancel arch, which is somewhat narrow, is of the Transition Norman period, as is the greater part of the church. An altar was originally placed against the east wall of the nave on the south side, the piscina of which still remains, hidden by a high pew. There are two lancet windows in the south wall deeply splayed, one of which has been enlarged externally, and there is a Decorated window in the west wall of peculiar character. Over the south door are the remains of a mural painting in distemper, nearly obliterated, but shewing that a part of the subject was the "Temptation." Suspended over the chancel arch is a helmet, which tradition says belonged to Colonel Kyrle, an officer somewhat notorious in these parts during the Civil War. He lived and died at Walford Court adjacent, and was buried in the church.

The aisle is narrow and separated from the nave by an arcade of four bays with transitional Norman columns supporting pointed arches. A

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continuous roof covers both it and the north side of the nave, consequently the north wall is rather low and without fenestration. The aisle is lighted from the nave and from a deeply splayed lancet window in the west wall. Under a transition Norman arch supported upon corbels the chapel is entered from the aisle by two steps. This is separated from the chancel by an arcade of narrow pointed arches of the same period. The eastern part is raised one step continuously with the original arrangement of the sanctuary. In the south east corner of the chapel is a piscina. A very narrow passage gives admission to the chapel from the tower, which may be considered as the priest's door. The tower is Perpendicular and was formerly surmounted by a spire, which was destroyed by lightning in the early part of the present century. There are several Perpendicular windows inserted in the church, the font being of the same period. The porches are of Decorated work.

There are numerous mural tablets and other memorials in the church chiefly to the families who have occupied Hill Court adorned with their arms, and there is a tablet of special interest against the eastern wall of the chancel commemorating William Adams. William Adams was rector during the time of the Great Rebellion, and, notwithstanding the violence of the times and the proscription of the Book of Common Prayer, with great courage and resolution continued to use the Liturgy of the Church of England during the whole of that turbulent period. The inscription on this monument is as follows :—

Quam speciosa sunt vestigia
Evangelizantium pacem,
Et quam pretiosæ sunt cineres
Gulielmi Adams ;
Apud Oxonienses in Collegio Lincolnensi
Artium Magistri ;
Hujusce Parochiæ, non solum doctrinæ virtute, sed et vitæ integritate
Vicarii Dignissimi ;
Liturgiæ Anglicanæ, inter horrendas Belli Civilis procellas :
(Insultantibus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ hostibus)
In Parochiâ de Bicknor
Assertoris strenui
Lectoris assidui
Abi viator, et si tempora flagitaverint
Tu fac similiter
Mœrens uxor Margarita, hoc posuit monumentum
A.D. 1682.

It adds to the interest of this church that Fosbroke the antiquary was sometime its rector and wrote here many of his works.

Near the church is Walford Court, where was formerly a fortified manor house. In the middle of the sixteenth century it belonged to Colonel Kyrle, who having been for some time in the service of the King deserted to the Parliament, and was afterwards guilty of many disgraceful acts of duplicity. The house was converted into a strong garrison, according to tradition, that it might not be surprised by a *coup de main* from Goodrich Castle on the opposite side of the river, the courts and yards being so arranged as to flank and command each other, and the house could not be taken without first carrying these and a mound behind, in which were placed field pieces. Fosbroke says that a 9lb. shot was found there, which was in his possession.

Leaving Walford, the party proceeded a short distance down the Valley

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of the Wye, and crossing the river at Kerne Bridge arrived, at once, at Flanesford Priory. Sir John Maclean again acted as guide, and remarked that this house was founded in 1347 by Richard Talbot for Augustinian Canons. He married Elizabeth, cousin and heir of Adomer de Valence Earl of Pembroke, and with her had the Castle and Manor of Goodrich, with the demesne lands of which, and with other lands he endowed this priory; dying in 1356, he was buried therein, but upon the dissolution of the house his body was removed to the parish Church of Goodrich. His widow Elizabeth died in 46th Edward III (1372) seized, *inter alia*, of the Manor of Goodrich and the advowson of the church.

Flanesford Priory was always small and obscure. We know the name of but one Prior, Robert Fisher, who ruled the house at the time of the dissolution. The revenues then amounted to the clear annual value of £14 8s. 9d. only, which were derived from the same lands, and no more, wherewith it was endowed by Richard Talbot and Elizabeth his wife nearly two hundred years before. Dugdale says the seal of this priory has not been met with.

Externally the chief building, which is now used as a barn, has the appearance of a large lofty and dignified church, consisting of chancel and nave, the gables being surmounted with crosses, but the roof has probably been tampered with. The interior arrangements are very perplexing.

Sir John Maclean said that he regretted that some Members of the Society better versed than himself in the construction of Augustinian Priories was not present to explain this building. To such an one many things which perplexed him would appear clear. However, in the absence of a more efficient guide, he would direct the attention of the company to such details of the building as seemed to him to be best worthy of observation. He remarked that the whole of the building was of Decorated work, thus agreeing with the date of the foundation of the house.

He then conducted the party to a small wing on the south-east of the building, and entering a room in the basement, about twenty-four feet by sixteen feet, evidently of a domestic character, he pointed out a narrow staircase in the thickness of the western wall which led up to the floor above. There is a chimney place at the south end of this apartment. It was lighted by two square-headed windows on the west side, now blocked up, and a small window in the east wall. At the foot of the staircase was a small window, also blocked up, and a small quatre-foil opening higher up. On the north side is a door leading through a very thick wall into another apartment of about the same size which would appear to have had neither fire-place nor windows. Ascending to the floor above by modern external steps, entrance is gained through a square-headed opening, close to which is another similar opening. These openings are not splayed, and scarcely appear to have been windows. The outer room which here, as below, is divided from the inner one by a thick wall, is furnished with a fire-place at the south end. Sir John directed attention to the fact that the thick wall separating the rooms is a continuation of the south wall of the great building, and that the partition between the inner rooms and that building is merely a flimsy brick-nogging and wooden erection of modern date. Above these rooms are others, to which access is obtained by a common modern step ladder,

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protected on the top by a panelled screen of ancient wood-work. This screen does not, however, appear to be *in situ*, and as these floors intersect the windows they would not seem to have formed part of the original construction, and it is supposed the roof was open. This apartment is lighted by a handsome window in the east wall of peculiar design. It would appear to have been of a single light. The arch is equilateral and cinque-foiled, and divided at the springing by a transom resting on trefoil brackets and forming the well known "shouldered" opening so characteristic of the Edwardian period. On each side in the splay at the bottom of this window is a projection like a stone seat. There was also a cusped window of smaller size, now blocked up, in the north wall.

Proceeding to the interior of the main building, Sir John called attention to the fact that it was originally of two stories, as shewn by the floor-line all round; he pointed out that on the south side, about two feet six inches above such floor-line is a graceful piscina with a cinque-foiled head, whilst directly opposite on the floor level is a very noble chimney place, precisely like one in Goodrich Castle, and probably the work of the same man. He pointed out that about two or three feet east of the piscina a screen crossed the building, as indicated by the corbels remaining in the walls below the floor level, and by holes in the walls in a vertical direction above.

The basement storey in this building was lighted by two square headed two-light windows on the south side, and the upper floor had four large windows with equilateral arches of peculiar character, somewhat of a flamboyant type. Like the eastern window above mentioned, the head was separated from the lower part of the window by a transom supported by trefoil brackets at the springing. Sir John thought that it was clear the chapel was on the upper floor and lighted by two, or perhaps three of the windows last mentioned, the fourth being on the east of the screen, and the hall or refectory was probably on the opposite side embracing the great fireplace. On the east of the fireplace was a window similar to those on the south side; at a little distance westwards was a square headed three-light window, and still further west on the north side a smaller single-light window with a cinquefoil head, which probably lighted another apartment; in the basement, near the west end, was a small square grated window.

The west front had a handsome elevation. A square headed doorway leads into the basement floor, and over this, on the level of the upper floor, is an equilateral arched doorway flanked by cinquefoil headed niches. Beyond these, and somewhat higher, was on each side an equilateral arched window. The principal entrance must have been approached by external steps.

West of this entrance there is now a modern building, though the northwest angle consists of ancient walling.

Sir John expressed his opinion, though somewhat hesitatingly, that the upper floor on the main building was appropriated to the chapel, refectory, hall, and other common apartments; that the basement, or substructure, was used for offices and storerooms, and that in the eastern end were the priors' lodgings, dormitories, &c.

Passing the priory stews the party proceeded to Goodrich Castle.

A visit was paid by the Institute to this remarkable fortress in 1860, when the members met at Gloucester, and on which occasion the castle

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was described by the late Mr. Hartshorne and Mr. J. H. Parker. (See *Journal*, vol. xvii, p. 348). Its most notable constructional feature is perhaps the entrance, which exhibits a skill and complication in arrangement for security rarely equalled. It comprises a dark vaulted passage fifty feet in length, which was defended by a drawbridge covered by loopholes in either flanking tower. About eleven feet within the passage was a massive gate, over which were machicolations for pouring down boiling water or molten lead on the heads of assailants. Six and a half feet beyond this was a portcullis, and seven feet further a second portcullis, the space between these being likewise protected by loopholes and machicolations. About two feet further inward was another strong gate; and about six feet beyond this on the right a small door leading to a long narrow gallery formed in the thickness of the wall, and which was the means of access to the loopholes in the eastern tower, as well as to others that commanded the brow of the steep precipice towards the north-east. The castle in its origin is probably the work of Hugh de Lacy, the founder of Llanthony Abbey, who held feudal sway over Hereford and Monmouth during the reign of William Rufus. It seems, after De Lacy's death (without issue, in 1131), to have passed into the hands of the king, for in the eleventh year of Henry II (1165) it was held by William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, who paid about thirty shillings annually to the Crown for possession. The male line of the Marshalls became extinct in 1245. The seal of Walter, the last Earl of Pembroke but one, was found amongst the ruins some years since. The constableship of the fortress passed into the hands of De Valences, and through them to John Comyn. Elizabeth Comyn, one of his three children, became the wife of Richard Talbot, by which union Goodrich Castle became possessed by the Shrewsbury family, and was for some centuries their principal seat. It derives most renown from having been the seat of the invincible Sir John Talbot, to whom it descended in 1420. It remained in possession of the Talbots till 1616, when it passed by marriage into that of the Dukes of Kent, and from them by purchase to the ancestor of Mrs. Marriot, the present possessor. Its power of resistance was tested in the Great Rebellion, when it was at first occupied by the Parliament, but in 1646 was garrisoned for the King by Sir Richard Lingley. After an eighteen weeks siege by Colonels Birch and Kyrle the garrisoned capitulated, when it was reduced to its present ruined state.

Returning to Ross the party lunched at the Royal Hotel and subsequently visited the church, with the "heaven-directed spire." This building was undergoing the process of restoration, and a rood loft piscina had been lately uncovered. Among the displaced monuments were effigies of a Rudhall and his wife (1636) of the school of Nicholas Stone.

The members returned to Hereford a half-past five.

The Historical Section met at half-past eight, in the Woolhope Club Room, the Rev. F. Spurrell in the chair, when Mr. J. Tom Burgess's paper on "The Family of Lingen" was read by Mr. Hartshorne, (printed at p. 373). A paper on "Roman Herefordshire," by Mr. W. Thompson Watkin, was partly read by the Chairman, (printed at p. 349), and Mr. S Tucker (Rouge Croix) followed with a paper "On the Discovery of the Remains of John, first Earl of Shrewsbury," which is printed at p. 386.

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Monday, August 13.

A large party started in carriages at half-past nine for Credenhill, Moccas and Bredwardine. Credenhill church, which was first reached, was described by Mr. Beresford Hope. The chief features of the building are openings or passages on either side of the chancel arch, somewhat similar to those of an earlier period in Ashley Church, Hampshire. A window in the chancel contains figures of Thomas à Beckett and Thomas de Cantilupe, in painted glass of the middle of the fourteenth century. To the north east of the church, a steep ascent brought the visitors to the top of Credenhill Camp, now covered with forest. This was originally a British stronghold, but subsequently converted by the Romans into a summer camp to "Magna Castra," Kenchester (see p. 366). The party after having been hospitably entertained with light refreshments by the Rev. G. H. Bulmer, proceeded to Byford, the heights of Kenchester being seen in the distance. At Byford a short stay was made to inspect the Transitional church with its excellent Early English arcade into the chancel aisle, and the Court a restored house of the time of Henry VIII. The journey was continued to Monnington Church, a fifteenth century building, virtually built in 1679. Mr. Beresford Hope pointed to it as an instance of the survival, almost amounting to a revival of Gothic in the seventeenth century. The double transomed windows were very good examples for so late a period. The woodwork, particularly the chancel screen, was especially noticeable. The latter, though renaissance in design, had the outline and proportions of a mediæval one. This was not merely a post-Reformational, but a post-restorational screen, an unusual occurrence; that at Ingestre (1676) and St. Peter's, Cornhill, were other instances. Near the porch is the traditional gravestone of Owen Glendower. After visiting the manor house of Sir Thomas Tompkin, the restorer of the church, the carriages crossed the Wye and arrived at half-past one at Moccas Court, a house built by the brothers Adams, and charmingly situated in a fine wooded park, on the banks of the river. The party was most hospitably received and entertained by the Rev. Sir George and Lady Cornewall. The church in the park was subsequently visited and described by Sir George Cornewall. This interesting Early Norman church, consists of nave, choir, and apsidal chancel, in plan precisely like Kilpeck, but there is very little ornament displayed, probably owing to the fact that the building stone employed in its erection is a very porous travertine, quarried on the estate; it is soft in working and hardens on exposure, but will not readily bear tooling, except in the simplest of chamfers. All the decorative features are of limestone, brought from a distance for the purpose. The south door has a lintel deeply hatched with the diagonal lines frequently employed by Norman builders; above is a tympanum showing the Tree of Life, with two animals, apparently mules, in the act of devouring human figures, who are suspended heads downwards. On the walled-up north door is a somewhat similar subject in a tympanum. The church was repaired by Westmacott in the beginning of the century, and restored a few years ago by Mr. Gilbert Scott.

Mr. Beresford Hope observed that this was a church built prior to the days when the structural distinction between the choir or chancel and the sanctuary was obliterated. There was a strong family likeness between

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this church and the one at Kilpeck; while both displayed some ingenious carving and planning; but any one who looked to village churches of the Norman period for high art would certainly be disappointed. Art and the vague sort of criticism in which "like" and "dislike" had a place had nothing to do with them. They were specimens, so to speak, in the "museum" of ecclesiological science, and should be handled accordingly as interesting to archaeologists. Any criticism on their relative appearance, or fribbling æsthetic commentary upon and comparison of them, he should look upon as waste of words. Their value was not their intrinsic beauty, but their associations, history and plan.

In the centre of the chancel is an effigy of the time of Edward II, placed upon a high panelled tomb. Concerning this monument Mr. Hartshorne said it was one of the most remarkable effigies in England, and in considering this extremely curious figure it would be desirable to quote an abstract from the *Speculum Regale*, a Latin MS. of the early part of the fourteenth century, which gives the following description of the costume of an armed knight:—

"The following accoutrements are necessary—coverings for his legs made of well blacked soft linen, which should extend to the knee band of his chaucons or breeches, over these steel shin pieces, so high as to be fastened with a double band; the horseman is to put on linen drawers, and over these steel coverings for the knees. The upper part of his body should be covered with a linen body armour reaching down to the middle of his thighs, over that a breast-plate of iron, extending from the breasts to the bands of the chaucons, then a strong firm hauberk, succeeded by a body covering of linen without sleeves. Let him have two swords, one of which let him wear in his belt, the other let him hang at his saddle bow, a dagger or war knife, a steel helmet on his head, with an entire covering for his face; let him carry on his neck a solid shield hung by a strong thong; lastly, a sharp javelin of steel." Mr. Hartshorne pointed out how closely this description applied to the effigy, calling special attention to the quilted gambeson, the hauberk, the haketon of scales, and the unusual shape of the surcote which, with its wide opening in front, possessed for horsemen the practical advantages of the cyclas which was introduced at this period. With regard to the haketon of scales he said that, with the exception of a garment of a somewhat similar kind represented on an effigy in St. Peter's Church, Sandwich, it was, as far as he was aware, the only sculptured example of scale body-armour represented upon an effigy in England. The rare occurrence of this defense was the more surprising since scale armour was used from the earliest to comparatively late times. It is represented with great frequency in the Assyrian sculptures, where it appears to have been worn in any direction. It was worn by the Greeks and specially by the Romans, and in the twelfth century the Emperor Henry V clothed a body of his troops in an impenetrable scale armour of horn. In England it occurs frequently upon brasses, as "scaly-toes" so-called, or other smaller portions of detail. It was in common use in the time of the Emperor Maximilian, and was employed in Poland in the time of John Sobieski. The effigy probably represents a member of the Frene family, who were lords of Moccas, and may be dated about 1330.

The members then examined a curious sun-dial in the garden in the

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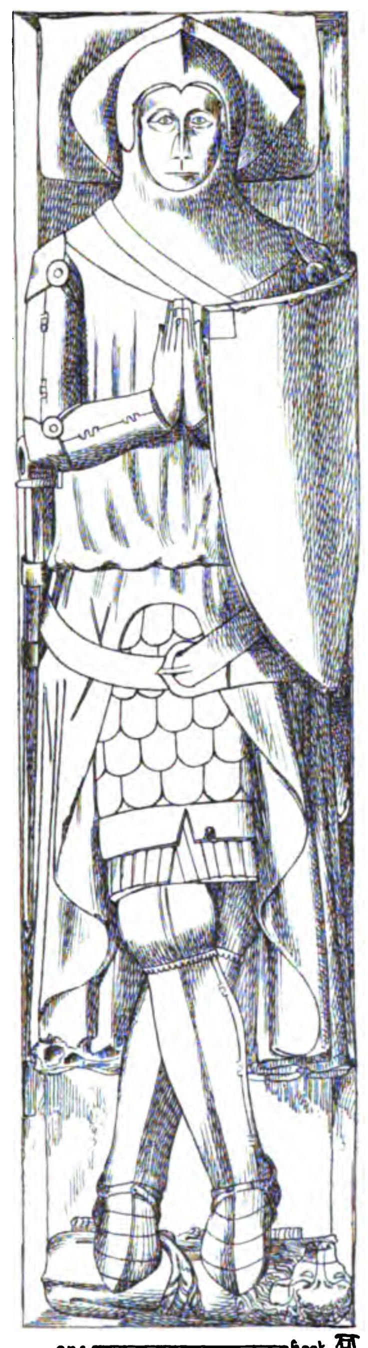

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EFFIGY IN MOCCAS CHURCH.

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form of a St. Andrew's cross, raised upon a pedestal, the various sides being cut into as many dials, with English and Latin inscriptions. This sun-dial resembles in its general character that in the desolate courtyard of the ancient manor house of the Dove's at Upton near Peterborough, and may be compared with one at Kelburne House in Scotland, which exhibits sixty dials.

Leaving Moccas the party drove through the park, passing some fine oaks of high antiquity, and arrived at Bredwardine church. The strong deflection of the chancel from the centre line of the nave was pointed out and the great size of the font, which was formed, like others that had been seen during the week, of a block of conglomerate. There were evidences of the early Norman origin of the church, but many changes and additions had been made in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Rev. J. HOUSEMAN offered the party tea at the charmingly-situated rectory on the edge of the Wye, but time did not allow of seeing the site of Bredwardine castle and its earthworks on the south side of the church. Hereford was reached at half-past seven.

The general concluding meeting was held in the Woolhope Club-room at nine, the Rev. J. FULLER RUSSELL in the chair. A cordial vote of thanks to the Bishop of Hereford (who was unavoidably absent) was proposed by the Rev. Sir TALBOT H. BAKER, Bart., for his kindness and courtesy as president of the meeting, and for the hospitality with which he had received the members at the Palace. The Rev. F. SPURRELL proposed a vote of thanks to the Mayor and Corporation for their reception of the Institute, and specially to the Mayor for his hospitality on the opening day. The CHAIRMAN proposed a vote of thanks to the Dean and Chapter, specially referring to the continued hospitalities of the Dean and Canon Jebb. Mr. TUCKER *(Rouge Croix)* proposed a vote of thanks to Sir George Cornewall, the Rev. A. Clive, the Mayor of Leominster and others for the reception and hospitality they had accorded to the members. Votes of thanks to the contributors of papers, to the exhibitors in the temporary museum, to the local committee and the secretaries, brought the Hereford meeting to an end.

Tuesday, August 14.

On the invitation of the Worcestershire Diocesan Architectural and Archæological Society, many members went to Tewkesbury Abbey, and were received by the Chairman of the Restoration Committee (Sir E. Lechmere.) Mr. T. BLASHILL gave a lecture on the Abbey, after which the members and the Local Society lunched at the Swan Hotel. Some of the party went on to Deerhurst, the remainder returned to Hereford in the afternoon.

The Museum.

This was formed in the Museum of the Free Library under the direction of the Rev. F. T. Havergal and Mr. J. T. Owen Fowler, and included objects from prehistoric times to the present century. Of the earliest period Mr. H. T. JENKINS exhibited some English barbed arrow heads, polished celts from Ireland, a collection of stone implements from New Zealand for illustration, and some bronze celts, &c. Some bronze

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Roman fibulæ and tesseræ from Ariconium were exhibited by the Rev. T. W. WEBB, and the Free Library Museum exhibited portions of tesselated pavement from Kenchester and Bishopstone. Of the mediæval period a collection of reliquaries and crucifixes exhibited by Mr. R. READY, and some silver plaques and repoussé work and pieces of Limoges enamel by Mr. JENKINS were very noticeable. Mr. BRINDLEY sent a cast of a stone mould for metal working, representing the Adoration and the Purification, of the latter part of the thirteenth century. Mr. E. H. PILLEY exhibited a statuette in ivory of the Virgin, and a beautiful carved tankard.

Among the MSS. were an illuminated Book of Hours belonging to the Rev. F. Spurrell, and the Epistles of St. Paul lent by Mr. D. Laing.

Mr. R. J. DANSEY exhibited a most curious book of hunting and other sports, dedicated to Henry IV, of the same character as *The Book of St. Albans* and *Le Art de Venerie* of Twici. The first part treats of the deer and other animals, the second of the horse, and the third on horticulture. A fourth part, in a later hand, deals with hawks and their management.

The collections of Charters exhibited by the Dean and Chapter and the Corporation of Hereford were very interesting. The earliest was dated 840. It is a grant of lands from Cuthwulf, one of the Anglo-Saxon bishops of Hereford, to the abbey of Bromyard, and is the earliest document extant relating to the see. This charter was restored to the church of Hereford by the Rev. J. Lee Warner in 1875. Another of these deeds was from William the Conqueror, conveying lands to the church of St. Peter, Gloucester. Charters of Ralph de Maidstone (Bishop of Hereford 1234); of Adam de Orleton (Bishop of Hereford), which also has the seal of Roger de Mortivallis (Bishop of Salisbury), dated 1320; two with the fine seals of Reading Abbey, and a finely preserved detached seal of William de Vere (Bishop of Hereford from 1186-99), were also exhibited by the same body.

Of the Corporate charters and grants, the earliest is one dated the 1st of Richard I; one, dated the 51st of Henry III, was a release from Prince Edward for all trespasses, &c., committed by the citizens during the rebellion; one from Richard II was a licence for the purchase of the Booth Hall; one of Henry VIII has a portrait of the king, seated, in the initial letter.

The Rev. F. T. HAVERGAL exhibited a fine deed of Peter de Bromtone, temp. Henry III, and the will of Richard Mayo, Bishop of Hereford, 1516. A marriage agreement was exhibited to show the signature of John Kyrle, the "Man of Ross," as a witness, by Mrs. JONES, late of Foye Vicarage. JOHN LLOYD, Esq., exhibited a deed of exceeding great local interest, "The Boundaryes of Hereford," "examined and found correct," "at the tower," in "1655." This section cannot be passed over without mentioning the large collection of autograph letters exhibited by the Rev. J. FULLER RUSSELL, including those of Lord Burleigh, Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia, Jeremy Taylor, and other well-known personages. Another collection of autographs of greater local interest was exhibited by the Rev. FRAS. HOPKINSON. Amongst these were those of Kings Charles II and James II, and the favourites Buckingham and Rochester, also those of Louise de Queronaille, Duchess of Portsmouth, and D'Aubigny, and the signature—the initials *E.G.* only—of Nell Gwynne, who is said to have been a native of Hereford. Mrs. HANKINS sent for exhibition two autograph letters of George II to

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the King and Queen of Portugal, after the earthquake at Lisbon in 1755, in which he expresses his grief at hearing of the catastrophe.

The collection of matrices of seals brought together were those of the Corporation and Diocese. Several of the local archdeaconries were included in those of the diocese, and also one or two of the episcopal seals. These were sent through H. C. Beddoe, Esq. The corporate seals were more interesting, being earlier and finer in execution. The seal of the bailiffs of Hereford is a fine example of thirteenth century work. Both this and the preceding matrix are of silver, and are now in the possession of THOMAS CAM, Esq. The present silver seal of the Corporation is an excellent specimen of engraving of the time of Charles II. The date, 1836, has been inserted.

Among the weapons exhibited were a perforated Spanish sword marked SAHRGUN, and an inlaid Venetian rapier, the property of Mr. H. J. JENKINS.

Among the general antiquities may be mentioned some seventeenth century warming pans exhibited by the Rev. C. ABBOT and Mr. JENKINS, and the silver-mounted hunting horn from Brinsop Court, exhibited by Mr. DANSEY. Of embroidery and needle work there were many examples, among them a fine piece of point lace sent by Mrs. OLDHAM, and some embroidered pillows of the seventeenth century by Mrs. JONES. Mr. G UNETT exhibited a caudle cup and tankard given to Sir Henry Lingen by Charles I. The Museum contained a large collection of Worcester, Derby and Chelsea china, exhibited by its owners in the neighbourhood.

Among the large collection of water colour drawings and prints were views of old Hereford by David Cox, exhibited by Mr. T. Cam and Mr. Jenkins; and an extensive and beautiful series of sketches of churches in the district, by the late Rev. J. L. Petit, exhibited by Miss Petit. These included some striking views of Tewkesbury Abbey. The portrait of Sir George Cornewall, who was present at the battle of Agincourt, painted by Lucus Corelli, exhibited by the Rev. Sir George Cornewall, Bart., was conspicuous among the oil paintings. Among the printed books Mrs. Evans exhibited a copy of Lord Coningsby's "Manor of Marden." Mr. J. D. T. Niblett exhibited two memento rings containing portraits of Charles I. The civic regalia was exhibited by the Corporation, and included four silver maces of the time of Charles II; two swords, one of the time of Henry V, the other a beautiful example dated 1677, and having SAHRGVM on the blade. The loving cup is 13 inches high, and is a fine example of *repoussé* work of the period (1675). The two silver badges of the city sergeant are dated 1583, and two silver candlesticks 1668.

The Council desire to acknowledge the following donations in aid of the expenses of the Hereford Meeting, and of the general purposes of the Institution:—The Mayor of Hereford, 5*l.* 5*s.*; Richard Banks, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; James Davies, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; J. Griffith Morris, Esq., 10*s.* 6*d.*; John Lambe, Esq., 10*s.* 6*d.*; John C. Aston, Esq., 10*s.* 6*d.*; F. R. Kempson, Esq., 10*s.* 6*d.*; Rev. John E. Cheese, 1*l.* 1*s.*; John H. Arkwright, Esq., 5*l.*; Rev. John Woollam, 1*l.*; William John Humfrys, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Rev. Wm. Bowell, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Rev. H. C. P. Abbott, 10*s.*; Rev. G. H. Kirwood, 1*l.* 1*s.*; T. A. Chapman, Esq., M.D., 10*s.* 6*d.*; Lacon Lambe, Esq., 10*s.* 6*d.*; Admiral Trollope, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Rev. Thomas Canning, 10*s.* 6*d.*; George Clive, Esq., M.P., 2*l.* 10*s.*; John Morris, Esq.,

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Notices of Archaeological Publications.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I., 1639-40. Edited by WILLIAM DOUGLAS HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A., of H.M. Public Record Office and the University of London. 1877.

In the very valuable series of "Calendars of State Papers," published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, few, if any, exceed in interest the volume lately issued under the editorship of Mr. W. D. Hamilton. Mr. Hamilton acted, for several years, as assistant to the late eminent antiquary and historian, Mr. John Bruce, and upon the lamented death of that gentleman Mr. Hamilton was selected to succeed him as editor of the Domestic State Papers of the reign of Charles I.; and it would seem that Mr. Bruce's mantle has fallen on his successor.

The volume before us covers a period of six months only, viz.: from 1st October 1639, to 31st March 1640, but there is no epoch of English history fraught with greater consequences to the constitution of this country than the few years to which these six months were pre-eminently the prelude. The King's first hostile expedition to quell the insubordination of his Scottish subjects had come to nought. A treaty had been entered into at Berwick on 18th June, 1639, not one condition of which the Scots seem to have fulfilled, and the King, in the winter of 1639-40, was engaged in the preparation of another expedition with the object of bringing them into obedience. The difficulties with which the King had to contend, from the apathy of a large section of the English people, indeed, we may say, from their secret sympathy with the Scots and the spirit of hostility which was arising in England, and which, not long afterwards, culminated in the overthrow of the Church and the murder of the Archbishop and the King, are abundantly exemplified in the papers, many of them of a semi-private character, calendared in this volume; and it is indispensable that every student of this period of English history should master its contents. Mr. Hamilton's comprehensive and able preface contains an epitome of the contents of the volume.

NOTICES OF THE HISTORIC PERSONS BURIED IN THE CHAPEL OF ST. PETER AD VINCULA, IN THE TOWER OF LONDON, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE SUPPOSED REMAINS OF QUEEN ANNE BOLEYN. By DOYNE C. BELL, F.S.A. Murray, 1877.

The Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula in the Tower of London, in its original foundation, is of great antiquity. It is supposed to have been built as early as the time of King Henry I. Various grants were made for the decoration of the building and for the maintenance of Divine Service therein in the reign of Henry III, upon whose death mass was ordered to be there celebrated for the repose of his soul. His son Edward I in the latter part of his reign entirely rebuilt it, though some

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slight remains of the original structure may be traced in the crypt. Having become much decayed and, withal, greatly damaged by fire in the reign of Henry VIII, considerable alterations and repairs were effected, so much so that externally, in general appearance, the building would seem to be a Tudor erection.

Again it had fallen into decay, and had become internally greatly disfigured by unsightly galleries and high mis-placed pews, so that Macaulay could not "refrain from expressing his disgust at the barbarous stupidity which had transformed this interesting little church into the likeness of a meeting-house in a manufacturing town." For these, and for sanitary reasons, a thorough restoration was determined upon in 1876; and it is a record of this work of restoration, and of the various discoveries and observations made during the operations, with reference to the remains of the illustrious and historical dead laid within its walls, which form the most interesting part of Mr. Doyne Bell's volume.

The alterations were carried out by the Board of Works under the supervision of the Tower authorities and officers of the Lord Chamberlain's Department, forming a sort of committee, of which Mr. Doyne Bell was a member. Upon an examination of the interments it was found that the remains had, at various times, been greatly disturbed, and, moreover, that it was essentially necessary that all the remains should be removed during the operations. The Queen reluctantly sanctioned this proposal, "with the express condition that the greatest care and reverence should be exercised in this removal, and that a careful record should be kept of every sign of possible identification which might come to light." It is needless to say that Her Majesty's careful injunctions were strictly obeyed. The whole committee was present on every occasion of the disturbance of the floor of the church, and a very circumstantial account is given by Mr. Bell, who was an eye-witness of all the proceedings, of the condition of the interments and of the identification of the remains discovered. In the latter process the committee was assisted by Dr. Mouat, whose description of the remains of Queen Anne Boleyn is here given :—

"The bones found in the place where Queen Anne Boleyn is said to have been buried are certainly those of a female in the prime of life, all perfectly consolidated and symmetrical, and belong to the same person.

"The bones of the head indicate a well-formed round skull, with an intellectual forehead, straight orbital ridge, large eyes, oval face, and rather square full chin. The remains of the vertebræ and the bones of the lower limbs indicate a well-formed woman of middle height, with a short and slender neck. The ribs shew depth and roundness of chest. The hand and feet bones indicate delicate and well-shaped hands and feet, with tapering fingers and a narrow foot.

"They are all consistent with the published descriptions of the Queen, and the bones of the skull might well belong to the person portrayed by Holbein in the collection of the Earl of Warwick."

To his account of the chapel and this sad cemetery Mr. Bell has added brief memoirs of those who suffered in the Tower and on Tower-hill, and were buried in the Tower Chapel, and details of some of the other buildings in the Old Palace Fortress, with illustrations of some of the interesting relics there preserved. The volume is one of great interest and considerable historical value.

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Archæological Intelligence.

Mr. John Guest announces for publication "Historical Notices of Rotherham." To aid in the accomplishment of this work, the MS. Department of the British Museum and other National Record Offices have been sedulously searched, and not in vain. Many documents of very early date, and of great interest, relating to the church and its various chantries; to the grand old College of Jesus, and to its renowned founder; as also others connected with ecclesiastical and collegiate matters, have been carefully transcribed. Documents relating to the scholastic and civil institutions of the town; to the early charters of the feoffees of the Common Lands; to the restoration of lapsed grants to the Grammar School, have been consulted, and have been found of great interest. The old records of the greaves of the Common Lands, comprising their charities, ranging from infancy to age, from swaddling clothes to winding sheets; containing also references to early local manners, customs, martial equipments, musical appointments, punishments, sports, and other odd and long obsolete matters, incident to a semi-rude and picturesque period, have been consulted. In these records has been found, though not always easily deciphered, an almost diurnal view of times and persons, strangely differing from the present, but quite as adequately suited to each other. Other sources of information, relating to the progress of the place from the condition of a pleasant and prosperous market town, to its becoming at the beginning of the present century, one of the most important towns in the kingdom for iron-founding, brass-works, &c., have also been made available for the forthcoming work.

It may be reasonably anticipated that the explorations at Templebrough will furnish matter contributing materially to the value of these Historic Notices. They are not only of great local interest, as assigning to the town of Rotherham a Roman origin, they may also be regarded as of general importance, as contributing to the solution in some degree of the vexed question of the site of Roman stations in Yorkshire, and especially as to the disputed accuracy of *Horsley* in placing at Templebrough the Ad Fines of the 18th Iter of Richard of Cirencester.

A very limited impression of the volume will be printed, in folio; price to subscribers £2 2s. Names will be received by the author, Moorgate Grange, Rotherham.

The arrangements for the meeting of the Institute at Northampton are making rapid progress. It will begin on July 30, under the presidency of the Venble. Lord Alwyne Compton. The following are the names of the Presidents and Vice-presidents of Sections:—*Antiquities*—President, J. Evans, Esq., D.C.L.; Vice-president, S. Sharp, Esq. *History*—President, E. A. Freeman, Esq., D.C.L.; Vice-president, the Lord Henley. *Architecture*—President, A. J. B. Beresford Hope, Esq., M.P.; Vice-president, M. H. Bloxam, Esq. Among the places to be visited during the week will be Althorpe, Holdenby, Brixworth, Higham Ferrars, Irthlingborough, Earl's Barton, Castle Ashby, Rowell, Rockingham, Kirby, Canons Ashby, Peterborough, &c.

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