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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 57. The object of stag's-horn, here described, was obtained by Mr. Hans Busk, during proceedings for disafforesting Wychwood Forest; it was presented by him to Mr. Bernhard Smith. Cockahoot Hill is shown in a map of that ancient forest, prepared on the occasion above noticed.

Page 78, line 26, and page 82, line 4, for "Noris Gethin," read "Moris Gethin." We are informed by Mr. Wynne that he was steward of the dissolved monastery of Conway, 36 Hen. VIII., and one of his sons was grantee of portions of the possessions of that house. Lewis ap Moris Gethin was doubtless of the same family. Sir Thomas ap William, mentioned as transcriber of the MS. cited at p. 78, is believed to have been curate of Trefriw, near Llanrwst; the country of the Gethins is within a short distance of that town.

Page 88. The incised markings on rocks in Northumberland have been repeatedly noticed by Mr. George Tate, F.G.S., in the Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, vol. iii. p. 127, vol. iv. pp. 233, 337. At their meeting in May, 1858, Mr. Tate was requested to prepare a paper with drawings of the circular markings at Rounting Linn, Berwick, &c.; this communication has recently appeared in vol. v. of the Proceedings of the Club, p. 138, illustrated by twelve plates from accurate drawings by Mr. John Storey, including nearly every example found in Northumberland, with a few from Scotland, Ireland, &c. Mr. Tate's curious memoir has been printed separately; it may be obtained from Mr. Blair, Bookseller, Alnwick, price 5s. (postage free).

Page 94. The sarcophagus and leaden coffins here described have been presented to the British Museum.

Page 94, line 41. The leaden coffin noticed as found at Shadwell is figured, Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc., 1858, p. 355, pl. 26. The discovery occurred in September in that year.

Page 102. The matrix of the seal of Bertrand de Verneto, here described, is in the possession of Mrs. Hulke.

Page 114. A short notice of the architectural vestiges at Dinas Brán may be found in the Builder, July 23, 1864.

Page 170, line 36, and page 171, line 6, for "Carreg-y-Saelhan," read "Carreg-y-Saethan." We regret to learn from Mr. Williams, that this curious relic, of which a drawing was sent by his kindness through the Hon. W. O. Stanley, M.P., was shortly after broken in pieces and destroyed.

Page 180, line 24, for "Lyons," read "Syon." This error was inadvertently repeated from a useful work of reference by Mr. Fisher, relating to English history and family descents. Dugdale, Baron. ii. p. 190, on the authority of Ralph Brooke, gives, amongst the children of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, "Anne, a nun at Sion." Compare Sandford, p. 402. This, doubtless, was the "My lady Anne," whose name occurs in Mr. Fuller Russell's MS. described *ut supra*. The will of Cecily, Duchess of York, has been lately printed for the Camden Society. See Wills from Doctors' Commons, edited by Mr. Bruce, p. 3. She bequeathed "to the house of Sion two of the best coopes of crymyson clothe of gold." To her "doughters," Brigitte, Cecill, Anne and Kateryn, being in fact her granddaughters, the daughters of Edward IV., certain books, &c. "Also I geve to my daughter Anne priores of Sion a boke of Bonaventure and Hilton in the same in Englishe, and a boke of the Revelacions of Saint Burgitte," the latter being a gift peculiarly suited to a member of that community. It seems by no means improbable that this "boke" may have contained the "Speculum Vite Christi, or the Myrroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jhesu Cryste," printed by Caxton in 1494, and the "Ladder of Perfection," by the Carthusian monk of Sheen, Walter Hilton, which was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in the same year, being that, it will be observed, preceding the date of the will of the Duchess of York (April 1, 1495).

Page 217. The most detailed notice hitherto given of the paintings at Ditchingham, now destroyed, may be found in the Gent. Mag. 1847, Nov., p. 526.

The Archaeological Journal.

MARCH, 1864.

GUNDULF.¹

By the Very Rev. the DEAN OF CHICHESTER, D.D., F.R.S.

WHEN our attention is directed to the antiquities of Rochester, the mind at once adverts to the name of Gundulf, and I have been requested to bring before the Archaeological Institute what is known of Gundulf's history. A life of that distinguished prelate is given in one of the Cottonian MSS., Nero, A. 8., of a date little later than his age. Many passages in it tend to the conclusion, that it was written by a monk of Rochester; and the author affirms in the prologue, that he had conversed with the subject of his biography. This life has been printed in the *Anglia Sacra*,² and reprinted by Migne.³

There are several scattered notices of Gundulf in the *Anglia Sacra*. Letters from him and to him are to be found in Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi*, and in the correspondence of Lanfranc.⁴ There are allusions to Gundulf in the writings of William of Malmesbury,⁵ and in those of Florence of Worcester. Some information is supplied by the *Registrum Roffense*, the *Custumale Roffense*, and the *Textus Roffensis*. From these sources the following notice of this distinguished man has been compiled.

Gundulf was born in that part of Normandy called the Vexin. As he died in 1108, being then in his eighty-fifth year, we may fix the date of his birth in the year 1023. Of his family little is known; his father's name was Hathe-

¹ Read in the Historical Section at the Meeting of the Archaeological Institute at Rochester, July 31, 1863.

² *Ang. Sac.* II. 273.

³ *Patrolog. Vit. Gundulfi*, II. 812.

⁴ *Opp. Lanfr.* I. 69, ed. Giles.

⁵ *Malmesb. de Vitiis Pontif.*

guinus, or Hadwin ; his mother Adelesia survived her husband, and became a nun. He had a brother named William, who accompanied him to England. In the survey of the manor of Maidstone, in Domesday, this William is returned as holding of the Archbishop of Canterbury two sullings valued as high as as 10*l*.⁶ Gundulf received his primary education in his native place, and probably from his father, who destined him, not to monastic seclusion, but to the secular life, which at this time opened the way to all worldly honours, except those confined to the use of arms ; if even here an exception may be made, when the Bishop of Bayeux was a soldier and a general, only second in ability to his brother, the Conqueror himself. At the proper age, and when he had mastered all the learning he could receive at home, Gundulf was removed to Rouen, the chief city of the diocese. He was here distinguished for the gentleness of his manners and the humility of his disposition ; and (after he had received the minor orders) for the conscientious regularity with which he performed his duties in St. Mary's Church. His good conduct did not escape the observation of William, at that time Archdeacon, and afterwards Archbishop, of Rouen. The archbishop who ordained Gundulf was Maurilius ; and, through the kind offices of the archdeacon, Gundulf found in Maurilius more than a patron—a paternal friend. It speaks well for Gundulf, that he was not only entertained at the archbishop's table, but that he was permitted to join in the conversation, which turned chiefly on the topics frequently under discussion, contempt of the world, and the glories of eternity—on the hardships which righteousness had to encounter, on the self-denials to be endured in our earthly warfare, and on the fullness of the recompense in heaven.

At this period the minds of men were generally found in one of two extremes : they were either seeking for wild adventure, or else, in monastic asceticism, excluding themselves from the world, in which very frequently they had indulged their passions without restraint. Even sober-minded men were influenced by the spirit of the age, and a man like Gundulf was not likely to remain long a mere student at Rouen, performing a routine of clerical duty.

⁶ Cust. Roff. 160.

When it was proposed to him by the archdeacon to start on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, the proposal met with ready acquiescence. From what subsequently took place we may conclude that, while a religious motive sanctified the proceeding, it was rather from a love of adventure and excitement that Gundulf set forth on his travels. It is to be regretted that he did not, in his conversations with his biographer, enter into a description of Palestine as it existed in the eleventh century ; but at this period external things, except as they related to the pomp and circumstance of war, to warlike exercises or religious ceremonial, were only valued for the impression which they made upon the mind, and the pious feelings they excited. The mind was becoming awake to the beauties of art, but could not as yet take an artistic view of nature. Gundulf and the archdeacon went, as they said, to visit the places of the Incarnation, Passion, and Ascension of our Blessed Lord, that they might ever after have a cheering recollection of these events, and they were duly impressed. One or two things emerge from the darkness. They travelled then, as now, in caravans ; and the dangers to which they were exposed from attacks by the Saracens were so great, that we can account for, if we cannot justify, the Crusades, which soon after commenced, not for the conquest of the land, but, as at first proposed, for the protection of pilgrims.

Gundulf and his party lived in constant dread of attack, and had to undergo intolerable hardships ; they were intolerable, in the literal sense of the word, to Gundulf, for he sank under them. He was so prostrated, that when an onslaught was expected upon the caravan, and orders were issued for its removal to higher ground, Gundulf, unable to move, was left behind. When the party halted, Gundulf was sought for in vain among his friends ; a young nobleman, whose name ought to have been preserved, boldly dared all danger, and hastened back to the place of their late encampment. There he found Gundulf in great perturbation, expecting, if he did not perish through weakness, to be exposed to a death of violence from a cruel enemy. The young nobleman did not hesitate for a moment ; he placed Gundulf on his shoulders ; he re-climbed the hill ; he restored Gundulf to the archdeacon, who must have blushed to find that accomplished by another, which he had not him-

self the courage to attempt. Gundulf and the archdeacon were glad to escape the perils of robbers, and turned their faces towards home ; but they had first to encounter the perils of the deep, which made a more lasting impression on their minds than any danger to which they had been hitherto exposed. On their voyage they were overtaken by a tempest. Gundulf and his companion prayed. They vowed, that if God in his mercy would preserve them, they would renounce the world and assume the cowl. The tempest soon after ceased ; the ship came safe to land ; the archdeacon returned to his archdeaconry ; Gundulf made his way to the monastery of Bec, where, in the year 1060, he became a Benedictine monk.⁷

A happier home than the abbey of Bec, Gundulf could not have chosen. The monastery was known throughout Normandy for the strictness of its discipline, and for the regularity with which the Benedictine rule was observed. Here, however, he could enjoy the conversation of some of the most learned men in Europe, and profit by the instruction given in schools, designed not merely for the young, but for those older persons who, when books were scarce, flocked to the lecture of the professor. The abbey stood in a valley extending for three miles through two ranges of hills, and was placed on the banks of a beck, or stream (the word is still used in Yorkshire), flowing into the Rille. Plantation, as well as building, was in progress, and some of the trees, which Gundulf assisted to plant, are said to have outlived the revolutions of France, and to be in existence at the present time, flourishing in a green old age amidst the ruins.

When Gundulf arrived at Bec, the venerable founder was still living. Herluin, who had been a gallant knight, and was by birth allied to some of the first families in Normandy and Flanders, was a meek and pious old man ; innocent of book-learning, for in his old age we find him straining his eyes over his spelling-book, and unable to master its mysteries, but respected by men really learned themselves, for his intuitive wisdom. The old abbot was also a good man of business, who, in an unworldly spirit, but with much worldly wisdom, husbanded the resources and managed the temporal affairs of the establishment ; the temporalities of

⁷ Chron. Bec. ed. Giles.

the monastery consisting chiefly of his own princely estate, with which he had endowed it. Meanwhile, no less a person than Lanfranc filled the office of prior, and presided in the schools.

The peaceful valley of Bec was invaded by persons in every condition of life : poor scholars attended to drink in wisdom as it overflowed from the teacher, while they lived on the alms supplied by the monastery ; nobles, princes, the sons of kings, laid aside their armour for a season, and took their place among the hearers of Lanfranc. The idea was prevalent, that knowledge was not only power, but wealth, or the cause of wealth, and men rushed to the schools of the greater teachers with a feeling kindred to that which now animates emigrants to the diggings in Australia—in either case to be subject to disappointment, at finding that the vicinity of wealth does not make men wealthy, and that neither learning nor gold can be procured without labor.

These formed, as it were, the mob of hearers ; there were others who were really students ; and many more who fled from the gross immoralities which pervaded society, to plunge into a life of asceticism.

In our own days, those who are intimate with the working classes have heard the wise men among them, those whom Mr. Cobden aptly describes as the aristocratic portion of the working classes, affirm that, until habits of temperance have been permanently formed, although there are many who quaff beer or spirits in moderation, yet, as regards the majority of their class, the question lies between drunkenness and teetotalism. In the middle ages, while there were some who could live soberly and without dissolute morals in general society, there were many who felt, that they must bind themselves by the strictest rules, and take upon them a vow of asceticism, or they would soon fall into the prevalent gluttony and immorality which were to be found in most of the great castles.

In either case an error was committed ; the error so common to man, too often unconsciously intolerant. What was a useful discipline to some, was enforced by enthusiasts as a system necessary to all, and asceticism then, like teetotalism at the present time, became a religion.

To the monastic vows Gundulf conscientiously, but not without difficulty, adhered. His energetic character, his

practical ability, and afterwards his science and skill as an architect, involved him in pursuits inconsistent with the duties of a contemplative life—to which, indeed, he was not inclined by nature, or qualified by genius. But he intensely admired in others those virtues in which he did not himself excel, and for not excelling in which he tormented his mind and sometimes lacerated his body.

For Gundulf, when at Bec, an enthusiastic friendship was formed by one, whose praise was soon to be, and still is, in all the churches; and the fact that Gundulf was admired, consulted, and beloved by Anselm, is a sufficient testimony to the excellence of his character and to his proficiency as a scholar. This last remark is made, because it is supposed that William of Malmesbury speaks disparagingly of Gundulf when he describes him as “*litterarum non nescius*.”⁸ Scholars in one department of literature are too much inclined, at all times, to speak slightingly of those whose line of thought has been in another direction. Gundulf could not, perhaps, have written a chronicle so well as William of Malmesbury; his genius did not incline him to the dialectic and metaphysical studies in which Lanfranc excelled; neither could he fathom the depths of that scholastic philosophy into which Anselm was launching the church. Nevertheless, he who could erect the Cathedral of Rochester and the White Tower of London must have been a man who had mastered the science of the age, with the ability of applying it to practical purposes. He was, also, in grammar and all that related to language acknowledged to be profound.

The firmest friendships are sometimes formed by a union of souls entirely opposite in what relates to external gifts, but made one by some kindred sentiment; and the one sentiment which bound together the hearts of Gundulf and Anselm was, love to God and zeal for His service. Two men more different in character we cannot imagine. Gundulf was a man of action; the genius of Anselm led him to a life of contemplation. To Anselm, whose nature revolted against self-indulgence, the Benedictine rule was scarcely a restraint; Gundulf found it a restraint so irksome that he was continually inflicting penances upon himself for the non-observance of it. Anselm, when called into active life, for want of

⁸ Malmesbury de Gest. Pontif. 132.

worldly wisdom, did not excel; whereas Gundulf, when released from the cloister, plunged into secular business with such assiduity, that his monastic biographer, in recounting his proceedings, is continually obliged to pause, that he may remind us that, if busy like Martha, he always made time to sit at Jesus' feet like Mary.

The practical wisdom of Gundulf was attractive to the less practical mind of Anselm; and, when Anselm poured forth with unrestrained fervor the riches of his overflowing mind, he would find in Gundulf a listener ever ready to drink in every thought as it flowed forth. Anselm sometimes became almost ashamed of being the sole talker, for great talkers have sometimes scruples of conscience, easily expressed, though not long influential. On one occasion Anselm exclaimed, when Gundulf proposed to him a question—"You are always seeking to sharpen your knife on my whetstone; but my knife you never permit me to sharpen on yours. I do insist upon your taking your share in the conversation, that I may derive from our intercourse my fair share of advantage." It does not appear that Anselm talked less; but at this very time he showed how highly he respected Gundulf's character, for, referring to a short period of his own life to which he could not look back with satisfaction, he exclaimed, "I may, indeed, compare myself to a whetstone, obtuse of mind as I have been made by my sins; whereas your mind, like a knife always sharp, is ever ready for Divine contemplation."

Anselm was said to be more learned in the Scriptures; Gundulf more abundant in tears. The author of the "Cur Deus Homo" would discourse on the mercies of redeeming love, until he was silenced by the sobs of Gundulf; which was the reason, probably, that Anselm said, that he would that he were another Gundulf, and Gundulf another Anselm. An union of the two characters would have been, he thought, perfection, so far as anything human can be perfect.

There is nothing which strikes us in the history of Gundulf as more remarkable than his copious weeping. He seems to have encouraged it as a virtue, and he certainly indulged in it to such an excess as to injure his health. A frequent shedding of tears is observable in the history of other persons in the middle ages. They desired to excite sympathy by a display of their feelings in all their unrestrained energy.

The aptitude of Gundulf for secular employment did not escape the notice of Herluin or Lanfranc, both of whom were gifted with a discernment of character, and with a power of commanding the services of others. With the former it was an intuition; in the latter it was the result of experience. By these, his superiors, Gundulf was employed as sacrist of the monastery, an office of importance, which made the holder of it a dignitary of the church. He had the custody of all the valuables of the monastery, including not only the sacred vessels of silver and gold, but all the vestments, the office books, and the relics.⁹ Hence he had much to do in the regulation of the processions, and in making the arrangements on all festal occasions. Throughout his life, Gundulf was consulted as an authority in all that related to the ceremonials of the church.

The period of his residence at Bec was, perhaps, the happiest of Gundulf's life. With little responsibility, he had plenty of occupation; he was able, without interruption, to discharge his devotional duties as a monk; and when we consider the dissoluteness of the age, the savage character of society scarcely redeemed by chivalry, the profligacy and sensual indulgences patronized, not only in baronial castles, but, as we have the authority of Herluin himself for saying, in many of the monasteries also, Bec must have appeared to Gundulf a very heaven on earth. It resembled a well-ordered college at one of our modern universities. Here he enjoyed the conversation of some of the foremost men in the world; and even from female society he was not wholly excluded. A few ladies, some of whose relatives had fled from a profligate world and sought an asylum in the monastery of Bec, took certain vows there as nuns, with the sanction of the Archbishop of Rouen. These ladies, however, did not renounce all the comforts, or even the frivolities, of their former mode of living, as we gather from a ghost story pre-

⁹ The functions and dignity of a *sacrista* are set forth by Durandus, lib. ii. Ration. c. i.; see also Bernard. Mon. in Constit. Clunias. c. 51 and 52; Udalric. lib. iii.; Conc. Tolet. in lib. i.; Decret. tit. 26; and the Liber Ordinis S. Victoris Paris. MS. c. 20, where we read as follows: "Ad officium sacristie pertinent omnia que in thesauro sunt custodire, reliquia et omnia ornamenta altaris et

sanctuarii ac totius ecclesie, sive in auro, sive in argento, sive in ostro, et palliis, et tapetibus, et cortinis; sacras quoque vestes, et pallas, et manutergia, calices, et textus, et cruce, et thuribula, et candelabra, et cetera vasa que vel ad ministerium vel ad ornamentum altaris et sanctuarii totiusque ecclesie pertinent; libros quoque missales, epistolares et evangelia."—See Ducange, *in v.*

served in the Chronicle of Bec. A good old lady promised one brother Rodolf, that, if possible, she would appear to him after her death, which was then imminent, and make known what she found in the other world. She died, and was buried. As she did not make her appearance immediately, Rodolf slept in peace, until one night his slumbers were suddenly disturbed: The venerable dame stood before him. "How now, lady," he exclaimed. "Quid est domina? quomodo se habes?" She sadly replied that she had to undergo a penance of sixty years, on account of her attachment to lap-dogs and other pet animals. I do not, of course, vouch for the truth of this story; but from that time the brothers of Bec were never more annoyed by canine favorites.¹

The monastery of Bec had commenced on a small scale; Herluin neither expected nor desired to become the founder of that magnificent abbey which he soon saw growing under his eyes. An extension of the buildings became necessary from the influx of students and monks, and works on a large scale were in progress during the whole period of Gundulf's residence. The practical mind of the sacrist was thus directed to the study of architecture. Had he commenced those studies sooner, he would probably have profited by the specimens of Saracenic art which must have met his eye in the East; but we do not trace the influence of his travels in any of the works in which he is said to have been concerned. It was, no doubt, on the ground of his skill in architecture, as well as for his practical wisdom, that when the Prior of Bec became the Abbot of St. Stephen's in Caen, he sought, in the discharge of the new duties devolving upon him, the assistance of Gundulf. The migration of Gundulf to Caen must have taken place about the year 1066. He does not appear to have held any definite office in the new abbey, but probably sustained the same position in Lanfranc's household as he afterwards held when his patron removed to Canterbury. The works at St. Stephen's were incomplete; and here again, therefore, Gundulf could pursue his architectural studies, and obtain that practical knowledge which he afterwards turned to good account.

Gundulf once more came into contact with his old friend Archdeacon William. They spoke of the perils they had encountered among false brethren, and they discoursed of

¹ Chron. Bec. 202; Ed. Giles. See also Anselmi Opp. Lib. ii. Ep. 2651; Lib. iii. 138.

the perils of the great deep. Gundulf reminded the archdeacon of the prayers and vows which, in the midst of danger, they had made ; and how, in answer to those prayers and vows, the storm had ceased. His own vow Gundulf had fulfilled : he was now a Benedictine monk. Archdeacon William was still one of the secular clergy. It was at Caen that he finally made up his mind to follow the example of the more consistent Gundulf, and he became a monk of St. Stephen's.

Lanfranc, when Abbot of St. Stephen's, continued his biblical lectures ; and to his lectures resorted not only the young, but men of all ages, who were anxious to advance in Scriptural knowledge. When copies of the Bible were scarce, and commentators few, a learned lecturer was a man of high importance. During Gundulf's attendance at one of these lectures something occurred which, when he became a great man, was magnified into importance. Gundulf, sitting near the lecturer, had a book of the Gospels in his hands, and was looked over by a friend on either side. The lecture ended ; and Lanfranc's attention being directed to something else, the three friends proposed that they should discover who of the three should be an abbot, and who a bishop, by turning over the pages of the Bible, and fixing upon a text,—by recourse to the "Sortes Evangelicæ," as they were afterwards called. The passage on which Gundulf opened was Matt. xxiv. 45 : "Who then is a faithful and wise servant, whom his lord hath made ruler over his household, to give them meat in due season ?" One of Gundulf's companions, Walter by name, opened upon Matt. xxv. 23 : "Well done, good and faithful servant ; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things : enter thou into the joy of thy lord." The third person opened upon some text which is not given ; but laughter was occasioned by their inability to decide upon the interpretation of the oracle, when Lanfranc inquired into the cause of their mirth, and at once decided that Gundulf was destined to be a bishop, and Walter to become an abbot. Years rolled on : Lanfranc became Archbishop of Canterbury, and Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester ; Walter became Abbot of Evesham. Then would the monks of St. Stephen repeat this anecdote as something serious, and deduce the conclusion that Lanfranc was inspired, and possessed the spirit of prophecy.

We are struck with the delicacy of William of Malmesbury,² to whom we are indebted for the anecdote, when he says of the third person,—“Some hard text, I know not what, caused him trouble of mind: I have indeed heard it; but I gladly forget it, for it is not the part of an ingenuous mind to insult the misfortunes of others.”

Gundulf, brought up at the feet of Lanfranc, was a devoted student of the Bible, to which Lanfranc, quite as much as his greater successor, Anselm, directed the attention of his hearers. It is an interesting fact, that Gundulf's Latin Bible is still in existence, and, after enduring many vicissitudes, it is at present in the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps at Middle Hill. It is in two folio volumes, and the writing is certainly older than the eleventh century, the character being that used in the ninth and tenth. Even in Gundulf's own time, it must have been highly esteemed; and, after his death, it was preserved as a valuable relic in the library of St. Andrew's, Rochester: any person abstracting it was threatened with excommunication by the Bishop, Prior, and Chapter,³ as set forth in an entry in this remarkable manuscript.

The denunciation had no effect to restrain those among the Reformers, who thought it meritorious to destroy the monastic libraries, and to sell them to grocers, unless they could obtain a higher price by sending them to foreign parts. Among the MSS. thus disposed of, was Gundulf's Bible. Its subsequent history may be found in a valuable memoir on the catalogue of the library of Rochester Priory, in 1202, by Mr. Rye.⁴ It was sold at Amsterdam in 1734, after having been for some time in the library of

² W. Malmsh. de Gest. Pontif. ii. 133.

³ There is a form of excommunication attached at the end of a Vulgate Bible, Harl. MS. 2798, which is extremely severe. “Liber . . . quem si quis abstulerit, morte moriatur; in sartagine coquatur; caducus morbus instet eum et febres; et rotetur et suspendatur. Amen.” *I.e.* If any one take away this book, let him die the death; let him be fried in a pan; let the falling sickness and fever seize him; let him be broken on the wheel and hanged. Amen. This, which I have found cited in the *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. iii. p. 51, seems to approach Bishop Ernulf's celebrated form of ex-

communication in the *Textus Roffensis*. The chapter of Rochester appear to have been more moderate in their maledictions; they content themselves with a general threat of excommunication against any one who should purloin, deface, or destroy the volume “Pro bonæ memoriæ Gundulfum Roffenæ, Epim. Liber de Claustro Roffenæ. quem qui inde alienavit, alienatum celavit vel hunc titulum in fraudem delevit excommunicatus est. Ferentib. Sentenciam Dō. Scō. Epō. Priore et Singulis Presbiteris Capituli Roffensis.”

⁴ *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. iii. p. 62.

Herman Van de Wall, a great collector of MSS. The next notice of Gundulf's Bible is in the *Custumale Roffense* in 1788,⁵ stating that it had been sold, not many years before, for 2000 florins; after which it fell into the hands of Mr. Theodore Williams, at whose sale, in 1827, it was purchased by Sir Thomas Phillipps for £180.

Gundulf followed the fortunes of Lanfranc; and, when Lanfranc was settled at Canterbury, he sent for Gundulf to preside over his household. As no inconsiderable portion of Lanfranc's income was spent in the restoration, or rather the re-erection, of Canterbury Cathedral, here again Gundulf was perfecting himself in architectural skill. As the archbishop's steward and almoner, he exercised a wise economy; but, in accordance with the wishes of Lanfranc and his own inclinations, he was most liberal in dispensing the charities of the archbishop. He arrived in England soon after that devastation of the country, which was the greatest blot in the history of the Conqueror, and which excites the abhorrence of posterity whenever his name is mentioned by those who have Anglo-Saxon blood in their veins.

The distress of the country was at this time so great, that even a chancellor of the exchequer would have been compelled to admit that almsgiving is sometimes a necessary department of charity. The misery became so great that Lanfranc despatched Gundulf to London, where there was an absolute famine; and night and day was Gundulf employed in relieving distress. His readiness to weep with those that wept, made his charity the more effective; at the same time his compassion extended even to his beasts of burden. He visited the stables to see that his horses were duly fed, and he was sometimes found concealed there, to perform his devotions in that peace and quiet, which he sought in vain in his crowded apartment, where his ears were assailed by the importunity of starving applicants.

Gundulf appears to have had a difficulty in abstracting his mind when surrounded by companions or immersed in secular business, and, wherever he went, in his manor-houses, he required his chamberlain to precede him to provide an oratory, and there to deposit his book of devotions. Nevertheless, when actually engaged in his devotions, he became

⁵ *Custum. Roff.* p. 158.

entirely absorbed in the duty ; so much so, that on one occasion, when ministering at the altar, by some inadvertence he suffered the chalice to fall from his hands. This was regarded as an omen of evil, and it made the greater sensation from the fact, that Lanfranc had been engaged in controversy with Berengarius on the subject of Transubstantiation, and Gregory VII. had been pressed, against his will, to convert that dogma, which had hitherto been mooted as a pious opinion, into an article of faith. The friends of Gundulf attributed the accident to the malignity of Satan, eager to bring discredit on a man so holy as Gundulf ; and a monk of Canterbury was accused of having been in league with Satan, because, having probably observed that Gundulf was far from being adroit, he had predicted the accident.

We gather from the Epistles of Anselm, that Gundulf left his native country with regret, and at first regarded his residence in England as that of an exile. This feeling he overcame ; but it made him anxious to keep up a correspondence with his old friends at Bec, and he complained much of Anselm's neglect in not writing more frequently. This brought a letter of apology from Anselm, expressed in exaggerated terms of affection, in which he speaks of Gundulf as—"Soul of my soul, most beloved." "When you ask me," he says, "by your messengers, when you entreat me by your letters, when you knock me over with your gifts (*pulsas me tuis donis*), that I may bear you in mind, I answer—May my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if Gundulf be not among my chiefest friends." He says that, as the impression of a seal upon wax, so is the memory of Gundulf fixed on Anselm's heart. "Why," he continues, "do you, as I hear you do, complain so bitterly that you never see letters of mine, and why do you desire with such affection to receive them frequently, when my thoughts are always with you?" There is more to the same purpose. And then, when we hope that he will pass on to a description of what was doing at Bec, he disappoints us, by saying, that of the state of affairs in the monastery it is unnecessary for him to write, as Gundulf will become acquainted with them through the bearer of the letter.⁶

There are two other letters⁷ written in the same strain,

⁶ Anselmi Opp. Ed. Migne, Lib. i. Ep. iv.

⁷ Ibid., Epp. vii. xiv.

from which we gather that Gundulf was continually sending presents to his old home. In one of the letters Anselm says, "We should do you wrong, if among your so many acts of kindness we should single out one as deserving of special thanks."

Meanwhile higher honours were in store for Gundulf. The see of Rochester stood at that time, and long after, in relation to the see of Canterbury, much in the same position in which a chapel of ease is now placed with reference to the mother church ; or, as the comparison would have been made in the twelfth century, the Bishop of Rochester stood a feudatory to the Primate. The bishop was, to a certain extent, independent ; and yet he was, as a kind of curate to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to perform official acts in the diocese, when the Metropolitan was engaged in the affairs of the province. In point of fact, after Gundulf's consecration, such duties as the dedication of churches, confirmations, and ordinations in the diocese of Canterbury were usually performed by the Bishop of Rochester. During the vacancy of the metropolitan see, while the Chapter of Canterbury administered the temporalities, the spiritual duties devolved upon the Bishop of Rochester. It was on this account that the diocese of Rochester was so small, until the late division of dioceses ; and on this account it also was, that Lanfranc became, as we shall presently see, a benefactor to the church of Rochester. He repaid the bishop by contributing to the endowment of his chapter.

Hence, too, the archbishop had certain real, though undefined and scarcely acknowledged, rights in the appointment to the see of Rochester, when the bishopric was vacant. The chapters, in the other dioceses, claimed a right to elect their diocesan, and, as now, they received a *cong  d' lire* from the Crown. But the Crown then, as now, expected its nominee to be elected. The king did not then enforce his commands with those heavy penalties which at the present time invest the sovereign with despotic power, and render the election of a bishop merely a nominal right ; but still, if the executive was strong, the will of the king was only in extreme cases resisted.

But, as regards the see of Rochester, the archbishop stood in the position of the king ; he was at least, though subordinate, a suzerain ; and, consequently, it would be equally correct

to speak of Gundulf's unanimous election by the chapter, or, as in the case of his biographer, to attribute his appointment to the nomination of Lanfranc.

Gundulf was consecrated on the 19th of March, 1077,^s and was soon after enthroned at Rochester. Gundulf was a party man, and commenced his episcopal labors in a party spirit. He was himself a Regular, and his first object was to displace the Secular Canons, who from the time of Justus, in 604, had formed the chapter of Rochester Cathedral. Like most party men, he was blind to the merits of the party to which he was opposed, and exaggerated the virtues displayed on his own side. But we must admit, that at this period, the monks had the advantage of the secular clergy in zeal, activity, and learning. The secular clergy in the time of Wycliffe had regained their position, and were superior in all these respects to the regulars, and they finally triumphed over the monks at the Reformation. But in the twelfth century there can be no doubt, that the regulars were the real working clergy, and as such were in favor with the laity. From the time of Dunstan, the attempt had been made to place the management of the Cathedrals in the hands of the regulars, but only with partial success, as in the time of Henry VIII. there were only nine cathedrals of which the chapters were formed by monks, and so requiring to be reconstructed at the Reformation.

Gundulf was one of the bishops who desired conscientiously to effect this object, but he was a just man, and did not seek to accomplish his end by harsh conduct or recourse to unlawful measures. His proceedings were perfectly legitimate. He found the cathedral in such a state of dilapidation that repairs would be useless ; it required to be rebuilt. But how were the funds to be procured ? Could the chapter provide the means ? Ethelbert, when the see of Rochester was established, endowed the chapter with a portion of land, known to the present day as Priestfield, and subsequently with some other portions within and without the city. But, as Dugdale remarks, from that time to the Conquest, benefactors were few, and many of their donations trivial. The lands had suffered much under the Danish invasion ; other causes might be assigned to account for the decrease of the funds of the chapter ; but, whatever the causes may have

^s Le Neve, edit. Hardy.

been, the fact was that, at the time of Gundulf's consecration, there were only five canons. When we remember that these were unassisted by minor canons or by any staff of subordinate clergy, that the daily services in the cathedral were numerous, that pastoral work was to be performed among an ignorant population, that this work was to a great extent (as it still is in our large towns), missionary work, that owing to the late devastations under the Conqueror the distress among the lower orders was indescribably great, that upon the clergy devolved the duties now performed by the overseers of the poor, and that the upper, middle, and even the humbler classes expected to find a good school attached to the cathedral for the education of those members of their respective families who thought fit to prepare for holy orders—we perceive that the chapter of Rochester was insufficient to perform the ordinary duties which they were justly expected to discharge. Gundulf offered to procure the funds, not only for rebuilding the church, but also for an increased endowment, but then he depended upon the archbishop for the assistance he required, and Lanfranc attached to his donation the condition that the chapter should henceforth be composed of Benedictines.

Gundulf made his bargain, and fairly purchased his position. The five secular canons took the monastic vows, and provision was made first for twenty, and eventually for sixty regulars. Gundulf introduced the system and discipline which he admired at Bec. In his own person, notwithstanding his various engagements as a bishop, an architect, and a politician, he exhibited a model of monastic propriety, and he was a strict though a kind and considerate disciplinarian. As at Canterbury, the bishop reserved to himself the rights of an abbot over his new institution, which was governed under him by a prior. He did not permit his monks to eat the bread of idleness. Some presided over the schools which were now called into existence or restored; others were, by constant transcriptions, adding books to the library; a few rendered assistance to Gundulf in his great architectural works; others were employed in managing the capitular estates; not a few were engaged in dispensing the bishop's charities, which were profuse; and all in their turn found pleasure and employment in rendering the services of the church more solemn than they had been heretofore.

Bishop Gundulf was a man of the world and a good manager. He was incessantly on the watch to increase the treasures of his new establishment. We have a curious instance of his eagerness to secure any advantage for his cathedral by what occurred at the translation of the body of King Edward the Confessor. The Bishop of Rochester was present during that solemnity in Westminster Abbey, an act designed to conciliate the Anglo-Saxons.

There is a MS. Life of Edward the Confessor, in verse, in the Public Library of Cambridge. The poem is of the thirteenth century, written in the *langue d'oïl* or Norman-French, and has been lately printed under the auspices of the Master of the Rolls, with a translation by Mr. Luard. He shows that the life embodies traditions of earlier date; and we have an account of an attempt on the part of Gundulf to obtain a relic, the possession of which would have given additional sanctity to his new monastery in the eyes of the Anglo-Saxons. The poem contains a graphic account of an attempt by Gundulf to obtain a hair from the beard of the Confessor, on the occasion of the opening of his tomb, but his object was frustrated by the remonstrance of the abbot.⁹

They who desire to see the difficulties which were at this period encountered by persons who would retain their property and assert their rights, will be interested in the account of a law-suit in which Gundulf was successful.¹ The amount of perjury committed on this occasion shows the very low state of morals, which is further proved by incidental circumstances to which allusion is made in various parts of the correspondence of Anselm.

It was now that Gundulf assumed that character by which he is best known in modern times—the character of an architect. How far his scientific knowledge was employed in those buildings which were erected under his eye at Bec, at Caen, and at Canterbury, it is useless to conjecture. That he was the architect of his own cathedral at Rochester is certain, but whether any portion of his work beyond the crypt still remains is, I fear, more than doubtful; on this point we shall be enlightened by Professor Willis.

⁹ Lives of Edward the Confessor; edited by H. R. Luard, Esq., for the collection of chronicles and memorials of

Great Britain, &c., p. 156.

¹ Anglia Sacra, t. i. p. 339, from the *Customale* and the *Registrum Roffense*.

In the venerable ruins of Rochester Castle the inhabitants of Rochester have long felt an interest, in which the whole country may now be said to participate, since, under the shadow of those walls, in a house situate in the garden on which the tower abuts, was born a successor of Lanfranc, whose praise is now in all the churches. But I fear that when Mr. Hartshorne shall make known the result of his examination of the castle, he will be compelled to admit that the ruins are the remnant of works of at least half a century later than the time of Gundulf.²

Not so the architectural remains at West Malling. Here Gundulf, soon after his consecration, erected a monastery for nuns, and St. Mary's Church. A part of this nunnery was destroyed by fire, half a century after Gundulf's death, but large portions undoubtedly remain of his work.

There is one fabric still existing, and not a ruin, which is attributed by all, I believe, who are qualified to form an opinion on the subject, to Gundulf—the White Tower in the Tower of London—the fair proportions of which we most of us gazed upon, in our earliest years, with delight, not unmingled with awe. It is not, however, my province to enter into an examination of the claims of Gundulf to a high place in the list of mediæval architects. A division of labor is most important, especially in such a society as the Institute. The business assigned to me is to collect the facts which have come down to us by tradition, and through the chronicles and contemporary writers, which bear upon Gundulf's history; and I leave the investigation of his architectural skill to Mr. Parker, who will, I apprehend, only magnify the genius of the artist, by showing the difficulties he had to encounter through the rudeness of contemporary art.³

In passing lightly over these topics, I am following the example of the monastic biographer of Gundulf. There was evidently a feeling among the stricter religionists of the day, that Gundulf permitted himself to be too much involved in secular pursuits and duties. The object of his biographer by writing was to show that he made his spiritual duties to himself and to others his first concern, or, in his own repeated

² See Mr. Hartshorne's Memoir on Rochester Castle, Arch. Journ., vol. xx. p. 209.

³ Mr. Parker's Memoir on the Buildings of Bishop Gundulf has been given in the Gent. Mag. Sept. 1863, p. 255.

phrase, that his work was not mere Martha-work. He passes over, where he can, any allusion to his conduct as a politician, and entirely ignores his skill as an architect, architecture not having yet assumed the importance which it soon after reached.

We, on the contrary, are led to admire the wonderful power of work which Gundulf possessed and displayed. At the busy period of his life, he had to perform his own episcopal duties and those of the archbishop; he had to organize and govern his new institutions at Rochester and Malling; he had to attend to his public works; he had to resist the aggressions of lawless barons upon his property; and he was involved in law-suits. Add to this, that there was no other mode, except for a sick person, of moving from place to place but on horseback. We are not surprised that at one period his health gave way—a fact made known to us by the following letter addressed to him by Lanfranc:—“Having read the letters of your brotherhood, I find that you are laboring under some indisposition. Let me entreat you not to be cast down by this circumstance, but rather to rejoice, for you know the Scripture which saith, ‘I will glory in mine infirmities;’ and that other Scripture, ‘The Lord scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.’ He would not afflict you with stripes in this world, if he did not design you to be free from correction in the world to come. Examine yourself, call to mind your most recent offences, and confess your sins; so shall you be healed of your infirmity, or meet without fear that death which is so terrible to others. Death will be to you the end of all evil, the commencement of all good. I send you an electuary of horehound,⁴ which the doctors prescribe for such a complaint as yours. You may take about as much as a wild nut will hold three times a-day. May the Lord God Almighty ever be your everlasting safeguard, and absolve you from all your sins.”⁵

Lanfranc delighted in the society of Gundulf, and would often invite him to Canterbury to enjoy his conversation. We are informed that he never permitted him to depart empty handed. Sometimes he would give him copes, sometimes candlesticks of gold or silver, always something ornamental for his church. Those who have had to do with

⁴ Conf. Du Cange sub voc. “Dioprasium,” where this passage is quoted.

⁵ Lanfr. Opp. 1. 70.

building churches, know the value of discreet begging, and will sympathize with Gundulf, who, somehow or other, persuaded or compelled his friends to contribute largely to the work he had in hand.

At length the happy time arrived when Bishop Gundulf could call on Archbishop Lanfranc to return his visits, and to assist at the consecration of the cathedral church of Rochester. According to the custom of the Norman bishops, Gundulf had probably commenced with the east end, or the choir, and when this portion of the building was fit for occupation, the day of dedication was appointed. This event must have taken place before the year 1089, when Lanfranc died, and yet not long before: Mr. Denne assigns 1084 as the date. There was a large assembly both of clergy and people. When the consecration was concluded a procession was formed to translate the body of Paulinus from the old church to the new. Paulinus, "the Apostle of the North," and the first Archbishop of York, when driven from the diocese he had established among the people whom he had converted, sought refuge in the south, and became Bishop of Rochester. Here he was thenceforth, or rather after his death, accounted a saint. Lanfranc had provided for the remains a silver shrine, and in this the relics were transferred to the new cathedral.

At Lanfranc's death, which occurred in 1089, Gundulf administered the affairs of the province of Canterbury in spirituals, having received a mandate from the king to that effect, thus acting in accordance with the custom of the metropolitan see. During four years Gundulf was *de facto* Archbishop of Canterbury. A troublesome post he must have had, with William Rufus on the throne; surrounded by barons rendered lawless by the royal example, and by a population groaning under oppression and scantily supplied with food, with the will but without the power to revolt.

It was a great relief to Gundulf when at length Rufus consented to appoint a Primate; and Gundulf's heart was filled with joy when he knew that Anselm was the man. Hearing that his friends at Bec were offering impediments to the removal of their abbot, he addressed to them the following letter, which is published among the works of Anselm.

"Gundulf, by the grace of God, Bishop of Rochester, to his lords and very dear friends the servants of God at

Bec, greeting. Dearly beloved, you are well aware how long the Anglican Church has, like an orphan, been destitute of a pastor of its own, and deprived of all fatherly counsel. But the God of the fatherless and the widow has heard the complaints of his faithful people, and has graciously answered their prayers. Through the unspeakable power of Divine grace, the King of the English has been induced, with the counsel and advice of his peers, at the petition of the people and after the election of the clergy, to commit the government of the Church of Canterbury to the lord Abbot Anselm. That this is to be attributed to an immediate operation of Divine Providence, there can be no doubt. Therefore we do in all humility demand, we do with all earnestness entreat the brethren dearly beloved, not to resist the Divine will, and the choice of pious men ; but, overcoming the reluctance they naturally feel to resign so great a man, or any indignation, if it be so, that may be occasioned by his being taken from them, to glorify God for what has been done, and to give their assent to the proceeding with hearty good will. I will go further, and I will not conceal the fact, that whatever impediments you may offer to this proceeding, it must take place ; it is only a question of time. The preliminary measures have been already taken, and by this time the Apostolic see must have become acquainted with what has been done. Act wisely, therefore, and do without delay, and in a spirit of love, what you will indisputably be obliged to do some time or other. Farewell."

We see here that Gundulf was a man who, though evincing through life a conciliatory temper, could be firm in the maintenance of any cause he undertook, when the occasion required him to be so. The conciliatory disposition of Gundulf is remarkable ; he retained the favor as well as the respect of three kings, who are generally regarded as having been the most impracticable of men. He came into contact with the Conqueror when employed in building the Tower of London ; and William became, out of respect to Gundulf, one of the benefactors of the church of Rochester. The biographer of Gundulf mentions it as a remarkable circumstance in the history of William Rufus, that among his many oppressions he spared the see of Rochester all his days ; and not only spared, but largely augmented the episcopal revenues. Among other donations of the red king was that

of the manor of Lambeth. The manor-house on this estate was frequently placed at the disposal of the Archbishops of Canterbury when they visited the metropolis, until it at length passed entirely into their hands, and became ultimately the chief residence of the Primates.⁶ I need not mention the other donations of William Rufus, because they are to be found in those invaluable records—the *Registrum Roffense*, the *Custumale Roffense*, and the *Textus Roffensis*.

The mention of Gundulf's connexion with Rufus introduces the bishop under a new character, that of a negotiator. He was employed to negotiate between William, when he was besieging the castle of Rochester, and his uncle Odo, Bishop of Bayeux. Odo, being the leader of the insurgents in favor of Robert, Duke of Normandy, had been permitted, after his capture at Pevensey, to join Eustace, Earl of Boulogne, in Rochester castle, with the view of persuading the earl to deliver it up to the king. Odo, as usual, was false to his engagements, and the king, with the rest of the besiegers, were exasperated to the highest indignation. It was then that Gundulf interposed; and though we are not acquainted with the circumstances of the case, we must think highly of Gundulf's ability as a diplomatist, when we find him successful in persuading the besieged on the one side to propose a capitulation, and the infuriated king on the other to spare the lives of the garrison. Our appreciation of his ability is raised when we remember that the Earl-Bishop of Bayeux and the King of England were the most unprincipled and unscrupulous men of the age.

From Henry I. Gundulf obtained a confirmation by royal authority of the grants and possessions which, through the industry and economy of the bishop, had accrued to the see and priory of Rochester.⁷ To the Bishop of Rochester Henry was, equally with his brother, under obligation. Gundulf again appeared as a mediator, and successfully negotiated between the king and the barons who had risen up in arms. We are told that in carrying out these difficult negotiations he so conducted himself that, whether he was in the king's palace or the baron's castle, he was welcomed by either party as a friend and father; in other words, all placed confidence in him, because they believed that he had no private ends of his own to carry.

⁶ Ducarel's Lambeth.

⁷ The charter is given Reg. Roff. 35.

Gundulf was respected by Henry, and was received by the good Queen Maud as a paternal friend. She consulted him, visited him, and when her son was born she appointed Gundulf, in the absence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to officiate at the baptism of the young prince.

It surprises us to find that, notwithstanding all this, Gundulf never sacrificed the friendship of Anselm. The politics of the two prelates were certainly not the same, and there is a letter in the fourth book of Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*, addressed by Gundulf to the Primate Anselm, when he was at Lyons, in which the Bishop of Rochester lays before him, as the consequence of his self-imposed exile, the deplorable state of the Church of Canterbury. Gundulf implores Anselm to return, and reveals a state of society so horrible that the letter is unsuitable for translation.⁸

The decided line, however, taken by Gundulf when he thought that the zeal of Anselm in the maintenance of his principles had degenerated into obstinacy, did not cause any permanent estrangement between the two friends. When Anselm returned, their friendship was as cordial as ever, and we find him ministering to the comfort of the bishop, when lying on his deathbed.

Gundulf lived to an extreme old age, and till his eighty-fourth year his health never failed. But in the year before his death, body and mind became enfeebled. He was afflicted with headaches, occasioned, it was said, by that copious effusion of tears in which he was accustomed to indulge. He was so completely prostrated at one time as to be unable to officiate in his cathedral, or to perform any episcopal act. To a man of active habits, who compelled himself to attend to all the minutiae of duty, this was a severe trial. He employed himself, however, in regulating his charities, and in giving directions for the management of that property with which he had enriched his see and his priory. His conduct was regulated by principle. He increased his charities by increased self-denial, but he was careful to leave the property in such a condition as not to impoverish his successor. He acted as a wise steward. He husbanded the revenue which, according to notions then in vogue, belonged to St. Andrew; and he spent it as he supposed St. Andrew would desire it to be spent, in donations to the poor.

⁸ Eadm. Hist. Nov. IV. 453; ed. Migne.

The old man rallied from his first attack, and he displayed the energy of his character by resuming his duties. The barons around were lawless, and the property of the church could never be secure from depredation unless the bishop, himself a baron, was present to protect the weak. When Gundulf could no longer sit on horseback, he caused himself to be carried in a litter from vill to vill, in order that he might superintend the distribution of his charity to the poor, and at the same time take care that there should be no encroachment on his prebendaries. It would often happen that when he arrived at one of his manors, he would cause himself to be lifted down from his litter, in order that he might visit the sick, who seem to have been sufferers chiefly from rheumatism and leprosy ; and he would not only supply them with food and clothing, but standing by their bedside, would weep with them, and offer for them the prayers of the church. He did this by night to escape observation, attended by his chaplain, and by two servants, who were required to assist him in his weakness. The bishop returned to Rochester in impaired health, and when his voice was once more heard within the walls of the cathedral, erected by his skill and enriched by his munificence, nothing could exceed the enthusiasm of his people. Gundulf, however, reminded them that the life of an octogenarian would not be much prolonged ; and to a friend who was delighted with the bishop's popularity, the good bishop said meekly, " Who am I that I should be applauded by the people ; I who have lived so long, and done comparatively so little." There was not any affectation in his humility, for, throughout his life he bewailed the fact, which caused him to weep profusely, that he did not experience those ecstatic fervors in religion which enthusiasts in all ages have regarded not only as a blessing—which they indisputably are—but as a proof of their being truly pious, which they as certainly are not. Gundulf prepared for death by a patient continuance in well-doing.

A relapse soon occurred, and, during this, Gundulf received a visit from his friend Anselm. One would much desire to know what transpired in the communion of two such souls at such a time. We only know that Anselm comforted him, received his confession, and gave his benediction. Gundulf was so greatly reduced that Anselm thought him to be

dying, and administered the last offices of religion. But Gundulf again rallied, and Anselm was obliged to leave him.

Gundulf now felt that his life of action was concluded, and he determined that he would devote to the duties of a contemplative life his few remaining days. His last public act was the appointment of an abbess in his nunnery at Malling. He had hitherto left the nuns to govern themselves, under his own superintendence. At St. Andrew's the bishop was the abbot, with a prior under him, and he determined that so it should be at Malling. There was to be a prioress, but he was himself to be the supreme governor. He forgot that he was usually resident in Rochester, and only occasionally at Malling; his friends, who had urged him in vain to appoint an abbess, now obtained letters from the king and the archbishop, entreating him to nominate a head to that establishment—and he yielded.

Having, after this, distributed all his goods among the poor, even to his shoes, and having bequeathed his rich vestments to the cathedral, he assumed the monastic dress, and directed that he should be carried to the priory of St. Andrew, there to die a monk among monks, which of all things was considered by his party in the church to be most desirable. With his usual consistency, he insisted, contrary to the advice of his brethren, to submit to all the discipline which the regulations of their founder required; but this could not last long, his weakness increased, and he was removed to the infirmary. A brother was appointed to attend him. There was only one ornament with which the bishop could not part—the episcopal ring, and he confided this to the care of his attendants, intending probably that it should be delivered to his successor. Ralph, who had lately been elected Abbot of Battle, had formerly been Prior of Rochester, and had been deservedly popular. The monks were anxious that he should be the successor of Gundulf, and were prepared to elect him, if they could obtain the consent of the archbishop. If to the Abbot of Battle Gundulf bequeathed or resigned the episcopal ring, it might be produced as an indication of Gundulf's wish that Ralph of Battle Abbey should succeed him. A suggestion to this effect was made to the old bishop, who said curtly, "He is a monk, what has he to do with an episcopal ring?"⁹ He was probably

⁹ There is a story connected with this episcopal ring which has been perplexing
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offended at the ambition of the ex-prior of Rochester, who ought to have been contented with his newly acquired dignity at Battle Abbey.

Soon after this another Ralph made his appearance at the priory, Ralph of Seez, who afterwards became Archbishop of Canterbury. He, too, had the title of abbot, but he had been several years before ejected from his monastery by the violence of Robert de Belesme. Ralph had come to England, and, having no home of his own, he found one in every episcopal palace, abbey, or well-ordered castle. Wherever he went he was welcome, for he was a man of wit, distinguished for the point and vivacity of his conversation; and he was the more welcome because, under a cheerful exterior, he concealed a heart "open as day to melting charity," and deeply impressed with a sense of religion. He was the friend of Anselm and of Gundulf; and when he heard of Gundulf's illness, he hastened to Rochester, that he might console him on his bed of sickness. The friends employed themselves, as the biographer tells us, in sweet conversation on the heavenly life. Ralph was, however, obliged to leave Rochester after a short visit, and the friends parted, weeping to think that this would be their last meeting in this world. Ralph had scarcely reached the door of the infirmary, when Gundulf called him back. He remembered what had occurred in the case of the Abbot of Battle, and, demanding of his attendant the episcopal ring, he placed it as a parting gift in the hand of Ralph of Seez, who suggested that it might be better bestowed upon one of Gundulf's episcopal friends, since it did not pertain to an abbot to wear a ring. He reminded the bishop that, though not living a monk, still a monk he was. "Take it, nevertheless," said the bishop, "you may want it some day."

It had been probably arranged between Anselm and Gundulf at their last interview, that Ralph of Seez should be his successor; and his possession of the ring reconciled the monks to his appointment, as they regarded the donation in the light of a prophecy on the part of Gundulf. The cases of the two Ralphs were not parallel. Ralph of Seez did not seek the episcopal office, which the Abbot of Battle, contrary to his vow, coveted; and while the latter was presiding over

to some authors who in modern times have referred to the life of Gundulf. But all

perplexity vanishes if we call in the assistance of the Chronicle of Battle Abbey.

a monastery, Ralph of Seez was an exile, a monk unattached.¹ From this time Gundulf grew visibly worse; and not long after he made a proposal to the monks, which, whether we have regard to the request itself, or to the manner in which it was met, fills the modern reader with astonishment, and presents to us a scene which we find it difficult to realise. The old man seems suddenly to have called to remembrance some offence he had committed, and, according to the notion of the age, he supposed that for every offence he would receive punishment either in this world or the next. He therefore called upon the monks to administer stripes to his emaciated body. They were justly horrified at the proposal, and, as the efficacy of vicarious punishments was believed, they offered to be flagellated in his stead. The biographer says—"Factum est igitur."

On the following Sabbath, or Saturday, the good bishop was so feeble that he thought himself dying; he received the holy communion, and caused alms to be distributed. He was comforted by the fervor of his devotions, and was able to raise himself in his litter to show his reverence when the Gospel was read. A change took place towards evening, and he lay till midnight, speechless, though conscious. At matins the service was performed as usual in the infirmary, and it became apparent to those around that the venerated father was now *in articulo mortis*. The *tabula* was sounded—a board of wood which it was customary to strike with a mallet when it was desired to summon the inmates of the monastery without sounding the bell, which would rouse the external world. The *tabula* was sounded, and the dying man was placed on the pallet of horsehair. The brethren knew what the stricken *tabula* meant: they hastened to the infirmary; they solemnly repeated the creed, the litany, the commendatory prayer. The breathing, however, continued, and the Psalms were chanted in the ears of the dying man; the 80th Psalm was selected by the grateful monks: "Turn thee again, thou God of Hosts, look down from heaven; behold and visit this vine, and the place of the vineyard that thy right hand hath planted; and the branch that thou madest so strong for thyself." The day was just dawning as they came to this verse; the light of the eastern

¹ Cont. Chron. Mon. de Bello, p. 51.
This chronicle has enabled me to give a

full account of the transaction mentioned in the text.

sun shone brightly through the chequered window ; ere the psalm was concluded the spirit had departed from the body. "Their father had quitted that vineyard," says the biographer, "which under God he had planted, which by precept and example he had carefully cultivated, commending it to the care of God Most High."

ROGER DE LEYBOURNE: HIS SHARE IN THE BARONS' WAR.¹

By JOSEPH BURTT, Assistant Keeper of Public Records.

SOME original documents which were found a few years ago among the archives of the Royal Exchequer, and have been hitherto unnoticed, enable me to bring before you the following new particulars relating to the life and times of Sir Roger de Leybourne. His active life causes him to stand out boldly in the long roll of the chivalry of the county of Kent. These documents were forwarded to the Exchequer by Roger de Leybourne, in support of a claim made by him for a large sum of money; as that claim chiefly arose from the execution of his office as Constable of the Castle of Rochester and for services which that position as a supporter of Henry III. enabled him to perform, and as by far the greater part of those services were performed in the county of Kent, it seemed a fitting opportunity to bring to notice on the present occasion some of the illustrations of the times afforded by these accounts.

I trust that the few extracts which I shall be able to give in a notice, necessarily very limited, will be sufficient to excite the interest of the Archæological Society of Kent, and stimulate it, perhaps, to publish entire the interesting record of the expeditions in which Leybourne was engaged for about four years. To the founder of that Society, the antiquary—to whose impulse the cause of archæology in his county has often been indebted—we may look for a full narrative both of the part taken by Roger de Leybourne in events to which the record under consideration relates, and of all the incidents of the long career attributed to him. We anticipate from the promised memoir by Mr. Larking, in the *Archæologia Cantiana*, satisfactory elucidation of obscurities in which the history of Sir Roger seems, according to received statements, to be involved.

Those who are acquainted with the work will not need to be told how well and fully our old and valued member

¹ Communicated to the Historical Section, at the Meeting of the Institute at Rochester, July 29th, 1863. Whilst these sheets were passing through the press the publication of Mr. Larking's memoir, *Archæol. Cant.* vol. v. p. 133, has

made known to us his discovery, that the Roger de Leybourne above-mentioned was son of the Roger taken prisoner at Rochester in 1215, and that the father died before 1251, facts unknown to Dugdale.

Mr. Blaauw has told the story of the Civil War of the thirteenth century in his volume, "The Barons' War." In that able work the author has traced the course of events in which those wars had their rise ; he has shown their oscillations and fluctuations, and sketched their varied phases with a careful, and at times an eloquent, pen. I only regret that the documents I have to bring to your notice were not known before his book was written, that they might have had the advantage of Mr. Blaauw's careful examination and able treatment, and his work perhaps have received some additional interest from their contents.

It would be beside my present purpose to dwell longer upon the contentions between Henry III. and his barons than is necessary to show how matters stood when the subject of these remarks came actively upon the scene.

Henry III. ascended the throne of England under no favourable auspices. His father had ended a short, inglorious, and most distracted reign in a struggle against the powerful party of his nobles which had wrested from him the Great Charter : his death perhaps saved the nation from becoming the tributary province of a foreign power. Henry, then but nine years old, was at first under the guardianship of the able Earl of Pembroke ; and, while that nobleman lived, the country was ruled with wisdom, although the party of the Barons was excluded from all political power. But a foreign Bishop of Winchester succeeded the earl as Regent, and the great source of strife and contention—the preference of foreigners to places of profit and distinction, and their monopoly of ecclesiastical power—soon revived the slumbering fires and produced the worst results. The king's marriage to the beautiful and accomplished Eleanor, daughter of the Count of Provence, and the great addition made by that event to the number of foreign nobles and their dependents settled in England, thriving upon the land, holding its castles and enjoying its offices of trust, provoked this feeling of discontent to the utmost. Subject to such influences, the state of affairs between the king and his nobles soon became one of complete antagonism. Again and again the provisions of the Great Charter had been disregarded and confirmed in their turn ; till at length in the year 1258, in the Parliament summoned at Oxford, a strong party of confederated barons insisted upon a scheme for

reforming the abuses of the royal government. The provisions of this scheme, known as the "Constitutions of Oxford," or the "Oxford Statutes," among other things again confirmed the Great Charter, regulated the arrangements relating to wards and their lands, and required that the offices of state and the fortresses of the kingdom should be held by Englishmen alone. I need scarcely say that the leader of the Barons' party was the famous Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester. His party at that time comprised in its ranks many nobles who were afterwards strenuous supporters of the royal cause, including Sir Roger de Leybourne, the lord of Leybourne.

For four years many attempts were made by the Barons to carry out and act upon these Oxford Constitutions or Statutes, and by the royal party to repudiate them; but the feelings of animosity increased, and an open rupture occurred at the latter part of the year 1262.

Sir Roger de Leybourne was then well known for his prowess in the field. The early history of his family is exceedingly obscure; what is known of it is chiefly to be found in Dugdale, or in the authorities he quotes. In the 10th year of Richard I. (A.D. 1199), Robert de Leybourne being dead, a fine was paid for the marriage of his heir, and in the 9th of John (A.D. 1207-8), Margaret de Leybourne (most probably his widow) paid a fine for a licence to marry again. The subject of these remarks was probably their only son, and he may have been born in the year 1194 or 1195, as in the year 1216 he was married and had seisin given him of his lands, so that he was then of full age. Young as he then was he took part with the barons in their struggle for the Great Charter, and for his share in the conflict that ensued (having been taken in Rochester Castle) he was committed to prison under the charge of Peter de Maulay, and released only on paying the moiety of the fine of 500 marks which had been imposed upon him, and giving security for his future behaviour. From that time nothing appears to be known of him till the year 1253, when royal letters of protection were granted absolving him from the consequences of having killed a Norman knight, Ernulph de Mounteney, which, as Matthew Paris states, occurred at a tournament called that of the Round Table, at Walden in Essex. In the ensuing year he attended the king to Gascony. Here again

there is a *hiatus* in his history. When the final rupture took place between the king and the barons in consequence of a breach of the Oxford Statutes, actual hostilities first occurred on the distant frontier of Wales, and there, "among the partisans of the barons, who took a leading part in these hostilities, which spared neither houses, parks, or even churches, were Roger de Leybourn and John Gifford" (Blaauw). Their exploits, while thus engaged on the popular side, are the subject of high praise in one of the curious political songs of the time, and Leybourne was also engaged in the negotiations which were carried on at intervals from that time.

The contest continued with varying success and with many a lull, for nearly two years, when the French king, who had been appealed to in reference to the Oxford Statutes, delivered his judgment at Amiens on the 23rd January, 1264. This judgment was favourable to the royal cause, whereupon the barons again flew to arms, alleging as their plea the partiality of the French king. But several of them now deserted their party, and among these was Roger de Leybourne, whose defection was conspicuous on account of his previous activity on the part of the barons. Corrupt motives are generally assigned as the cause by the writers of the period.

From that time till the conclusion of the Civil War, the documents which are the occasion of the present remarks tell the story of Roger de Leybourne's active services on behalf of the king in his own words, or at least in the words of the account which he sent in to the Royal Exchequer, claiming a large sum of money for those services and the expenses and damages he had incurred in them. The detailed accounts setting out every item of his actual occupation and his cost of living, day by day, are not quite complete; but, if the items are defective, the bill itself, divided into several portions according to the business on which he was engaged, is entire. Besides the interest they afford in their subject-matter, they are curious as being still earlier than the earliest account of any individual's expenses hitherto known. Nothing so early as the account of the Countess of Leicester's household for a portion of the year 1265 had been known previous to the present notice of the household expenses of one of the royal party in the year 1264.

The first portion of Leybourne's account comprises the

period from the 6th of March to the 27th of May, 1264. The arms of the Montfort party had, since the renewal of hostilities, been crowned with success in various quarters, and the wives of Leybourne and of other barons had been made prisoners in a successful attack upon Gloucester—a success which was more than balanced by that of Prince Edward at Northampton. A considerable number of adherents to the royal cause were scattered over the counties of Kent and Sussex, and it is evident that Leybourne entered most actively into the arrangements for the campaign that was about to ensue in that quarter. It was known that Montfort was threatening Rochester; and, by a remarkable contrast, the place which had witnessed Leybourne's first unsuccessful essay in arms on the barons' side was now to be the scene of his first successful engagement on that of his sovereign.

His account tells us that he returned from a visit to the king at Windsor to Eynesford in Kent, on the 6th of March, whence he came to Rochester and provisioned the castle in case of siege. It then details his expenses of housekeeping day by day, and the stores of various kinds—carcasses of oxen, sheep, and bacons, together with fish and wine—which he stowed away in the tower or keep of the castle. There are also entered several charges for letters, and a payment for hiring a horse for a messenger to “enquire about the rumours.”

On the day after the feast of St. Tiburtius and Valerian (April 14), Leybourne was visited in the castle of Rochester by the Earl of Warren (the king's brother-in-law) and William de Breuse. Something like a feast was held on the occasion, as 24 sextaries of wine and 24 of cider were consumed; 164 horses were also fed within the castle. At this time the barons' party had attacked the town, and on the next day they assaulted the castle. The story is graphically told in the pages of William Rishanger, a monk of St. Alban's; but it is not my purpose to dwell upon this incident. It is most simply and expressively stated in the documents now brought to your notice by three words, “stetit insultum castrum.” This was on the Thursday in Passion-week, and on Easter-day (April 20), 1400 eggs were bought: so that the blockade could not have been very strict; but nothing was bought on

the next five days, and on the Saturday following the barons are said to have withdrawn ("recesserunt barones"). On the Sunday two calves, a kid, lard to the amount of 3s., pork to the value of 12*d.*, fresh beef to the value of 9s., and one hen, were purchased. There is no item in the account of the expenditure of this time to corroborate the statement made by one writer, that Leybourne was dangerously wounded in this defence of Rochester Castle.

On Tuesday, the 29th of April, the Earl of Warren left Rochester. I think there is no reason to doubt that he was accompanied by Roger de Leybourne and the other leaders who had successfully defended the castle, though the account records the daily household expenditure without reference to that fact. The comparison of several passages leads to this conclusion, and, from other authorities of an indisputable character, we know that forces were drawn from all the neighbouring strongholds to swell the royal army that was gathered at Lewes, and that Roger de Leybourne took a prominent part in the negotiations which preceded the unfortunate battle at that place (May 13th). The small force left in the castle of Rochester was so far unaffected by the struggle at Lewes, that these accounts contain no reference to it. It must be borne in mind, however, that the purport of these accounts was simply to justify the claim made upon the Royal Exchequer, and passing events are only noticed when they affect the subject. It was only as the interest of his master was affected by the expenditure or loss of the goods committed to his charge, that the accountant recorded or referred to what was passing around him.

In conformity with the terms of agreement entered into between the king and the barons after the rout of the royal army at Lewes, the castle of Rochester was given up, and the loss sustained by Sir Roger in goods stored up in the castle, owing to its surrender, is thus recorded:—"Be it known, that on the return of the king into Kent, after the battle of Lewes, he came to Rochester, and commanded the constable of the castle and others there immediately to surrender the same to the Earl of Leicester, who did so, to the great loss and damage of the goods of the said Roger, as well in gold as in silver, and arms, and many other things, to the value of more than 600*l.*, together with chargers and riding-horses lost in the assault on the city aforesaid, and in

the siege of the castle." To each item of the stores this remark is appended, or the memorandum made that the stock was lost, "ratione predicta."

For some short time after the battle of Lewes, Leybourne seems to have lain inactive. When the royal party began to take heart again, he was soon found among its leaders, negotiating with Montfort, and obtaining permission to visit Prince Edward in his confinement at Kenilworth, and the king at Pershore. Shortly after Prince Edward's escape hostilities again commenced, and the decisive battle of Evesham was fought on the 4th of August, 1265, in which Montfort was slain and his party routed. That Leybourne contributed much to this result, there is no doubt, and that he did good service in the fight. On the ground of those services in the battle of Evesham, letters patent were issued, pardoning the offences he had committed while adhering to Simon de Montfort—apparently an unnecessary process after what he had so lately performed for the royal cause. Such a form might, however, be considered expedient, on account of the engagement he had just entered upon. Among the Royal Letters preserved in the Record Office is one written by Prince Edward from Chester, on the 24th of August in this year. The prince addressed Roger de Leybourne and Nicholas de Leukenor, respecting the men of the Cinque Ports (whom the Earl of Warren was about to admit to the king's peace), and the precautions necessary to be taken with reference to foreigners entering the kingdom. He then speaks of those holding the castle of Kenilworth, and directs that they should be written to, requiring its surrender if they did not wish to be considered public enemies, and be disinherited as they deserved. A regular bill for services performed and expenses incurred in following up the successes of the royal party is again commenced by Leybourne, beginning on the 28th of September. On that day he went to the king at Windsor, thence to London to treat and arrange with the citizens (who had throughout strongly supported the barons) to take the Tower into the king's hands, and to munition and keep it.² In this he was engaged for ten days, in the

² In a letter to the king, probably relating to this dealing with the citizens, Roger de Leybourne and those associated with him report that they had assembled

the citizens and read to them the king's directions—that they had commanded the chains to be taken down and the keys of the gates given up, and allowed no

first instance, and his costs amounted to 35*l.* 18*s.* 1*d.* In the Tower, however, he seems to have staid about three months longer (ninety-one days), charging the Crown 40*s.* per diem. On Tuesday, the vigil of the Epiphany (January 5th), he was sent by the king's command to the port of Sandwich, "with horses and arms to repress the malice of the sailors (galioti), to bring back the king's enemies to his peace, to take the said port, and to eject therefrom the sailors (galioti) of the Cinque Ports, the king's enemies there." In this he was engaged forty-three days, and charged 124*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* On his way he slept at Lullingstone; thence he passed on to Aylesford, from which he visited his home at Leeds, and slept there, and "so charged nothing;" thence through Wye to Canterbury, where he stayed six days to assist the people. On the Friday he was at Eastry, and on the next day he attacked and took Sandwich. In the assault he alleges that he lost horses to the value of 200*l.* After staying in the place some time, he left his son William and Simon de Creye in charge of Sandwich, and thence went to Hastings, to strengthen and munition the castle. While so engaged he visited London, staying nine days, leaving his family at Hastings, and only charging for *them*. Returning to Hastings he went to Winchilsea, "with horses and arms," and "all the power he could collect," to chastise and drive out the disaffected there, as he had done at Sandwich. In this he was engaged twenty-nine days, and charged 40*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* The attack upon Winchilsea lasted three days, and 323 archers of the Weald were engaged for two days, and 254 for one day. The horses lost in the assault were valued at 140*l.*

Although routed at Evesham, the barons' party was by no means annihilated, and a desultory war was long kept up. The above notes show how they continued the struggle. The main stronghold of the "disinherited"³ was however

debate about it. As those things were settled, they thought the king might send letters into the neighbouring counties assuring merchants that they might come in safety to the city and bring their goods;—that the "foreign" lands of the burgesses were taken into the king's hands, and no strangers were in the city as their goods were sure to be injured. The king should be informed as soon

as the citizens had done all they had agreed to do. Royal Letters, Henry III. No. 735.

³ The families of the defeated party whose possessions were confiscated by Henry, were often styled "exhæredati" for several years after De Montfort's rebellion was crushed. See Mr. Blaauw's Barons' War, p. 266.

in the marshy and fenny districts, and thither Sir Roger de Leybourne was sent. He went to Robertsbridge, where he was entertained by the monks ("and so charged the king nothing"); thence to London, where he stayed with the king, and accompanied him to Northampton. On Ascension Day (May 6th) he started for the county of Essex "with his army." His expenses during the eleven days after leaving Winchilsea were 63*l.* 16*s.* 5½*d.* He is spoken of as being at Colchester, Chelmsford, and Ongar; but a *hiatus* now occurs in the roll on account of its condition, and his campaign in the county cannot be further traced. He was engaged twenty-seven days, for which he charged 117*l.* 14*s.* 0½*d.*, and lost horses to the value of 110*l.* His force seems to have consisted of thirty-four knights, whose wages were 82*l.* 18*s.*; seven men-at-arms (*servientes ad arma*), seven of the king's valets, seven of the king's *balistarii*, certain "Welshmen and trackers" (*exploratores*), for whom he charged 30*l.* 7*s.* 2½*d.*, and 500 "archers of the Weald," who were each paid 3*d.* a day for 23 days, making 143*l.* 15*s.*; there were distributed 200 tunics, costing 3*s.* each. These accounts are somewhat disjointed, and their order uncertain. Shortly after, Leybourne was sent again into the Weald to keep the peace and repress the malice of the king's enemies. He left London on Thursday after All Saints', and slept at Newenden. Here rabbits and birds were presented by R. de Estryng, and other evidences appear of attempts to conciliate the great soldier by contributions to his table when on this expedition. On Friday he went to Udymer, whence he departed on Saturday, leaving his household; on Sunday he was at Battle, on Monday at Echingham, on Tuesday at Headcorn, and on Wednesday at Farleigh. He was thus occupied seven days, and his expenses amounted to 28*l.* 6*s.* 9½*d.* He had also to employ a force of 200 archers to convey prisoners from Winchilsea to Rochester. He again went into the marshy districts, to Huntingdon and elsewhere, "to pursue the king's enemies who came out of the Isle of Ely towards London." In this he was engaged three days, and charged 11*l.* 4*s.* 7½*d.* This was probably after the battle of Chesterfield, which occurred on the 15th of May, 1266, where the Earl of Ferrers was taken prisoner, and which was the last occasion of the parties meeting in a regular battle.

Another portion of the account records another stay at Rochester, the execution of small repairs there, the refitting the engines of war, and the purchase of plates, saucers, and other household necessaries.

For the year 1267 the accounts are again incomplete. The "disinherited" were struggling hard, especially in the fen counties, and it required all Prince Edward's energies to subdue them. There is enough in the documents before us to show that Leybourne was once more actively engaged in the county of Essex, as boats and sailors were hired, and a messenger paid for bringing news of the breaking down of the bridge at Tilbury—probably the stairs or approaches to the ferry. In the early part of this year Roger de Leybourne seems to have been residing in Kent at his house the Mote at Leeds. On the Thursday after Ash-Wednesday he left the Mote to go to Tenterden to treat with Wence de Waus on the king's affairs. On Friday he was at Newenden, and on the Saturday he was at Westerhanger. On the first Sunday in Lent he was at the house of Nicholas de Criol, and on the Monday he went to Canterbury, "to make an arrangement, in the king's name and by his command, between the barons of the Cinque Ports and the knights of Kent, for the service of the country." In this business he seems to have been occupied about three days. On the Friday before Palm Sunday Leybourne went from Canterbury to Huntingdon, "to pursue Sir John de Eyvill;" and he slept there on the Friday following. He seems to have gone on to Bedford, and thence to London, where he appears to have been instructed to return to Kent, and attend to the munitioning of the castles of Dover and Rochester, to send provisions to the royal army at Stratford, and to go over to France to treat with the Earl of St. Paul (the king's son-in-law) and the Earl of Boulogne, for aid to be sent to the king against his enemies in London. Accordingly on the next Friday he was at Dover arranging these matters, whence he paid a visit to Sandwich, leaving his family at Dover. On the Tuesday he returned to Dover, and the next day he crossed the Channel and stayed at Calais and Witsand in the company of the earls above named, for ten days. On account of that embassy he charged the Crown with the expenditure of 30*l.*, including the expenses of his passage; but his total charge was

97*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.*, as he was engaged twenty-six days altogether. These nobles accompanied him on his return, as they are said to have been with him at Canterbury in the following week. On the next Thursday and Friday he was at Leeds, and charged nothing, "as it was his own manor." As far as his own travels subsequent to this period can be followed, he seems to have been occasionally at Leeds, Rochester, and in the neighbourhood: his last active proceeding on behalf of the royal cause being a journey to Winchilea to fetch thence some persons who, as stated, had conducted themselves ill towards the king, and whom he caused to be brought to Rochester.

The total amount of Roger de Leybourne's "bill," as set out in the items I have brought before you, for work actually done, was 1551*l.* 4*s.* 10½*d.*, equal to upwards of 30,000*l.* of the present valuation.

There is a further charge of 115*l.* for the performance of what may be called "police" duties in the county of Kent, described in these general terms: "for the custody of the parts of the valleys and for ridding the fairs and the woods of those parts from robbers and from the plotters (insidiatores) there, and for keeping the king's peace, with 200 archers for 46 days." Neither does it include his claim on account of the loss sustained by the surrender of the stores in the Castle of Rochester, which amounted to 279*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.*; or the 600*l.* for plate and other articles said to have been destroyed or lost there.

While thus actively occupied wherever the exigencies of the time demanded his presence or the king directed him to go, Roger de Leybourne was also Constable of the Castles of Rochester, Nottingham, and Carlisle, besides occupying other official posts. Accordingly the account of his deputy in Rochester is sent in to the Royal Exchequer, and a claim made for 479*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*, as due for the service and expenditure of 2 years 19 weeks and 2 days immediately following the battle of Evesham. Simon de Morlak held the office; and he tells in detail the provisions purchased from day to day, the wages of every one employed—how their numbers varied from time to time—and how they repaired the engines of war, the drawbridge which had been broken down in Montfort's assault, and other parts of the fortifications which had been injured at that time, On one day four

sextaries of wine were bought and sent to the messengers of the King of France ; they cost 7*s.* 6*d.* It was a quiet time within the castle while Leybourne was scouring the country. On one occasion for 108 days, while the king was at Stratford with his army, there were six knights and forty esquires with their families in the castle ; but for the greater part of the time from five to ten knights and as many footmen formed the whole strength of the garrison. The number of horses seems to have varied exceedingly—from 20 to nearly 100. For the custody of the Castle of Carlisle Leybourne simply makes a claim for 206*l.*, without any particulars—at least that have come down to us. In his account for that of Nottingham, he charges for its custody for a period of 444 days, from Friday the morrow of the Epiphany (January 7th), 1267, to the Feast of the Annunciation (March 25th), 1268. Some of the items give insight into the interior economy of the garrison, and among them are two entries showing that the armed force in the castle was marched out against the enemy when occasion required it. The first item is a charge of 15*l.* “for the expenses of William de Leybourne going by the king’s command from Oxford to Nottingham with 8 knights and 30 ‘servientes ad arma,’ with 64 horses, to receive the said castle for Sir Reginald de Grey ; where the said William and his household stayed 4 days, and returned to Oxford with 6 knights.

“In expenses of the Constable, 2 knights and their esquires with 8 horses, 20 ‘servientes ad arma,’ each with 2 horses and the Constable with 3 ; 10 balistars, 20 archers, 2 swineherds, 3 watchmen, 1 carpenter, 2 keepers of the mill and meadow, a mace-bearer (claviger), a baker and cook, 20 serving boys (garciones), 411*l.*

“In robes for 2 knights and 7 ‘servientes ad arma,’ having two robes a-year, 23*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.*

“In horses lost in the perilous week (septimana periculosa) in the 51st year (A.D. 1267-8), when the whole garrison went out with arms to fight the king’s enemies then being in the forest of Duffield, where many of the garrison were wounded and some killed, 24*l.*

“In horses lost on the day of the exaltation of the Holy Cross (September 14th) in the same year, the same garrison going out to fight the king’s enemies in the forest of Charnwood, by whom many were killed, 30*l.*”

It was no part of my plan in drawing attention to these accounts of Roger de Leybourne to attempt to work up the whole of the documentary matter relating to his share in the public events of his time. There are allusions to these accounts and distinct references to Leybourne's engagement in the affairs to which they relate in many entries upon the Patent and other Rolls, as well as elsewhere. In one of those entries (Rot. Pat. 52 Hen. III. m. 7) is an acknowledgment by the king of the total amount of his debt at that time to Leybourne on account of his services. The sum is stated to be 3094*l.* 10*s.* 1½*d.*, which may be reckoned as equal to 62,000*l.* of our present valuation. This was exclusive of what had been paid on account; so I fear it will not be easy to make out the total cost of Leybourne's engagement. There is, however, a fragment of a roll containing a portion of his receipts, which seem to have been gathered very widely, and it includes this characteristic item, "Et in pardonis eidem Rogero, 1114*l.* 12*s.*"

I am not aware of the existence of any rolls of account for military service similar to these sent in by Roger de Leybourne. The conditions of such service were then as much the subject of arrangement as other matters of business, and many other nobles of the land were rewarded, as Leybourne was,⁴ for their services to the Crown by grants of various kinds, and often at the expense of the weaker side; but there seems to have been no such "running account" between the sovereign and any other military leader. A letter to the king from the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer (Royal Letters, Record Office, No. 707), with reference to these accounts, is an evidence of the singularity of the transaction. These officers had been directed to examine and audit those accounts, and they report that they found the previously-mentioned sum of 3094*l.* 10*s.* 1½*d.* owing to him. In several of these documents direct allusions are made to the king's writs, by which the various expeditions had been commanded, but I have failed in endeavouring to find such warrants entered in any form of enrolment. It is probable that like many of the royal missives of that period they were looked upon as of a private rather than official nature.

⁴ As his share in the spoil of the "Disinherited" after the battle of Evesham, Leybourne had given to him the

thirteen manors of Henry Fitz-Aucher and the house of Peter de Montfort in Westminster (Blaauw).

A HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED PASSAGE IN THE LIFE OF JOHN
WARNER, BISHOP OF ROCHESTER FROM A.D. 1637 TO 1666.¹

By the Rev. JAMES LEE WARNER, M.A.

THE time on which a man falls unavoidably stamps an impress on all his future history. Hence the "natale astrum" is pictured by the poet as the "naturæ deus humanæ," deciding the "albus an ater" of all that is to follow. And, without pressing the sentiment to its strict and legitimate conclusion in the case now before us—without seeking to justify the suicidal policy of Laud and his associates—I claim for a distinguished ancestor this merit at least, fidelity to the party with which he was linked by circumstances, through evil as through good report. Royalist as he was by conviction, he stands out a regular royalist according to the form and pressure of the seventeenth century.

In the course of a long life he experienced some strange vicissitudes. In honour, as a royal chaplain, he attended Charles to Edinburgh; in dishonour, as Bishop of Rochester, he obeyed a summons to Newport, as the unhappy monarch's adviser; and when that forlorn Conference was rudely interrupted, he witnessed the crowned head falling at Whitehall, and the divinity that hedges kings outraged and blasphemed. No wonder, then, that the scenes passing before him stirred the depths of his nature, and wrung from him strong expressions, which even the sanctity of his cathedral could not always restrain.

Few men's lives have ever been longer; few were ever more laborious. And yet history has taken small note of his labours. Fuller names him as the Prelate to whom the Bishops in Parliament confided the defence of their order, and designates him accordingly, as him in whom "dying Episcopacy gave its last groan in the House of Lords."

¹ Read in the Historical Section at the Meeting of the Archæological Institute at Rochester, July 29, 1863.

His Treatise on the Sale of Church Lands, written at the royal mandate, exhibits his pen, like his voice, ready in the service of his brethren.² And his share in the most voluminous commentary, then extant, on the Holy Scriptures, called forth from the Editor of Poole's Synopsis a deserved acknowledgment. Uniform liberality marked his steps from the earliest. One of his first cures, the Parish of St. Dionis Backchurch, London, still retains a silver sacramental flagon—the Cathedral Church of Canterbury a costly font—as the Bishop's gift. His journey with the king to Scotland seems to have suggested the endowment of two scholarships for natives of that country at Baliol College, Oxford; and his connexion with Magdalene College is attested by its library, in which the donor's portrait thus records the gift:—

QVOT, WARNERE, TIBI SPECIOSA VOLVMINA ! QVANTUM
HÆC TIBI SPLENDOREM BIBLIOTHECA REFERT !

But chiefly in his own diocese his charities will be remembered—for the asylum for clergymen's widows connects his name with Bromley as its chief benefactor.

The passage in Warner's life, on which I would now dwell, is best prefaced by an extract from his earliest biographer, who tells us, that "in the second year of Charles' reign, the Parliament sitting, he preached a sermon at Whitehall, on Matt. xxi. 28, in which he urged the consequence of that Parliament's proceedings so far, as very highly provoked some members of both Houses; from the effects of whose resentment nothing but the dissolution of that Parliament could secure him."³

I cannot confirm this anecdote by producing the discourse in question; but there seems little doubt that a bold and uncompromising style, especially in the pulpit, was the cause of Warner's promotion, A.D. 1637, to the See of Rochester. Here, we may be sure, he did not disappoint his patrons, as is testified by an anonymous writer in a libellous publication of the day, called the Scot Scout's Discovery. "All Lent long his majesty's chaplains, instead of fasting preached fighting, and instead of peace preached punishing of rebels; among whom wily Warner of Rochester, having got a

² Church Lands not to be Sold, was the title of this treatise, which was printed

in 1646, and a second edition in 1648.

³ Biogr. Britann., vol. vi, part ii, p. 4159.

bishopric for making one sermon, he gave the king another gratis, wherein he so railed at the rebels, that his patron hath promised him a better bishopric."

It is held, "the greater the truth the greater the libel." Whether it be so, or not, I am able in this instance to measure the extent of the libel by producing not only the discourse itself, but a correspondence arising from it. No sooner did it attract attention, than the Primate, Archbishop Laud, requested to have a copy of it.

The Bishop's answer to the request sounds strange to modern ears. Was it empty adulation? or was it an expression of homage to one whom the writer counted worthy of double honour? I am inclined to deem it the latter. At all events, it runs as follows:—⁴

"BROMLEIGH,

"March 8, 1638.

"My most honor'd and good Lord,

"In a dutiful obedience to your most gracious commands, I here humbly present to your merciful judgment the *Eccho* of those Voices which I fear, for their manifold imperfections, might better have been forgot. But I hold it neither discretion nor modesty in me to dispute, where your wisdom and love are pleased to lay on the charge. However, I hope your Grace will give me leave to crave your accustomed pardon, that I have sent this poor body so naked and rude. For your Grace's summons came to me so late last Friday night, that I had no more time than to awake it out of sleep, and to restore it to its former senses, without kembing or washing the very face. And dare your Grace believe me, I had enough to do to shift it out of a foul into a clean shirt, though this but made of rags. And Bromley is so far from being able to furnish it with a silken coat, which in respect of your entertainment it should have, that it will not so much as afford it a leathern doublet, or jerkin of vellum, as though all too good for this poor wretch. But your Grace hath a derivative power from God to draw good out of evil, which grace I here humbly implore. And then, tho' these voices shall purchase me some enemies, yet I shall not there-with be moved, especially since that my heart bears me

⁴ This remarkable letter of Bishop Warner's is preserved amongst family papers at Walsingham Abbey, Norfolk.

witness, that neither hath his sacred majesty, nor our holy mother, a subject or servant of my rank more ready to lay down his life for either, than is

“Your Grace’s most humbly affectionate servant,
“JOHN ROFF.”

The sermon thus distinguished by the approbation of the Primate would be deemed in these days a model of prolixity. It starts from the position that Psalm lxxiv. describes the desolation of the temple in the days of King Antiochus, proceeding to draw a parallel on the 24th verse: “Forget not the voice of thine enemies!” The enemies are, of course, the Puritans: their voices, the string of objections which they urged against the Church of England—whether against priestly orders, vestments, idolatries, endowments, and the long catalogue of real or unreal abuses! These voices, under eight heads, the preacher undertakes to demolish, and he does so in the main successfully.

Sometimes, by a quaint expression, he conveys a pithy meaning; as where incentives to rebellion are called the “gladius oris, which devours worse than os gladii,” or where they are likened to “Shimei’s venomous breath, which was able to fill Sheba’s seditious trumpet.”

Sometimes the line of argument is worked out clearly and forcibly, as where the Puritan objection to the pulpits of the Establishment is thus stated and answered:—

“But these great priests, they do not their duty; they preach not. Resp. (1) Be preaching a part of the duty, yet not the whole: neither was the maintenance only for preaching. (2) But what is preaching? Is it nothing but saying good words upon a text out of a pulpit? Where then shall we prove that the Apostles preached? (3) But may not the grave, wholesome instruction, exhortation of apostolical men—as weekly epistle—as word of mouth—whether publickly or privately, go for preaching, as in St. Paul’s epistles it may appear it did? (4) Or do ye not hold that he doth the work of the carpenter, who directs and sets others to work, unless he himself be daily hewing of the logs? Or unless the pilot row or work, but only steers and directs, is he not worth the title and pay of a pilot? (5) Or, lastly, when, under God’s law, the Levite at 50 years of age was exempt from bodily service in the temple, yet shall the High

or Chief-Priest, neither at 50 nor 60, have any dispensation? 'Cast me not away in the time of age! forsake me not when my strength faileth me!' Ps. lxxi. 8."

Or, to give yet another illustration of Bishop Warner's style. By a dexterous repartee he sometimes overwhelms his opponent.

The Puritan has often urged the poverty of the Apostles as a precedent to be invariably followed. To this the Bishop answers; "If this be the voice, upon one condition, we may say, Amen. Be ye as the primitive Christians, who laid all at the Apostles' feet, and we are content to be as poor as the Apostles. Which if ye refuse, then I perceive your desire is to keep yourselves rich, and to make us poor; and thereby prove us Apostles, but yourselves no Christians. And I would hardly trust to be at his courteous finding, who would take from me that which is mine to the end he might maintain me."

In a memoir like the present, a complete abstract of a sermon would be considered out of place; but it is hoped that the foregoing extracts are not irrelevant to the objects of archæology, as recalling important arguments which were urged by the good Bishop in his cathedral church of Rochester 200 years ago, at a solemn crisis, and which otherwise would have been forgotten.

In this same discourse the writer has preserved an anecdote current in his time, to the effect that when Henry VIII. and Charles V. were riding through London (A.D. 1522), they were greeted with the popular voices;—"Vivat defensor uterque—Henricus fidei—Carolus Ecclesiæ!" "A happy presage this" (he adds), "sung in England 100 years ago, and many 100 years after may it continue—Carolus Ecclesiæ!" This was indeed the key-note of all our author's writings, and if the presage failed (as fail it did), it was not for want of a loyal subject, or a bold and able advocate.

The only printed discourse of this Bishop, which I have been able to discover, is among the collection of tracts presented by George III. to the British Museum. It was preached on Quinquagesima Sunday, almost on the morrow of the tragic 30th of January; and appeared soon after, (as well it might) anonymously; for had the authorship been avowed, assuredly another prelate would have fallen to the axe of the executioner. This extremity of trial was, how-

ever, graciously averted. We may, in the divine recompense for a given line of conduct, frequently trace an analogy—a repayment in kind (as it were) from the hand of retributive justice. And so it was here. Warner had been faithful to his principles, and his fidelity was fittingly rewarded. He lived to a great age; and after “the battle and the breeze” he came back to his old moorings, reposing on the still waters of his episcopal palace at Bromley. He is noted by history as an instance almost solitary of a bishop who exercised his functions before as well as after the Commonwealth; and in his eighty-first year his sermons give proof that “his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated.” In that year (1662) he held a visitation, and issued articles of inquiry for the reformation of the ritual, and, preaching on the 11th of February before his assembled clergy, he thus alludes to the events of the preceding quarter of the century:—

“It is twenty-five yeeres since I visited in this place, and in twenty of these the Bishop’s power hath been utterly taken away, and in the two last yeeres much suspended; no mervail then that the Bishop hath work inough to set all in order that is left undone or done amiss; yea, or to tell you all in particular that is to be corrected, when, as to this, I have to my best understanding given you of my clergy, churchwardens, and sidemen, articles to be inquired into by you, and by you to be made knowen to us, that therby we may by the best of our ability study to set all in order in due time; for Christ when (Mar. xi. 11) he went into the temple to see the profanation therof, the text notes that he did not correct all the same day, but that he took another time to do it, and so much more must I.”

To the Bishop, thus engaged in the oversight of his diocese, the final summons came. And it found him, not only watching, as ready to give account, but it found him ready to confess that he was but an unprofitable servant. About this time he made his will, and wrote his own epitaph; in how opposite a spirit to that which fulsome adulation has since inscribed upon his monument, let his own words testify!

HIC IACET CADAVER JOHANNIS WARNER
TOTOS ANNOS XXIX.
EPISC: ROFFENS:

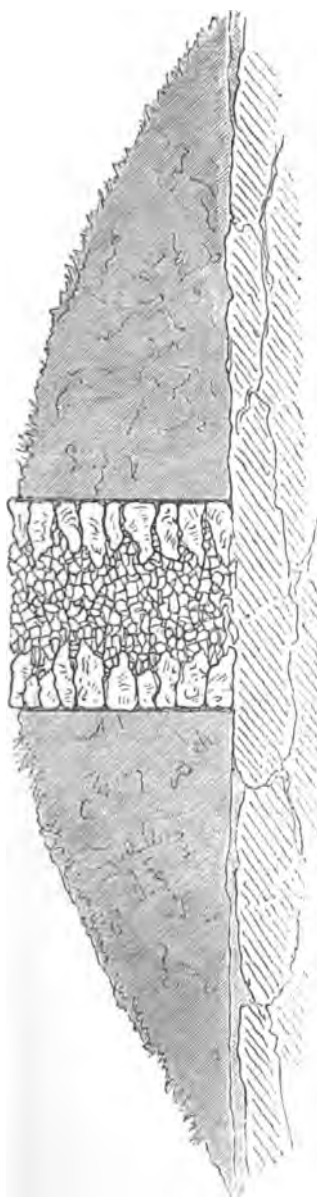
CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF
THE TROAD. ON THE SITE OF GERGITHE.

By FRANK CALVERT.

THE remains on Balli-Dagh near Bournabashi, the site of ancient Troy according to Le Chevalier's hypothesis, have often been described,—the Acropolis, the vestiges of the walls of the city and of the buildings within, and the four tumuli.

An examination of the portion of the town walls still remaining *in situ*, which can be traced for some distance, has persuaded me that they belong to an epoch posterior to that of the "well-built" Homeric Troy, the comparatively small hewn stones in regular layers, of which it is composed, being dissimilar to the more massive masonry that characterises the remains of Tiryns, Larissa, and Mycenæ, true Homeric cities. The walls of Cebrene and Neandreaia can also claim an earlier date than the remains on Balli-Dagh, as will be shown in a future memoir on those ancient cities. Within the precincts of this last-named site are found fragments of black glazed and light-red pottery, and occasionally coins of Sigeum, Novum Ilium, Gergis, and other towns of the Troad; facts which further tend to prove its comparatively modern date.

My special attention has been directed to the tumuli which Le Chevalier supposed to appertain to the Trojan heroes, and which assumption is one of the chief arguments adduced in support of his hypothesis. It must be remembered, however, that this rests on the conjecture only, that the Trojans, having no other defence from the incursions of the Greeks than the walls of their city, deviated from their ancient practice, and buried their dead within the town, outside the walls of the Acropolis. Thus does Le Chevalier account for their situation at the summit of the hill; and in proof of this supposition he quotes Dares the Phrygian—"The body of Paris was carried within the city,



Section of a tumulus on Balli-Dagh in the Troad.

"The Tomb of Priam" of several modern Geographers.

and Priam constructed a tomb for him.”¹ Morritt, following Le Chevalier, says these tombs were, of course, near Troy, for the same reason that those of the Greeks were near the shore.² Francklin, although adopting Le Chevalier’s views generally, here differs from him, for he asks, with reason, why demand leave of the Greeks to bury Hector if within the walls of Troy?³

Being determined, therefore, to ascertain the true character of these mounds, and how far they might correspond with the Homeric description so strikingly illustrated in the tumulus of Hanai-tepeh, I subjected them to a careful examination.

According to the description of Forchhammer, three of these tumuli are situated on the summit of the rocky eminence, a little distance outside the thick wall which separates them from the Acropolis, and by the side of each of which is a deep pit, apparently artificial. The fourth is on the same ridge, more to the west.⁴ He is not altogether correct, however, in stating that their materials are all derived from the natural rock on which they stand, for one of them alone is entirely so—namely, the one correctly so described by Le Chevalier, and which he names “the tomb of Hector.”⁵

The largest of the other mounds (which is yet very inferior in size to Hanai-tepeh), supposed to be the tomb of Priam,⁶ was the one I decided on excavating. It is about thirteen feet in height, and, cropping out on the summit, traces of a quadrangular building were visible. I caused an open shaft to be commenced at the base of the mound, and it was carried along the surface of the natural rock through a mixture of earth and stones, as far as the masonry in the centre which rested upon it. This structure I found to be, as at the top, square in form, and measuring about fourteen feet by twelve. It is formed of large irregular stones, roughly hewn on the outward faces alone, and put together without cement. The space in the interior is filled in with

¹ Voyage de a Troade, par J. B. Le Chevalier. 3rd edit. 1802, vol. ii. p. 290. Ditto, translated by Andrew Dalzel, Edinburgh, p. 122.

² Walpole’s Travels, 2nd edit. 1818, vol. i. p. 578.

³ Remarks and Observations on the Plain of Troy, by Wm. Francklin, 1st

edit., 1800, p. 19.

⁴ Journal of the Geographical Society for 1842, vol. xii. p. 37.

⁵ Voyage de la Troade, par J. B. le Chevalier, vol. ii. p. 289.

⁶ Remarks and Observations on the Plain of Troy, by Wm. Francklin, p. 19; Walpole’s Travels, vol. i. p. 108.

small loose stones (see section, *ante*). A few accidental fragments of the pottery already described were thrown out during the excavations, but nothing was found to indicate that this mound had been used as a place of sepulture. It appears rather to have served as a base to some statue or public monument, or, as Dr. Hunt remarks, as a foundation to some altar or shrine.⁷ It had apparently been hitherto untouched.

I feel very sceptical, likewise, as to the sepulchral nature of the heap of small stones which Le Chevalier denominated the tomb of Hector. This irregular mound is situated near some of the quarries called by Forchhammer "deep pits, apparently artificial," which furnished stone for the use of the ancient town; and the frequency of similar mounds of various dimensions which are to be found all over this hill, and on the one facing it on the opposite side of the river Mendéré, wherever stone has been quarried, leads, I think, to the reasonable inference that they are nothing more than heaps of refuse stone thrown out during the works.

The two remaining tumuli, which are smaller and composed of earth and stones, have not yet been excavated. The isolated one to the south (or, more correctly, westward), Francklin thinks not impossibly to be the tomb of Paris, for Aristotle mentions his being buried *near Troy*⁸—a statement which, it will be noticed, is at variance with that of Dares the Phrygian.

I found the necropolis of this town outside what Le Chevalier terms the "Acropolis walls." The tombs consist of the large kind of "pithoi," or earthen jars, containing unburnt skeletons, which, as I have already shown in the memoir on Hanai-tepeh, must be assigned to a later period than the heroic age to which that tumulus belongs.⁹ Those which I have as yet examined contain fragments of black glazed pottery.

We are informed by Demetrius that after the fall of Troy the stones were removed for the reparation of other cities, and Archœanax of Mitylene is said to have fortified Sigeum therewith.¹ If this statement is to be relied on, some trace

⁷ Remarks and Observations on the Plain of Troy, by Wm. Franklin, p. 19; Waipole's Travels, vol. i. p. 108.

⁸ Remarks and Observations on the

Plain of Troy, by Wm. Francklin, p. 19.

⁹ Journal of the Archaeological Institute, vol. xvi. p. 4.

¹ Strabo, xiii. c. i. § 38.

of these materials ought surely to be found on the Sigean promontory, among the several disputed sites of the town.

The whole of the upper part of Balli-Dagh is formed of primitive limestone, which furnishes good building material, as is seen by the existing remains on its summit, and it would undoubtedly have served the same purpose in a pre-existing city. Not so the base of the hill, which is black trachyte of a disintegrating nature. The geological formation of the promontory differs from that of Balli-Dagh, being tertiary oolite; yet we find amongst the various supposed vestiges of Sigeum none but the material produced on the spot.

The consideration of all these facts² has converted me from the belief that the actual remains on Balli-Dagh can be those of ancient Troy, as held by Le Chevalier; still less can I suppose them to be those of its predecessor Dardania, as suggested by Francklin. If the hypothesis be advanced that a city may have existed on this site prior to that of which the vestiges now remain, it is one which for the present, at least, must rest on conjecture alone, being entirely unsupported by evidence.

The question then naturally arises, if this site be not that of ancient Troy, to what other town can it be assigned? I am inclined to place here the ancient Gergis, a city whose geographical position has not been identified. Its name, which is variously given by different writers as Gergithos, Gergithes, Gergithus, and Gergitha,³ is not mentioned by Homer, we may, therefore, infer that it did not exist contemporarily with Troy. It occurs first in Herodotus, who states that the inhabitants were considered to be the remaining descendants of the ancient Teucrians, and that they were subdued, with the Æolians who inhabited the territory of Ilium, by Hymeas, son-in-law to Darius (B.C. 511—485).⁴ As Webb remarks, the opinion of Herodotus is borne out by Athenæus, who relates that the Trojans, conducted by Teucer to Cyprus, returned in great numbers to Æolia, and one of their chiefs persuaded a body of them

² It is hardly necessary again to mention Le Chevalier's imaginative and oft refuted account of Bournabashi and the "hot and cold springs of the Scamander," which lent so plausible a color to his hypothesis. The forty sources have all

one temperature; viz., 63° to 64°, and any assertion to the contrary is absurd.

³ Steph. Byzant., s. v.; Livy, xxxviii. § 39; Strabo, xiii. c. 1. § 70.

⁴ Herodotus, v. § 12.

to colonize their ancient fatherland at the foot of the Trojan Ida, where they built the town first called by them Gergina and afterwards Gergitha.⁵

That Gergis cannot have been situated far from Ilium Novum we may infer from the foregoing passage in Herodotus, and from the statement of Livy that Rhœteum and Gergithus were added to the territory of the Trojans.⁶

In his account of the march of Xerxes from Ilium Novum, Herodotus says that the Persian army had on its left the cities of Rhœteum, Ophrynum, and Dardanus; and on its right the Gergithe Teucrians.⁷ It is on the authority of this passage, that in Smith's Geographical Dictionary these people are placed to the north of the Scamander, their town being only mentioned after the passage of that river. On referring to a map of the Troad, however, it will be perceived that Rhœteum (Palaio Castro) is scarcely at a greater distance from Ilium Novum than Balli-Dagh or Gergis; and that, looking from Ilium Novum on a line parallel to Rhœteum and Ophrynum (near Renkioi), the site on Balli-Dagh is still nearly as much in front on the right hand as is Rhœteum on the left. It is evident that the mention of these towns by Herodotus was not intended to define their exact relative positions, but merely had reference to the movements of the army and the general direction of its march, which appears to have lain up the valley of the Dumbrek-Sou. Xenophon mentions Gergis with Scepsis, as strongly fortified towns where the treasures of the Dardanian princess Mania (appointed to the governorship of Æolis by Pharnabazus) were deposited, when they were seized by Meidias, her son-in-law and murderer. Xenophon further informs us that when Dercyllidas, general of the Lacedæmonian army in Asia Minor, proceeded against Scepsis and Gergis, the men at the latter place who were on the towers, which were very lofty, seeing Meidias, to whom he had granted conditions of alliance, advance with him, they laid aside their weapons and opened the gates, when they entered the city together and went up to the citadel, where they jointly sacrificed to Minerva.⁸

The description of Gergis, as a place of great strength,

⁵ Osservazioni intorno allo stato antico e presente dell' Agro Trojano, dal Signor Filippo Barker Webb, p. 75.

⁶ Livy, xxxviii. § 39. Vide also Strabo,

xiii. c. i. § 70.

⁷ Herodotus, vii. § 3.

⁸ Hellen. III. i. § 15.

with lofty towers and an Acropolis, answers to Balli-Dagh surrounded as it is on three sides by precipices four hundred feet deep ; whilst the quantity of fallen hewn stones which are found on the northern side, corresponding with those *in situ*, shows the town walls to have been of considerable dimensions. Gergis was the reputed birthplace of a sybil.⁹ This might appear to have been suggested by the wild and romantic situation of the town, and the existence of some caverns on the face of the precipice which overhangs the river Mendéré. The modern name of Balli-Dagh, which signifies in Turkish, "honey-abounding mountain," is derived from the produce of this cliff. The coins of Gergis bear the type of the propheticess and of a sphynx (with the letters ΓΕΡ), as noticed by Stephanus Byzantinus. It is a circumstance worthy of remark, that these coins are offered for sale for the most part by the peasantry from this neighbourhood, and some have been picked up on Balli-Dagh, as already mentioned. According to Athenæus, the inhabitants were in repute as court flatterers, so that the name Gergitha became synonymous with sycophant.¹

Alexander gave Phocion the choice of one of the four Asiatic cities—Cios, Gergithus, Mylassa, or Elæa ; the offer was declined.² Gergis was destroyed by Attalus of Pergamus (B.C. 217—197), who transplanted its inhabitants to a place near the sources of the Caicus, and incorporated its territory with that of Ilium Novum several centuries previous to the time of Strabo, which accounts for the scanty information given by that writer, and also by Pliny, who merely mentions its disappearance.³

It is difficult to determine how far inland the territory of Gergis extended, and what part of the Dardania of Demetrius it included ; but Neandrea probably formed its boundary to the south. We may assume the upper part of the plain of Troy, on the further side of the Mendéré-Sou, the Scamander of Demetrius, to have appertained to the people of Gergis, as far as the boundaries of Ilium Novum to the north and north-west, affording by its proximity, in like manner with Rhœteum on the other side, a motive for their annexation by the Ileans.

⁹ Stephanus Byzantinus, s. v. Lact. de fals. neb. I. c. 6.

¹ Osservazioni intorno allo stato antico

e presente dell' Agro Trojano, p. 75.

² Plutarch's Lives, xxxv. Phocion.

³ Strabo, xiii. c. i. § 70. Pliny, v. 32.

NOTES ON CERTAIN OBJECTS OF STAG'S HORN USED FOR
HAFTING STONE IMPLEMENTS OR WEAPONS.

Illustrated by two examples in the collection of Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.

AMONG relics of the earliest period, those of bone, stag's horn, or the like materials, may be pointed out as deserving the consideration of the archæologist; this special class of vestiges of rude races, by whom the British Islands were occupied at a remote prehistoric age, does not appear to have received the attention which it may well claim, so as to combine the scattered examples in some order of scientific arrangement. We therefore gladly avail ourselves of the friendly communication by Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith, of two remarkable specimens in his possession, and bear tribute, with renewed gratification, to the constant kindness and liberality with which his varied stores of olden times have always been available for our information.

It is scarcely needful to advert to the obvious fact, that within the narrow range of the objects of bone and horn which occasionally fall under observation, we must seek for vestiges of the earliest races, and of approaches towards the artificial appliances of daily life in an age of incipient civilization. In the rude conditions of the first settlements of peoples, whether in our own islands or elsewhere, man's first necessities, in regard to tools, weapons, or mechanical aids of any description, would necessarily be supplied from those materials which were most readily attainable, such as horns and bones of any animals which had served as food or were captured in the chase. Weapons formed of these materials may seem indeed, as our friend Kemble has observed, to belong to the earliest periods, and to be as old if not older than stone weapons. The adaptation of bone, as one of the most acute archæologists of our day remarks, belongs to all ages, sometimes used by itself, sometimes as the recipient of other materials. It has been indeed continued to our own times. "The employment, however, of



Fig. 1.—Haft found in Wychwood Forest, Oxfordshire, formed of the horn of the extinct roe deer.

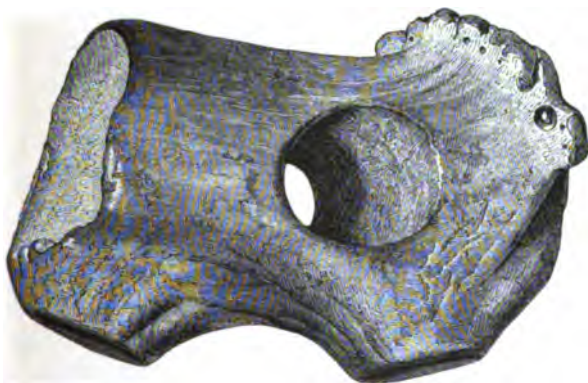


Fig. 2.—Haft formed of the horn of the extinct elk.

Objects of Horn, supposed to have been used for hafting stone implements.

In the Collection of Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.

Scale, half-size linear.

so brittle and unsuitable a substance as bone, by itself, for axes or cutting instruments requiring strength, implies a state of society when man was unacquainted with the use of metals, or unable to obtain them by commerce."¹

As regards the implements of such primitive materials, comparatively rare, and found only under exceptional conditions, in dry graves and caves, or in turbaries, we may refer the reader to the series portrayed in Plate 1 in the *Horæ Ferales*, recently published under Mr. Franks' auspices, to the few examples noticed and figured by Dr. Wilson in his *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*,² and to other like relics in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, described and illustrated by Sir W. R. Wilde.³ The late Mr. Bateman, in his explorations of barrows in Derbyshire, constantly met with portions of deer's horns, occasionally in a state indicating the intention of applying them to certain mechanical uses. On one occasion only he appears to have disinterred a hammer of such material; namely, in a barrow on a ridge near the village of Biggin, known as "The Liffs;" in this grave-hill Mr. Bateman discovered human bones, horses' teeth, &c., and in the centre an octagonal cist, in which lay a skeleton, the knees drawn up, indicating the antiquity of the interment; and near them lay "a hammer-head ingeniously constructed out of the lower part of the horn of a noble red deer; one end of this instrument is rounded and polished, the other is cut into a diamond pattern, somewhat similar to the wafer stamps used by attorneys." Near the shoulders lay a pair of boar's tusks, arrow-heads of flint, flint celts and spears, &c.⁴ Our present purpose, however, is to offer a few notices of relics of deer's horn, intended to serve, as Mr. Franks well designates them, in the passage above cited, as "the recipient of other materials."

We are not aware that any object of the same precise description as those now brought under our notice by Mr. Bernhard Smith, has heretofore been described as found in the British Islands. In continental collections such relics are comparatively of common occurrence; examples of

¹ Mr. Franks, in *Horæ Ferales*, p. 129.

² Vol. i., second edition, p. 202.

³ Descriptive Catal. Roy. Irish Acad., Animal materials, bone, horn, &c. See the weapons and tools figured at p. 258,

and the remarkable semi-mineralized horn of a very large red deer formed into a pick or tool, figured *ibid.*, p. 260.

⁴ *Vestiges of Antiqu. of Derbyshire* p. 42.

“*instrumens Celtiques en corne de cerf*” in great variety, and also various implements in bone, found in Picardy, are figured by M. Boucher de Perthes, in his *Antiquités Celtiques*.⁵ Herr Lindenschmit has given well characterised specimens both of axes and hafts of stag's horn, from the museums at Hanover, Schwerin, Munster, &c.⁶ Mr. Franks⁷ has selected for the *Horæ Ferales* examples found in the Seine at Paris, in the valley of the Somme near Amiens, and in Lake dwellings in Switzerland—the Pfahlbauten, first noticed through the sagacity of our friend, Dr. Keller.

We may cite especially the memoir by our learned friend, the President of the Antiquaries of Zürich, which appeared in 1854, in the *Transactions of that Society*,⁸ with remarkable illustrations of the contrivance of hafting by means of pieces of stag's horns; the specimens there figured were discovered in the early part of that year at Meilen, on the northern shore of the Lake of Zürich. Nearly two centuries ago an example of the stag's horn haft for weapons of stone had been noticed in France, in some remarkable interments brought to light in 1685, at Cocherel, in Normandy. Montfaucon has preserved the interesting narrative of M. de Cocherel, by whom the discovery was made;⁹ the bodies had been deposited in rudely formed cists of slabs of stone; under the skulls lay stone axes, in one instance of green oriental jade, a fact deserving of note, since the like exotic material has occasionally occurred in the Swiss Pfahlbauten. There were also pointed objects of bone, supposed to have served as lance-heads, &c., one of them being formed of the bone of a horse, with arrow-heads of bone and stone, but no metal was noticed. M. de Cocherel described also a curious relic:—“*Un morceau de corne de cerf qui fut trouvé au même endroit avoit servi pour y insérer une de ces haches; cette corne avoit un trou à l'un des bouts pour y ficher un manche de bois.*” It is to be regretted that Montfaucon has

⁵ Tome i., p. 278, ch. 14, pl. 1—6. Printed in 1847, and published two years subsequently.

⁶ Lindenschmit, *Die Alterth. uns. heidnischen Vorzeit*, Heft 5, Taf. 1.

⁷ See *Horæ Ferales*, pl. i., p. 181.

⁸ *Die keltischen Pfahlbauten in den Schweizerseen*, beschr. v. Dr. Ferd. Keller, *Mitth. der Antiqu. Gesells. in Zurich*, Band ix., p. 77, pl. 2. The mode

of hafting stone implements in wooden handles, as used by the occupants of the Lacustrine dwellings, is well illustrated in Dr. Keller's fifth memoir, in the same series, Band xiv. pl. 10.

⁹ *Antiqu. Expliquée*, tome v. pl. ii. p. 194. The jade axe was seen by Montfaucon, who alludes to the virtues of the stone “*contre l'épilepsie et la nephretique.*”

not given representations of this or of any of the objects noticed in this interesting narration.

Of the two remarkable relics brought under our notice by Mr. Bernhard Smith one (see woodcut, fig. 1) is formed, as we were informed by the late Professor Quekett, of a portion of the horn of the red deer, of an extinct species (*Cervus elaphus*); it is stated to have been found in 1856, with human remains and pottery of early character, at Cockshoot Hill, in Wychwood Forest, Oxfordshire, a district replete with vestiges of ancient occupation, and adjacent to the line of the Akeman Street, as shown in a map accompanying the View of the Ancient Limits of the Forest, by Mr. Akerman, published by the Society of Antiquaries.¹ It measures about 5 in. in length, and 2 in. in diameter. At one extremity there is a cavity, shown in the woodcut, in which, by comparison with other like objects of horn, it appears probable that a small celt or cutting implement of stone was inserted; the horn is also pierced at mid-length, as supposed, to receive a handle; the size of this perforation may appear somewhat insufficient for secure adjustment to a haft of wood, or even to one of bone or other material, metal excepted. Our lamented friend, Kemble, however, who was present at the meeting of the Institute in January, 1857, when a notice of the discovery was first communicated, had no hesitation in regarding this object as a haft for an implement of stone, in like manner as those with which he had been familiar on the continent. He expressed his opinion that it is an object of singular interest, and observed that it was the only one, to his knowledge, noticed as found in this country.² However rare in the British Islands, the want of examples, as Mr. Kemble truly remarked, may probably be due only to the want of more careful observation. He submitted to the Institute, on that occasion, a series of his own drawings of objects of the like class which had fallen under his observation in museums in Germany and other countries.³ As regards the nature of the haft which may have been used with such appliance of

¹ Archæologia, vol. xxxvii. p. 424. Mr. Akerman describes several barrows, in or near Wychwood Forest, which were examined about 1848; *ibid.* p. 432.

² Archæol. Journ., vol. xiv. p. 82.

³ Amongst these interesting illustrations of the use of the horns of the deer and elk, were a coultter of red deer's

horn, at Mecklenburg; an axe-head, in the Hanover Museum (Hornæ Feræles, plate i. fig. i.); an axe of elk's horn, at Berlin; and a remarkable object of stag's horn grooved along the edges for the insertion of small flint flakes affixed by black mastic or cement, so as to form a cutting edge. Digitized by Google

deer's horn, it may be stated that specimens found by M. Boucher de Perthes, in the valley of the Somme, had not only the cutting implements of flint still fixed in their extremities, but the wooden handles of oak or birch-wood occasionally accompanied these appliances of a rude and primitive race.

The second specimen, more recently obtained by Mr. Bernhard Smith (fig. 2), consists of a portion of the horn of an extinct species of elk (*Megaceros Hibernicus?*), cut off immediately above the burr. It is to be regretted that the place of its discovery is unknown. Mr. Bernhard Smith is of opinion that it may have been from the drift strata, the surface being much worn, as if in rolling amidst shingle; numerous minute portions of quartz, moreover, were to be discerned in the superficial crevices or cavities. It measures rather more than 5 in. in length; the perforation for the haft measures about $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. in diameter, and it may deserve notice that on one side it is of oval form, on the other it is more nearly circular. At the end, where a tine appears to have been cut off, in like manner as another has been near the burr, there is a cavity supposed to have been intended for the insertion of a small celt or chisel of stone; the injury which the object has undergone by attrition has probably damaged the edges of this end of the horn, and thus the original fashion of the cavity in question is less distinctly shown. It is, however, possible, that this object of elk's horn may have served only as a maul or hammer.

The relics to which, with Mr. Bernhard Smith's friendly permission, I have endeavored to invite attention, are not undeserving of the consideration of the archæologist, although comparatively inferior in interest to implements of deer's horn recently discovered in Central France, and of which some have been secured through the energetic negotiations of Professor Owen for the British Museum. Amongst relics brought to light in the caverns and the sheltering recesses under cliffs in the department of the Dordogne, by the explorations of M. Lartet and Mr. Henry Christy, are to be seen many implements or weapons fabricated of the reindeer's horns. The evidence of the remote antiquity of man, derived from these recent researches in ossiferous caves, may be classed with the most important scientific discoveries of our times. They prove that savage man, of

what has been designated the "unground and unpolished Stone Period," was able, in advance of the use of metals, to carve on deer's horns and grave on stone representations of animals, his contemporaries, especially the reindeer, now extinct in that region. The striking relics, for instance, found in the ancient Perigord, include a long dagger formed out of a single horn, the handle representing the body of a reindeer not unskilfully carved; there is also a spear, bearing in partial relief the heads of a horse and a deer, whilst upon other objects appear animal forms, supposed to pourtray the Aurochs, the *Bos primigenius*, with other singular traces of the arts of design in times of such rude antiquity. The numerous relics from the Bruniquel cave lately secured for our national depository through the timely mediation of Professor Owen, have brought this remarkable class of remains within our reach; they present, doubtless, a chapter of the unwritten History of Man, of inappreciable instruction and interest, not less to the Ethnologist than to the Antiquary.

ALBERT WAY.

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE HISTORY OF MEDÆVAL
ARMOUR AND WEAPONS IN EUROPE.

By JOHN HEWITT.

TILTING-HELM OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY, IN THE
ROYAL ARTILLERY MUSEUM, WOOLWICH.

A FINE example of a Tilting Helm, of about the close of the fifteenth century, was exhibited at the meeting of the Archæological Institute in January last by General Lefroy, by whom it has recently been added to the Royal Artillery Museum at Woolwich. It formed part of the collection of Mr. Brocas, of Wokefield, Berkshire, and will be found figured in the sale catalogue of that collection. It is very clearly identified, as may be seen in the engraving there given, by the broken portion at the lower edge of the helm, as well as by the very curious perforated bar in front, for fixing the head-piece to the breast-plate. The helm subsequently passed into the hands of a Norfolk gentleman, by whom it was presented to the Richmond Museum. On the breaking up of that collection it was returned to the executors of the donor, who presented it to Mr. Harrod, the Secretary of the Norfolk Archæological Society. It afterwards became the property of Mr. Bayfield, of Norwich, at whose recommendation it was copied as part of the decorations of the celebrated "Norwich Gates," now at Sandringham. From Mr. Bayfield it was purchased in December last by General Lefroy. See Official Catalogue, class xvi. no. 6.

As a sample of the knightly tilting helm this is an exceedingly fine specimen, but the particular points of interest in it are the singular contrivances for attaching the defence to the breast and back-plates; the former consisting of a perforated iron bar, moving on a hinge, and adapted for the passage of a pair of staples at a height that might be adjusted to the convenience of the wearer; the latter being an iron buckle of peculiar construction, to receive a strap fixed to the back-plate. The securing of the helm fore and aft to the cuirass is indeed no new thing, but the particular manner

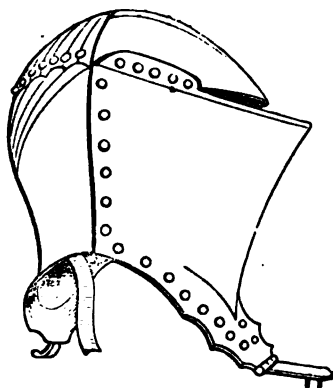


Tilting-Helm of the fifteenth century, in the Royal Artillery Museum, Woolwich.

(From a drawing by Walter H. Tregellas, Esq.)

Scale one-fourth linear.

of fastening here seen is very rare. An example, however, existed in the collection of the Baron de Peuker, at Brussels, and is engraved in the sale catalogue of that museum. It



Tilting-Helm formerly in the Baron de Peuker's Museum.

will be observed that, besides the fastenings in front and behind, the helm had two lateral stays: these consisted of straps, which, attached to the shoulder, passed through the staples seen on the lower edge of the helm, and were then secured by buckles. This side-strapping is also found in other examples. The fine tourneying helm figured by Hefner (*Costumes*, plate 137 of part ii.) exhibits it, and we find it again in the German tourney helm engraved in the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, vol. iii. p. 59. In both these specimens there are on each side *two* staples. The casque before us has no opening on either side of the fore part: the hind plate has four clusters of air-holes, two in the upper, two in the lower part, close to the vertical row of rivets. The usual perforations for fixing the crest and mantling are seen in the crown. The rivets themselves are not unworthy of remark. Each boss consists of three metals—first the iron, then a coating of tin, and lastly the surface of brass.

By examining the interior, it will be seen how the lining of the head-piece was held in its place; for, simple though at first it may seem, it was by no means an easy thing to bring the padded lining over the top of the head and there fasten it. This was effected by means of a thin strip of iron, passing across the head just behind the ocularium, and secured at each extremity by one of the temple-rivets

passing through it. The lining was made fast to this iron strip by short rivets, which, while they pierced the lining, did not penetrate the helm-plate above.

The weight of the helm is $22\frac{1}{2}$ lbs., its height 18 inches. Some pieces of modern rolled iron, fixed at the sides for purposes probably of suspension in a museum, have been removed.

SWORD OF THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH.

By the kindness of the Rev. J. E. Waldy, and of Mr. Allsop, of Cheltenham, I was enabled to exhibit at one of the monthly meetings of the Institute a very curious and richly-ornamented sword; left, as it is believed, by the Duke of Monmouth among the villagers of Dorsetshire on his flight from the Field of Sedgemoor.

This sword has never been in the hands of dealers; its claims to authenticity are founded on no bold history; all its guarantees lie in itself—in the emblems with which it is adorned, in the singular manner in which it was rescued from the hands of a knot of rustic mummers, and in the locality where it was discovered.

In the year 1844 the weapon was found in the possession of a band of villagers, exhibiting their histrionic talents at Woodyates Inn, a hamlet rendered celebrated in the West Country from its being the spot where the fugitive duke changed dresses with a peasant a little before his capture. It was purchased from the "mummers" for the sum of eighteen-pence, and presented to Mr. Howitt, a collector of antiquarian objects, residing at Wilton. From Mr. Howitt the sword came into the possession of Mr. Allsop, its present owner.

After the battle of Sedgemoor the Duke of Monmouth fled across the country, by the north of Wells, to the east of Shepton Mallet, and by Gillingham and Shaftesbury, to the village of Woodyates Inn. At Woodyates Inn, as we are told by Bishop Burnet and other chroniclers, the duke changed clothes with a shepherd, his horse and those of his attendants were turned loose, and their saddles and bridles concealed. Soon after this the duke dropped his gold snuff-box, full of gold pieces, in a pea-field, where it was picked up, the lucky finder obtaining the half of the contents for his share of the transaction. A little to the south of Wood-

yates Inn the duke was taken, and on his person, we learn, "were found certain papers and books, one of which books was a manuscript of spells, charms, and conjurations, songs, recipes, and prayers, all written with his own hand. The charms and spells were against death in battle, for opening prison doors, &c. Two other books were manuscripts on fortification and the military art. The fourth contained an estimate of the yearly expenses of His Majesty's navy and land forces."¹

Let us now see what internal evidence the sword presents to justify us in identifying it with the forfeited blade of Monmouth. The guard and pommel are covered with royal emblems, portraits and military subjects, chased with great care (though indeed with little skill), and the whole has been richly plated. Among these ornaments we have the Rose and Crown, the Prince of Wales's feathers, and two portraits which may, I think, be fairly assigned to Charles I. and his queen. The hair, beard, and moustaches of Charles are exactly those of his other portraits, and the hair-dress of the companion figure is similar to that of Queen Henrietta. In this view, it is clear that the sword could not have been *made* for Monmouth. He landed as duke, and at Taunton set up as king: he never claimed to be Prince of Wales. I am inclined, therefore, to believe that the sword belonged originally to his father, Charles II., when Prince of Wales; and this would be during the residence of that prince at the Hague. I am willing also to think that the weapon is of Dutch manufacture—at all events, to enter the strongest protest against its being accepted as a sample of English art.

The grip, it must be observed, is a restoration. The original was probably of silver wire, which the Shakespeareans of Dorsetshire would naturally, at the earliest moment, convert into cider. The blade, which is two-edged, bears the common inscription of ANDRIA FERARA, Andria being spelt with an *i*. The armourer's mark is a very rude version of the Sun in his splendour. The hilt has a thumb-ring, and there is both a front and lateral bar for handguard. The blunted point of the blade is not unworthy of notice, as furnishing a memento of the fortunes of the weapon while in the hands of the Dorsetshire players.

¹ Roberts's Life of the Duke of Monmouth, vol. ii. p. 110. 

Original Documents.

EXEMPLIFICATION FROM THE RECORDS AT CAERNARVON OF TWO CHARTERS AND A LETTER OF PLACARD OF HENRY VII., IN FAVOR OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTIES OF MERIONETH, CAERNARVON, AND ANGLESEY. DATED 1 JAMES I. (A.D. 1604).

FOR permission to publish this document, which has been preserved among the muniments of Mrs. Ormsby Gore at Porkington, Shropshire, the Institute is indebted to the kindness of that lady through the obliging intervention of Mr. W. W. E. Wynne, M.P. Mrs. Gore, as we are informed by Mr. Wynne, is the representative and heiress of the estates of Sir William Maurice, knight, one of the persons at whose request this Exemplification is stated to have been granted by James I.

We acknowledge with much pleasure the valuable assistance received on the present occasion from a friend well versed in the ancient history of the Welsh, and in the rights and liabilities formerly incident to property within the Principality. Those who take interest in such subjects will not fail to appreciate the Memoir on the Political Geography of Wales, communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. H. S. Milman, M.A., F.S.A., and printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. p. 19.¹ To his kindness it is we have been chiefly indebted for the following introductory observations.

In historical documents the three counties of Merioneth, Caernarvon, and Anglesey are often found grouped together, being the King's Principality of North Wales, and having as such the town of Caernarvon for their common capital.

Soon after the accession of King James I. to the throne of England, the inhabitants of the three counties applied for an Exemplification by letters patent of certain charters granted to them in the reign of Henry VII. The records at Caernarvon were searched for the charters, but in vain; for it would seem that the neglect, if not destruction, of archives there, is not wholly chargeable upon the present age. Evidence, however, of the charters and their contents was found in the Originalia of the Exchequer at Caernarvon. The officers' revenue accounts seem to have been better preserved than the charter rolls. From early times part of the revenue of these counties had arisen from certain customary payments, peculiar to Wales and the Marches, if not to the three counties alone; some of which payments were abolished by the charters in question. In the year when these sources of revenue accordingly ceased, the officers justified their blank returns either by reciting or abstracting more or less of the charters in their accounts, or by adding or annexing to them copies of these charters.

¹ It may be convenient to some of the archaeologists of the Principality to know that this valuable memoir of Mr. Milman has been reprinted, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries,

in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, third series, vol. vi. p. 34. Some exceptions were taken to the views of our friend, *ibid.* p. 231; see also Mr. Milman's reply to these criticisms, p. 324. Google

Accordingly it appears from the Exemplification now published, that among the bailiff's accounts for the county of Merioneth for the year ending at Michaelmas 23 Henry VII. (1507), there was found an account of the Commote of Penllyn, which had at the end of the part intitled "Firme ballivarum," in explanation of the blank return, an abstract of a charter or letters patent dated the 27th October 20 Henry VII. (1504); and a copy of another charter or letters patent dated the 3rd March 22 Henry VII. (1506—7); and also a copy of a royal letter of placard dated the 28th September 22 Henry VII. (1506); and in the same account at the end of the part intitled "Putura Stallon," was, for the like reason, an abstract of part of a charter or letters patent said to be dated the 28th October 20 Henry VII. (1504), but intended in all probability for the above-mentioned charter of the 27th October 20 Henry VII., the day of the month being a clerical error occasioned by the occurrence of the 28th of September just before, either in the record or in the account itself.² There was also found an account for the Commote of Estyn manor with a blank return, having at the end of it, by way of explanation, a reference to what had been stated at the end of the part of the Penllyn account which was entitled "Firme ballivarum."

If the date of the royal letter be correctly given in this Exemplification, it preceded the charter of the 3rd March 22 Henry VII. some months, though it is introduced as relating to that charter. For the regnal years of that king were computed from the battle of Bosworth (August 22nd 1485), and consequently in those years September came before March. But possibly the apparent irregularity in the place given to this royal letter may be thus explained. It will be observed that in the letter itself there is no mention of any charter; but there is a reference to a bill of petition that had been presented by the inhabitants of the three shires, which was probably the petition in compliance with which the charter of 3rd March 22 Henry VII. was granted. The king may have acceded to that petition, and then the letter been issued, as a preliminary act, to give partial effect to it while the charter was in preparation. The fine of 450 marks, mentioned in the letter, was probably that which was paid for the charter. Thus the three documents in question would stand in the following order of date: the charter of 27th October 20 Henry VII. (1504); the royal letter of 28th September 22 Henry VII. (1506), and the charter of 3rd March 22 Henry VII. (1506—7).

In the charter last mentioned are recited two Acts of Parliament disqualifying Welshmen, the origin of which it may be well briefly to explain.

Among the events that disquieted the reign of Henry IV. was an insurrection of the Welsh under Owen Glendwr. This chief, who claimed through his mother to be a descendant of their native princes, was educated in England, and for a while studied in the Inns of Court. He entered the service of the Earl of Arundel, and afterwards became one of the esquires

² The 28th October 20 Henry VII. is, probably, the correct date of the charter first mentioned in the Exemplification. For a charter of that date is set out in an *Inseximus* of 4th March 1 Henry VIII., printed in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* II. p. 292, and it contains, among others, clauses like those of which an abstract is

given in this Exemplification as from a charter of 27th October 20 Henry VII., but with a few variations such as might be due to transcription. It is, however, remarkable that the charter in that *Inseximus* does not extend to the county of Anglesey, but is confined to those of Merioneth and Caernarvon.

of the body of King Richard II. The latter he accompanied on his ill-fated expedition to Ireland, and on his return was with him at Flint Castle when he was betrayed into the hands of Henry, then Duke of Lancaster. The attendants of the captive being left at liberty, Glendwr retired to his estates in North Wales. There he was dispossessed of some land by Lord Grey of Ruthyn, one of the Lords Marchers. He petitioned Parliament for redress, and it was offensively refused. On receiving further provocation from Lord Grey he had recourse to arms, retaliated on his adversary, and was soon in active co-operation with the friends of his fallen sovereign. Richard had remained popular in the principality; but with the Welsh a prospect of independence was a much stronger motive to action than their loyalty, and it induced even many of them in England to quit their studies and employments and join Glendwr. He assumed the style of Prince of Wales, and was crowned at Machynlleth. For two years before the battle of Shrewsbury (23rd July, 1403), he had baffled all the attempts of the Lords Marchers, and also those of Henry himself, to reduce him to obedience. Though in alliance with the Percys, he was not present at that battle. After their defeat he continued the unequal contest, and was assisted by the King of France, who recognised him as Prince of Wales. It was not, however, by arms only that the refractory Welsh were assailed; it was thought expedient to subject them to some severe restrictions, and for this purpose the two Acts of Parliament above mentioned were passed.

By the Act of 2 Henry IV. (1401) all Welshmen were prohibited from purchasing any lands or tenements in England or in any of the English towns in Wales; and no Welshman was to be admitted a burgess, or to have any other liberty in the realm of England, or in any English town in Wales (c. 20).

By the Act of 4 Henry IV. (1402), besides some enactments of a temporary kind, no Englishman was to be convicted by any Welshman (c. 26); nor was any Welshman to hold either for himself or another any castle, fortress, or defensive house otherwise than was used in the time of King Edward the Conqueror of Wales, except bishops and temporal lords for their own use³ (c. 31); nor was any Welshman to be a justice, chamberlain, chancellor, treasurer, sheriff, steward, constable of a castle, receiver, escheator, coroner, chief forester, or other officer, or keeper of records, or deputy in any of those offices in any part of Wales, or of the council of any English lord, except the bishops in Wales; and of them and other persons whom the King had found to be good and loyal liege people he would be advised by his council (c. 32).⁴

The Welsh were thus placed very much in the condition of aliens; and we find during the remainder of the fifteenth century several Acts of Parliament and letters patent for relieving some who by their services in war or otherwise had obtained royal favor, and wished to settle in England.

It will be observed that the charter of 22 Henry VII. did not even

³ The words are "pour leur corps propres;" but in all probability "corps" is an error of some transcriber for "oeps."

⁴ In the recitals of these two acts in the charter of 22 Henry VII., there was no attempt to give the language of the

two chapters there referred to, but the purport of them. That of 2 Hen. IV. c. 20, reads like a commentary on a part of that chapter, so much is the effect detailed.

purport to remove all the restrictions imposed by the above-mentioned statutes. The enactments were not formally repealed till the 21 James I., c. 28; but they virtually ceased to have effect after the union of Wales with England by the 27th Henry VIII., c. 26 (1536), when it was declared in the first section of that statute, that all persons born in the principality of Wales should have, enjoy, and inherit all freedoms, liberties, rights, privileges, and laws within the realm and other the King's dominions, as other the King's subjects naturally born within the same had, enjoyed, and inherited.

The charters and royal letter exemplified by the document under consideration were granted at a remarkable period of Anglo-Welsh history.

On April 2nd 17 Henry VII. (1502) died Arthur, Prince of Wales, the last Prince to whom the territorial principality was granted. The Crown resumed, and never again parted with, the territorial jurisdiction there. The new heir-apparent, Henry, afterwards King Henry VIII., became Prince of Wales, but in title and dignity only.

The reasons for this policy of the Crown are clear. When England rested from the wars of the Roses, it found Wales a great social and political difficulty. The counties of Chester, Salop, Hereford, and Gloucester—the last three not reaching so far westward as they do now—were on the edge of the realm of England. Beyond them, outside the realm, extended Wales, then but partly divided into counties. The then counties were Merioneth, Caernarvon, and Anglesey before mentioned; Flint (attached to Chester, and under the same government as that county); and Cardigan, Caermarthen, Pembroke, and Glamorgan, each much less in extent than it is now. The counties of Monmouth, Brecknock, Radnor, Montgomery, and Denbigh had not been created—their area was then part of the Marches.

Wales, politically, was an aggregate of petty manorial governments, standing between the Crown of England and its Welsh subjects, to the disadvantage of both. The lords of Wales were strong for evil, yet weak for good—active in wars among themselves, but adding little to the military power of the realm—misgoverning, and jealously excluding the Crown from interference with their misgovernment—able to oppress their vassals in person and estate, but unable to restrain those vassals from preying upon their English neighbours.

To curb the lords and conciliate the people of Wales—to supersede manorial by royal and parliamentary rule—to extend to the Welsh the rights and laws enjoyed by the English—to level the barrier raised by difference of race and strengthened by centuries of warfare, and so to prepare the territory for union to the English realm, and its inhabitants for fusion with the English nation—was the policy of Henry VII. and his advisers.

Every lord could, if so minded, further this policy within his own lordship by abolishing burdensome fines, dues, customs, and offices, and by freeing villans.

Now the King was not only paramount throughout Wales, but also immediate lord of many and great manors there, and at this period of the counties of Merioneth, Caernarvon, and Anglesey also, by reversion of these three counties to the Crown on Prince Arthur's death. With a view to the policy above described, he retained the reverted principality, and granted these charters to the inhabitants.

The earlier charter, that of 20 Henry VII. (1504), dealt with matters of local administration and revenue wholly within the lord's power, not touching any general rule of law or Act of Parliament. Hence it was, in all probability, enrolled at Caernarvon, and it required no parliamentary authority or confirmation.

The royal letter was an instruction to the Crown officers in the three counties to allow the King's concessions, as well those already specified by that charter as those which at that date had not been so formally made.

The later charter, 3 March 22 Hen. VII. (1506-7), began by reciting the two disabling statutes above mentioned. It removed all the restrictions as to purchasing lands, but not those as to offices.⁴ It also freed the villans within the three counties, including those subject to the Bishop of Bangor and to Abbots, and converted their servile into free tenures. It abolished many ancient burdens, reliefs, exactions, and tolls. It protected the goods of intestates from the interference of the King's secular officers. It regulated the practice as to persons bound over to keep the peace, or appearing to informations for felony or breach of the peace, and settled the court fees in such cases. It declared freemen in the three counties capable of holding and serving on inquests relating to Englishmen. This charter—so far as it excepted the three counties from any general statute, as it gave to Welshmen the privileges of Englishmen, and as it trenchd upon the manorial rights of the Bishop and Abbots—was beyond the scope of the King's sole authority, and accordingly was backed by the authority of parliament. This we learn from a statement at the end of it, but we have not been able to discover, either in the statutes or in the rolls of parliament, any evidence of such authority for giving full effect to this charter. It was "tested" at Westminster, and most probably enrolled in the Exchequer there; yet, though careful search was made for the enrolment a few years ago when it was wanted for a legal purpose, it could not be found.⁵

⁴ The charter of 28th October, 20 Henry VII., set out in the *Inspecimus* of 1 Henry VIII. appears to have abolished the restrictions on purchasing lands and on holding offices, so far as regarded the inhabitants of the counties of Merioneth and Caernavon, but said nothing of Anglesey.

⁵ We have made diligent search after other copies of the following Exemplification, preserved either in public depositories or in private hands, but without success. It might have been reasonably expected that a copy, if not the enrolment itself, would be found among the Records formerly preserved at Caernarvon: Mr. Milman has adverted in the foregoing observations to the neglect of the archives there, and the Report on the Records of Wales by Mr. Black, in 1840, discouraged all hope of attainment of our object in that quarter. That gentleman states that the records of the counties of Anglesey, Caernarvon,

and Merioneth, were kept in a building opposite to the western end of Caernarvon Castle. "I have discovered," Mr. Black observes, by "diligent enquiry that a great quantity of ancient records had been deposited in a kind of cellar in the basement of the building, and suffered to go to decay; which were cleared out by order of the magistrates about twenty or thirty years ago, and partly sold, together with old Acts of Parliament and other waste paper, by the hundred weight, and partly thrown upon dungheaps and wheeled into the Menai, as rotten and worthless. Some of the Records were bought or otherwise obtained by Mr. David Williams, of Turkey Shore, Caernarvon, who for many years past has supplied tailors and others with parchment, for various purposes, out of the materials."—Appendix to the first Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records, p. 90; see also p. 112.

EXEMPLIFICATION, UNDER THE GREAT SEAL OF JAMES I. FOR THE SHIRES OF MERIONETH, CAERNARVON, AND ANGLESEA, OF TWO CHARTERS AND A LETTER OF PLACARD OF HENRY VII.¹

Jacobus, Dei gracia Anglie, Scocie, Francie, et Hibernie Rex, fidei Defensor, &c. omnibus ad quos presentes litere nostre pervenerint salutem. Sciatis quod inspeximus Recorda quorundam Computorum ministrorum in Scaccario nostro apud Caernarvon in Comitatu Caernarvon, inter memoranda et Recorda ejusdem Scaccarii ibidem de Record' remanentia, in hiis verbis:—Comitatus Merionyth, scilicet,—Originalia Computorum omnium et singulorum Ministrorum domini Regis nunc Henrici vij^{mi} de omnibus et singulis dominiis, maneriis, terris, et tenementis suis ibidem, a festo Sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno xxij^{do} dicti domini Regis Henrici vij^{mi} usque idem festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno ejusdem domini Regis xxiiij^{do}, scilicet, per unum annum integrum,—scilicet, PENLLYN :² Computus Johannis ap David ap Robert Ballivi ibidem loco Ring' nuper dictum officium occupantis per tempus predictum. FIRME BALLIVARUM: Nec receptum de aliquo proficuo proveniente de officio Amobr', aut de officiis Ragl' et Ragl' Advocar', vel de officiis Woodward et Ring' istius Commoti et omnium aliorum Commotorum Comitatum Merionyth, Caernarvon, et Anglesey, que per cciiij^{xx} libris solebant affirmari, sicut continetur in Computis precedentibus, videlicet, de tempore nuper Regis Ricardi secundi; eo quod dominus nunc Rex Henricus septimus, in consideratione gratuiti, boni, et laudabilis servicii que dilecti subditi sui tenentes et inhabitantes infra Comotos suos de Merionyth, Caernarvon, et Anglesey in North Wallia sibi diversimode ante hec tempora impenderunt indiesque impendere non desistunt, de gracia sua speciali ac ex certa sciencia et mero motu suo necnon de advisamento consilii sui concessit pro se et heredibus suis, quod Custura sive exaccio ibidem vocata Amobr' de cetero non exigatur, usitatur, seu levetur, sed omnimodo Amobr' penitus deleatur, admissetur, (sic) evacuetur, et irritetur imperpetuum; et insuper ubi in dictis Commotis usitatum fuit, quod si Wallicus homo vocatus an Arthelman, vel Wallica mulier dicta an Arthellwoman, non habens exitum decesserit abintestatus, vel testamentum suum rite condiderit, executorem in eodem nominaverit et assignaverit, officarius ibidem appellatus Raglowe Arthell' voluit omnia bona hujus decedentis in manus suas capere et seisire, acetiam de qua-

¹ Of one of these charters, namely, that of March 3, 22 Hen. VII., a copy is printed, Archæol. Camb., vol. ii., p. 215, from a transcript of Rowlands, the author of *Mona Antiqua*, purporting to be from a Bangor Register. The transcript was then in the possession of the Rev. John Jones, Rector of Llanllyfni. Through the kindness of Mr. John Williams, of Beaumaris, we have been favored by Mr. R. Trygarn Griffith of Carreglwyd, Anglesea, with the opportunity of inspecting another copy of the same charter preserved among his muniments. It appears to be a copy made in the seventeenth century, and is a good deal injured, and in many places

illegible. It formerly belonged to the Hollands of Berw, in the parish of Llanidan. We are indebted to Mr. W. W. E. Wynne, M.P., for a third copy in the hand writing of the Merionethshire antiquary, Robert Vaughan, of Hengwrt, who died in 1687; it is preserved in one of the Hengwrt MSS. now in Mr. Wynne's Library (No. 119). At the close of this transcript are explanations, hereafter cited, of Welsh terms occurring in the charters of Henry VII.

² Penllyn occurs as one of the Comotes of Merionethshire in the Extenta Com. Merion., Record of Caern., p. 261. A *Commotus*, according to Spelman, was the moiety of a *Cantredus* or Hundred.

liter persona vocata Arthellman vel Arthellwoman voluit idem officarius quatuor denarios annuatim percipere et habere, in detrimento execucionis et perimplecionis voluntatis hujus decedentis et contra communem justiciam; quapropter predictus dominus Rex voluit et per presentes concedit pro se et heredibus suis antedictis, quod dictus officarius vocatus Raglowe Arthell', nec aliquis alius officarius deinceps infra dictos Commotos aut eorum aliquem, seisiat nec capiat aliqua talia bona nec aliquam partem eorundem, nec aliquam monetam annuam pro eodem, sed quod dicta Custuma de Arthell' et quodlibet inde proficuum de cetero cassetur nec alicujus sit effectus, sed quod homines et mulieres dicti Arthellmen et Arthellwomen sint liberi ac libere, condent et condere possint testamenta sua, aliqua provisione in contrarium habita sive usitata non obstante; et quod Custume sive exacciones ibidem vocate Wodward et Forestwrieth [et] quedam exaccio sive Custuma vocata Killghey de cetero deleantur ext[er]minate,³ nec aliqua denariorum summa de seu pro eisdem per silvanos seu forestarios infra Commotos predictos aut eorum aliquem aut aliquos officarios quoscumque levetur nec levabilis existat, aliquo statuto, actu, ordinacione, proclamacione, provisione, prescripcione, aut consuetudine in contrarium premissorum ante hec tempora factis, editis, ordinatis, provisus, seu usitatis, aut alia re, causa, vel materia quacumque non obstante: Per literas dicti domini Regis sub magno sigillo suo patentes datas apud Westmonasterium xxvij^o die Octobris anno regni ejusdem domini Regis xx^{mo}, et irrotulantur in originalibus Scaccarii de Caernarvon de eodem anno. Summa nulla. ss. Carta domini Regis de diversis privilegiis concessis inhabitantibus⁴ infra comitatus Caernarvon, Anglesey, et Merionyth, scilicet, Henricus, Dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie omnibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint salutem. Sciatis quod licet in parlamento domini Henrici nuper Regis Anglie quarti, progenitoris nostri, apud Westmonasterium anno regni sui secundo tento, auctoritate ejusdem parlamenti ordinatum, inactitatum, et statutum fuerit, quod nullus Wallicus aut homo de Wallia aliqua terras, dominia, maneria, villas, villatas, redditus, reversiones, aut servicia, sive hereditamenta quecumque infra Angliam aut in aliquibus burgis seu villis Anglicanis infra Walliam acquirere seu obtinere deberet aut valeret, tenenda sibi et heredibus suis in feodo simplici, feodo talliato, aut alio modo quocumque, prout in eodem statuto plenius continetur; et licet in parlamento dicti domini Henrici nuper Regis Anglie quarti anni regni sui quarto apud Westmonasterium, auctoritate parlamenti sui, inter alia, ordinatum et statutum fuerit, quod nullus hujusmodi Wallicus seu homo de Wallia aliquod officium Vicecomitis, Majoratus, Ballivatus, Constabularii, sive alterius consimilis in aliqua civitate, villa, vel burgo infra Angliam seu in aliquo burgo aut villa Anglicana infra Walliam gereret, teneat, seu occuparet sub certis penis in statuto predicto expressis et limitatis, ut in eodem statuto plenius continetur: Nos tamen bona, gratuita, et laudabilia servicia que dilecti subditi nostri tenentes et inhabitantes infra Comitatus nostros de Anglesey, Caernarvon, et Merionyth in Northwallia nobis diversimode ante hec tempora impenderunt indesque impendere non desistunt intime considerantes, de gracia nostra speciali ac ex certa sciencia et mero motu nostris necnon de advisamento Consilii nostri concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quod omnes et singuli tenentes et inhabi-

³ There is no *er* nor any contraction for those letters, but the word intended may probably have been *exterminate*.

⁴ In the original the word is *inhi*, with the usual horizontal line of contraction over it. Digitized by Google

tantes infra Comitatus predictos et eorum quemlibet et eorum heredes et successores et eorum quilibet de cetero per totos Comitatus predictos habeant, utantur, et gaudeant omnibus suis terris, tenementis, possessionibus, et hereditamentis de quibus seisisi vel possessionati sint, aut [que] in manibus eorum existunt qualitercumque seu eorum alicujus, [et] tenere possint et quilibet eorum possit sibi heredibus et assignatis suis in feodo simplici, aut in feodo qualitercumque talliato, ad terminum vite vel annorum, aut alio modo quocumque imperpetuum; et de eisdem terris, tenementis cum ceteris prenomatis tam per cartam suam quam aliter alienare, feoffare, dare, aut vendere in feodo simplici, aut in feodo qualitercumque talliato, ad terminum vite vel annorum, aut alio modo quocumque, et cuiuscumque persone, bene et quiete et in pace, absque aliquo fine inde nobis et heredibus nostris solvendo pro hujusmodi terris, tenementis, et aliis premissis, sine contradiccione, impedimento, molestacione, seu gravamine quocumque nostri vel heredum nostrorum aut officiariorum seu ballivorum vel ministrorum nostrorum aut aliorum quorumcumque, aliqua consuetudine, re, causa, more, vel usu infra Comitatus predictos in contrarium premissis prius habitis non obstantibus. Concessimus eciam pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quod tam omnes nostri nativi tenentes seu inhabitantes in Comitatus nostris predictis eorum heredes et successores, quam nativi Episcopo Bangorii et Abbatibus quibuscumque debiti, generalem manumissionem et libertatem tenore presentium habeant, et eis de cetero plene gaudeant et utantur, et quod terras suas de libera tenura amodo teneant redditentes inde annuatim tam nobis quam prefato Episcopo Bangorii et Abbatibus quibuscumque redditus perante debitos et consuetos pro omni exaccione, servicio, et consuetudine inde prius debitis, redditus, aut solutis, prout nostri liberi tenentes sive inhabitantes in Comitatus nostris predictis faciunt aut facere consueverunt; et quod nullus tenencium, residencium, sive inhabitancium in Comitatus nostris predictis eorum heredum et successorum nec eorum aliquis de cetero compellatur sive cogatur ad subeundum, serviendum, sive occupandum onus Ringildre, nec [ad] aliqua taxas sive trethes, tallagia sive misas, aut aliquas denariorum summas nobis aut aliis quibuscumque debitas racione officii Ringildre predictae sive aliter, colligenda sive levanda quovismodo artetur, nec aliquam penam seu forisfacturam racione non collectionis hujus incurrat, sed inde exoneretur et acquietetur imperpetuum. Concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quod nullus tenencium sive inhabitancium predictorum seu alicujus eorum seu successorum suorum compellatur aut cogatur ad solvenda aliqua relevia, custumas, sive exacciones ibidem vocata Abedeo detevedd' aut beddewoyes detewedd', nec non indebitas exacciones⁶ et pastu porcorum vocato takkes aliter Wallace vocato Arian moch, nec etiam alias custumas Anglice vocatas pollepen, Wallace vocatas Keniok pen Arian respeite, necnon de reparacione maneriorum aliter vocata Gwayth llis, Arian Gwayth, et Arian Pentay, nec eciam alias custumas Wallace vocatas Fine Kayr, et de tervene aut stauro domini aliter vocato store vawer vel store istis, et Caries, necnon de pastu stallonis et garcionis aliter vocato porthiant stalwyn et Gways, de pastu lutra⁷ cum canibus, arian keulo, kirch, blavde, et butur', ac de operibus molendinorum, de pastu Penkays et Gweision beighn', necnon de omnibus et quibuscumque denariorum summis et hujusmodi custumis preante exactis seu exigendis, cogatur aliter aut alio modo quam burgenses⁷ ville de Bewmares vel Angli-

⁶ For this et other copies read pro.

⁶ This word is written *lucr*, but in

another document *lucrar*. See n. 6, p. 82.

⁷ Written *burgenc*.

cane ville (*sic*) infra Principalitates nostre Northwallie comorantes dant et solvunt aut dare [vel] solvere coarctantur, sed quod omnes custume et exactiones ille ammodo (*sic*) penitus deleantur et determinentur nec aliquatinus impostum usitentur; necnon omnes alie custume seu indebite exactiones quas predicti tenentes et inhabitantes per totos Comitatus predictos ante confecionem presencium solvere consueverunt eciam penitus deleantur, nec aliqua denariorum summa de seu pro eisdem custumis predictis seu eorum aliqua infra Comitatus predictos aut eorum aliquem qualiterumque solvatur, levetur, seu levabilis existat, set tenentes et inhabitantes predicti et eorum heredes et successores et eorum quilibet (de cetero)⁸ sint et (sit) de premissis quieti et quietus imperpetuum; et quod vicecomes Comitatus de Anglesey custodiat seu custodire faciat omnes Comitatus suos in villa de Neuburch, et non alibi de mense in mensem et de anno in annum futuris temporibus perpetuis teneantur. Concessimus eciam pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quod tam tenentes et inhabitantes predicti quam alie extranee persone cujuscumque condicionis fuerint veniendo in Comitatus predictis pro aliquibus bonis, rebus, aut cattallis emptis seu venditis aut emendis seu vendendis infra Comitatus predictos, ac ab eisdem Comitatus redeundo, et eorum heredes et successores sui, sint quieti et exonerati et eorum quilibet sit quietus et exoneratus de theoloneo sive tolneto, stallagio, passagio, et custuma per totos Comitatus predictos, tam infra villam de Bowmares vel Anglicanas villas infra principalitates nostre Northwallie comorantes (quam extra; et quod predicti tenentes et inhabitantes et alie extranee persone predictae non compellantur neque cogantur nec eorum aliquis compellatur sive cogatur per nos, heredes, theolonarios, ballivos, firmarios, ministros, aut aliquos officarios nostros ibidem ad solve(nda) aliqua tolmeta, stallagia, passagia, seu custumas infra Comitatus et loca predicta pro aliquibus bonis, rebus, aut cattallis emptis seu venditis aut emendis seu vendendis, set de premissis, de cetero pro totis Comitatus predictis sint quieti et exonerati⁹ et (quili)bet eorum sit quietus et exoneratus inperpetuum. Concessimus etiam pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quod si quis tenencium vel inhabitancium predictorum heredum et successorum suorum intestatus obierit, Escaetor aut aliquis alius officarius nostri ibidem nomine nostro vel heredum nostrorum [in] seu de bonis, cattallis, et debitis hujusmodi decedentis nullatenus intronitit, sen¹ totaliter decedentis bonorum dispositio loci ordinario cedat et revertetur ad usum heredum et propinquorum consanguineorum seu amicorum talis decedentis. Concessimus etiam pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quod si quis tenencium sive inhabitancium predictorum sit manucaptus sive in posterum manucapiendus de seu pro bona gestura sive de pacerferenda ad sectam nostram seu ad sectam alterius cujuscumque persone, quod talis manucaptus seu manucapiendus non compellatur seu cogatur ad comparandum coram Justiciario nostro Northwallie ad sessiones ibidem tentas in Comitatus nostris predictis Northwallie de cetero nisi semel in anno, hoc est, in sessione proxima et in mediata (*sic*) post festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli; et si principales manucapti sive principalis manucaptus in sessionibus nostris coram Justiciario nostro personaliter com-

⁸ The parchment is here damaged, and also in some other parts of the document. The probable readings are here and elsewhere supplied in parentheses :

when words omitted are inserted, they are in brackets.

⁹ Written *exonerati*.

¹ *Sic*, probably for *set* or *sed*.

parcant seu compareat, quod tunc plegii, manucaptors, sive fidejussores pro hujusmodi manucaptis sive manucapto nullum dampnum forisfacture incurrant sive incurrat et (indemp)nes penitus existant sive existat de aliqua forisfactura; et quod tenentes et inhabitantes predicti ammodo (non) onerentur seu compellantur per prefatum Justiciarium seu per prenotarium sive per prenotarios aut per aliquos clericos Curie ibidem ad solvenda aliqua sive ulteriora feoda quam duos denarios pro feod' de(bit') cujuslibet eorum; et in casu quo quis eorum tenencium et inhabitancium predictorum per inquisitionem vel informacionem accusatus fuerit de aliqua feloniam seu forisfactura pacis paratus respondere velit per debitam legis formam, quod prenotarius seu prenotarii ac alii clerici seu officarii Curie ibidem sint contenti cum duobus solidis pro feodis et regardis suis, et quod nullus eorum cogatur amplius solvere in seu pro acquietancia sua de premissis, sed penitus deleantur imperpetuum. Concessimus etiam pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quod liberi tenentes sive inhabitantes in Comitibus nostris predictis habiles sint ad inquirendum, et quod inquirent seu inquire faciant, in omnibus casibus quibuscumque concernentibus Anglicas personas, prout Anglice persone prefate inquirent seu inquire faciant concernentibus Wallicas personas; et quod hujusmodi inquisitiones sic capte aut presentate per prefatos tenentes sive inhabitantes nostros Wallicos quoscumque allocentur et in vigore existant et habeantur, et quod nullum impedimentum prefatis tenentibus nostris Wallicis in premissis de cetero obstat seu obstare debeat aut valeat; et quod nullus ballivus itinerans infra Comitatus predictos seu eorum aliquem aliqua sive alia feoda pro exercicio officiorum suorum, quam in Scaccario nostro ibidem per hujusmodi ballivis (sic) allocantur, accipere seu percipere debet, aliqua consuetudine sive indebita exactione pro eisdem perantea exacta seu usitata in aliquo non obstante; et hoc absque aliquo fine seu feodo inde ad opus nostrum solvendo seu capiendo. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium tercio die Marcii anno regni nostri vicesimo secundo. Per ipsum Regem et de data predicta auctoritate parliamenti. Baynbrig. Litere domini Regis de Placcard'² quoad cartam predictam. Henry by the Grace of God kinge of England and of Fraunce and Lord of Irlonde to our trustie and well beloved the Chamberleyn, Auditor, Shiref, Eachetor, and all other our officers within the iij shires of Anglesey, Caernarvon, and Merionyth in North Wales, and to their deputies in their absence and to eny of theym, greting: forasmoch as we of our speciall grace have graunted manumysson to all our bondemen dwelling within the iij shires, and to holde their landes free yelding therfore yerelie the due rentes and assises therof and other duties as other freeholders done within the said Counties, and also certaigne other freedomes and liberties to theym and to all other tenants and inhabitaunce within the said iij Shires, and to their heires and successors, and pardoned theym for evermore of diverse Custumes and exactions heretofore had and perceyved to and for our use within the said shires, as by their bill of peticion it shalle more evidentlie appere; wee therefore wolle and straytly charge yow that ye nor non of yow levie nor gederne, receyve, nor cause to be gedered, levied, ne receyved

² The name of a form of instrument by which the king issued certain ordinances, often probably in the nature of a modern royal proclamation; derived

from the French *Placart*, *Plaquard*, as given by Cotgrave. See also Richardson's Dictionary *v.* *Placard*, and Cowell's Interpreter.

of or appon the said tenautes or inhabitantes or of any of them certaigne Custumes or exaccions ther called staurum domini alias dictum store yawr, and karies da llis alias dictum Gwayth Pen tay or arian Gwayth; and also that non of the said tenautes or inhabitantes nor their heires or successoures be compelled from hencefurth to serve the office of Ringilshipp within the said shires or any of them; and if any man or woman die intestate or without heir, or hath died, whos goodes be not as yet received and accompted to our profite and use, that ye nor non of yow medle ne intromitte in or with his goodes, cattalls, or debtes, but that all such goodes and cattalles remayne to the order and disposicion of the ordinary ther to the use of his next frendes that soe dissesaith, according to the law of holy churche. And whereas ye our said Chamberleyn have taken suerties affore yow by recognystyaunce for the summe of foure hundred markes and fifty of a certeygne fyne graunted unto us of and for the premisses, to be payd in maner and forme following, that is to wytt, at the feast of alle saintes next following the dato of thes our letters too hundred and fyve and twentie markes, and at the feast of thapostles Petre and Paule then next ensuing thoder too hundred and fyve and twentie markes, as by your letters of certificat by yow send unto us apperith more at large; we therefore wolle and comande yow from tyme to tyme to make out such processe and commissions, and unto such persons, as the said suerties for the spedie levie and gadringe of the said somme shalle thinke necessary and expedient. Fayle ye not in the premisses as ye tender our pleasure: yevyn under our Signed at our manor of Okyng³ the xxvijth day of September, the xxijth (*sic*) yere of our raigne. PUTURA STALLON': De xxx⁴ nuper provenientiibus de putura stallon⁴ ibidem ut in Computis precedentibus hoc anno non receptis, eo quod dominus nunc Rex Henricus vij^{mus} in consideracione gratuiti, boni, et laudabilis servicii que dilecti subditi sui tenentes et inhabitantes infra Comitatus de Merionyth, Caernarvon, et Anglesey in Northwallia sibi diversimode ante hec tempora impenderunt indiesque impendere non desistunt, de gracia sua speciali ac ex certa sciencia et mero motu suo necnon de advisamento consilii sui concessit pro se et heredibus suis, quod exaccio sive custuma vocata Kyllghey de cetero deleantur (*sic*) exterminentur (*sic*),⁵ nec aliqua denariorum summa de seu pro eisdem per aliquos officarios quoscumque levetur nec levabilis existat, aliquo statuto, actu, ordinacione, proclamacione, provisione, proscricpione, aut consuetudine in contrarium premissorum ante hec tempora factis, editis, ordinatis, provisio, seu usitatis, aut alia re, causa, vel materia quacumque in aliquo non obstantibus: Per literas dicti domini Regis sub magno sigillo suo patentes datas apud Westmonasterium xxvij^o die Octobris anno regni ejusdem domini regis xx^{mo}, et irrotulantur in originalibus Scaccarii de Caernarvon de eodem anno. Nec receptum de aliquo proficuo proveniente de firm' venacionis finibus per tempus Computi; non receptum eo quod vicecomes Comitatus

³ Woking in Surrey, an ancient royal manor. The moated mansion there was a favorite resort of royalty. Henry VII. was often at Woking. It was given by him to his mother, the Countess of Richmond, who died there. It was an occasional summer retreat of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and James I. Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, vol. i. pp. 112, 122.

⁴ The word is here written without any mark of contraction over the last letter; elsewhere it occurs with a contraction.

⁵ A mark of contraction was probably omitted over the *i*, so the *ex* is a misreading of *et*, and that in the original charter the words were *et terminentur*.

predicti recepit: inde in Computo suo hujus anni. Summa nulla. ESTYNNANOR: Computus Jenkyn ap Gruff' ap Tudor Ballivi ibidem loco Ring' per tempus predictum. Firma Balliarum: Nec receptum de aliquo proficuo proveniente de officio Amobr' aut Ragl' et Ragl' Advocar', vel de officio Woodward', seu de officio Ring' istius Comoti ac omnium aliorum Comotorum Merionyth, Caernarvon, et Anglesey hoc anno; non recept' cané in Computo Ring' de Penlyn de hoc anno in titulo Firm' Balliarum ibidem plenius annotatur. Summa nulla. Que omnia et singula, ad requisicionem Willielmi Maurice militis, Willielmi Thomas militis, Johannis Wynne de Gwider armigeri, Gruffini Vaughan armigeri, Hugonis Nanney armigeri, Roberti Lloyd armigeri, et aliorum inhabitancium Comitatum predictorum, sub sigillo nostro original' Comitatum predictorum Caernarvon, Merionyth, et Anglesey infra Principalitatem nostram Wallie tenore presencium duximus exemplificanda. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Caernarvon quinto die Marcii anno regni nostri Anglie Francie et Hibernie primo et Scotie tricesimo septimo.

JONES.
[with a paraphe]

Examinitis.
[L. s.]

PENNANTE.
[with a paraphe]

This document consists of two skins, the lower part of the former being turned over the latter at the foot, and fastened by the parchment label by which the seal is appended. The seal is imperfect; it was of white wax, circular, diameter $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.; it should seem to have been an impression of the Great Seal of the Chancery for the three shires of Merioneth, Caernarvon, and Anglesea, of which the device was as follows:—*Obv.* A mounted figure of the Sovereign, to the right. *Rev.* The arms of France and England quarterly ensigned with a crown; no portion of the dexter supporter remains; it was probably a dragon as on the Great Seal of Charles I. for the counties of Caermarthen, Cardigan, and Pembroke, engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxii., pl. 37; the sinister supporter is a goat. Below the escutcheon is the triple plume of the Prince of Wales. Of the legend only a few letters remain.

We acknowledge with gratification our obligation to the Hon. William O. Stanley, M.P., for friendly assistance on many occasions in our investigation of the concessions of Henry VII. to North Wales; we are indebted to his kindness for calling our attention to the following instrument preserved among the Public Records, and also to an abstract (noticed hereafter) setting forth the privileges granted by Henry VII. in both his charters to North Wales. Mr. Milman has observed in the foregoing introductory remarks, that the earlier charter (20 Hen. VII.), of which an abstract is found in the Exemplification now published, dealt with matters of local administration and revenue not touching any law, and that hence it was probably enrolled at Caernarvon, not requiring parliamentary confirmation. Careful search at the Rolls made at Mr. Stanley's request by our obliging friend Mr. Burt, Assistant keeper of Public Records, has brought to light the writ under privy seal of Henry VII. for the charter in question. We are assured by that gentleman that he has sought in vain for the enrolment of the letters patent which were sealed in pursuance of this writ; but they were tested at Westminster on Oct. 28, 20 Hen. VII., four days subsequently to the date of the writ, as appears by a recital in the *Inspecimus* 1 Hen. VIII. printed in *Archæol. Cambr.*, vol. ii. p. 292.

WRIT UNDER PRIVY SEAL OF HENRY VII. FOR A CHARTER IN FAVOR OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTIES OF CAERNARVON, ANGLESEY, AND MERIONETH. Dated 24th October, 20 Hen. VII (1504). (Public Records, Rolls House. Bundle of Privy Seal Bills, 20 Henry VII., no. 226, among the Records of the Treasury of the Exchequer.)

Memorandum quod vicesimo octavo die Octobris anno regni Regis subscripto istud breve liberatum fuit Domino Cancellario Anglie apud Westmonasterium exequendum.

Henricus, Dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie, Reverendissimo in Christo patri Willielmo Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo,¹ tocius Anglie primati et Apostolice sedis Legato, Cancellario nostro salutem. Vobis mandamus quod literas nostras patentes sub magno sigillo nostro in forma sequenti fieri faciatis :² Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. salutem. Sciatis quod licet in parlamento Domini Henrici nuper Regis Anglie quarti, progenitoris nostri, apud Westmonasterium anno regni sui quarto tento, auctoritate ejusdem parlamenti ordinatum et inactitatum et statutum fuerit, quod nullus Wallicus aut homo de Wallia aliqua terras, tenementa, dominia, maneria, villas, villatas, redditus, reversiones, aut servicia, sive hereditamenta quecumque infra Angliam aut in aliquibus burgis et villis Anglicanis infra Walliam acquirere seu optinere deberet, tenenda sibi et heredibus suis in feodo simplici, feodo talliato, aut aliquo modo quocunque; nec quod aliquis hujusmodi Wallicus seu homo de Wallia aliquod officium Vicecomitatus, Majoratus, Ballivatus, Constabulariatus, aut alterius consimilis in aliqua civitate, burgo, seu villa infra Angliam seu in aliquo burgo vel villa Anglicana infra Walliam gereret, teneret, occuparet, seu super se assumeret sub certis penis in statuto predicto expressis et limitatis, ut in eodem statuto plenius continetur: Nos tamen gratuita, bona, et laudabilia servicia que dilecti subditi nostri tenentes et inhabitantes infra Comitatus nostros de Carnarvan', Anglessey, et Merioneth in North-Wallia nobis diversimode ante hec tempora impenderunt indiesque impendere non desistunt intime considerantes, de gratia nostra speciali ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris necnon de avisamento Consilii nostri concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quod omnes et singuli tenentes et inhabitantes infra Comitatus predictos et eorum quemlibet et eorum heredes et successores ac eorum quilibet decetero terras, tenementa, dominia, maneria, villas, villatas, castra, redditus, reversiones et servicia, possessiones, et hereditamenta quecumque infra Angliam et in burgis et villis Anglicanis infra Walliam perquirere, habere, recipere, et tenere possint sibi et heredibus suis in feodo simplici, aut ad terminum vite vel annorum, feodo qualitercumque talliato, aut alio modo quocunque imperpetuum; et quod

¹ William Warham, translated from the see of London, Nov. 29, 1503; appointed Keeper of the Great Seal, Aug. 11, 1502, and Chancellor, Jan. 1 following.

² Of the charter which was sealed in pursuance of this writ, a copy is printed, *Archæol. Camb.*, vol. ii., p. 292, from a

transcript by Rowlands, the author of *Mona Antiqua*, purporting to be from a Bangor Register, occurring in a transcript of an Insepimus of Henry VIII. tested at Westminster, March 4, 1 Hen. VIII. (1510), and in which the charter 23 Hen. VII., printed above, was likewise recited and confirmed. Google

hujusmodi tenentes et inhabitantes ac eorum heredes et successores et eorum quilibet sint et sit liberi et liber, ac officia Vicecomitatus, Majoratus, Custodum pacis, Ballivatus, Constabulariatus, ac alia officia quecumque eis consona, si ad officia illa electi aut evocati fuerint aut eorum aliquis electus aut evocatus fuerit, infra Angliam et in burgis et in villis Anglicanis infra Walliam libere gerere, tenere, gaudere, et occupare valeant et possint ac valeat et possit licite, quiete, bene, et in pace; et quod iidem tenentes et inhabitantes et eorum heredes et successores et eorum quilibet sint et esse possint Burgenses et eorum quilibet sit et esse possit Burgensis in aliquibus et quibuslibet hujusmodi burgis et villis Anglicanis in Wallia, et pro Burgensibus in burgis et villis predictis habeantur et reputentur ac unusquisque eorum habeatur et reputetur, consimilibus et in eisdem modo et forma quibus Anglici impresenciarum existunt, habentur, et reputantur, absque contradictione, impedimento, perturbacione, molestacione, inquietacione, seu gravamine quocunque nostri ve(l) heredum nostrorum aut officiariorum seu ministrorum nostrorum aut aliorum quorumcumque: Et insuper concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris predictis, quod omnia illa terras, tenementa, redditus, reversiones, servicia, possessiones, et hereditamenta infra Comitatus predictos, que sunt de tenura de Gavelkynde aut de tenura Wallicana et inter heredes masculos divisibilia, decetero non sint divisibilia, sed primogenito vel seniori filio sive heredi discendencia (sic) et hereditabilia secundum modum et formam et prout terre et tenementa secundum legem communem regni nostri Anglie sunt descendencia, remanencia, seu revertabilia. Concessimus etiam pro nobis et dictis heredibus nostris, quod nullus tenencium aut inhabitancium predictorum aut aliquis eorum heredum seu successorum amodo amerietur sive ad solvend' americiamenta cogatur aliter aut alio modo quam Anglici infra villas Anglicanas Comitatum predictorum commorantes dant et solvunt aut dare et solvere coartantur; et quod quedam custuma sive exactio ibidem vocata Amober' decetero non exigatur, usitetur, seu levetur, sed omnimodo Amober' penitus deleatur, adnulletur,³ evacuetur, et irritetur imperpetuum: Et insuper cum sit in dictis Comitatibus usitatum, quod si Wallicus homo vocatus an Arthelman, vel Wallica mulier dicta an Arthelwoman, non habens exitum decesserit ab intestatus, vel testamentum suum rite condiderit et executores in eodem nominaverit et assignaverit, officarius ibidem appellatus Raglawe Arthell vult omnia bona hujusmodi decedentis in manus suas capere et seisire, accciam de qualibet persona vocata Arthelman vel Arthelwoman vult idem officarius quatuor denarios annuatim percipere, in detrimentum execucionis et perimpcionis voluntatum hujusmodi decedencium et contra communem justiciam; quapropter volumus et per presentes concedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris antedictis, quod dictus officarius vocatus Raglawe Arthell nec aliquis alius officarius deinceps infra dictos Comitatus aut eorum aliquem seisiat nec capiat aliqua talia bona nec aliquem partem eorundem nec aliquam monetam annuam pro eodem, sed quod dicta custuma de Arthell et quodlibet inde proficuum decetero cassetur nec alicujus sit effectus, sed quod homines et mulieres dicti Arthelmen et Arthelwomen sint liberi ac libere, condent et condere possint testimenta (sic)

³ In the Exemplification 1 James I., above printed from Mrs. Ormsby Gore's copy, and also in the charter printed in Arch. Camb., vol. ii. p. 294, this word is

written *admisetur*; probably by a clerical error, *na* having been read as *mi*, and *ll* as *ss*, according to the old long form of the letter *s*.

sua, aliqua provisione incontrarium habita sive usitata non obstante; et quod custume sive exactiones ibidem vocate Wodwardethe et Forestwrieth, [et] quedam exactio sive custuma vocata Kellehey decetero deleantur, exterminentur, nec aliqua denariorum summa de seu pro eisdem per silvanos seu forestarios infra Comitatus predictos aut eorum aliquem aut aliquos officarios quoscumque levetur neque levabilis existat; et quod quilibet sacerdos ac alius ecclesiasticus beneficiatus infra Comitatus predictos et eorum quemlibet libertatem habeat condendi testamentum suum, et quod quidem testamentum debite exequatur absque impedimento sive interrupcione Escaetoris aut alicujus alterius officarii sive ministri ibidem pro tempore existentis, statuto predicto aut aliquibus aliis statutis, actibus, ordinationibus, proclamacionibus, provisionibus, prescriptionibus, aut consuetudinibus incontrarium premissorum ante hec tempora factis, habitis, editis, ordinatis, provisio, seu usitatis, aut alia re, causa, vel materia quacunque in aliquo non obstante; et hoc absque aliquo fine seu feodo ad opus nostrum quovismodo solvendo seu capiendo. In cujus rei, &c. Datum nostro sub privato sigillo apud manerium nostrum de Richemount⁴ xiii^o. die Octobris anno regni nostri vicesimo (A.D. 1504).

RO. SAUNSON.

We are indebted to Mr. W. W. E. Wynne, M.P., for the following translation of the charter of March 3, 22 Henry VII., given above, in the Exemplification preserved among Mrs. Ormsby Gore's muniments. This old version, which has been pointed out by Mr. Wynne in one of the Hengwrt MSS., now in his library at Peniarth, Merionethshire, seems to have been written in 1548 by Lewis ap Noris Gethin, and transcribed in 1595 by Sir Thomas ap William, a learned lexicographer, genealogist, and physician in the reign of Elizabeth.⁵ The MS. in question is almost wholly in his handwriting; it contains transcripts of Welsh laws and documents, with historical collections of considerable interest.

⁴ The ancient manor-house at Sheen, Surrey, a favorite royal resort, was accidentally burned in 1499, and rebuilt by order of Henry VII., who in 1501 gave it the name of Richmond, in allusion, it is stated, to his earldom of that name in Yorkshire. He frequently resided at Richmond in Surrey, in great state, and there died in 1509. Lysons' Environs, vol. i. p. 438.

⁵ See Wood's *Athenæ*, and Williams' *Dict. of Eminent Welshmen*, p. 537. It does not appear that he ever took a degree in medicine, but he was in holy orders, and hence is usually called Sir Thomas ap William. The MS. kindly placed in our hands by Mr. Wynne contains a copy of the Laws of Howel Ddha, "ex Latino exemplari in multis corrupto

et partim restituta per Tho : Guilielmi Cambrobrytanum, Medicum, 1594." There are also genealogical collections in Welsh, evidences relating to Bardsea, a charter granted by the Black Prince, Nov. 1, 1365, to the abbot and convent there, and a list of Indulgences granted to pilgrims and benefactors to that monastery. With Welsh poetry and miscellaneous collections are moreover found the legend of St. Daniel, Bishop of Bangor, and a relation of the discovery of the remains of Sir Gerard Braybook in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, in 1608, with a copy of the Pardon from Boniface IX., found upon the breast of the corpse, and printed by Dugdale, *Hist. St. Paul's*, p. 46, ed. 1658.

THE CHARTER AND MANUMISSIONE (EXEMPTION, *interlined*) GEVENE BY
HENRIE THE vijth TO THE INHABITAUNTES AND FREE TENAUNTES OF THE
COUNTIES OF ANGLESEY, CARNARVON, AND MERIONYTH.

(From Hengwrt MS. no. 204.)

Henrie by the grace of God Kyng of England and of France and Lorde of Irelande to all men to whome these presents leters shall come sendeth greetinge. Knowe ye that although in y^e parliament of Lorde Henrie the iiijth late Kyng of Englande oure progenitore holden at Westminster the secunde yeere of hys reingne by the auctoritie of the sayd parliament yt hath bene ordayne, enacted, and statutid that no Walshman or man of Wales ought or myght have or obtayne anye landes, lordshippes, maners, townes, villages, rentes, reversions, or service, or anye manere of heretages within England or any kinges or English townes within Wales to be holden to them or the heyres in fee simple or fee tayle, or by any other manere, as in the same statute more playnly is conteyned; and although in the parliament of our sayd Lord Henrie the iiijth late Kyng of Englande in the iiijth yeere of hys reigne at Westminster by y^e auctoritie of hys parlamente amonge other thinges, yt hath bene ordayne that no manere of Walshman or man of Wales shoulde bear, hold or occupie under a certene peine in the sayd statute expresse and limitede (as in the sayd statute mor playnly is conteynede) any office of Shyreffe, Maiore, Bailife, Constable, or other lyk in citie, towne, or burgh within Englande, or anye burgh or Englishe townes within Wales: notwithstandinge we inwardly consyderinge the good, free, and laudable service the which oure wel-belovede subjectes, tenauntes, and inhabitauntes within oure Counties of Angleseye, Caernarvon, and Merionyth in Northwales have done unto us diverslie befor this tyme and do daylie, of oure speciale grace and of certeine knowledge and of oure meer movinge, also by the advisement of oure Counseile, we have graunted for us and oure heyres that all and everie of them theyr heyres and successors and eche of them may have, use, and injoye from henceforth thoroughout all the sayd Counties all theyr landes, tenementes, possessiouns, and hereditamentes the which they be possessed of, or being in theyr handes by any maner or any of them and everych of them may hold [to] them, theyr heyres and assignes in fee simple or in fee tayle, by any maner of terme of lyfe or of yeeres or anye other manere for ever; and the same landes, tenementes, with other thinges afor named, as well by theyr deed as otherwise to alienate, feefe, geve, and sell in fee simple, or any manere of fee tayle, to terme of lyfe or for yeeres, or any other maners, to any manere of persones, quietlie and peaceblie without anye fine to be payd therfor to us and oure heyres for which manere of landes and other the premisses, without contradiccion, impedimente, molestation or any grefe of us or oure heyres, officers, bailifes, or of oure serrauntes or any maner of other men, any custome, manere, cause, maner, or use within the forseyd Counties contrarie to the premisses aforseyd notwithstandinge. We have graunted also for us and oure heyres that as well oure native tenauntes, or inhabitauntes in our Counties aforseyd, theyr heyres and successors, as native to the Byshopp of Bangor and all Abotes dewe, may have generale manumission and

libertie by the tenure of thes presentes, and may injoye and use and ech of theym from hencefurth theyr landes of free tenure, yelding therfor yeerlie as well to us as to the forsayd Byshop of Bangor and to all Abbates [the rents] afor due and accustomed for every [ex]actione, service, and custome therefor afor yelding due and payd as oure free tenauntes and inhabitauntes in oure forsayd Counties have done or have bene wonte to doe; and that non of the tenauntes abyding or dwelling in the Counties aforseyd, theyr heyres and successors, nor any of theym be compelled or constreigned from hencefurth to go under to serve or occupie the charge of Ryngyllid, nor to other taxes or treythes telaijes¹ or mises or any fines of penies due to us or to any other man by reasone of the office of Ryngyllidh aforseyd, nor may be constreigned to any other thinges to be geathered or levied in any manere, or may runne in anye peine of forfeite by reasone of such manere of geatheringe, but may be dyscharged therof and acquieted for evermore; we have graunted for us and oure heyres that non of the tenauntes or inhabitauntes aforseyd or any of theym or theyr successores may be compelled or constreigned to paye any relifes, customes or exactionns ther cauled Abediw ditivedd or Bedews ditivedd, also other customes in English named pole pennes, in Walsh cauled Ceinioc penn Arian yryspsyde, also for the reparacion of maneris otherwise named Gwaith llys and Arian pentai, nor also other customes in Welsh cauled Fin Caer and da Terryne, or of the store of the lord otherwise cauled Stor vawr, or Stor Justus and Carias, also of the feding of y^e stalione and the charges of the kepere of y^e same, otherwise cauled porthiant stalwyn and Gwas, of the forester with his dogges, Arian Ceŵlo, Cyleh y Blawd, and Butre, and of the workes of mylles and of the feedinge of Pencais and Gweision bychain, also of all and everie fines and pennes for the same customes afor asked or to be asked, may be constreigned otherwise or by other maner then the burgeses of the towne of Beomarish or menn dwelling in any English towne within our principalitie of Northwales geven or payd or be constreigned to geve or pay, but that all customes and thes exaccions from hencefurth may be done awaye and determined nor shalle not be used afterward; also all other customes or due exaccions the which the forsayd tenauntes and inhabitauntes thorough all the Counties aforseyd have bene wont to paye afor the making of thes presentes may also be done away utterlye, nor fines of pennes or of the same customes aforseyd or any of theym within the forsayd Counties or any of theym howsoever they be payd, levied or to be leavable, but the tenauntes and inhabitauntes aforseyd, theyr heyres and successors, and every of theym henceforth may be quiete of the premisses for evere; and that the Sheref of y^e Countie of Anglesey shall keepe or cause to be kepte all his Shyres within the towne of Newburgh and not elsewhere, and that they hold the sayde Shyres from moneth to monethe and from yeere to yeere in tymes to come for evere. We have graunted also for us and oure heyres that as well tenauntes and inhabitauntes aforseyd as other straunge persones of what condicioun soever they be cominge to our Counties aforseyd for any goodes, thinges, or cattaeles bought or sould or to be bought or to be sould within the forsayd Counties and goinge agayne from the sayd Counties, they and theyr heyres and successors may be quiete and dyscharged of tolles, stallages, passages, and customes thorough all the Counties aforseyd as well within the towne

¹ Written telaijes, probably for tallages. See Latin text, p. 71, ante.

of Beomarish as other English townes within oure principalitie of North Wales dwelling as withoute, and that the forsayd tenauntes and inhabitauntes and other straunge persones shall not be compelled nor constreigned nor any of theym may be compelled or constreigned by us, oure heyres, or tolletakers, bailifes, fermers, servauntes or any other officers ther to paye any tolle, stalages, passages, or customes within the Counties and places aforseyd for any goodes, thinges or cattaeles boughte or sold or to be bought or sold, but of the premisses from henceforth thorough all the Counties aforseyd they be quiete and dyscharged and everie of theym may be quiete and dyscharged for evere. We have graunted also for us [and] oure heyres that if any of the tenauntes or inhabitauntes aforseyd theyr heyres or successors shall dye untestied² the excheator or any other officer ther shall not intromitt in the name of us or of oure heyres of such cattayles and debtes of the man discesinge, but the dispositione may cesse and shalbe reverted by the ordinarie of the place to the use of the heyres and nexte cosyngs or frendes of the man discesinge. We have graunted also for us and oure heyres that if any of the tenauntes or inhabitauntes be maynprised, or afterward be to be maynprised, of or for good abearing or to keepe the peax at oure suet, or at the suete of any other persone, that such one maynprised or to be maynprised be not compelled or constreigned to appere afor oure Justice of North Wales at the Sessiouns ther holden in oure forsayd Counties of North Wales from henceforth but once in the yeere, that is, in the nexte Sessioun imediatly after the fest of Saint Michael the archangel; and if the principales or principale maynprised do appear personalye in oure Sessiouns afor oure Justices, that then the suerties shall have no hurte for such maner of men or man so maynprised, but shalbe utterly without hurte or harme of anye forfeiture; and that the tenauntes and inhabitauntes aforseyd may [not] be charged or compelled by the aforseyd Justices, or by the prenotarie or prenotaries, or by any of the clerkes of the same Courtes, to paye no further fee but ij. d. for the fee of maynprisinge or any of theym; and in case wherin any of theym the tenauntes and inhabitauntes aforseyd by inquisition or informacion shalbe accused of any felonie or forfeiting of the peax he wilbe readie to awnswer by due forme of the lawe, that the prenotarie or prenotaries and other clerkes of the same Courtes ther shalbe contente for theyr fees and rewardes to tak ij. s., and that non of theym may be releaxed and dyscharged thereof for evere. We have graunted for us and oure heyres that oure free tenauntes and inhabitauntes aforseyd may be hable to inquier and that they may inquier or mak inquisition in all maner of causes concerninge English persones as English persones aforseyd inquieren or mak inquisitione in thinges concerning Walsh persones; and such maner inquisitione so taken or presented by the forsayd tenauntes or inhabitauntes Walshmen may be had in strength, and that no impediment may let or withstand from henceforth oure forsayd tenauntes Walshmen in y^e premisses; and that baylife errante within the Counties aforseyd or anye of theym shall receive nor perceve non other fees for th'exercisinge of theyr office but as is allowed in our Courtes for such bailifes in oure Excheaquor ther, any custome or due exaccione asked or used for the same afor tyme in any maner notwithstandinge; and that without any fine or fee therfor to be payd or takene to oure use. In wytnes wherof we have caused thes oure leters

² In the margin is written—Intestate.

patentes to be made. Teste meipso apud Westmest' iij. die Martii anno regni nostri vicesimo secundo.

Per ipsum Regem auctoritate parlamenti, anno supradicto.³ Scripsit Lewis ap Noris Gethin, xxij. die Aprilis anno Regis Edwardi sexti secundo.

Transcripsi ego 16 die Decembris anno regni reginæ Elizabeth Dei gracia tricesimo octavo, anno domini nostri Jesu Christi incarnati 1595.

Per Tho: Guilielmi,⁴ medicum.

Among Records of the Treasury of the Exchequer formerly at the Chapter House, now removed to the Public Record Office, an abstract of the two foregoing charters of Henry VII. has been preserved. (Wallis, Supplementary Bag, no. 32.) Through the kindness of the Hon. William O. Stanley, M.P., a transcript has been placed in our hands, as before mentioned. The heading is as follows—"Henricus, Dei gracia nuper Rex Anglie et Francie septimus per cartas suas concessit omnibus et singulis tenentibus et inhabitantibus infra Comitatus Angles', Caern', et Merioneth in Northwallia libertates et privelegia subscripta." The passage in which enumeration is made of certain reliefs, customs, and exactions remitted by the charter 22 Hen. VII. (compare p. 71, *supra*, and the English version, p. 80), supplies some various readings of Welsh terms, the interpretation of which has presented considerable difficulty, as will be seen in the sub-joined Glossarial Notes. It has therefore seemed desirable to give in full that portion of the abstract, as follows:—

"Aceciam quod nullus eorum compellatur ad solvenda aliqua relevia, custumas, sive exaciones ibidem vocata obediw ditibedd aut obediwie ditibedd, necnon indebitas exaciones pro pastu porcorum vocato tackys, Wallice vocato arian moch, neque polpens, Wallice vocat' Kennok Ken', arian respice, nec de reparacione maneriorum aliter vocata gwaithe liis, arian gwaith, et arian petai, neque custumas alias vocatas Fyne Kaer et Datvyn,⁴ aut de staur domini vocat' stere yawre vel store Istys, et karias, nec de pastu stallonis vocato porthiant Stalwyn et gwias (sic), de pastu lucrar'⁵ cum canibus, arian Keble, Keirch, blawe, et buttur, et de oneribus molendinorum, de pastu Pencais et Gweission' bygheyn."

³ From the MS. it might at first be thought that the words "Anno supradicto" were to be read with those which immediately follow, but on consideration we are convinced that they must be read in connection with the preceding words.

⁴ This genitive case is doubtless equivalent to the patronymic Williams.

⁵ Possibly for Datervyn, by a clerical error, the mark of contraction after *t* being omitted.

⁶ The corresponding words are written in Mrs. Ormsby Gore's copy—*lucra* cum canibus,—but elsewhere, and in Robert Vaughan's explanations of words (Hengwrt MS.) *lucra*. The difficulty, however, of distinguishing *t* from *c* in the writing of

the period is well known, and we should probably read *lutra*, and *lutrar'* (for *lutraris*); there seems little doubt that allusion is made to provision which some villans were bound to supply for the prince's or lord's otter-hunter and his dogs. See the Glossarial Notes under Killghey. In the old translation, given above from Mr. Wynne's MS., the passage is rendered—"the forester with his dogges." It appears by the context that the "chacea de fynbryn," Record of Caern., pp. 138, 139, 140, 142, signified otter-hunting; no such word as *fynbryn* occurring in the Welsh dictionaries, it may be supposed to be a variation of *Fiber*, which generally signifies a beaver.

GLOSSARIAL NOTES.

Ring', ringyll, ring'ild.—Among explanations of words given by Robert Vaughan in one of the Hengwrt MS. in Mr. Wynne's library,⁷ we find "Ringildr; the officer that leyed the princes rent of assiz, and that by compulsion." Wotton interprets it thus,—“in aula *præco*, in curia *apparitor* qui partes litigantes, testes, et advocatos citabat.” Richards gives, “Rhingyll, the crier of a court, an apparitor, a summoner.” The term occurs frequently in the Ancient Laws of Wales, vol. i. pp. 188, 448, 762; vol. ii. p. 524. See also Record of Caernarvon, Introd. p. xii.

Amobr', amobyr.—A payment on the marriage or seduction of a tenant's daughter, or on the tenant's adultery. Robert Vaughan gives,—“Amobr; the parentes were forced to pay fyne if eny of their daughters or neere kinswomen committed fornicacion, and the parentes distrained.” Hengwrt MS. The term is of frequent occurrence in the Welsh Laws; see Index in v., Rowlands' observations on Mulcts, *Mona Antiqua*, p. 131, and Richards' Dictionary. The nature of the custom was fully discussed by Mr. Salt in a memoir on documents relating to the Honor, Forest, and Borough of Clun, read at the Meeting of the Archæological Institute at Shrewsbury in 1855, and privately printed by the author in 1858.

Officia Ragl' et Ragl' Advocar'.—Raglaw, Raglottus, a collector or bailiff; “Rhaglaw, a lieutenant, a deputy, a governor or ruler under a superior,” Richards' Dict. A Rhaglaw, according to the Glossary in the Welsh Laws, was the sheriff or deputy (*vicecomes*). See the duties of the *Raglottus Advocariæ*, Record of Caern., Introd. p. xi.

Arthellman, arthellwoman.—These should seem to have been a kind of serfs, who paid fourpence a year to the lord, and whose goods, in case of death without issue, were liable to be taken by the lord. From the context the arthellmen and arthellwomen appear to have been Welsh. In the translation of the Ancient Welsh Laws we find the following passage, in which the arthellman seems to be mentioned,—“Three persons who pay an ebidw of threescore pence, a king's tæog, an arddelw man, and an alltud, whom the king has enfranchised.” Ancient Laws of Wales, vol. ii. p. 609.

Woodward, wodwardethe, forestwrieth.—Robert Vaughan gives, “Woodwardirth; the woodwardship of the forest; this is yet in other places. Forestorieth; all the exacions and money leyed in the forest except woodwardshyp.” Hengwrt MS.

Kylghey, kellehey.—Robert Vaughan gives, in his explanations of terms occurring in these documents, “Kylchey, viz. kylch staloun, kylch dou'goun, gwysioun bych'aun, &c.; when eny of the princes officers course cam to eny Townshipp then they of that towne found their diet for a day or too for the officers.” Hengwrt MS. See Wotton, and Richards' Dict. under *Cylch*, and the Glossary appended to the Ancient Laws of Wales. In the Introduction to the Record of Caernarvon, p. x., it is stated that

⁷ Records relating to Wales, Hengwrt MS., No. 119. We are indebted to the kindness of W. W. E. Wynne, Esq., M.P., for the use of this valuable MS., the whole of which is in the handwriting of the *Marionethshire* antiquary, Robert Vaughan, of Hengwrt, who died in 1667. It contains a short glossarial list, re-

peatedly cited in these glossarial notes, and thus entitled: “Les auncient parols et costumes de Northgales que istent recyte dans le graunt et charter del Roy Henry le 7 jades Roy Denglitere lan de soun reigne vinct”; and also of words in the charter of 22 Hen. VII.

annual services to which each village, &c., was subject were called Kilgh, in modern Welsh Cyle, a yearly custom of provision or other things paid to the prince's officers by those who held lands under him. In that Record occur Kilgh' for herds, hawks, and stallions; Kilgh' dourgon, for the prince's hounds with which the otter was hunted; Kilgh' Raglot', &c. Payments occur "pro venatore fimbrium," namely, otters; some villans provided "prandium et potum pro venatore fimbrium"; and the mention of the "chacea de Fynbryn" shows how much that sport was in vogue.

Trethes.—In Welsh trêth signifies a tax or tribute. Robert Vaughan gives "Trethes; certayne fynes, payments, and exaccions." Hengwrt MS.

Abedeo detevedd aut beddewoyes detewedd'.—These terms seem to be nearly synonymous; abediw, ebediw, or obediw, supposed by Dr. Wotton to be derived from the Latin *obitu*, was, according to Richards and other writers, a heriot, but the context would seem to show that it was a relief; the former being a chattel, the latter a sum of money, which became due to the lord on the death of a tenant. Dietifedd signifies in Welsh issueless or without issue, therefore the two words combined signify a payment on the death of a tenant without issue. See also Rowlands' observations on Obediw, *Mona Antiqua*, p. 131. Robert Vaughan gives, "Abedeo detevedd, Bedews detefedd; relyffes of xx s. when one dyed without issue of his body." Hengwrt MS.

Arian moch.—Swine money, some payment for the maintenance or shack of swine, as is shown by the context. *Takkes* is not Welsh, but an English term occurring in old records.

Keniok pen.—For Ceiniog pen, head money.

Arian respite.—Probably the latter word is for the English legal term "respite," and the meaning of the two respite money, or a capitation tax derived from the commutation of some general service or duty that had been respited or indefinitely deferred.

Gwayth llis.—Hall or court work, work done at the hall or court.

Arian gwayth.—Work money, some commutation for work that might have been required.

Arian Pentay.—House money, probably some commutation for work that might have been required to be done at the manor house.

Fine Kayr.—Fin is a boundary and also a fine; Kayr is probably for caer. Could this have been some contribution or payment towards a town or castle?

De Tervene.—The context shows this was equivalent to *staurum domini*. For *de* Robert Vaughan's transcript in Mr. Wynne's MS. has *da*, which signifies goods, chattels, or cattle. Tervene should seem to be used for Teyrn, a prince. We read in *Mona Antiqua*, p. 125, of the *staurum principis*, which was an annual payment of a certain number of oxen and cows.

Store vawer; store istis.—These it is evident from the context are other equivalents of *staurum domini*. *Store vawer* is great store or stock. Nothing has been discovered that throws any light on *istis*.

Caries.—From the association and use of this word in the Royal Letter it should seem to have meant the same as *Gwayth*, i.e., work of some kind.

Porthiant stalwyn et Gways.—Maintenance of a horse and groom.

Arian keulo, kirch, blawde, et butur.—If these words refer to the otter-
unter and his dogs, they probably meant money for his and their main-

tenance, or for finding him with curds, oats, bread-corn, and butter. The meal-rent (see Cowel) in the Honor of Clun seems to have been a payment of a similar kind. Bread and butter payments, however, occur so frequently in the Welsh Laws, that these words may not have had any reference to the otter-hunter or his dogs.

Pennkays.—Probably for *Pencaes*, a receiver-general, a head treasurer.

Gweision beighn'.—For *gweision vychain*, small servants or lads. Possibly, judging from its association here with *Pennkays*, it may have meant his clerks or assistants. See also Robert Vaughan's note *supra*, under *Killghey*.

ALBERT WAY AND WESTON S. WALFORD.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

December 4, 1863.

The Very Rev. CANON ROCK, D.D., in the Chair.

THIS being the first meeting of another session, and the first occasion on which the members assembled in the commodiously-situated apartments in Burlington Gardens, the chairman opened the proceedings with a short address. He congratulated the members of the Institute on the satisfactory issue of the congress at Rochester under the auspices of the Marquess Camden. The meeting held in Kent had given a fresh impulse in that county to the exertions of the historian and the archæologist; the field of research which for several years had so well repaid the labors of the local society had proved still teeming with materials of high interest; on no occasion, probably, had the advantages accruing from such gatherings been more fully shown, whilst the communications to the sectional meetings had been almost without exception illustrative of local antiquities or history. Amongst these the memoir, by the Master of Caius College, on Cæsar's landing in Britain, occupied a ground of more than ordinary interest. The Emperor of the French, being informed that this difficult question would be brought under consideration, had directed the accomplished antiquary and confidential agent of His Imperial Majesty, M. Alfred Maury, to proceed to Rochester, and to prepare an accurate statement of the discussions on a subject of essential interest to the Imperial biographer. The Memoirs of Julius Cæsar, to which the Emperor's attention has for several years been devoted, will, it is understood, ere long be given to the world. Canon Rock, in noticing numerous accessions to the list of members of the Institute during the annual meeting in Kent, observed that he could not refrain from expressing also a tribute of hearty esteem and regret to the memory of several valued fellow-labourers, whose loss since their last meeting in London the Institute had to lament; especially Professor Cockerell, one of the earliest and most valued of their friends, Mr. Botfield, Mr. Henry Rhind, of Sibster, and, very recently, Mr. Bowyer Nichols, whose long life had been devoted to pursuits kindred to their own, and who might well be honored as the Nestor of Archæology.

The special attention of the members was then invited to the threatened injuries to which the Roman grave-mounds on the borders of Essex and Cambridgeshire, known as the Bartlow Hills, had been reported to be exposed, through the projected construction of a branch railway to be carried, according to the proposed scheme, between two of those interesting tumuli, cutting away the base on either side. The Central Committee had lost no time, when informed of the encroachment with which these unique sepulchres are threatened; they had addressed an urgent appeal to the Directors early in the previous month. The correspondence which passed

between the Committee and the Great Eastern Railway Company was read by Mr. Purnell, including the following reply from Mr. Sinclair, the chief Engineer :—

“ Engineer’s Office, Stratford, 24th November, 1863.

“ SIR,—I have only this moment received your letter of the 11th instant, to the Chairman of the Great Eastern Railway, on the subject of the Bartlow Hills, and I hasten to assure you that no injury whatever to those interesting monuments has ever been contemplated by me. It was necessary to run the line of railway between two of them, but precautions were taken to prevent their being materially interfered with.

“ I shall see my resident Engineer to-morrow, and will repeat my injunctions to him to leave the Hills undisturbed, and in the course of a few days I shall have the honour of sending you a section through all the four hills, showing the manner in which our line is intended to pass them.

“ Although not a member of your Society, I have far too great a sympathy with its object to disturb willingly any remnants of the olden time.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed)

“ ROBERT SINCLAIR.

“ Thomas Purnell, Esq.,

“ Sec. Arch. Instit. of Great Britain.”

The further consideration of this subject was deferred until the receipt of the section thus courteously promised by the Chief Engineer of the Company.

The Rev. Dr. COLLINGWOOD BRUCE, F.S.A., placed before the meeting, by the courteous permission of the Duke of Northumberland, an extensive series of drawings executed, by His Grace’s desire, by the skilful pencil of Mr. D. Mossman. They represent incised markings of doubtful import occurring upon rocks in Northumberland, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Wooler, Doddington, and Old Bewick; they have been found in the vicinity of the ancient entrenched works in the district surrounding the Cheviots, which have been recently surveyed, by the Duke’s directions, by Mr. Henry Mac Lauchlan. Dr. Bruce exhibited also rubbings and mouldings in gutta percha, which he had taken from some of the most remarkable rock-markings, consisting chiefly of incised concentric circles traversed in one direction by lines which proceed from a central point or cavity. These curious vestiges were first brought under the notice of archaeologists by the Rev. W. Greenwell, of Durham, now President of the Tyneside Club of Antiquaries and Naturalists, a memoir on the subject having been read by him at the annual meeting of the Institute at Newcastle, in 1852. A short notice of the numerous markings near Ford, in Northumberland, was shortly after published by Dr. Johnson, of Berwick, in his *Natural History of the Northern Borders*, from the account communicated by Mr. Greenwell, and accompanied by an engraving from a drawing executed by him, which represents a remarkable rock adjacent to a small entrenchment at Rowting Linn, near Doddington. This mysterious subject had subsequently attracted the notice of Sir Gardner Wilkinson, by whom some notices have been given in the *Journal of the Archaeological Association*, vol. xvi. 1860, p. 118. The Duke of Northumberland, a few years since, stimulated further investigations, and personally examined the various places where such markings had been noticed. Numerous vestiges of the same class were brought to light shortly after through His Grace’s suggestions, especially by the Rev. W. Procter, of Doddington, and other

residents in that part of Northumberland. Some examples had been discovered on rocks concealed under an accumulation of mould covered by rank vegetation, and indicating the lapse of many years since these circles had there been traced. The origin of such markings, and the period or race to which they may be assigned, remain, as Dr. Bruce stated, without satisfactory explanation. The Duke of Northumberland, with the noble patronage of researches into the history and antiquities of his county which he has shown in so remarkable a degree, has directed that representations of all these mysterious traces of the earlier inhabitants of the Northern Marches should be prepared for publication, for the purpose of eliciting information regarding any like vestiges which may occur in any other parts of the British Isles or in foreign countries, and to afford to archæologists accurate materials for investigation of so curious a subject. It is remarkable that, as Dr. Bruce observed, these markings appear to have been produced by a metal implement; this is shown by indications of tooling in the grooved lines, wrought as if by an iron chisel upon the hard rocks of the Cheviot district. He mentioned that a few similar markings had been noticed near Scarborough, also in North Britain, and in the Orkneys.

Mr. FERGUSON, of Morton, near Carlisle, to whose most kind exertions and courtesy the Institute was greatly indebted during the meeting at Carlisle, in 1859, gave an account of Roman remains found on the south-east side of that city; he exhibited some of the relics there discovered which had come into his possession, and photographs of the whole collection. In recent building operations near the great thoroughfare towards the south, still known as London Road, various antiquities and interments have been found; it is probable that the ancient cemetery of *Lugwallium* was on that side of the city. In August last a fine two-handled vase, 15½ in. in height, in perfect preservation, was disinterred in Devonshire Street, accompanied by other Roman remains, amongst which is a fragment of a Samian vessel, having on its under side characters traced with a sharp point; this *graffito* may be read—VATICONYM, OR, VATICONIS · M · —for *manu*, indicating a potter's name. A discovery of considerable interest also occurred in Grey Street, near the old station of the Newcastle Railway, in digging foundations about 4½ ft. deep, on ground not previously disturbed. The objects brought to light consist of a square cist of red sandstone, carefully hollowed out, as is also its cover; in this cist lay a glass vase in remarkably good preservation, measuring 12 in. in height; breadth of each side, 5 in.: it has one broad handle, strongly ribbed, and it contained burned bones, to one of which an iron nail was found adhering. On the under side is the letter M, within a circle, probably a mark of the maker. A similar vase, of rather smaller size, is described by the Rev. E. Trollope as found at Lincoln, and is figured in this Journal, vol. xvii. p. 3. On the mouth of the glass *ossuarium* lay, as described by Mr. Ferguson, a lamp of light cream-colored ware; and on its left was a small urn of dark ware. The cist measures 2 ft. by 22 in., the height being also 22 in. Upon the cover lay a fragment of an inscribed slab, upon which may be decyphered the letter M (probably D M), and part of a second line—RIVS. A second roughly-squared block was found, with a circular cavity containing a small urn of pale red ware, possibly a heart-deposit; the little vase was filled with dark moist mould. A fragment of sculpture (length, 22 in.) lay about six feet from these remains; it is much mutilated,

representing a lion devouring the head of a bull, of which one of the horns appears under the lion's mouth.¹ Several examples of a like Mithraic symbolism have occurred with Roman remains, such as the large lions found at *Cataractonium*, and exhibited by Sir W. Lawson, in the Museum of the Institute, at the York meeting. Museum Catalogue, p. 8. Horsley gives two lions, found at Corbridge, with their fore-paws resting on bulls' heads; also other similar sculptures from Walwick, Northumberland, and Stanwicks, Cumberland, Stations *per lineam valli*. Mr. Ferguson brought also for examination nine objects of iron, found upon or near the principal deposit; owing to the singular forms assumed by the blistered and corroded metal, these relics present a certain resemblance to human figures, and had been regarded by some persons as *lares* standing upon small pedestals. The supposition, however, seems unfounded, and they are probably large, broad-headed iron nails, not unfrequently found accompanying Roman deposits, and which probably had been used in the construction of a stout, external chest of wood. See Mr. Roach Smith's Coll. Ant., vol. iii. p. 19. The largest of the nails exhibited measures, in its broken state, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length.

Mr. R. M. PHIPSON, of Norwich, gave a short description of a recent discovery in Holbrook Church near Ipswich, to which the attention of the Society had been called by Sir John Boileau, Bart. In the course of restorations of that fabric, under Mr. Phipson's directions, a diminutive effigy, measuring about 18 in. in length, which lay in a small arched recess in the north wall of the chancel, had been displaced; under the slab on which the figure is sculptured, a small circular cavity was found immediately beneath the part where the breast of the effigy is situated; in this depository had been placed a covered vessel of brass; fragments of thin metal with an acorn-shaped knob in which the cover terminated, were exposed to view, accompanied by *débris* and dust having an aromatic odour, portions of charcoal and lime, possibly also of decayed animal matter, but no bony substance could be distinctly traced. It has been supposed that this vessel, measuring about $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter, and 5 in. in height, may have contained a human heart, which in other instances has been found accompanied by a miniature effigy sometimes represented as holding a heart or heart-shaped box between the hands conjoined upon the breast. The cavity was carefully cut and neatly finished; the vase precisely fitted it, so that the knob on its cover would almost touch the under surface of the slab upon which the figure is carved. Mr. Phipson brought the fragments of the vase, &c. for inspection, with drawings of the little figure, which has been intentionally defaced, so that the costume and other details cannot now be ascertained; also of the niche in which it is placed, and of a fine doorway of Early English character, adjacent to the niche, to the eastward, and now forming the approach to a vestry built about 1830, on the north side of the chancel, where probably a chantry or sepulchral chapel had formerly stood. The doorway and niche, and the mouldings, are of good work, of the time of Edward I.; the small figure, as we learn from Mr. Blore, who has recently visited Holbrook with the kind intention of examining and making drawings of these remains for our information, is sadly battered and damaged, but it retains sufficient indications of its original condition to lead to the conclusion that it was one of those

¹ This and the principal relics above described are figured, Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass., March, 1864, p. 84.

miniature effigies, mostly represented as cross-legged, which we meet with at that period. Mr. Blore believes that this figure may likewise have been in that attitude; there may have been a heart-shaped object between the hands upon the breast; the proportions are singularly dwarfed and clumsy, and scarcely a vestige remains of the original carved surface. Sir John Boileau remarked that the small mural recess at Holbrook, with its curious accessories, recalled that in Leybourne church, Kent, which he had lately visited during the Rochester Meeting of the Institute. A remarkable leaden vase, enclosing, as it is believed, the heart of Sir Roger de Leyburn, had there been brought to light, as related by the Rev. L. Larking, in the *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. v. p. 136. Some interesting particulars regarding Holbrook church and its monuments may be found in Davy's Suffolk Collections in the British Museum, Add. MS. 19,105, pp. 50, 51, 56. The manor of Holbrook was held by a family of that name in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the singular memorial noticed by Mr. Phipson may have commemorated one of the possessors or some person of their kindred, who was a benefactor to the fabric of the church towards the close of the thirteenth century.

General LEFROY, R.A., read an interesting memoir on two ancient cannon at Mont St. Michel, in Normandy, left there by the English besiegers of the fortress after the unsuccessful assault in 1423-24. It has been published, at Woolwich, in the *Royal Artillery Journal*, accompanied by diagrams and the narrative by Professor Pole, F.R.S., of his explorations in September last, in quest of these remarkable specimens of English artillery. General Lefroy exhibited also several photographs obtained by that gentleman, to whom we are indebted for so curious a contribution to the history of English warfare in the time of Henry VI.

Mr. HEWITT gave an account of a richly ornamented sword supposed to have belonged to the ill-fated Duke of Monmouth; it was exhibited by the kindness of the Rev. J. E. Waldey, and of Mr. Allsop of Cheltenham. This notice is printed in this volume, p. 62.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. W. PHILLIPS.—Several bronze celts and weapons found in the Isle of Portland, consisting of four celts discovered there, beneath the vestiges of Roman occupation, in the excavations for the defences now in course of construction by Government. Also a bronze sword-blade, a spear-head, and an arrow-head, an object of stone supposed to have been a sling-bullet, and a small Roman coin; the whole of these relics were from Portland.

By the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE.—A beautiful cameo on sardonyx of two strata; it is of oval form and unusually large dimensions, measuring $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 6 in. This choice specimen of glyptic art, which was obtained by the Chancellor of the Exchequer from the Hertz collection, represents Jupiter and Thetis. The great Jove appears in an unusual attitude, seated on a rock under a drooping laurel tree; his right hand leans upon a sceptre, whilst in the left he grasps a thunderbolt; at his feet reposes the eagle, seen in profile, with half-spread wings. The lower part of the figure of the god is clothed with a *chiton*; opposite to him stands Thetis, holding in her left hand the falling drapery of her *peplos*, and entreating

Jupiter to bestow weapons on her son Achilles. This cameo is considered to be one of the finest works of the cinque-cento period; the subject is treated with such admirable skill and conformity to antique design, that the gem has been regarded by some judges of art as a production of the Greek or of the Greco-Roman school of art.

By the Rev. JAMES BECK.—Photographs of casts of remarkable human remains lately exhumed at Pompeii. See Proceedings Soc. Ant., vol. ii. 2nd ser. p. 286.

By Mr. EDMUND WATERTON, F.S.A.—Several valuable rings, recent additions to his *dactyliotheca*. A massive Roman ring of gold set with an intaglio of a grasshopper; gold ring from Sicily, thirteenth century, set with an antique intaglio; gold ring from Sicily, set with a pearl attached to the bezel, which projects considerably; silver ring inscribed, in black letter—abel + diabel + gugul + gugul + a—fourteenth century; silver signet ring, engraved with the letters—lr—; another, with a crowned letter I; and a third, with the initial R. Also a gold “iconographic” ring, finely chased, found near York, fifteenth century; within the hoop is engraved, in black letter, the *chanson* or *posy*—de · bon · cor · —; a gold ring set with a garnet, sixteenth century; and a gold ring, seventeenth century, with an inscription in Sanscrit character; a pilgrim’s scallop shell, of iron, in *répoussé* work, fifteenth century, found lately at Bury St. Edmund’s and there purchased.

By Mr. W. BENNETT.—Silver ring found in a garden at Chapel-en-le-Frith, Derbyshire; it had been broken and so unskillfully repaired that an inscription around the hoop is not decypherable. By the form of the letters, however, and general fashion, the date appears to be about the middle of the fifteenth century.

By General LEFROY, R.A.—An instrument apparently intended to afford a very fine sight with a fire-arm, the principle being that of the perforated bead sight. It bears the date 1594.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—A culet of scale armour of Italian work; the scales are of russet steel, with engraved and gilded ornaments. It retains the original lining.—A hood of fine Oriental chain-mail, with a nasal of steel; the original lining has been preserved. This remarkable specimen was obtained at the capture of Seringapatam, in 1799. From the Codrington Collection.

By Mr. HENDERSON, F.S.A.—Three Chinese vases of metal, choice specimens of Chinese *cloisonné* enamel; one of them decorated with the rare imperial yellow coloring.

By Mr. HEWITT.—A Persian dagger, with a hilt of ivory elaborately sculptured.—A dagger, with a hilt of crystal, the blade of watered steel: from Central India.—Ghoorka Kookree, an Oriental weapon, with knives and a purse; the mountings of chased silver.

By Mr. W. PHILLIPS.—A vase, or beaker of singular form, found at Fiesoli in 1862.

By Sir JOHN BOILEAU, Bart.—An admirable medallion of the distinguished historian, Henry Hallam, struck in bronze by Wyon, and portraying very artistically the striking features of that eminent writer.

By Mr. BIRCH, F.S.A.—Impression of a brass seal found at Colchester, in possession of the Rev. J. H. Pollexfen of that place. Of circular form, diam. nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ in., date fourteenth century. The device is a hare sitting, within a figure formed by two squares interlaced—SOHOY I GO. Several

seals of the period have been found with grotesque devices allusive to the hunting of the hare. One, of frequent occurrence, is given by the Rev. G. Dashwood in the second series of his "Sigilla Antiqua," of which he has kindly presented a copy to the Institute. Upon this seal, appended to a deed 5 Hen. V., the hare is seen mounted on a hound, and blowing a horn.—SOHOV ROBIN. See pl. 4, fig. 7. Another with the same device has the legend—ALLONE I RIDE I HAB NO SWEYN.

January 8, 1864.

The Rev. JOHN FULLER RUSSELL, B.C.L., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. PURNELL placed before the meeting a section of the tumuli at Bartlow, which had been prepared for the Institute by the Engineer of the Great Eastern Railway, in accordance with the promise in his previous communication, for the purpose of showing the course of the projected line between two of those remarkable grave-mounds. Mr. Sinclair renewed the assurance of his desire to obviate, as far as practicable, the apprehended injury; and he explained the precautions which he proposed to take, in accordance with the conditions of the conveyance of the land from the Viscount Maynard. A communication was likewise received from the Council of the Society of Antiquaries, expressing concurrence in the remonstrance addressed by the Committee of the Institute. After some discussion a resolution was proposed by the Very Rev. Canon Rock, seconded by Mr. W. S. Walford, and carried unanimously, to the effect that the projected intersection of the Bartlow Hills by a railway was highly objectionable, and that any such scheme which would expose those monuments of antiquity to serious jeopardy must be strongly reprobated, not only by the Institute, but by archæologists at large, and by all persons who regard with any intelligent interest the landmarks of our early history.

The Chairman called the attention of the meeting to a present received from H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, and he congratulated the Society on the satisfactory evidence of the interest in their pursuits thus manifested by the Prince. The following gratifying communication was then read:—

“Windsor Castle, Dec. 10, 1863.

“SIR,—I am directed by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales to forward to you, for the Library of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, a copy of the description of a papyrus, which was found in an excavation made by direction of the Prince during the Eastern tour of H.R.H.

“I am, Sir, &c.,

“(Signed)

M. HOLZMANN,

“Librarian to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales.

“T. Purnell, Esq., Sec. Arch. Inst.”

After a special vote of acknowledgment of the favor thus graciously conferred upon the Society, Mr. C. W. GOODWIN offered some observations on this interesting relic of antiquity. The papyrus, which had been described and ably edited by Mr. Birch, is of the fourth century before the Christian era, and consequently of a time when art in Egypt was in a state of gradual decline. The MS. is, moreover, unfortunately imperfect, having sustained injuries from various causes, and it is apparent that it was produced by a scribe who was not a proficient in

the task upon which he was engaged. Papyri, it is well known, were frequently kept in readiness, with blank spaces for the names and description of the deceased; the papyrus, in fact, formed part of the regular funeral appliances. They were of three classes, namely, Ritual, Books of Transmigrations, and Solar Litanies, or descriptions of the passage of the soul through the earth in the solar boat. These highly curious MSS. contain minute descriptions of all the regions through which the soul was supposed to pass after death; but unfortunately there are few, if any, perfect examples of papyri, and Mr. Goodwin was able to cite only one in remarkably fine condition, preserved in the Soane Museum, and shortly to be published.

A notice by the Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, Dr. CHARLTON, was then read, relating to the discoveries of ancient remains in Schleswig, and the valuable collections preserved in the Museum at Flensburg. (Printed in this Journal, vol. xx. p. 298.) A copy of the admirably illustrated work by Conrad Engelhardt, director of the Museum above mentioned, was sent for inspection. Dr. Charlton invited special attention to the distinct and satisfactory execution of the plates, surpassing anything known to him produced in this country. It may interest some of our readers to know that, during the late deplorable onslaught on the Danish States, Flensburg having been occupied by the Prussian marauders, a formal demand was made on Herr Engelhardt to deliver up the Museum, so that the collection noticed by Dr. Charlton might be sent to Berlin as Old German antiquities. This danger of such arbitrary spoliation had happily been foreseen, and the Museum had been removed beyond the present reach of German aggression.

Mr. ALBERT WAY communicated the following notes of recent discoveries of Roman remains near East Ham, Essex:—

“During the last month my attention was invited by a kind friend and early member of the Institute, Mr. Colquhoun, to vestiges of Roman occupation lately brought to light in Essex during the construction of the metropolitan works for the high level sewer, traversing the Plaistow and East Ham levels. Mr. Colquhoun suggested that some report on these discoveries, which present facts of interest, could not fail to prove acceptable to the Institute, and he referred me to his relative, the Rev. E. F. Boyle, vicar of the parish of East Ham, in which the remains in question have been discovered. It is to the courtesy of that gentleman that I have been mainly indebted for the following information. I regret that I have been unable to examine the site and the relics there collected, and which I hope may be deposited in the British Museum. Mr. Burt has, however, had the kindness to visit East Ham at my request, and I may refer to his personal investigations to correct any inaccuracy in these notices. East Ham, on the ancient river-margin of the Thames, from which it is now distant about two miles, is a locality not devoid of interest to the antiquary. The church, built of flints, and consisting of a nave and two chancels, shows indications of antiquity in its so-called Saxon arches with zigzag ornaments, and the apsidal termination of one of the chancels, with narrow window-openings of early date. In the grave-yard rest the remains of one whose name must ever be held in honored remembrance amongst English archæologists, and to whose personal examination of our earlier antiquities in their more perfect condition a century ago, we are constantly indebted in our researches. The Nestor of archæology, Stukeley,

was there interred; by his special desire the smooth turf was laid over the resting-place selected by himself, without any monument. Roman vestiges are not wanting in the neighbourhood. About two miles to the north runs the Roman line of road towards Colchester by *Durolitum*, supposed to have been at Romford, and *Cæsaromagus*, (Chelmsford); many Roman traces might doubtless be enumerated on either side of this ancient way, throughout its course eastward from *Londinium*. Not far distant from the locality under consideration, and to the north of the Roman *via*, Lethieullier has recorded the discovery, in 1724, at a place called Valentines, of a skeleton interred in a stone coffin placed north and south and circular at the feet; this was probably Roman: near it was an urn filled with burned bones. The most remarkable work, however, in these parts, is the camp at Uphall near Barking, about a mile south of the Roman road, in a well-chosen position on the eastern bank of the river Roding. Its form is nearly quadrangular, the area being upwards of forty-eight acres; it has been attributed to the Roman period, and appears to resemble the entrenchments of that age. I am indebted, moreover, to Mr. Boyle, for information that remains exist of a Roman camp, not indicated in the Ordnance Survey, on the river's edge opposite Woolwich, within a mile of the spot where the recent discoveries occurred. I now proceed to notice briefly the objects brought to light during the last month on the site, as Mr. Boyle believes, of an extensive Roman cemetery. The principal relic disinterred is a stone coffin with a coped lid: this sepulchral cist is formed of coarse oolite brought from a considerable distance; it measures about 7 ft. in length, by 25 in. in width; the thickness of its sides is nearly 5 in.: it contained two skeletons, the heads, it deserves to be noticed, having been placed at the opposite ends of the cavity. I am not aware that any deposit has been described in which this peculiarity occurred. The remains appeared to be of adults, the teeth not much impaired by age. Three leaden coffins were also disinterred, the three tombs being in a row, placed north and south, and not many feet apart. The coped lid of the stone cist lay at a considerable depth under the surface, the leaden coffins not far from it. In one, the smallest of these, were the remains of a young person; the other, measuring 4 ft. 10 in. in length, contained a skeleton, likewise of a youth; its lid is ornamented down the middle with the peculiar beaded strings of ornament and scallop-shells at intervals at the sides of these beaded lines, repeatedly noticed on leaden coffins found in the neighbourhood of London, as described in the *Archæologia*, and by Mr. Roach Smith, in his *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iii. p. 50. There are three Roman coffins of lead in the British Museum; one of these, found at Shadwell, is ornamented with scallop-shells. Near the coffins, discovered at East Ham, were some cinerary urns and other pottery, with fragments of glass, also two skeletons, which appeared to have been deposited in wooden cists. The leaden coffins measure in length about 3 ft., 4 ft., and 5 ft. respectively, the contents in each instance being, as Mr. Boyle observes, mixed apparently with lime in a granulated state; the bones in the stone cist were in better preservation than those in the leaden depositories, but this circumstance may be accounted for by the fact that the remains in these last were doubtless of children. Mr. Boyle has sent for inspection some of the *scitilia*; they are of the description usually found near Roman interments, and include three vessels of Samian ware; the potter's mark on one, a

patera, 8 in. in diameter, being apparently—*MERCITVS · F.*—, or *fecit*, a name which I have not before noticed; on another may possibly be—*MANNI*; the third is a saucer, with the usual ornamental leaves in relief around its rim.

“ There is also a sepulchral *olla* of coarse brown ware, and a small *cylix* of superior workmanship, but unfortunately broken; it may be of Castor manufacture, and is of light red ware, faced with chocolate-brown, and elaborately engine-turned. Mr. Boyle has also sent fragments of very thin, colorless glass, probably Roman, but there is nothing to indicate what may have been the fashion of the unguentary or other vase of which they are portions. The spot where these interments have been found, indicating probably the position of a cemetery and of some more extensive Roman occupation in that part of Essex than has been hitherto observed, is about 900 yards west of the church of East Ham, and at the base of the swelling ground which runs along the margin of the East Ham Level. The circumstances which led to the discovery are remarkable, according to the particulars which Mr. Burt related after his recent examination of the site. The great high-level sewer, destined to convey the impurities of the metropolis and to discharge them at an *embouchure* about two miles distant from East Ham, consists of three tunnels or great culverts, side by side, which, in the part adjacent to the Roman site and for some distance as the sewer traverses the marshy level, are constructed considerably above the surface, and are covered over with soil, so as to present the appearance of a long embankment about 20 feet in height. It was in obtaining soil or ballast, as the ganger stated to Mr. Burt, to cover this great work, that the discovery occurred, on December 16th or 17th ult.: a piece of land adjoining the sewer has been taken, the top ‘spit,’ a foot and a half deep, was removed temporarily, and the sand and gravel excavated to the depth of 10 or 12 feet over a large area. The find occurred near the edge of the cutting. The stone sarcophagus was first exposed at a depth of about 4 ft. 6 in.; then the leaden coffins surrounded by the pottery; lime appeared to have been placed around and over the coffins. The ballast thus obtained is sandy gravel; the section at the edge of the cutting is curious, and not without interest as an example of alluvial accumulations. In one part appeared a straight band a few inches thick; above it a larger stratum, wholly of fine soft sand; then a thin layer of small, clean, water-washed stones, lying loose, as if in a modern *aquarium* instead of having lain for centuries under six feet of soil.

“ Leaden coffins have occurred repeatedly with Roman remains around London, near the Old Kent Road, at Stratford le Bow, Shadwell, and elsewhere. In several instances the peculiar ornament of the beaded string and scallop shells in relief has occurred. A remarkable example was brought to light in 1812, in operations for the water-works near the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, Kent Road. This coffin was decorated with bands, longitudinally, transversely, and diagonally, of the beaded pattern which has been noticed. At one end were two figures of Minerva, at the other two scallop shells.² Morant mentions, in his History of Colchester, p. 183,

² Sir Robert Cotton informed Weever that a chest of lead was found in Ratcliffe Field, Stepney, the upper part of which was “garnished with scallop shells and a crotister border.” There were two jars at the head and foot of this coffin,

which measured 3ft. in length; at the sides were many glass bottles, Samian ware and other objects.—(Weever’s Funeral Monum., p. 30; Gough’s Sep. Mon. vol. i. p. 64.)

a leaden coffin found there in 1749 ; it was wrought all over with lozenges, in each of which was a scallop shell. Other examples have been recorded, chiefly near London. It may deserve mention that, as Mr. Franks has pointed out to me, these scallops are evidently casts from the natural shells, which have been used in forming the mould or bed, probably of sand, on which the leaden slab was cast destined to form the coffin-lid. The shells occur, as Mr. Burt informs me, on two of the leaden coffins found at East Ham ; in one instance a single moulding with divergent shells runs along the middle of the lid ; in the other these ornaments appear likewise at the sides of the cists. These leaden *ossuaria* are doubtless to be attributed to a late period of Roman sway in Britain ; they are remarkable not only as examples of Roman metallurgy, shewing considerable skill in the art of casting, but as evidence of the prevalence of interment without cremation.

“ I am happy to learn from Mr. Boyle that careful drawings and photographs of these interesting relics have been secured for the Essex Archæological Society, under the care of a well-informed archæologist, Mr. H. W. King. It is satisfactory to know that the discovery will be duly recorded in the Transactions of the Society of the county where it has occurred, and which contain valuable materials for the history of the Roman times in Essex. Meanwhile I have gladly availed myself of the recommendation of my friend, Mr. Colquhoun, and the kindness of Mr. Boyle, to invite attention to a discovery which doubtless may be the precursor of more extensive investigations. It is the proper province, and declared purpose of our Society, to watch over the progress of public works, and profit by information which may be brought to light in such operations as that which has now revealed vestiges of the Roman colonists near the Essex margin of the Thames.”

Mr. WARWICK KING made some observations on the same subject, and promised to bring at the ensuing meeting drawings which he had executed, representing the ancient remains disinterred at East Ham.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. WALTER L. LAWRENCE, F.S.A.—Photograph of a rudely sculptured tablet of stone, lately found, with numerous Roman remains, at Wycombe, near Andoversford, Gloucestershire. The sculpture measures 10 in. by 7 in., and represents three figures in relief. The principal and central figure has been supposed to portray a chieftain in military attire between two attendant musicians. He is apparently clad in the short-skirted *pænula* with a peaked hood or *cucullus*, a fashion of Gaulish origin, and adopted by persons whose occupations exposed them to the weather. This garment had no sleeves, and it appears to have been open at the right side. It may have been used by the Roman soldier in inclement regions, as it was also in the chase. There is a tablet at Netherby with three figures thus attired, which was exhibited by the late Sir James Graham in the Museum at the Carlisle Meeting of the Institute ; it has been figured in Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 83 ; Bruce's *Roman Wall*, p. 403. Another Roman sculpture with two figures in like costume was found at Carlisle, and is figured, *Archæologia*, vol. x. p. 139.—Photograph of a well-preserved *cranium* and horn-cores of a *Bos longifrons*, the ancient species of ox existing in Britain as late as Roman times,

although its remains are of comparatively rare occurrence on Roman sites. Wycombe, the place where these objects were found, is supposed to have been the site of a large military station, with an adjacent town of some extent. The vestiges lately explored to a small extent by Mr. Lawrence, may be traced over an area of about 25 acres; foundations of extensive buildings have been partially excavated, including a semicircular wall, 75 ft. in length, supposed to be part of an amphitheatre. No mosaic floor has hitherto been brought to light, but numerous hypocaust tiles have been found, and minor relics, such as coins, Samian and other pottery, personal ornaments, styli, keys, implements, articles of the toilet, &c. in abundance; the coins extend from the earlier emperors to Arcadius, with some Romano-British coins of a later period. The most remarkable specimen of ancient art is a bronze draped statuette of Mars, of beautiful workmanship, measuring 3 in. in height. The site, which is on Mr. Lawrence's estates, has been traditionally regarded as a "burnt Roman city;" it is probable that further researches might bring to light remains of considerable interest. A committee has been formed, and contributions are requested towards the excavations. It is the wish of the proprietor of the land that all antiquities which may be found should be deposited in a Gloucestershire Museum.³

By Mr. HUMPHREY WICKHAM.—A specimen of mediæval pottery found at Strood, in Kent, and belonging to Mr. W. J. West of that place. It is a pilgrim's bottle, or costrel, of pale yellow-colored ware, the upper part only being glazed. There are two small ears for suspension. Height 6 in. A somewhat similar vessel is figured, *Journ. Arch. Ass.*, vol. v. p. 33.

By Mr. WEBB.—Several choice specimens of sculpture in ivory.

February 5, 1864.

OCTAVIUS MORGAN, Esq., M.P., V.P.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. Purnell reported further proceedings regarding the Bartlow tumuli. At the request of the Central Committee, the Rev. Edward Hill had consented to make a personal examination of the intended course of the branch line, from which serious injury to those unique vestiges of Roman times is to be apprehended, and for which it appeared that an Act of Parliament had been obtained during the last Session, and the conveyance of the land actually completed by the Viscount Maynard, on whose estates the Bartlow grave-mounds are situated. Mr. Hill stated the results of his visit to Bartlow, in company with some residents in the neighbourhood who take interest in the preservation of these remains. He expressed his opinion that the projected line carried at the foot of one of the most remarkable and best preserved of the Roman tumuli, rendering a deep cutting at its base requisite, must prove in no slight degree detrimental to that monument, notwithstanding the stringent conditions of the conveyance whereby the Railway Company had been required to construct sustaining walls in the cutting, for the support of the tumuli so needlessly invaded by their scheme of operations. It had been considered, however, as Mr. Hill stated, that the sacrifice might be made of a portion of the adjacent

³ See an account of Mr. Lawrence's investigations in *Proceedings Soc. Ant.* vol. ii. second series, p. 302; *Gent. Mag.* Dec., 1863, p. 627; Jan. 1864, p. 86.

smaller tumulus, namely, that nearest to the village of Bartlow, and which suffered considerable mutilation some years since through injudicious excavations by Sir Busick Harwood.

The following resolution was then proposed by W. W. E. Wynne, Esq., M.P., seconded by W. S. Walford, Esq., and unanimously adopted:—
 “The Members of the Archæological Institute have received with sincere satisfaction the assurance from the Engineer-in-Chief of the Great Eastern Railway, expressing his disposition to accede to their request for the preservation of the Bartlow Hills, as far as may be consistent with the arrangements made under the Act of Parliament passed for the construction of the line. The interest taken by the public in their preservation has been abundantly shown by the Resolutions passed by various Antiquarian Societies, and by the communications which have appeared in the Times and other public Journals. In reliance upon the willingness of the Board of Directors to preserve monuments of so much archæological interest, the Members of the Institute would suggest whether it might not be practicable to alter the gradient of the line from the point where it crosses the Saffron Walden and Linton road at a level, so that the cutting between the Hills might be reduced in depth. They would suggest also that some deviation of the line towards the north-east might be found practicable, by which its course might be somewhat removed from the base of the principal Hill even at the partial sacrifice of the adjacent tumulus comparatively of minor interest.”

A memoir was then read, addressed through Mr. C. S. Greaves, Q.C., by Mr. Frank Calvert, relating to the site of Gergis in the Troad. Printed in this volume, p. 48 *ante*.

The Rev. H. M. SCARTH, Prebendary of Wells, gave a report of the excavations at *Uriconium*, subsequently to his statement read at the Meeting of the Institute at Gloucester, and printed in this Journal, vol. xvii., p. 240. Printed in this volume, *infra*.

Mr. HEWITT contributed a notice of a tilting-helm, sent for the inspection of the Society by General Lefroy, having been lately acquired for the Armory at Woolwich arranged under his direction. This helm had formed part of the Brocas collection. Printed in this volume, p. 60 *ante*.

The remarkable helm of the same period and general character, here figured, was exhibited, by kind permission of the Rev. J. P. Alcock, Vicar of Ashford, Kent, in the Museum of the Institute at their last annual meeting. It was provided with contrivances for attaching it to the breast and back-plates, not dissimilar to those in the fine example communicated by General Lefroy; the perforated bar in front, however, described in Mr. Hewitt's memoir on that specimen has been lost, part of the hinge alone remaining; and at the back, part of a buckle only is now to be seen. There do not appear to have been staples for side-straps, as in the helm described by Mr. Hewitt; but on the left side, near the lower edge, there are two round perforations connected doubtless with some adjustment for attaching the helm to the breast-plate; the left side of the helm, being that most exposed in tilting to the stroke of the adversary's spear, is strengthened by a strong second plate, or *pièce de renfort*, extending just beyond the fore-part, where a small staple and bolt are seen, apparently for attachment to the plate below. On the right side there is a rectangular opening (about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{2}$), and, on the left side, a regular oval aperture, shown in the woodcut; the latter only has closely-set rivet-heads round

its edge. At first sight the conjecture appears probable that both these apertures were for ventilation, like the cruciform and other breathing holes in the helms of an earlier period ; but possibly that on the left side may have been a part injured in conflict and repaired by an oval plate riveted on ; the helm, however, of Sir John Crosby, formerly in St. Helen's church, Bishopsgate, has a circular plate with numerous small perforations for air affixed on the side near the right ear. He died in 1475. The tilting-helm from Ashford church, here figured, may be regarded as an example of value, its date being known ; it was part of the funeral achievement over the altar-tomb of Sir John Fogge, Treasurer and Comptroller of the Household of Edward IV. He died in 1499, having been a liberal benefactor to the fabric of Ashford church and to the town. The weight of this helm is 23 lb. 15 oz.



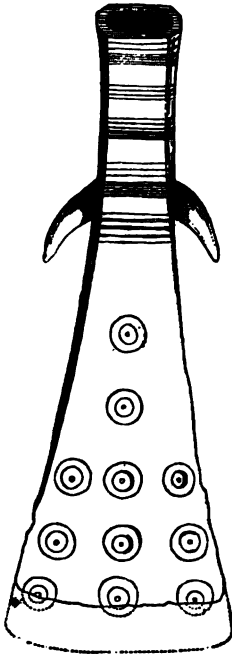
Tilting-helmet in Ashford Church, Kent, suspended over the tomb of Sir John Fogge, who died 1499.

A short communication was received from Mr. C. WINSTON, inviting the attention of the Institute to the discovery, during the previous month, of a leaden coffin at Barton near the Bishopstoke station of the South-Western Railway. It contained the skeleton, as supposed, of a female, accompanied by several *ampullæ* or unguentaries of glass, of various forms ; these vessels lay in fragments over the right shoulder. The coffin was deposited with the head towards the west. It was enclosed in a wooden chest, which had wholly decayed.⁴

⁴ An account of this discovery is given, Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc., 1864, pp. 83, 199 ; Gent. Mag., March 1864, p. 330.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. C. W. KING.—Engravings of Etruscan palstaves and a celt of bronze in the collection of Mr. Westropp of Cork. These examples differ in many respects from the weapons or implements of their class found in our own country, in France, or in Germany; they present a group of no



Ornated bronze celt from Herculaneum. Length of original nearly 8 inches.

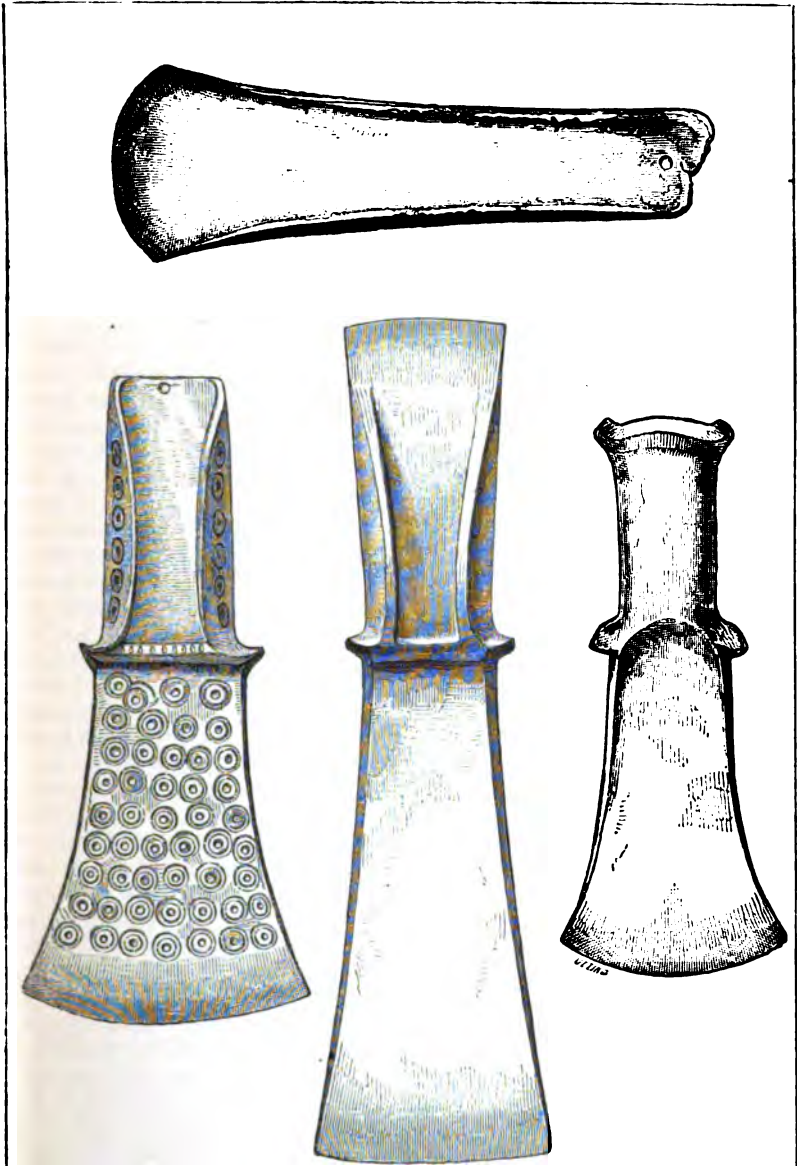
slight interest for purposes of comparison in prosecuting the obscure question of the use and origin of these objects, occurring in such remarkable variety of types, whilst those of each country respectively appear to be distinguished by some characteristic peculiarity of fashion or detail. See woodcuts. The celt deserves notice on account of the flanges along its entire length, and the perforation at the narrow end. It measures 6 in. in length. Compare one from Herculaneum figured by Caylus, *Recueil d'Antiqu.*, tom. ii. p. 321. Of the other specimens here figured the largest measures 9 in. in length; it is of remarkable fashion, and finished very skilfully; another, ornamented with numerous impressed concentric circles, measures 6½ in. in length. Caylus gives two, of singular types, from Herculaneum, ornamented with impressed circles. Of these bronze implements one is socketed, and furnished with singular lateral hooks. Caylus, *ut supra*, pl. xcii., xciv. See also the accompanying woodcut.⁶

By Mr. W. WARWICK KING.—Drawings of the Roman sarcophagus, the leaden coffins, vessels of Samian and other wares brought to light at East Ham, Essex, as related at the previous meeting. See p. 94, *ante*.

By Mr. SAMUEL DODD.—A facsimile of an inscribed slab near Penzance, first noticed in 1700 by Edward Llwyd, and described and figured by Borlase, in his *Antiquities of Cornwall*. It formerly served as part of a foot-bridge across a mountain rivulet between Gulval and Madron, the inscribed face being turned downwards, so that the inscription could only be viewed by passing beneath in the bed of the brook. It has been lately removed, and is now placed erect by the side of a hedge near the bridge. The spot is approached by a picturesque walk from Chyandower, the north-western suburb of Penzance, and is known as Blue Bridge, in a dingle called Barlowina Bottom. The inscription has been thus read,—QVENATAU BELIDINVI FILIVS,—or, according to Borlase,—QVENATVS ICDINVI FILIVS. This inscription is noticed in Murray's *Cornwall*, p. 128. Mr. Dodd is

⁶ This rare example with hooks is noticed by Mr. James Yates in his *Memoir on the use of celts in military*

operations, in this *Journal*, vol. vi. p. 378.



Bronze Etruscan Celt and Palstaves.

From the Collection of Mr. Westropp, Cork.

Scale, half original length.

disposed to regard the name as identical with that of Cyneddav, a British worthy who lived about A.D. 380, called by Nennius Cunedag, and in the Iolo MS. Cunedda or Cynneddaf.

By Mr. H. DENNY, A.L.S., with the obliging permission of Mr. Nunneley, Hon. Curator, Antiqu. and Art Department, Philos. and Lit. Soc. at Leeds.—An Anglo-Saxon brooch of silvered metal, partly gilt and ornamented with a central boss formed of a piece of shell, surrounded by four thin flat pieces of garnet in cruciform arrangement set over bright metallic foil; the intervening spaces are chased with interlaced patterns. The centre of the boss was doubtless originally enriched with a small plate of garnet, and around the rim are zigzag ornaments in niello. This beautiful ornament measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter. It closely resembles specimens found at Gilton and Kingston, Kent, and now in the Faussett Collection in Mr. Mayer's possession; they were exhibited by the kindness of that gentleman in the Museum at the Rochester meeting. See the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, by Mr. Roach Smith, pl. iii. fig. 1, 7, 9, &c. The brooches there figured differ chiefly from that exhibited in having three ornaments of garnet only instead of four. With this relic of Saxon jewelry there are preserved in the Leeds Museum an iron shield-boss of the form commonly found in Kent (Inv. Sep. pl. xv. fig. 14) a broken iron sword, and a spear-head measuring $15\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length. These relics were, as stated, formerly in the possession of the late Mr. Lane Fox, of Bramham Park, near Tadcaster, and were accompanied by a note by Mr. T. S. Prescott, stating that they were found on the breast of a man in a stone cist or coffin, the hair and teeth being perfectly preserved, and that they were shown to an antiquary at Dover, by whom they were pronounced to be Saxon. Unfortunately the precise place is not mentioned; the interment in question was probably brought to light in the parish of Guston, near Dover, where a person named Prescott formerly had a farm; the Dover Castle Farm, on the summit of the Castle Hill, was also in his occupation.—Two small hones or burnishing stones of fine grained greenish stone (chlorite?) found in 1841 at Drewton, near North Cave, in the East Riding of Yorkshire; one of them measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length; it is perforated at one end for suspension; the other which has been much worn by use is broken.—Three silver rings, one of them of xiv. cent., inscribed,—*ih̄s maria ih̄s am̄n* + — another having ten knobs around the hoop, used for devotional purposes instead of a string of beads or *numeralia*, on the head is engraved the sacred monogram with three nails, emblematic of the crucifixion; the third may have been a betrothal ring, inscribed outside—*FEARE GOD*—and within the hoop + *BE · TRVE · IN · HART ·* The objects above described are preserved in the Museum of the Philosophical and Literary Society at Leeds.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—Thirteen ornamental objects of silver curiously chased, collected by an officer of rank in India; their date and use has not been ascertained. They consisted of a miniature model of a *musud*, or throne with a canopy resembling an umbrella; a diminutive bell; massive and richly chased spoons; a salver bearing a Sanscrit inscription; two ingeniously constructed ornaments in form of fish, with pliable scales, and a cylindrical vessel elaborately wrought with flowers, &c. Some of these objects are believed to be of considerable antiquity.

By Mr. NUNNELEY, Hon. Curator for the Antiquarian and Art Department, Leeds Philosophical Society.—A beautiful and massive gold ring, reported to have been found at Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire; around the hoop is the posy,—*subent bouf*—(*souvenez vous*) with small trailing flowers

separating the words, and doubtless originally enriched with enamel. Within are engraved five trefoils, and on each of these is a letter, not to be decyphered satisfactorily.

By Mr. W. BURGESS.—A covered cup encrusted with mother of pearl; a chalice enriched with precious stones, in imitation of one of early form; also a knife and fork with handles decorated with filagree-work of the seventeenth century.—Photograph of an exquisitely illuminated page in possession of M. Alexandre de la Herche, of Beauvais; it depicts four scenes,—Savage Life, represented by a family in a desert, contrasted with Ease, a charming delineation of an industrious carpenter in a well-furnished workshop, with his wife and child; Misery, in squalid wretchedness in a hovel; and Wealth, an exquisite interior of the dining hall of a rich burgher, surrounded by luxuries, a cupboard of costly plate, &c. The illumination appears to be of most delicate execution, French art in the fifteenth century.

MEDIAEVAL SEALS.—By Mr. FERGUSON, of Morton, Carlisle.—Impression of a brass matrix found in the town of Lanark, and now in possession of Mr. Adam Sim of Biggar, N. Britain. The seal is of circular form, diam. rather more than $\frac{3}{4}$ inch; date fifteenth century; the device is a triangle with a small circle at each of its angles, possibly symbolical of the Holy Trinity. The legend, in old English letters, not satisfactorily decyphered, seems to begin thus—S: *ſiben* (? for Evan) It will be noticed in Mr. Henry Laing's forthcoming catalogue of Scottish seals collected in public and private depositories since the publication of his valuable volume by the Bannatyne Club.⁶

By Mr. READY.—Impression of a matrix, probably of lead, stated to have been found at Strood, near Rochester; it has not been ascertained where the original seal now exists. This example is triangular or escutcheon-shaped, measuring about $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch in width at top, and each of the other sides of the triangle $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. The whole of the central compartment, surrounded by the inscribed margin, is charged with cinquefoils or *angemmes*, 4, 3, 2, 1; the legend is as follows:—† s' BERTRANDI DE VERNETO. Date twelfth century. At the upper edge there was a loop for suspension, as frequently found in leaden matrices of the period. *Vernetum*, or *vernagium*, according to Ducange, signified an alder-grove, *alnetum*; Fr. *verne* or *vergne*, an alder; Roquefort. The bearing on this curious seal may seem, however, to have reference to the flowers of spring, "illud quod seminatur tempore veris," according to one of the old Glossarists, whilst elsewhere we find *Vern* explained as "Ros Syriacus—flos arboris que dicitur alnus."

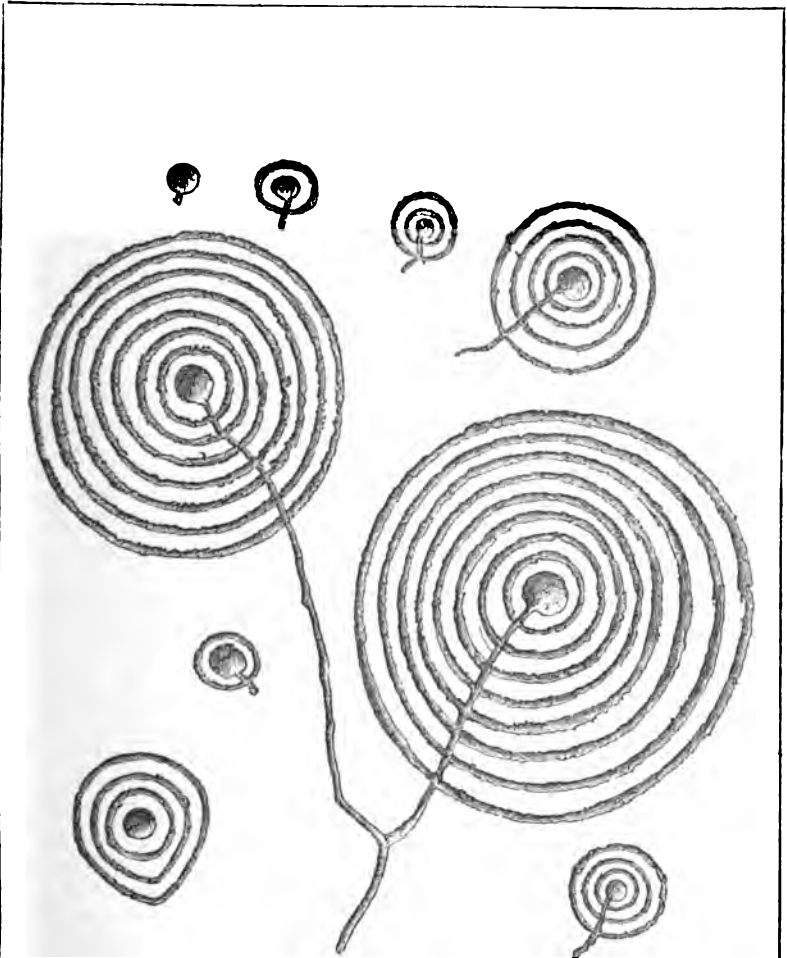
The Rev. JOHN KENRICK, F.S.A., Curator of the rich assemblage of antiquities in the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, announces for immediate publication a Selection of papers on Archæology and History communicated to that body, and relating to the Knights Templars in Yorkshire, the traditions of Pontefract Castle, numismatic discoveries, a tablet of the reign of Trajan found at York, &c. Subscribers' names are received by Mr. Dallas, at the Museum, York.

⁶ This supplementary volume will be printed as soon as 100 subscribers are obtained: it will contain descriptions, with woodcuts, &c. of more than 1200 seals obtained since the publication of

Mr. Henry Laing's former catalogue. Subscribers' names are received by Messrs. Edmonston, or by the author, 3, Elder Street, Edinburgh. Price, to subscribers, two guineas.

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**EXAMPLES OF CIRCULAR MARKINGS UPON ROCKS IN NORTH BRITAIN,
NORTHUMBERLAND, AND IRELAND.**



**Incised markings of doubtful import on rocks near the Crinan Moss,
Argyleshire.**

From drawings by Mr. Henry Davenport Graham.

(Diameter of the largest circle about 26 inches.)



St. Edward the Confessor gives his Ring to St. John disguised as a Pilgrim.

From an Illumination in the Abbreviated Domesday Book preserved at the Public Record Office. Date early thirteenth century.

The Archaeological Journal.

JUNE, 1864.

ON A REMARKABLE INCIDENT IN THE LIFE OF SAINT EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, WITH NOTICES OF CERTAIN RINGS HALLOWED ON GOOD FRIDAY BY THE SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND.

By EDMUND WATERTON, K.M., K. Ch., F.S.A.

FOR several centuries the Kings of England were wont to bless or to "hallow" certain rings, which were to be worn as of virtue against the cramp and the falling sickness. This appears to have been a custom exercised exclusively by the monarchs of England, and the last who so blessed cramp rings was Queen Mary.

The origin of this custom is obscure. The historians only state that the ring of Saint Edward the Confessor was kept for some time in Westminster Abbey, as a relic of the holy man;¹ that it was applied for curing the falling sickness; and that this practice led the succeeding Kings of England to bless rings on Good Friday against the cramp and epilepsy. This very meagre account is the only one given, and no reason is alleged why the former should have given rise to the latter practice.

The history of Saint Edward's ring is related by several writers, and is to be found in his various biographies.² After comparing the different versions, I have selected that given by Caxton in the "Golden Legend," which is as follows:—

"Whan the blessyd Kyng Edward had lyvid many yeres

¹ See Polydore Vergil, i. c. viii. p. 187; ed. 1649. Also Harpfeld, *æsc.* xi. c. iii. p. 219; ed. 1622.

² See Alured Rival. col. 397, Brompton, chron. 955. Also the French Metrical Life of St. Edward, dedicated to

Eleanor, Queen of Henry III., lately edited by Mr. Luard for the series of chronicles published under direction of the Master of the Rolls, p. 122; and the Latin Life of the Confessor in the Bodleian Library, *ibid.*, p. 373.

and was fallen in to grete age, it happed he came rydyng by a chyrche in Essexe, callyd Claverynge, whiche was at that tyme in halouynge, and sholde be dedycate in the honour of our lorde and saynt Johan the evangelyste. Wherefore the kyng, for grete devocyon, liichte downe, and taryed while the chyrche was in hallouynge : and in the time of processyon a fayre olde man came to the kyng and demaunded of hym almes in worship of God and Saint John Evangelyst. Thenne the kyng fonde noo thyng reddy to gyve : ne his amener was not present, but took of the ryng fro his fynger and yave it unto the pour man : whom the pour man thanked and departed. And wythin certayn yeres after, ij pylgrymes of Englonde went in to the Holy Londe, for to visyte holy places there, and as they had lost theyr way, and were gone fro theyr felyship, and the nyghte approched, and they sorowed gretly as they that wyst not whyder to goo, and dred sore to be perysshid among wylde bestes. At the last they sawe a fayre companye of men arrayed in white clothynge, with two lyghtes born afore theym. And behynde theym there came a fayr aunicyent man wyth white heer for age. Thenne thyse pylgryms thoughte to folowe the lyght and drewe nigh. Thenne the olde man axed them what they were, and of what regyon. And they answerde that they were pylgryms of Englonde and had lost theyr felyship and way also.

“Thenne this olde man comforted theym goodly, and brought them in to a fayr cyte, where there was a fayre cenacle, honestli arrayed wyth all maner of deyntees. And whan they had well refresshid theym, and rested there all nyghte; on the morne this fayr olde man wente wyth theym and broughte theym in the ryght waye agayne. And he was gladd to here theym talke of the welfare and holynesse of theyr Kyng Saynt Edwarde. And whan he sholde departe fro theym, thenne he tolde theym what he was, and sayd, I am John thevangelyst, and say ye unto Edwarde your kyng, that I grete hym well, by the token that he gaaf to me this rynge wyth his owne hondes at the halowyng of my chirche, whiche rynge ye shall delyver to hym agayn. And say ye to hym that he dyspose his goodes. For wythin five monethes he shall be in the joye of heven wyth me, where he shall have his rewarde for his chastite and for his good lyvinge : And drede ye not for ye shall spede right

well in your journey, and ye shall come home in shorte tyme sauf and sounde. And whan he had delyverde to them the ryng he departed fro theym sodenly, and soon after they cam home and dyde theyr message to the kinge, and delyverde to hym the ryng, and sayd that John the Evangelyst sent it to hym. And as soone as he herde that name he was ful of joye, and for gladnes lete falle teres fro his eyen, givynge lawde and thankyng to Almyghty God, and to Saynt John his avowry that he wolde vouchesauf to lete him have knowlege of his departyng out of this worlde.

“ Also he had a nother token of Saynte John, and that was that the two pilgrimes sholde deye before him, whiche thing was provyd true, for they lyvid not longe after. And at the fest of Crystmasse the kyng was seke, and on the day of thynnocentes he herde masse in the newe Chirche of Westmestre, which he had new reedefyed, and theſe he, givynge thankenges unto Almyghty God, retourned in to his chamber sore seke, there abidyng the mercy of our Lorde.”³

Of the history of this ring there are two accounts ; one is, that the Confessor in his last illness gave the ring which he wore to the Abbot of Westminster. Such is the statement of Alban Butler, who says that it is so related by William Caxton, in the reign of Henry VI., in his MS. Chronicle of England.⁴ There is a belief that Havering, in the parish of Hornchurch in Essex, was so called from having this ring, but there is no foundation for the statement. One of the royal hunting-seats in Waltham Forest was called the Bower, and Saint Edward was dwelling there when the pilgrims delivered the ring to him. Another account alleges that from that time this royal hunting-seat was called Havering-atte-Bower. Morant is inclined to derive the name from the Saxon *hæfer*, a goat, and *ing*, pasture ;—the goat’s feeding place, or pasture ;⁵ but Caxton, in the Golden Legend, calls this place Claverynge.⁶ At Romford, which appears to have been the parish church of Hornchurch, the history of this ring was represented in stained glass, and the king was figured with these words underneath :—“ *Johannes per peregrinos misit Regi Edwardo . . .*” When Dart wrote his History of Westminster Abbey, the statues of Saint

³ Golden Legend, Caxton, f. ccviii.

⁴ Butler, Lives of the Saints, vol. x. p. 654.

⁵ Morant’s Essex, vol. ii. p. 58.

⁶ Golden Legend, *ut supra*.

Edward and the pilgrims were, according to his statement, over the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas in Westminster Hall, and over the gate going into the Dean's Yard. The story is also wrought in bas-relief in the Abbey Church of Westminster, in the chapel where Saint Edward's relics lie at the back of the screen which divides them from the altar.⁷ It was also embroidered in the hangings of the choir, with these verses under the figures of Saint John and Saint Edward :—

“ Villibus in pannis mendicat imago Johannis.
Rex dat ei munus : donum fecit annulus unus.
Annulus iste datus mittente Johanne relatus
Regi scire moram vitæ dat mortis et horam.”

The same subject, according to Caxton's Chronicle, was represented in a window in the south aisle, next to that over the door leading into the west side of the cloisters ; underneath the figures were these verses :—

“ Rex cui nil aliud presto fuit, accipe, dixit,
Annulum, et ex digito detrahat ille suo.
. . . Evangelist . . . villa Johannis
. gratia petit.”⁸

Prefixed to an abbreviated copy of the Domesday Book in the Public Record Office, are three pages, each containing two representations of incidents in the life of the Confessor, as described by Abbot Ailred. The earlier years of the thirteenth century may be assigned as the period of their execution, but they are earlier than any of the architectural or other representations previously referred to. The last of these illuminations represents St. John, in the habit of a pilgrim, receiving the King's present, and it is described by a quotation from the biographer (p. 397) — “De annulo quem sanctus Rex beato Johanni Evangeliste dedit et quomodo eundem receperit.” A woodcut of this interesting delineation, to which my attention has been called by our obliging friend Mr. Burt, accompanies this memoir. Another remarkable illustration of the same subject occurs in the MS. Life of the Confessor, in the Public Library at Cambridge, written about 1245.

⁷ These curious series of subjects of the Confessor's life are figured in Carter's Sculpture and Painting in England : the incidents here referred to are

to be found in pl. liv. p. 98, edit. 1838.

⁸ Dart, Antiqu. of Westm., vol. i. p. 50.

At his coronation Edward II. offered a pound of gold wrought into a figure representing Saint Edward holding a ring, and a mark of gold, or eight ounces, worked into the figure of a pilgrim putting forth his hand to receive the ring.

It appears, however, that Saint Edward's ring was deposited with his corpse in the tomb. His translation took place on the third of the ides of October (Oct. 13), A.D. 1163, seventy-seven years after his burial. This solemn ceremony was performed at midnight, and on opening his coffin the body was found to be incorrupt. On this occasion the Abbot Lawrence took from the body of the sainted king his robes and the ring of Saint John; of the robes the abbot made three copes, as appears from the following entry in the catalogue of the relics of the Saint. The abbot also gave the ring to the abbey.—“*Dompnus Laurentius quondam abbas hujus loci . . . sed et annulo ejusdem (Sancti Edwardi) quem Sancto Johanni quondam tradidit, quem et ipse de paradiso remisit, elapsis annis duobus et dimidio, postea in nocte translationis de digito regis tulit, et pro miraculo in loco isto custodiri jussit.*” The same MS. contains the indulgences to be gained by those who visited the holy relics:—“*Ad annulum Sancti Edwardi vj. ann. iijc.xi. dies.*”⁹ No further mention has been found of Saint Edward's ring.

The precise date when the Kings of England commenced to bless rings regarded as preservatives against the cramp, or against epilepsy, the *morbis Sancti Johannis*, is uncertain. The earliest mention of the practice which I have found occurs in the reign of Edward II.

It appears that on Good Friday, when the King went to adore the cross, he was wont to make an offering of money; that the money so offered was redeemed by a sum of equivalent value; and that the money so redeemed was converted into rings, which were then “hallowed” by the king. The prayer used in the blessing of the rings implores—“*ut omnes qui eos gestabunt, nec eos infestet vel nervorum contractio, vel comitialis morbi periculum.*” And the King, to impart this salutary virtue, rubbed the rings between his hands, with this invocation,¹—“*Manuum nostrarum confrica-*

⁹ De fundacione ecclesie Westm., by Ric. Sporley, a monk of the Abbey, A.D. 1450: MSS. Cott. Claud. A. viii. ff. 32, 33.

¹ Anstis, Hist. of the Garter, vol. i. p. 223.

tione quas olei sacri infusione externa sanctificare dignatus es pro ministerii nostri modo consecra," &c.

Hitherto these rings are simply described as *annuli*. But in the 44th of Edward III., in the account book of John de Ipre, or Ypres, they are termed *medicinales*.

In the last chapter of the constitutions of the Household settled in the reign of Edward II., the following entry appears:—"Item le Roi doit offerre de certain le jour de grant vendredi a crouce v.s. queux il est acustumez recevoir devers lui a la mene le chapelein afaire ent anulx a *donner pur medicine az divers gentz.*"

In the Eleemosyna Roll of 9th Edward III. the following entry occurs:—"In oblacione domini Regis ad crucem de Gneythe die parasceves in capella sua infra mannerium suum de Clipstone, in precium duorum florencium de Florencia, xiiij. die Aprilis, vi.s. viij.d., et in denariis quos posuit pro dictis florenciis reassumptis *pro annulis medicinalibus inde faciendis, eodem die, vi.s. ; summa xii.s. viii.d.*"²

In the Eleemosyna Roll of 10th Edward III. we have the following entry:—"In oblacione domini Regis ad crucem de Gneyth in die parasceves apud Eltham, xxix. die Marci v.s., et pro iisdem denariis reassumptis pro annulis inde faciendis per manus Domini Johannis de Crokeford eodem die, v.s." And in the following year:—"In oblacione domini regis ad crucem de Gneyth in capella sua in pcho de Wyndesore die parasceves v.s., et pro totidem denariis reassumptis pro annulis inde faciendis, v.s."³

In the accounts of John de Ypres, 44th Edward III., the following entries are found:—"In oblacionibus Regis factis adorando crucem in capella sua infra castrum suum de Wyndesore die parasceves in pretio trium nobilium auri et quinque solidorum sterling', xxv.s.—In denariis solutis pro iisdem oblacionibus reassumptis pro annulis medicinalibus inde faciendis, ibidem, eodem die, xxv.s."

The same entries occur in the 7th and 8th Henry IV.

In the 8th Edward IV. mention occurs that these cramp rings were made of silver and of gold, as appears by the following entry:—"Pro eleemosyna in die parasceves c. marc. et pro annulis de auro et argento pro eleemosyna Regis eodem die," &c. And a Privy Seal of the next year,

² MSS. Cott. Nero, C. viii. f. 209.

³ Ibid. ff. 212, 213, b.

amongst other particulars, enumerates,—“Item, paid for the King’s Good Fryday rings of gold and silver, xxxiii*l.* vi*s.* viii*d.*”

Mention of these rings is also found in the Comptroller’s accounts in the 20th Henry VII.

A MS. copy of the Orders of the King of England’s Household, 13th Henry VIII.; 1521-22, preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris (No. 9986), contains “the order of the Kinge’s of England, touching his coming to service, hallowing y^e crampe rings, and offering and creeping to the crosse.”⁴

“First the king to come to the closett or to the chappell with the lords and noblemen wayting on him, without any sword to bee borne before him on that day, and there to tarry in his travers till the bishop and deane have brought forth the crucifix out of the vestry (the almoner reading the service of the cramp rings) layd upon a cushion before the high altar, and then the huishers shall lay a carpet before y^t for y^e king to creepe to the crosse upon: and y^t done, there shall be a fourme set upon the carpet before the crucifix, and a cushion layd before it for the king to kneele on; and the Master of the jewell house shal be ther ready with the crampe rings in a basin or basins of silver; the king shall kneele upon the sayd cushion before the fourme, and then must the clerke of the closett bee ready with the booke conteyninge y^e service of the hallowing of the said rings, and the almoner must kneel upon the right hand of the king, holding of the sayd booke, and when y^t is done the king shall rise and go to the high altar, where an huisher must be ready with a cushion to lay for his grace to kneele upon, and the greatest Lord or Lords being then present shall take the basin or basins with the rings and bear them after the king, and then deliver them to the king to offer; and this done the queen shall come down out of her closett or travers into the chappell with ladies and gentlewomen wayters on her, and creepe to the crosse; and that done she shall returne againe into her closett or travers, and then the ladies shall come downe and creepe to the crosse, and when they have done, the Lords and noblemen shall in likewise.”⁵

⁴ Cited in an interesting notice of Orders of the Royal Household, t. Hen. VIII., *Gent. Mag.* vol. i. N. S. p. 48.

⁵ *Cod. Bibl. Imp.* Paris, no. 9986;

quoted in the notice of cramp-rings by Mr. Stevenson. *Gent. Mag.* vol. i. N. S. 1834, p. 49.

Chancellor Fortescue uses an argument which shows that the sanative virtue of these rings was held, as in the above-mentioned ritual, to be derived from the anointing of the king's hands with the sacred chrism at the coronation. In his defence of the House of Lancaster, he says,—“Item Regibus Angliæ regali ipso officio plura incumbunt, quæ naturæ muliebri adversantur;” then, after setting forth the cure of the king's evil, he proceeds,—“Item aurum et argentum sacris unctis manibus Regum Angliæ in die Paschæ” (it should have been in die Parasceves), “divinorum tempore quemadmodum Reges Angliæ annuatim facere solent, tactum devote et oblatum, spasmodicos et caducos curant quemadmodum per annulos ex dicto auro seu argento factos et digitis hujusmodi morbidorum impositos multis in mundi partibus crebro usu expectum est. Quæ gratia Reginis non conferatur, cum ipsæ in manibus non ungantur.”⁶

These cramp rings hallowed by the Kings of England were celebrated throughout Europe, and were in great repute. Lord Berners, the translator of Froissart, when ambassador to Charles V., writing to “my Lorde Cardinal's grace from Saragoza, the xxi. daie of June,” 1510, says —“If your grace remember me with some crampe rynges ye shall do a thyng muche looked for, and I trust to bestow thaym well, with Godd's grace, who evermor preserve and encrease your moste reverent astate.”⁷

The Emperor's jewel case, according to Mr. Stirling, was, as might be supposed, rather miscellaneous than valuable in its contents, amongst which were various charms, such as the bezoar stone against the plague, and gold rings from England against the cramp.⁸

A letter from Dr. Thomas Magnus, Warden of Sibthorpe College, Nottinghamshire, to Cardinal Wolsey, written in 1526, contains the following curious passage:—“Pleas it your Grace to wete that M. Wiat of his goodnes sent unto me for a present certaine cramp ringges, which I distributed and gave to sondery myne acquaintance at Edinburghe, amonges other to M. Adame Otterbourne, who, with oone of thayme, releved a mann lying in the falling sekenes, in the sight of myche people; sethenne whiche tyme many requestes have been made unto me for cramp ringges, at

⁶ Anstis, *ut supra*.

⁷ Ms. Harl. 295, f. 119, cited in Gent.

Mag. vol. i. N.S. p. 50.

⁸ Cloister Life of Charles V., p. 109.

my departing there, and also sethenne my comyng frome thennes. May it pleas your Grace therefore to show your gracious pleasure to the said M. Wyat, that some ringges may be kept and sent into Scottelande ; whiche after my poore oppynnyoun shulde be a good dede, remembering the power and operacion of thayn is knowne and proved in Edinburgh, and that they be gretyly required for the same cause both by grete personnages and other.”⁹

From a passage in Burnet's History of the Reformation it appears that Henry VIII. ceased to hallow cramp rings after he was declared to be the head of the Church of England as by law established. Burnet says—“When he (Gardiner) went to Rome, in the year 1529, Anne Boleyn writ a very kind letter to him, which I have put in the Collection (Records, No. 24). By it, the reader will clearly perceive that he was then in the secret of the King's designing to marry her as soon as the divorce was obtained. There is another particular in that letter, which corrects a conjecture which I had set down in the beginning of the former book concerning the cramp rings that were blessed by King Henry, which I thought might have been done by him after he was declared head of the Church. That part was printed before I saw this letter ; but this letter shows they were used to be blessed before the separation from Rome ; for Anne Boleyn sent them as great presents thither. This use of them had been (it seems) discontinued in King Edward's time ; but now, under Queen Mary, it was designed to be revived, and the office for it was written out in a fair manuscript yet extant, of which I have put a copy in the Collection (No. 25). But the silence in the writers of that time makes me think it was seldom if ever practised.”¹

In a letter from Gardiner (1547), written to Ridley, who had preached against images, is this passage :—“The late King used to bless cramp rings both of gold and silver which were much esteemed every where, and when he was abroad they were often desired from him. This gift he hoped the young king would not neglect. He believed the invocation of the name of God might give such a virtue to holy water as well as to the water of baptism.”²

⁹ MSS. Cott. Calig. B. ii., fol. 115 (formerly 112), cited by Mr. Stevenson, *Gent. Mag.* vol. i. N. S. p. 50.

¹ Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*,

vol. ii. p. 664, ed. 1829. *Collection of Records*, No. 25. *Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. iv. p. 205.

² *Ibid.*, p. 24.

Queen Mary (whose hands were anointed at her coronation) revived the blessing of the cramp rings, as well as the touching for the king's evil; and her illuminated Manual, which she used on these occasions, is now in the possession of Cardinal Wiseman. By the kind permission of His Eminence I was enabled to submit this precious MS. to the inspection of the Institute.

On the second leaf of the MS. the service for the blessing of the rings begins with this rubric:—

“Certeyne Prayers to be used by the Quenes Heighnes in the Consecracion of the Cramperings.”

The next rubric is as follows:—“The Ryngs lyeng in one bason or moo, this Prayer shall be said over them,” &c. This is followed by the “*Benedictio Annulorum*,” consisting of several short formulæ and sentences. Then another rubric sets forth:—

“These Prayers beinge saide, the Queenes Heighnes rubbeth the Rings betwene her handes, sayinge *Sanctifica Domine Annulos*,” &c.

“Thenne must holly water be caste on the rings, sayeng, ‘*In nomine Patris et filii et spiritus sancti*,’ Amen.” Followed by two other prayers.

This Formula is printed by Burnet.³

Miss Strickland claims the blessing of the cramp rings as the peculiar privilege of the Queens of England.⁴ But her argument falls to the ground when tested by collateral and official documents. It is to this effect,—that the other Queens of England must have blessed them, because Queen Mary did so.

This is the evidence which I have been able to collect concerning the blessing of cramp rings by the sovereigns of England. Cramp rings of another sort may form the subject of a memoir on a future occasion. I regret that I am unable to accompany this essay on royal cramp rings by the representation of any example, but I have never met with a spe-

³ History of the Reformation. Vol. ii. p. 266 of Records, Book ii. no. xxv. “Ex MS. in Biblioth. R. Smith, Lond.” The possessor of this precious volume at that period was, it is believed, the titular Bishop of Chalcedon; the MS. now in the library of Cardinal Wiseman, to which reference has been made in this memoir, is apparently the

same from which Burnet printed the formula.

⁴ Lives of the Queens of England, vol. iv. p. 206. In Tytler's Letters from the State Paper Office the envoys of Queen Mary request that some newly-hallowed cramp rings should be sent for distribution.

cimen that could, with any certainty, be pronounced a royal cramp ring; neither have I found any description of the rings made, as the entries state, from the gold and silver coins offered by the King on Good Friday, and then redeemed by an equivalent sum. Probably they were plain hoop rings. In the will of John Baret, of Bury St. Edmunds, 1463, a bequest is made to "my lady Walgrave" of a "rowund ryng of the kynges silvir." In another part of his will he bequeaths to "Thomas Brews, esquier, my crampe ryng with blak innamel, and a part silvir and gilt." And, in 1535, Edmund Lee bequeaths to "my nece Thwarton my gold ryng w^t a turkes, and a crampe ryng of gold w^t all."⁵

But there is no evidence to show that the second ring mentioned by John Baret was a royal cramp ring; whereas it appears to me that the one bequeathed by Edmund Lee may have been one of the royal cramp rings, for otherwise a more particular description would have been given.

⁵ Bury Wills, p. 35, edited for the Camden Society by Mr. Tymms, pp. 35, 41, 127.

CASTELL DINAS BRÂN, NEAR LLANGOLLEN, DENBIGHSHIRE.

BY WALTER H. TREGELLAS.

It may appear strange that so remarkable and picturesque a ruined fortress as Castell Dinas Brân should hitherto have had no monograph devoted to its description. The exact date of the fabric seems to be a matter of uncertainty; the only existing portion of the building which might give a clue to the precise time of its construction having been attributed to a period somewhat subsequent to such particulars of the history of the castle as are extant. I wish therefore, in the following remarks, rather to collect such notices as I have been able to find, than to frame any hypothesis regarding the origin of this striking stronghold, or the period to which it should be assigned.

The castle is situated on an artificial plateau on the top of a conoid hill which rises about 1,000 feet above the river Dee.¹ Its position is familiar, no doubt, to most persons who have visited North Wales. The hill rises so suddenly, and it is so completely detached from the surrounding heights, that it frowns savagely down upon the quiet glens of the neighbourhood, and seems to overawe the valley of Llangollen. An earlier structure is said to have been destroyed by fire in the tenth century.²

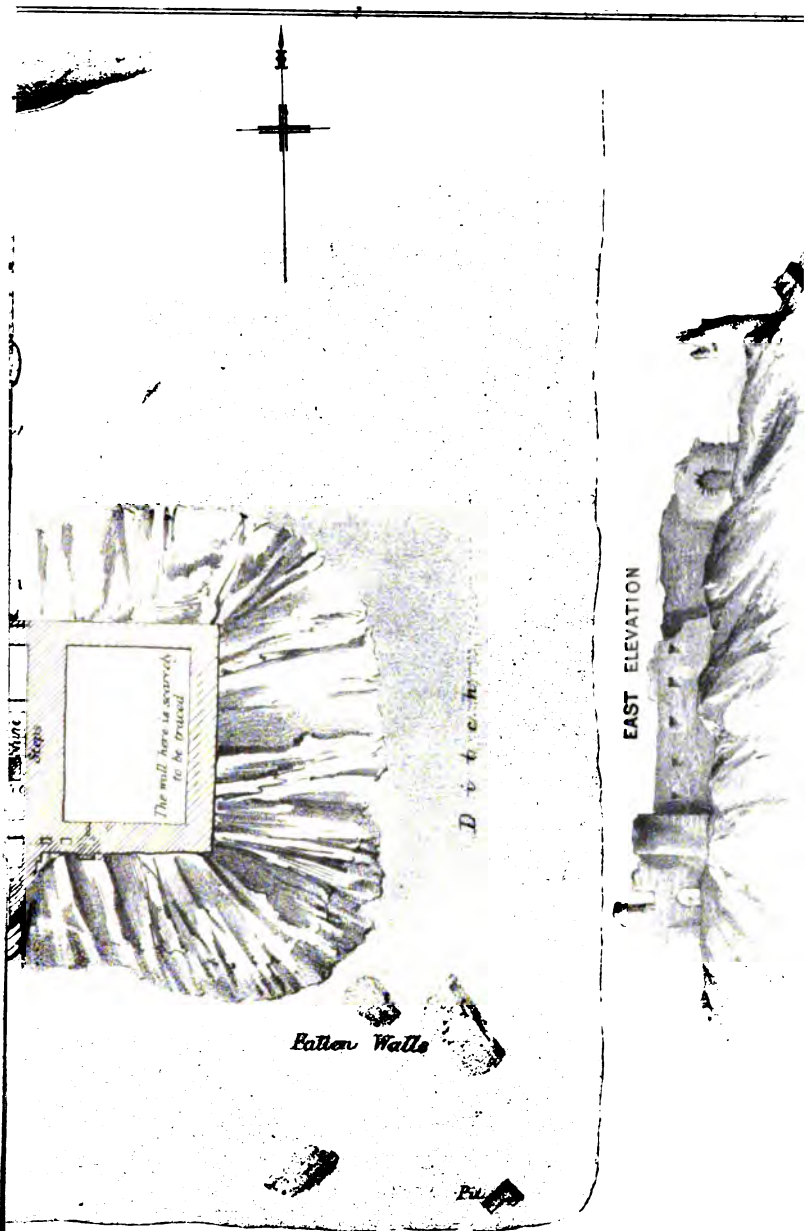
The place, in its almost inaccessible seclusion, afforded a secure refuge from the infuriated Welsh, when Gryffydd ap Madoc Maelor—his sympathies weaned from his native Wales by his English wife—took part with Henry III. and Edward I. in their endeavors to subjugate his countrymen.

There is a tradition that the present building sustained a

¹ Leland thus describes its situation:—
“Dinas Brane Castel on a rocky hille
standith almost as neere as Valis Crucis
to Dee Ripe, and going up on De Water
is somewhat lower than the Abbay:—
Llan Gotlan village is on the south side
[of Dee River] and Dinas Brane Castelle

standith spon an high hille on the North
Ripe of Dee, a 3 quarters of a mile of.”
Leland's Itin. vol. v. ff. 35, 53.

² Caradoc of Llancarfan, 601, f. 6,
Brit. Mus. Topographical Notices by
Rd. Llwyd, 1832, p. 64.



EAST ELEVATION



Feet

siege at the commencement of the fifteenth century by Owen Glyndwr, when held by Thomas Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, a strenuous supporter of the House of Lancaster.³

Dinas, signifies, beyond all doubt, a fortified place;⁴ but as regards the signification of Brân there seems to be great difference of opinion. Some have supposed that it was derived from a corruption of the name of Brennus, king of the Gauls, the brother of Belinus, as conflicts are said to have taken place between the brothers in this neighbourhood; whilst others conjecture that the name was taken from Bryn, a mountain, or from Bran, the mountain stream which runs at the foot of its northern slope. The only author of reputation who advocates the former derivation appears to be Humphrey Llwyd, "an antiquary of good repute," who, in 1568, in his "*Britanniæ descriptionis commentariolum*," referring to the history of Brennus, thus makes mention of the place,—"*castellum Dinas Brân, id est palatium Brenni vocatum*"; and again,—"*illud castellum quod palatium Brenni in hunc diem vocatur*."⁵

Pennant is amongst those who advocate the latter etymology, namely, that Dinas Brân takes its name from the mountain stream;⁶ there is a stream on the northern side, taking its rise amongst the Eglwysegle cliffs, subject to "spates" or sudden swellings after rain, which I believe

³ Owen Glyndwr had more than one stronghold in proximity to Dinas Brân, and claimed as his territory the Glyn Dyfrdwy, or Valley of the Dee, now the Vale of Llangollen. Pennant, who visited the site of his chief residence, gives the description of its ancient magnificence as sung by Iolo Goch, Owen's favorite bard. *Tour in Wales*, vol. i. p. 305. Leland remarks that "Owen Glindour had a place in Yale, upon the north side of De, caullid Ragarth, v. mile above Dinas Brane," and notices vestiges of a castle of Glyndwr's midway between Valle Crucis and Ruthin, called "Keven De, i. e., the bakke of the Blake Hille, where now shepardes kepe shepe." *Itin.* vol. v. f. 35.

⁴ See Richards' Dictionary. *v.* Din, and Tin, the same as Dinas, a city. Its primary sense, as Edward Llwyd observes, in his *Archæologia Brit.*, seems to be a fortified hill, as shown by Dinbren, *æ.* Tinbren, the township where Castell Dinas Brân is situated, and by other names of places cited *ibid.* Camden

states that the common people believed Dinas Brân "to have been built by Brennus, the Gaulish general, and called after him; others explain it, the castle of the royal palace; for *Brenn*, in British, signifies a king; whence, perhaps, that most potent king of the Gauls and Britons was called Brennus, by way of eminence. But others, I think with greater probability, derive its name from its high situation on a high hill, which the Britons call *Bryn*." Camden's *Britannia*, under Denbighshire.

⁵ Humf. Llwyd, *Brit. Descr.*, pp. 68, 91. It may not be out of place to remark here, that a fine monument of Humphrey Llwyd (or Lloid), may be seen at Whitechurch, near Denbigh, in the north aisle, near the altar; the inscription, when I saw it some time ago, was half hidden by the back of a pew, and nearly obliterated with plaster.

⁶ *Tour in Wales*, vol. i. p. 280, where a general view of the castle and adjacent country is given.

the word Bran implies, but I have been unable to find, either from the Ordnance survey or from inquiries in the neighbourhood, whether its name is or ever has been Bran. It should also be noticed that Bran in Welsh means a crow;⁷ and the castle is called "Crow Castle" by the inhabitants of Llangollen, where there is an inn with that sign.⁸

Close under the hill lies a smaller eminence, called Dinbren, on which are still to be seen traces of what appears to have been an ancient encampment; and possibly the syllable "bren" may have been derived from the same root as Brân. Watson, in his history of the Earls of Warren, says distinctly that Dinas Bran "gives its name to the township of Dinbren in which it stands."⁹ In the west of England some isolated hills,¹ such as this, have Bren or Brent prefixed to their names, and there may perhaps be some common origin for the two words.

The general arrangement of the structure will be understood by the accompanying plan and elevations. No elevation is here given of the western side because the ruins are, on that side, nearly level with the surface. The dotted lines at the south west angle are taken from a small-scale survey in the War Office, made by a candidate for a cadetship in the corps of Royal Engineers, in 1831, to which I have been enabled to refer by the kind permission of Sir John Burgoyne. If researches by excavation are ever made at this castle, it would be desirable to ascertain whether any remains can be found to correspond with the plan at this point.

The walls have been built chiefly from the *déblai* of the

⁷ "Brân, a crow; Branos, young crows," &c. Richards' Welsh Dictionary. Pennant rejects the supposition that the castle hence took its name. Edward Lhuyd, in his *Adversaria*, appended to Baxter's *Glossarium Antiquæ Britannicæ*, p. 267, gives "Bran, a crow, probably from its swiftness. There is a brook of this name by Lhan-Gollen, in Denbighshire, whence the name of Dinas Brân, and not, as Humphrey Lhuyd and Camden suppose, from the Gaulish general, Brennus."

⁸ "Dinas Brân is vulgarly called *Crow Castle*, from *Bran*, a crow, but more probably derived by E. Lhuyd, from the brook *Bran*, which is crossed by a bridge near Llangollen." *Additions to Camden's Brit.*, edit. Gough, vol. iii. p. 218.

⁹ Watson's *Memoirs of the Earls of Warren*, vol. i. p. 266, where a view of the castle is given, showing its position and the approach to the plateau on which it stands. This engraving is not a very trustworthy representation.

¹ Such as Brent Tor, near Tavistock, and Brent Knoll, near Axbridge, where there are traces of a Roman camp. Agsin, about a mile west of Sancreed church, at the Land's End, are traces of an ancient hill-fort called *Caer Brân*. And whilst casting about for the etymology of the word, it has occurred to me that Bran is the reputed name of the father of Caractacus, and king of the Cymry. Bran may have been the name of some early occupant of the stronghold.

noble fosse on the south and east sides of the castle ; they are composed of rather small slaty stones, imbedded in a good mortar, which has been freely used. In many places, the wall of the enceinte can scarcely now be traced ; and it is only at those parts which appear to have been the principal entrance and the keep, that any considerable mass of masonry is now standing. In no part does any upper room remain, and indeed the only portion of the ruins which is not open to the sky is a chamber with three small circular holes in its vaulted roof, near the principal entrance, and which has proved an enigma to all recent inquirers.² The castle was in ruins in Leland's time ; and the fragments that remain are falling rapidly into decay. Unless the southern wall is underpinned without delay, it is not improbable that the destruction of the southern front—by far the most striking and important part which exists—must speedily occur.³ From the absence of all foliage on so bleak an eminence, the scene is not invested with the picturesque air which so frequently surrounds a castle in ruins ; but two or three ferns, which I believe are rather uncommon, grow on the walls, and the view from the castle amply repays the visitor for the ascent of the hill.

In some places are to be found mutilated free-stone voussoirs, bases of shafts, groins, sills, and corbels, apparently of the stone of the neighbourhood obtained at Cefn.

The principal approach was from the south-east, through Llandin farm, just below which a bridge once crossed the Dee on the road of communication between Castell Dinas Brân and Castell Crogen (Chirk Castle). This road doubtless formed a connecting link in the great chain of border-fortresses in the Welsh marches.

On the north and west sides there is no ditch ; on the north the hill is almost precipitous, and on the western side, it is only after two or three rests in a scramble of about a quarter of a mile, that the summit is reached. Even the ardour of a lover-bard, Howel ap Einion Lygliw, could not pass unnoticed the steepness of the hill ; for, writing a long poem to the celebrated beauty, Myfanwy Vechan, a

² The entrance to the Château de Coucy, described and figured in M. Viollet Le Duc's *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture Française*, p. 168, is more like it

than any other that I have examined.

³ The southern front still stands, July, 1864.

descendant of the House of Tudor Trevor, and whose father probably held the castle under the Earls of Arundel, in 1390, he says,—

“ Though hard the steep ascent to gain,
Thy smiles were harder to obtain.”

It has been stated that the lovely Myfanwy's tomb is to be seen at Valle Crucis Abbey ; but this appears to have been the resting-place of another Myfanwy, the wife of Yeaf ap Adam of Trefor.

In the Beauties of England and Wales,⁴ the Rev. J. Evans has stated that there were two wells and a chapel in the castle. Mr. Llwyd, in his Topographical Notes to Caradoc of Llancarfan, and Mr. Wyndham,⁵ repeat this statement as to the wells, but I have been unable to find any traces of them. Both Mr. Llwyd and Mr. Wyndham mention that there were drawbridges over the fosse, and the former states that there were two drawbridges.

Where Tower Farm now stands, about a mile distant to the west, there existed formerly, it is said, a tower, which was a sort of advanced post of the castle ; and there is the common rumour of a subterranean passage having existed between the two places.

What can be further said of the history of this interesting old fortress ? The date of its abandonment is unknown ; and in the days of Henry VIII. Leland could only say—
“ The castelle of Dinas Brane was never bygge thing, but sette al for strenght as in a place half inaccessible for enemies. It is now al in ruine, and there bredith every yere an egle. And the egle doth sorely assaut hym that distroith the nest, goyng down in one basket, and having a nother over his hedde to defend the sore stripe of the egle.”⁶

Conjecture, however, is busy on the subject. Mr. King observes, in his *Munimenta Antiqua*, that, “ It is known that it existed as a castle in British times ;”⁷ but he gives no authority for this statement. Nor is it anything more than an opinion on Pennant's part, when he says that a primitive

⁴ North Wales, vol. xvii. p. 559.

⁵ Wyndham's Tours through Wales in 1774 and 1777.

⁶ Itinerary, vol. v. pp. 35, 53, edition, 1745.

⁷ Vol. iii. p. 125.

Welsh castle formerly occupied the position.⁸ He is further of opinion that Eliseg, prince of Powys, whose pillar still stands on a mound in one of the meadows near Valle Crucis Abbey, lived here; and remarks that the letters on that pillar resemble those in use in the sixth century.⁹

From the absence of any evidence of a later time, and notwithstanding the date which has been given to one of the voussoirs at the north-east entrance, it appears probable that the castle was built in the days of Henry III., by one of the Welsh lords of Bromfield¹ and Yale; possibly by the Gryffydd ap Madoc Maelor, to whom reference has already been made, and who was buried at Valle Crucis Abbey, in 1270. He was the only son of Madoc ap Gryffydd Maelor, who founded the abbey in 1200, and the great grandson of Owen Gwynedd, Prince of North Wales about 1137. The Maelors seem to have been a powerful family.² They were lords of Bromfield and Yale, of which Castell Dinas Brân formed part, and also of the territory of Tref y Waun, in which Chirk Castle, formerly called Castell Crogen, now stands.

Gryffydd retired to Dinas Brân to seclude himself from his infuriated fellow-countrymen, when, after his marriage with an English woman, Emma, daughter of James, Lord Audley, he transferred his sword as well as his heart to the foreigner. But what the Welsh in those days considered no doubt a righteous judgment fell upon him. After his death the guardianship of his young sons was conferred by Edward I. on two of his favorites; John, seventh Earl of Warren, received under his tutelage Madoc, and Roger Mortimer, son of Roger, Baron of Wigmore, was appointed guardian of Llewelyn.³ It is stated that the two children were soon afterwards drowned under Holt Bridge, which is seventeen or eighteen miles distant. This is said to have happened in 1281. John, Earl Warren, obtained the fortress of Dinas Brân, with the lordship of Bromfield and Yale; his grant bears date 7th October, 10 Edward I. (1282),⁴ whilst Mortimer made himself master of Tref y Waun.

⁸ Pennant, *Tour in Wales*, vol. i. p. 280.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 374.

¹ Maylor (Maelor) is Bromfield in English, according to Leland.

² *Rotuli Wallie*, 81, Memb. 3.

³ See Powell's *Hist. of Wales*, p. 194;

cited in Dugdale's *Bar.* vol. i. p. 79.

⁴ *Rot. Wall. ann. 10 Edw. I.* "Concessio castri de Dynasbran et totius terre de Bromfeld confirmata Johanni de Warena comiti Surreie. Apud Rothelan, 7 Oct."

According, however, to a statement in Watson's Memoirs of the Earls of Warren, it is uncertain whether the king himself did not cause the children to be put to death.⁵ From the Warrens, Castell Dinas Brân passed by marriage to the Fitzalans; it now belongs to Colonel Biddulph, of Chirk Castle. Gryffydd's youngest son appears to have escaped his brothers' fate; and John Earl Warren obtained from Edward I. a grant, dated 12th February, 1282, of the tract of Glyndwrwy (terra de Glyndeoerdo), for Gryffydd Vechan.⁶

This is all that I have been able to gather on the subject. I should feel gratified if my enquiries might lead to more careful research into the history of this ruined fortress, and especially if these remarks should lead to the rescue of the remaining fragments from the destruction which now seems imminent.⁷

⁵ Vol. i. p. 268; the learned author observes that historians leave us too much in the dark to allow of any decision in regard to the alienation of the estates of Madoc, "Caradoc of Llancarvan expressly charging the whole transaction to the king's account." As that historian however, is supposed to have died in 1157, the statement in question may

have been derived from some later chronicler by whom his history was continued. See Williams's Biog. Dict., under Caradawg.

⁶ Rot. Wall. ann. 11 Edw. I.

⁷ Views of Castell Dinas Brân may be found in Henry Gastineau's Views of Antiquities in Wales, and in some other topographical works.

ON THE DATE OF THE FOUNDATION OF URIOCONIUM AND OF
CAERLEON-ON-USK, WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE SITE OF
THE OVERTHROW OF CARACTACUS.

By the REV. HARRY M. SCARTH, M.A., *Prebendary of Wells.*

THE foundation of the city of Urioconium in Shropshire, which has of late attracted attention by the remains which excavations have brought to light, may probably be fixed in the times of the campaign of Ostorius Scapula against the British chief Caractacus, about the middle of the first century of the Christian era. The situation of Urioconium, on the borders of the Cornavii, and adjacent to the Silures and Ordovices, placed on the east bank of a noble river navigable up to the walls, together with the extent and importance of the city in after times, gives the impression that it must have been very early chosen as the spot from whence operations could be carried on against that chief, who held the country immediately to the westward. Moreover, the hill within sight of the ancient city still bears the name of Caractacus, being called *Caer Caradoc*, having been probably held by him as one of the frontier strongholds.

As some doubt attaches to the spot where the last battle was fought between Ostorius and Caractacus, and as much has been written on the subject, I would venture to put forth some arguments, not to prove the precise spot where the British chief was defeated, but to point out the probability that the city of Urioconium may have owed its origin to that campaign. We are told by Tacitus that Publius Ostorius, *proprætor* in Britain, having found affairs in a distracted state, took care by prompt action on first coming to his command in Britain, to rout and disperse his enemies, and then to form a line of fortified camps between the rivers *Antona* (*Aufona*?) and the *Severn*,—"Cinctosque castris *Antonam* (*Aufonam*) et *Sabrinam* fluvios cohibere parat."¹ By the celerity of his movements he left the Britons no time

¹ Tacitus, *Ann. lib. xii. 80—85.*

to combine against him. In the seven years preceding the appointment of Ostorius, Plautius and Vespasian had subdued the southern and western counties, as far as the Bristol Channel and along the valley of the Thames, comprising the territories of the Cantii (Kent) and the Regni (Surrey, Sussex, parts of Kent and Berkshire); the Belgæ and Damnonii (Cornwall, Devon, and Somerset) were reduced to the form of a province, and a colony of veterans was placed at Camulodunum. This new colony was planted on the borders of the country of the Trinobantes, to protect the eastern frontier of England against the Iceni. Mr. Leman, in his MS. notes to Horsley's *Britannia Romana* preserved in the library of the Bath Literary Institution, considers that the site of the British city at Lexden in Essex, where there was a deficiency of water, was then exchanged by the Romans for the preferable situation on the banks of the Colne at Colchester.

The line of fortified posts drawn by Ostorius has been a subject of much discussion; it was this act which seems to have roused into open hostilities the Iceni, the inhabitants of Norfolk and Suffolk, who were before friendly to the Romans.

Mr. Leman says—"The rivers Antona and Sabrina have been by some supposed to have been the Bath Avon and the Severn: but, in this case, how would the fortifications on the first of these rivers have anything to do with the Iceni? By others the Antona has been imagined, and indeed with more probability, to be the Avon which runs from Warwickshire, and falls into the Severn near Tewkesbury, as this might have served as a line of defence against the lately conquered Dobuni, and against the incursions of the Cornabii; but still it would be no use against the only enemy Ostorius had to fear, the great and powerful nation of the Iceni; for this reason Lipsius, followed by Camden, seeing the absurdity of the first hypothesis and the impossibility of the second, proposed amending the passage by substituting Aufona in the place of Antona. Now, as we know from Richard of Cirencester that the Aufona was the *Nen*, which, rising on the borders of Warwickshire, runs easterly by Boston Flats, I examined, with my friend the Bishop of Cloyne, this line attentively in the year 1795, and found the remains of fortifications of Ostorius completed on the eastern

side, almost as far as the Watling Street; while, on the Avon, which I before mentioned as running from Warwick to Tewkesbury (where this officer did not fear the enemy so much), the greater stations only were finished, without the chain of connecting fortified posts between them."² The line of fortified posts would thus extend from Boston Flats to Tewkesbury.

It seems that while making preparations to draw this line of forts the Iceni took alarm, and having hazarded a battle with the Romans, they were defeated and brought under the Roman power. No doubt after this the line of forts was completed, by which the conquests of the Romans to the south of the rivers above mentioned were secured. If we look to the map of Roman Britain, we shall see that there is a continuous line of strong Roman posts to be traced from near Peterborough, across the island to the Severn at Tewkesbury. We read further in the narration by Tacitus, "*ceterum clade Icenorum compositi . . . ductus in Cangos exercitus.*" Here therefore we find Ostorius at the opposite or western side of the island, having constructed his line of fortified stations.

The Cangi, or Cangiani, says Mr. Leman,³ were a small tribe, who possessed the westerly parts of Caernarvonshire, under their capital, Segontium, and lying immediately opposite to Ireland. This statement is confirmed by the fact that the extreme point of the promontory which forms the northern limit of Cardigan Bay, now Braich y Pwll, is called by Ptolemy "*Ganganorum Promontorium,*" and also by the discovery of a number of leaden pigs near Chester, inscribed DE CEANG.

Camden, in his notices of Runcorn and Halton Castle, in Cheshire, records the discovery of twenty pigs of lead on the coast of Cheshire, inscribed with the names of Vespasian

² See Leman's MS. notes on Horsaey's Britannia Rom., in the Library of the Bath Lit. Inst. Sir R. Colt Hoare, in his *Giraldus Camb.*, *Introd.*, p. xcix, points out that Richard of Cirencester, (*De situ Brit.*, lib. i. c. vi. 30.) describing the rivers on the eastern coast, says, "*Fluminum notissima sunt Garion (Gare), Sarius (Stour) et Aufona, in Sinu Meteorin sese exonerans.*" As we know that the *Sinus Meteoris* was Boston Deep, we have every reason to suppose that the

Aufona was the river Nene; and from the unusual number of fortified camps on its eastern banks, we might almost conclude that Tacitus had mistaken the Antona for the Aufona." Whatever we may think of the authenticity of Richard of Cirencester, there seems no reason to doubt that his work was compiled from authentic sources, as his statements are confirmed by subsequent discoveries.

³ Horsaey's *Brit. Rom.*, c. 2, p. 25.

and Domitian. On the latter were the words—*DE CEANG*, and Camden, discussing the question of the locality of the *Cangi*, inclined to place them in Cheshire.⁴

Pennant observes that the ore which produced this lead was dug and smelted either in that part of Flintshire anciently called *Tegangle*, the summer residence of the *Cangi*, or from the residence of the same people in Derbyshire, or some neighbouring county.⁵

Tacitus, after describing the reduction of the *Cangi*, says—“*Jamque ventum haud procul mari quod Hiberniam insulam aspectat.*”⁶ This corresponds exactly with the locality in which the lead was found, and we may conclude that the *Cangi* occupied the country extending betwixt the promontory which bears their name and the River *Dee*, and probably also parts of Cheshire and Derbyshire.

It seems that at this time Chester must have been selected as a point of military occupation where the twentieth legion was quartered. We have thus the southern part of the island cut off from the northern, and a line of communication existing from sea to sea, the two extreme points of which are accessible from the sea, by which the fleet could communicate with the army on either side of the island.

Since the foregoing observations were written, I have received a copy of *Notes on Roman Inscriptions found in Britain*, by the Rev. Dr. McCaul, LL.D., Principal of University College, Toronto.⁷ Speaking of the inscriptions on the pigs of lead which bear the mark *CEANG*, Dr. McCaul observes—“these seem to be the *Cangi* of Tacitus (*Ann.* xii. 32,) *ductus in Cangos exercitus.*” Different opinions have been formed relative to the position of the *Cangi*. Camden,⁸ Gibson, Gough, and the author of the *Index to the Monumenta Historica*, place them in Somerset. Camden subsequently altered his opinion, and was inclined to place them in Cheshire. Thus also Dr. Latham regards North Wales as a likelier locality than Somerset.⁹ In this opinion Dr.

⁴ Camden's *Britannia*, edit. 1607, p. 463; Gough's edit., 1806, vol. iii. pp. 45, 61. A pig of lead with the same mark was found in Staffordshire, and is now in the British Museum. See Mr. Albert Way's inventory of pigs of lead found in Great Britain, given in this Journal, vol. xvi. p. 28.

⁵ Pennant's *Tour through Wales*, vol. i. p. 57.

⁶ Tacitus, *Ann.*, lib. xii. 32.

⁷ These valuable notes appeared first in the *Canadian Journal*, and have been published subsequently in a collected form. Toronto, H. Rowsell; Lond., Longmans, 1862, 8vo. See pp. 9, 36.

⁸ *Britannia*, edit. Gough, vol. i. p. 82.

⁹ *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, by Dr. Smith, v. *Cangi*.

McCaul concurs. "The position," he observes, "suits better the description of Tacitus—'jam ventum haud procul mari quod Hiberniam insulam aspectat.' It accords also with the situation of Cancanorum, or Ganganorum, Promontorium of Ptolemy ; and Flintshire, in which, and the adjoining counties of Cheshire and Denbighshire, I would place the Cangi, was probably even then noted for its lead-mines, at present the most productive in the island. Horsley, and the author of the Index in the Monumenta Historica Britannica, identify the 'Canganorum Promontorium' as Brachy pult Point in Caernarvonshire, which suggests that the Cangi may have occupied that county also."¹ I am, however, inclined to suggest the Great Orme's Head.

We are informed by Tacitus that, after the subjection of the Cangi, the Brigantes gave the Roman general some trouble—"ortæ apud Brigantes discordiæ retraxere ducem;" but this rising was soon put down. The Roman general was thus taken further north, probably into Yorkshire ; he was from thence obliged to march against the Silures ; and here a difficulty is supposed to have arisen in the account of the Roman historian. After mentioning the Silures as perfectly intractable, and requiring the strength of the legionaries to bring them into subjection, Tacitus says—"Id quo promptius veniret, colonia Camulodunum valida veteranorum manu deducitur in agros captivos, subsidium adversus rebelles, et imbuendis Sociis ad officia legum."² The mention of this need, does not, however, necessitate that the Roman general should have returned to Camulodunum, and settled the garrison there himself, or marched his whole army back thither out of Cheshire. It was a wise proceeding to place a strong garrison at Camulodunum, where the Icenii might have given trouble, while he marched against the Silures at the opposite side of the island. The expression—"id quo promptius veniret"—would rather lead us to suppose that he marched at once against the Silures from the north, probably by way of Chester or Manchester, and it may be taking the road which led from Mancunium to Urioconium.

The fact that Caractacus "transferred" the war into the country of the Ordovices, would rather lead us to think that

¹ Dr. McCaul's Brit. Rom. Insc., p. 36.

² Tacitus, Ann., lib. xii. 32.

the Romans attacked him on their march out of the country of the Brigantes. Caractacus is not said to have been driven out of the country of the Silures : the expression is as follows —“transfert bellum in Ordovicos,” probably knowing that country to be the most defensible.³ Operations had probably been carried on against Caractacus also from the south, and he may have abandoned to the Romans the country about Caer-went—if Caer-went was, really his capital, as some antiquaries think—but the main body of the Roman army appears to have been with Ostorius marching from the north.

This is not, however, the general view. Thus Sir Richard C. Hoare, in his Introduction to Giraldu Cambrensis, says—“The private road between Caerleon, Abergavenny, Kenchester, and Wroxeter, was the line on which the main body of Ostorius’ army acted, and Brandon Camp, in Herefordshire, the place from whence he made the attack and carried the fortified entrenchments of Caractacus at Coxall Knoll.”⁴ In another note he says—“Many different situations have been ascribed to the scene of action between Caractacus and Ostorius ; but none rest on such strong grounds of probability as the stations of Brandon Camp and Coxall Knoll. The first of these is situated a little to the west of the great Roman road leading from Magna or Kenchester to Urioconium, or Wroxeter, and between Wigmore and Leintwardine. Its form is square, and the fragments of Roman pottery which may still be picked up within its precincts, evidently prove its origin. The second is within sight, and distant from the Roman camp about three miles, and a little above the village of Brampton Brian. It crowns the summit of a lofty hill, well covered with oak trees, and is (like the generality of British fortresses) very irregular in shape. The river Teme runs through the vale near the foot of the hill.”

This is the spot supposed by many antiquaries to have been the site of the battle so graphically described by the Roman historian. A little further to the north-west, on a

³ Moreover there seems to have been a good understanding between the Silures and the Brigantes. They seem to have been in one mind as to the necessity of opposing the Roman power; and now that the Brigantes had been put down, the Silures must make their defence as

strong as possible, and give the invading force no advantage. Hence Caractacus probably met them on the borders of Montgomeryshire.

⁴ Hoare’s edit. of Giraldu, *Introd.* note, p. ci.

hill, is a very perfect camp, called "The Gaer Ditches," evidently British, fortified by a double ditch and rampart; here it has been supposed that the wife and daughter of Caractacus may have been captured. The same opinion as to the locality was held by Mr. Leman. A writer in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*⁵ adopts the same view, and argues in favour of this site with some ingenuity; while Mr. Leman, in his Notes to Horsley, supposes Caractacus to have marched along the road from Caerleon to Urioconium, when, as Tacitus states,—“*transtulit bellum in Ordovicos;*” and he observes that “the territories of the Ordovices, mentioned by Tacitus, were separated from those of the Demetæ and Silures by the Teme and the Dovey. It was probably upon the banks of the former that Caractacus placed himself to oppose the force of the invading enemy; having retreated before the Romans by the road which led, and which indeed still remains, between Caerleon and Wroxeter, and must then have been only a British trackway.” Mr. Leman also would fix the site of the celebrated battle at Coxwall Knoll, on the borders of Herefordshire. Although it may appear presumptuous to differ from such high authorities, after carefully inspecting the site, I cannot agree with their conclusion—as the Roman general Ostorius seems to have been advancing from the north, and coming from the country of the Brigantes—unless we are to suppose that an interval of time elapsed between the conclusion of his expedition against that people and his commencing the war with Caractacus, of which no intimation is given by the historian. I am therefore inclined, with Mr. Ffoulkes, to fix upon the Brydden Hill as a point answering better with the circumstances of the battle recorded by Tacitus. The Severn flowing at the foot of that mountain, answers better to the character given of the river,—“*Et præfluebat amnis vado incerto.*” It is a far more serious impediment than the Teme, especially if at all swollen. Mr. Ffoulkes, in his paper read before the Cambrian Archæological Society, supposes the Roman camp, the head-quarters of Ostorius, must have been at Clawdd Coch, within sight of the Brydden, and about

⁵ New Series, vol. iii. p. 203, 1852. Mr. Wynne Ffoulkes, in an able paper in the same publication, considers that the

Brydden, in Montgomeryshire, answers better to the description of Tacitus.

five miles distant—which would be the point occupied by them if coming from the north.⁶

Another site has also been suggested for this battle, as may be seen in Mr. Hartshorne's *Salopia Antiqua*, where the subject is treated at length, and the same view taken as that of Sir Richard Hoare, namely, that Ostorius was marching from the south-east; not having, however, personally examined any other sites than those I have here considered, I would not at present venture any further opinion.

If the Brydden Hill be the point, the distance from Urioconium would be about ten or twelve miles, and to this point supplies would be readily brought from the country to the east of the Severn, then in the possession of the Romans.

In an enquiry into the first rise of Urioconium, the question necessarily suggests itself, at what period was the second legion first stationed at Caerleon-on-Usk? This seems to have been one of the points from whence the war against the Silures was carried on. The second legion, under Vespasian, had conquered the country south of the Bristol Channel, where he had thirty conflicts with the enemy. Suetonius states that Vespasian having been sent by Claudius into Germany as legate,—“in Britanniam translatus, *tricies cum hoste conflixit; duas validissimas gentes, superque viginti oppida, et insulam Vectem Britanniae proximam, in deditionem redegit.*”⁷ All the coast of the Bristol Channel being under Roman power, supplies could most conveniently be drawn from thence to that point on the river Usk where Caerleon is situated, and the establishment of a Roman garrison there, composed of the second legion, may in all probability be assigned to the commencement of the war with the Silures, A.D. 50. Horsley, however, conjectures that the Romans did not settle there till the reign of Antoninus Pius. If Caerleon became a Roman station as early as I suppose, there would be three principal points by which the conquered part of the island would be held at that period,—namely, Camulodunum or Colchester, Deva or Chester, and Caerleon in Monmouthshire,—it may be also Glevum or Gloucester.⁸ We are not told what were the

⁶ *Archaeol. Camb.*, vol. ii. New Series, p. 122.

⁷ Suetonius, in vit. T. F. Vespasiani, cap. iv. 1.

⁸ Sir R. C. Hoare seems to think that the Leg. II. Aug. was stationed at Caerleon previous to A.D. 53.

legions sent over by Claudius, or the amount of the numbers that formed his army, but the command of the second legion had been conferred on Vespasian⁹ when in Britain; and we find from subsequent history that the second, the ninth, the fourteenth, and the twentieth legions, with their auxiliaries, were serving in Britain.¹ From the account of the battle with Boadicea, it appears that these legions were here in the time of Nero. According to Tacitus, the ninth legion was surprised and cut off; the fourteenth and the vexillarii of the twentieth were in the battle; and the second, though in Britain, and probably stationed at Caerleon, was absent, through the fault of the commander, Pœnius Postumus.

These circumstances induce the belief that the second legion was first stationed at Caerleon-on-Usk, at the time when Ostorius began his campaign against Caractacus.

The Roman road from Caerleon to Urioconium is to be traced with great certainty, and is accurately laid down in the maps of Roman Britain. Along that line we have several important towns, which no doubt were of later growth, and probably had their rise in camps formed to subjugate the Silures. Thus the principal stations on the Roman road from Caerleon to Urioconium are,—Burrium (Usk), Gobannium (Abergavenny), Magna (Kenchester), and Bravinium (near Leintwardine); but of these by far the most important seems to have been Urioconium. Six ancient roads seem to have centred there, three of which passed into Wales. From this it would appear to have been a central point, from whence supplies had been drawn for the war against Caractacus, and probably a point in which fresh levies were concentrated. Again, in the march of Suetonius for the conquest of Anglesea, it must have taken an important part, as well as in his march from thence to suppress the revolt of Boadicea; and when Agricola, A.D. 78, finally reduced Mona, Urioconium must have been a point of primary importance. It could hardly in later times have held the same position, as the Roman arms were more occupied in the north of England, but it probably became a place of traffic for the produce of the mines of Shropshire and North

⁹ Tacit., Hist., lib. iii. ch. xlv.

¹ Sir R. C. Hoare says, "The second legion came into Britain during the reign of the Emperor Claudius, under the command of Vespasian, and continued in

it as long as the Romans. History does not inform us if it was employed by Ostorius in his memorable battle with Caractacus, or by Suetonius in his expedition against Mona."

Wales. Situated in the heart of a rich and fertile valley, with a noble river available for navigation, it must have ranked as one of the most flourishing mercantile cities, until, abandoned by the Romans, and having subsisted for nearly a century and a half under Romano-British rule, it fell at length, as seems most probable, under the sword of the invading Saxon.²

It is to be regretted that the funereal inscription to a Roman soldier, lately found, adds nothing to the knowledge already obtained from the inscribed stones discovered at Wroxeter, the number of the legion being partly obliterated ; but so large and promising a field of investigation remains, that if the explorations so successfully commenced be pursued vigorously, we shall doubtless hereafter obtain what may confirm the truth of previous history, if it does not extend its limits and clear up its obscurities.

REPORT ON THE PROGRESS OF THE EXCAVATIONS AT
WROXETER, THE ROMAN URIOCONIUM, SINCE JULY, 1860.

By the REV. HARRY M. SCARTH, M.A., Prebendary of Wells.

AT the meeting of the Institute at Gloucester, in July, 1860, I had the pleasure of bringing before the members an account of the discoveries which had been made at Wroxeter up to that date.¹ In the three years which have elapsed since that time the excavations have been continued, but they have not been confined to the same ground where the first discoveries were made. It was considered by the Excavation Committee that enough had been done for the present in ascertaining the form of the buildings and the direction of the streets, shown in the excellent survey by Mr. Hillary Davies engraved for this Journal,² and that the cemetery on the east side of the city was more likely to yield new matter of interest to the antiquary.

² See Dr. Guest's Memoir, *Archaeol. Journal*, vol. xix. p. 215.

¹ Printed in the *Archaeol. Journal*, vol. xvii. p. 240.

² *Archaeol. Journal*, vol. xvi. p. 266. See also the Guide to the Ruins of Uriconium, by Mr. Thomas Wright, Shrewsbury, 1859.

Although the ground-plans of several extensive buildings had been laid bare, and the floors uncovered, yet neither altar nor inscription of any kind had been found. The relics discovered consisted chiefly of bones, broken pottery, fictitious Samian ware, a touchstone, and a mass of powdered granite, possibly for lining the vessels known as *mortaria*, and to render them rough, 13 coins, a leaden ornament, a peculiar skiff-shaped capsule of bronze, in form resembling a little basket, possibly intended for use as a purse to be worn on the arm, and similar to that found at Thorngraston, Northumberland, as described by Dr. Collingwood Bruce,³ a coin of Antoninus, a block of red sandstone, bearing the letters G M M, deeply cut, a heavy mass of impure iron, probably weighing about one cwt., and considered to be an anvil, many shells of a large white kind, a prettily formed female head cut in red sandstone, the eye-holes having been filled with pieces of vitreous paste, which has fallen out, leaving the sockets empty, a hammer-head of lead, and a fine fibula with the word *FECIT* inscribed upon it; these were the articles discovered from the latter part of the summer of 1860 until the autumn of 1861. It was then determined that examination should be made of the ground which had always been regarded as the necropolis of *Urioconium*. Accordingly, on September 16, 1861, workmen were directed to trench the field to the eastward of the city, which had long been known as the cemetery. There it was that the sepulchral stones were found which are now preserved in the school library at Shrewsbury. The Watling Street passes out of the city by what has been known as the ancient East-gate, and along the line of this road the cemetery extends.

After the men had been at work two days, they found a large inscribed stone, the upper portion of which had evidently contained a figure in relief, which was broken away, but the under portion, bearing an inscription of seven lines, remained perfect, although many of the letters are almost obliterated, so that it is feared the whole inscription cannot with certainty be made out. The stone was found with the inscribed portion downwards. Search was made for the

³ Figured in Dr. Bruce's *Roman Wall*, p. 416; and in Akerman's *Coins of the Romans relating to Britain*. Another specimen found at Farndale, Yorkshire,

is figured in this *Journal*, vol. viii. p. 89. See notices of other like relics, *Catalogue of the Museum formed at the meeting of the Institute at Edinburgh*, p. 61.

upper part, but without effect. A photograph of this stone has been taken by Mr. Colley, and also an accurate drawing executed by Mr. Hillary Davies; a photograph was also taken of the pottery then dug up.⁴ The feet alone of the figure remain, which are apparently those of a soldier wearing the military *caligæ* or sandals.

The letters—AMINIVS—are distinct, with sufficient space intervening between the A and the outer margin of the stone to admit the letters FL. If we read the name Flaminius, after the s follows the letter T, and what appears to be a stop, and we naturally look for an F, but the T is followed by the word POLIA, which would ordinarily be taken to indicate the tribe (*Pollia*) to which the soldier belonged, but we have only one L on the stone. I am inclined, therefore, to think it must be taken for a *cognomen* of Flaminius, and that the F after the T must have been omitted in error.

In the inscription to C. Mannius, found in the same cemetery many years since, we read C. MANNIVS C. F. POL. SECVNDVS.⁵

The second line of the newly-found inscription, which gives the age of the deceased as forty-five, and the period of service twenty-two, may be plainly read, except the letters after the abbreviated words MIL. LEG., if indeed there were any, as the space seems to suggest, though none are now traceable. The beginning of the next line is defaced, and we have only two straight strokes—II—which probably give only a part of the number of the legion, and therefore we are left to conjecture whether it was the second or the fourteenth. We have from the same cemetery a stone to the memory of a soldier of the fourteenth legion, which is also inscribed GEM.; this tablet is noticed in a preceding paper in the *Archæological Journal*.⁶ After the title of the legion the word MILITAVI follows, and then AQ: probably for *aquilifer*; then NVNC, and the letters HI, and, after a small intervening space, an s just discernible, and probably to be read HIC SITVS or HIC. SVM. After this seem to follow three hexameter lines, a few words of which only are to be deciphered at intervals, the last line ending TEMPVS HONESTE.

⁴ It is engraved, *Gent. Mag.*, vol. ccxii. April, 1862, p. 401.

⁵ See the author's memoir in this *Journal*, vol. xvi. p. 63; and Mr. Wright's

second memoir on *Uriconium*, where this memorial is figured, *Journal Brit. Arch. Ass.*, 1859, p. 311.

⁶ See *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xvi. p. 63.

They may be conjecturally restored, but I fear little more can be done. The Rev. John McCaul, LL.D., President of University College, Toronto, to whom I sent an accurate photograph of this inscription on its first discovery, has published his interpretation in a valuable selection of Britanno-Roman Inscriptions, with Critical Notes,⁷ which are well worth the attention of scholars fond of inscriptions.

Dr. McCaul would read the inscription thus:—T. [or C.] FLAMINIVS. T. F. POL. (tribu), POLIA being used for POLLIA. The second line he reads as I have done:—ANNORVM XXXV. STIPENDIORVM XXII. MILES LEGIONIS. In the third line he would read XIV for the number of the legion, and AQ. for *aquilifer*, thus:—XIII. GEMINAE. MILITAVI. AQVILIFER. NVNC HIC SVM.

Dr. McCaul observes that the use of the first person in funereal inscriptions is common, and the word MILITAVI is clear; also we have an example of HIC SVM in Orelli, n. 4738, and Henzen, n. 7411. The hexameter lines he thus completes:—

“ Perlegite et felices vitâ plus minus jura,⁸
Omnibus æquâ lege iter est ad Tænara Ditis,
Vivite, dum Stygius vitæ dat tempus, honeste.”

On the use of *vivere* and *honeste* in such inscriptions, see Orelli, n. 4807, and Henzen, nn. 6843, 7347, 7402, 7407. Should the conjecture be correct, that this stone is the memorial to a soldier of the fourteenth legion, it is the second found in this cemetery, and adds one to the few memorials that remain in this island of the legion which bore the title *Domitores Britannicæ*; the only other record being the funereal stone found at Lincoln.⁹

The stone was found about seventy feet from the hedge which divides the field from the old road known by the name of the Watling Street; and about sixty feet west from this place the foundations of a building were met with, on October 28, 1861. They consisted of a few feet of rectangular walls, 18 in. thick. A description of the work

⁷ Published by Henry Rowsell, Toronto, and Longmans, London, 1863.

⁸ The faint marks on the stone seem to favor this reading; though somewhat rugged, it is not, however, more so than other military inscriptions, or those epitaphs in our own time. See Dr. McCaul's

Britanno-Roman Inscript., p. 206. I should, however, have preferred reading ALBA or ATRA, instead of JUTA, which is very unusual.

⁹ See *Archæol. Journal*, 1860, vol. xvii. p. 19.

carried out in excavating in the cemetery, is given in the Gentleman's Magazine, with a plan and drawings.¹ Dr. Johnson, under whose zealous direction the excavations have been conducted, in that account describes this building as having been cut through by a modern drain; the foundations were not deeply laid. It is considered to have been a tomb, but had been entirely denuded of every mark by which its former purpose could be recognised. It is conjectured that the inscribed stone above noticed may have been taken from it.² We can only regret the entire destruction of Roman tombs in this country; many of them must have been interesting illustrations of the funereal customs and modes of honoring the dead common among the Roman population of this island. Some years ago a well-preserved tomb was discovered in Suffolk, in a tumulus at Eastlow Hill, near Rougham, and described by the late Professor Henslow,³ who published a drawing of its construction, with a ground-plan and section. This may serve as a guide whereby we may reconstruct the ruined tomb at Urioconium.

Wood-ashes were found in the cemetery in many places. These are marked in the plan,⁴ and were probably the vestiges of funereal rites. About eighteen cinerary urns were obtained from the cemetery. They are now placed in the Museum in Shrewsbury, and form a very instructive and interesting collection.⁵ Burnt human bones were found in several of the urns, and sometimes incinerated bones were found deposited by themselves, without being enclosed in any vessel, the urns which contained them having possibly perished. Many small glass unguentaries were also found; of these some had undergone the action of heat, and were partially melted. Their contents having been chemically analysed, they were found to contain sand, carbonaceous and oily matter. Two lamps were also found, one of elegant

¹ *Gent. Mag.*, vol. ccxii. April, 1862, p. 398. This account was read at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, 6 March, 1862, and was drawn up by the Hon. Sec. of the Excavation Committee, Henry Johnson, Esq., M.D., of Shrewsbury.

² Coins of the Emperors Hadrian and Trajan were found at the same time.

³ An Account of the Roman Antiquities found at Rougham, September 15, 1843, was published at Bury St. Edmunds in

that year, by Professor Henslow, with a lithograph representing the interior of the tomb, the urns, glass vessels, &c. He addressed also a letter on the subject of the discovery to the *Bury Post*, dated July 4, 1844. An account by Mr. A. J. Kempe was given in *Gent. Mag.*, Nov. 1843, p. 524.

⁴ *Gent. Mag.*, vol. ccxii. p. 399.

⁵ Figured *ibid.*, p. 492, with several other relics.

shape, and almost entire, having the maker's name—MODES—stamped on the bottom.⁶ Two large colored glass bowls or drinking-cups were also obtained; these show considerable skill in the working of glass. One of the cinerary urns contained not only burnt bones, but also an unguentary, and a single copper coin. Dr. Johnson states that the field called the cemetery was thoroughly investigated, and that the whole side next the Watling Street road was trenched. Most of the articles discovered were in one particular part of the field.

In December, 1861, the workmen were directed to dig in the glebe land, in order to ascertain if any remains of the wall which surrounded the city could be discovered: an embankment with a deep depression marks the boundary of the city on all sides, and is clearly and well defined.

On December 26 they had uncovered in the glebe 34 ft. of a wall 6 ft. wide. It had been built upon a foundation of rough boulder stones laid in clay; this foundation alone remained, from 6 in. to 18 in. deep in the ground.⁷ Besides the part exposed, the wall could be traced for above 100 yards. A coin was found under the foundations, but could not be deciphered. The workmen were afterwards employed upon another spot, where the lane leading from Wroxeter enters the Shrewsbury road, and where the embankment is well shown. Here also the wall was discovered in every trench made by the workmen. A coin of Tetricus, and a few fragments of bronze and pottery, were all the relics found in excavating for the walls. It was, however, proved by these excavations that a stone wall, and not merely an earthen embankment and ditch, had surrounded the Roman city. In February, 1862, an ancient trowel made of iron, an object comparatively of rare occurrence, was found. It is preserved in the Museum at Shrewsbury.

In October, 1862, the ground where the old north gate of Uriconium is alleged to have stood was opened, for the purpose of ascertaining whether any remains could be found.

⁶ It is figured in *Gent. Mag.*, vol. ccxii. p. 403. On Samian ware the potter's name Modestus occurs repeatedly. See Mr. T. Wright's valuable list of *Potters' Marks*, in *App. to the Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 478. Fictile lamps bearing potters' names are comparatively

rare in England. See Mr. Roach Smith's *Illustr. of Roman London*, p. 110.

⁷ See some remarks on the construction of the city wall, in a lecture delivered by the author of this memoir, at a meeting of the Shropshire Nat. Hist. and Antiqu. Soc., *Gent. Mag.*, vol. ccxiv. 1863, p. 306.

The foundations of the city wall were traced running towards Norton, but nothing serving to indicate a gateway was discovered, and only some Samian ware and Upchurch pottery. A few days were spent in resuming excavations in the cemetery, in Mr. Jukes' land beyond the field formerly examined, when sufficient evidence was obtained that the ancient burial-ground had extended thus far from the gate. These diggings were undertaken at the suggestion of Mr. Wright.

Among the additional discoveries made, were the vestiges of a square building, similar to what was found before in the other part of the cemetery; there was no floor, nor any remains of a body. About a dozen entire sepulchral urns were found, of various forms and sizes, containing burnt bones, chiefly human. Some of the urns contained unguentaries, in one of which Dr. Johnson also detected traces of oil. One of the cinerary urns has a cover. A beautiful urn of clear glass, about 8 in. high, was disinterred, and another glass vessel of the form of a cinerary urn; also one entire speculum of circular form, and another in fragments.⁸ These Roman mirrors are of copper, with a large mixture of tin so as to appear white; they are brittle, and present a brilliant surface. A silver buckle of elegant fashion was also found. Two nearly perfect lamps, which Dr. Johnson supposes to be made of foreign clay; one of them has the head of Hercules figured upon it, the other has a kneeling figure well executed. An article of bronze much resembling a surgeon's lancet, and which had been enclosed in a case of wood, apparently of cedar. This rare implement is fashioned very ingeniously; the point for penetrating the flesh, as supposed, is of steel, not unlike that now in use. It is furnished with a guard, to prevent its cutting too deeply; the handle is of bronze and bow-shaped.

I have omitted to mention a small gem, the only one that the late examination of the site of the city has brought to light. A few other antique intagli are recorded to have been found and drawings of them are preserved, and some are still to be traced in private hands. Mr. Wright has given representations of those that can be authenticated as found at Wroxeter, in the Journal of the Archæological Association,

⁸ A portion of a Roman mirror, of rectangular form, comparatively of rare oc-

currence, has been found at Wroxeter in the recent researches.

accompanied by an interesting memoir, thus adding to the obligation which antiquaries owe to him for the efforts he has made to disinter the vestiges of the buried city.⁹ The number of gems known to have been found at various times amounts to seven, and these indicate different periods of glyptic art. The intaglio last discovered is of small dimensions, but not ill executed, and the subject, as Mr. Wright observes, "full of fancy and imagination;" it represents a fawn springing out of a nautilus shell.¹ The stone is set in a small iron ring. The intaglio with the ring, as it was found, is now in the Shrewsbury Museum. For a particular account of the gems found at Wroxeter I must refer to Mr. Wright's interesting paper.

I ought not to conclude this account of excavations at Uriconium during the three last years, without mentioning that the fragments of tessellated floors which were laid bare in uncovering the foundations of the Basilica, have with much care been reproduced, and an accurate plan made of them by Mr. Maw of Broseley. From actual measurement of the portions remaining, and by carefully collecting such traces as were distinguishable, he has reconstructed the floor in the eastern half of the north corridor of that building. His plan is accompanied by a description of the pavements, in which he shows his authority for every pattern. The paper was read at the Congress of the Archæological Association at Shrewsbury, August 10th, 1860;² and it shows to what practical purposes the pursuits of archæology may be applied, since these mosaic floors exhibit patterns well worthy of the imitation of our artists of the present day. The glass also and examples of earthenware collected in the course of the excavations, and now so well placed in the Museum of Roman Antiquities in Shrewsbury, may furnish suggestions to modern workers in glass and pottery. These remains of the old world may often indeed become valuable lessons for improvements in the arts and manufactures of our own times.

⁹ Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc., 1863, p. 106.

¹ This pretty device is not uncommon on antique gems. Several intagli thus engraved were sent to the exhibition of Glyptic Art in the apartments of the Institute, June, 1861. On a remarkable

intaglio in possession of the Rev. C. W. King the animal issuing from the shell is an elephant. These devices, as Mr. King observes, were probably regarded as charms against the evil eye.

² See Journal of British Arch. Assoc., June, 1861.

NOTICE OF A REMARKABLE INTAGLIO REPRESENTING THE
CLEPSYDRA USED AT RACES IN THE CIRCUS MAXIMUS.

By C. W. KING, M.A., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

AT the recent dispersion of the valuable collection of works of ancient art formed by the late Mr. J. W. Brett, I became possessed of a very curious, possibly unique, intaglio, the subject engraved upon the gem being the ancient Clepsydra.

Although the nature and general fashion or construction of the instrument originally employed by the Greeks, and subsequently used in Rome, for measuring time by the escape of water, may be understood from passages in the works of Aristotle, and other writers of antiquity,¹ representations of the Clepsydra are of very rare occurrence. An example which has been pointed out in a bas-relief at the Mattei Palace in Rome closely resembles in form the hour-glass of our own times.²

The remarkable antique gem (drawn to twice the actual size), which I am desirous to bring under the notice of the Institute, is an intaglio on a "banded agate" (a sardonyx cut transversely) representing two Cupids turned back to back, and supporting in their uplifted arms a huge oviform vase with a contracted mouth, whence issues a stream of water. On the belly of the vase appears a horse at full speed, and a large star (the sun). These adjuncts precisely indicate the subject of the design, the Clepsydra of the Circus Maximus, where the great races were held on December 25, the *Natale Solis*. In a bas-relief of the date of the Lower Empire, figuring the Hippodrome in Constantinople, a similar vase appears, but more simply mounted, being merely traversed by an axis and turned with a crooked handle by the proper official, the entire arrangement being

¹ Aristot., Problem. xvi. 8.

Latin Dictionary, v. Clepsydra.

² Figured in Rich's Companion to the



**Antique Intaglio, representing the Clepsydra used at the Races in the
Circus Maximus.**

In the collection of C. W. King, M.A.

(Scale, twice the original size).

what is still seen in a large grindstone. By this contrivance the instantaneous inversion of the vase was secured. The contents escaping in a certain definite time showed the number of minutes taken up by each *missus*, or course, of which, at the Great Games, there were twenty-four.

The gem which has suggested this brief notice, in itself a very remarkable relic of ancient art,—a fine engraving of the best Roman period,—doubtless is a faithful picture of the elegant adaptation of such a timekeeper that adorned the Circus Maximus in the days of the first Cæsars.

The clepsydræ used in the ancient law-courts to regulate the time allotted to each pleader were yet simpler in arrangement—a mere vase inverted by an attendant. Pliny incidentally mentions that each marked the third of an hour:—“*Dixi horis pæne quinque ; nam xii clepsydris quas spatiosissimas acceperam sunt additæ quatuor.*”—*Ep. ii. xi. 14.*

From the fact that so many clepsydræ were assigned to each pleader before opening his case, it would appear that a large number were kept in readiness, filled beforehand, and inverted in succession by the special officer until the speaker's allowance was run out. Hence, in the extant speeches of the Attic orators, we find “water” perpetually used as a synonym for “time.” This custom supplies Martial with a humorous allusion where describing a dull declaimer repeatedly moistening his throat with a glass of water during the progress of his interminable harangue, he suggests that it would be an equal relief both to himself and to the audience were he to drink every time out of the clepsydra itself.³

“*Septem clepsydras magna tibi voce petenti
Arbiter invitus Cæciliane dedit.
At tu multa diu ducis, vitreisque tepentem
Ampullis potas semisupinus aquam ;
Ut tandem saties vocemque sitimque rogamus,
Jam de clepsydra Cæciliane bibas.*”—*Ep. vi. 35.*

³ The reader who may desire further information in regard to the *clepsydra* of the Greeks and Romans, or the water-clocks of mediæval times, may be referred to the observations by Dr. Schmitz on the word *Horologium* in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, and to the

curious particulars collected by Beckmann, in his *History of Inventions*, in the *Dissertation on Water-Clocks*, and also in that on *Clocks and Watches*. Notices of writers who have treated on water-clocks are given by Fabricius *Bibliograph. Antiquaria*, p. 1011.

This contrivance in its primitive form, it will be perceived, only marked the lapse of a fixed portion of time, and not the steps of its actual progression. Its improvement and adaptation to this important use was due to Ctesibius of Alexandria some two centuries before our æra, a mechanician who had paid particular attention to hydraulics. The principle of his water-clock was simple and effectual; a cylindrical vessel filled with water bearing up a float loosely fitting its interior, out of which rose a vertical gauge marked with the hours, which by its gradual ascent, as the water entered through a small aperture into the cylinder, showed the passing away of the day with tolerable accuracy. Indeed, after due allowance had been made in the first construction for the variation in the rapidity of the water's escape as the weight of the column above diminished, in the equable climate of Egypt, where the atmospheric pressure may be assumed as almost constant, a very efficient timekeeper, never liable to get out of order, was thus readily attainable. And such must have been the case, since the principle was applied to the most complex motions, for Vitruvius has a chapter upon the construction of a clepsydra which, besides the hours, told the moon's age, the zodiacal sign for the month, and several other particulars,—in fact, it was a regular astronomical clock. His details, though in their time a valuable guide to the horologists used to the making of such machines, are now so obscure and complicated as to afford but a confused idea of its mode of working. The principle, however, is sufficiently intelligible: the float, *scaphium*, or *phellos*, as it moved upwards, by means of the vertical column fixed in it, drove different series of cog-wheels, *tympana denticulis æqualibus*, which impelled in their turn other sets, “by means of which figures are made to move, obelisks to twirl about, pebbles or eggs are discharged, trumpets are sounded, and many other tricks, *parerga*, put in action.”⁴ The admission-pipe was made either out of gold, or a gem perforated, in order neither to wear away nor to be liable to fouling. But there is a circumstance that renders it extremely probable the common Roman clepsydra had both a regular dial-face and one hand, set in motion by a string and float, exactly

⁴ Vitruvius, lib. ix. c. viii.

like the index in our wheel barometers. In his *horologium anaphoricum*, the dial, painted with the world and the zodiac, was traversed by an axis, on which was wound a flexible brass chain, supporting by its one end the float, on the other a balance weight, *saburra*, equal to that of the float. As the latter rose with the water, so the balance weight, descending, unwound the chain and made the dial revolve. In two of Albert Durer's engravings, known as "The Knight and Death," and "Melancholy," the hour-glass there represented displays a dial (of different shape in each instance, a circle in one, a quadrant in the other) fixed upon its top, and marking the hours by the revolution of a hand. This result could only be attained by the contrivance just noticed; and it is allowable to conjecture that the notion was borrowed from the ancient water-clock. At what precise time the classic timekeeper became obsolete cannot now be ascertained; but a water-clock is specified amongst the presents sent by Haroun-al-Raschid to Charlemagne, early in the ninth century.⁵

Yet further, the Romans had already "given Time a voice," to make them take note of his loss; for, though Petronius makes the millionaire Trinalchio keep a trumpeter who by his *hourly* blast apprizes him "how much of his life is spent," and warns him to make the most of the remainder (which could not have been done without some exact mode of marking the time being accessible to this human bell), yet, in the next century, Lucian, amongst the numerous conveniences of certain newly-built baths, describes a *horologium* that proclaimed the hour *διὰ μικήματος*,—by means of a roaring sound.⁶ This sound was doubtless produced by hydraulic pressure upon the air contained in a cupola with pipes attached, according to the plan so skilfully elaborated by the Romans of the Decline in their *hydraulis* or water-organ. The principle of the latter was exactly that of the steam whistle, water-pressure being substituted for that of heated vapour, and the confined air driven into a

⁵ A.D. 807. "Horologium ex aurichalco arte mechanica mirifice compositum, in quo duodecim horarum cursus ad clepsidram vertebatur, cum totidem aëreis pilulis quæ ad completionem horarum decidebant, et casu suo subjectum sibi cymbalum tinnire facie-

bant." Eginhard, Ann. Franc. In the Chronicon Turonense it is stated that the hours were marked not only by a sound (*cymbalo*) but by twelve horsemen issuing from windows.

⁶ Lucian, Hippias, 8.

vast brazen cylinder or *turris* by means of forcing-pumps (worked sometimes by seventy men at once) was allowed to escape through valves placed in pipes arranged above, and regulated by keys worked by the performer.

It will hence be seen how Lucian's *horologium* might have made its voice audible to as great a distance as the modern giant whose whistle so perpetually assails our ears.

The name *horologium* seems to have been given to the *clepsydra*, or "lose-water," after the improvements in the latter enabled it to tell the time. The same term is used for that other most ancient indicator, the sun-dial. This originally was no more than a column, the shadow of which by the variations in its length marked the hour. Aristophanes speaks of its being dinner time when the shadow of this gnomon, which he terms *στοιχείον*, waxed ten feet long. Augustus, says Pliny, converted an Egyptian obelisk (that now serving the same purpose in Rome, on the Monte Citorio) into a gigantic gnomon in front of his Mausoleum in the Campus Martius. Pliny notices that in his day it had ceased to mark the hour correctly, either through "some change in the solar orbit," or the settlement of its own foundations, in spite of the vast depth (equal to the height of the obelisk) at which they had been laid by the emperor's architect.⁷

Vitruvius assigns to Berosus the Chaldean the invention of the concave sun-dial (the usual form with the ancients), the "hemicyclium excavatum ex quadrato;" to Aristarchus of Samos, the convex kind, the "hemispherium," and also the horizontal dial; to Scopinas of Syracuse, the vertical, "plinthus, lacunar," one of which was set up in the Circus Flaminius; to Theodorus, that for all latitudes, *πρὸς πᾶν κλίμα*, an invention implying an extraordinary proficiency in the science.⁸

⁷ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, lib. xxxvi. c. 10.

⁸ Vitruvius, lib. ix. c. ix.

THE PARLIAMENT OF KENILWORTH.¹

By the Rev. CHARLES HENRY HARTSHORNE, M.A.

THE battle of Evesham, on August the 4th, 1265, transferred the power of England once more into the hands of Henry III., its legitimate ruler. Amongst the first measures he adopted was the summoning of a parliament on the 8th of September following, at Winchester, to deliberate upon the disposal of the estates of those barons who had been in rebellion against the Crown. At this time the legislature partook more of the nature of a privy council than a parliament; the nobility and the bishops alone were called to the royal council, and on this occasion only such of them as were agreeable to the monarch. Thus, in this first parliament convened after the battle of Evesham, the bishops of London, Worcester, Chester, and Lincoln were omitted, because they were favorable to the cause of Simon de Montfort. It was, indeed, scarcely to be expected that, whilst the events of the preceding years were still fresh, the tribunal would be impartially constituted. Nor would the feelings of the king, after his fourteen months' captivity, permit him to view the proceedings with moderation and justice. The Parliament of Winchester thus framed would, therefore, have little scruple in carrying out the entire wishes of the king. It cannot, then, be a matter of surprise to find that, whilst he exhibited a willingness to extend mercy towards the offenders by humanely sparing their lives, he should have forfeited all their estates.

The parliament decreed that the lands of all who were found in arms against the king should be seized into his hands, and in the next parliament they became absolutely vested in the Crown. This act led (September 21st) to the appointment of two commissioners for each county, who,

¹ Communicated to the Historical Section at the Meeting of the Archæological Institute at Warwick, July 27, 1864.

with the sheriffs, were deputed to make a return of the extent of these various possessions by the 13th of October following. Upon this day all the adherents of Simon de Montfort were disinherited. Many of the delinquents pleaded that they were unwilling instruments in the power of the Earl of Leicester. In order, however, to ascertain whether this was really the case, an inquisition was ordered to be taken by the sheriffs and inquiries made, so that right should be done to them.

After the Parliament of Winchester had broken up, the king, who had remained there from the 12th to the 22nd of September, went with a large force to Windsor. His first intention was severely to punish the citizens of London for the part they had taken in assisting Simon de Montfort. But, after receiving their submission and treating them in a manner quite contrary to the promise of safe conduct he had granted for the interview, after violating the reception he had guaranteed, he imprisoned the greater number and seized the liberties of the city.

The parliament having already granted to the king the full possession of the lands of the insurgent barons, he began to use the acquisitions by bestowing them upon such persons as had served him with fidelity during the late war. This, as will presently appear, became the fertile cause of fresh complications and difficulties, and ultimately led to another appeal to arms. It is true that some of those implicated—Ferrers, Earl of Derby, for instance—were permitted to redeem their estates by the payment of money. The citizens of London had, however, sinned beyond the limits of pardon. Henry therefore distributed the property of sixty of the most wealthy of them amongst his favorites, and committed four of the leading citizens to prison. (Jan. 10.)

About the end of November, Simon, son of the Earl of Leicester, who was then in command of the Castle of Kenilworth, foreseeing the probability that it might undergo a severe siege, as indeed it afterwards did, suddenly left it with a chosen band of followers for the purpose of making an incursion into the Isle of Axholme. He was immediately joined by the disinherited barons. As soon as the king received tidings of this unexpected outbreak he sent against them such forces as he had at disposal, placing the army under the command of Prince Edward. The Prince so

vigorously besieged the insurgents that they were forced to surrender, when his cousin retreated to Kenilworth.

A similar outbreak happened in the following year towards the end of April, when Earl Ferrers, who had just received the royal pardon, bringing together a large number of supporters with some of those who were in the Isle of Axholme, began to plunder the counties in the north-west. They were, however, routed at Chesterfield, on the 15th of May, by Henry, the son of the King of Almain.

It is desirable to bear these two engagements in recollection, as they were subsequently the cause of just complaint on the part of the king, whilst the barons who were against him in these engagements were specially included under the second and seventh clause of the award of Kenilworth, as will be hereafter noticed.

On the 14th of December Henry III. left Windsor, resting at Dunstable and Hanslope, for the town of Northampton, where he arrived on the 20th. One of the first acts of the king, on his arrival at this place, was to send precepts, dated on that day, to all the sheriffs throughout England to make proclamation, in their respective counties, that all who held of him *in capite* and owed him service should be at Northampton on the 27th of January, to join the array opposed to his enemies who then held Kenilworth against him. The king and queen passed the Christmas at Northampton, and were attended by Richard Earl of Cornwall, recently elected King of Almain, or, as he is sometimes entitled, King of the Romans. He was brother-in-law of Henry III., and by this connection became uncle to Simon de Montfort. Cardinal Ottoboni, the papal legate, was also among the royal guests.

The presence of the legate in England during the disorder that prevailed was certainly beneficial to the peace of the country. There can be no doubt that he acted the part of a mediator; the ultimate subsidence of the angry passions that had been aroused in the hearts of both the contending parties is mainly attributable to his sage and considerate advice. It was owing both to this, but more particularly to the friendly intervention of the King of the Romans, that Simon de Montfort the younger was induced to submit his cause to their arbitration. After receiving hostages Simon de Montfort was prevailed upon to appear before the king

at Northampton. On his arrival he was introduced into the royal presence by his uncle. The King of Almain opened the business of the visit by thanking his nephew for having saved his life at Kenilworth, when Simon's father was killed in the fight of Evesham; for the garrison of the castle holding it on behalf of the insurgents were so exasperated at the death of the Earl of Leicester, that it was with the utmost difficulty they were restrained from putting the King of Almain, then their prisoner, to death. He was not unmindful of the protection which the younger Simon rendered in this peril, and, in consequence of these services, Henry admitted him to the royal favour. Indeed he would have obtained other advantages had not the Earl of Gloucester interposed and prevented this act of grace. Finally it was arranged that he should give up the Castle of Kenilworth, that he should leave the kingdom, and receive annually 500 marks from the king's exchequer.

Upon these terms being made known to those who held the Castle of Kenilworth, they declared they would neither yield it to the king nor to Simon de Montfort. For they urged that he was still held in restraint, and that they had not received the castle from him but from the countess his mother, who had lately been expelled the kingdom. Therefore, they would only consent to make the surrender to her, and that in her own presence. During this time, whilst Simon de Montfort was kept in the power of the king, Kenilworth was held by the supporters of the countess. When, however, the king returned to London on the 26th of January, his captive found means of escaping to Winchelsea, where he was supported by a large number of privateers belonging to the Cinque Ports. With them he entrusted his fortunes for a time to the ocean, and for the present his name will not be found in the narrative of succeeding events.

On the 10th of January the citizens of London were allowed to make a composition for their liberties. They bound themselves to pay to the king the sum of 20,000 marks in satisfaction of their transgressions. Their pardon contained several grants and exceptions which it is unnecessary here to recite. Ultimately the city recovered all its privileges, though it was not until four years after these transactions.

On the 11th of February, the important question of the disinherited barons engaged the attention of the king. As a preliminary, they had safe conduct given them to come to the sovereign, until Easter, in order effectually to treat with him and make their peace. It has not, however, transpired how many availed themselves of the overture and accepted the terms of composition. All that can be ascertained is that the citizens of London gladly took advantage of the offer, though they were heavily fined for their opposition.

The kingdom at this moment was in a most unsettled state, and consequently many important transactions during the period after the battle of Evesham (August 4, 1265) to the fall of Kenilworth (December 13, 1266) are involved in much obscurity.

Many of the barons escaped after the battle of Evesham, and during the whole of this interval continued in opposition to the king. Although the adherents of Simon de Montfort felt that their cause was daily growing more desperate, they continued still to cherish a faint hope that their ascendancy would be maintained, and their further fortunes preserved unbroken. Some, like Earl Ferrers, had been already disinherited, whilst others lay entirely under the mercy of the Crown. The kingdom continued in a very distracted state. Neither party felt quite secure, and thus the policy of strengthening the power of the king became more urgent. Henry consequently took advantage of every opportunity of increasing it; we accordingly find that, March 15, he wrote to those bishops who had collected a tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues of the kingdom during the time he was held in captivity, desiring them to pay the sums so collected to the bishops of Wells and Coventry, being desirous that it should be expended both in defence of himself and the church.

On the 28th April, Henry III. passed through Brackley to Northampton, where he arrived on the same day, and continued there till the 15th of June. He spent from the 16th till the 24th of the same month at Warwick. On the 25th he appeared before Kenilworth Castle, where he remained with his army till the 16th of December; on that day he left it, returning through Warwick, Banbury, Oxford, and Windsor, to Westminster.

The king collected all his forces to make an assault upon

Kenilworth. It was whilst they were vainly attempting its reduction that the barons in arms against him, now dispersed throughout the country, taking advantage of the absence of the royal army, and knowing that Cambridge-shire and Huntingdonshire were without protection, united and ravaged that part of England (May 22), carrying away considerable booty. Unchecked in their career, early in the month of August they entered the Isle of Ely, where, taking advantage of the fenny nature of the country, they firmly established themselves for a year, extending in the mean time their ravages as far as Lynn.

During the prolonged siege of the castle at Kenilworth, which, for the endurance and valiant defence of the garrison, is one of the most remarkable events of the thirteenth century, the king found it expedient to devise some measures for conciliating the disaffected persons, as well as to provide for the general peace of the realm. In order to accomplish an object so desirable, a meeting was held on the 24th of August, 1266, in the royal camp before the castle, when certain provisions were established which are popularly known under the English title of the Award of Kenilworth. They are, however, printed in the Statute book and mentioned by the chroniclers of the period as the "Dictum de Kenilworth."²

Before entering upon an examination, necessarily brief, of this celebrated Adjudication, Enactment, Edict, Ordinance, or Decree, as it may variously be called, it will be desirable to settle three facts.

- I. The nature of the assembly that drew up its clauses.
- II. The persons authorised to put them in execution.
- III. The aims or proposals of the Council.

I. The meeting at Kenilworth, whose decision made the Dictum the law of the land, strictly speaking can in no sense, as has been customary, be called a Parliament. When summoned on August 22nd, it was devoid of every form that could constitute it a legislative meeting of this description. The pressure of circumstances under which it met rendered it essential for the king's interest that it should be entirely wanting in everything that could make it a popular assembly.³ The people, or at least a large proportion of the kingdom,

² Statutes of the Realm, vol. i. p. 17.

³ Rep. Dign. Peer., v. 1. p. 178.

were hostile to the wretched policy that directed the royal councils. They had seen the king's promises violated in the safe-conduct he had guaranteed to the citizens who trusted their persons to him, when they accepted his invitation for a conference at Windsor in September in the previous year. The barons had found that all the constitutional progress they had made under the Provisions of Oxford was entirely destroyed. Neither class could have any faith in Henry's engagements. The Pope, it is true, absolved him from the oaths he took to the magnates, under the pretext that they were adverse to his authority (June 12, 1261), but neither the nobility nor the people admitted so manifestly perverse and unjust an interpretation. These are reasons sufficiently apparent why the king should have feared submitting his own case to popular and dispassionate adjudication. Popular indeed no assembly could then be called, since the utmost privilege the people had then attained was to hear the faint pulsations of liberty struggling for existence in a committee of twenty-four of the aristocracy. Dark and hopeless at this time was the prospect of a national representation, for patriotism was absolutely crushed.

This will show that what has usually been called the Parliament of Kenilworth was in reality a meeting of a totally different kind, even as the word signified in those days of monarchical misrule and feudal oppression. It may excite surprise that these disorders in the body politic, after having been once overcome, should have ever again broken out. But we must remember that a social evil then, as in our own day, takes a long time to eradicate. Nor, again, does it appear that the persons who had the authority to draw up the award were, taken as a body, of that character or so numerously convened that they constituted a legal Parliament.⁴

It has also been doubted by some of our chroniclers whether the Council, for so it must correctly speaking be called, actually held their meeting at the Castle at Kenilworth. A sufficient proof to the contrary is given by one of the copies of the Dictum being dated "in castris apud Kenilworth," whilst we know that the award was in other

⁴ Answer to Mr. Petyt's book entitled the Rights of the Commons asserted, pp. 85-6, in which work Dr. Brady even

controverts the idea of the Commons having any voice in this assembly.

copies dated on the 31st of October, the Castle not being surrendered until the 31st of December following.⁶

II. The nature of this assembly, then, in no manner partaking of that of a Parliament, what was its actual constitution? This is gathered from the terms of the record itself entered on the Patent Rolls that describes it. It is in French, and its purport is as follows :—

Henry by the grace of God King of England, in the fiftieth year of his reign, in the octaves of the Assumption of our Lady, at the request of the honorable father Ottoni, Legate of England, summoned his Parliament at Kenilworth; where it was agreed and granted by common consent and common council of the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, and others, that six persons, that is to say, the Bishop of Exeter, the Bishop of Bath, the Bishop elect of Worcester, Sir Alan Zouche, Sir Roger Somery and Sir Robert Walerand, by their oath there made, should choose six others, no ways suspected, who knew best and would, according to their understanding, do what was best for the security and peace of the land, of which six one was to be a Bishop, and the other five knights, and those twelve sworn upon the Holy Gospels.⁶

These six are named in the preamble of the Dictum together with the six other Commissioners chosen by them, namely, the Bishop of St. Davids, Gilbert de Clare Earl of Gloucester, Humphry de Bohun Earl of Hereford, Philip Basset, John Baliol, and Warin de Bassingbourn. Five of these knights fought on behalf of the King at Lewes or Evesham.

III. Without examining each of the forty-one clauses of the award, it will answer the present object to state that, amongst other matters, the first six declare the full authority and exercise of the royal power, the liberties of the Church, the remission of pardon and the rights and possessions of the Crown.

The twelfth clause fixes the terms of ransom for those who commenced the war, or who were in arms against the King at Northampton, Lewes, Kenilworth, Evesham, and Chesterfield. All of these were to pay the value of their land for five years. The conditions imposed on the Earl of

⁶ Tyrrell, vol. ii. p. 1067.

⁶ Brady's Answer to Mr. Petyt, &c., p. 35.

Derby and Henry de Hastings were more soverere, the redemption of their lands being set at seven years' return.

With the exception of the seventh clause it will be needless to inquire into any others, the same application of the principle of ransom being laid down throughout. These terms of composition were in fact the main objects of the Dictum of Kenilworth.

Considering the particular circumstances under which the authors of the award drew up its provisions, there is even now, when it can be dispassionately reviewed, very little deserving the reprehension of a more civilised age. The seventh clause is, however, an exception. But for the insertion of this, the Dictum might have challenged comparison with many later proffers of mercy shown to political offenders. Its general tone was one of moderation and equity. Its general scope was wide. This clause, however, was for a time fatal to the progress of constitutional liberty, since it utterly annulled and quashed the Provisions of Oxford, to use the word of the award, when speaking of them, "*penitus adnichilentur et cassentur, et pro cassis et pro nullis penitus habeantur.*" The repeal of these provisions at once threw back again all power from the twenty-four into the mere will of the monarchy.

Yet how much blood had been shed to gain this very small advance in the path of practical freedom. In vain had the Barons led on their victorious ranks at Lewes! The repeal of the Oxford Provisions destroyed all the political advantages their contest had gained, and it invested Henry III. once more with uncontrolled and irresponsible power.

An interesting series of documents has been preserved, which give an account of the proceedings subsequent to the publication of the Dictum of Kenilworth. These documents have been printed in a volume which has become of much scarcity, and, therefore, a notice of them is desirable, independently of the particular illustration they give of these events. One of the six documents is entitled,—"*Terræ rebellium datæ fidelibus tempore Regis Henrici III. in diversis comitatibus Angliæ;*" another,—"*Terræ Normannorum seisitæ in manum Domini Regis in diversis comitatibus.*" The other four are,—"*Placita de terris datis et occupatis occasione turbacionis in regno Angliæ, in comitatu*

Essex, in comitatu Northamptoniæ, in comitatu Suffolciæ, in comitatu Cantabrigiæ.”⁷ Thus the six rolls furnish the pleas set up by the owners of the estates confiscated in the four counties of Essex, Northampton, Suffolk, and Cambridge, which were bestowed on the king’s adherents, and those of the Normans seized into the hands of the king in several counties.

The first of these documents simply mentions the names of those who had previously held the forfeited lands, their value, and the names of those upon whom the king had bestowed them.

The Plea Rolls are much fuller. These not only furnish the names of a large number of possessors of property in these four counties, thereby furnishing much information of a topographical and statistical kind, but they supply many minute facts which illustrate the social habits of the period; they give the value of agricultural stock, furniture, wearing apparel, and other personal possessions. The evidence is throughout adduced against the accused with great detail and circumstantiality, whilst the replications are equally minute and positive.

ITINERARY OF HENRY III.

IN HIS 49TH, 50TH, AND 51ST REGNAL YEARS.

49th Henry III.

A.D. 1265.—September 9	. . . .	Marlborough.
„ 12 to 22	. . . .	Winchester.
„ 24 to 25	. . . .	Reading.
Sept. 26 to Oct. 8	. . . .	Windsor.
October 10 to 20	. . . .	Westminster.
„ 22 to 28	. . . .	Canterbury.

50th Year.

Oct. 29 to Nov. 2	. . . .	Canterbury.
Nov. 5 to Dec. 8	. . . .	Westminster.

⁷ Rotuli Selecti ad res Anglicas et Hibernicas spectantes, ex Archivis in Domo Capitulari West-Monasteriensi deprompti. 1834.

50th Year.

	December 10 to 14	. . . . .	Windsor.
	„ 16	. . . . .	Dunstable.
	„ 18	. . . . .	Hanslope.
A.D. 1266.—	Dec. 20 to Jan. 19	. . . . .	Northampton.
	Jan. 24	. . . . .	St. Albans.
	„ 25 to 26	. . . . .	Waltham.
☛	Jan. 26 to April 4	. . . . .	Westminster.
	April 6 to 17	. . . . .	Windsor.
	„ 18	. . . . .	Reading.
	„ 22 to 27	. . . . .	Oxford.
	„ 28	. . . . .	Brackley.
	April 28 to June 15	. . . . .	Northampton.
	June 16 to 24	. . . . .	Warwick.
	„ 26 to Oct. 28	. . . . .	Kenilworth.

51st Year.

	Oct. 29 to Dec. 15	. . . . .	Kenilworth.
	December 16	. . . . .	Warwick.
	„ 17 to 20	. . . . .	Banbury.
	„ 22 to 27	. . . . .	Oxford.
A.D. 1267.—	January 2 to 3	. . . . .	Windsor.
	„ 5 to 28	. . . . .	Westminster.

Original Documents.

LICENCE, UNDER THE PRIVY SEAL, TO REMIT A DEBT TO ROBERT BRUCE, IN ORDER THAT THE MONEY MIGHT BE APPLIED TOWARDS THE RANSOM OF A PRISONER IN SCOTLAND. Dated at York, Sept. 4th, 8 Edw. II. (A.D. 1314).

From the Muniments at Barrington Hall, Essex.

Communicated by GEORGE ALAN LOWNDES, Esq.

AMONG frequent proofs of the kind assistance of our lamented friend, Mr. William Clayton, we recall, with grateful remembrance, how freely the stores of documentary evidence, which it was his delight to investigate, were always at our disposal. Not many days before his decease, Mr. Clayton made us acquainted with one of his latest discoveries in the varied historical and topographical materials among the Barrington muniments. By the friendly courtesy of Mr. Alan Lowndes, the document to which our attention was then invited has been placed in our hands, and we are now permitted to bring it before the readers of this Journal.

The transaction to which it relates is of a somewhat unusual nature ; there can be little doubt that it may be connected with an important crisis in the reign of Edward II., namely, the fatal disaster of Bannockburn.

It appears that Sir Thomas de Mandeville had been taken prisoner by the Scots, and, judging by the date, probably at Bannockburn ; that he had agreed with his captor or detainer for his ransom ; that part of the money to be paid consisted of a debt of 94*l.*, which the Bruce owed to Nicholas de "Barntone," or Barenton, who had formerly been his steward of lands held by him (Robert de Bruce) in Essex, and had purchased cloth and other things, which doubtless had been delivered, but the price remained unpaid and was a debt from the king's enemy to Nicholas, which the king was probably considered to have the right to seize, or, at all events, Nicholas did not feel himself safe in remitting it to the enemy without leave from the king. Hence, as we may conceive, arose the need, or at least the wish, to have the king's authority for sending an acquittance to the Bruce, who had engaged to pay the money thereupon to the person entitled to the ransom.

This Licence, as it appears, Nicholas de Barenton had solicited through the sister of Edward II., Elizabeth, countess of Hereford, whose husband had likewise been taken at Bannockburn, and exchanged for five distin-

guished captives—Isabella, Bruce's wife, his sister, daughter, and nephew, and the venerable Bishop of Glasgow.¹

Thomas de Mandeville was probably a distant relation of the Earl of Hereford, who was descended from an heiress of Mandeville, and he may have held lands of the Earl, as Earl of Essex.

The battle of Bannockburn, which was fought on the memorable June 24, 1314, and put an end to the hopes of the English sovereign to accomplish the subjection of Scotland, was important above all the conflicts between the then rival nations, and attended with results most disastrous to Edward II. and his army. Philip de Mowbray, who had gallantly held Stirling Castle against Sir Edward Bruce, brother of the Scottish king, sorely pressed and apprehensive of the failure of his provisions, agreed to surrender that fortress, if not relieved before the feast of St. John the Baptist (June 24). Edward II. made large preparations for the succour of the fortress, the last stronghold of importance which stood between Scotland and freedom. He summoned the military force of his kingdom to meet him at Berwick, on June 11;² some months later he issued writs to the sheriffs to make levies of infantry, to be assembled at Wark on June 10;³ he demanded aid from the Irish chiefs, and made other extensive preparations for the campaign. It is impossible to ascertain the number of Edward's army, multiplied by Fordun to 340,000 horse and as many foot. Of those summoned some refused to come and others were excused; but, when Edward set forth from Berwick on June 18, he was accompanied by a force superior doubtless in numbers and effective equipment to any previously led against the Scots by an English monarch.⁴ The details of the eventful engagement are familiar to all who take interest in the history of the period; certain discrepancies, however, occur between the accounts of English and Scottish chroniclers, which it may be difficult to reconcile. Edward, closely pursued, effected a disgraceful flight to Dunbar, whence he escaped by sea to Berwick, having lost his privy seal and his treasure, which, as well as the vast array of military engines and provisions, fell into the hands of the victors. It is said that the number of the slain was comparatively small; according to other accounts 30,000 English, including 200 knights, were left on the field. The fugitives captured in their wanderings appear to have been treated with a certain degree of lenity. Walsingham observes that the victor made liberal distribution of the spoil: "*captivos tractavit civiliter*:" he also sent the corpses of the Earl of Gloucester and the veteran Robert Clifford to Berwick for honorable burial.⁵ Twenty-two barons and bannerets, with sixty knights, fell into the hands of the Scots; their lives were preserved for the sake of ransom. Among those who escaped was probably Sir Thomas de Mandeville, to whose liberation the subjoined Licence relates. The captors doubtless reaped a golden harvest on the occasion, besides the great amount of

¹ Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 251, 255. Tytler, *Hist. Scot.*, vol. i. p. 278.

² Rymer, vol. ii. p. 238, dated Dec. 23, 7 Edw. II. A.D. 1313. The writs were addressed to 93 barons.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 246, 248.

⁴ It is stated that the waggons and vehicles laden with military stores would have extended, in a line, to twenty

leagues: *Malmesb.* p. 151.

⁵ T. de Walsingham *Ypod. Neust.*, p. 501. Thomas de la More enumerates some of the chief captives; "*fere trecenti viri militares*" as he observes were spared, for the sake of ransom. *Vita Edw. II.*, *Angl. Norm. Script.*, p. 594. See also *Knyghton*, 2533, and *Trivet's Annals*, contin., vol. ii. p. 15.

booty. According to the curious contemporary ballad on the disaster at Bannockburn, preserved in one of the Cottonian MSS., and printed by Mr. Wright in the selection edited for the Camden Society—

Nostræ gentis Angliæ quidam sunt captivi,
 Currebant ab acie quidam semivivi,
 Qui fuerunt divites fiunt redemptivi,
 Quod delirant nobiles plectuntur Achivi !
Political Songs, p. 266.

The captive knight was probably of Black Notley in Essex: there appear to have been two manors in that parish in which Geoffrey de Mandeville had possessions at the time of the Domesday survey; subsequently the lands belonging to the manor of Gobions in Notley became incorporated into the honor of Mandeville. Walter, younger son of William de Mandeville and brother of Geoffrey, created Earl of Essex by Stephen, had this estate. The descent of the family may be found in Morant's History. Sir Thomas, son of Sir John de Mandeville, had licence, 48 Hen. III., to hunt in the county; and his son Walter, who married Agnes, daughter of Nicholas Barenton, was father of a Sir Thomas Mandeville living in 1372.⁶ The Sir Thomas, to whom the subjoined document relates, was probably the person of that name first mentioned, and the same who occurs among the bannerets of Essex in the Roll of Arms compiled, according to Sir Harris Nicolas, between 1308 and 1314.⁷ In the same Roll are found the arms of "Sire Nicholas de Baringtone,"⁸ a descendant of the family in Essex, of which some notice has been given, from information supplied by Mr. Clayton, in a former volume of this Journal.⁹ We are unable to identify the "Nichol de Barntone," formerly steward of the Bruce's lands in Essex, as stated in the document here printed, in which he is not described as of knightly rank; he may have been Nicholas, one of the sons of Sir Nicholas de Barenton, living *temp.* Edward II. and Edward III., by Alice, daughter and heir of Sir Richard Belhouse.¹

⁶ Morant's Hist. of Essex, vol. ii. p. 123.

⁷ Roll of Arms of the reign of Edward II., p. 39. Among persons of note to whom credentials in favor of John de Hotham on his mission to Ireland were addressed by the king from York, Aug. 12, 1314, including Richard de Burgo, Earl of Ulster, the name of a Thomas de Mandeville occurs. Rymer, vol. i. p. 252. There appears, however, no reason to suppose that he may have been the same person of the name who, according to the royal licence here printed, was a captive in Scotland on Sept. 4th in that year. In Nov. 1309, a Thomas de Mandeville was summoned from Ireland to meet the king at Newcastle *super Arce*, on the feast of St. John next, to join an expedition into Scotland; Rot. Scot. vol. i. p. 79; and in Sept. 1315, 9 Edw. II., a person of the same name received thanks for services in defending Ireland against the Scotch. *Ibid.*, p.

149 b. A branch of the Mandeville family appears to have been settled in Ireland, probably at an early period. In 9 Edw. III. Sir Henry de Mandeville and John de Mandeville occur among persons in Ireland summoned against the Scots; Rymer, vol. ii. p. 907; and others of the name of Mandeville are mentioned in documents to be found in the *Fœdera*.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁹ *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xx. p. 164.

¹ This Nicholas de Barenton married Emma, dau. and coh. of Sir Robert Beard, with whom he had the manor of Little and other estates. Chauncey's Herts, p. 367. See the account of the Barrington family in Collins' *Baronetage*, vol. i. p. 65, edit. 1741. The alliance between the Mandevilles and the Barenton family, above mentioned, is deserving of notice in connection with the document here given.

The possessions in Essex held by the Bruce, until, on his coronation at Scone in 1306, he was deprived of them by Edward I., were the manors of Writtle, Great Baddow, and Bromeshobery in Hatfield Broad Oak, with the half hundred of Harlow. The descent of these estates to the Earls of Chester is related by Morant: on the death of Ralph Blondville, the last of the line of Hugh Lupus, in 1232, his four sisters became his heirs. Maud, the eldest, espoused David, brother of William, King of Scots; and Isabel, the second, married Robert de Brus, from whom the above-mentioned estates in Essex descended to Robert Bruce, on whose assertion of his right to the kingdom of Scotland all his possessions in England were seized by Edward I.² They were subsequently granted by Edward II. to Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, and to Elizabeth, his countess, sister of that king; at her request, it will be observed, Edward granted the Licence in favor of the captive Sir Thomas de Mandeville, who probably, as has been stated, was a distant relation of her husband.³

In the number of captives, according to Walsingham, was Roger de Northburgh, Keeper of the Privy Seal (*"Custos targiæ domini Regis"*) which was taken from him by the Scots; a disaster doubtless very mortifying to the fugitive king.⁴ Three days after the defeat at Stirling Edward issued from Berwick writs to the sheriffs, to the constable of Dover, and to the warden of the Cinque Ports, notifying the loss (*"privatum sigillum nostrum a nobis est elongatum"*), and enjoining proclamation to be made in all cities, towns, and elsewhere:—*"et ex parte nostra firmiter inhiberi ne quis, pro aliquo mandato sibi sub dicto sigillo exnunc porrigendo seu etiam liberando quicumque faciat, nisi aliud a nobis habuerit mandatam, de priori mandato sub dicto privato sigillo contento specialem faciens mentionem, vel nisi viderit quod ea, quæ in dicto mandato sub dicto privato sigillo contenta fuerint, ad nostrum tendant commodum et*

² Morant, *Hist. of Essex*, vol. ii. p. 502.

³ Henry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford in the reign of King John, married Maud sister and eventually heiress of William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex.

⁴ Walsingham, *Historia brevis*, edit. 1574, p. 81; the cause of the loss of the king's seal is not stated in the *Ypodigma Neustrie*, where it is also mentioned as the *"targia regis."* Roger de Northburgh was clerk of the wardrobe, and held numerous ecclesiastical preferments in the time of Edward II., by whom he appears to have been much esteemed. In 1322 he was appointed Treasurer of England; in June 27, in the same year, he was consecrated Bishop of Lichfield. It has been erroneously stated by some writers that it was the Great seal which was taken by the Scots at Bannockburn; Hume of Goldcroft, in his *History of Scotland*, as cited by Lord Campbell, adds that the Lord Keeper was slain, and that Sir Ralph Mortimer, not Ralph de Monthermer, as stated by Walsingham, "was dimitted ransome free and obtained the king's Broad Seal at Bruce's

hands." Lord Campbell, *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. i. ch. xii., asserts that according to the English authorities, which he thinks may be relied upon, but does not cite by name, no one had attended Edward to the north as Chancellor or Keeper. Walter Reynolds, who had been Edward's tutor, had succeeded Langton as Chancellor July 6, 1310; it is probable that having recently been translated to the see of Canterbury he may not have accompanied the king. Edward set forth on March 30, or April 1, and documents occur on the Patent and other Rolls, tested at various places where he sojourned in his progress, extending over more than ten weeks, until his arrival at Berwick. It is probable that the Great Seal had been consigned during that time to the Master of the Rolls, Adam de Osgodeby, as on a previous occasion, when he attended Edward to Berwick in 1311, having the seal in his keeping, and that he may have been also with the king during his expedition in 1314, but have remained at Berwick during the king's absence in Scotland.

honorem." These writs were tested by Edward at Berwick on the 27th June — "Per ipsum Regem, sub privato sigillo Regine."⁵ It would hence appear that during the interval, until Edward II. regained possession of his privy seal, he made use of that of Isabella, his queen, by whom and by the infant prince, Edward of Windsor, he had been accompanied in his ill-advised expedition. The queen's seal here referred to may have been that engraved by Sandford, p. 121, a circular seal of moderate size; the device being an escutcheon of the queen's arms dimidiated with those of her husband, the shield is placed within a quatrefoiled panel surrounded by elaborate tracery, and without an inscription.

We learn from the above-mentioned writs that Edward had reached Berwick on June 27th, the battle having occurred on June 24th. He had fled to Dunbar, a distance of nearly seventy miles, attended by the Earl of Pembroke and 500 horsemen; there he sought refuge with the Earl of March, who provided a small vessel in which the royal fugitive was conveyed to Tweedmouth. Itineraries, such as that accurately compiled by Mr. Duffus Hardy for the reign of John, and Mr. Hartshorne's compilations for the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II., professing to show, from attestations of public documents, the place where the sovereign was on each successive day, are obviously of utility to the historical student. We may take this opportunity, however, to remind our readers that, according to the caution given by Mr. Duffus Hardy in his Introduction to the Patent Rolls, and as pointed out to us by one of the most acute of record-antiquaries, the late Mr. Hunter, Itineraries such as the compilation by the Rev. J. Stevenson, to which Mr. Hunter kindly gave us access at the Record Office, should not be received as of unquestionable authority in regard to the presence of the king at any place where a document was tested. It is even doubtful whether the phrase "Teste meipso," or "per ipsum Regem," unless with the addition "manu sua propria," always indicates personal presence; where "Teste Rege" is found, it cannot be concluded that the king was at the spot in question on the day when a document under the Great Seal is tested.⁶ Our friend, Mr. Hartshorne, may not, as we apprehend, have been fully aware, in preparing his Itineraries printed in the Collectanea of the British Archæological Association, how important is the caution for which we are indebted to our friend Mr. Hunter; a proof of the accuracy of whose observation is found in the portion of Mr. Hartshorne's Itinerary under the seventh year of Edward II., according to which we are led to suppose, on the evidence of Patent, Fine, Close, and Scottish Rolls, that the king constantly sojourned at Berwick from June 11, the day when his forces were summoned to assemble there, to June 28, 1314. It is, however, well known that Edward set forth with his host from that town on June 18; they were at Edinburgh on the 22nd, and arrived within view of Stirling on the following evening. It is remarkable that Mr. Hartshorne's Itinerary contains no allusion to Bannockburn; it would indeed induce us to imagine, on the evidence of Parliamentary

⁵ Rymer, vol. ii. p. 249, from Rot. Claus. 7 Edw. II. This was not the only occasion on which Edward II. had the misfortune to lose his privy seal. In 1322, when Robert Bruce compelled him to decamp from Byland Abbey, he es-

caped to Bridlington, having abandoned baggage, treasure, and his "privatum sigillum." Rymer, vol. i. p. 498.

⁶ See Jus Sigilli, Lond. 1673, p. 122; Blackstone, B. ii. ch. 21, s. 2.

Writs and Patent Rolls, that, during the time of Edward's memorable march above-mentioned and at the crisis of his ill-fated expedition, he was still lingering with his queen and her infant son on the banks of Tweed.⁷

It is probable that Edward's lost privy seal or *targia*, which, as already stated, had been taken from Roger de Northburgh when he fell into the hands of the king's adversaries, had actually been restored before the date of the Licence here printed, preserved among Mr. Lowndes' muniments, and it may doubtless have been the matrix of which this interesting document supplies an impression. Walsingham relates that Ralph de Monthermer, who married Joan, sister of Edward II., was among the captives at Bannockburn; that having found favor with the Bruce on account of previous acquaintance with him at the English court, he was released without ransom; and that on his return to England he brought with him the king's privy seal, which had fallen into the enemy's hands;—"reportavit secum domini regis targiam captam a Scotis, usu tamen ipsius primitus interdicto."⁸ It may be remembered that, after the first excitement of the memorable struggle and victory under the walls of Stirling had passed, the Bruce must have felt no slight anxiety for the safety of his consort, who had been captured in the sanctuary of St. Duthac in 1306, and still endured the sorrows of her protracted captivity in Rochester Castle, whither she had been removed in the month of March previously from the more gentle custody of the abbess of Barking, and had been consigned to sterner durance under the constable of Rochester, Henry de Cobham.⁹ Moreover, Christian, Bruce's sister, his daughter Marjory, his nephew the young Earl of Mar, and other Scottish persons of distinction were still prisoners in England at the mercy of the vanquished Edward. It may well be imagined that the Scottish king would be disposed to propitiate his adversary, and that he would evince that generous forbearance as victor, commended not only by Scottish writers, but by our own chroniclers.¹ Before a month had elapsed after the fatal battle, Bruce had successfully negotiated the liberation of his queen and of his daughter, and also of other illustrious captives, who were exchanged for the brother-in-law of the English king, the Earl of Hereford. The probability is obvious that Bruce may even before that arrangement have sought to gratify Edward by liberating Monthermer free of ransom, making him also, as we are informed by Walsingham, the bearer of the lost *targia*. No evidence has been found to show the precise time of his fortunate return to his sovereign;

⁷ Mr. Hartshorne's Itinerary of Edw. II. (Collect. Archæol. vol. i. p. 125) gives, "June 24, Berwick. P. W. 124," namely, Parliamentary Writs, vol. ii. p. 124. The writ was addressed to John de Benstede, requiring his presence at the Exchequer within 15 days, prepared to go to foreign parts on the king's service. "Teste Rege apud Berewicum super Twedam 24 die Junii." In like manner to John Abel and seven others. Rot. Claus. 7 Edw. II.

⁸ Tho. de Walsingham, Ypod. Neustrie, p. 501; and Hist. brevis Angl., p. 81. The expression "usu interdicto" referred

doubtless to the precautionary writs sent forth by Edward from Berwick, on June 27, as before mentioned. Dugdale, Baronage, vol. i. p. 217, citing the relation of Walsingham in regard to Monthermer's liberation after the defeat at Bannockburn, seems to have supposed that *targia* was a shield. He says that he "returned into England and brought the king's target, which had been taken in that fight, but prohibited the use thereof."

⁹ Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 244, 247. See also Tytler, Hist. Scot., vol. i. p. 213.

¹ Joh. de Trokelowe, p. 273.

on August 18th, however, Edward, then at York, issued a writ in favor of Ralph de Monthermer, in regard to his dwelling-place at Clifton near that city, which at the king's request he had permitted the Earl of Surrey to take as his abode on occasion of the approaching parliament at York.² There can exist, we apprehend, no reasonable ground for doubt that, before the date of the following document (September 4), the missing *targia* had been restored.

According to the chronicler, however, to whom we owe the Continuation of Nicholas Trivet's Annals of the reign of Edward II., the king, having lost his seal as above stated, caused another to be quickly provided. After a long enumeration of the slain and of the captive barons and knights at the fatal conflict under the walls of Stirling, these supplementary Annals contain the following statement:—"Clerici quoque et scutiferi plures ibidem fuerunt occisi et capti, de quibus et dominus Rogerus de Northburge, custos Domini Regis *targiæ* ab eo ibidem ablata, una cum dominis Rogero de Wikenfelde et Thoma de Switone, dicti domini Rogeri clericis, pariter detinebantur ibidem; ob quod diminus Rex cito postea fieri fecit sigillum, volens illud *privatum sigillum* appellari, ad differentiam *targiæ* sic, ut præmittitur, ablata." The narration of the return of Ralph de Monthermer free of ransom, on account of his former friendship with the Scottish king, is likewise given, as before cited from Walsingham, and it is said that he brought with him the king's *targia*, "usu ipsius, ratione prævia, nihilominus ex toto interdicto."³

No other instance, it is believed, has occurred of the use of the term *targia*, properly signifying a shield, to designate a seal; nor has it been found as the distinctive appellation of a privy seal of any English sovereign, with the exception of Edward II. The term *targa*, however, occasionally denotes pieces of money struck in Bretagne, Gascony, and in Spain, probably at the period when a shield of arms was introduced upon coins, a type of numismatic design not found in earlier times.⁴ In the Appendix to the Liber de Antiquis Legibus, edited for the Camden Society by Mr. Stapleton, we find a memorandum that on St. Agnes' day, 2 Edw. II. (January 21), "isserent les bref le Rei ove ces lettres desuz son prive seal de la *targe* parmy tuz les contes de Engleterre," &c.⁵ In the Liber Custumarum edited by Mr. Riley, in his valuable collection of Muniments of the City of London, we find a petition from the bakers, in 1320, to be relieved from payment of pesage; whereupon "le Roi maunda soun bref a ses Justices eirauntz a la Tour de Loundres, sur soun *targe*;" the writ concludes thus—"Doné suth nostre *prive seal* à Gloucestre le primer jour d'Averil, lan de nostre regne xiiij."⁶ Mr. Riley suggests that the seal may have been thus designated from the shield of arms upon it. It will be seen that the device on the seal appended to the king's Licence here printed is an escutcheon only; there was an inscription round the margin, but no ornament or device appears to have been introduced in the field,

² Rymer, vol. ii. p. 253.

³ Nich. Triveti Annales, ed. Ant. Hall, Oxon. 1722; vol. ii. pp. 15, 16.

⁴ See Ducange, v. *Targa*. Mention occurs of "graus blans appellez *targes*," doubtless silver coins, and of "demi *targes*." The term is obviously equiva-

lent to *scutum*, Fr. *écu*, the coin so called from its bearing a shield of arms.

⁵ Liber de Ant. Legibus, App. p. 252.

⁶ Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain, &c., published under direction of the Master of the Rolls, Munimenta Gildhallie, vol. ii. part i., appendix, p. 380.

and the device of the *targe* or armorial escutcheon was thus rendered, upon a seal of comparatively small dimensions, more than usually conspicuous.⁷

ALBERT WAY.

EDWARD par la grace de Dieu Roi Dengleterre seigneur Dirlande et Ducs Daquitaine a touz ceux qui cestes lettres verront saluz. Sachiez que come nous eoms entenduz que Robert de Brus soit tenuz a Nichol de Barn-tone (*sic*) en quatre vintz et quatorze livres pur draps et autres choses dount le dit Nichol fit chevissance pur lui tanque il estoit piece a⁸ Seneschal de ses terres en Essex, des queux deniers le dit Nichol voudra aider nostre cher et foial⁹ monsire Thomas de Maundeville, qui est pris et detenuz en prison par noz enemis Descoce, en eide de sa raunzon, et les queux le dit Robert serra prest a paier a celui qui ensi tient en prison le dit monsire Thomas a quele heure que le dit Nichol lui envoit lettre daquitance de la dite somme, la quele aquitance il ne ose faire ne y envoyer saunz especial conge de nous ; Nous, a la requeste nostre cher soer la Contesse de Hereford, avoms donez conge au dit Nichol quil puisse la dite aquitance faire et envoyer au dit Robert saunz estre chalange de ce par nous ou par noz heirs ou par noz Ministres quecumques, issint que meismes les deniers soient tourneuz en eide de la raunzon le dit monsire Thomas sicome dessus est dit. En tesmoignance de queu chose nous avoms fait faire cestes noz lettres patontes (*sic*). Done souz nostre prive seal a Everwykes le quart jour de Septembre lan de nostre rogne oytisme [A.D. 1314.].

There is appended, by a label partially cut from the bottom of the parchment, an imperfect impression of the privy seal on bright red wax ; it is of circular form, diameter nearly $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. ; device, an escutcheon of the arms of England ; of the legend only the letters . . s : EDW remain. The parchment measures only $9\frac{1}{8}$ inches in length, by $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches in breadth.

⁷ Chassant, in his useful *Dictionnaire de Sigillographie*, p. 131, gives the following in his enumeration of the formulæ of legends on counterseals :—"Sub meo scuto est meum secretum."

⁸ Written on an erasure, possibly intended to be read as one word. "*Picca*, autrefois, *olim*." Lacombe.

⁹ "Foial, *féal*: Fidèle." Roquefort.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

March 4, 1864.

The MARQUIS CAMDEN, K.G., President, in the Chair.

The gratifying intelligence conveyed in the following communication from General Knollys was brought before the meeting by Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, V.P.—

“ 8th Feb. 1864.

“ My Lord,

“ I have the honor to notify to you, by desire of the Prince of Wales, that His Royal Highness will have great pleasure in acceding to your request, that he would become the Patron of the Royal Archæological Institute, in the place of his lamented father.

“ I have the honor to be, my Lord,

“ Your most obedient Servant,

“ W. KNOLLYS.

“ The Lord Talbot de Malahide.”

The announcement of this encouraging mark of royal consideration and favor towards the Society, conveyed through the noble Lord to whose constant kindness and co-operation the Institute had for many years been greatly indebted, was received with most lively and grateful satisfaction.

It was stated by Mr. BURTT, in reference to the efforts of the Committee for the preservation of the Bartlow Hills, that the chief engineer of the Great Eastern Railway, Mr. Sinclair, had invited a deputation of members of the Institute to accompany him to the spot, on the earliest day which might be arranged, and to confer with him there in order to determine more advantageously the extent of deviation which it would be desirable to make in the projected line, so as to preserve those interesting vestiges of Roman times from injury, as far as might be found practicable within the limits laid down by the Act of Parliament passed in the previous year. Mr. Burtt expressed the hope that some effectual conservative precautions might result from this friendly conference with the representative of the Company. A courteous reply had likewise been received from Mr. Brassey, the Chairman, in acknowledgment of a communication addressed by the Committee. That gentleman wrote as follows :—“ The direction of the railway rests with the Company's engineer, to whom I have sent your letter, and with whom I shall be most happy to co-operate in carrying out the wishes of the Institute as far as practicable.”

The Hon. W. OWEN STANLEY, M.P., read a memoir on remains of ancient circular habitations, known as Cuttier Gwyddelod, existing in many parts of Anglesey and especially on Holyhead Mountain. Mr.

Stanley described excavations made in September, 1862, when some of these dwellings situated upon his estates were carefully examined, and he placed before the meeting a detailed survey of the fortified settlement, of considerable extent, of which the circular sites which he had examined form a part. This valuable memoir and survey will be given hereafter.

The following notice was then communicated by Mr. ALBERT WAY, relating to circular incised markings on rocks in Argyleshire and in Ireland, resembling those in Northumberland to which the notice of the Society had been called at a previous meeting. See p. 87, *ante*.

“The discovery of symbols or incised markings of unknown import upon rocks in Northumberland, was lately brought before the Institute, through the kind permission of the Duke of Northumberland, by our friend Dr. Collingwood Bruce, who placed before us the accurate drawings of these markings, executed for his Grace, by Mr. Mossman. The first occasion, it may be remembered, on which attention was called to these mysterious vestiges near the base of the Cheviots, was at the annual meeting of the Institute at Newcastle, in 1852, when a memoir was read by the Rev. William Greenwell, of Durham, now President of the Tyneside archæologists, and to whom the credit of bringing so curious a discovery under consideration is wholly due. The subject was subsequently taken up by Sir Gardner Wilkinson¹ and other antiquaries, whose enquiries have been stimulated by the liberal patron of archæological research in the northern counties, the noble duke who lately permitted us to examine the drawings shortly to be published by his direction. It has been stated that similar markings upon rocks have been noticed in other parts of Great Britain, in the neighbourhood of Scarborough and in some other parts of the North of England. Some casts of like relics of a remote period and unknown race had also been received from Scotland, and it was hoped that, attention having been invited to such incised work upon rocks, in many instances where the surface had been concealed under a thick covering of vegetation and accumulated earth, examples might be noticed elsewhere, and light thrown upon so obscure a subject. It is satisfactory to be enabled to state that this hope was not in vain; notices of similar mysterious markings have been received from several quarters, and their existence, both in North Britain and in Ireland, gives fresh interest to a question which may well claim our examination. Through the kindness of Mr. G. V. Dunoyer, to whom we have often been indebted for information, we may state that in certain districts of the south of Ireland, the rock-surfaces are found to present numerous markings, as we believe, similar to those in the Cheviot district, and we are pleased to know that they are in course of careful investigation by our learned friend, the Very Rev. Dean Graves, of Dublin, who has communicated a memoir to the Royal Irish Academy, as yet unpublished. It may be observed that, in the opinion of that antiquary, the concentric circles, lines, and other singular configurations found upon such incised rocks, represent, although very rudely, fortified dwellings, entrenched works and lines of communication, such as abound in the sister kingdom. Whilst the theory which would thus explain the import of these markings must be left for further investigation, it is worthy of note that

¹ Memoir on the Rock-basins of Dartmoor, and some British remains in England, by Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson,

Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc., June, 1860 p. 118.

the same general supposition regarding the intention of those found in Northumberland was entertained by Mr. Greenwell, the first antiquary, as before mentioned, who brought the discovery forward, and it is thus stated in the earliest published notice, namely, that communicated by him to Dr. Johnson, of Berwick, by whom it was given, with a reproduction of Mr. Greenwell's drawing of the remarkable rock at Routing Lynn near Doddington, in the *Natural History of the Eastern Borders*, vol. i., in 1853. By the courtesy of Mr. H. D. Graham and of Mr. Richardson Smith, we are enabled to place before the Institute diagrams of incised markings on rocks in Argyleshire, on the estates of John Malcolm, Esq., of Poltalloch. We are also under obligation to the Rev. James Graves, Secretary of the Kilkenny Society, for communicating a map, from actual survey by Mr. Graham, which has been published in the *Kilkenny Journal*, vol. iv. N. S. p. 382. In the general character and grouping of the circular markings shown in this map of the examples occurring near Loch Gilphead, they appear to be similar to those in Northumberland, with this exception, that the Scottish figures seem to be invariably annular—that is, formed of concentric circles, two to six or even eight in number, unbroken, but traversed



Circular incised markings on rocks at Routing Lynn, Doddington, Northumberland.

by a line radiating from a central cavity; whereas in the Northumbrian markings the concentric circles are pen-annular—that is to say, interrupted where the radiating line traverses. In dimensions and other particulars there appears to be no material difference. The central cavity is described as an inch or more deep, and two inches in diameter; the circular grooves being about half-an-inch deep, very rude and irregular; the peculiar feature common to all is the radiating line, which extends

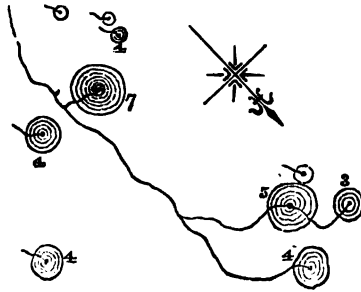


Unique kidney-shaped marking; *Leac-na-Sluagh*.

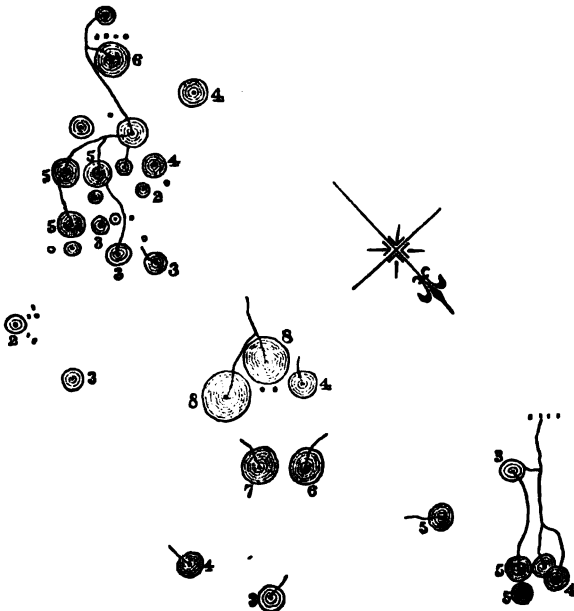
frequently to a long distance, and these lines run one into another, resembling roads or lines of communication, most frequently towards the south or south-west, but by no means invariably in the direction of the inclined surface of the rock, or in other respects adapted as drains to allow any liquid to flow away from the central cup, as had sometimes been conjectured. There is only one exception to the concentric type which prevails; this is a single kidney-shaped figure, here figured from Mr. Graham's drawings;² there are, however, numerous cups which have no rings around them. The rocks shown in Mr. Graham's

² This singular figure may seem to symbol on one of the sculptured stones, published by Mr. John Stuart; see this *Journal*, vol. xiv. p. 195.

CIRCULAR INCISED MARKINGS OF DOUBTFUL IMPORT ON ROCKS
IN ARGYLES HIRE.



Portion of the markings, with concentric circles from four to seven
in number.



Incised markings on rocks: Achabreek (Spotted Field), about three miles from
Lochgilthead. The numbers of concentric rings in each circle are
indicated by numerals.

From drawings by Henry Davenport Graham, Esq.

Scale, two-thirds of an inch to 10 feet.

diagram are situated about three miles from Loch Gilphead, near the old road to Kilmichael, on the farm of Achhabreek (the Spotted Field). They are of chloritic schist, very hard and smooth, like sea-worn rock, and incised all over with markings which can only be likened to tattooing, the largest figures composed of eight circles measuring a yard in diameter. Two rocks have been surveyed by that gentleman, situated about 100 yards apart, one of them situated rather lower than the other, being more completely covered by a thin coating of turf, under which doubtless many figures still lie concealed.

“It may deserve attention that this last is known in the country as *Leac-na-Sluagh*,—the flat rock of the host or army. The district is full of standing stones and vestiges of a remote period. The first notice of such markings was given by Dr. Wilson in his Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, namely, on the Coil stone at Kyle in Ayrshire: that distinguished archæologist was of opinion that this relic belongs to the earliest stone period. It must, however, be considered that the first specimen found in Argyleshire by Mr. Richardson Smith, near the Crinan Canal and Loch Gilphead, a discovery which has been followed by the remarkable notices of the objects in that neighbourhood now briefly described, was a slab forming part of a sepulchral cist containing burned bones and flint flakes. This slab bore incised markings, and it may probably have been a detached portion of one of the rock-surfaces, serving to indicate, as has been suggested, that the mysterious carvings belong to a race as old, if not older, than the tribes who burned their dead and buried the calcined remains in small cists formed of slabs of stone, by whom also flint flakes were used as weapons or implements. The attention of Mr. Malcolm, of Poltalloch, has been attracted by the curious vestiges on his property in Argyleshire; they will, I hope, be thoroughly investigated by his chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Mapleton, who is engaged in prosecuting researches; probably other examples may be found besides those represented in the diagrams exhibited, for which we are indebted to Mr. H. Davenport Graham and Mr. Richardson Smith, to whose sagacity it is, I believe, due that these long neglected relics of antiquity in North Britain have at length been noticed. The publication of notices of the incised markings on rocks in the county Kerry is much to be desired; the attention of antiquaries was invited by the Earl of Dunraven, and a memoir on their curious character read before the Royal Irish Academy in February, 1860, by the Very Rev. Dean Graves, by whom, as already stated, these rock carvings were supposed to have served as rude maps of the raths, duns, and lisses, which are found to be, in general, three by three in straight lines, in all parts of Ireland.

“The general character of the circular markings in Argyleshire shown in Mr. Graham’s diagrams, of which engravings on a very reduced scale may be seen in the Kilkenny Archæological Journal, vol. iv. N. S. p. 382, is shown in the annexed representation of a few specimens, for which we are indebted to the kindness of that gentleman; his skill as an archæological draughtsman was some years since familiar to us through his memorials of sculptured tombs and crosses at Iona. The principal rock, about three miles from Loch Gilphead, according to Mr. Graham’s description, is an inclined surface, measuring about 200 ft. by 100 ft., known as *Leac-na-Sluagh*, before mentioned. The incised markings are very thickly scattered over it. On a similar smooth face of rock, about 100 yards to the S.W., where it has been denuded of a coating of turf scantily covering it, numerous

figures have been laid bare. The third example is at a distance of nearly two miles, at *Carn Ban* (White Cairn); part of the smooth rock having been cleared of turf, many like markings have there also been discovered. Mr. Graham adverted to numerous examples of standing stones, in the district of Argyleshire, near the Crinan Canal; in two instances these stones have apertures through which the hand might be passed, according to ancient superstitious usage, especially in making an attestation of any solemn covenant. See Dr. Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals*, vol. i. p. 142, second edit. Of erect stones in that part of Argyleshire explored by Mr. Graham, few now remain where scores existed within memory; there are also numerous cairns and hill-fortresses crowning the abrupt conical heights. The great Crinan moss through which winds the river Add seems to have been rich in vestiges of the earliest periods."

Mr. CHARLES WINSTON offered some observations on two drawings of painted glass in Nettlested church, Kent; one subject had been taken by him from a window in the chancel, and represented the emblem of St. John the Evangelist under the somewhat unusual type of an angel with the head of an eagle. Figures of the Evangelistic symbols with human bodies, the heads being those of the animals by which the evangelists are typified respectively, occur in Mediæval art, as in frescoes by Barnaba da Modena figured by D'Agincourt, pl. 133. Mr. Winston's second drawing, from a window in the nave, represented a group of considerable interest, especially in regard to costume; this subject, as Mr. Winston believes, was intended for the triumphal reception of St. Thomas of Canterbury by the prior and monks of Christ Church, on his return from exile not long before his martyrdom. Mr. Winston supposed the date of the first to be the end of the reign of Henry VI., and that of the second the earlier years of the same period. A memoir on the glass in Nettlested church will be given, with engravings from Mr. Winston's drawings, in the *Archæologia Cantiana*.

General LEFROY, R.A., gave a description of a collection of ancient relics which he had brought for examination, lately obtained from the Pfahlbauten or lake-habitations in Switzerland. They consisted of axe-heads, adzes, and implements of stone, &c., objects of stag's horn and bone, flint flakes and arrow-points, sling-stones, bone pins, horns supposed to have been used in garden labor, flat and cylindrical pestles for crushing grain, portions of the clay walling of a pile-dwelling, charred apples, wheat and bread, also fragments of fishing-nets, linen cloth and fringe. These curious objects were from Wangen on the Lake of Constance, Meilen, Nidau Steinberg, and Robenhäusen on the Pfaffikon Lake near Zürich. They have been deposited by General Lefroy in the Museum at the Rotunda, Woolwich, and are described in the Official Catalogue of that collection recently arranged and augmented through his exertions; see p. 109. The remarkable preservation of articles of food, grain, and of linen tissues is to be attributed to their having been charred, doubtless during the destruction of these aboriginal Swiss lake-dwellings by fire. A full relation of the various discoveries is given by Dr. Keller in the *Transactions of the Antiquaries of Zürich*, where representations will be found of the principal relics brought to light in the Pfahlbauten. A small series of these antiquities has been recently obtained for the British Museum through the exertions of the Hon. Admiral Harris, H.B.M. Minister at Berne. It was noticed that one of the corn-crushers exhibited by General Lefroy is

almost identical in fashion with one found by Mr. Stanley in excavations at the hut-circles on Holyhead Mountain before noticed.

Mr. CHARLES REED, F.S.A., offered some observations on the fabrication of antiquities in soft white metal, usually alleged to have been found near the Thames or in the City of London during sewerage or railway operations. He exhibited specimens of these fictitious objects, which consist of images, vases, grotesque medallions, pilgrims' signs, and rudely fashioned ornaments, occasionally of elaborate description. Mr. Reed brought also for inspection several moulds and tools used in the manufacture. Public attention was called to this dishonest traffic by a collection of such objects, designated "recent forgeries in lead," submitted about 1858 to the British Archaeological Association; no doubt was then entertained in regard to their fictitious character.³ The report, however, of the proceedings at the meeting of that Society, printed in the *Athenæum*, furnished a dealer in these spurious objects with an opportunity of bringing his claims for redress. The trial took place at the Guildford Assizes, August 5th, 1858, and although he failed in obtaining a verdict against the proprietors of the publication which contained the alleged libel, he succeeded in securing a testimony in favor of these newly-found curiosities, which enhanced their value as marketable commodities. It appeared that he had purchased as many as 1,100 of the articles in question, and had expended £346. It was alleged by the vendors that they had been found in excavations for the new docks at Shadwell. One of the "shore-rakers" engaged in the traffic gave evidence that 2,000 had there been found (as he stated) between June, 1857, and March, 1858. He and a companion used to buy them of the navigators as they were discovered; he also found many by raking over the earth after it was dug out. The result of the trial is well known; the judge considered that there was no case against the *Athenæum* for libel. It had been laid down that what a man said *bond fide* in public discussion on matters concerning the public interest, even if spoken rashly, or if what was said was not true, should not be considered as a libel.⁴ The trial terminated with a verdict for the defendant, and, no evidence having been given on the other side, the result was considered in certain quarters to stamp upon these leaden objects an impress of antiquity. For some time after, the public, who cared for such relics, were anxious to be possessed of specimens of these newly-acquired treasures, which were rapidly produced to meet the extended demand. Mr. Reed's attention having, on reading the report of the trial, been directed to the spot from which these objects were said to have been brought, and being satisfied that articles in such numbers could not, if found there, have been removed without notice, he set himself to trace out the two men who had been the purveyors, acting between the finders and the dealer. The statement that the two men were "shore-rakers" was ascertained to be true; it appeared, however, that no communication took place, so far as Mr. Reed could discern, between them and the navigators in the dock. In the following year a man employed in constructing the city sewers brought to Mr. Reed some pottery for sale; he produced also some of the leaden objects, and, on being questioned, admitted that he believed them to be forgeries, and that before the trial he

³ These forgeries are likewise mentioned in *Gent. Mag.*, March, 1858, p. 234.

⁴ A full report of this remarkable trial was given in the *Athenæum*, Aug., 1858.

See also a communication by Mr. Reed to the Society of Antiquaries, in their Proceedings, vol. i. second series, p. 361.

had endeavoured to trace the authors of the fraud. He was prevailed upon to renew the inquiry. He soon became acquainted with the shore-rakers before mentioned, one of whom had given evidence at the trial. He obtained from them a number of specimens, brought before the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. Reed in 1860, and found the men in the act of preparing moulds, some of which he obtained, with the tools used in their fabrication. Mr. Reed's informant actually saw the objects cast and produced by these men. Rude as the forgeries are, and incongruous as the multifarious designs may appear, they exhibit a remarkable amount of skill, fully evidenced, moreover, by the success of the wide-spread deception, now practised for several years. That illiterate "mud-rakers" should have acquired such power of design and manipulation as these productions evince may lead us, as Mr. Reed observed, to wish that such talent had found a worthier sphere for its development. The designers of the objects exhibited, and of thousands more, had made their own tools and prepared their complicated moulds. Patterns or sketches have doubtless been supplied, but the manufacture has been carried on through the whole time by these two men after their hours of daily work. The castings are of lead mixed with pewter; after having been exposed to a strong acid they were freely daubed with river mud. It is to be feared, as Mr. Reed remarked, that these men have only been doing what numerous fabricators of higher class are constantly carrying on with success. It is the duty of all persons who take interest in antiquarian pursuits, and especially of societies instituted for the investigation of national antiquities, to expose, by every legitimate means, frauds which are prejudicial to the interests of archæological science, and bring scandal and reproach upon the honorable pursuits of the antiquary.

Mr. A. W. FRANKS, Dir. S.A., after a few remarks in corroboration of Mr. Reed's statement in regard to the spurious antiquities of lead recently vended in profusion to the unwary collector, especially large unsightly medallions bearing the date in several instances of the eleventh century, observed that several new classes of forgeries had lately come under his observation. These consisted of bone pins and flutes, purporting to be Roman; the pins being remarkably coarse imitations of Roman bronze pins, but with all the details preposterously enlarged. These objects are weekly offered for sale as having been discovered at Dowgate, where genuine antiquities of the Roman period have occurred. Another class consists of bronze or brass fibulæ of large size and peculiar ornamentation, some of them resembling a mediæval pilgrim's bottle; also bosses of shields, in dimension similar to genuine Roman *umbones*, such as that found in Northumberland and published by Mr. Franks in this Journal, vol. xv. p. 55, but with very imperfect imitations of the decorations of late Celtic times, the peculiar wavy character of which has been illustrated in the *Hornæ Ferales*, pl. 14—20, p. 184.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Hon. W. OWEN STANLEY, M.P.—Flint flakes or chippings, specimens of a considerable quantity found in a turbarry at Heneglwys, Anglesey, by the Ven. Archdeacon of Bangor, and by him presented to Mr. Stanley. These flakes appear to be from chalk flints; it is remarkable that no *silex* is known to occur in the strata of the island.

By Mr. A. W. FRANKS, Dir. S.A.—An oval cake of white metal, in which a considerable proportion of tin is supposed to be combined with lead. The dimensions are $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in.; weight, 6 lb. 15 oz. It was found in the Thames, near Battersea, and is doubtless a relic of the mineral wealth of Britain exported in Roman times. One side of this object is convex, as if the fused metal had been poured into a dished cavity; on the other, presenting a flat surface, there are two stamps; one of them is circular, being the Christian monogram composed of the Greek letters Chi and Rho, with Alpha and Omega at the sides; the other, of oblong form, presents the name—SYAGRIUS, struck twice, one impression partly overlapping the other, and thus rendered somewhat indistinct. This is probably the mark of an imperial officer of the mines in Britain, or of some other Roman functionary, found likewise upon another cake of metal obtained from the same part of the Thames, as stated in Mr. Albert Way's enumeration of relics of Roman Metallurgy in Britain, given in this Journal, vol. xvi. p. 38. That specimen, now preserved in the British Museum, bears the Christian monogram with the letters—SPES—and a second mark—SYAGR—doubtless an abbreviated form of the same name which occurs on the cake of metal now exhibited. Mr. Franks remarks that "the stamp is not unlike a coin-die in execution, and is attributed by numismatists to the fourth century. It has somewhat the appearance of an official seal, and if so, it is possible that the oblong stamp, which seems to bear the name Syagrius, may refer to the well-known individual of that name, Afranius Syagrius, secretary to the Emperor Valentinian in 369, and consul in 382." Proceedings Soc. Antiqu., vol. ii. second series, p. 87.

By Mr. J. JOSE ROGERS, M.P.—A collection of Saxon silver ornaments found in 1774, in a streamwork near St. Austell, Cornwall, together with a chalice-shaped cup, gold ornaments, rings, and coins, some of them of the reign of Burgred last king of Mercia, A.D. 874. The ornaments were described by Mr. Philip Rashleigh when they were brought before the Society of Antiquaries in 1788; and they are figured in the *Archæologia*, vol. xi. pl. 8, p. 187. Mr. Rogers promised to give some further particulars at the ensuing meeting.

By Mr. HAIN FRISWELL.—The Ashbourne Portrait of Shakespeare, now in the possession of the Rev. Clement Kingston, of Sutton near Wisbech. A photograph from the portrait will be given by Mr. Friswell in the second edition of his "Life-Portraits of Shakespeare."

By the Very Rev. CANON ROCK, D.D.—A supposed painting by Albert Durer, which had been purchased for a considerable sum, but upon close examination it had proved to be merely an engraving colored and varnished. Canon Rock was desirous to caution collectors of early works of art against the fabrications now carried on extensively in certain continental cities.

By Mr. EDMUND WATERTON, F.S.A.—Two leaves of an ivory devotional folding-tablet lately obtained in Yorkshire; they are of fourteenth century art, and represent scenes in the life of our Lord.

By Mr. HEWITT.—Several stone shot, found in the Tower moat when it was filled up in 1843. The shot then discovered, of Kentish rag or Maidstone grit, as described by Mr. Porrett, *Archæologia*, vol. xxx. p. 323, varied in diameter from 10 in. to $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. He supposed that they are relics of the assault by the Yorkists under the Earl of Salisbury and Lord Cobham, 38 Hen. VI. 1460. Shot of stone were used as cannon-balls as

late as the sixteenth century. The artillery of earlier times were hence called *pierriers*, in Latin *petrariæ*, a term by which originally mangonels and other engines of war serving to throw stone projectiles had been designated. The shot exhibited have been presented by Mr. Hewitt to the Museum of Artillery at Woolwich.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—Three iron daggers found near Lambeth in dredging in the Thames; date sixteenth century.

By Mr. ASHURST MAJENDIE.—Two Indian stamps or seals of brass, bearing devices in oriental characters of unknown import, ingeniously formed by narrow slips of metal compacted together like coarse filagree.

Impressions of MEDIEVAL SEALS.—By Mr. RICHARD CAULFIELD, F.S.A., President of the Cork Cuvierian Society.—Facsimile, in gutta percha, of a seal of the Abbot of Albus Tractus or Tracton Abbey, in the co. Cork, founded in 1224 by the MacCarthy family for Cistercian monks, who came from the monastery of Alba Landa or Whiteland, in Caermarthenshire. The seal, of pointed-oval form, measures about $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $1\frac{3}{8}$ in.; the impression, on green wax, is appended to a grant dated October 15, 1542, from Philip Barry-oge, Lord of Kinnalega and patron of the Church of Inishannon, with the consent of his brothers Thomas and John Barry, to Patrick Myaghe, burgess of Kinsale, of a piece of arable land and the patronage of the said church. Device, a dexter arm sleeved grasping a crosier, the crook is turned inwards, showing, as sometimes supposed, that the jurisdiction of the abbot was limited to his monastery, the crosier, when represented as borne by a bishop, being frequently turned outwards. Underneath is a diminutive kneeling figure, probably of the abbot represented as receiving the pastoral staff from a gigantic hand over his head; under this figure is an escutcheon of the arms of Barry-oge, Barry of six. The legend, somewhat indistinct, and in black letter, seems to read as follows: + Sigill' · iohannis · bary · abb'is · mō de albo tractu.^a

April 1, 1864.

Sir JOHN P. BOILEAU, Bart., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Hon. WILLIAM O. STANLEY, M.P., gave the following account of a remarkable block of stone in one of the mountain passes of Caernarvonshire, and placed before the meeting a drawing by John Williams, Esq., of Beaumaris, representing the curious relic in question. (See woodcut.) This rock, which is known by the popular appellation of "Carreg-y-Saelhan"—The Stone of the Arrows—is situated on a path about three miles above Aber on the northern shore of Caernarvonshire, in a pass among the mountains called "Nant-an-Afon"—The Valley of the River. The stone is flat, measuring about six feet in length; the path crosses directly over it, and, according to tradition, on the commencement of war the chieftains were accustomed to sharpen their arrows or other weapons upon this rock, and the marks upon the surface, which are about a quarter or half an inch deep, were made by the arrow-heads. They undoubtedly present the appearance of having been produced by the points of spears or arrows. In the neighbourhood of Aber, the Welsh princes had a residence adjoining an artificial mound called "The Mwd," about six miles west of Bangor. The Welsh princes, Llewellyn ap Jorwerth, at the close of the

^a See a notice of this seal, *Gent. Mag.*, May, 1864, p. 625, where it is suggested

that the figure of the abbot may represent St. Bernard.

twelfth century, and Llewellyn ap Gryffydd, A.D. 1246 to 1282, lived much in this part of the county, which is full of traditions and vestiges of ancient interest. The entrenched dwelling near the Mwd was the scene, according to tradition, of the tragical death of William de Breos, who was captured by Llewellyn at the siege of Montgomery in 1229. The Welsh prince, who had



Carreg-y-Saelhau, The Stone of the Arrows, near Aber, Caernarvonshire.

From a drawing by John Williams, Esq., Beaumaris.

espoused Joan, natural daughter of king John, brought his prisoner to the stronghold near Aber, where he won not only the compassion but the affections of the princess. The intrigue being detected by Llewellyn after the captive baron had been liberated by ransom, he tempted de Breos to visit him again at Aber, and forthwith caused him to be hung on an eminence near the castle within view of the princess's chamber. Upon a mountain south of Aber there is an artificial cave at a spot called "Car Gwillim Ddu," where, according to popular story, William de Breos was buried. Llewellyn seems to have forgiven his frail consort; she survived this tragical event eight years, and was buried in the Dominican convent which she had founded at Llanvaes near Beaumaris. The effigy which is supposed to represent her is now in Sir Richard Bulkeley's park; it has been figured in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. ii. p. 316. The numerous historical traditions associated with the neighbourhood of Aber seem to corroborate in some degree the supposition that the Stone of the Arrows may have been a relic connected in a certain manner with early warfare.

Mr. HEWITT gave the following particulars regarding a recent discovery of bronze celts and other relics at Murston, about a mile to the N.E. of Sittingbourne, and the same distance from the ancient Roman way or Watling Street:—

“Through the kindness of a friend I am enabled to exhibit a few

ancient objects lately found in digging for brick-earth in the parish of Murston, Kent. I regret that the account by which they were accompanied is not so fully detailed as might be desired. The deposit appears to have consisted of bronze celts, accompanied by bones of large dimensions; these objects were found early in the last month, about eight feet below the surface. The three celts laid before the meeting belong to Mr. Smeed of Gore Court, Sittingbourne, by whom they have been entrusted to me for exhibition." Among the discoveries near Sittingbourne by the Rev. W. Vallance, communicated to the Archæological Congress at Canterbury in 1845, and published by Mr. Roach Smith in his *Collectanea*, vol. i. p. 101, were two urns, one of them containing four socketed bronze celts and a gouge, with about thirty pounds of pure copper in lumps. In the other urn were a broken bronze blade, measuring $12\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length, and six bronze rings, from $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter. These relics were found near the Anglo-Saxon cemetery in the direction of Milton, described *ibid.*, p. 97, plates 36—38.

The Rev. GEORGE CARDEW, Rector of Helmingham, Suffolk, communicated a notice of the extensive sepulchral remains with other vestiges brought to light by him near the church and parsonage house in that parish. The attention of the Institute had been called to these curious discoveries by the Rev. Isaac Taylor. Helmingham, as Mr. Cardew observed, abounds in traces of the early inhabitants; there are no conspicuous monuments, erect stones or cromlechs, no Roman masonry or mediæval castle, but the ground can scarcely be moved without evidence being afforded that the spot was extensively occupied from early times. During the last winter excavations have been made, and in almost every instance traces of the ancient inhabitants brought to light; in some places the vestiges of each successive race were discernible, in something like the following order. In the first foot of earth, recent remains; in the second, mediæval; third and fourth, Saxon, Roman, and aboriginal. The undisturbed natural soil appeared at a depth varying from 2 to 5 ft. Adjoining to the rectory there is a field called Pond Meadow, containing a singular long moat of considerable depth, in some parts 12 ft. The portion of the field of which this is the eastern boundary is raised above the adjacent land, possibly for defensive purposes. Traces of ancient occupation have been noticed in almost every part; near the north west corner of this ancient enclosure is a brow which seemed a likely spot for a barrow, and the appearance of the ground suggested that one might have existed which had been leveled for cultivation. An excavation was made, by which this anticipation proved well-founded. At about 2 ft. in depth a stratum of charcoal, earth and pottery appeared, with fragments of a quern, a thin piece of bronze, shells of oysters, whelks and mussels (the spot is about 15 miles from the coast), bones of oxen, pigs, &c. At a depth of 4 ft. a grave was found 18 in. in depth, lying nearly east and west, and almost filled with charcoal, ashes and broken urns; it contained also three lower jaw-bones of different animals, carefully deposited, one being evidently the jaw of a pig, also another of smaller size, the teeth much worn. There was in this cist a rude spear-head, as supposed, of flint. The pottery is black, very rude, moulded by hand with occasional finger-mark indentations. The pottery in the upper stratum of charcoal, &c. was of red colour, fire-baked, and possibly of later date, as was also indicated by the piece of bronze. Mr. Cardew's impression is that here there were two interments;

the original one accompanied by the flint being of high antiquity. The funeral fire that had been made on the spot had partially converted the clay into imperfect terra cotta. Over this grave a tumulus may have been raised, and in this, as Mr. Cardew supposes, a later or Romano-British people may have interred their better-baked urns with the ashes of the dead. Mr. Lubbock, in a recent communication to the Ethnological Society, describing barrows examined by Mr. Bateman in Derbyshire, alluded to the occurrence of bones of animals in these burials as showing that funeral feasts were held over the interment. Mr. Cardew's most recent excavations have brought to light further vestiges of an extensive necropolis in the rectory garden, and in an adjoining copse known as "the Wilderness." It had been closed in by high banks, but part of these had been leveled and a graveled walk formed where the old ditch had been; there does not appear to have been any vestige of olden times noticed at that time. Mr. Cardew determined to explore the area of this space, a project difficult to carry out, owing to the roots of trees; after removing a foot of surface-soil, fragments of charcoal were seen everywhere, and next, black pottery with portions of thick ware; animal bones were soon after thrown out. The excavation had reached a depth of about 2 ft. when a skeleton appeared, every bone in place; it was supposed to be of a male, laid on his back, nearly east and west; at the feet were the lower jaw-bone of a pig and a tooth of an ox. Very near this lay another skeleton, with a boar's tusk, horse's tooth, and a pig's jaw; then two other skeletons; one of these seemed to have been deposited in a curved posture, as noticed in interments in Derbyshire, Wiltshire, and other places. Being carefully uncovered the right arm was found to have been parted at the elbow and buried near the feet, where lay also a pig's jaw, with teeth of the horse and cow. Seven or eight skeletons were then found together and overlapping each other, with a few bones of large animals. Within a small extent, along a trench about 2 ft. in width and a few yards long, twenty-four skeletons were disinterred, being those, as supposed, of men of great stature, the bones were of unusual size; in some instances there were indications of mutilation, or of limbs severed. In one case the head had been cut off, and one of the vertebral bones disunited from the neck, and deposited in another part of the grave, although the severed head had been placed in its proper position propped up by a large flint. Two remarkable interments were noticed, in which a skeleton was found accompanied by that of a child laid across the body, doubtless of the parent; the first impression suggested that the deceased had probably perished together, the circumstances and mutilated condition of the remains seemed to tell of the results of deadly conflict. The late Lord Braybrooke, it may be remembered, found graves in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery near Bartlow in which the skeleton of a man in the prime of life lay with that of a child placed across his breast. As far as has been at present ascertained the remains found at Helmingham are supposed to be of males. Further explorations have shown that the deposits which have been described are only examples of those to be found under like circumstances over an area of considerable extent. There has been no weapon or other relic brought to light which may suggest the date of so extensive an interment; no funeral urn has been found accompanying the skeleton, although broken vessels of black coarse ware occur in abundance in the earth above the deposits: the discovery of bones, however, of pigs, oxen, horses and wild boar would suggest

the probability that the remains are those of pagans, not of Christian inhabitants of East Anglia. The charred wood everywhere, over and in immediate contact with unburnt remains, seems, as well as the broken shards scattered around, to suggest that these may be vestiges of funeral feastings; no trace of any wooden coffin or of anything placed in the grave with the corpse has been observed. The position in which the bodies lay, east and west, deserves consideration. Within a few yards of "The Wilderness" there is a field of four acres, part of the glebe, in almost every part of which remains occur. The church of Helmingham stands in close proximity to this extensive cemetery: instances might indeed be cited to show that the early British churches were constructed near spots held sacred by the heathen, or long used as their burial-places. If, however, the probability that these numerous interments were made subsequent to a fatal massacre be admitted, the inquiry presents itself upon which future explorations may throw light, to what race the slaughtered population belonged. May they have been the victims of Roman vengeance, when the legions returned in A.D. 60 to punish the *Iceni* after the insurrection of Boadicea? or may they present the sad traces of the wreck and ruin that Hinguar and Hubba caused throughout all East Anglia, A.D. 870? Though nominally Christianised at that time, the Saxons in remote rural districts may have retained the customs of their forefathers and their funeral feasts and usages. Two other ancient cemeteries have been found at Helmingham, in one instance with entire funeral urns; in both these burial-places the human remains were so abundant as to require carts for their removal.

Mr. J. BURTT described a visit made by him and some other members of the Institute on March 30, ult., and recapitulated what had previously passed between the Great Eastern Railway and the Council of the Institute. He took occasion to bear his tribute to the uniform courtesy of the company's engineer, Mr. Sinclair, on whose invitation a deputation had visited Bartlow for the purpose of taking into consideration, on the spot, the amount of deviation which, under the powers conceded by the Act of Parliament passed last year, and the terms of the conveyance of the land by the Viscount Maynard, it might be possible to give to the line so as to obviate as far as practicable the injury which had been apprehended from the proximity of the cutting to the Roman grave-hills. The deputation had been accompanied to Bartlow by Mr. Sinclair; and on arriving at the tumuli, Mr. Burtt perceived that the line of railway was already completed to that point, the sides of the cutting trimmed and finished, and the road ready for the rails. It was intended that its course should run between two of the hills in a manner which would have seriously injured the principal tumulus; an amended course, however, proposed by Mr. Sinclair, within the prescribed limits of deviation, was finally decided upon as more desirable, and this will accordingly be adopted. The members of the Institute were met at this interesting spot by Mr. Joseph Clarke, of Saffron Walden, and some other gentlemen of the neighbourhood, who have taken interest in the preservation of the Bartlow Hills. From them and from the "ganger" of the works information was received of a singular discovery, which had occurred in the excavations. As the cutting passes between the hills, the chalk appears to make a deeper dip than in the adjacent parts; at this spot in the superior incumbent earth, a considerable quantity of human bones was found, stated to have filled two barrows, or,

as described by one of the excavators, about fifteen skeletons. They were reinterred, by order of the "ganger," at the side of the cutting, but he declined to point out the spot, and there seemed to be almost a superstitious reluctance to refer to the subject, and a manifest wish to say as little about it as possible. But the fact was undoubted that in the earth below the base of the Roman tumuli there had existed earlier interments. One skull only had been preserved, and it is hoped that it may be submitted to Dr. Thurnam, or some other skilful comparative anatomist, in order that, if possible, an opinion may be obtained in regard to the race or period to which these remains, disinterred under such remarkable conditions, may be ascribed. After a summary of the results of the explorations by the late Mr. Gage Rokewode, published by the Society of Antiquaries, and which had attracted attention to the remarkable character and unique contents of the grave-hills, Mr. Burt concluded his interesting narrative with the following pertinent observations:—

"There is no doubt that the line could have been well made, so as to have altogether avoided the Hills, and that too without any great increase of distance or expense; but the time had unfortunately gone by for such a deviation. I may be permitted to express great regret that the timely attention of influential residents near the spot, interested in the preservation of historical monuments in their neighbourhood, or the sympathies of the County Archæological Society, which once occupied so influential a position under our lamented friend Lord Braybrooke, had not been called to the subject, when interference might have proved far more effectual than after the passing of the bill for the construction of the railway. It is of little avail to call in the best medical skill when the sufferer is *in extremis*. The Archæological Institute must depend upon local eyes and suggestions for the application of its influence in matters in which the interests and sympathies of all its members are concerned, but the information upon which that influence can be exerted must be given in good time in order to be effectual. In such occasions as the conservation of monuments of so interesting a character as the Bartlow Tumuli, or the proposed 'restoration' of an early and remarkable church by a process which may leave little of interest remaining, of which examples might be pointed out, information can scarcely be given too early, if it be desired effectually to arrest the hand of the destroyer."

The attention of the Society was then invited by Mr. W. SIDNEY GINSON to the continued refusal by the Town Council of Edinburgh to fulfil the contract into which they had entered, on the demolition of the collegiate church of the Holy Trinity in that city, either to rebuild the structure elsewhere or to erect another church in its place. A statement was read, setting forth the circumstances under which the church was demolished in 1848, and the arrangements then made between the Council and the North British Railway Company, by whom 17,000*l.* was paid on the removal of the venerable fabric in question for the erection of a waggon-shed. The church was founded in 1462 by the queen of James III., Mary of Gueldres, whose remains were there deposited in the following year. The church, of which the nave was never completed, presented features of unusual beauty. Mr. Billings, in his *Ecclesiastical and Baronial Antiquities of Scotland*, gives an external and an internal view of the church as it appeared shortly before the fatal requirements of railway speculations. It is also figured in Dr. Wilson's *Memorials of Edinburgh*. On its destruction

by the railway company the materials had been carefully removed, and the stones numbered in order to ensure the accurate reconstruction of the sacred structure, to which the municipal authorities of Edinburgh were pledged. It is, however, to be apprehended, as Mr. Sidney Gibson forcibly alleged, that the ample funds paid over for that special object to the Town Council by the Company will be appropriated to other purposes, in defiance of the remonstrances addressed by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and from various other quarters. The remains of the royal foundress were brought to light, as supposed, during the removal of the church, and they were transferred to Holyrood; an account of the discovery and of certain curious details connected with it was given by Dr. Wilson in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxxi., N. S., p. 522. After some discussion in regard to Mr. Sidney Gibson's appeal, a resolution, deploring the recent decision of the Lord Chancellor and the consequent pertinacity of the Town Council of Edinburgh, promising also the co-operation of the Institute in any steps taken to prevail on them to fulfil their original intention, was proposed by the Hon. W. O. Stanley, M.P., seconded by Mr. Edmund Oldfield, F.S.A., and unanimously adopted.

The Hon. ROBERT CURZON offered some interesting observations on the helm exhibited at a previous meeting by General Lefroy, and described by Mr. Hewitt (see p. 60, *ante*). He pointed out that it belongs to a peculiar species of tilting-armour used in Germany in the time of the Emperor Maximilian, and that there are many representations of knights in that kind of armour in the Triumph of Maximilian, illustrated by the woodcuts of Hans Burgmair. "It is called in French, *armure à la haute barde*, and was never used in war, as a man once accoutred in it and set upon his horse could not turn, move, or see, except just before him. The butt of the heavy tilting-lance, three inches in diameter, was held up by a long piece of iron, called a *queue*, which stuck out behind the right arm, and was screwed on to the curiously square-shaped breast-plate. The principal risk from the shock of the adversary's lance was in breaking the back on the high cantel of the steel saddle; this was guarded against by an appendage to the back-plate, like a bird's tail; the left arm was defended by a small shield about two inches thick, made of wood covered with small square pieces of bone or ivory, and hung round the neck by a hempen rope with the ends unraveled; silk cord or a strap not being fashionable. The right arm was covered by the vamplate of the lance, usually longer than the shield; the right hand had no gauntlet, but probably was covered by a strong padded glove; no example, however, is known to exist. The horse was blindfold, having a chanfrein on its head, with no apertures for the eyes; a large poitrine covered the breast, and the animal was covered down to the feet with housings embroidered with some quaint device, generally not heraldic. The horse had no armour behind the saddle; the rider had no armour on his legs, and his thighs were protected by an appendage hanging from the saddle, called a *socquette*; usually there were a pair of these, but sometimes one, on the left side, only. On the top of the helmet was a crest, two or three feet high, and generally with a pair of immense horns at the sides. The silk or velvet mantelet hung over the back of the helmet, and was cut in fantastic forms, as may be seen in Albert Durer's beautiful engraving of such a helmet; this rare print is known as "La Tête de Mort." No perfect suit of this kind of armour is known to exist in England, except one in the Tower Armory, but certain

portions are there misplaced and disunited from the others. Many such suits, however, are to be seen at Vienna in the Ambras Collection and at the Arsenal: there is one at St. Petersburg, two are at Dresden, with the original housings of black cloth; two are in the Musée de l'Artillerie at Paris, and six in the Emperor's private collection. These suits were made in pairs, that the armour of each combatant might be the same, and they could be padded so as to fit any wearer. Inside the helmet there was a wadded leather cap fitting tight to the head and kept in the centre, apart from the sides of the helmet, by four straps. By this contrivance the tilter escaped generally without a fractured skull; but the shock of being thrown from the horse by a blow on the helmet from the adversary's lance, with above a hundred weight of armour on the upper part of the body and none on the lower, must have been very severe. The heavy powerful horse sometimes had, instead of armour on the breast, a long bag stuffed with straw hung round its neck, with the two ends attached to the high pommel of the saddle; this was less cumbrous than armour, and was concealed by the housings; an original cushion of this kind existed some years ago in the Castle of Ambras in the Tyrol. Such a contrivance had the additional advantage that it entirely protected the rider's legs. It is believed that no portion of horse-armour *à la haute barde* exists, except the chanfrein, of which several specimens are preserved; one is at Warwick Castle. The tilting-helm, like that recently obtained for the Woolwich Armory, was not always used with the armour above described, a *salade* with a peculiar high *mentonnière* was frequently worn in its place; in this case the proper stroke was to knock off the *salade*, or bear it off in triumph on the three-pronged coronal of the lance. It appeared to me that the appendages to the front and back of the helmet exhibited by General Lefroy are not original; all the helmets of that kind which I have observed were screwed down to the breast-plate, in front; at the back a bolt, bearing some resemblance to an octangular pig-tail, fits into a hole low down in the back-plate. The helmet at Woolwich may have been adapted, soon after it was made, to a suit, called in French, *armure à la poulaine*, with long toes; the rack in front was made to fit over the staples which held on the *mentonnière* on ordinary occasions, and the buckle at the back was intended to be secured by the strap, as seen in illuminations and painted glass in back-plates of the later part of the fifteenth century, which were in two pieces, buckled together with a strap. I know of one specimen only, now at Parham; and do not understand its object. The armour for the tournament and the weapons employed had arrived at perfection in the days of Maximilian; and the arts of offence and defence had become so nicely balanced, that generally the conflict terminated without damage to either of the combatants, who had tilted at each other according to the strict laws of the lists as laid down by the quaintest of old monarchs, René of Provence. After the times of Maximilian, the last of the emperors of chivalry—the last of the Gothic knights—tournaments degenerated and lapsed into the mere show of a *carousel*."

Mr. Curzon accompanied these remarks by the exhibition of some portions of armour of the Maximilian period, from his own collection at Parham.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. BOREHAM, of Haverhill.—A flint celt, of the usual most simple type, found near the Bartlow Hills; also a flake or chipping, described as a flint knife.

By Mr. HILTON, of Linton.—A small bronze bell, of Roman work; measuring about 1½ inch in height; it was found near Bartlow.

By Mr. BURTT.—A small brass coin of the Emperor Tacitus (A.D. 275), found at the Bartlow Hills, and obtained there from one of the laborers engaged in the railway cutting.

By the Rev. H. M. SCARTH.—A series of engravings of inscribed slabs and altars, sculptures, with numerous other Roman relics found at Bath, being illustrations prepared for his forthcoming work on the ancient vestiges of that city in Roman times.⁸

By Mr. John E. LEE, F.S.A.—A drawing of an ancient piece of artillery formed of bars of iron welded and hooped together, with part of the original oak stock. It was found about 1830 in Tenby Bay, and is now preserved at Pembroke Castle.

By Mr. EDMUND WATERTON, F.S.A.—Two Italian anelaces, called from their peculiar form *lingue di bovi*; one measures 19 inches in length; the hilt is of ivory, the blade is a fine example of *agemina* or inlaid work in gold, arabesques with a bust in profile; the edges of the blade and also the cross-guard are elaborately engraved with a scroll pattern resembling that which occurs on Saxon crosses. There are cavities which were probably filled with flagree. The other *lingua* measures 22 inches in length; the lower part of the blade is engraved with two figures, male and female, and between them are the words—VIRTU · CONDUCE. On the other side are two figures on horseback, and between them the words GENTIL (a heart) HOR · ADALTO.—probably forming a verse—Virtù conduce gentil cuor ad alto—Valor conducts the noble heart to eminence. Round the hilt, which is of horn, there is an inscribed band in *repoussé* work—NECESSITUDO + HOMINES + TIMIDOS FORTES + FACIT. These weapons were purchased at Rome. Date, sixteenth century.—A silver crucifix, formed to contain relics; found at Rome. Date, fourteenth century.—Leaden badge of St. George.—Two paintings from an old house at Bury St. Edmunds; one represents St. Catherine, the other St. Edward the Confessor giving the ring to St. John, who appeared to him as a pilgrim.—An ivory spoon, found near the church of St. Peter at Norwich.—Two Majolica drinking bottles, one of the fifteenth, the other of the sixteenth century.—Five balls of glass curiously streaked or mottled, and bearing some resemblance to those found with Anglo-Saxon interments, but probably of comparatively recent date. They were found in the lake surrounding Walton Hall, Yorkshire.—A gold ring inscribed outside— + my . wordely . ioye . & . alle . my . trust . —and inside— + hart . thought . lufe . and . lust .

By Mrs. EDMUND WATERTON.—Badge of the Order of the Golden Fleece, made of a natural pearl set in gold. Date, eighteenth century.

By the Rev. J. FULLER RUSSELL, B.D., F.S.A.—MS. "Processionale ad usum monasterii Salvatoris de Syon," as described by Canon Rock, and regarded by him as a great curiosity among liturgical *codices*, perhaps an unique manuscript, in England, of its class, and once employed by the

⁸ See a notice of Mr. Scarth's forthcoming volume on *Aquæ Solis*, p. 102, ante.

Bridgetine nuns of Syon near Isleworth.⁹ In some parts it differs from the Salisbury Processional; for instance, in the anthems and collect for Palm Sunday. That this Processional was the reconstruction of an older one we learn from the following rubric:—"Ut sorores monasterii Sancti salvatoris de Syon tam presentes quam future a consciencia scrupulosa removeantur intuentes in hac processionario plura addita sive diminuta aliter quam consuetudo primaria antiquitus solebat habebat (*sic*) Reverendus in Christo pater et dominus, Dominus Johannes bone memorie Londoniensis episcopus, auctoritate sua ordinaria et eciam delegataria, considerans omnia addita sive diminuta ad cultum divinum pertinencia et valde consona approbavit et hujusmodi frui ad Dei laudem cum sororibus dispensavit, earum consciencias scrupulosas ea occasione habitas vel habendas auctoritate predicta removendo." The John, Bishop of London, here mentioned and then dead ("bone memorie"), would seem to have been John Kempe, translated from the see of Chichester to that of London, 1421, elected Archbishop of York, 1426, translated to Canterbury, 1452; he died in 1454.

Canon Rock is of opinion from the style of the writing that the Syon MS. was copied about 1480, and that, from the name "Dorothe Slyght," written on a fly-leaf at the beginning, that lady, one of the nuns at the Suppression of the house in 1539, may have carried it to her home. He has in his possession a small printed Sarum missal which belonged to "Elyzabeth Fettiplace," another of the nuns, who was living with her family at the end of the reign of Edw. VI., at Pusey, Berks.¹ Dorothy Slyghte occurs in the list of those nuns, to each of whom an annual pension of 8*l.* was assigned at the Surrender; her name is found again among the sisters dispersed in England, 17 in number, besides Catherine Palmer, who was chosen abbess, the community having been reassembled by her on the restoration of the monastery by Mary in 1557. Dorothy appears also in a roll of pensioners, 2 & 3 Philip and Mary (Add. MS. Brit. Mus. 8102), her allowance being there entered as 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*² On the accession of Elizabeth the nuns again quitted England and took refuge in Flanders. At the end of this interesting MS. are written in a later hand, on a fly-leaf, certain responses and prayers to St. Catharine, who seems to have been regarded by the nuns as the daughter of their foundress "St. Birgitta," the name being usually so written. These additions end with the following:—"Clementiam tuam domine suppliciter imploramus ut intercedentibus beata Katherina et sancta matre ejus Birgitta omnium graciaram tuarum plenitudinem consequamur. Per dominum." On the reverse of the leaf entries by various hands are to be decyphered,—a short prayer,—the sentence "Dulcis Ih'c est amor meus," neatly written in inverted letters; a cross rudely traced, with a large black-letter *n* under it; and the following lines:—

In quacunq; domo nomen fuerit vel ymago
Virginis eximie Dorothee martiris alme,
Nullus abortivus infans nascetur in illa,

⁹ It is scarcely necessary to observe that the service books designated Processionals, whether MSS. or the early productions of typography, are of great rarity. Mr. Dickinson has given, *Ecclesiologist*, vol. vii., N. S., p. 276, a curious

list of early printed Processionals according to the Salisbury use, and of the libraries in which they are preserved.

¹ *Ecclesiologist*, vol. xxv., N. S., p. 125.

² Aungier, *Hist. of Laleworth*, pp. 89, 97, 99.

Nec domus aut ignis furtive pericula sentit ;
 Nec quisquam poterit inibi mala morte perire,
 Celesti pane moriens qui premuniatur.

Brand makes no mention of the popular belief in such phylacteric efficacy of the name or image of St. Dorothy. On the following leaf is written, with entries by various hands,—“My Lady Anne.” It has been supposed with much probability that this may designate a distinguished inmate of the Monastery of Syon towards the close of the fifteenth century. In the will of Cecily, Duchess of York, and mother of Edward IV., dated April 1, 1495, we find, according to an abstract by Dugdale, the bequest “to my daughter Anne, Prioress of Syon, a book of Bonaventure,” also her largest bed of baudekyn with a counterpoint of the same.³ It has been supposed that this was Anne, who married first, Henry, Duke of Exeter, and, secondly, Sir Thomas St. Leger, beheaded in 1483. It appears, however, by an inscription to her memory in St. George’s Chapel, Windsor (figured by Sandford, *Geneal. Hist.*, p. 396), that she died January 14, 1475, leaving an only daughter, Anne, married to Sir George Manners, Lord Roos. Although the Duchess of York, in her will above cited, makes mention also of “my daughter Katherine,” being in fact, as it would seem, her grand-daughter, the Countess of Devon, it is scarcely probable that Lady Roos, likewise her grand-daughter, should have been the lady designated Prioress of Syon in 1495. Another grand-daughter, Anne, daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, affianced to the Duke of Rothsay, afterwards James IV. of Scotland, became a nun at Lyons.

On the same leaf in Mr. Fuller Russell’s MS. is to be read, near the name of “my Lady Anne,” an autograph in red ink,—“C. Browne.” This doubtless was Constancia Browne, elected Abbess of Syon, August 31, 1518.⁴

By the Hon. WILLIAM O. STANLEY, M.P.—A square brass money-weight, found near Bodelwyddan, Denbighshire. On one side, within a beaded circle, there is a coronet formed of crosses patty and fleurs-de-lys, and beneath—XIs.; on the reverse, within a beaded circle, is St. Michael transfixing the dragon’s jaws with a spear; legend—I : R : BRI:—Dimensions, seven-twelfths of an inch in each direction; thickness about one-twelfth; the edge chamfered on the upper side. It weighs in its present defaced condition only 68 grains. It is, doubtless, a standard weight for the gold Angel or double crown, *temp.* James I., the device on that piece being the Archangel, as above described. The current value of the Angel was raised by Proclamation, 23rd November, 1611, from 10s. to 11s., in order to enhance the value of gold coins, so as to make them of equal value with the price of gold in foreign parts, and to discourage exportation which had become a serious evil, the unit current here at 20s. being valued at 22s. abroad. As this raising the value of gold coins caused gold to be more used than heretofore, it was thought fit to check the circulation of light pieces, by declaring it lawful (according to the precedent of a Proclamation 29 Elizabeth) to refuse all gold coins which should be lighter than allowed by a stated table of abatements; this, in regard to the Angel, of which the true weight was 77 grains, was not to exceed 2 grains.⁵ Standard weights were thus rendered indispensable, and the privilege of making

³ Nicolas, *Testam. Vet.*, p. 423, note.

⁴ Aungier, *Hist. of Syon*, p. 81; see

also some notice of her family, *ibid.* p. 583.

⁵ Ruding, vol. i. pp. 363, 365.

them was probably conferred upon some favored person, as in other reigns. On the weight found in North Wales, which has lost by wear and time not less than 13 grains, the open coronet, similar to that with which the achievement of the Prince of Wales is usually ensigned, may show that the weight is one of those provided for the Principality; a little stamp may be noticed on the obverse, produced by a punch, doubtless the royal countersign, the device being a monogram of the letters I R (Jacobus Rex).

By Sir JOHN BOILEAU, Bart., F.S.A.—A miniature pistol-barrel of brass, chased with ornamental work, amongst which is introduced the date 1638. It was found in Norfolk.

MATRICES OF SEALS.—By Col. TEMPEST.—Two small brass seals, stated to have been found under the stalls in York Minster after the destruction of that fabric by fire in 1828; one of them is a signet of good work, date, fifteenth century; device, a swan with wings closed; the field ornamented with foliage. There is no inscription. The device on the other seal, which is of later date, is a heart.

IMPRESSIONS OF SEALS.—By Mr. JOSEPH CLARKE.—Seal of John de Ferring, probably the Abbot of Walden, Essex, of that name. He succeeded in 1270 and died 1285. It is of pointed oval form; device, a tonsured head couped at the neck, seen in profile to the left; over the forehead is a star; legend, † CAPVD IOHANNIS : DE FERINGES. Dimensions, 1½ in. by seven-eighths. The matrix, which is of silver, was found near Hadstock, Essex, and is an example of good work of the period.—A seal of oval form; device, a figure, as supposed, of the Precursor, holding in his left hand a nimbed *Agnus*, the usual symbol of St. John the Baptist; in front kneels a diminutive figure representing doubtless the original owner of the seal, to whose name of John allusion is made in the following legend:—† PORTO TUUM NOMEN MICHI GRACIA DETVR ET OMEN.

By Mr. NIGHTINGALE.—Impressions of three matrices in the Salisbury Museum.—Unfinished seal, of circular form, formerly in possession of the late Dr. Fowler, of Salisbury. It bears only a plain escutcheon placed obliquely and ensigned with a helm, lambrequins, part of a crest, &c., the field partially worked with elaborate tracery in the style of the time of Henry IV. No legend or other details are even outlined upon the metal.—The other two seals were deposited in the Museum by Mr. Hicks, of Salisbury; one of them is a small privy-seal of the fourteenth century, of pointed-oval form; device a bird and a branch; legend, * CREDE . MICHI. The device on the other, which is also of pointed-oval form, is an embattled gateway between two round towers; beneath the gate is a heart, or heart-shaped escutcheon, between the initials L—S. Date, fifteenth century. These seals were obtained, as stated, at Winchester.

May 6, 1864.

The Marquess CAMDEN, K.G., President, in the Chair.

Mr. AMBROSE POYNTER communicated the following notice of Roman interments brought to light during the previous month at Charlton, near Dover. Some particulars regarding this discovery were likewise sent by Mr. W. P. Elsted, with sketches of pottery and a glass *ampulla* described by Mr. Poynter. These objects have been presented to the Dover Museum by Mr. Tucker, through whose praiseworthy care they were preserved to enrich that interesting local collection.

Numerous relics of Roman occupation, such as coins, pottery and personal ornaments, have been brought to light at various times near Dover; of some of these notices have been sent to the Institute by the late Mr. Clayton, which have appeared in the *Archæological Journal*, and also of the singular discovery of the vestiges of a Pharos which existed in Roman times on the west side of the harbour of the ancient *Dubris*, opposite to that more generally known, namely the multangular Pharos still standing on the eastern heights, and within the enceinte of Dover Castle. Interments and other traces of the Roman occupants of the banks of the river Dour have occurred, chiefly on the line of the ancient Roman way towards Canterbury, especially at the village of Charlton adjacent to Dover on the north west; many specimens of Roman pottery and other objects thus disinterred have been deposited in the Museum at Dover, from which, by the kind permission of the local authorities, various antiquities were sent to be exhibited at the Meeting of the Institute at Rochester.

A few days since as the workmen in the employ of Mr. Tucker, builder, were excavating the ground at the corner of Bridge Street, Charlton, they brought to light a piece of pottery. Mr. Tucker, being on the spot, caused the earth to be carefully removed; the result has been the discovery of some interesting Roman remains, buried at the depth of $10\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from the surface. 1. A globular *dolium*, 22 in. high and $18\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter; the top of this vase was covered with a tile; within it was found a beautiful long-necked glass *ampulla*, 7 in. high, in perfect preservation, and marked with some letters, as supposed, but they have not been satisfactorily deciphered. At the bottom of the vase was a quantity of mould, which, being washed and sifted under the direction of Dr. Astley, was found to be mixed with calcined human bones in small fragments. 2. Another *dolium*, precisely similar to the first; within it was found a broken *patera*, $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter, of Samian ware. At the bottom were calcined bones as in the former, but mixed with a great quantity of snail shells of several species common in the locality. The bones in these vases consisted of only a small portion, in each instance, of the human skeleton, and, with the exception of a fragment of a cranium in the second vase, the bones of the head and also the jaws were, in both instances, entirely missing. It has been considered somewhat remarkable that bones should have been found in these vases, since they are such as were used for domestic purposes, and unlike those commonly regarded as cinerary urns. 3. A jar-shaped vessel of black ware roughly glazed, 14 in. high, and 13 in. in diameter; in this also were found a few fragments of calcined bones. On one side some characters appeared to be rudely scored. 4. A beautifully formed *cantharus* of brownish red ware, 10 in. high, nearly perfect.

No Roman vessels of such large dimensions had previously, it is believed, been brought to light at Dover. They have occurred repeatedly on other sites of Roman occupation, as in Essex and at Lincoln. A remarkable example found in Bedfordshire, with sculptured statues, Samian vessels, and other relics, is preserved at Woburn Abbey.¹ The large globular vessels thus used as sepulchral depositories have been designated *dolia*; in their perfect state the upper part terminated in a short neck with two small stout handles, doubtless convenient in the transport of such ponderous vessels, and might serve for attaching them to pack-saddles or other means

¹ See Mr. Hartshorne's Memoir, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii. p. 7; a glass *ampulla* was found with the interment there described, and is figured, pl. 11, fig. 2.

of conveyance. These vessels, like the large *amphoræ* in which doubtless wine, oil, &c., were imported in Roman times, are of foreign manufacture, and it is worthy of note, that fragments, handles stamped with potters' names, and the like, occur commonly in localities occupied by the Romans, even in remote Stations such as those on the Roman Wall. When used as receptacles for cinerary deposits, occasionally in glass vases, or in fictile urns, as in the interments at Charlton, the neck was broken off, and an aperture formed of sufficient diameter to admit of the introduction of the vases, accompanied by other sepulchral accessories, such as glass *ampullæ* or bottles for unguent, Samian dishes, &c., which may have contained objects of food, deposited with the corpse, or with the burnt remains when cremation was used, as in the present instance. The large globular vessels found at Lincoln enclosed glass vases of beautiful quality and considerable dimensions, measuring about 17 in. in height,² and in these the ashes of the dead were placed. Glass *ampullæ*, precisely similar in form to that found at Charlton, have repeatedly been found, especially in funereal cists or coffins of stone, as at Avington in Sussex, and near Gloucester in an interment discovered by the Rev. Samuel Lysons.³

The discovery of snail shells in one of the *dolia* at Charlton is worthy of notice; they have occurred elsewhere under similar circumstances, as have also shells of the oyster and others. It is doubtless possible that snails may have penetrated to a considerable depth, when the accumulation of soil over the deposits was comparatively inconsiderable, yet it must be remembered that snails were a favorite article of food amongst the Romans, as they now are in France and other continental countries; and the shells thus found at the bottom of the *dolium* may have been placed there with provisions of food.⁴ The characters traced on the vessel of black ware, of which a sketch was sent by Mr. Elsted, are not undeserving of notice. These are probably numerals, apparently VV, or X and V, and they may have indicated the measure of the contents of the jar. Such *graffiti* are not often found; the late Lord Braybrooke published in this Journal a vase found at Chesterford thus marked with rude characters, of which a few other examples have been noticed.⁵

Mr. J. JOPE ROGERS, M.P., gave the following account of a collection of Saxon ornaments, coins and other relics, found in 1774 in Cornwall, and of which a portion had been exhibited by him at a previous meeting. See p. 169, *ante*. These antiquities were found at Trehiddle, half a mile south of St. Austell, as briefly related in a memoir by Mr. Philip Rashleigh communicated to the Society of Antiquaries in 1788, and printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. ix. p. 187. Accurate representations of the various objects are there given. This remarkable hoard was found by some tanners in a stream-work in St. Austell Moor; it lay about 17 feet below the surface, and consisted of two gold objects, since lost (figured in the

² *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xvii. p. 11.

³ The Romans in Gloucestershire, by the Rev. S. Lysons, p. 48. See an account of a similar glass *ampulla* found at Colchester, accompanying a deposit in a globular *dolia*, *Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass.*, vol. i. p. 239; and Mr. Kempe's notices of interments in *dolia* found in Southwark and Whitechapel, *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi. p. 470; *Gent. Mag.* 1836, p. 369.

⁴ There were, however, as we are informed by Mr. Poynter, no shells of the *Helix pomatia*, but those of the *H. hortensis*, the *H. virgata*, and *H. aspera* in abundance, and also of a freshwater species, the *Limnea palustris*, a proof, as he observes, that the snails had not crept accidentally into the vessel.

⁵ *Arch. Journ.* vol. xvii. p. 126; *Sussex Archæol. Coll.* vol. xi. p. 138.

Archæologia, pl. VIII. figs. 2, 3), one of them being a circular pendant ornament enriched with filagree; a silver chalice-shaped cup broken into several pieces; a silver cord of very curious workmanship to which is appended a bead of greenish mottled glass, this cord terminates in four knobbed lashes like a scourge, and it was described by Mr. Rogers as a *disciplinarium*; several silver rings and other ornaments elaborately decorated; a penannular brooch; the tip of a belt; buckles; richly chased bands supposed to have been bracelets; and a long pin, the head of which is curiously fashioned with fourteen facets chased with various ornamental patterns and partly nielloed. There were also about ninety-five silver pennies, being coins of five kings of Mercia, an unique penny of Eanred, king of Northumbria, with others of which a list is given hereafter. Mr. Rogers observed that rarely can the date of deposit of any hoard of ancient relics be fixed so precisely as we are enabled to do in this instance by aid of the coins accompanying it. He considered it probable that the hoard was interred soon after A.D. 874, possibly in 876 or 877, when the Danish host invaded the West of England, as related in the Saxon chronicle. The coins are now in the possession of Jonathan Rashleigh, Esq., by whose kind permission they were brought for examination. We are also indebted to his courtesy for the subjoined list. The silver ornaments were presented, as Mr. Rogers believed, to his father the late Rev. Canon Rogers, of Penrose, about 1806, by Mr. Rashleigh's great uncle on whose estate the discovery occurred.⁵

The coins, as enumerated by Mr. Rashleigh, consist of about 95 silver pennies, with some fragments.

Kings of Mercia.—Coenvulf, A.D. 796—818 (one); Beornvulf, A.D. 820—824 (one); Berhtulf, A.D. 839—852 (ten); Burgred, A.D. 852—874 (fifty-four); Ciolvulf, A.D. 874 (one).

Sole monarchs.—Ecgeberht, A.D. 800—837 (three); Ethelvulf, A.D. 837—856 (ten); Ethelred, A.D. 866—871 (two); Alfred, A.D. 872—901 (two); also an unique penny of a King Eanred, supposed to be Eanred, King of Northumbria, A.D. 808—840.

Ceolnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 830—870 (six).

Also a silver coin of Pepin, A.D. 752—768; and one of Louis le Debonnaire, A.D. 814—840.

From this list Mr. Rashleigh considers that the treasure was buried about A.D. 874—875, probably soon after the death of Burgred, whose coins are those most numerous, and, as he supposes, during the short reign of Ciolvulf, and the early part of that of Alfred the Great.

The Rev. JOHN W. ASTLEY, Rector of Chalton, Hants, gave an account of some mural paintings in distemper lately discovered on the north wall of the chancel of Idsworth Chapel in that county. He placed before the meeting drawings of the same size as the originals. The principal subject is from the well-known legend of St. Hubert, and his conversion when hunting in the forest of the Ardennes. In a lower compartment are represented the beheading of St. John the Baptist, and the presentation of the Precursor's head to Herodias, who is seated at a banquet. These paintings appear to be of the later part of the thirteenth century. Tracings were also exhibited by Mr. Astley of two full length figures of St. Peter, in papal

⁵ In the Archæologia it is stated that they were at that time (1788), the pro-

perty of John Rashleigh, Esq., of Penquite, Cornwall.

attire, and St. Paul, painted on the jambs of the east window of Idsworth Chapel. There are likewise some inscriptions, apparently invocations of the B. Virgin, the sacred monogram, and some indistinct words. Scarcely any particulars are known regarding that little fabric, a chapelry to Chalton, from which it is distant about a mile and a-half, and situated in Idsworth Park, the property of Sir J. Clarke-Jervoise, Bart. The chapel, in close proximity to the former residence of his family now demolished, is a simple structure consisting of a nave and chancel; it has some portions of early English work, but the exterior has been modernised in the style of late Tudor work; in the north wall are remains of a small Norman doorway now built up. Mr. Astley observed that the district of Hampshire occurs in Domesday under the name of Ceptune hundred, corresponding with the present Finch-dean hundred; the Manor of Ceptune consisting of the parishes of Chalton, Clanfield, Idsworth, Catherington, and Blendworth, formerly known as "The Five Manors." Mr. Astley suggested that, as St. Hubert was the patron of hunters, the introduction of his legend in this instance may have been connected with the state of the country in early times. Idsworth was situated on the verge of the great forest district, the *Silva Anderida*, of which the ancient Forest of Bere and Stansted Forest are doubtless remains. Representations of St. Hubert, of frequent occurrence in French and Flemish churches, are very rare in this country, no other example, indeed, has come under our notice.

Mr. EDMUND WATERTON, F.S.A., read a memoir on Royal Cramp Rings (printed page 103, *ante*), and placed before the meeting, by the courteous permission of Cardinal Wiseman, the illuminated manual used by Queen Mary at the benediction of these rings.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. R. H. BRACKSTONE.—A bronze vase, stated to have been brought from Egypt by the late Mr. Kemble of Cheltenham, a collector of coins and antiquities; it has unfortunately been scoured and the patina destroyed.—Three bronze fibulae, probably from Italy, but the place of their discovery has not been recorded.—A bronze *harpago* or sacrificial grappling hook, described as brought from Etruria, and resembling specimens in the British Museum obtained from Etruscan tombs. A similar relic, in possession of Mr. George Stephenson, was exhibited at the meeting of the British Association at Belfast, 1852. It was stated that it had been found in Ireland, in the county Down; this specimen is figured in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. iv. p. 96.—A bronze dagger, the handle in form of a female figure probably intended to represent Venus.

By Mr. EDMUND WATERTON, F.S.A.—A small figure of a pig, of terracotta, probably a votive offering to Latona, found near Rome in 1860, in excavations for the railway.—A silver-gilt hanap, date about 1620; a silver cup, date 1636; and four silver *tazze*.—A curious jug resembling productions of Arabian manufacture; it was disinterred in 1859 in the vestibule of the old basilica of St. Clemente in Rome, at a depth of 30 feet from the surface, in the course of the excavations which have lately produced many interesting results. This vase was presented to Mr. Waterton by the Prior of St. Clemente.

By Mr. G. FORTESCUE WILBRAHAM, through Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—

A bronze ring, of the Lower Empire period ; the device on the head, which is of oval form (measuring about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $\frac{3}{4}$ in.), is a *fede*, or hands conjoined, within a chaplet of leaves ; over the *fede* is inscribed—*FIDES*—and underneath—*CONCORDIA*—at each side is a small erect olive branch ; on the shoulders of the hoop are engraved the names *RVFVS D. D. and VIATOR*.

By Sir J. CLARKE-JERVOISE, Bart., M.P.—Several specimens of Roman pottery found at Idsworth, Hants ; and four photographs of mural paintings discovered in the basilica of St. Clemente at Rome.

By Mr. JAMES NEISH, of the Laws, Dundee, through the Rev. G. RHODES.—A gold signet ring, found, about 1790, in digging the foundations for Heathfield House, on the Hawkhill, Dundee, formerly called the Sparrow Muir. The device is a head, apparently regal, bearded, with the hair long at the sides ; on the breast there is a mullet or star of five points introduced in scrolled ornament ; around the edge there is a corded bordure with knots at intervals like a *cordelière*, instead of the pearled margin usually found on seals. In the woodcut it is shown somewhat more distinctly than it now appears, being partly effaced by friction. This knotted cincture is well-known as worn by the Franciscans thence designated *Cordeliers* ; as an accessory to heraldic or personal ornaments its use seems to have been first adopted by Anne of Brittany after the death of Charles VIII. in 1498, as we are informed by Palliot and other writers. It has, however, sometimes been assigned to a rather earlier period. The hoop of Mr. Neish's ring is plain and massive, the weight being 199 grains. The device, shown



in the accompanying woodcut, double the original size, is engraved with skill. It is difficult to determine whether the object worn on the head is intended for a crown or a helmet with lateral projections resembling horns. On minute examination of the surface it seems possible that there may have been a third projection in front, although shorter than those at the sides. Examples of helmets with cornute appendages, occasionally found in classical art,⁶ are not wanting in mediæval times ; Brito describes, in the Philippidos, the helm worn by the Earl of Boulogne at the battle of Bovines, A.D. 1214, with horns of *baleins* ; in later times also

such a fashion occurs, especially in Flanders and Germany. It has been suggested that the mullet on the breast may indicate some allusion to the heraldic bearing of the Douglas family, especially as the ring was discovered in the district of Angus, of which the earldom was conferred, in 1377, on a branch of that noble race. Mr. Neish, to whom both the remarkable ring here described and also Heathfield House where it was found now belong, stated that he had been informed by two persons that they remembered the discovery ; one moreover said that Mr. Webster of Heathfield House, to whom it formerly belonged, told him that the late Mr. Constable of Wallace Craigie (the Monkbarns of the "Antiquary"), had taken interest in the discovery, and, having carried the ring to Edinburgh, he had found there, in some depository, a proclamation or public notification regarding the loss of a gold ring on Sparrow Muir by a certain Allan Dorward, who had been

⁶ See an example figured in the Rev. E. Trollope's *Illustrations of Ancient Art*, pl. vi. fig. 12.

employed by David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of William the Lion, in building a church founded by the Earl at Dundee and completed in 1198. The King, according to tradition, was so pleased with the builder's work that he presented to him a ring, which Allan, being afterwards at a boar-hunt on the Sparrow Muir, had there lost, and he had offered a reward for its recovery, as made known in the proclamation before-mentioned. This tradition has been related by Mr. Andrew Jervise, in his *Memorials of Angus and the Mearns*, p. 178; according to another version, the ring was asserted to have been given by David II. (A.D. 1329—71) to his master mason, and lost by him on the Sparrow Muir in the manner before related. Mr. Jervise remarks that, if the Earl of Huntingdon founded a church at Dundee, a circumstance of which there is no record, no vestige of the fabric exists; according to one tradition it may have been destroyed by Edward I. in 1303; the lofty bell-tower now to be seen is described as in the Decorated style introduced into Scotland in the reign of David II.⁷ The beautiful ring in Mr. Neish's possession may possibly be assigned to later part of the fourteenth century; the workmanship presents no feature of early character to justify the supposition that it was a gift from William the Lion. We have, moreover, the assurance of one of the most accurate and acute of Scottish antiquaries, that no such document or "advertisement," as is alleged to have been put forth by the loser of the ring, is in existence; neither is there record of any architect employed by David II. or by his father, Robert I.

It may deserve notice in regard to the *cordelière*, commonly associated with the Franciscan Order, and introduced on this remarkable ring with the accompaniment of the mullet, as above noticed, being a portion of the bearing of the Douglas family, that there existed at Dundee a Franciscan convent, the most important institution of its class in the town, founded by Devorgilla, mother of John Baliol. It appears to have received support from the Douglas family; when the Friars became so impoverished that they were compelled to sell their sacred vessels and books, Beatrice Douglas, Countess of Errol, bestowed, about 1480, a donation for which they bound themselves to say daily mass for her soul and those of her son and deceased husband. See Jervise's *Memorials of Angus*, p. 192. Through her liberality repairs were made in the ruinous fabric of the "Howff," as the site of the Grey Friars at Dundee is now called. The supposition seems by no means improbable, that the ring in Mr. Neish's possession may have belonged to some person of the distinguished family of Douglas, by whom St. Francis was held in special veneration, and that hence the *cordelière* was introduced upon it. We learn from Menestrier, in his *Origine des Ornaments des Armoiries*, Paris, 1680, p. 161, that Anne of Brittany, who, as already observed, introduced that accessory to heraldic achievements in fashion among the ladies of her court, adopted it in accordance with the customary use of such a device by her father, Francis, Duke of Brittany, who, for the devotion which he had

⁷ Of this style, Mr. Jervise observes, good examples are extant, such as the church of St. Monans, in Fife, of which it is known that Sir William Dischington was architect, or master mason; *Chamberlain's Rolls*, i. pp. 496, 524. To this period also, the bell-tower of Brochin

Cathedral is assigned, and it may deserve notice, that William Dischington, whether for architectural or other services in Forfarshire, had a grant from David II., of a mill with some adjoining lands. *Jervise's Memorials of Angus*, Edinb., 1861, p. 179.

towards St. Francis of Assisi, placed a knotted cord around his arms, as was to be seen on his tomb at Nantes. It had, however, been used at an earlier time by another Duke of that noble race, Francis I., in 1440, as shown by the *cordelières* which accompanied his achievement at Rennes. Menestrier has figured several interesting examples of its use in heraldic decorations, showing the prevalence of such a fashion in France, and it may be remembered that intimate relations subsisted at the period between that country and Scotland.

By His Eminence CARDINAL WISEMAN.—A remarkable illuminated MS. of the sixteenth century, being the Manual used by Queen Mary I., containing prayers used in the consecration of cramp-rings and the ceremony for the healing of persons diseased with the king's-evil.⁸ The two services fill nineteen leaves of vellum, with ornamented bordures and three miniatures. On the first leaf there is an achievement of the royal arms, namely those of Philip II. impaling the coats of France and England quarterly, within a garter ensigned with an Imperial crown; the field within the garter is colored green. The bordure is enriched with pomegranates, red roses, and a fleur-de-lys; at the bottom there is an escutcheon charged with the cross of St. George. On the reverse is a portrait of the Queen kneeling in front of an altar, her hands are joined in prayer, before her on a blue cushion lies an open book, at each side of her there is a gold basin containing rings. In the bordure are introduced birds and animals amidst foliage, flowers and fruits; also St. George and the Dragon, David with the head of Goliath, &c. On the second leaf the first service commences with the rubric,—“Certayn prayours to be used by the quenes heighnes in the consecration of the Cramperynges.” The whole of this curious Office has been printed by Bishop Burnet, apparently from this identical MS., in the Appendix to the History of the Reformation, Book II., No. 25.⁹ After certain prayers said over the rings lying in the basin or basins, the *Benedictio annulorum* follows; then, according to the rubric,—“Theise prayors being saide the quenes heighnes rubbeth the Ringes betwene her handes, sayinge—Sanctifica Domine annulos istos, &c.—Thenne must hally water be caste on y^e ringes, sayeng, In nomine patris,” &c. Among the decorations of the illuminated margins occur an escutcheon with the arms of France and England quarterly, another with the arms of the city of London; also Mary's favorite motto—*VERITAS TEMPORIS FILIA*—and—*DOMINVS MIHI ADIVTOR*—the portcullis, the white rose in the centre of the red rose, and figures symbolising Patience, Prudence, Charity, Justice, Faith, Hope, Fortitude, and Temperance.

On folio 11, which separates the first portion of the Manual from “the Ceremonie for y^e heling of them that be diseased with the kynges Evill,” is represented the Saviour on the cross, with the Virgin Mary and St. John; on the reverse of this leaf the Queen is seen kneeling at a desk upon which there is a large open book; at her right is a stripling youth brought by the Clerk of the Closet, both of them kneeling, and the Queen places both her hands upon the sufferer's bared neck. On the left of the Queen, at the side of the desk, the Chaplain is seen kneeling and reading

⁸ The office of consecrating cramp-rings accompanies a reprint of the English version of the ritual for the healing, as late as 1789.

⁹ The MS. is described as then (about

1680) “in Biblioth. R. Smith, Lond.” The possessor of the MS. thus designated by Bishop Burnet was, it is believed, the titular Bishop of Chalcedon *in partibus*.

the service appointed, which, it may deserve notice, according to the rubrics is set forth for the King, not for the Queen, probably through inadvertency of the transcriber. This Office has not been printed by Bishop Burnet with that before noticed. It has been stated that the earliest ritual came into use in the time of Henry VII. ; it was much modified in successive reigns, until that of Queen Anne, the last of our sovereigns who "touched" for the Evil. The original Latin ritual may be seen in the Appendix to Beckett's Enquiry into the Antiquity of touching for the cure of the King's Evil ; Lond. 1722.¹

By Mr. W. H. HART, F.S.A.—Commission from Queen Elizabeth, appointing Sir Richard Lea, knight, "our true and undoubted Attorney, Procurator, Legat, and Ambassador" to the court of Russia ;—"In witness whereof wee have caused these our letters to be made Pattentes and sealed with our greate seale:" dated at Greenwich, 30th May, 1600. This document is beautifully written on vellum ; the first line and some words and initial letters being in gold. Although in the form of letters-patent, it is not entered on the patent roll, as stated by Mr. Hart, and it has another peculiarity, namely, that it is signed by the Sovereign in the left hand upper corner like a sign-manual, which is not necessary for the validity of a patent. By the string-marks and holes at the bottom of the parchment, the Great Seal (now lost) would appear to have been attached. The appointment sets forth that the "high and mighty Prince Boris Fedorowich, great Lord, King, and great Duke of all Russia," had, since his entry into his reign, shown tokens of friendship and desire to continue the intercourse of merchandise which had been for many years between his subjects and the Queen's, and confirmed by letters-patent under his Great Seal, such liberties, &c. as English merchants heretofore enjoyed. Wherefore, the Queen, desirous to respond to his goodwill,— "and for congratulation of his good estate (whereof wee wish all happy continuance)," had resolved to send her said Ambassador to his court. Further particulars regarding this embassy have been given by Mr. Hart in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. i. second series, p. 188, where the document has been printed at length. There is at the State Paper Office, as he observes, a letter dated April 19, 1600, shortly before this appointment, wherein Sir Richard Lee submits to Sir Robert Cecil various considerations concerning a mission to the court of Muscovy ; that he went as ambassador appears by Sir Thomas Smith's "Voiage and Entertainment in Rushia," London, 1605, in which mention occurs of Sir Richard as the previous envoy. He was probably, as Mr. Hart remarks, a younger brother of Sir Henry Lee, K.G., of Quarrendon, Bucks ; Elizabeth was there entertained with a masque in 1590. Boris, brother of the Czarina Irene, wife of Fedor I., having by ambitious artifices seized the reins of government, caused the Czar's only brother to be assassinated ; and, on the death of Fedor without issue in 1598, he obtained possession of the throne, and courted popularity by treaties with the sovereign powers of Europe, offering facilities for commerce, and giving encouragement to foreign artists and men of learning for advancement of civilization in Russia. It is somewhat remarkable that Elizabeth should have signified

¹ See also Charisma, sive donum sanationis, by Dr. Tooker, Dean of Lichfield ; Lond. 1684. The subject of the cure of scrofulous diseases attributed to

the royal touch, has been fully treated by Mr. E. L. Hussey, in this Journal, vol. x. p. 187.

so warmly the goodwill of England towards this crafty usurper. On September 18, 1600, an ambassage from Boris reached London, and, after being honorably received by the Queen, was entertained for eighteen months at the charge of the Muscovy merchants. Stow's Annals, 12 Eliz.

By the Earl of DUNRAVEN.—A relic of bone of unknown use: in its present imperfect condition it is difficult to ascertain the purpose for which it was intended; it has been supposed to have formed part of a musical instrument or of a cross-bow. It was found in Ireland, in a moat at Desmond Castle, Adare. Professor Owen pronounces the material to be a bone of the elk, *Cervus alces*.

By Mr. R. H. SODEN SMITH, F.S.A.—Two small "Bellarmines," or grey-beard jugs, lately found in Southwark; probably of English ware, sixteenth century.—A gold motto-ring, of English workmanship, sixteenth century, engraved with the posy—*joie sans fyn*.—A gold ring, of old German or Swiss workmanship, set with a tourmaline, carbuncle and peridot, in triangular arrangement.—A gold armet, of modern African work.

By the Hon. Mrs. ARBUTHNOT.—A silver case in form of a bird bearing a Cupid, and containing a watch of English workmanship.

By Mr. JAMES YATES, F.R.S.—A fine medal of the Emperor Charles V., struck in 1537, in the 37th year of his age.

By Sir GEORGE BOWYER, Bart., M.P.—A statuette sculptured in wood, representing the Virgin, with the Infant Saviour; probably a French work of the fifteenth century; also three paintings on panel, early specimens of Italian art.

By Mr. WEBB.—A small reliquary of silver-gilt, on which is represented St. George and the Dragon. It was described as found at Baugé in Anjou, on the field of battle where the English under the Duke of Clarence were defeated in 1421. This interesting object was obtained recently by Mr. Webb at Paris. He brought also a devotional folding tablet of silver gilt, date about 1450.

By Sir THOMAS E. WINNINGTON, Bart., M.P.—A copper plate etched representing an aged man reading, in the style of Rembrandt, and bearing his name with the date 1651. The plate has been gilt and framed; it has been long preserved among the numerous works of art and mediæval taste at the residence of the Winnington family, Stanford Court, Worcestershire. We are informed by Mr. Carpenter, that the Dutch amateurs not unfrequently sought to obtain one of the original plates executed by some engraver of whose works they had formed collections, and caused it to be gilt; after that process no impression could be taken. It is on record that the Emperor Rudolph II. caused the copper plate of the admirable engraving by Albert Durer, representing St. Hubert, to be gilt. The plate preserved at Stanford Court is probably not by the great master whose name it bears; its execution bears resemblance to the work of Livens or of S. Koninck.

By Mr. ASHURST MAJENDIE.—A decorative pavement tile, found at the east end of the church at Castle Hedingham, Essex.

By Colonel TEMPEST.—Two paintings, one of them supposed to be an original portrait of the nun, Catherine de Bohren, who escaped from a convent and became the wife of Luther. This painting was executed in 1525, the year of her marriage with the reformer.

Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

ABSTRACT OF CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1863.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Balance at Banker's, December 31, 1863	18	16	4
" in Treasurer's hands	10	4	9
" Petty Cash	0	15	7
Annual Subscriptions, including Arrears	481	16	0
Entrance Fees	19	19	0
Life Compositions	21	0	0
Sale of Works Published by the Institute	113	10	3
Net Receipts, Rochester Meeting	184	8	0
Donations at ditto	5	0	0
Admission Tickets, on occasion of the Royal Procession, March 7th (less expenses)	29	5	0
	£883	13	10

Submitted to the General Annual Meeting, held in London, on Tuesday, 31st of May, 1864, and unanimously approved.
 (Signed) EDMUND WATERTON, *Chairman*.

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
Publication Account:			
Bradbury & Evans (Printing Journal)	295	0	0
Drawing and Engraving	50	0	6
Printing circulars, &c.	11	0	0
House Expenses Account:	356	0	6
Rent of Apartments (4½ Quarters)	176	5	0
Secretary's Salary	70	0	0
Removal to Burlington Gardens	8	14	6
Fittings, &c., in New Apartments	52	0	7
Fixtures in ditto	6	8	9
Stationery	4	17	0
Fire Insurance	3	0	0
	821	5	10
Library Account:			
Paid for Binding	11	8	9
Petty Cash Account, including Postage, Carriage of Parcels and Objects sent for Exhibition, Messages and Attendance, Coals, Lighting, &c.	99	11	9
By Draft Stamps and Sundries	0	9	5
Balance in Banker's hands, December 31, 1863	74	2	3
" Petty Cash	11	9	10
" Treasurer's hands	9	11	6
	£883	13	10

Examined and found correct,
 Signed { R. C. KIRBY, }
 { FREDERICK OUVREY, } Auditors.

The Archaeological Journal.

SEPTEMBER, 1864.

REMARKS ON THE PAINTED GLASS AT LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL.¹

By the late Mr. CHARLES WINSTON.

THE beautiful glass paintings which occupy (amongst others) the seven eastern windows of the choir of Lichfield Cathedral, belonged originally to the Abbey of Herckenrode, in the old episcopal principality of Liége. They are of the Italian-Flemish school, and appear from dates upon them to have been executed between 1532 and 1539. After the destruction of the abbey, the glass passed into the possession of Sir Brooke Boothby, Bart., who transferred it to the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield, by whom it was placed where it now is, in or about the year 1803 (A).

At the present time, when the very refuse of the continent is sought for, and even forgeries of ancient painted glass occasionally command high prices, such an acquisition would have produced no slight sensation, and a knowledge of the surpassing merit of these windows would have been generally diffused by means of the press. As it is, there is perhaps no work of equal importance in this country so little known or appreciated.

To the antiquary this glass may appear less interesting than that in the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick, to which so many historical and local associations attach; but it must always be an object of the deepest interest to the student

¹ Read on the occasion of the visit of the Archaeological Institute to Lichfield,

July 29, during the Annual Meeting held at Warwick, 1864.

of glass-painting, anxious to trace the progress of the art, and to ascertain the method by which such striking and beautiful pictorial effects have been produced.

To those who have recently examined the painted glass in the Beauchamp Chapel,² it may seem somewhat surprising that both examples should have been produced by precisely the same technical process (B); and that the difference in effect between them, which we cannot fail to observe, should be entirely due to the greater skill of the artists who executed the works now under consideration.

We are familiar with the expression "the new method," by which Vasari and other writers on art designated the practice of the great painters of the Renaissance. The influence of this practice is shown as clearly in the Lichfield windows, as is that of the hard, dry, flat style of the pictorial art of their day in the windows of the Beauchamp Chapel. And surely if the "new method" of the Renaissance (the invention be it remembered of the greatest artistic geniuses whose works have come down to us) is admirable, and is admired in all other kinds of painting, we may well ask why should its adoption in glass-painting alone be deemed wrong? In what does the impropriety consist? Is any essential or fundamental rule of glass-painting thereby violated? I feel that a glance at the windows at Lichfield ought to set these questions at rest. But, as the works of the Renaissance in painted glass have been of late years systematically decried by a certain class of writers, not merely on account of their style, as being in the Italian and not the Gothic manner (a question with which we need not concern ourselves), but upon the broader ground that their design and mode of execution (matters perfectly distinct from style) are essentially erroneous, I trust that I shall not be deemed tedious if I endeavour briefly to show, that in works like those at Lichfield there really is no violation of the conditions imposed by the nature of glass, considered as a material affording a means of art. I am not aware, indeed, of the existence of any conditions that can be supposed to prohibit an artist

² The painted glass in the Beauchamp Chapel was a special subject of interest at the Meeting of the Institute at Warwick; a Discourse on its peculiar features and history was communicated on the

occasion by the author of this Memoir. We hope to be enabled to publish hereafter his valuable dissertation on the subject.

from producing as perfect a pictorial effect in a glass-painting as he is able, provided he does not unnecessarily or excessively reduce the transparency and brilliancy of the glass.

The principal objections urged are, I believe, that the artists of the Renaissance ought not to have attempted pictures in painted glass, or anything higher than mere colored mosaics, because the nature of glass is such that more complete and perfect pictures can be produced by other methods of painting; that their works are overshadowed, and therefore unsuited to the nature of a translucent material; and that the attempt to form a picture in glass is always accompanied by a diminution, in a certain degree, of the depth of coloring.

The first objection can easily be disposed of, upon the ground that it tends unnecessarily to limit the resources of art. Experience shows that we take delight in various methods of representation, some of which are certainly not less imperfect than glass-painting; and that an artist's power in meeting and overcoming technical difficulties always forms a large ingredient in our estimate of his abilities.

To the second it may be answered, that, though it is true that translucency is the essential characteristic of a painting upon glass, and that any practice tending unnecessarily to reduce it must be vicious, yet, as it is impossible to give force and expression to a glass painting without some diminution of its transparency, the extent to which obscurity may properly be carried becomes a question of degree. Thus we rightly condemn the use of enamel coloring, that is to say, the method of coloring glass with enamels, instead of (as in the windows at Lichfield) using for the colored parts of the picture glass colored in its manufacture, and not afterwards, and which is as transparent as white glass itself. For though more varied and even truer effects of color are obtainable by means of enamels, such gain is disproportioned to the loss of effect through the dulness and want of brilliancy occasioned by the use of enamel coloring. But the employment of an opaque enamel color for the purpose of producing the chiaroscuro of a picture in glass is legitimate, if confined within reasonable limits.

The third objection must necessarily fall to the ground upon its appearing that pictorial compositions of a higher nature than mere mosaics are allowable in painted glass, as

being unopposed to any rule of glass-painting ; for, without using colors varying in degrees of depth, it would be impossible to impart requisite distinctness and relief.

In determining the various questions involved, we naturally turn to ancient examples as affording the best means of comparison and selection. But, before submitting ourselves to the teaching of antiquity, we should do well to bear in mind that mediæval architecture and mediæval painted glass stand upon a very different footing. The one had reached a point high enough to place it in the first rank of the architectural styles of the world, at a time when the art of representation on a plane surface (including glass-painting) was comparatively in its infancy. The latter, as is well known, did not attain perfection in the north of Europe until the period to which these very glass-paintings belong, and not until after the decline of Gothic architecture. The accidental association therefore of the earlier styles of glass-painting with Gothic buildings is far from proving, that any necessary or scientific connection exists between the best Gothic architecture and the state of the art of representation as then practised in glass-painting. Nor ought we to be deterred by any such association from condemning, along with their bad drawing, the confusion and want of relief which in a greater or less degree characterise all the painted windows executed previously to the second quarter of the sixteenth century. It is observable, however, that the most keen opponents of cinque cento art justify, on the score of taste, their preference of what may be familiarly designated the "ironed-out-flat-style" in painted glass, namely complicated compositions intended to represent objects occupying various distances from the eye, but which are so inartificially drawn, shaded, and colored, as to look as if they had all been compressed flat into one plane, as is exemplified in old windows (C).

It may be admitted that a composition of a flatter nature than is absolutely demanded by the conditions of glass-painting, might occasionally be employed with advantage, if it was treated artistically, and did not exhibit (like the ironed-out-flat-style) the flatness which results merely from feebleness and imperfect knowledge. And such a glass painting, in proportion to its simplicity and approach to a mere mosaic, might display a more uniform degree of bril-

liancy and a more uniform expanse of the deepest coloring, than would be possible in one of a more complex and pictorial character. But it would be found very difficult to design such a composition upon a very large scale; nor would its style be suitable for general adoption, since it would necessarily confine the subjects of glass-painting to a very few, and those of the simplest nature. Practically, therefore, our choice would be in favor of glass paintings more nearly approaching the character of pictures (of which class those at Lichfield and other contemporary works might be considered to be the type) on its appearing that they exhibited the highest pictorial effect of which glass-painting can be rendered capable, without violating that condition of the art which forbids undue obscuration of the material. That they do not infringe this rule is actually proved by those most opposed to the style in question, who occasionally place in invidious comparison with "the overloaded (with enamel), and overshadowed cinque cento," mediæval works in which shadow not unfrequently occurs equal in quantity, and even more opaque than what was used in the cinque cento style. It is a fact that the fourteenth century figures and canopies in the east window of Gloucester Cathedral are more profusely and densely shaded than the pictures at Lichfield, and other examples might be adduced. Doubtless the effect of relief thus produced in these early works is very inferior to that in the Lichfield glass-paintings; but this, after all proper allowance has been made for the difference of material, is found to be due only to the greater skill and knowledge with which the shading in the later works is executed: the aggregate amount of obscuration is about the same in both instances. Nor, indeed, do the Renaissance glass paintings of this particular period, although so pictorial, and exhibiting such masses of shadow, at all suffer by comparison with the most brilliant mediæval examples. On the other hand, the comparative dulness of glass paintings of a later date, though scarcely attended by any corresponding advantage, proves that the obscuration of the material had reached its proper limit in such works as those now under consideration. That these glass-paintings also exhibit the greatest pictorial effect of which glass is legitimately susceptible, is manifest on comparing them both with earlier and later examples.

The radical error of the earlier works of the Renaissance is the complicated nature of their composition ; that of the later is the complicated nature of their chiaroscuro ; for to deal with either composition or chiaroscuro successfully would require resources not possessed by the glass-painter. His difficulties spring from the fewness of the glass colors, their uniform brightness, the impossibility of providing hues and tones to modify or unite them, and the imperfect means of imitating light and shade.

The evil attending the use of compositions too complicated is shown in the windows of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, and the east window of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster (D). These are mostly overcrowded with groups of figures extending backwards into the extreme distance, which is elevated to an absurd height in order to display them. The background occupies too large a proportion of the picture to admit of its being executed in the few retiring tints which glass supplies, without injury to the general coloring ; other colors are therefore necessarily introduced, which come as forward as those in the foreground (E). The effect is flat and confused, however skilfully the light and shade may be managed. To a certain extent the same fault is observable in such of the glass paintings at Lichfield as exhibit groups of figures in the distance, and especially where the colors used are primary, or strongly contrasted.

We become only the more sensible of the disagreeable effect occasioned by the attempt to produce complicated chiaroscuro in painted glass, when contemplating the very works in which the experiment has been carried out with the most success, viz., those large pictures on glass, common towards the close of the last and at the commencement of the present century, which were faithfully copied from oil paintings especially remarkable for the breadth and variety of their light and shade. The glass, like the canvas, is shaded all over gradually from a point of light ; but it is immediately perceived that an extensive mass of shadow in glass fails as an imitation of shade. It looks flat, dry, and even flimsy, and suggests rather the idea of a dirty window that has been sprinkled with drops of rain, than of clear immaterial gloom, such as is so well expressed by the shadow in an oil painting (F). To the same cause, the attempting too much in the way of chiaroscuro, may be traced the

dulness of almost all the glass paintings that were executed after the middle of the sixteenth century.

Subject to these introductory observations, I would invite attention to the manner in which the difficulties of the art have been met or evaded, and its resources developed, in the glass at Lichfield. Whether it was dictated by a profound knowledge of the material, or by timidity, by the influence of traditional rules, or by some happy chance, we must admit that the end proposed was admirably adapted to the means.

The picture is extremely simple in its composition, consisting of a foreground group, a landscape background of a sketchy character, and a clear blue sky. As a rule, it is represented as if seen through an architectural framework or canopy, which is more or less connected with the group by means of piers or columns introduced in the background. The whole is harmoniously colored upon a principle of relief and general resemblance to nature. The more positive colors, and those possessing the greatest degrees of depth, are confined to the foreground, being used in the group and in the ornaments of the architectural framework. The more qualified—the lighter shades and retiring tints—are employed in the background and sky. The architectural framework or canopy is composed principally of white glass shaded with brown, and enriched with yellow stain. It is adorned with garlands and other ornaments in which, as being the objects nearest the eye, the colors are with propriety harmoniously contrasted. In the group harmonious gradations of color occur, though on account of the nature of the material the harmony of contrast prevails. Its coloring is moreover so arranged that the eye is insensibly led up to some striking point or spot, produced by the decided introduction of one of the primary colors, or by a strong contrast, which gives life and spirit to the composition. In the distance and sky the harmony is that of gradation or resemblance. In general the most successful pictures are those in which the landscapes are wholly formed of different tints of grey, modified with brown shading and the yellow stain; for in these windows the space occupied by the landscape and sky is intentionally so confined by the architectural framework, or by some other means, as to prevent its color presenting too extensive a mass. The horizon is sometimes lighter, sometimes darker, but always

more solid in appearance than the sky, which is left clear and transparent, whilst the brilliancy of the landscape is necessarily more or less subdued by the enamel brown used in the drawing and shading. The architectural distances are generally rendered with much fidelity and consistency. They are worked out chiefly on white glass with drawing and shading, and the occasional addition of the yellow stain. To a certain extent the colors are united and brought together by the enamel brown with which the chiaroscuro of the picture is represented, but the harmony of the coloring depends principally on the skill shown in arranging the pieces of colored glass. It is true that all the colors used are very modified in their tone, more so indeed than those of any other period, but this has only rendered their harmonious disposition so much the less difficult.

In the subject of Christ before Pilate the harmony of coloring is effected principally by contrast. In the picture above it, Christ bearing the Cross, it is produced chiefly by gradation or resemblance. In the subject of the Day of Pentecost a curious example is afforded of gradation of color worked out very completely. One of the most beautiful, as well as most picturesque, of the architectural backgrounds is that in the Lord's Supper, in the east window.

The force and expression of the picture are of course chiefly given by its chiaroscuro. And, bearing in mind what has been said of the ill effect of very extensive masses of shade in painted glass, it is remarkable that here, as in the works generally of this period, the shadows are always confined within comparatively narrow limits. The chiaroscuro, though very powerful, is extremely simple. The requisite relief is imparted by means rather of strong but harmonious contrasts, than by gradations of light and shade.

The subjects are treated as if they were seen in the open air, whatever their situation may be. A point of light is barely if at all distinguishable. It is seldom that a figure, even in the rear of a group, is entirely in shade. The light is usually made to fall on all the figures alike, and the dark or shaded side of one figure is contrasted and relieved against the light side of the next. For the more extensive shadows necessary to give breadth and relief to the composition, recourse is had to the soffits or roofs of the architectural

framework, under or behind which the group is placed, and which are deeply shaded. A pillar, or other architectural accessory, is not unfrequently represented in shadow behind the group. The shaded soffit is contrasted with the clear sky and with the full light on the front of the architectural framework or canopy; the shaded pillar or other accessory is contrasted with the landscape background, which is represented in full light, or with the sky. Instances of these various modes of producing relief by means of shadows of limited extent may be met with in nearly all these glass-paintings. The artifice is most shown in the subject of the Annunciation on the north side of the choir; the principal mass of shadow here is on the roof of the apartment within which the scene occurs, and it is remarkable how small is the extent of its deepest part: the effectiveness may be readily estimated by covering this portion of the picture with a book or the hand. It is most concealed in the subjects of Christ before Pilate, and the Incredulity of St. Thomas. In the former, which is the most effective of all the pictures, there is an unusually large quantity of shade in the sunken arched panel which surmounts the lintel of the opening through which the group is viewed; but it is so artfully disguised by means of the full lights introduced on the arabesques spread over the panel, and by their golden color, as not to catch the eye. In the latter subject there is not only the dark pillar in the background, but an accidental shadow is cast upon the tribune behind the group, the scroll work on the top of which comes darkly across and gives value to the bright landscape in the distance.

The result of these various expedients and contrivances has been the production of a series of pictures in painted glass, harmonious in their coloring, simple and intelligible in their composition, distinct and powerful in effect, yet always brilliant and translucent. They also display a very advanced state of art in the grouping and figure drawing, and, as works intended to be seen from a moderate distance, they are of unsurpassed merit. It is probable that if the three apsidal windows had been painted for the situation they now occupy, and of which so distant a view is obtainable, they would have been designed in a simpler and severer manner, more approaching the style of those most powerful and striking of glass-paintings, the windows

in the chapel of the Miraculous Sacrament and in the transepts at Brussels Cathedral (G).

I am aware that in this necessarily brief and imperfect statement I may have failed to do justice to the subject. My object is to induce that actual study of these windows at Lichfield which will supply all my deficiencies. Whilst examining them we must constantly bear in mind that, although they have hitherto fortunately escaped "restoration," they have suffered materially from three centuries of exposure to the weather. The whole outer surface of the glass has become corroded, by which not merely the high lights, but the unpainted parts, have been toned down and subdued, and thereby not only a flatter appearance has been imparted to the windows than they must have possessed when recently executed, but even much of the effect intended by the contrast of the clear brilliancy of the sky with the comparative obscurity of the painted figures, architecture, and landscape, has been lost.

Great however as these works are, they are objects of study, not of servile imitation. If ever the time come when the practice of glass-painting shall be taken up in England at the point where the Renaissance left it, even the best existing glass paintings will be found susceptible of improvement. No advance has been made beyond such productions as the Lichfield windows, except in some recently executed by the modern Munich school. That school, after nearly half a century spent in the consistent treatment of glass-painting as a branch of fine art, has lately abandoned the vicious practice of coloring glass with enamels, for the purer, though infinitely more difficult, method of the Renaissance, at the instance of those true patrons of the art who conceived and have carried out the greatest modern work of its kind, the adornment of Glasgow Cathedral with painted glass. The chief improvement displayed at Glasgow is the employment of many new and additional tints of colored glass, which have enabled the artists more easily to blend them, and to avoid repeating in the backgrounds the colors used in the foregrounds. The evil of this is seen in the tendency of some of the white objects in the Lichfield foregrounds to unite with the architectural distances. The avoidance of distant groups and of any strong contrasts of color in the backgrounds is also an improvement; and so is the occasional

enlivening of the horizons by the introduction of rosy tints, kept in their place by means of a blue enamel legitimately applied in the same way as the ordinary shading. Some of the figures are indeed noble works of art, but art has always characterised the Munich school. In coloring and power the Glasgow windows are inferior to those at Lichfield. Their material, like all ordinary modern glass, is comparatively flimsy, and its colors are crude; the general treatment also is rather of the kind suitable to fresco, which requires light colors and light shadows for effect at a distance, than that proper to a glass-painting, which, being by nature translucent, demands deep shadows and much powerful coloring to prevent its appearing weak. We must expect, however, that the Munich artists will rival the old glass in both particulars long before our glass painters can approach it in either, unless we renounce our practice of encouraging the production of works that will bear no comparison with the high standard we usually propose to ourselves in secular art (H). Archæology is not art, nor will a great artist ever condescend to become an archæological pedant. If we could transfer him from the influence of the art of the modern world to the exclusive study of some phase of mediæval art, we should only cramp his energies, and at best create a learned mannerist resembling a professor of religious painting in Russia.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

A.—The Abbey of Herckenrode (equivalent to Herckenrood) seems to have been situate near the village of Hercken, in the ancient county of Loos, which in the seventeenth century became annexed to Liège. See *Chronologie Historique des Comtes de Loos*; *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, tom. iv., 254. Liège was annexed to France by the treaty of Luneville in 1801, after which the Abbey was probably dissolved. At the general peace the district became part of the kingdom of the Netherlands; and since the revolution in 1830 it has formed part of Belgium.

The circumstances which made Lichfield Cathedral the depository of these fine glass paintings are recorded in the following inscription in the east window of the south aisle of the choir:—

“Quæ in apside vicina insunt, septem fenestræ picturatæ, cœnobio canonicorum Herckenrodensi quod olim exornaverant fœdissimè direpto atque diruto, novam, et, deo volente, stabiliorem sedem hâc ecclesiâ nactæ sunt; ope et consilio viri in omni judicio elegantissimi, Dom. Brooke

Boothby, de Ashburn aulâ in comitatu Derb. Baronetti: anno sacro MDCCCIII."

The following principal subjects are represented :—

The Resurrection and, in the distance, Christ appearing to Peter (dated 1538); Christ before Pilate (dated 1539); The Descent from the Cross and, in the distance, the Three Marys anointing the body; Christ bearing the Cross; the Incredulity of St. Thomas; the Day of Pentecost (dated 1534); the Day of Judgment; the Betrayal; the Triumphal Entry (dated 1538); the Last Supper and, in the distance, Christ washing the disciples' feet; the Lord's Supper and, in the distance, three small figures (dated 1537); the Ascension; the Annunciation and, in the distance, the meeting of Mary and Elizabeth (dated 1539); Christ crowned with Thorns and, in the distance, Christ buffeted by the soldiers; and the Flagellation.

The first four are in a window on the south side of the choir; the three following are in the next window; the next three in the southern apsidal window; the next two in the east window; and the next three in the northern apsidal window.

There are, besides, in the next window to the last, six smaller subjects representing benefactors to the Abbey (parts of larger subjects); and in the next are four other subjects similar to the last, but of larger size. The portrait in this window of the Cardinal de la Marck, Prince Bishop of Liège 1505—1538, much as it has suffered from time, shows to what extent direct imitation may be carried in glass-painting. The tracery lights of all these windows are filled with fragments of painted glass of the same period as the subjects, disposed in a kind of mosaic pattern. Much ingenuity has been exerted in fitting the glass-paintings to the widths of the present windows, and the mullions to the divisions of the glass. Each composition was originally designed to fill a space divided as now, by mullions, into three parts, for the areas occupied by the stone work are excluded from the designs, over which the mullions seem to pass, in the same manner as the horizontal saddle-bars. It may shock a modern architectural purist to find the mullions treated, according to their primary use, as mere uprights to support horizontal iron bars; but as they interfere with the glass composition scarcely more than upright iron bars would, the practice (which by the way dates from very early times) may be justified as a means of combining grandeur and breadth of effect in the glass painting with the construction of a Gothic building.

B.—This process is technically called the "mosaic method," in order to distinguish it from two other methods of painting glass, the "enamel," and "the mosaic enamel." A full description of each is given in "An Inquiry into the Difference of Style observable in Ancient Glass Paintings, especially in England; with Hints on Glass-Painting; by an Amateur. Parker, 1848."

The following account of the process may, however, not be unacceptable.

The foundation of a glass painting, executed according to the mosaic method, is a mosaic formed of pieces of white and colored glass nicely fitted together, by which the coloring of the intended picture is represented. If such a work were leaded together and put up in a window, without being touched with paint, it would then constitute a mere piece of colored glazing, and its harmony would depend on the good

quality of the colors used and the skilfulness of their arrangement. Such an appearance would of course be presented by any one of the Lichfield glass paintings, if all the chiaroscuro were cleaned off it. Whenever the limits of the pieces of glass happened to coincide with the outlines of the composition, some features of design would appear ; but, in general, little else would be recognised than unmeaning patches of color. Some of the draperies might be indicated, but many essential parts, such as heads, hands, feet, &c., might be altogether undefined. It is upon such a basis as this that the glass-painter works. He paints the chiaroscuro on the glass with an enamel color, usually called from its hue, "enamel brown," which is fixed to the glass by burning the latter in a kiln. The high lights are formed by leaving those parts of the glass where they occur free from enamel. The depth of the shadow depends on the density of the coat of enamel color which represents the shadow. There are two principal modes of applying the shading ; one, by simply smearing the enamel on the glass ; the other by stippling the coat whilst moist with a brush. The latter process (generally adopted in the Lichfield windows) was the later and improved invention ; by its means transparency is preserved even in the deepest shadows. The color of the shading, a rich cool brown, is always affected by the color of the particular piece of glass on which it is placed, which shows itself through the shadow, so powerfully as to make it appear as if the shadow was produced by deepening the local color. In the Lichfield windows, where only enamel brown is used for shading, no attempt is made to impart to reflected lights the color of the body causing the reflection. Nor would it be possible to modify the colors of the reflected lights by using other enamels than brown for shading, except where some particular local colors might happen to form the basis of the painting. The whole coloring of a glass-painting is so imperfect and conventional, that so minute a defect as this is overlooked. It should, however, be remembered that the very want of the power of closely imitating the hues of nature renders the creations of the glass-painter the more like works of monumental art, and requires appropriate treatment on his part to enable them to sustain that character. If we mention the "yellow stain," the means of removing the colored surface of "coated glass" so as to expose the substratum of white, and of obtaining a certain variety in the shade of color by choosing a piece of glass irregularly colored in its manufacture, we may be said to have recounted all the resources which the mosaic method places at the glass-painter's command : what may be achieved by such means in skilful hands is sufficiently shown by the specimens under consideration. There are satisfactory reasons for considering the mosaic method to be the true method of glass-painting ; and I am not aware of any modern improvement upon it except the occasional use, by the Munich glass-painters, of an enamel of a different color from brown for shading purposes.

The "enamel method" is the system most opposed to the "mosaic" in principle. In it the picture is painted upon white glass, as upon canvas, and entirely colored by means of enamel colors. Many more varieties and gradations of colors and tones can thus be produced than would be possible by the "mosaic method." But as, owing to technical difficulties which have hitherto proved insurmountable, glass colored with an enamel color is less transparent than glass colored in its manufacture, the use of the "enamel method" has been attended with so

great a diminution of the transparency and consequent vividness of the picture, as to expose its best specimens to an unfavorable comparison with even the inferior specimens of the "mosaic method."

For the same reason, the productions of the intermediate system, the "mosaic enamel," are inferior to those of the "mosaic." Although glass colored in its manufacture is used for some of the colors of the picture, it is found necessary to dull these parts down with enamel, in order to reduce their brilliancy to a level with that of the other parts of the work which are colored only with enamel colors.

C.—No one holds the earlier glass in greater respect than myself; without it we should not have had the cinque cento, which is the development of the older experience. But nothing can be less scientific or more ridiculous than the indiscriminate reproduction in modern works of the imperfections of the old.

D.—The contracts for the King's College Chapel windows, published in Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, are dated 1526. It is my belief that the date of the window at St. Margaret's, Westminster, is about 1526. Mr. Scharf, in his excellent notes on the windows of King's College Chapel (see this *Journal*, vol. xii., p. 356, also vol. xiii., p. 45), which abound in valuable notices of Flemish glass-painters, attributes the Lichfield windows, on the authority of Mrs. Jameson, to Lambert Lombard of Liège, the master of Franz Floris commonly called the Flemish Raphael.

E.—An instance of this, which occurs in the east window of King's College Chapel, is thus noticed by Mr. Scharf, in this *Journal*, vol. xiii., p. 55. "One singular expedient (of preserving the balance of color) is worth mentioning. In the lower right-hand subject a mass of red was required against the extensive blue and green of the landscape. To afford this, a large patch of the landscape itself was colored bright red. At a distance it looks like a banner floating, but on closer inspection rocks and grass on it are distinctly visible."

F.—This results from the very nature of a transparent picture. The shadow painted upon glass is only a partial stopping out of the light, the rays of which are equally bright, however much diminished they may be in size by the smallness of the interstices in the coat of enamel through which they find their way. A similar appearance may be noticed in line engravings, though not so easily, partly owing to their small size as compared with a glass-painting, but principally because the rays of light are there modified by being reflected from an opaque surface, instead of coming directly to the eye from the source of light, as in a glass-painting. In an oil-painting the rays, besides being reflected, usually pass through some medium which is not perfectly transparent.

G.—The dates of these windows, as appearing on the glass, and as given by Lévy (*Histoire de la Peinture sur Verre*, Bruxelles, 1860), vary from 1537 to 1547. The second window from the east, in the chapel, is proved by this author to have been designed (and he adds, executed) by Bernard van Orley, whom he conjectures, and with reason, to have designed the two transept windows. The fourth window from the east, in the chapel, appears, from the same authority, to have been designed by Michael van Coxie, and executed by Jean Haecht of Antwerp. Van Coxie is also stated to have designed another, and Haecht (or, as it is sometimes spelt, Ack) to have executed two other of the chapel windows.

These works are remarkable for a simplicity of design, with a vigor and

breadth of treatment worthy of authors who were disciples of Raphael. Intended for distant effect, they are, perhaps, less delicate and refined than the Lichfield windows, though entirely free from any imputation of coarseness. The groups are less crowded, and the figures, instead of being much under life-size, exceed it by several inches. The pictures resemble those at Lichfield in the use made of architectural accessories as an additional means of simple but powerful effects of light and shade, and also in the principle of their coloring, which is in entire harmony with the chiaroscuro of the composition, instead of being uncomformable with, or even opposed to it, as in earlier examples. The architectural frame which supports the groups and regulates the extent of the background is simple and grand in design. In the transept windows it is in the form of a pavilion, having an arched roof on piers, within which is the group consisting of the kneeling figures of the donors supported by their patron saints. In the chapel windows similar pavilions are used alternately with loggias, or double colonnades. All these are of two stories; the upper is occupied with the figures representing an incident of the legend, the lower with the effigies of the donors and their patron saints. The perspective is modified so as to avoid the occurrence of unpleasing angles in the upper parts of the composition; and for the sake of picturesqueness the chief point of sight is a little removed from the middle to the side of the window. The figures are in strong but simple light and shade; the soffits of the arches and roofs, and the further row of piers and columns, are in deep shade. A landscape is properly dispensed with, since its appearance would be inconsistent with such an elevated position above the eye as is by the perspective shown to be occupied by the group, and the architecture and figures are represented as if they were seen in relief against a clear blue sky. The extensive mass of white which the architecture presents (tinted, however, with the shading and drawing upon it and enriched with the yellow stain) imparts, as at Lichfield, great value to the other colors. Garlands and other ornaments are used, the colors of which, when occurring in large quantities, are qualified and harmoniously graduated; positive colors and strong contrasts being usually confined to the smaller accessories. The group is colored generally on the same principle which prevails at Lichfield; the more powerful and positive tints predominate, and are arranged so as to lead up to some striking point or spot of color. In one of the windows, the first from the east in the chapel, the subordinate figures are rendered less conspicuous by the introduction of much white in the draperies. The sky was originally many degrees paler and less positive than the blue used in other parts of the picture, being rather warm grey than blue. That it was intended, as at Lichfield, to relieve the more positively and deeply colored, and comparatively more solid, figures and architecture, is shown by the placing of blue draperies immediately against it. In consequence, however, of a most unfortunate and injurious "restoration" which within the last fourteen years has befallen these windows (in course of which a large proportion of the original glazing has either been altogether removed, on the pretext of being disfigured with cracks, and supplied by modern glass, or toned down with an enamel color) the skies, for the most part, have been obscured, their color also deepened and rendered more positive, to the manifest deterioration of the relief of the pictures. The upper subject, indeed, of one of the chapel windows appears almost as if it had been painted on a blue ground. Ignorance of the

extent of the restoration has probably betrayed some writers into the assertion that these windows are in character flat, like the mediæval. Before their restoration they were no flatter than those at Lichfield, and it is a proof of the intrinsic excellence of their design that, notwithstanding the injury they have sustained, they still occupy the first rank amongst glass paintings of the more powerful and effective class. The most striking is, perhaps, the second of the chapel windows from the east, the design of Bernard van Orley, principally on account of the varied and vigorous action of the groups. At a distance, however, it is less broad in effect than the fourth window from the east.

H.—We hope that the projected annual exhibitions of “stained glass” at South Kensington may in course of time exercise a beneficial influence on the practice of glass-painting in this country. The present exhibition shows the deficiencies of our native artists, and how much they have to learn before they can compete successfully with foreign schools. Whether a demand for painted windows of a high class will ever be created sufficient to induce our best artists to direct their attention to the subject, may be doubted. The praiseworthy efforts made at Glasgow and at St. Paul’s Cathedral are, it is to be feared, efforts, which for the present must necessarily be responded to by foreign artists who have devoted their attention to the finest examples of glass-painting. It cannot be supposed that a committee of management appointed by any body of subscribers will ever entertain the notion of educating a school of glass-painters. Their duty is simply to seek out and employ those whose works offer the best guarantee of ability to execute fresh commissions. Nor are they likely, if they have the interests of their constituents at heart, to submit to the guidance of any artist, however distinguished, who is wholly inexperienced in respect of glass-painting. The most important recent work, designed by a late eminent Royal Academician, demonstrates that glass-painting has conditions affecting the very nature of the composition, which must be thoroughly comprehended before a satisfactory result can be attained.

Whilst the foregoing pages were in the press and after they had received the author’s revision, the painful intelligence of his sudden decease reached us. This sad event, full of anguish to those who best knew the excellent and amiable qualities of our lamented friend, claims our most hearty condolence. All who enjoyed his kindly intercourse, who were familiar with his generous disposition, his accomplished taste and attainments in a department of art which none had so successfully pursued as himself, will deeply deplore the loss of such a genial spirit. We must cherish the memory of the friend taken from us in the fresh energy of life, and of his wonted interest in our common pursuits—of one who was ever foremost in bygone years to impart the knowledge which he acquired, or to contribute to our gratification.

MURAL PAINTINGS DISCOVERED IN CHARLWOOD CHURCH,
SURREY, WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE MORE ORDINARY
POLYCHROMY OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

ONE great merit of the Greek and Mediæval phases of architecture is their completeness. Buildings erected in those times were not, as with us, mere shells, destitute alike of sculpture and painting ; on the contrary, both those arts were more or less employed before any edifice was considered as entirely finished. Of course it is not to be supposed that every building could be decorated in the same manner or degree as the Parthenon, on the one hand, or the church of St. Francis at Assisi, on the other ; still some story was told, either in stained glass, in painting, or in sculpture ; the only difference being that artists of inferior abilities were, doubtless, employed in the more humble buildings. Thus, for the most part, in structures of less stately character, the glass was merely grisaille, with colored windows at the East and West ends ; a few carved label-heads or the tympanum of a doorway represent the Art of Sculpture, while the painting is executed in three colors only, or even is reduced to monochrome ; but still there was sculpture and painting—the dead walls spoke and a story was told.

Leaving aside, however, the important subjects of glass-painting and sculpture, it is proposed to consider how the artists of the thirteenth century carried out their less costly wall decoration.

Through the industry and perseverance of the Rev. Thomas Burningham, Rector of Charlwood, Surrey, a series of very curious paintings has been brought to light in the church of that parish which perfectly illustrate the subject under consideration.¹ It should be mentioned that the writer, having been afforded every facility in the use of scaffolding

¹ This discovery occurred in the summer of 1858, and it is noticed in this Journal, vol. xvi. p. 89.

and other assistance during four days occupied in their reduction upon paper, has been enabled to make a careful examination of the processes employed.

Charlwood church presents the usual plan of a Saxon or Norman structure of its simple class, namely, a nave, certainly with one aisle, if not with two, a tower at the eastern extremity, and beyond that a shallow chancel. The first alteration was the rebuilding or addition of a south aisle, some time towards the latter part of the thirteenth century, and it is upon the walls of this aisle that the contemporary paintings have been discovered. The next insertion was a window, about the time of Edward II., in the old north aisle; in this window may be noticed a rude figure of a peacock incised or scratched upon one of the jambs, being possibly a rebus of the name of a workman, for the height from the floor prevents our considering it to be the work of some idler during divine service. At the end of the fourteenth century, part of the paintings in the south aisle having suffered damage, perhaps in consequence of the erection of a south porch, the martyrdom of St. Edmund, or of St. Sebastian, was executed in figures of gigantic proportions. In the fifteenth century a chantry chapel was built at the east end of the south aisle, thereby destroying its eastern wall together with the paintings upon it; and quite at the end of the same century the chancel was entirely rebuilt.

We will now return to the paintings in the south aisle, of which only two bays have been preserved, namely, those on either side of the window easternmost from the porch.

When a church is built in the present day, the jamb-stones of the doors and windows stand out about an inch above the rubble walling, so as to allow room for a thick coating of plaster; when the whole work is finished, the stone-work presents one color, and the plastered surface another. In the old work, on the contrary, the jamb-stones and the rubble were nearly on a level, the interstices of the latter being filled up with coarse plaster, and over all was placed a coating of fine stuff, or *gesso* (whitening and size), to receive the paintings. This coating is seldom found more than one-eighth of an inch in thickness. When it approaches to the stone it is then eased off and becomes little more than a thin wash, to stop the pores when directly applied to

that material. The consequence was that the jamb-stones did not show at all ; they were there, because the angles wanted strength, and not for mere ornament, or to show that stone was actually used and not plaster.

Sooner or later the services of the painter were required. In all probability he may have been a travelling limner, who went from church to church with colors and brushes in the wallet on his back, and a sketch-book like that of Willars de Honecort under his arm. It is also not unlikely that he may have had some choice and difficult subjects portrayed full size on linen, so that they might be transferred to the wall with little trouble. The artist, having found the wall to be perfectly dry (a rare circumstance in these days), and having settled the subjects with his employer, forthwith began by dividing the walls into horizontal bands ; he seldom subdivided these by perpendicular lines, as the Italians were in the habit of doing ; on the contrary, some of the finest works, such as the Painted Chamber at Westminster, are without any such divisions. The next process was to enlarge the subjects from the pattern-book ; to do this he probably used charcoal, which would easily admit of corrections by means of a cloth or feather, and he then traced over the outlines with red ochre or Indian red, probably the former.

The figures had next to be colored and properly shaded ; to do this the mediæval artist had only four colors—red ochre, yellow ochre, lamp-black, and white, this latter being used for high lights and details ; for instance, the ribs of the skeletons in the Charlwood painting described hereafter are marked out with white. The great difficulty must have been so to distribute these four colors, that there should be no preponderance of any one over the others. To effect this he frequently broke one color by means of another, as may be noticed in the middle skeleton. It is often difficult to determine at the present time whether a certain color is red or black, and if this tone has not been effected by the blending of the black and the red, it could only have resulted from the employment of red lead, which has since become decomposed by the action of the air or by the whitewash laid on in the sixteenth century. However this may have been, there can be no doubt that portions of these paintings were shaded, but the broken colors and

the white details must still have had a very important share in the general effect. In the fourteenth-century picture of St. Sebastian, at Charlwood, we find vermilion added to the pigments, and indeed, from that period the decorations gain in gaudy colors what they lose in drawing. After the fourteenth century the art of our church decorators appears to have declined, nearly in the same manner as the architecture itself.

It would be a long task to enumerate the various discoveries of wall-paintings resembling those under consideration, namely, those executed in the four colors, but almost every church anterior to the fifteenth century will be found to possess some traces of such decoration. The most complete series perhaps is that covering the interior of the chancel of Charlgrove church, Oxfordshire, described by the writer of this memoir in a recent volume of the *Archæologia*.² It must be remarked that these paintings are of the middle of the fourteenth century; the art, however, is by no means so good as in those at Charlwood. At the latter church, unfortunately, only two bays are preserved, one on the east, and another on the west, of a two-light Early Decorated window. The easternmost division contains three bands,—the westernmost only two, thus carrying out the principle of increasing the decoration as it approached the east.

We will begin with the eastern bay which is occupied with the history of St. Margaret; the arrangements of the subjects corresponding closely with the illuminations in a nearly contemporary MS. in the British Museum, commonly known as Queen Mary's Psalter.³ The story begins on the upper band (see woodcut), where we see the Governor of Antioch, Olibrius, engaged in hunting; behind him is a huntsman or attendant who blows a horn; and behind this figure appears a hand grasping, as it would seem, a bow or a hunting-staff. It was upon such an occasion that Olibrius first saw St. Margaret, as she was guarding the flock of her nurse. The legend relates that on his return from the chase he sent a slave to summon St. Margaret to his presence,

² *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii., p. 432, plates 23, 24. Full-sized tracings of these remarkable mural paintings were obtained by Mr. Parker, and reduced by

Mr. C. H. Buckler for the illustrations of that paper.

³ Royal MS. 2 B. vii.



The Legend of St. Margaret. Mural Paintings in Charlwood Church, Surrey.
From Drawings by Mr. W. Burges.

and accordingly we here next see the messenger bearing a banner, fringed, and charged with a cross on a field fretty ; he appears to be kneeling before St. Margaret, whose figure is not shown in the woodcut, whilst he delivers his master's commands. It is indeed possible that this figure may be intended for the governor himself, as the colors of his dress correspond with those of the equestrian figure. This view is farther borne out by the MS. before cited, where Olibrius is represented addressing St. Margaret, while seated on his horse.

In the middle band there are three scenes, arranged from east to west, whereas those above run from west to east. The three subjects, which are very indistinct in the present damaged condition of the paintings, represent, first, St. Margaret beaten with rods ; in the next she is portrayed thrown into prison ; and, lastly, she is seen swallowed by Satan in the form of a dragon ; above, in the westernmost corner, is seen the Divine hand, in the gesture of benediction, issuing from a cloud. The first subject is curious as showing corrections in the drawing ; the figure of the jailor, in the second scene, having been commenced too far to the east, it was subsequently covered over by that of the executioner. In the MS. all these subjects occur, with the addition of St. Margaret's first interview with the governor. In this illumination, the servant who introduces her holds a long wand, which seems in some degree to correspond with the banner held by the kneeling figure in the upper band of the Charlwood paintings.

The lower band of the paintings, which is very much obliterated, appears also to be disposed from east to west. It contains two subjects. The first is nearly effaced ; the second represents the decapitation of the saint in the presence of Olibrius, who is apparently crowned and seated on a throne ; her soul, ascending towards heaven, is represented under the form of a white dove. This symbol is generally an adjunct to the legend of St. Eulalia,⁴ and it is possible that the whole of this last band may have related to her story ; the very mutilated state of the easternmost subject, however, prevents any definite conclusion. The Royal MS.

⁴ See *Christliche Kunstsymbolik und Ikonographie*, Frankfurt, 1839. Dr. Husenbeth, however, gives the Departure

of the Soul in the form of a Dove as the symbol of St. Scholastica. *Emblems of Saints*, second edition, 1860, p. 212.

concludes the legend of St. Margaret with the following subjects:—she is swallowed by the dragon; she conquers two devils; placed between two jailors, she disputes with Olibrius; she next appears plunged naked into a caldron of boiling water, whilst two executioners blow the fire with bellows; one of these tormentors appears to have wings on his head, probably a representation of an helmet thus ornamented; she again disputes with the governor; an executioner leads her away, three women following her; she prays to Our Lord for women in childbed who may invoke her intercession; the hand of Our Lord appears through a cloud; on one side is the group of three women, on the other are seen the executioners, one of them wearing the winged helmet; the executioner cuts off her head, whilst a violent storm kills the assistants; she is placed in the tomb; and, lastly, angels present her to Our Lord.

The westernmost bay has only two bands, and it evidently contained the story of St. Nicholas and his miraculous resuscitation of the three scholars, after their bodies had been cut up and salted as pork. A figure of an armed knight, to the east of this subject, has probably no connexion with it; like the coats of arms on either side of the top of the window, this figure had probably been introduced only to fill up the space. The lower portion of the figure of the pork-butcher's wife is covered by the remains of the head of St. Sebastian, added in the fourteenth century. These subjects, which like other portions of the paintings at Charlwood are in very imperfect state, are not included among the illustrations accompanying this memoir.

The lowest band is occupied with the popular Middle-Age story of "les trois vifs et les trois morts," of which other examples have been brought under the notice of the Institute, and are enumerated in some observations by Mr. Albert Way which are appended to this memoir. The group of horsemen in royal attire, shown in the accompanying woodcut, is exceedingly spirited, and will almost bear comparison with the similar group by Orgagna, in the Campo Santo at Pisa.

It should be observed that in the eastern bay the bands are divided by double thin parallel lines; in this bay, on the contrary, the division is effected by a broad interval of red and yellow chevrons, the artist having more space than

required for his work. Over the doorway may be seen the fourteenth-century additions and the lower part of a seated figure, evidently the judge or persecutor under whose directions the martyrdom took place.

There are certain considerations which it will be well to bear in mind on our inspection of these mutilated paintings at the present day. First, they have been destroyed, and, had they been left untouched, they would probably have been nearly as fresh as on the day when they were painted. The reason for this is that they are executed in distemper, not in oil or encaustic. The colors are simply earths ground more or less finely, and mixed with just sufficient medium, such as size or white of egg, as would prevent their being rubbed off. The second point to be considered is, that, however carefully the removal of whitewash may be effected, it is almost impossible to prevent the scaling off of portions of the painting together with it; thus we have before us not only what the artist intended that we should see, but much that he had intended to conceal; hence the appearance of one figure cropping out from under another, and hence also the frequent complication of details.

Such are the remarkable relics of thirteenth-century design which have been brought to light at Charlwood; it is true that they frequently err against anatomy and good drawing, yet, if we compare them with the subsequent productions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, we cannot fail to be struck with a certain gracefulness and monumental severity displayed in the earlier works. They enlivened the general aspect of the church, assisted both the architecture and stained glass, besides telling a history upon which the unlearned of such a rural parish might look both with pleasure and instruction.

These notices would be incomplete without mention of the credit which is due to Mr. Burningham, not only for the care with which he removed the encrustation of whitewash with his own hands, but for having insisted upon the preservation of the paintings; if others, under the like circumstances, followed his example, we should become possessed of ample materials for the illustration of Iconography in England, and be enabled possibly to trace the progress of the arts of design as compared with those of other countries.

W. BURGESS.

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"LES TROIS VIFS ET LES TROIS MORTS."

AMONG the mural decorations brought to light in 1858 by Mr. Burningham in the south aisle of Charlwood Church, and described by Mr. Burges in the foregoing memoir, the curious subject intended to convey a salutary admonition of the uncertainty of Life is not the least remarkable. It was doubtless taken from a popular mediæval *moralité*, composed, according to Mr. Douce, in France, in the thirteenth century, and entitled, "*Li trois mors et li trois vifs*."¹ Three coeval MSS. of this metrical work were in the library of the Duke de la Vallière, differing, however, from each other, and furnishing names of two authors, to whom they are attributed respectively. These poems relate that three noble youths, hunting in a forest, were intercepted by three hideous spectres, images of Death, from whom they received a terrific lecture on the vanity of human happiness and grandeur. A very early, perhaps the earliest, allusion to such a monitory vision, seems to occur in the painting by Andrea di Orgagna at Pisa, to which allusion has been made by Mr. Burges; although varied in some respects from the description in the French poems, the story is evidently the same. In the grand composition by Orgagna, which has been designated the Triumph of Death, the three princes are seen attended by a brilliant company, and approaching open tombs, in which are seen the ghastly corpses of three princes; close by stands the aged St. Macarius, who points to that fearful *memento mori*.² A similar vision, first noticed by Mr. Douce, occurs at the end of the Latin verses ascribed to Macaber, and of which there are translations both in French and English.³ In the MS. collection of poems by John Audelay the blind bard of Haghmon, Shropshire, 1426, now in the Bodleian, there is one, a composition strikingly expressed, on the *trois vifs et trois morts*.

Examples have been noticed among numerous mural

¹ Douce's Dissertation on the Dance of Death, Lond. 1833, p. 31; his curious remarks have been copied by Langlois, *Essai sur les Danses des Morts*, vol. i. p. 107: Rouen, 1851.

² Handbook of Painting, translated from Kugler, edited by Sir C. Eastlake, vol. i. p. 146; a representation of this

grand composition is there given. See also Lasinio, *Pittura a fresco del Campo Santo*, and Rosini's Description of these paintings. Orgagna flourished in the second half of the fourteenth century; he died in 1389.

³ Douce, *Dance of Death*, p. 32.



"Les Trois Vifs et les Trois Morts." Mural Painting in Charwood Church, Surrey.

paintings brought to light in churches in this country, for the most part in the course of works of "restoration," which have led to the removal of encrustations of whitewash. An illustrated synopsis of these valuable materials for the history of the arts in England were much to be desired. It is probable that few churches exist, even in remote rural parishes, in which some evidence regarding Iconography or the peculiar styles of mediæval ornamentation might not be obtained. It is scarcely needful to point out that the selection of the subject derived from the "Dit des trois vifs," associated with scenes from Scripture History or, as at Charlwood, from legends of Saints and Martyrs, must be attributed to the same solemn feeling which produced innumerable representations of the Dance of Death and other like relics of early art. We read the great moral admonition—Let no man slight his mortality—in the ghastly effigy of an emaciated corpse, the frequent accompaniment of some stately memorial in our cathedrals; the like solemn monition appears also constantly on our sepulchral brasses:

"Loke, suche as we ar, suche schall ye be,
And such as we were, suche be ye!"

A remarkable representation of the *Trois vifs et trois morts* was communicated to the Institute in 1848 by the Rev. W. E. Scudamore, Rector of Ditchingham, Norfolk. The subject, painted on the north wall in the church at that place, was found associated with the Last Judgment, as it is likewise seen in illuminated MSS. and service books. The painting at Ditchingham has been figured in this Journal, vol. v. p. 69; it portrays three aged regal personages standing in a forest; they are not, as at Charlwood, mounted on horseback; one of them holds an axe; the ghastly spectres are likewise crowned. This painting, which we regret to learn has been concealed by whitewash, may be assigned to the close of the fourteenth century.⁴ In the accompanying notice Mr. Hudson Turner pointed out a well-executed delineation of the like subject in a MS. in the British

⁴ Drawings of the Ditchingham paintings were brought before the Norfolk Archaeological Society in 1848, and are noticed in their Transactions, vol. ii. p.

405. This example is cited by Langlois, *Essai sur les Danses des Morts*, vol. i. p. 234.

Museum; two kings and a queen are there represented, they meet three skeletons, over the former is inscribed,—

“Ich am afert,
Lo whet ich se!
Me thinketh hit beth develes thre.”

Over the skeletons is a triplet expressive of the admonition frequently found, as above noticed, in sepulchral inscriptions, here commencing thus—“Ich wes wel fair, such scheltou be!” This illumination precedes a remarkable dialogue, in French verse, on the vanity of earthly things.⁵

About the same time when the discovery was made known to us, in 1848, by Mr. Scudamore, another painting of *Les trois vifs et trois morts* was revealed to view in Belton Church, Suffolk. A drawing of this painting, on the north wall of the nave, was sent by Mr. Harrod to a meeting of the Institute, Dec. 1, 1848. The colors were decayed, and the inscription illegible; the three regal figures on horseback were designed with much spirit. On adjoining spaces had been painted St. Christopher and St. James the Less. Mr. Woodward, in a memoir on discoveries at Wymondham Abbey in 1834, notices fresco paintings in the conventual church, of which one represented three skeletons; above, in a cloud, were seen three figures, “fat and well liking.” This was doubtless an illustration of the popular allegory to which the present notice relates.⁶

In the parish church at Battle, Sussex, the whitewash was removed from a remarkable series of mural paintings, about 1847; they have been described by Mr. J. G. Waller in a valuable Memoir on this class of early examples of Art.⁷ The subjects are chiefly from the Passion of Our Lord, with figures of saints; over the chancel arch are portrayed a king and queen with traces of a third figure apparently seated; in an adjoining compartment stand two ghastly skeletons with indications of a third seated. Above is the moral apothegm of Lucan, “Mors scepra ligonibus equat.” This painting seems to be of the fourteenth century. We

⁵ Arundel MS. 83, f. 128. This MS. appears to have been executed in England, and it contains a contemporary note that it was given in 1339 by John de Lyle to his daughter, an interesting proof that the *moralité* here noticed was in vogue in England at that early period,

prior even to the execution of the painting at Pisa by Orgagna.

⁶ Norfolk Archæology, vol. ii., p. 405; Archæologia, vol. xxvi. p. 290.

⁷ Journal of the Brit. Arch. Assoc., vol. ii. p. 146.

are indebted to the constant courtesy of the author of the "Emblems of Saints," the Very Rev. Mons. Husenbeth, for information that traces of a similar painting were formerly noticed by him in the church of Limpenhoe, Norfolk, but it had been nearly concealed by a series of subjects from the martyrdom of St. Catherine.

Among mural decorations brought to light in Tettenhall church, Staffordshire, during repairs in 1841, portions of a subject were found in Lord Wrottesley's chancel which may probably have been of the same curious description ; on removal of the whitewash three skeletons were to be seen in fair preservation ; no traces of *Les trois vifs* were, however, noticed.

Other examples of this singular subject doubtless exist on the plastered walls of churches in England. On the continent they are likewise to be found ; Langlois enumerates a painting at Zalt-Boemel in Holland, one also at the Abbey of Fontenay in Normandy, in which the three gallants appear mounted, as at Charlwood, and another, of later date, at St Riquier ; of both these last he gives representations. At Fontenay there was a sculpture of the same subject ; at Paris it was painted in the Cemetery of the Innocents, and also sculptured there over the portal of the church, by order of the Duke of Berry, in 1408.⁸ It was to be seen at Bricy near Metz, and on the exterior of the apse at Longpaon near Rouen. Another interesting fresco of this subject, at Ennezat in Auvergne, is described in the *Voyage dans le centre de la France*, by P. Castel.⁹

Mr. Douce has remarked that this popular allegory is found prefixed to the burial office in MS. Hours and other service books ; many of the printed editions of the Macabre Dance contain it with some variations ; it occurs also in printed service books, and in some of those of the use of Salisbury. He cites, as the earliest wood-cut engraving of a like subject, one in the Block Book of the " xv. signa Judicii," date about 1430, which has been copied in Dibdin's *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*.¹

ALBERT WAY.

⁸ Langlois, *Essai, &c.*, tom. i. pp. 235, 239, tom. ii. p. 185, plates 46, 47.

⁹ *Bulletin of the Society of Sciences, Arts, &c.*, at Bayeux, 1831.

¹ Douce, *Dance of Death*, p. 34 ; see his enumeration of printed books in

which representations of *Les trois vifs et trois morts* occur, *ibid.* pp. 228, 230. A facsimile of the curious woodcut in a very early edition of the *Danse Macabre* printed at Troyes is given, pl. v., p. 250.

JULIUS CÆSAR'S INVASION OF BRITAIN.

By EDWIN GUEST, LL.D., F.R.S., Master of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

CIRCUMSTANCES have given a fresh interest to all matters connected with Cæsar's invasion of Britain, and the criticism his narrative has been subjected to, more particularly in France, seemed to require some notice at the hands of English antiquaries. The subject was accordingly selected as a suitable one for discussion at the meeting of the Institute held at Rochester. The arguments then brought forward were afterwards circulated more widely in the pages of the *Athenæum*;¹ and the present article is little more than a republication of the papers which appeared in that journal. Some alterations and additions have been made and a map appended, which it is hoped may make the author's reasoning clearer, by bringing the relative position of the several localities more distinctly before the reader.

Cæsar twice invaded Britain. It is clear from his narrative that on both occasions he sailed from the same port in Gaul, and landed on the same part of the British coast. In his account of his second transit he calls the port he sailed from the *Portus Icius*. Our first question, then, will be, Where was situated this *Portus Icius*?

After his interview with the Gaulish traders, Cæsar despatched Volusenus to explore the British coast. He then, as the narrative tells us (*B. G.*, IV. xxi.), "sets out for the country of the *Morini*, because from thence the passage to Britain was the shortest. Hither he orders ships to come from all the neighbouring districts, and also the fleet which he had constructed the summer before for the war against the *Veneti*." A few sentences afterwards we read (*B. G.*, IV. xxii.), that "while Cæsar is detained in these parts with

¹ *Athenæum*, Aug. 15, 1863, p. 210; Aug. 22, p. 241; Sept. 26, p. 400; Oct. 3, p. 433.

the view of getting the vessels ready," embassies come to him from various tribes of the Morini. When I read these passages, I find it very difficult to arrive at any but one conclusion, viz., that the Portus Icius was some port of the Morini; and I should be driven to adopt this conclusion, even though Strabo had not distinctly told us, that "the Itium which the deified Cæsar used as his port when he crossed over to the island" *was* in the country of the Morini (Geogr., IV. v. 2). I shall start therefore, with this assumption.

On the coast of the Morini, from the Canche northwards, are numerous little inlets, which are, or we may presume at one time to have been, tidal harbours—Etaples (formerly Cwanta-wic), Boulogne, Wimereux, Ambleteuse, Wissant, Sangatte,² Calais, Gravelines, and Dunkerque. Each one of these small ports has in its turn been selected as the representative of the Portus Icius. But in the midst of the rival ports there are two, Boulogne and Wissant, whose claims have always stood forth pre-eminent. It was their claims which divided the great European scholars three centuries ago, and which have been the subject of the keenest controversy among our modern antiquaries. I shall therefore narrow the question to the issue, Was the Portus Icius Wissant or Boulogne?

In his second transit, Cæsar ordered his ships to assemble at the Portus Icius, "from which port he had ascertained that the passage to Britain was extremely convenient" (B. G., V. ii.)—*commodissimum*. The partizans of Boulogne construe the word as if it signified "the most convenient;" and a vast amount of learning has been expended to show the superiority of Boulogne as a port over Wissant. Cæsar, during his first stay on the coast, was busy providing ships for the transport of his legions, and was at the same time watching the movements of his dangerous neighbours the Morini. Though the busiest man the world ever saw, he

² Sangatte is now a large village, situated on a low cliff beside the sea. It has no port, nor is it easy to see how it ever could have had one. Yet all who have discussed this question are agreed in ascribing to it the character of an ancient port, and I think with reason, for if it were not a port in ancient times, it would be difficult to account for the

Roman remains so frequently found there, or for the Roman road which leads to it from Thérouanne. Possibly Cape Blanc-nez may have projected further seawards two thousand years ago than at present, and so have afforded it something like a shelter from the south-west wind.

had no time for weighing the comparative merits of the ports north and south of him, and for determining which of them was "the most convenient." He went into the country of the Morini "because the passage from thence to Britain was the shortest;" and I believe he selected the Portus Icius because it afforded him this shortest passage.

Closely connected with this part of our inquiry is the question, Which are the ports in Gaul that have at various times been selected as channels of communication between Britain and the Continent? During the Roman occupation of Britain, Gesoriacum, or Boulogne, was the favoured port. The fact cannot be denied, and I admit it most fully. Equally clear, though less known, are the facts, that during the Anglo-Saxon period—that is, from the sixth to the ninth century—Cwanta-wic (now Etaples) was the chief port of communication; that from the tenth to the fifteenth century Wissant^s enjoyed this honour; and that Calais in its turn succeeded Wissant. It is interesting to speculate on the causes which led to these several changes. Wissant seems to have yielded to Calais because early in the fifteenth century its port was destroyed by one of those sand-storms which are so frequent on the opposite coast, and with which all who have been resident there for any length of time must be familiar. Cwanta-wic fell a prey to the Northmen in the latter part of the ninth century; and Wissant may have taken its place owing, as M. l'Abbé Haigneré suggests (*Etude sur le Portus Itius*, p. 28), to the growing importance of the Flemish towns in the neighbourhood, and their increasing commerce with England. The motives which induced our ancestors to abandon Gesoriacum (Boulogne) for Cwanta-wic, are not easy to discover, but the reasons which led the Romans to prefer Gesoriacum to the Portus Icius are I think sufficiently obvious. They are, however, too important to be noticed incidentally. They bear directly upon the subject before us, and will require a distinct and careful consideration.

On the eastern coast of the sea which divides England from the Continent, there seems to be a tendency, owing to the action of the tides, to deposit a line of sand-hills across

^s This village is generally called Wit-sand in mediæval writings; and we are expressly told that it received this name

owing to the white sands with which it was surrounded.

the mouth of any bay which deeply indents the land. To such a belt of sand-hills Holland owes its origin. The whole space between the sand-hills—or downs, as they are called—and the upland was originally, at high water, a lake, and at low water a collection of mud-banks, through which the great rivers from the interior worked their way, escaping into the sea through gaps in the line of sand-hills. A similar belt of sand-hills stretched across the bay which, no doubt, once existed between the capes Gris-nez and Blanc-nez. The sand-downs still rise from 50 to 60 and 70 feet in height, and stretch from a point east of Gris-nez to Wissant, a little to the west of Blanc-nez. Between these downs and the upland is now a flat sandy plain, some two or three miles long, and varying from a quarter to half a mile in breadth. I think no one can look down upon this plain from any of the neighbouring heights without being convinced that it was formerly what in some parts of England is called a “backwater.” The waters which cross the plain reach the sea by three outlets in the line of sand-hills,—the Rieu d’Herlan by an outlet near Wissant; the Rieu des Anguilles, the drain of the *Marnis de Tardinghen*, which seems to be the lowest part of the plain, by another gap; and by a third gap further westward, the Rieu du Châtelet. It is probable that these little streams once flowed into the backwater, and that the latter was connected with the sea by a single outlet; and if I might be allowed to speculate on such slender premises, I would say, that the gap through which flows the Rieu des Anguilles may probably represent the mouth of the ancient port.

At the east end of the plain, near Wissant, are sand-drifts which have evidently been swept there by the prevailing south-west wind. In the midst of these drifts is a little basin, scooped out by the windings of the Rieu d’Herlan, or Wissant brook, and which some antiquaries have mistaken for the mediæval port. No doubt it occupies in part the site of this port, for on the banks of the brook have been found balks of timber which it is generally admitted must have been part of the old quay; but a basin surrounded by cliffs of sand cannot be of ancient date, and it certainly does not define the limits of the port of Wissant. What those limits were it is very difficult to say. M. de Saulcy seems to consider them (see *Les Campagnes de Jules*

César, p. 172,) as coincident with those of the little plain I have described, and he mentions a tradition which assigns to the port two entrances, one at its eastern and the other at its western extremity. I have myself little faith in traditions, and think it would not be impossible to point out the circumstance in which this particular tradition originated. When in the tenth and eleventh centuries the port of Wissant first began to play a part in history, it seems probable that a large portion of the ancient backwater was already silted up, and that the entry of the mediæval port was where the Rieu d'Herlan now enters the sea. At an earlier period, no doubt, it was otherwise, and everything tends to show, that in the time of Cæsar the whole space now occupied by the plain was one continuous port.

Here, then, between Cape Gris-nez and Wissant was formerly a port, amply large enough to contain the 800 ships which on his second transit Cæsar collected there. In the offing was a roadstead fairly sheltered, and containing good anchoring ground; and immediately in front was Dover. Cæsar might well consider the transit from thence to Britain "extremely convenient." How the Romans came to reject all these conveniences of transit and deliberately to select Boulogne as their "Portus Britannicus," we have now to inquire.

No one can explore the neighbourhood of Wissant without being struck with its extreme sterility. In one of the dissertations appended to the *Histoire de St. Louis*, and the existence of which seems to be unknown to our English antiquaries, Du Cange has collected all the learning relative to Wissant, and in spite of himself has shown the poverty of the place and the slenderness of its resources. On one occasion, when two or three hundred travellers had been staying there fourteen or fifteen days, we are told they could hardly obtain food owing to the barrenness of the country. The Boulognese antiquaries dwell with much triumph on these testimonies to the poverty of the rival port; but it is forgotten that these testimonies afford a sufficient answer to the question put forward with so much confidence, viz., how came the Romans to make Boulogne their port of transit during their occupation of Britain, if Wissant were the *Portus Icius*? Wissant, or rather the port adjacent to Wissant, may have answered Cæsar's pur-

pose, when he had hundreds of ships to supply the wants of his commissariat; but when a port was to be provided to meet the ordinary purposes of traffic, it was necessary to select one that possessed local resources. The neighbourhood of Boulogne was, comparatively speaking, fertile, and as its harbour was not inferior to that of Wissant, the Romans selected it for their port notwithstanding the greater length of the voyage. If Boulogne was the original terminus of Agrippa's highway, this selection must have been made within thirty years of Cæsar's transit, and it certainly must date earlier than the Roman occupation of the island.

During three days I carefully explored the country round Wissant, but found nothing in the neighbourhood which I could venture to call Roman. The several "mottes," which have given rise to so much discussion, seemed to me to be of mediæval origin, and I looked in vain for anything of a Roman character in the old road which runs from Wissant to Guines. It is undoubtedly the road referred to in the old chronicle quoted by Bergier (*Hist. des Grands Chemins*, i. 104) but may have come into use in the tenth century as a means of reaching the Roman Road that led from Sangatte to Théroutanne. It is said that a Gallo-Roman tomb has been found at Wissant, but, on the whole, it seems probable that from the time of Cæsar to the tenth century the Portus Icius was the subject of little public interest.

As I extended my wanderings, I obtained ready answers to many of the objections which have been brought against the views I am now advocating. Cæsar tells us that, at his first transit, the eighteen ships of burden which conveyed his cavalry were kept from joining him, owing to their being wind-bound, eight miles off, in what he calls "the further" (*B. G.*, IV. xxiii.), and in another place "the upper port" (*B. G.*, IV. xxviii.). Sangatte, it is urged, is six miles, and Calais eleven miles from Wissant, the first distance being too short and the latter too long. The answer is an easy one. Wissant was not built till centuries after Cæsar's time, and lies at the eastern extremity of the Portus Icius. We have only to suppose that Cæsar's camp lay near the middle of the port, and we at once get the eight miles to Sangatte.

On the return from Britain two of the ships missed their port, and landed the 300 soldiers they carried a few miles to

the southward, probably at Ambleteuse. As the soldiers were making their way to the camp, they were attacked by some thousands of the Morini, but bravely defended themselves till relieved by the cavalry sent to their assistance. The next day Cæsar despatched Labienus against the Morini, and as this people, "on account of the drying up of the marshes (*paludum*), had no refuge to betake themselves to, as they had the previous summer, almost all of them fell into the power of Labienus" (B. G., IV. xxxviii.). It has been asked, where can we find these marshes except to the south of Boulogne? I know of no fen-district which is now to be found in the country of the Morini south of Wissant; but in Cæsar's time every brook must have had its marsh, and no one who has explored the Slacq-valley and its tributaries above Ambleteuse will be at a loss to discover the locality where, under ordinary circumstances, the delinquent Morini might have found a refuge. This valley has a bottom some half-a-mile broad, flat as the fens of Cambridgeshire, and stretching for miles into the country. Even at the present day, after a rainfall, much of the valley is under water.

It has always seemed to me that the language of the classical geographers goes far to disprove the identity of Gesoriacum (Boulogne) and the Portus Icius. When Ptolemy mentions the Ician promontory, and immediately afterwards Gesoriacum, we might have expected him to call the latter place the Ician Port, if it ever really bore that name; and it certainly is strange, if we assume the identity of the two places, that Boulogne is never called by that name, notwithstanding the frequent references made to Gesoriacum in classical history. But the strongest argument is, perhaps, furnished by the language of Strabo. This geographer tells us (Geogr., IV. v. 2) there were four ways of passing over to the island, viz., from the mouths of the Rhine, of the Seine, of the Loire and the Garonne; and he proceeds: "when people sail from the country near the Rhine, the voyage is not actually from the mouth of the river, but from the country of the Morini, who border on the Menapii, among whom also is the Itium, which the deified Cæsar used as his port when he passed over to the island." Every Boulognese will admit that this usual port of transit which Strabo refers to must be Boulogne; and every

unprejudiced reader, I think, will be of opinion that he distinguishes it from his "Itium."

When describing the coast of Gaul, Ptolemy mentions three places as lying between the Seine and the Scheldt—the river Phrudis, the Ician promontory and the port of Gesoriacum. As the only river of importance on the coast is the Somme, and the only promontory of importance is Cape Gris-nez, the great French geographers D'Anville, Walckenaer, and others identify the river Phrudis with the Somme, and the Ician Promontory with Cape Gris-nez. In so doing they assume that Ptolemy has committed a blunder in placing the Ician promontory before, instead of after Gesoriacum. This kind of blundering is not unfrequent with the author who assigns London to Kent, and fixes the second Legion at the Isca of the Damnonii, instead of the Isca of the Silures; and such blundering need not surprise us, when we remember how great were the difficulties of the task he had undertaken. The partisans of Boulogne, as might have been expected, refuse to abide by this decision. They fix the Ician promontory at Cape Alpreck, a little south of Boulogne, and tell us that it once projected much further seaward than at present. This is probably true, for the cliffs both on the French and the English coast have certainly been much wasted by the action of the tides and of the weather. But there is nothing that gives importance to Cape Alpreck save its connexion with this "Ician controversy;" whereas Cape Gris-nez is the most important point on the French coast north of the Seine. At Cape Gris-nez, the coast, which has hitherto trended to the north, begins to turn eastward. It is this cape, moreover, which, together with the cliffs of Dover, forms the Straits, and which the Dutch must have had in view when they gave the Straits the name of *De Hofden*—the headlands. South of this cape the flood-tide flows to the eastward, while north of it the tide changes its course and flows to the north-eastward. The importance of Cape Gris-nez, indeed, cannot be overlooked, and is still fully recognised. On it the French Government have lately exhibited one of those magnificent lights which put our English lighthouses to shame, and which, with commendable pride, they are now enshrining in a structure built of the most costly materials. Cape Gris-nez, there can hardly be a doubt, was the Ician promontory;

and if so, the great port which lay beneath it must have been the Ician Port.

Amid that vast mass of authorities which Du Cange has brought together respecting Wissant are extracts from William of Poitiers and William of Jumièges. The latter of these writers tells us that the young prince, the brother of the Confessor, who was murdered soon after his landing in England, sailed from Witsand; while the other tells us that he sailed from the Portus Icius. Du Cange points to this testimony as making strongly in his favour. M. Haigneré considers that it merely adds one more to the number of the partisans of Wissant (*Etude, &c.*, p. 59). The answer is hardly worthy of a man so able, for it assumes that the "Ician controversy," and all the partisanship it has given rise to, were known in the eleventh century! It might, however, be said—true this Norman monk calls Wissant the Portus Icius—in his days it was the ordinary means of communication with Britain, and he naturally supposed it was used by Cæsar. I believe this answer would have no sounder foundation to rest on than that of M. Haigneré, but it is much more difficult to dispose of. The knowledge of classical literature possessed by the educated monks of the Middle Ages, though a subject of very interesting inquiry, has been hitherto but little investigated. They were well acquainted with the classical poets, and even with some of the classical historians, but seem to have been almost entirely ignorant of Cæsar's Commentaries. I know, indeed, of two instances in which the Commentaries are quoted previously to the eleventh century, but in both instances with considerable parade of learning. In the present case, we must suppose that William of Poitiers quotes them familiarly, and expects his reader to be equally well acquainted with them. I cannot believe that either the one or the other possessed this knowledge. It may be asked, whence then did William of Poitiers get the name of Portus Icius? I would answer, most probably from that current of obscure literature which, from the nature of things, we might assume to have existed, and which many facts connected with our national history prove, almost to demonstration, did exist during the Middle Ages. It seems to have consisted mainly of chronicles, of compilations like that of Nennius, and of national songs. By this means the name

of *Icius*, which must originally have been nothing more than the latinized form of some Celtic word, may have come down to William of Poitiers. The old Irish name for the English Channel is *Muir n' Icht*, and Donovan, the first of modern Irish scholars, translates it without hesitation "the Ician Sea." Dr. Reeves, in a note to his *Life of Adomnanus*, follows Donovan's example. Neither of these scholars gives any reason in support of the translation, but I think, nevertheless, that it may be supported. *Muir n' Icht* means the "Sea of the Icht." The word *icht* is found in no Irish dictionary or glossary with which I am acquainted, but the Gaelic *uchd* means "the brow of a hill" (vide Gaelic Dict. of the Highland Society); *Muir n' Icht* may therefore signify the "Sea of the Promontory," and we are at once referred to the Ician promontory of Ptolemy. I know of no Gaelic word of which *uchd* can be a derivative, but in the Welsh there is an adjective, *uch*, higher, which may very well be its root. If we might assume that in ancient Celtic *uch* was used as a substantive in the sense of *height*, then we see at once the origin of the word *Icius*, and perhaps may account for all the variations that are found in the MSS., viz., *Icius*, *Ictius*, and *Itius*. *Icius* and *Ictius* may represent the Celtic words *uch* and *uchd*, and *Itius* be a corruption of *Ictius*. When in Celtic, a guttural precedes a dental, it is very commonly melted into a breathing and lost; thus the *Caractacus* of Tacitus became in Dion and Zonaras *Karatak-os*, in modern Welsh *Cradawg*, and in English *Cradock*.

Briefly to recapitulate—I believe the port which once existed between Cape Gris-nez and Wissant to be the Portus Icius: 1st, because it afforded the shortest passage to Britain, 2ndly, because it was amply large enough for Cæsar's purposes, 3rdly, because it lay immediately beneath Cape Gris-nez, which I believe to be the Ician promontory, and lastly, because a Norman monk in the eleventh century expressly calls it the Portus Icius; and I think this name may have been handed down to him by the Romanized Gauls, inasmuch as the name of Ician seems to have been long kept afloat in the recollection of the Celtic population of these islands.

In his first invasion of Britain Cæsar carried over with him two legions, probably from 8000 to 10,000 men. Some

of his vessels in the "further port" could not join him for the wind. His means of transport were eighty ships of burthen, and a certain number of "long ships" or galleys, perhaps in all a hundred sail. On the fourth day after he reached Britain there was a full moon, and we may, with much probability, fix the day of his sailing to the 25th of August in the year 55 B. C. He weighed anchor at midnight (B. G., IV. xxiii.), and as it was half-way to low water at that time on the French coast, and as the Portus Icius was, no doubt, a tidal harbour, he must have brought out his ships as occasion served at high water, and sailed from the offing.

The wind was suitable (*idonea tempestas*), and as on his second invasion he sailed with a south-west wind (B. G., V. viii.), and as a south-west wind would keep the vessels in the "further port" wind-bound, we may presume that he sailed with the wind in that quarter. The presumption is strengthened on our finding, that when on the occasion of his second transit he first ordered his troops on board, he uses the very same expression, and speaks of the wind as "suitable" (B. G., V. vii.). If, then, as is probable,⁴ he steered for Dover, he would have the wind nearly abeam or at right angles to his course. His first vessels reached the opposite coast by ten the next morning, but the whole fleet was not assembled there till three in the afternoon. He found the cliffs covered with armed men, and so closely was the sea hemmed in by these cliffs, that a missile could be hurled from the heights upon the shore.⁵ Like Halley and the majority of our English antiquaries, I recognise in this description the cliffs near Dover, and I suppose that Cæsar's fleet was moored in Dover-wick, the roadstead which lies between Dover and the South Foreland, and is commanded by the guns of the castle.

The slowness of the passage is remarkable. The vessels of burthen, which of course were the laggards, were country-built ships. These Gaulish vessels are elsewhere described by Cæsar (B. G., III. xiii.). Their sails were of skins, and

⁴ From the heights near Wissant may be seen the whole of the English coast from Sandgate to the South Foreland, and a beautiful sight it is, a long line of white cliff broken in the middle by the gap, in which lies Dover. This gap at

once fixes the attention and is the only well-defined landmark within view.

⁵ *Adeo montibus angustis mare continebatur, uti ex locis superioribus in littus telum adjici posset* (B. G. IV. xxiii.).

they had, strange to say, chain-cables; their keels were flatter than those of the Roman vessels, to enable them to take the ground more easily at low water, and they were raised to a great height both at stem and stern; their timbers were all of oak, and of such stout scantling, and so strongly put together, that the beaks of the Roman galleys could make no impression upon them. They were evidently huge vessels, built almost solely with a view to strength, and therefore their slow rate of sailing need not surprise us. But even the Roman "long ships" were ten hours in crossing; and as the flood and the ebb may to some extent have counterbalanced each other, I do not think that the tide-drift will altogether account for such slow progress. On certain occasions Roman ships are known to have sailed seven miles an hour; but in such cases, whenever reference is made to the wind, we always find it was right astern. What was the rate of sailing when the wind was nearly abeam I do not know, but I suspect it was extremely slow. The ordinary Roman galley was propelled by a single square mainsail, for though it carried a small foresail on a raking mast, such foresail was evidently used less to propel the vessel than to swing it round when tacking. The motive power must have been applied much in the same way as that which acts upon a Chinese junk. The junk, as is well known, makes good way before a wind, but with the wind abeam is little better than a log upon the water. Cæsar's vessels too were probably ill built; they were put together in a hurry (*celeriter*, B. G., III., ix.), and by imperfectly-skilled workmen; for though Cæsar sent for sailors, rowers, and pilots from "the Province," he says nothing about shipwrights, and there can be no doubt that the ships were constructed by the artisans of the legions, to whom he entrusted their reparation when they were damaged by the storm (B. G., IV. xxxi.). When we remember, also, that these "long ships" formed part of a fleet, and would naturally have their speed in some measure accommodated to that of the other vessels; that the sailors and pilots were from the Mediterranean, and strangers to the perplexing currents and the short jerking waves of the new sea, I think our surprise will be the less, when we find their rate of sailing *through the water* was barely two miles an hour. The difficulties we have been considering will be diminished

only in a trifling degree by supposing that Cæsar sailed from Boulogne.

Cæsar reached Britain at ten o'clock in the morning, but, "judging the place by no means a suitable one for landing, he waited at anchor to the ninth hour (three o'clock in the afternoon),⁶ till the rest of the vessels were assembled there. In the mean time, having called together the Legati and the military tribunes, he told them what he had learnt from Volusenus, and what he wished to have done, &c. When these were dismissed, having got at the same time *both wind and tide* in his favour, he gave the signal, and weighing anchor advanced some seven or eight miles (the MSS. differ as to the distance) from that place, and brought the ships to on a level and open shore."⁷ The question is, did he advance eastward or westward?

Halley, arguing from the present state of the tidal currents, concluded, that on the day when Cæsar reached Britain, it was low water off that place about two (he should have said half-past one) in the afternoon; that at three the flood-tide was well made up, and that Cæsar proceeded with it eastward towards Deal; and he speaks with singular confidence as to the correctness of these results. He seems to have thought that, after slack water the flood-tide ran for five or six hours to high water, and then after a pause the ebb-tide ran for five or six hours to low water, and so on. This is not the law which prevails in narrow channels like those of rivers, or in narrow seas like that which separates Britain from the Continent. In such cases the flood-tide begins to flow two or three hours before high water, and *continues to flow two or three hours after it*, then after a pause the ebb-

⁶ Roman hours coincided with our modern hours only at the equinoxes, and as Cæsar sailed three or four weeks before the autumnal equinox, his ninth hour did not coincide with our "3 o'clock in the afternoon." But all who have hitherto treated on these subjects have assumed the coincidence of our own and Roman hours, and to make the necessary corrections would not only require some nice calculation, but would render it difficult to lay the present speculations side by side with the arguments of those who have preceded me. I have preferred therefore to use language not altogether correct, rather than perplex the reader with niceties that relate to matters of

subordinate interest, and do not materially affect the issues, on which, as it seems to me, the decision of the question now before us mainly rests.

⁷ Hunc ad egrediendum nequaquam idoneum arbitratus locum, dum reliquæ naves eò convenirent, ad horam nonam in anchoris expectavit. Interim legatis tribunisque militum convocatis, et quæ ex Voluseno cognosset, et quæ fieri vellet, ostendit: monuitque, &c. His dimissis, et ventum et æstum uno tempore nactus secundum, dato signo et sublati anchoris, circumter millia passuum vii. ab eo loco progressus, aperto ac plano littore naves constituit. (B. G., IV. xxiii.)

tide flows two or three hours to low water, *and two or three hours after it*, and so on. This general law, however, is subject to many exceptions; a headland may divert the current, or an estuary produce in it the most extraordinary disturbances, so that no man, however great his analytical skill may be, can calculate from mere theory what will be the state of the tide at a given time, at any particular place in the English Channel: it can only be learnt from observation. Professor Airy, to whom we owe the ablest work on the tides that has yet appeared,⁸ at once saw the weak point in Halley's argument. With that eminently practical turn of mind which distinguishes him he consulted Captain Beechey, who had been officially employed in investigating these currents, and satisfied himself that the ebb-tide was still flowing at three o'clock, and, accordingly, he carried Cæsar's fleet with it to the westward. Mr. Lewin, who brings Cæsar from Boulogne to Folkstone, following Professor Airy's example, carries him westward and lands him at Hythe. Dr. Cardwell, who appears to have paid much attention to the tides off Folkstone, distinguished between the in-shore and mid-channel currents, and thought he had good grounds for maintaining that near shore the flood-tide would make as early as three o'clock, and might very well have carried Cæsar eastwards towards Deal. I may say in passing that my own observations at Folkstone strongly corroborate those of Dr. Cardwell, but unfortunately I cannot avail myself of them, as, according to my theory, Cæsar's fleet was moored at Dover-wick. Captain Beechey's observations, confirmed as they have been by those more recently made by order of the Admiralty, show clearly enough that, if we admit the premises, the tide off Dover at three o'clock in the afternoon of the day in which Cæsar reached Britain must have been flowing to the westward. As I believe Cæsar's fleet sailed in the opposite direction, I can only extricate myself from the dilemma by attacking the premises on which the conclusion is founded.

It is a curious circumstance that French and English antiquaries put different constructions on Cæsar's language. Our countrymen seem to consider the words *in anchoris* to form, as it were, a substantive part of the verb *expectavit*, as

⁸ Of course I refer to the admirable essay by Professor Airy which appeared in the Encyclopædia Metropolitana.

if the sentence might be rendered, "to the ninth hour he lay at anchor waiting for the assembling of the other ships." The Frenchman appears to consider them as parenthetic, and would, I presume, construe "to the ninth hour he waited (at anchor) for the assembling," &c. This construction⁹ admits of there being a certain interval between the assembling of the ships and the time of Cæsar's departure; and as the military tribunes were legionary officers, it is not very easy to see how Cæsar could give them his orders till all the ships carrying the legionary soldiers had come in. M. de Saulcy assumes ('Campagnes de J. C.,' p. 193) that an hour and a half were spent in making the necessary preparations for departure, and he starts Cæsar at half-past four, when he supposes that the flood-tide was making towards Deal. Of course, if we admit there was an interval, it can be accommodated to any hypothesis, and all the reasoning of our English antiquaries, from the time of Halley, downwards, falls at once to the ground.

But there is another objection, which seems to me to be no less fatal to the arguments usually adduced in support of the opinion I am now combating. I shall venture to ask whether we are justified in reasoning from present phenomena to the state of the tides in the time of Cæsar?—whether the conditions of the problem are the same now as they were 2,000 years ago?—whether, in short, the alterations in the coast-line of Kent have been so insignificant that they may be safely neglected in the calculation? In discussing the question I shall put out of view the waste of the cliffs and the more substantial parts of the coast—first, because I believe this waste has been overrated, and, secondly, because in all probability it has been, on the whole, pretty equably distributed, so that the general outline of the

* I have been asked to state more explicitly my own view of the construction of the passage in question. It may be done in few words. The phrase *expectare dum*, to wait for the happening of a certain event, is a well-known Latin idiom; and in *anchoris expectare dum* can only mean, to wait at anchor for the happening of the event. If we add the words *ad horam nonam*, surely we make the ninth hour the limit, not of lying at anchor, but of waiting for the event. I do not see how M. De Saulcy's translation can be questioned.

Our countrymen seem to have been misled by the emphasis given to the words in *anchoris*, owing to their collocation immediately before the verb. The words are certainly emphasized, but I think the significance of the emphasis has been mistaken. Cæsar probably steered for Dover with the view of landing his men as the vessels came in, but finding his landing opposed, he awaited the arrival of his other vessels in *anchoris*, i. e. in the roadstead. The emphasis marks the change of plan occasioned by the unexpected opposition he met with.

coast may not be greatly altered, though it may be now more inland than formerly. What I want more particularly to call the reader's attention to are the changes which have been wrought in the marshes, the sands, and the shingle-beds of the Kentish coast.

We will begin with the Romney Marshes. No one now doubts that the portion of the Marshes called Old Romney Marsh was "inlined" by the Romans; and as it is protected from the sea by the spit of shingle which runs from Hythe to New Romney, we may conclude that thus far the present coast coincided with that which existed in the time of Cæsar. According to Mr. Elliott, the very intelligent engineer of the Marshes, the Rother formerly emptied itself at New Romney, and there, accordingly, must have been the inlet by which the tide originally entered. By a cautious and well-reasoned induction, Mr. Elliott arrives at the following conclusions: that an inland spit of shingle called "Lydd Rypes" was the ancient beach south of this inlet, in the time of Cæsar, the remainder of Dungeness being a later accretion from the sea,—that this spit was prolonged across the bight formed by the Rother when it scooped out its present channel in the thirteenth century,—and that Old Winchelsea stood on this prolongation of the spit, many circumstances conspiring to fix the site of the lost town in this position. What then must have been the course of the tide-wave in these days of old? It must have come up the Channel uninterruptedly along a coast of gentle curvature, and at New Romney must have been swallowed by an estuary spreading over some 50,000 acres. From this estuary it is now excluded, and instead of the uninterrupted flow I have described, it is dashed against the shingle-beds of Dungeness. Diverted from its course, it runs round the Ness with a current like a mill-race, and forms on the other side, in Romney Hoy, a strong eddy, so that when a vessel is wrecked (as too often happens) on the west side of the Ness it throws up its timbers and the bodies of the poor fellows who went down in it in this Romney Hoy. Can we readily imagine a greater derangement of the tidal currents?

Let us now pass north of Dover to the Goodwin Sands. All the antiquaries who have lately discussed the present question assume that these sands existed in the time of Cæsar. Is this probable? Somner, who is preeminently

the antiquary of Kent, informs us that, "with several men of judgment, it (*i. e.*, the Goodwin) is looked on as a piece of later emergency than Earl Goodwyn" (Roman Forts, p. 24); while Sir Thomas More's story of the Tenterden steeple shows us that, in his opinion, the sands were of recent origin; and his testimony is valuable, for though not a Kentish man, he was brought up in the household of Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1500; and we may infer that such at that period was the opinion of educated men who had local knowledge, and, therefore, the best means of information. Leland (vii., 138) attributed the decay of Sandwich to the Goodwin Sands, and as Sandwich was a flourishing port in the fourteenth century, we may infer that it was not till the fifteenth that the sands attained those formidable dimensions which produced so much mischief. John Twine, of Canterbury, that "learned old man," as Camden calls him, describes, on the authority of "certain writers," an island named Lomea, the history of which he connects with that of the Goodwin Sands. According to him, it was exceedingly fertile and abounding in pastures, and was once the property of Earl Godwin. It was somewhat less elevated than Thanet, from which it was three or four miles distant, and it was swept away during a terrific storm and an unusually high tide (*De Rebus Albioniciis*, Lib. I.). As Lomea is not mentioned in Domesday, it was probably destroyed before that compilation was made. Hector Boethius has also given us a short account of the Goodwins, which, as far as it goes, is in perfect agreement with that we have taken from the pages of John Twine. The conclusion these considerations point to is confirmed by the names given to the celebrated anchoring grounds off Deal and Sandown Castle—*viz.*, the Downs and the Small Downs. The word *downs* signifies sand-hills, and in this sense is well known on both sides of the Channel. Immediately north of Sandown Castle is a tract of land covered with low sand-hills, and which in the older maps of Kent—Philipot's, for example—is called the "smale downea." The sea has long been eating away this tract of sand-hills, and even within my memory the changes wrought have been most extraordinary. The sea has lately reached the fort, which has been dismantled and sold, and in a few months every vestige of Sandown Castle will have disappeared. I

can only account for the name given to the anchorage by supposing that it once formed part of these "smale downes"; and for a similar reason I infer that the Downs were also at one time dry land covered with sand-hills. As the land was, probably, from the first nothing but a mud-bank covered with sand, a deep channel might easily be scooped out of it. In the Romney Marshes the sea-silt has been found on boring to be fully ninety feet deep.

I think there can be little doubt that the flats round Sandwich once projected into the sea as a low ness or fore-land—probably divided into islands, of which Lomea was the easternmost. After the destruction of this island, the Goodwin Sands may have been gradually accumulated, not necessarily on the site of the island, but near it, and the Downs just as gradually excavated. If I have been correctly informed, the Goodwins are still slowly growing to the southward, and the Small Downs are certainly, and by no means slowly, enlarging their boundaries. How altered has been the working of the tides in this neighbourhood appears from the fact that the beach now thrown up at Deal and Sandown is shingle, whereas we have very clear proof that it once was sand.

It may be well to recapitulate the several changes in the coast-line, on which I rely to support my inference as to there having been *some* changes in the inshore tidal currents. They are—the contraction of the Thames estuary owing to the inning of its marshes, the silting up of the Wantsum, through which we know that vessels sailed as late as the fifteenth century, the formation of the Goodwin Sands, the excavation of that deep-sea channel called The Downs, the inning of the Romney Marshes, and the creation of Dungeness—and by the creation of Dungeness I do not mean merely the accretions of shingle that have been added to it since the time of Cæsar, but the entirely new configuration given to it owing to the bight which the Rother excavated, when it formed its present channel some five centuries ago. These are not "changemens peu considerables," according to the language adopted by General Creuly,¹ but changes

¹ General Creuly's Etude was, I believe, in type when my papers in the Athenæum appeared. They must I fear have been very distasteful to him, for they ran counter to some of his most

cherished speculations. These speculations seem to be the General's test of orthodoxy. When Professor Airy agrees with them, his decision is represented as authoritative; when he differs from

of enormous magnitude, such as are without parallel elsewhere on the British coast, or indeed on the coast opposite, if we except the changes that have taken place in Holland. What effect these changes would have on the inshore currents I believe no one can tell. The laws which regulate these currents are to the last degree perplexing. They evidently depend on complex causes, and cannot be treated as mere corollaries to the law which regulates the great tide drift in mid-channel. No one by the mere aid of calculation can say for how long a time the tide will run on a given day, at a given place, on the coast of the English Channel. The modern theories which have been started on the subject of the tides, admirable though they be, cannot solve the problem. The learned mathematician is on a level with the illiterate; both must trust to "the practical man," and wait for "observations." To assume that changes, such as I have enumerated, could not affect the inshore currents off Dover, seems to me an assumption much too hazardous to reason from.

If we hesitate to yield our assent to conclusions drawn from the state of the tides, we are necessarily thrown back upon the statements made by the classical writers. Cæsar tells us he "advanced" (*progressus*),² and from the language he usually employs we may presume it was to the north-eastward; for he calls the western parts of Britain "the lower part of the island" (B. G., IV. xxviii.), and it is generally admitted that the "upper" or "further part" was to the north of the Portus Icius. According to a passage in Dion (Hist. Rom., XXXIX. li.), which Halley relied on, Cæsar went round a certain headland, and landed on the other side. The rounding of the South Foreland is the chief incident of the voyage from Dover-wick to Deal; and this promontory was the only one on the coast, for Dungeness

them, his views are thrown aside as of little value. General Creuly starts Cæsar from Ambleteuse and lands him at Fort Sutherland, in the Romney Marshes. These mistakes, for such I must consider them, may I think be traced chiefly to his ignorance of the localities. He seems to have been at Deal, but it is pretty clear that he never saw Sangatte or Wissant. I have doubts if he is even acquainted with Ambleteuse, and I am sure he never visited the Romney

Marshes, for no French officer who possessed local knowledge could under Cæsar's circumstances have thought of landing 10,000 men in the neighbourhood of Fort Sutherland.

² Mr. Lewin was the first to point out the argument that might be raised on the use of this word by Cæsar, and it was much to the credit of his candour, as it made strongly against the theory he had adopted.

was not then in existence. He brought his ships to a coast, level and open (B. G., IV. xxiii.) and soft (B. G., V. ix.). All these conditions are fulfilled if we suppose Cæsar to have landed on some of the marshy lands off Deal. If we land him at Hythe, though the shore be level, it can hardly be called open, for there is a range of heights at no great distance, and the word *soft* seems strangely out of place when applied to a bed of shingle. It has been said that the shingle was soft "in a sailor's sense," as it would "give" when a vessel was beached upon it. But I know of no authority for assigning to it this meaning, and it surely indicates a soft, oozy and muddy shore. Can we suppose that Cæsar would land close to Hythe harbour (the Portus Lemannis) without once alluding to it, or upon a bed of shingle, where his only means of obtaining water for 8,000 or 10,000 men would be from his ships?

As regards the length of the passage from the Continent to Britain, we get the thirty miles at which Cæsar rates it (B. G., V. ii.) by adding seven miles to the distance from Wissant to Dover. He reckoned, no doubt, as D'Anville pointed out, from the port of departure to the place of landing.

On his second transit, Cæsar carried over from thirty to forty thousand men, and sailed about sunset with a gentle south-west wind (B. G., V. viii.). He had with him 800 ships, most of them small, flat-bottomed vessels, constructed specially with the view of landing the soldiers in shallow waters, and of being afterwards drawn up on land; the time was, probably, the latter end of July, and we may conjecture that he steered for Dover. At midnight the wind fell, and the fleet drifted with the tide, so that at daybreak they found they had left Britain on their left hand. The tide then turning in their favour, they betook themselves to their oars, and about noon reached their former landing-place. D'Anville supposes they drifted into the Thames, and that six or seven hours' rowing, with the tide in their favour, would carry them beyond Deal, and he therefore lands them at Hythe. But the drift could not possibly carry them where D'Anville supposes. The flood-tide runs to the north-east; and if we draw a line of eight or ten miles towards Dover, to represent the space sailed over, and then one of fourteen or fifteen miles to the north-east, to

represent the drift, we shall have the position of Cæsar's fleet at daybreak. They would, at that time, have the Dover cliffs on their larboard bow, and would be about as far distant from them as when they first started. The ebb-tide would, perhaps, about counterbalance the error produced by the flood; but, on the lowest computation, they would have to make some twenty miles *through the water* before they reached their former landing-place. When we remember the kind of vessels they were rowing, the soldiers fairly earned the compliment they received for their exertions (B. G., V. viii.).

The Britons, affrighted at the vast number of vessels, deserted the shore and took refuge in the hills (*loca superiora*, B. G., V. viii.), and the same night Cæsar marched against them to the banks of a certain river about twelve miles off. The Britons opposed the passage of the river with horsemen and chariots drawn up on the hill side, but they were repulsed, and retired to a wood where was a fortified post—no doubt a British *oppidum*, such as Cæsar has elsewhere described, and, probably, the stronghold of one of the four petty kings who, at that time, bore rule in Kent. The stronghold was attacked, and, after some little trouble, taken by Cæsar.

I believe this stronghold was the capital of the district of which Canterbury is now the centre; but our antiquaries make a great mistake when they suppose this city to occupy its site. Canterbury represents the Roman *castellum*, and the Romans generally built their *castellum* two or three miles from the British *oppidum*. If we pass two or three miles down the Stour, we shall find a locality which answers all the demands of Cæsar's narrative. North of the river is a range of low hills, on which still lie large masses of natural wood. The river runs at the foot of the hills, and to the south of it is a flat country which stretches away towards Sandwich and Deal. The latter place is about twelve miles distant.

Those who maintain that Cæsar landed at Hythe suppose that the night march carried him to Wye. But at Wye the Stour is a mere brook, and there is nothing to justify us in supposing that there was ever a British fortress in the neighbourhood. It has, indeed, been assumed that this was the highway to Canterbury, and that a fortress was erected

to bar the pass, which has been termed "the British Thermopylæ." But if Cæsar wanted to reach Canterbury, why did he not at once march over the downs in the direction in which the Roman Road was afterwards carried? The distance from Hythe to Canterbury was little greater than that to Wye, and the road to the one was as easy as to the other.

While on this subject of topography, it may be well to notice an objection that has been brought against Deal as the place of Cæsar's landing. The neighbourhood of Cæsar's landing-place, it has been said, was a mixture of woodland and arable; the uplands round Deal are a chalk district, unsuited for corn crops and perfectly open. It might be answered that these uplands are every autumn white with corn; and if it be said this is the result of modern farming, I might reply that a system of long fallows might be a substitute for sheep-husbandry. It is a mistake to suppose that the shallow soils were not formerly cultivated; I have seen undoubted marks of ancient cultivation in localities where a modern farmer would long hesitate before he risked his capital. The disappearance of the woodlands is what might have been expected. Where are now many of our great historical forests,—Arden and Braden, for example? They have been long swept from the face of the country. On the Downs further south, where the sward barely covers the chalk, and the profits of the woodland equal those of the arable, we find the woodlands preserved; and the same character of country, no doubt, once extended to Deal—a wide, undulating plain, dotted over with beechwoods.

Camden quotes Nennius as stating that Cæsar fought at Dole, and he supposes the name to be the Welsh word Dol, which is generally said to mean a plain beside a river. This word, no doubt, gave a name to the town of Dol in Brittany, which, like our Deal, is situated on the borders of an alluvial plain. It may have been the British name for the flats round Sandwich, and gradually appropriated to designate the seaport which arose on their confines. When D'Anville affects to place the testimony of Nennius on the same level with that of Geoffrey of Monmouth, he shows a want of critical discrimination. But the passage Camden refers to is certainly surrounded with difficulties, arising from the

variations in the MSS. It was, no doubt, a subject of blunder and mistake as early as the tenth century, and the attempts made by copyists to explain the mistakes, have increased the confusion. Dropping an obvious interpolation, the Vatican copy furnishes the following extract, which will, I think, give the text much as it was read by Camden:—"Tunc iulius cæsar cum accepisset totius orbis singulare imperium et primus obtineret, valde iratus ad brytanniam cum LX ceolis pervenit in ostio fluminis tamensis, in quo naufragium naves illius perpressæ sunt dum ille pugnaret apud dolo bellum et iulius reversus est sine victoria cæsis militibus fractisque navibus."

The use of the phrase "*apud dolo*" strengthens my belief in the genuineness and the antiquity of this fragment, which was probably taken, at least portions of it, from some very ancient chronicle. *Dolo* is, no doubt, one of those monoptote or undeclined nouns which occur so frequently in the Itineraries, and appear to have gone not long afterwards out of fashion. When the Wantsum was open, the country round Deal and Sandwich might very well be described as lying at the mouth of the Thames; and I think we may point to this fragment as bearing something like historical evidence in our favour, when we venture to fix upon Deal as the place where Cæsar landed.

It is a source of no small comfort to me, differing as I do in these speculations from many whom I respect, to find that, both as regards the port of departure and the place of landing, I am in so close an agreement with a man like Camden.

EDWIN GUEST.

DISCOVERY OF FLINT IMPLEMENTS IN THE HIGHER LEVEL
GRAVEL AT MILFORD HILL, SALISBURY.

To the east of Salisbury, immediately above the point where a small tributary stream, called the Bourne, joins the River Avon, rises a low chalk hill which is partially covered with a thin layer of drift gravel, in every way corresponding to the implement-bearing deposit at Bemerton on the west. This deposit at Milford Hill is about one hundred feet above the level of the rivers Avon and Bourne, is thickest at the summit, gradually thinning out on the sides, and ceasing altogether about half-way down the hill.

This drift varies much in different spots, its general color, however, is dark ochreous brown; the great bulk of the gravel is composed of subangular chalk flints, some of them of very large size and but little rolled or water-worn; there is also a considerable proportion of greensand chert, a few small boulders or "grey wethers" of saccharoid sandstone, and some well-rolled tertiary pebbles from the eocene beds.

There is a total absence of anything like stratification, the gravel resting unconformably upon the chalk, which in parts has been considerably eroded, giving rise to the formation of shallow "pot-holes." The only organic remains as yet found consist of a few land shells, all of species now existing in the neighbourhood, a small piece of bone, and a fragment of an upper molar tooth of a species of *equus*. The shells found are of the following species:—*Helix hispida* (very plentiful); *Helix arbustorum*; *Pupa muscorum*; and *Zua lubrica*.

With regard to the implements, they belong almost without exception to the pointed type, which, as Mr. Evans has before remarked, is the form most prevalent in the higher level gravels. They have all been made by chipping only; there is a total absence of any subsequent human rubbing, although, in some cases, the sharp angles of the fractures

have been much worn down by travelling along the bed of ancient Drift river in company with rough stones and sand.¹ Some are stained a bright ochreous color, whilst others still preserve the original tints of the flints ; this is entirely owing to the unequal composition of the beds of gravel from which the implements have been derived, and in no way affects the comparative age of the specimens.

Hitherto all the implements from the Drift have been stated as manufactured from flint, derived either directly or indirectly, in the shape of eocene pebbles from the chalk ; there are, however, in the Salisbury and South Wilts Museum two interesting exceptions to this rule, where the fabricator, either from choice or necessity, has employed coarse greensand chert, a material which, although much tougher, is far less easily worked than flint ; one is from Milford Hill, and the other, deposited by Mr. James Brown, is from the Drift, at Hill Head, on the Fareham coast, a locality remarkably rich in the oval or lower-level type of implement.²

Besides the well-marked implements, which however rude in outward form still bear considerable evidence of design and forethought, there exists, scattered through the gravel, a large number of rough flint flakes or chippings, which were cast aside as apparently of no use ; indeed, such rough waste flakings must necessarily have been struck off in the manufacture of the more finished tools, and they are important as supplying a link in the evidence that these remains are the handicraft of man. They are easily overlooked, and do not at first sight appeal much to the uneducated eye.

During the month of June last, from this spot alone, about thirty well-marked implements have been obtained, hence Milford Hill may fairly rank with some of the most productive of the continental localities. The accompanying section of the gravel-pit (taken from west to east) may suffice to illustrate the nature of the deposit.

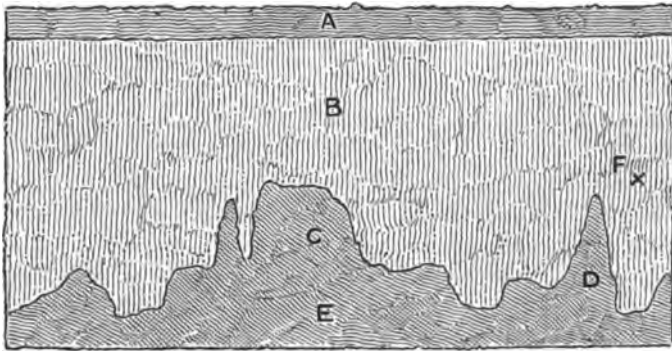
In the present state of our knowledge of this subject, it is

¹ See the valuable Memoir by Mr. John Evans, F.S.A., on the various types of flint implements of the drift, and the circumstances connected with their discovery both in France and England, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. p. 287.

² An instructive series of flint implements from the Drift has been formed

in the Salisbury Museum, illustrating the types of form by specimens from various localities in this country and in France, with mammalian remains by which they are accompanied. See the *Descriptive Catalogue of the Museum* (illustrated edition), which may be obtained from Mr. E. T. Stevens, Salisbury.

undesirable to associate these implements with any crude theories as to their origin, and this brief paper has merely sought to place upon record another well authenticated example of the finding of human-worked flint weapons in perfectly undisturbed beds of the Drift period.



North Section of the Gravel Pit at Milford Hill, Salisbury, May, 1864.
Depth of the Pit, 10 to 12 feet.

- A. Vegetable mould.
- B. Dark reddish gravel clay perfectly unstratified.
- C. D. Sandy portions of the deposit.
- E. Loose whitish gravel with chalk marl.
- F. Small pointed flint implement dug out by Mr. Wheaton about 5ft. from the surface.

H. P. BLACKMORE.

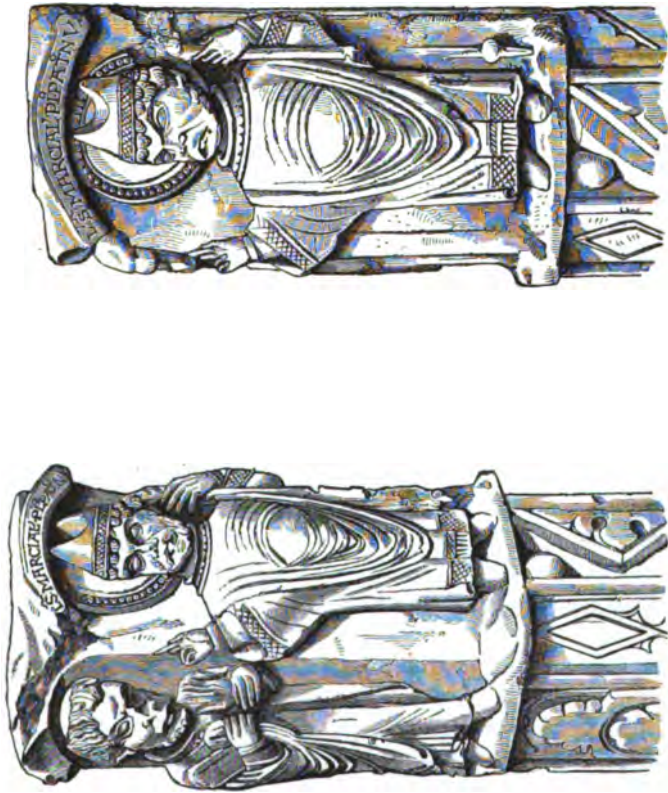
ON A REMARKABLE SCULPTURE LATELY FOUND IN BOBBING CHURCH, KENT.

DURING the autumn of 1863 extensive repairs took place in the parish church of Bobbing, Kent. In the course of the work a piece of fine oolitic stone, most probably from Caen, about 2 feet 4 inches in length, and about 6 inches in its greatest width throughout, having at one end the sculpture represented in the woodcuts, was found in the south wall of the chancel, forming the quoin of the western jamb of the sedilia.¹ These recessed seats consisted of an arcade of the Decorated period in three compartments, separated by small columns; and at each end was a similar column attached to the jamb. The figures are 10 inches in height. From them downwards the continuation of the angle between them is chamfered off to form a narrow face, and that and the two sides below the figures are carved with ornamental work, of which a portion is shown in the woodcuts. The two sides opposite to these (supposing a section of the stone when in block to have been a square) had been cut away to form a cavetto moulding and a hollow to receive an engaged column, so as to correspond exactly with the eastern jamb. It should seem therefore probable that the stone was either taken from some other part of the church, or brought from some other church, with the sculpture and carving on it, and worked up for a portion of the sedilia. The top and also the bottom were plain, although not smooth. Mortar or cement might have been applied to them, but there was no appearance of any stone or other object having ever been attached to either of them. However, the stone may have been shortened to adapt it to the place it occupied in the sedilia. What the construction may have been of which it originally formed part, it is difficult to conjecture.

Bobbing is a small village, and the church one of moderate

¹ The woodcuts accompanying this notice have been executed from photo-

graphs very successfully taken by Mr. H. G. Pilcher of Sittingbourne.



Sculpture found in 1863, in the Parish Church of Bobbing, Kent.

dimensions in the Decorated style throughout, but by no means enriched with ornament in any part. The sculpture is evidently of earlier date. A shrine naturally occurs to the mind, but there is no known historical or other evidence, or even any tradition, of there having ever existed any shrine at Bobbing, or of there having been any saint, image, or relic specially venerated there.

The stone was placed in the wall in a perpendicular position with the sculptured figures downwards, and the sculpture and ornamental carving inwards, so as to be wholly concealed. It is not improbable that this re-application of the fragment to a sacred purpose may have been regarded as a becoming, if not reverential, mode of disposing of it. The position of the sculpture was, no doubt, reversed in order to get a plain surface on which to work the cavetto moulding corresponding to that on the other jamb.

No other stone was found in the course of the repairs, which had any appearance of having formed other part of the same construction as the stone in question. As soon as this fragment was discovered, it was taken to the house of the Vicar, the Rev. G. J. Simpson, to whom we are indebted for these particulars; and there the mortar and dirt which adhered to it were carefully removed by him. It has since been replaced exactly where it was found, but in its proper position, and with the jamb cut away sufficiently to leave the sculpture and the ornamental carving open to inspection.

The sculpture is probably of about the middle of the twelfth century. The subject of it will be seen to be a sainted bishop, holding in his left hand a pastoral staff, and apparently giving the benediction with his right to a tonsured figure who has a book, and is bowing his head and raising his left hand in a manner expressive of great reverence. This may probably have been intended as a representation of the ordination of a deacon. According to the practice of the twelfth century in regard to that rite, the deacon stood while the bishop delivered to him a copy of the Gospels, and pronounced the form of words used in an ordination of that kind. There was formerly great diversity in the mode of conferring that order in different churches; see Martene de Antiquis Ritibus, lib. i. cap. viii. art. viii. In later times the usage was more uniform, and the bishop commonly placed a stole on the neck of the

candidate for the order of deacon before delivering to him the Gospel.² In this sculpture no stole appears; but, seeing the conventionality of the subject, and how little uniformity there was for a long time in this ordination, the absence of the stole is not conclusive against this view of the significance of what is represented.

The inscription over the bishop, read with the contractions extended and the last letter supplied, is *SANCTUS MARCIALIS PIUS PATRONUS*. The word "patronus" was sometimes used for "episcopus;" but it may here have been used to signify also the ecclesiastical relation of the bishop to the deacon whom he is ordaining. The inscription over the latter is missing, except probably the final letter, for an *L* precedes the inscription over the bishop. It was most likely the name of the person whom the bishop appears to be addressing, and was begun near the middle of the space, and carried into the other compartment to show more clearly that the two figures formed one subject.

St. Martial was one of the first apostles of France, having been sent thither from Rome, with several others, about the year 250. He was the first bishop of Limoges, and his name is famous in martyrologies. Little, however, is known of him, and no real or legendary incident in his life has been discovered that throws any light on the subject of this sculpture.

The representations of St. Martial most frequently portray the sainted bishop standing near an altar, and receiving from St. Valerie her head, which had been cut off. The Abbé Texier gives an example of this subject from the enameled shrine of St. Valerie; date thirteenth century. It occurs likewise in painted glass of the fourteenth century published by the Comte de Lasteyrie, and in a bas-relief on a tomb of the same period.³ St. Martial is also sometimes figured in the act of extinguishing a conflagration. In a beautiful sepulchral memorial of a priest at Chénerailles in the ancient Limousin, a sculpture of the thirteenth century, the saint is seen ascending the steps of a kind of throne or elevated platform, on which is a figure of the B. V. Mary, and swinging a censer. In this curious subject St. Martial

² See Canon Rock's *Church of Our Fathers*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 51.

³ Texier, *Essai sur les argentiers et les émailleurs de Limoges*, plates v. and vi.; *Histoire de la Peinture sur Verre*,

par le Comte de Lasteyrie, pl. xliii.; Batisier, *Hist. de l'Art Monumental*, part ii. plate at the end of the volumes; see also Guénébault's useful *Dictionnaire Iconographique*, col. 401.

appears to be associated with the martyrdom of St. Cyr and his mother St. Julitta.⁴

There are some peculiarities of ecclesiastical costume which this sculpture may serve to illustrate, not undeserving, perhaps, of examination. In the episcopal figure may be noticed, first, the singular mitre, low and, for the period, unusually pointed, the two points moreover being somewhat widely separated. It appears to exemplify a fashion of transition between the low mitre of the twelfth century, worn so that the *apices* or horns are at the sides, the intervening depression being over the forehead when seen full-face. Not long after the mitre seems, as it were, to have been turned partly round, so that one *apex* was over the brows, and the other at the back of the head. A curious example of the low bifid mitre of the eleventh century, copied from a MS. in the Barberini library, is given by d'Agincourt, pl. lv. These peculiarities are well illustrated by episcopal seals. As instances of the fashion first described may be cited the seal of Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1114, and also that of Thomas à Becket, 1162, published by Mr. Gough Nichols in the Gentleman's Magazine, on which the outline of the upper part of the mitre is a regular crescent.⁵ Other examples are supplied by the seals of Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, 1123, and Robert his successor, 1147; also by those of two bishops of Exeter, Robert, 1128, and John the Chantor, 1186. In France we may notice, among numerous examples of a like fashion, the seals of Rotrodus, Archbishop of Rouen, 1166, and William, Archbishop of Rheims, 1168. An early illustration of the low mitre pointed in front is supplied by the seal of William de Longchamp, bishop of Ely, 1191. We may next observe, in the figure of St. Martial at Bobbing, the absence of the amice, which is invariably to be seen in later times with its stiff *parura* at first sight appearing like a collar of the chasuble, and with small folds in front where the *parura* opens on the throat. In this sculpture the chasuble seems to have a broad em-

⁴ See the description of this remarkable monument by the Abbé Texier, Didron, *Annales Archéol.* t. ix. p. 203. St. Martial is represented in an engraving by Seb. Leclerc kneeling before an altar: above is seen a ray of light and the inscription—"D. J. C., pastor bone,

commendo tibi oves quas mihi tradidisti." See also the *Manuel d'Épigraphie et Recueil des Inscriptions du Limousin*, by the Abbé Texier, Poitiers, 1861.

⁵ *Gent. Mag.* vol. xxx. N. S. p. 494.

broidered margin around the neck, terminating in a collar which turns over and forms a little roll under the chin in an unusual fashion. In the earlier representations of bishops, it may be observed, that the amice is not shown; thus, in the representation of Egbert in an *Evangelary* of the tenth century at Treves,⁶ the chasuble has a broad margin brought to a point in front upon the throat, and carried up behind the head like a hood thrown back upon the neck. It can, indeed, scarcely be affirmed that this is not an early form of the amice, but its appearance is dissimilar to that of the vestment in question at a subsequent period. Another curious representation of pontifical usages at the same period, in regard to the ornamented collar of the chasuble and the non-appearance of the amice, is to be found in a *Pontifical* at Rouen.⁷ It is worthy of observation that in both these instances last mentioned the bishop is seen without a mitre. That pontifical ornament is not mentioned in the earlier rituals in the ordination of bishops. Some learned liturgical writers are of opinion that the mitre was scarcely adopted before A.D. 1000.⁸

The effigy attributed to Maurice, Archbishop of Rouen, who died in 1235, but possibly of somewhat earlier date, represents a prelate vested in sumptuous pontificals; the upper part of the bust and also the shoulders are covered by a rich deep embroidery with a small erect collar. This last may possibly represent the amice, although indistinctly. The fine monumental statue in question at Rouen cathedral may seem, in these features of its details, to present certain analogies with the episcopal figure at Bobbing.⁹

Under the chasuble in which St. Martial is vested there appears a garment with wide sleeves and open at the sides, resembling the dalmatic, but with this exception, that it reaches to the feet, where the skirt terminates in a broad

⁶ De Vigne, *Costumes du moyen âge*, tom. i. pl. 72.

⁷ See the *Memoir* by the late Mr. Gage Rokewood, *Archæologia*, vol. xxv. pl. 29. Among many illustrations of the early form of the mitre, very low and without peaks, three figures of bishops in Cott. MS. Nero C. IV., Anglo-Norman art about 1120, may specially be cited. This illumination has been well reproduced in *Shaw's Dresses*, vol. i.

⁸ Compare the figures of Hedda, Bishop of Winchester, and St. Guthlac, in *Harl. Charter V. 6*, faithfully reproduced in *Shaw's Dresses*, vol. i. The broad jeweled collar of the chasuble, as it there appears to be, stands up behind the head forming an angular peak. The date of this drawing is late in the twelfth century.

⁹ *Tombeaux de la Cathédrale de Rouen*, par A. Deville, pl. iv. p. 35.

orfray or embroidered bordure, and the sleeves have likewise at the wrists bands of similar ornament. Although in other representations of pontifical vestments both the tunic and dalmatic commonly appear reaching only to the knee, or a little below it, there can scarcely be a doubt that the sculptor here intended to represent one of those episcopal garments. Lastly, the termination of the stole, as it must probably be considered, may be noticed under the chasuble, its fringe reaching as low as the margin of the skirt at the feet. One end only is indicated, which may have occurred through an oversight of the artist, possibly to be attributed to the diminutive dimensions of the figure. Its breadth is, however, so great that possibly the sculptor intended to represent the two ends of the stole, but has omitted the line of separation. The head of the pastoral staff has unfortunately been broken off; it seems to have turned outwards. The outline of the pointed ferrule may however be distinguished, and it recalls the verse inscribed at Toulouse over a sculptured figure of St. Saturnin—

Curva trahit quos recta regit, pars ultima pungit.

The supposed deacon, as will be seen by the woodcut, is tonsured; his hair and short beard are arranged in small regular locks, and carefully chiseled, though imperfectly shown in the cut. He is vested in a loose garment reaching to the feet; over this is a kind of mantle falling in ample folds. Around its collar, which seems to stand up and turn slightly over at its margin around the neck, in like manner as that of the bishop's vestment before described, there is a band of simple ornament or embroidery; no fastening is indicated at the throat. Under the right arm there is a book, doubtless the *Textus* or Gospels delivered to the deacon at ordination; in the hand, which does not touch the book, a fold of drapery is held up, possibly, as has been suggested, with a certain reverential intention of which we see examples in works of early art. It should seem to have been thought indecorous to hold the Gospels, or any object of very sacred character, in the bare hand. Not unfrequently the *textus* is to be seen wrapped in a covering termed *camisia*.¹

It may be difficult to ascertain what were the garments

¹ See Ducange, *v. Camisia librorum*, and *v. Armigeri*; edit. Henschel, tom. i. col. 401.

which the sculptor here intended to represent. The proper attire of the deacon in early times is indicated by the Pontifical of Egberht, Archbishop of York, in the eighth century. They are thus specified in the prayer for their consecration ;—"hanc planetam famuli tui ill. seu pudorem" (*s. poderem*) "albam ac stolam, cingulum orariumque dextera tua sancta benedicere digneris."² There is, however, no slight difficulty in satisfactorily identifying these liturgical garments respectively. The first is usually explained as signifying the chasuble, which seems sometimes to have been thus designated, but here it appears distinct from the *casula*, with which in the context the priest is stated to have been vested at ordination. In the Saxon Glossary attributed to Elfric, Archbishop of Canterbury A.D. 996, we find,—"*planeta*, cæppe, *i. cappa seu pallium.*" The *poderis* above mentioned was doubtless, as its name expresses, a long garment reaching to the feet,—"*tunica talaris,*"—and, according to Canon Rock, identical with the *subucula*, which was worn, as we learn from the canons enacted in the reign of Edgar, under the alb,³ and properly to be distinguished from it, although confounded with that vestment by some later writers. Thus, likewise, in an Anglo-Saxon Pontifical in the Public Library at Rouen attributed to the tenth century, the prayer for their benediction at the consecration of a church enumerates the following : "planetam ac casulam, atque superhumerales, seu poderem, albam ac stolam, cingulum orariumque." We here learn that the term *superhumerales*, usually considered to denote the pall or an ornament resembling it and attached to the chasuble, designated also a long garment such as the *poderis* before noticed. The priestly vestment called *superindumentum* or *superhumerales* is thus described by Eucherius, bishop of Lyons in the fifth century,—"*est velut in caracallæ modum, sed sine cuculo ; cujus vestimenti duo sunt genera, unum lineum et simplex, quod sacerdotes habebant, aliud diversis coloribus et auro gemmisque contextum, quo soli pontifices utebantur.*"⁴

² Martens, Ant. Ecol. Rit. lib. i. c. viii., vol. ii. p. 34, edit. Bassani, 1788. See also Canon Rock's Church of our Fathers, vol. iii. part ii. p. 51.

³ Ancient Laws of England, edit. Thorpe, vol. ii. p. 250. Church of our Fathers, vol. i. p. 460.

⁴ Archæologia, vol. xxv. p. 262. The representations of a bishop and deacons in the miniatures in this MS. are well deserving of careful examination. Ibid. plates 29, 30.

⁵ See Ducange, v. Superhumerales, and other authorities there cited.

On careful comparison of the foregoing passages it may seem probable that the ecclesiastic portrayed in the curious sculpture at Bobbing is a deacon, wearing either the *poderis* or the alb, and over it a kind of cope without a hood ("in caracallæ modum"), and differing chiefly from the pontifical cope in being of more simple character. It is remarkable that there is no indication of the stole, so specially associated with the ordination of a deacon, but it must be remembered that the stole was customarily placed upon the left shoulder of the postulant, and it may therefore be supposed to be concealed under the upper garment represented in this sculpture. It was only when the deacon became a priest that the bishop placed the stole about his neck so that its two ends fell in equal lengths on both sides in front of the wearer, as commonly seen in sepulchral portraitures and other representations of ecclesiastics.

W. S. W. and A. W.

Original Documents.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE FAMILY OF SWYNFORD. FROM THE KETTLETHORPE TITLE-DEEDS OF COLONEL CRACROFT-AMCOTTS.

Communicated by the REV. EDWIN GEORGE JARVIS.

FOR the following documents, preserved among the title-deeds of Col. Cracroft-Amcotts, we are indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Edwin Jarvis. They will be seen to relate to property in the parish of Kettlethorpe, Lincolnshire, now belonging to Col. Cracroft-Amcotts, and in the adjacent townships of Laughterton and Fenton, in the same county. Although perhaps comparatively of small historical interest, and supplying no new genealogical facts, yet they introduce us to several members of a family closely connected with the distinguished son of Edward III. and the royal house of Lancaster. The documentary evidence, moreover, connected with the Swynford family is very limited: there is a brief communication by the late Mr. Hunter published in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi. p. 267, which brings before us two deeds relating to Sir Thomas Swynford, in the time of Henry VI., that were found at Wolley in Yorkshire, among the evidences of Mr. Wentworth, to whose son, the late Mr. George Wentworth, we have often been indebted for transcripts of documents from the same source.

The documents are here placed in chronological order; of the greater part it has been thought that abstracts would be found sufficient; and the remaining two are printed at length with the contractions extended.

1. Bond from Sir Thomas Swynford to William Aunsel of Horbling.

Ceste endenture temoynge qe, com mon Sir Thomas de Swynforde soyt obligé a Wiliham Aunsel de Horbling en vint un livers six south' viij. deners de sterlinges par son escrit obligatorie apaier a la feste Seint Michel proschein avenir, et cum le dit mon Sir Thomas eyt graunte et assigne le dite Wiliham et sez assignies a prendre et a destreyndre deinz lez maners de Horbling et de Segbroke¹ ou lez apurtenancez pur un anuel rente de quatre livres d'argent et pur un robe covenable pur un chivaler de sute mon Sir Roger le Estrange, a prendre la robe a la feste de Nouwel et la rente de quatre livers a lez festez de Pasch' et de Seint Michel par ouwels porciouns a tote la vie le dite mon Sir Thomas, cum par un escrit de annuite au dite Sir Thomas par le dite mon Sir Roger en fete plus pleinement et (*sic*) contenuz; le dite Wiliham Aunsel voute et graunte pur

¹ Horbling is situate about two miles east of Folkingham, Lincolnshire; Sedgbrook lies about eight miles to the west

of Horbling on the road from Grantham to Nottingham.

luy et sez (*sic*) executours qe si le dite mon Sir Thomas seit prest a server au dit mon Sir Roger, solom le purporte le dit annuite fait a mon Sir dit Thomas, deinz le Counte de Nicole a lez coustages mon Sir dit Roger, issint qe le dite Wiliham Aunsel ne soit pas ouste ne destourbe a prendre la dite annuel rente de quatre livers et de la robe avant dite ; et qe le dite mon Sir Roger le Estrange qe ore est ne a nul altre tenante de manerz de Horbling et de Segbroke de la rente et de lez robes avant ditz, issint qe le dit Wiliham Aunsel ne soyt destourbe a destreyndre et a prendre la dite annuite ; et qe le dit mon Sir Thomas soit prest de avouwer et a meintenir a lez coustagez le dit Wiliham quant ke le ditez Wiliham en serra pur lever de la annuite avant dite en le non le dit Sir Thomas et a le eus et profit le dit Wiliham ; adonkes le dite escrit obligatorie de vint un livers siz south' viij. deners soit tenu pur nul ; et si non qe le dit escrite obligatorie de vint j. liver siz south' viij. deners soit tenu pur bon et estoise en sa force. En temoinaunce de cestez chosez a ceste endenture les partiez suz ditez entrechangablement ount mys lour seels. La date a Sleford li lundy prochein devante le feste Seint Margarete lan du regne le Roy Edward terce apres le conquete vint syme (A.D. 1352).

The seal, which was appended by a parchment label to the foot of the document, is lost.

2. Grant by John de Seynte Crois, lord of Kettlethorpe, to Thomas Frankys of Kettlethorpe, of a tenement in Kettlethorpe and half a bovate of land, to hold to him and the heirs of his body at the annual rent of 5s. Witnessed by "Johanni filio Gerardi de Ketilthorpe, Henrico Serjante de eadem, Johanni Claypulle de Laghtertone et aliis." Dated at Kettlethorpe on Sunday before Michaelmas, 1350.

3. Grant by John de Dovdale, dwelling in Chaworthe, "domine Katerine de Swynforde domine de Ketilthorp," her heirs and assigns, of certain tenements which he had of the feoffment of Sir Robert de Northwode, rector of Kettlethorpe, and John de Chorley, dwelling in Lincoln, in the town and fields of Kettlethorp and Laghterton, to hold to her, her heirs and assigns. Witnessed by "domino Roberto de Northwode rectore ecclesie de Ketilthorpe, Johanne de Ralham (?) de eadem, Johanne de Cleipolle de Laughtertone, Thome Madreffen (?) de eadem, Thoma filio Hugonis de Ketilthorpe, et aliis." Dated at Kettlethorpe, on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, 3 Rich. II. (Sept. 14, 1379). There is appended by a parchment label an imperfect impression of a signet ring on red wax ; the device was probably St. Christopher. The following memorandum is endorsed in a later hand upon the deed : "Thys Norwod gave the lordship off Kettylthorp in taylle to Hugo Swynford."

4. Grant by Nicholas Hebdenne, knight, to John de Seuerby,² citizen of Lincoln, in fee simple of all the rents and services of all his tenants in Laughterton, Fenton, and Kettlethorpe. Witnessed by "Roberto persona Ecclesie de Ketulthorpe, Johanne de Claypole de Laghtertone, Thoma de Mathersay de eadem, Johanne de Torkesay, Willelmo filio Walteri de

² Probably the same person who is called in the following document John "de Serby." There is a parish near

Brigg, in the north of Lincolnshire, called Searby.

Saxulby, et aliis." Dated at Laughterton, on Monday, on the Feast of St. Andrew the Apostle, 7 Rich. II. (Nov. 30, 1384).

An impression of the seal of Sir Nicholas Hebdenne is appended by a parchment label to the foot of the document. The device is a shield, placed diagonally within a lozenge-shaped panel ornamented with gothic tracery, bearing ermine five fusils in fess, and ensigned with a helm on which is a crest, apparently a bird's head; of the legend the letters NICH EBBEDEN, in black letter, remain.³

5. Grant by John de Serby citizen of Lincoln to Lady Katherine de Swynforde lady of Kettlethorpe in fee simple of all his rent which he had in Kettlethorpe, Laughterton, and Fenton in the county of Lincoln, called "Howelle-rent,"⁴ which he had of the gift of Sir Nicholas "Hebdeyne," knight. Witnessed by "Johanne de Suttone, civis Lincoln', Johanne Norman de eadem, Roberto de Suttone de eadem, Johanne de Claypulle, domino Roberto persona de Ketelthorpe, Johanne filio Henrici de Fentone, et multis aliis." Dated at Kettlethorpe on the Feast of St. James the Apostle, 11 Rich. II. (April 30, 1388). The seal, which was appended by a parchment label to the foot of the document, is lost.

6. Grant by Thomas Aylemere of Kettlethorpe to Lady Katherine Duchess of Lancaster, in fee simple of a piece of land.

Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Thomas Aylemere de Ketilthorpe dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea con(firmavi) Domine Katerine Ducisse Lancastre domine de Ketilthorpe heredibus et assignatis suis unam placiam terre, nuper unum curtilagi(um), continentem in longitudine triginta ulnas regis cum quatuor polioibus (*sic*), et abbuttat super solum dicti Thome versus bbriam, (et) super viam regiam versus occidentem, et super fossatum dicti Thome versus orientem, et continet in se in latitudine novem ulnas regias, et abbuttat super solum dicte domine Ducisse versus austrum, habendam et tenendam predictam placiam terre dicte domine Katerine Ducisse Lancastre domine de Ketilthorpe heredibus et assignatis suis, libere, quiete, bene et in pace. Et ego vero predictus (Thomas) et heredes mei omnem predictam placiam terre dicte domine Katerine Ducisse Lancastre, heredibus et assignatis suis, contra omnes gentes warantizabimus et imperpetuum defendemus. In oujus rei testimonio huic presenti carte mee sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus, Johanne de Stafforde armigero, Roberto Hare, Johanne Robynsone, Philippo de Ketilthorpe, et Johanne filio ejusdem Philippi, N(icholao) Gerarde, Johanne Clerke, et multis alii (*sic*). Data apud Ketilthorpe die Mercurii in festo translacionis⁵ Sancti Edwardi Regis, anno regni Regis Henrici quarti post conquestum Anglie secundo (Oct. 13, A.D. 1400).

The seal, which was appended by a parchment label, is lost.

³ The arms of Hebden, of Hebden in Craven, are given by Burke as *erm.* five fusils in fesse *gu.* In the Roll of Arms of the reign of Richard II. edited by Mr. Willement we find "No. 474. Monar. Hipden. Ermine five fusils in fess gulee."

⁴ Possibly a rent for owelty (equality) on some partition; compare, however, the document No. 7 *infra*, in which

mention is made of lands in Laughterton "de feodo de Howelle."

⁵ Some uncertainty exists in regard to this feast; the first translation of St. Edward, king and martyr, having been assigned to Feb. 18, and the second to June 20. It is therefore possible that the document here printed should be referred to A.D. 1401.

7. Deed dated at Laughterton Tuesday next before Easter 14 Hen. VI. (April 3, 1436), whereby Thomas Swynford, Knight, granted to Peter Stowe of Newton "unum mesuagium in Laghtertone cum duabus bovatis terre et novem acris et dimidia prati cum pertinenciis suis in Laghtertone predict' de feodo de Howelle; quarum una acra et dimidia jacent super Weldaille, et una acra et dimidia jacent super Robertholme, una acra et dimidia jacent super Hevedlanddaille, et quinque acre jacent super Northredgate, cum una dimidia acra prati in Weldaille;" and also "unam bovatom terre in se continentem viginti quatuor acras terre de feodo domini de Kettilthorpe, cum quatuor acris prati jacentibus in Weldaille, cum capitibus herbagii, et unam rodam prati jacentem be (*sic*) Northredgate ex orientali parti de Daynopolayk inter pratum Thome Aylmer ex parte australi et pratum Johannis Scarle ex parte boriali, que nuper fuerunt Roberti Cleypole de Laghtertone, et que habui ex dono et feoffamento Johannis Philipotte de Kettilthorpe;" to hold to the said Peter, his heirs, and assigns for ever, at the yearly rent of 15s. 3d. to the lord of Kettlethorpe. Witnessed by "Roberto Manby, Hugone de Lincolne de Neutone, Roberto Emound de Laghtertone, Johanne Mautone de eadem, Johanne Fox de Fentone, et multis aliis."

There is appended by a parchment label a fragment of the seal of Sir Thomas Swynford on bright red wax, of circular form, diam. about 1½ in.; device, a shield placed diagonally; bearing a chevron probably charged with three boars' heads, now effaced; there remains on the sinister side, as a supporter, a wolf or dog collared; of the legend may be read the first words:—SIGILLŪ: THOMA . . . in black letter.⁶

8. Bond from Thomas Swynford, Knight, to Peter Stowe of Newton " (Nautone juxta Trente in comitatu Lincoln) " in 10l., payable at Christmas then next ensuing. Dated April 4, 14 Hen. VI. (A.D. 1436).⁷

The seal of Sir Thomas Swynford which was appended by a label partially cut from the bottom of the parchment, is lost.

9. Indenture dated at Lincoln Sept. 8, 1 Edw. IV. (1461), between Thomas Swynford, Esq. (*armiger*) of the one part, and William Swynford, Esq., of the other part, which witnessed that, although the said Thomas by his Statute Merchant dated at Lincoln Sept. 8, 1 Edw. IV., was bound to the said William in 200l. to be paid to the same William his heirs or executors at Michaelmas then next ensuing, the said William granted that if he, his heirs, and assigns should quietly enjoy for ever the manor of Kettlethorpe with its appurtenances, which the said William had of the feoffment of the said Thomas, without any disturbance by the said Thomas, his heirs, or assigns, then the said Statute Merchant should be void.

The first of the documents given above is a bond from Sir Thomas de Swynford to William Aunsel of Horbling, Lincolnshire, in the sum of

⁶ In the Roll of "les nons e les armes a baneres de Engleterre," about 1308-14, edited by Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, we find the arms of the grandfather of the Sir Thomas Swynford party to this deed are thus blazoned—"Sire Thomas

de Swyneford, de argent a un cheveroun de sables a iij. testes de cenglers e goulvs."

⁷ Newton is situate near Kettlethorpe, about nine miles west of Lincoln.

21l. 6s. 8d., with a condition, for better securing to him yearly 4l. of silver and a gown suitable for a knight of the suite of Sir Roger l'Estrange, which Sir Thomas being entitled to out of the manors of Horbling and Sedgebrook had granted to William Aunsel for his life. The Sir Thomas de Swynford, party to this deed, was the father of Sir Hugh, the first husband of Katherine Roet (afterwards Duchess of Lancaster), and lord of the manor of Kettlethorpe; he died 35 Edw. III. 1361, leaving Sir Hugh, his son and heir, of full age. The grant to Sir Thomas de Swynford out of the manors of Horbling and Sedgebrook was by Sir Roger l'Estrange of Knokyn, Shropshire, who was then lord of them.⁹ The bond, preserved among Col. Cracroft-Amcott's evidences, was probably part of an arrangement for retaining William Aunsel to do some service as a knight, jointly with Sir Thomas, in the retinue of Sir Roger l'Estrange.

In No. 2 we find a grant of a tenement and land by John de St. Cross, described as lord of Kettlethorpe, to Thomas Frankys of that place. The family of St. Cross seems to have been of some note in those parts of Lincolnshire in the reign of Edward I. Gilbert de Sancta Cruce held a knight's fee in Upton, probably the parish of that name not far distant from Kettlethorpe towards the north.

The deed No. 3, dated 1379, brings under our notice Katherine de Swynford, described here, and also in the subsequent document, No. 5, bearing date 1388, as *domina* of Kettlethorpe; it relates to tenements in that place and the adjacent township of Loughterton. At the period of the date of this grant she had, it is evident, become the mistress of the Duke of Lancaster, as John Beaufort, their eldest son, was created a knight in 1391, and must have been born as early as 1375.

It may be hardly necessary to remind our readers that we owe to the indefatigable researches of the late Sir Nicholas H. Nicolas a concise but comprehensive notice, given in the *Excerpta Historica*, of the family of Swynford at the period to which the foregoing deeds relate. Many particulars will be there found regarding Katherine, the daughter and coheir of Sir Payne Roet, a native of Hainault, Guienne king of arms, and who may probably have come to England in 1328 in the retinue of Philippa, Queen of Edward III.⁸

Katherine, it is well known, was first the wife of Sir Hugh Swynford, of Kettlethorpe, called by Sandford (pp. 253, 322) "Sir Otes Swinford," (about 1367), by whom she had one son, Thomas, aged four years at his father's death, which occurred in Guienne 46 Edw. III. (1372). It has been supposed that she was abroad with her husband, having taken charge

⁸ Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i., p. 635.

⁹ *Excerpta Historica*, p. 152. In that valuable notice of the issue of Katherine, wife of Swynford and afterwards of John of Gaunt, her maiden name is given as "Roelt;" it is thus written in Pat. 18 Hen. IV., printed in the *Fœdera*. Sir Harris Nicolas states (*Excerpta*, p. 155) that no particulars of Sir Payne Roet's pedigree have been discovered; his arms, in allusion to his name, were *gules* three Katherine wheels (*rouettes*) or, which occur on the tomb of Chaucer, who espoused Philippa, daughter and coheir of Sir Payne, and sister of the above-

mentioned Katherine. In the life of Chaucer, however, by Sir H. Nicolas, prefixed to his edition of the *Romaunt of the Rose* and the *Minor Poems*, the name is written "Roet." See vol. i., pp. 60, 184, and pedigree, p. 140. The name of Sir Payne Roet has not been found in any record, but Weever describes a slab in St. Paul's, London, once decorated with a sepulchral brass, escutcheons, &c., and inscribed—"Hic jacet Paganus Roet miles Guyennerex armorum pater Catherine Ducis Lancastrie." *Funeral Monuments*, p. 431.

of the daughters of John of Gaunt, then at his castle of Beaufort in Anjou, and at that time under ten years of age; she became shortly after his mistress, and eventually, in 1395—6, his wife.

In No. 6, which bears date 1400, and is a grant of a portion of land described as a curtilage or plot of ground of very moderate dimensions adjacent to the property of Katherine Swynford, we find her entitled Duchess of Lancaster. After the death of his second wife, Constance of Castile, John of Gaunt married at Lincoln on January 13, 1396, to the great displeasure of the Duchess of Gloucester and others of the blood royal, the lady whom, not less than seventeen years before, he designated "nostre treschier et bien amee dame Katherine Swynford, maistresse de nos tres ames filles Philippe et Elizabeth de Lancaster."¹ He died two years after, having, it may be remembered, obtained from Richard II. letters patent of legitimation dated February 9, 1397 for their four children born before marriage, who subsequently occupied distinguished positions in the history of the period.²

The deeds Nos. 7 and 8, above printed, relate to transactions to which Sir Thomas Swynford, great grandson of the Sir Thomas whose name has already occurred in these documents, was party. His father Sir Thomas was son and heir of Sir Hugh Swynford by Katherine Roelt, and appears to have been four years old at his father's death in 1372. There is reason to believe, as Sir Harris Nicolas observes, that he was in the suite of his father-in-law, the Duke of Lancaster, by whom he is styled, in his will dated 1397, "mon tres chere bacheliere."³ He died 11 Hen. VI. 1432—3, having alienated his lands in Lincolnshire, as the inquisition on his death finds that he held nothing in that county. He appears to have had issue two sons, Thomas and William. The eldest, party to these deeds, Nos. 7 and 8, was a knight at his father's death, being then twenty-six years of age. He died before 5 Edw. IV., 1465, and was probably father of the Thomas Swynford, who in that year made proof of his age and obtained livery of his lands in Lincolnshire.

In No. 9 it appears that Thomas Swynford had conveyed in fee to William Swynford in 1461 the manor of Kettlethorpe, and that the said William took a Statute Merchant from Thomas Swynford for quiet enjoyment. It is not clear who these parties may have been, the said Thomas who is described as *armiger*, was probably son of Sir Thomas Swynford who died about 1465, and in his father's lifetime was only esquire; he seems to have had the manor of Kettlethorpe with an imperfect title; hence the Statute Merchant. It is remarkable that No. 7 seems to show that his father was not seised of it, since at the end the lord of Kettlethorpe is mentioned as if Sir Thomas was not the lord. William may have been the younger son of the Sir Thomas Swynford above mentioned, deceased in 11 Hen. VI. Of this William Swynford all that is known is, according to Sir H. Nicolas, that his half-uncle Cardinal Beaufort, by a codicil to his will dated 1447, bequeathed to him 400*l.* and a quantity of silver vessels.

¹ Patent granted by the Duke of Lancaster, Dec. 27, 8 Rich. II., cited from the Black Book of the Duchy of Lancaster, Sandford, General Hist. p. 263.

² See a translation of this document,

Excerpta Hist., p. 153, and the exemplification 10 Feb. 8 Hen. IV., Sandford, p. 322.

³ Excerpta Hist., p. 157.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

June 3, 1864.

Sir JOHN BOILEAU, Bart., Vice-President, in the Chair.

THE Rev. HARRY SCARTH, Prebendary of Wells, read a memoir on vestiges of Roman villas brought to light at various periods near Bath. It forms a section of his work recently published on the remains of *Aquæ Solis*.

THE Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER, B.A., gave the following account of some curious vestiges of unknown date which had come under his observation during a recent tour in the East:—

“I desire to bring under the notice of the Institute certain ancient markings and inscriptions which I noticed last winter in several places in Upper Egypt and Nubia, and which, though resembling the celebrated and much-disputed Sinaitic Inscriptions, have, so far as I know, never hitherto been described. At all events I found that M. Mariette, the learned and successful explorer of antiquities under the Egyptian Government, was altogether unaware of their existence before I had the pleasure of meeting him at Thebes in February last.

The inscriptions in question occur in great numbers upon the sandstone rocks on both sides of the Nile near Silsilis, and with even greater frequency in several places in Nubia, especially on the east bank below Saboos, and on the west bank near a hamlet named, as nearly as I could ascertain, *Saarleh*. The markings are often at a considerable height, and there are more of them in the small secluded lateral valleys leading up from the Nile into the desert than upon the rocks facing the Nile itself. It is to this circumstance, perhaps, that the fact of their having been hitherto overlooked may be attributed. The incised markings generally represent animals, such as giraffes, an elephant, ibexes (?), gazelles, oxen, camels (?), dogs, and ostriches, of which it is important to remark that the two first and the last are at present extinct in those parts. Sometimes men bearing bows, and apparently engaged in hunting, are represented; and boats of ancient form with double prows are of frequent occurrence. In two instances near *Saarleh*, and in two only, I observed crosses, and one of these was reared up upon the back of an animal. An upright lateral mark which occurs upon either side of this cross may possibly have been intended to represent the Blessed Virgin and St. John. Giraffes and gazelles are always the favorite subjects, and some of these are executed with considerable spirit. High up in the chain of rocks on the west bank below Silsilis there is a group of no less than twelve giraffes, which are represented with their heads reverted towards another animal and some central object. Another rock in the same neighbourhood has two giraffes with their heads

turned to the left, while a third, with his head in the air, is prostrate. Below is a man with a whip and crook, and close by is a crescent-shaped ornament. In one Wady I noticed two men with bows and a dog, and a grotesque animal with a bird's bill. In one instance only were there any letters which I could decipher, and these formed the word ANAKICOT.



Near Saarleh I noticed the following symbol, and I copied some characters (here represented) on a rock near that inscribed with the giraffes near Silsilis. It is worthy of remark that in all cases the incised figures, which are extremely numerous, are cut in a hard and not in a soft sandstone rock; they are plainly the work of men familiar with ostriches, giraffes, and elephants, animals now unknown in the districts where these markings



occur. I have already observed that some are executed with spirit, but others of like though inferior execution occur high up on the doorway of the pylon of the Ptolemaic Temple of Dakkah. In connection with this I may mention that I procured two curious pieces of pottery in the shape of giraffes' heads from the mounds of the Isle of Elephantine.

With regard to the markings generally I am inclined to conclude—

1. That they are not the work of casual travellers. This is evidenced by the hardness of the rocks on which they occur, as well as by the difficulty of approaching some of them; by their extraordinary number, and by the care with which many of them are executed.

2. That they are of Christian times, but cut either by persons from the interior of Africa, where giraffes, elephants, and ostriches are found, or by people living at a period when those animals were common in districts from which they have now disappeared, if, indeed, they ever were found, since the Christian era, as low as Silsilis.

3. That at all events they are ancient, as is shown by the obsolete form of the boats, which have double prows, by the use of bows and arrows, and by the use of (apparently) Egyptian symbols and Greek letters.

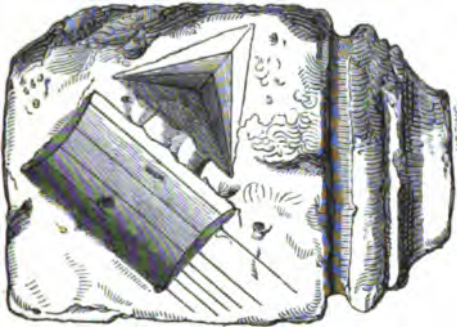
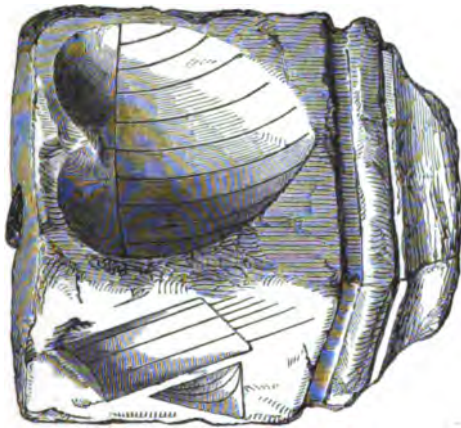
I shall be very glad if by drawing attention to these singular remains, I may induce any one about to proceed to Egypt to provide himself with appliances for procuring impressions from some of the inscriptions."

Mr. AMBROSE POYNTER communicated a notice of the discovery of a small stone sun-dial now preserved in the museum at Dover; it was sent for examination by the kind permission of Dr. Astley, Hon. Curator. This relic was found on the site of the desecrated church of St. Martin-le-Grand, on the west side of the Market Place at Dover, in 1862, when several adjoining houses were pulled down and some remains of the ancient fabric were exposed to view. It is stated that the church was founded by Wictred, King of Kent, 693-725, with certain buildings for the accommodation of twenty-two canons removed by him from the castle. In 1130 Archbishop Corboil obtained from Henry I. a grant of the church, designated *capella regia*, and of the possessions of this collegiate foundation, and he erected "le novel menster" and priory at a short distance from the town; some of the

conventual buildings still exist.¹ It is stated that the ancient church of St. Martin's was not disused until 1546. Roman coins and relics have been brought to light near its site, and the sun-dial brought under the notice of the Institute by Mr. Poynter has been regarded by some persons as a vestige, possibly, of the Roman occupation of *Dubràe*. It is formed of a cube of fine-grained oolite, measuring about $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. in each direction; on one of the faces, as shown in the accompanying woodcuts, there is a vertical dial, in form of a heart-shaped cavity, scored with eleven divisions or hour-lines; on two other faces are semi-cylindrical cavities, with, on one side, the moiety of a cone, and, on the other, the moiety of a triangular pyramid (see woodcuts), each of these dials being scored with four or at most five hour-lines, and the upper edge of the cavity, in each instance, cutting the lines drawn in the hollow, and thus serving the purpose of a gnomon. The fourth side of the cube is plain and roughly worked; on the top of the block, as here shown, there is an iron dowel or pin fixed by lead. The moldings are worked on all sides of the cube, which presents the general appearance of the capital of a small pillar of the Norman period, and, if thus adjusted, the slender shaft should appear to have measured only $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter.

From the slight dimensions of the support upon which the cube of stone would thus have rested, according to this conjectural explanation of its use, it has been suggested, with much probability, that it may have been affixed against a wall, either on the face of a buttress on the south side of the church, or in a cloister-court, or the like. It has, however, as Mr. Poynter observed, been supposed that the dial may have been otherwise disposed, namely, with the principal face, on which the heart-shaped cavity is found, placed not in a vertical, but in a horizontal position; it has been ascertained that the shadows fall upon the hour-lines with fair accuracy when the dial is thus exposed to the solar rays. To this supposition, however, objection has been made that, if the cube were thus placed, the cavity would obviously become a receptacle for rain-water, for which no escape is provided; for this inconvenience no remedy has been proposed, unless by placing the dial under such shelter as would necessarily interfere with the solar rays. It appears, therefore, more probable that the cube was intended, as above suggested, either to form the capital of a little column, or possibly to be affixed like a bracket or corbel on the south side of the church, and that the heart-shaped cavity was in technical language a "direct south dial," the cusp or point of the heart serving the purpose of a gnomon, for which, by careful experiment, it has been proved to be well adapted, the shadow of the cusp falling successively upon the hour-lines with considerable precision. The dials upon the other two faces, namely, those on that supposed to have been turned towards the east, are found to indicate the forenoon hours, and those on the opposite or western face the afternoon hours, respectively, with sufficient accuracy. It has been imagined that a horizontal dial might also have been constructed on the top of the cube, with a gnomon, but the appearance of the stone does not indicate such an arrangement, although not uncommon in cubical dials of comparatively modern date, when hollow dials were likewise in vogue not only on account of the quaint variety of their forms, but because they did not require the projecting

¹ See *Mon. Angl.* vol. iv. p. 533, Caley's edit., and the accounts given by Hasted, Lyon, &c.



Stone Sun-dial found near the site of the Church of St. Martin-le-Grand, Dover.

Height about 7½ inches; breadth 4½ inches.

Now preserved in the Dover Museum.

gnomon which was liable to injury. Mr. Octavius Morgan remarked that the little dial communicated by Mr. Poynter had probably been set on a slender shaft near the south side of St. Martin's church, and it may have been surmounted by a cross or some other sacred ornament affixed to it by the iron pin. He had noticed two such pillar-dials in Monmouthshire, which had probably replaced crosses of an earlier age.

In regard to the supposition that this curious relic may be of Roman origin, it should be noticed that the moldings, consisting apparently of a bead and hollow chamfer or *cavetto*, have no distinct character of antique forms; hollow dials were, indeed, much in use among the ancients, and examples are preserved at the British Museum and in continental collections.²

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER.—Inscribed tablet of stone obtained during the previous winter at the remote temple of Maharraka, in Nubia. M. Mariette, Director of the Museum of the Viceroy at Cairo, informed Mr. Chester that the inscription is in the ancient Ethiopic character, and that such monuments are of extremely rare occurrence. There is only one in the Cairo Museum, and that example is much broken. M. Mariette was not aware of the existence of any like inscription in any collection in Europe. There is, however, one in the British Museum, having been presented by the late Mr. Rhind.

By Mr. H. G. BOHN.—An Egyptian sepulchral tablet, representing a feast, and a papyrus. Also two paintings in fresco, obtained, as stated, from Herculaneum. One of these represents Psyche armed with a sword and carrying a torch, and proceeding to the chamber of the sleeping Cupid, according to the story of Apuleius. This subject, beautifully treated, is supposed to have been copied from some earlier Greek original. The subject of the other mural painting, probably by the same artist as that first noticed, of inferior art, but probably original in composition and design, is Minerva, or possibly Rome personified, seated on a cippus near a reclining nymph and a seated male figure.

By Mr. W. L. LAWRENCE, F.S.A.—Photographs of the fine bronze statuette of Mars, found in excavations on the extensive Roman site at Wycomb, Gloucestershire, on Mr. Lawrence's estates. A plan of the vestiges which have been there brought to light is given, *Gent. Mag.*, 1864, vol. ii. p. 85, where also numerous other Roman relics found at Wycomb are described. The figure of Mars is engraved, *ibid.*, p. 432. These discoveries have been noticed in this Journal, p. 96, *ante*.

By Dr. ASTLEY, of Dover, through Mr. Ambrose Poynter.—A fine Roman ring found at Dover among the ruins of St. Martin's church, where many Roman coins and relics have from time to time been found. The ring, here figured, is of base white metal, probably silver, or of iron plated with silver, the setting being an intaglio on sard, set in a small collet of gold. The device on the gem is a horse, with the Greek letters—HPAKAI—above, and, underneath—ΔHC—probably the name of a favorite horse of the owner of the ring. The first of the three letters under the horse is

² See dials figured in Smith's Dict. Dictionary, v. Discus, Gnomon, Hemisclium, v. Horologium, and in Rich's Dictionary, v. Discus, Gnomon, Hemisclium, &c.

indistinct. We are indebted to the accomplished author of the treatise on *Antique Gems* for the information that the intaglio certainly belongs to the Early Empire, and it is rare to find so good a work in the ancient setting, although possibly later than the gem itself. The name, *Heraclides*, as Mr. King observes, being in the nominative, appears to refer to the horse; the name of an owner of the gem or ring is by rule inscribed in the genitive. Such heroic names as that supposed to be found on the intaglio under consideration were, in fact, given to horses. Eugenius, a famous *auriga*, is figured on a *contorniato* with his four steeds, Achilles, Desiderius, Speciosus, and Dignus. Mr. King has also pointed out that the setting of Dr. Astley's ring may probably be ascribed to the time of the Lower Empire, because it is evident that when Pliny wrote, about A.D. 72-75, rings were customarily



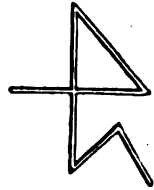
of iron when not of gold, for he speaks of silver rings assumed by Arellius Fuscus, as if to wear such ornaments had been very unusual; *Nat. Hist.*, lib. xxxiii. c. 12. But Isidore, five centuries later, states that the gold, silver, and iron ring distinguished the free-born, the freed man, and the slave respectively. The gold bezel surrounding the gem is not uncommon where the ring itself is of silver. It may deserve notice that there was a small silver bead or rim attached by solder to the hoop on each of its margins; this rim, however, having been partly broken away, the edges of the hoop, as shown in the woodcut, appear as if formed with a little shoulder or projection on each side; originally the rim was doubtless continuous all round the hoop.

By the Rev. H. MACLEAN, Vicar of Caistor, Lincolnshire.—A fine Saxon cruciform brooch of bronze, with remains of gilding on its surface, found some years ago at Searby, near Caistor. Numerous relics of the same period have been found at various times in the parish of Searby on the site, as supposed, of an extensive Saxon cemetery, at a spot where a chalk-pit has been worked in former years, but it is now almost exhausted. Mr. Maclean, to whose kindness the Institute had on several previous occasions been indebted for the communication of objects of the same period found near Caistor, has seen human skeletons disinterred at the place in question, but rarely accompanied by any ornaments, with the exception of the simple flat ring-brooches often found with Saxon interments in various parts of England. The brooch exhibited measures $5\frac{3}{8}$ in. in length; it resembles, in the general character of form and ornamentation, the specimen found near Rothley Temple, Leicestershire, now in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries, and another found at Sporle, Norfolk. These brooches are figured in Akerman's *Pagan Saxondom*, plates xx., xl. The brooch found in Leicestershire was, like that sent by Mr. Maclean, partly gilt,

and some portions were plated with silver. Numerous Saxon relics found at Searby, a fine gilt brooch set with plates of garnet, beads of vitreous paste, bronze appendages of the girdles of the Saxon women, with other curious remains, are figured in Mr. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii. pl. 55, vol. v. pl. 12, 13.

By Mr. WEBB.—A processional cross of silver gilt, from the Soltikoff collection; it is enriched with uncut sards, amethysts, and sapphires, *en cabochon*. One of these gems, placed at the centre of the cross, is of remarkably rich color, but it has a perforation through its axis. The arms of the cross are decorated with exquisitely enameled roundels. This beautiful example of art, date thirteenth century, is described in the catalogue of the Soltikoff collection, No. 102.—Sculptured group in ivory, representing the baptism of Our Lord in the river Jordan; Italian cinque-cento art.

By the Rev. R. P. COATES.—A fac-simile of a mason's mark occurring at Darenth church, Kent. Its general form resembles that of the numeral 4, so frequent in the varied "merchants' marks" of the fifteenth century. The mark here figured is to be seen on many of the stones which form the coigns of the tower, a structure of Early English date. They appear only at the S.W. angle; the N.W. coigns having been much weathered.



By Sir PHILIP DE GREY EGERTON, Bart., M.P.—A folio volume containing memorials of the family of Imhoff, of Nuremberg, purchased in Paris in February last at the sale of the effects of that ancient family, and consisting of 89 elaborately-finished water-color drawings of monuments, sculptures, paintings, painted-glass, seals, and heraldic achievements. The later drawings are by an artist, named G. Von Bommel, in the last century. The series includes numerous Imhoff monuments in the churches of Aldorf, Nuremberg, Kornburg, and Moseldorf; church plate, altar-pieces and church decorations, of which various members of the family appear to have been the donors, and which are charged with armorial insignia. Among the most interesting memorials are those from the churches of St. Laurence, St. Sebald, and St. Giles, at Nuremberg; on every object, however sacred, the golden lion with a triton's tail (*lion mariné*) on a field *gules*, the bearing of the Imhoffa, is introduced, even on the shaft of a cross, beneath the crucifix. On the drawing of folding doors of the great organ in the church of St. Laurence, the Apocalyptic vision of the Adoration of the Lamb, with cherubim in glory, is delineated; below are seen the four-and-twenty elders with their harps, all of them being portraits of members of the Imhoff family. Of that distinguished race was the eminent genealogist and antiquary, James William Imhoff, of Nuremberg, among whose numerous valuable works was his *Regum Pariumque Magnæ Britanniæ Historia*, published in 1690.

The Hon. ROBERT CURZON observed, in regard to the innumerable family relics and memorials of the noble race of whose history the sumptuous volume exhibited comprises so many curious illustrations, that a large shield of the fifteenth century, charged with the Imhoff arms, is in his collection at Parham, Sussex. A small metal casket, of beautiful workmanship, with the same heraldic bearing, is in the possession of Mr. Dickens, at Coolhurst near Horsham, and the late Duke of Hamilton had a silver gilt hanap, supported by the Imhoff crest.

By Mr. T. BLANCHETT.—Portrait of Queen Elizabeth, lately brought to light in Cambridgeshire, in possession of an old-established family, and probably of the period.

By Mr. HENDERSON, F.S.A.—A pair of beautiful candlesticks of metal damascened with silver; choice specimens of Venetian work of the latter part of the sixteenth century.

By Mr. E. W. COOKE, R.A.—A statuette portraying Leonardo da Vinci; three sculptured ivory medallions, and a chasing in steel set on a snuff-box. The subject is an equestrian combat executed with spirit and artistic skill. Also a glass *ampulla* or vial for perfume, compressed by exposure to heat, probably in the funeral pile.

By the Very Rev. CANON ROCK, D.D.—A MS. book of *Horæ*; date, early fifteenth century.

By Mrs. W. COURTNEY MORLAND.—A cushion cover of black velvet richly embroidered in silks and gold thread, with portions in tent-stitch overlaid on the velvet, the decoration consisting of large *bouquets* of flowers and fruits, with animals and birds in the intervening spaces; also insects, such as caterpillars, dragon-flies, &c. In the centre is the vine between an unicorn, on the dexter side, and a yellow lion not crowned, on the sinister; the flowers most conspicuous are the English rose, columbine, marigold, red carnation, narcissus, and honeysuckle; also a gourd or pumpkin (flower and fruit). Of animals portrayed may be enumerated a camel, elephant, tiger, leopard, white lion, hare, rabbit, and a small dog; also an owl in a bush, a cock, and a parrot on a cherry-tree. This sumptuous "pillow-bere" has its original tassels and fringes of green silk and gold lace, with the lining of sea-green damask. The date is about 1600, or early in the reign of James I. It is believed that it was formerly at Powderham Castle, Devon, or at one of the ancient seats of the noble family of Courtenay.

By Mr. R. H. SODEN SMITH, F.S.A.—A pair of gilded spurs, and three other spurs of various periods.—A glass bottle of English manufacture, lately found in Southwark; the surface is beautifully iridescent, the effect of partial decomposition. On the lower part of the neck there is a Tudor rose in relief; date, early seventeenth century.—A silver ring formed with five hoops and three moveable bands set with turquoises; by these bands the hoops are joined together. Probably of the work of Upper India.

By Mr. WILKINSON.—A German wheel-lock rifle, date about 1760, elaborately engraved with hunting subjects, and bearing the name of the artificer, *Neyrriter in Salzburg*. It was formerly in possession of the Emperor Napoleon I., and was presented to Mr. Wilkinson by H. M. the Emperor of the French, whilst resident in this country previously to his being elevated to the Imperial dignity.

By the Rev. FREDERIC W. RUSSELL, through Sir John Boileau, Bart.—Bronze spoon, stated to have been lately found near Allhallows Pier, City, probably in the course of railway operations.

By Mr. MACLAUCHLAN R. GIBBS.—Bronze dagger, stated to have been dug out of the foundation of the railway near Allhallows Pier, City, within 100 yards of the Thames; a medal or coin of the Emperor Claudius, and a considerable quantity of Roman tile and broken pottery, lay, as described, near the spot. The handle is in form of a nude female figure, probably Venus, holding the apple; another dagger with the same figure had been

previously sent for examination. It is believed that these, with various fictitious objects cast in "cock-brass," to which a deceptive aspect of antiquity is given by exposure to acids, and by other artifices, might be traced to the same source as the pretended medallions and castings in lead, to which attention was called by Mr. Reed and Mr. Franks on a previous occasion; see p. 167 *ante*. It is desirable that the unwary collector should be put on his guard against such malpractices, some of the recent fraudulent productions in brass being fabricated with no slight skill and knowledge of genuine ancient types.

MEDIEVAL SEALS.—By Capt. EDWARD HOARE.—Silver matrix of pointed-oval form, with a small crooked handle; the device is composed of small demi-figures, arranged in three tiers. At the top is seen a holy personage, possibly the Blessed Virgin, whose right hand is extended downwards towards the two saints in the central division, and beneath is a diminutive figure in profile, kneeling, with hands upraised in supplication. The legend is as follows:—† s : REINALDI : DE : TIWE : MONACHI. Date, fourteenth century; dimensions, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $\frac{7}{8}$ in. A similar silver matrix was brought before the Institute about 1847, by Sir Augustus Hillary. The portion on which the design was engraved was of considerable thickness; on the reverse there was a ring attached to the upper part of the oval. A third matrix, likewise of silver and of like fashion, was sent for examination by the Rev. Edwin Jarvis, of Hackthorn, Lincolnshire, at the meeting of the Institute, Nov. 3, 1848; it was stated that it had been brought from Scotland; but it had been, as believed, part of the Neville Holt collection which was dispersed at that time. This last had the appearance of being a genuine original, from which possibly that exhibited by Capt. Hoare may have been cast. There are several places in Essex called Tew; also Great and Little Tew in Oxfordshire. From one of these Reinald the monk may have taken his surname. Hugo de Tiwa is mentioned in the Hundred Rolls as a benefactor to Oseney Abbey; and Ralph de Tiwe occurs in the same record as one of the villans of the manor of "Magna Bollendre," Oxfordshire. Rot. Hundr., vol. ii. pp. 717, 727.

July 1, 1864.

The Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

A short account was read of recent researches in Argyleshire by Mr. Henry Davenport Graham, illustrated by his drawings, and by a plan of a group of erect stones and other early remains which exist a few yards from the road leading from Kilmartin and Kilmichael, Argyleshire. The spot is in a field once a portion of the great Crinan Moss, a district in which numerous standing stones occur, and where also the rocks incised with circular markings are to be seen, described by Mr. Davenport Graham at a previous meeting; see page 164 *ante*. Dr. Collingwood Bruce, on a recent visit to Mr. Graham, had found on the standing stones, of which drawings were exhibited, certain markings apparently similar to those noticed upon the rocks. The group of stones consists of a circle of fragments and *débris*, possibly the remains of a cairn partly swept away by a brook which ran near it; thirty-one paces to the west are four tall stones, measuring from 4 ft. to 12 ft. in height, in a straight row, fifteen paces in length; two of these bear punctures and incised markings. Forty paces further towards

the west there is another erect stone, having an oval perforation about a yard above the ground, which measures about 4 in. by $3\frac{1}{2}$ in., the edges of the hole being much splayed on both sides. On its east face this stone has more than a score of circular punctures, similar to the central cups in the incised markings on rocks in the Crinan district, as before described. The largest stone of the group, 12 ft. in height, has numerous cup-shaped cavities on its east face, and also four like cups circumscribed by an outer ring, and having in each instance a spout or radiating line from the centre that cuts the ring; these markings closely resemble those on the rocks noticed by Mr. Graham on a previous occasion. On another of the stones he noticed markings on the western face; besides a number of simple cavities, there are two annular figures with radiating lines, and near its base are to be seen seven cavities connected by a line of inter-communication. These cavities and markings vary in size, depth, and preservation, the stones having suffered from long action of the weather. The best preserved of the cup-shaped cavities appear as if they had been drilled with a rotatory action, leaving circular markings within the cavity as the tool advanced, a circumstance which may tend to show the nature of the implements used and the mode of working.

Two circumstances of interest are connected with this group of ancient stone monuments, the first being that they seem to be associated with the period of the incised circular markings, more complicated in their configuration, but the same general characteristics present themselves alike on the rocks and on these erect stones, namely, the incised circle and the line radiating from the central cup. It should be observed that on the standing stones described this line takes a vertical direction towards the base of the stone. A like cup-shaped marking, it may be observed, was noticed by Sir Gardner Wilkinson on the largest of the stones that form a circle near Penrith, in Cumberland, known as "Long Meg and her Daughters."³

Another remarkable circumstance connected with the vestiges noticed by Mr. Graham is that these rock-markings are here found associated with one of those objects of a very ancient superstition, not wholly extinct until recent years, namely, with one of the perforated rocks, or so-called "Stones of Odin," used in time of remote antiquity in solemn adjurations or vows, by the ceremony of joining hands through the aperture, with the solemn pledge by the parties concerned, of which such primeval usage was the irrevocable bond. Many traces might be noticed of such ancient customs in the British islands. Where a district abounded in wood more than in rocks, the custom existed in regard to some ancient tree, through an aperture in which the persons who took part in the solemn treaty joined hands. In other places it was customary to pass a child through a cavity either in a rock or a tree, with certain superstitious notions of curing or averting diseases. Borlase, in his *Antiquities of Cornwall*, mentions such popular customs at Maddern and elsewhere. A memoir on "the Holed Stones" of that county is given by Mr. T. Blight, *Archæol. Cambr.*, vol. x. 3rd series, p. 292. See also *Gent. Mag.* 1864, ii. p. 686. Dr. Wilson, in his *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, gives particulars regarding vows and oaths taken by joining hands through the "Stone of Odin." The most remarkable example of such a stone is that near the circle of

³ See Sir Gardner Wilkinson's *Memoir on the Rock-basins of Dartmoor* and some

British remains, *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, June, 1860, p. 118, pl. 10.

Stennis in the Orkneys; there is an oval hole in this stone large enough to admit a man's head. The superstition existed as recently as the close of the last century, when Dr. Henry refers to the ceremony as held sacred, and the person who dared to break the engagement thus made was accounted infamous. Sometimes the hole was of large dimensions, and to pass a child through it was considered to be a sovereign preservative from palsy or rheumatism in after life.

It has not been stated whether, in North Britain, any ancient law or ecclesiastical monitions were directed against the popular persistence in some of the usages of an olden superstition. In England we find such practices strongly condemned. Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, in his Penitential, distinctly forbids such heathen usages of pledging vows at trees, wells, and stones. The Canons enacted in the reign of Edgar are not less explicit in regard to vain customs and spells, tree-worshippings and stone-worshippings, and that devil's craft whereby children were drawn through the earth.

In connection with the circles that have lately excited so much interest among archaeologists, Mr. Graham mentioned that similar markings are stated to exist on a stone near Duntroon; other examples may doubtless be discovered, the attention of careful observers being now directed to the subject. He stated that, according to popular tradition, the spot where the rocks covered with circular figures are seen (see p. 164 *ante*) had been the scene of a great battle between the *Feine* (Fingalians) and their enemies, and that in the heat of the conflict Finn chanced to let fall a whole quiver-full of arrows, which stuck in the rock, and formed the cup-like cavities. The story at least may serve to show, as Mr. Graham suggested, that the natives attribute these markings to the *Feine*, that is to say, they account them long anterior to all history or authentic record, and also that the markings have long since attracted attention in the district.

The Very Rev. DEAN GRAVES made some observations on the circular markings thus brought under the notice of the Society; and stated that he would shortly publish in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy a memoir on the Irish examples found in Kerry by the Earl Dunraven.

Dr. BLACKMORE, of Salisbury, communicated a notice of discoveries of flint implements in the drift gravel at Milford Hill, on the east side of that city. It is given in this volume. See page 243, *ante*. Recent researches have brought to light numerous specimens of those remarkable relics in the south of England; they have been found by Dr. Blackmore not only at the place to which his memoir refers, but also at Fisherton about a mile west of Salisbury in the high-level gravels; the implements there found are interesting on account of their close analogy to many of those from the Valley of the Somme and from Icklingham in Suffolk. By the kindness of Mr. Edward Stevens of Salisbury and Mr. James Brown, who has also lately detected a deposit of those objects in a new locality, Hill Head, between Gosport and Southampton, these discoveries were brought under the notice of the Institute, and a series of specimens were brought by Mr. Brown for examination. They have been deposited in the Salisbury Museum, which contains a very instructive collection of flint implements and of mammalian remains, by which in certain deposits they are found accompanied. The utility of that county Depository has been much enhanced by the valuable catalogue published in the present year; for the portion relating to the stone and other relics of the earliest periods we are

indebted to Mr. Stevens. A memoir on the recent discoveries at Fisherton has been communicated by Mr. Evans, F.S.A., to the Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society, for August, 1864, where some account of Mr. Brown's successful researches at Hill Head may also be found.

Mr. HENRY F. HOLT read some Observations upon the woodcut of St. Christopher, in the Collection of the Earl Spencer, dated 1423. He remarked that in the history of Art it would be difficult to select any object comprising so many elements of interest. Since its discovery by the Baron Heineken, in 1769, in the library of the Carthusians at Buxheim in Suabia, this woodcut has been generally recognised as the most ancient dated example, and the date has been generally accepted, as marking with precision an important epoch in the annals of Art. Mr. Holt considered it desirable to arrive at some clear decision in regard to the validity of the belief in the date of this woodcut, which has occasionally been assailed by the scepticism of critics. The "St. Christopher of 1423" is well known to all who take interest in the History of Xylography, and it is familiar through the excellent facsimile given by Ottley in his History of Engraving, vol. i. p. 90, and a reduced copy in Jackson's Treatise on Wood Engraving, p. 60, where full particulars regarding its discovery may be found. The Baron Heineken, as we learn from his own account in his "Idée générale d'une Collection d'estampes," Leipsic, 1771, p. 250, had pursued his researches in the conventual libraries of Franconia and other parts of Germany, and found woodcuts pasted into certain volumes of the fifteenth century. "J'ai decouvert" (writes the baron) "dans la Chartreuse de Buxheim, près de Memmingen, un de nos plus anciens couvents en Allemagne, l'image de Saint Christophle;" he gives a description, stating that it is a woodcut illuminated in colors like playing cards, and thus inscribed at the foot of the page—*Cristoferi faciem die quacunque tueris—Illa nempe die morte mala non morieris. Millesimo cccc° xx° tercio.*—This discovery excited considerable interest; it was made known by Heineken as a fact of no slight importance, being free from suspicion of any deception. "On ne pourra même" (the baron remarks) "soupçonner ici aucune supercherie." On the authority of Heineken, at that time keeper of the engravings in the Royal Collection at Dresden, the "St. Christopher of 1423" was accepted by Santander, the Baron de Reiffenberg, Duchesne, Firmin Didot, Ottley, Jackson, and other authorities. The arguments, however, adduced in support of the date seem to be limited, according to Mr. Holt, to the decision of Heineken and the opinion of Ottley, who mainly relied on the paper on which the woodcut is printed, having as a water-mark a bull's head with a line rising between the horns, found likewise on paper used in Holland in 1418—1421.⁴ It was not until 1819 that any serious doubt of the correctness of the date seems to have been entertained; Koning then affirmed that it should be 1473—*lxx° tertio*—and that the *l* had been taken out; in this conclusion he was supported by Sotzman, who alleged that no other woodcut of so early a date was known, and that all the early examples were posterior to 1450. Mr. Pinkerton proposed to read—*xx° terno* (1460) instead of *tertio*. Mr. Holt now suggested that the confidence with which this woodcut was received was mainly due to the reputation of Heineken in regard to his knowledge of Art: it was, however, well known

⁴ See Ottley's description of the paper and bull's-head mark, *Hist. of Engraving*, vol. i., p. 225.

when the woodcut was found that he was on a tour in quest of fresh facts, where doubtless they were most probably to be found, in the conventual libraries of Germany. The intelligent librarian at Buxheim, Francis Krismer, was aware of the object of the baron's visit, and Mr. Holt suggested that in anticipation of his arrival the librarian took care to select something of more than ordinary attraction, which should also bring Buxheim into repute, and possibly aid the funds of the monastery. Heineken, however, as Mr. Holt admitted, did not seek to purchase the newly-found treasure; in his *Idée Générale*, published three years subsequently, he made known its existence; Charles de Murr, editor of a *Journal of Arts at Nuremberg*, seems to have been the first to profit by Heineken's discovery. He obtained a loan of the woodcut, and a facsimile was given in de Murr's *Journal*. The original was subsequently sold at a considerable price; and Krismer was encouraged, according to Mr. Holt, to seek for further treasures, such as the St. Sebastian dated 1443, regarded by some critics as apocryphal. In regard to the important questions connected with these and other contemporary discoveries, the low estimate of the attainments of art-critics expressed by Bartsch may claim attention, as Mr. Holt pointed out; Bartsch alludes to certain errors in the works of Heineken; our accomplished countryman, Ottley expresses likewise the same opinion. In conclusion, Mr. Holt asserted his conviction that the authority of Heineken has been overrated, that the circumstances under which the print was found are not free from suspicion; that its character is so much in advance of the supposed date as to discourage confidence in it as a production of 1423; he declared his conviction that the date is a forgery, and that the true date is 1493, the inscription having been altered by converting ccccx^o tertio into ccccx^o tertio; according to his theory the woodcut should be assigned to Albert Durer; that great artist, as he believed, had been apprenticed in 1486 to Wohlgemuth as a *Formschneider*, and worked in that capacity alone until Easter, 1490, when he set out on a four years' circuit to complete his apprenticeship; in 1494 he returned to Nuremberg. Mr. Holt asserted that Lord Spencer's woodcut of 1423 is the work of Durer executed at Colmar early in 1493, during his visit to the brothers of Martin Schön. The prototype was, according to Mr. Holt, an engraving on copper by Martin Schön, and the supposition is supported by the fact that the woodcut is printed upon that soft, fine, and strong paper used by Martin Schön, the water-mark being the bull's head with a single wire line between the horns, described by Ottley in his account of Lord Spencer's print. Since the publication, however, of Ottley's work in 1816, it has been ascertained that this paper was manufactured by Frick and Hans Holbain at Ravensberg, the bull's head being the trade-mark of that family; moreover the paper commonly used by Durer prior to 1505 has the like mark, although some of his engravings are printed on paper marked with a Gothic P.⁴

A warm discussion ensued on the question raised by Mr. Holt in regard to the authenticity of an example usually accounted as of such high value

⁴ See full particulars in B. Hausman's work on Albert Durer's engravings, the paper used by him, &c., Hanover, 1861. The facts regarding the paper manufactured by the Holbain family have been made known by Herr Abel of Stuttgart;

they were communicated in 1856 to the German Hist. and Antiqu. Society. The paper on which the St. Christopher of 1423 is printed is similar to that used by Martin Schön and Durer.

in the history of the revival of Art. Lord Talbot, Canon Rock, and Mr. Beresford Hope took part in the conversation; the general feeling appeared to be that, however superior in artistic merits the "St. Christopher of 1423" unquestionably may be, no sufficient ground had been adduced for any insinuation against the good faith and honorable reputation of the learned librarian of Buxheim. The critical discernment and skill in matters of art possessed by Heineken, at a period when the researches to which he has contributed so much were only commencing, may doubtless have fallen far short of the attainments of those who have had ample materials and information at their command. It was affirmed, moreover, that the St. Christopher does not present the familiar characteristics of the work of Durer. It is by no means incredible, that at a time when the newly-acquired art of Xylography was growing rapidly in popular esteem in Germany, some works, or even a solitary production of surpassing excellence, may have been produced, apparently far in advance of contemporary engravings.

The Rev. GEORGE CARDEW gave a detailed narrative of his recent explorations at Helmingham, Suffolk, and brought for examination a large collection of pottery and other relics found at the extensive cemetery which he has there discovered, as stated at a previous meeting. See page 172 *ante*. These vestiges appear to belong to the later times of Roman occupation. He exhibited also a series of admirable photographs taken by Mr. Piper, a very skilful artist at Ipswich, and illustrating the position of the interments and the general features of the ground where Mr. Cardew's remarkable explorations have been carried out.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. H. DAVENPORT GRAHAM.—Drawings of sculptured crosses and sepulchral memorials on the western shores of Scotland. Among these was a view of the ruined chapel of Kilmory, St. Mary's cell, in Knapdale, near four or five thatched hovels in the wild district of the Point of Knap, at the mouth of Loch Swein. This, Mr. Graham observes, is an example of the primitive type of Highland *Kill*, an oblong parallelogram constructed of blocks of rough stone, without buttresses, the windows narrow, deeply splayed within; the door is at the south side, occasionally it is found at the west end in these early structures. The orientation is mostly defective. There is a well-preserved and elaborately-carved cross in the graveyard at Kilmory; on one side, upon the head, is the crucifix, between two figures, probably the B. V. Mary and St. John; on the shaft is a large sword of the peculiar fashion usual in these early Scottish sculptures. The sculpture of the shaft, on the other side, represents a stag at bay, and the hunter bearing a broad-bladed axe, a large horn hangs at his back; beneath is inscribed—*HEC EST CRUX ALEXANDRI MACMULLEN*; foliated scrolls and interlaced work fill up the vacant spaces. The ancient lords of Knapdale bore the name of McMillan. There are also several slabs in the church, and some bearing the shears and mirror like a slab at the nunnery at Iona. See Mr. Graham's Antiquities of Iona, pl. 48, &c. At Kilmory, in two instances, these symbols of the female sex are found in combination with a sword. It had been conjectured that the shears may here be in allusion to descent from Malen, so called from being tonsured or dedicated (*Maol*, shaven or bald). On the wild coast of the loch, on the way to Kilmory, there is a remarkable rock-chapel or anchorite's cave, a natural fissure near the

shore, with a green sward sloping down to the landing-place. The opening of the cave was formerly walled up; near the entrance there is a basin hollowed out in the rock, possibly for holy water; at the further end is a square platform hewn out of the rock, and upon this is an altar of rough stones; above is carved a cross; on the green in front there is a roofless chapel similar to those found in these parts; it was dedicated probably to the holy tenant of the cave. There is no tradition, however, connected with the spot. St. Kentigern, who came from Ireland to Cantyre, lived in a cave on this coast, and the place described may have been one of the rude retreats of his disciples. At Kilmartin, another little ruinous chapel, of which drawings were exhibited, there are two curious sculptured crosses, now prostrate, one of them elaborately sculptured with interlaced work, the *mæander*, &c. At Kilmichael, four miles from Loch Gilphead, Mr. Graham found in the graveyard several carved slabs of considerable interest, such as are called commonly "Iona Stones," and which, although similar in character to the sculptured slabs at Colmkill, have a distinctive style, showing that they were the work of a different hand. Several examples of these so-called "Iona Stones" exist at Strachur, and also in other ancient graveyards in Argyleshire.

By the Hon. ROBERT CURZON.—Two helmets, one of them flat-topped, of the time of Richard Cœur de Lion, a specimen of very great rarity; the other is of the period of Edward the Black Prince; it has, on the left side, an additional piece of steel which, as Mr. Curzon stated, does not occur on any other head-piece of the time which had come under his observation, but it may be seen in representations of helmets in monumental effigies of the reign of Edward III. These relics of ancient armour are in remarkably fine preservation, and were selected as two of the most interesting objects in Mr. Curzon's armory at Parham.—Block Book, with the date 1414 in Arabic numerals. Mr. Curzon, by whom this curious acquisition had recently been made in Paris, observed that "it appears to consist of modern impressions from old German blocks. The volume contains two colored prints, which are woodcuts, not block prints, and seem to belong to a more modern edition of the same book published towards the end of the fifteenth century."

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P., F.S.A.—An ancient Arabic quadrant with a Cufic inscription of the thirteenth century.—A dial in form of a Corinthian column standing on a pedestal, and supporting a globe on the capital. The globe opens and discloses a sun-dial and compass; on the shaft of the column is a vertical cylindrical dial, and, on the pedestal, a dedicatory inscription stating that it was presented on January 1st, 1593, by I. Mauroy, as a new-year's gift in token of friendship, to his amiable and virtuous young friend, Pet. Belpil.—A jewel of the order of the White Elephant, the Danish order of knighthood, one of the most ancient, esteemed, and rare in Europe. The order is supposed to date from the time of the Crusades; the precise time, however, of its origin is not known, but it is considered to have been established, as it now is, in the beginning of the fifteenth century. It was renewed by Christian I. in 1458. After the English Garter and the Golden Fleece it is the most distinguished among the orders of Europe, its continuity never having been interrupted, and its distribution very sparingly awarded, for it is only bestowed on crowned heads, or on very remarkable and distinguished individuals. The Duke of Wellington was one of the Knights. The date of

this Jewel is the latter part of the last century, in the reign of Christian VII. No other example of this remarkable decoration is known to exist in this country.

By Mr. EDMUND WATERTON, F.S.A.—Photograph of the "*Clavis Confessionis S. Petri*" given by the Pope to St. Hubert, the first bishop of Liege, at the close of the seventh century. The handle of this curious key is elaborately wrought with pierced work, in which are introduced figures of lions. A somewhat similar key, of silver and of beautiful workmanship, is preserved at Maestricht, which, according to the legend, was brought by an angel to St. Servais whilst he was engaged in prayer at the tomb of St. Peter at Rome; this key is figured in a memoir by Schaepekens, *Messenger des Sciences Historiques en Belgique*, 1847, p. 211.

By the Hon. WILBRAHAM EGERTON, M.P.—A steel vice for a lady's work-table, a beautiful specimen of Italian workmanship, sixteenth century.—An oval cameo, Italian *sei-cento* art, representing the Blessed Virgin, St. Peter, and St. Paul; it is in tortoiseshell, a material rarely used for any work of artistic character.—A circular boss or ornament for the fastening of a girdle, from Baltistan in Western Thibet; it is enriched with rows of small turquoises; diameter about five inches.

By the PRESIDENT of the COLLEGE, Old Hall Green, Herts.—A set of keys, supposed to be of the fifteenth century, and to have been used by the Cellarer, or by some other conventual functionary.

By the DEPARTMENT of SCIENCE and ART, through Mr. Soden Smith, F.S.A.—A case of gold posy-rings, presented to the South Kensington Museum by the late Rev. R. Brooke.

By Mr. W. BURGESS.—Two specimens of oriental plate, one of them being a nut elegantly mounted on a silver tripod; also a silver patera; a drinking cup of German or Northern workmanship set with coins; and a knife, fork, and spoon, enriched with chasing and filagree.

By Mr. JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, F.S.A.—Portrait of Queen Elizabeth, on panel, three quarters to the left, a portrait in her younger years; she is represented in a maroon colored dress puffed and jeweled with pearls, rubies, and emeralds; in her right hand is a red rose, part of a fan of white feathers in her left; around her neck is a collar of red and white roses, emeralds and pearls, with a falcon displayed appended to it; there is a jewel in her light brown hair; the back-ground is green.

By Mr. FARRER, F.S.A.—A singular portrait of Queen Elizabeth, on panel, three quarters to left; the dress is black, the sleeves quaintly ornamented with armillary spheres; a large cord of pearls around the neck.

SEALS and IMPRESSIONS.—By Mr. W. H. WEALE, of Bruges.—Impression in gutta-percha from the obverse and reverse of a curious object preserved in the church of St. Servais at Maestricht, and described in the inventory of relics as the seal of the tutelary saint. St. Servatius, the friend of St. Athanasius, was Bishop of Tongres in Belgium, and died there A.D. 384; his remains were preserved in the collegiate church at Maestricht, with his pastoral staff, pectoral cross, and other relics. The seal is described as of yellowish-red color, probably jasper, flaked (*nuancée*) with light and dark hues; it is of circular form; diam. about $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch, exclusive of a silver rim in which it is set with a ring for suspension; it has the appearance of a medallion or *bullæ*. Each face of the stone is slightly convex and rudely engraved in intaglio. *Obverse*: a bust, apparently of an ecclesiastic holding a cross-staff in his hand (the right hand, as seen on the stone);

in the field, on either side, there are Greek letters, which have not been satisfactorily decyphered, but they doubtless indicate the saint here represented; around the margin is inscribed + ΗΔΗΣΑΠΟΣΚΚΟΣΑ. Reverse, the Gorgon's head, and around it is the spell which occurs on other like objects, namely—Μοιρα Μελαινη ως οφιοι. This remarkable object, of



which we are enabled by the kindness of the Rev. C. W. King to give the accompanying representations, is noticed in his Treatise on the Gnostics and their Remains, p. 119. The head of the Gorgon is represented by a diminutive face, from which seven serpents' or dragons' necks and heads appear gyrating like a wheel. The letters in the legends, although in intaglio as if for the purpose of sealing, are not inverted. Mr. King informs us that the charm or *επωδη*, in full, which the engraver of the gem attempted to copy, is probably the same as that found upon a bronze medal figured by Münter (*Sinnbilder der Christen*); Obv. the Gorgon's Head; Rev. the legend filling the field. +ΥΘ—ΜΕΛΑΝΗΜΕΛΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΗΟΣΟΦΗΣΗΛΗΣΕΣΕΧΕΟΣΛΕΟΝΒΡΥΧΕΙΣΗΚΕΟΣΑΡΝΟΣΚΥΜΗΣΗ. The reading completely baffled him, but the charm is probably the Romaic form of the following:—+Υ(ως) Θ(εου) Μελαυε μελαινομηη ως οφιοι ειλει ησυχη ως λεων βρυχησει και ως αρνος κοιμησει. There may be some ground for suspecting that the unintelligible legend round the saint's head on the gem may be the continuation of the same formula, the ΟC (ως) being repeated in it. Although unsuited from the convexity of both of the faces to be used in sealing, the curious gem at Maestricht has always been regarded as a seal. It is mounted in a rim of silver with a small ring by which it is appended to a tablet, described as of green porphyry, and supposed to have been a portable altar used by St. Servais. With these relics have been preserved an ivory matrix of a seal bearing this legend + SC'S · SERVATIVS · EP'S. The device is a seated figure in pontificals, the head nimbed but without a mitre. This interesting seal is attributed to the eleventh century; it is figured, with the object previously described, the crosier also and the pectoral cross of St. Servais, in a memoir by M. Schaepekens, *Messenger des Sciences Historiques en Belgique*, 1847, p. 220.—Impression of a fine matrix, of circular form; diam. 2½ inches. The device is the Annunciation, the figures are in high relief, the legend is as follows: + S · ECCLESIE · SC'E · MARIE · SC'I · Q' · GABRIELIS IN BODE.

Archaeological Intelligence.

It is proposed to publish, in one volume, memoirs illustrative of the Art of Glass Painting in the Middle Ages, communicated by our lamented friend Mr. Winston to our own Society, to the Institute of British Architects, the Oxford Architectural Society, &c. The information thus given with practical notices of an art, of which the history and progressive styles have never probably been more carefully studied than by Mr. Winston, cannot fail to prove acceptable in this collective form. It has been the desire of his friends to unite the valuable contributions dispersed through numerous works, and to possess a last memorial of his intelligent researches into the special subject of his predilection. This volume will form a valuable complement to Mr. Winston's "Inquiry into the Difference of Style observable in ancient Glass Paintings;" and it will contain much of the results of his experience and observation during seventeen years that have elapsed since the appearance of that work. A catalogue will also be given, prepared by himself, of the collection of drawings of painted glass (720 in number), about to be presented by his widow, in accordance with his last intentions, to the British Museum. Illustrations, including twelve plates in colors, will be selected from the most instructive examples in this precious series to accompany the forthcoming volume, which will be published by Mr. Murray.

A third and much enlarged edition of "The Roman Wall" is in preparation by the Rev. J. Collingwood Bruce, LL.D., whose indefatigable labors in the archæological field have frequently contributed, through his friendly communications, to our gratification. The second edition, published in 1853, has long since been exhausted; numerous excavations and discoveries have during the last ten years thrown light on the history and the remains of the great Northern Barrier. An accurate map of the Wall, reduced from the survey executed for the Duke of Northumberland by Mr. Mac Lauchlan, will accompany the forthcoming edition, which will also be enriched with many additional and instructive illustrations. The price of the quarto copies will be (to subscribers) three guineas; fifty copies will be printed in folio, ranging with Horsley's Britannia; price seven guineas. Subscribers' names are received by the Author, and by the Publisher, Mr. Reid, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

We invite attention to the edition of Hutchins' History of Dorset, in course of publication, in parts, by Mr. Shipp at Blandford, by whom subscribers' names are received. The work, carefully revised and augmented, will be issued at the moderate cost of twelve guineas; copies of the last edition have realised not less than sixty guineas. The undertaking will doubtless interest our members who propose to take part in the meeting at Dorchester next summer; an auxiliary, however, of even greater value is promised by Mr. Warne, namely the results of his careful investigation of earlier remains in the county, and his Map of Dorset during the British, Roman, and Saxon periods.

Captain Paul Bial, Professor at the Imperial School of Artillery at Besançon, has announced, in two vols. 4to., with illustrations selected from the principal museums in Europe, his "Histoire de la Civilisation Celtique," from which valuable information is expected in regard to the most obscure section of archæology in the earlier periods.

The Archaeological Journal.

DECEMBER, 1864.

THE BAN OF KENILWORTH (DICTUM DE KENELWORTHA).¹

By the Rev. JOHN RICHARD GREEN, M.A.

FROM the slaughter of Evesham, where liberty lay, it seemed, dead with De Montfort, to the Statutes of Marlborough, where the very spirit of the great Earl and of freedom is alive again, our modern historians pass quietly on without once pausing to ask the cause or nature of so great a revolution. And yet it is not the mere sharpness and vividness of the contrast which gives weight to these memorable years, they are of weight in themselves; they form the transition period between the two great sections of our history, the period which severs that age of formation, during which a succession of new peoples and customs and ideas were slowly mingling and fusing into fresh forms and combinations, from the six centuries of true national history which stretch thence to the England of to-day. It is in fact in the Dictum, the Award, or, to take the older English word,² the "Ban" of Kenilworth, that great national act which these historians in like intelligent fashion dwarf into a mere capitulation, that the key of this great question must be found.

For the history of the events which led to it, over which I must necessarily hurry, and of the Dictum itself, on which I shall venture to dwell at greater length, the authorities are unusually numerous and valuable. The chroniclers divide into two great classes: we have first the adherents of the National party, Rishanger in his chronicle (Camden Soc.

¹ Communicated to the Historical Section at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute held at War-

wick, July, 1864.

² Robert of Gloucester terms it thus, p. 568.

1840), and in the continuation of Matthew Paris (Wats, 1644), the annalist of Waverley (Gale, Script. in vol. ii.), Robert of Glocester (Lond. 1810), the chronicler of Melrose (Gale, vol. i.). On the other side are the Royalists, Wikes (Gale, vol. ii.), Westminster (Lond: 1570), the chronicler in the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* (Camden Soc.). All these are contemporaries, some were eye-witnesses of the events which they relate, and, with the exception of the historian of Melrose on the one side and Matthew of Westminster on the other,³ are all, allowing for their strong party bias, thoroughly trustworthy. Nangis (Duchesne, Hist. Fr. Script. vol. v.) gives a very valuable French view of some of the transactions of the time; but the great supplement to and check upon the chroniclers must be found in our national records, which I have been enabled by the courtesy of Mr. Burt (though far too cursorily) to examine, the Patent and Close rolls and in the collection of royal letters.⁴ These not only furnish us with facts, but enable us often to form a decision amid the embarrassing discord of the chroniclers. To pass at once to the story.

On the morning of the 4th of August, 1265, Sir Simon de Montfort, marching through the night from Kenilworth to his father's relief, reached the little town of Alcester at the confluence of the Alne and the Arrow. The delay caused by Edward's masterly surprise of his army under the castle walls had been more than compensated by the opportunity afforded by his absence to the Earl of Leicester of breaking the line of the Severn. Severn crossed, the night-march of August 3rd had brought the Earl as far as Evesham; he was now only some ten miles distant from the relieving army down the Vale of Avon, and the junction of father and son seemed secure. The Earl however listened, reluctantly indeed, to King Henry's request, and halted at Evesham for mass and dinner: the army of Sir Simon halted for the same purpose at Alcester. "Those two dinners doleful were, alas!"⁵ for Prince Edward was hurrying through the night by country cross-lanes to seize the fatal gap which they had left. As the morning broke his army lay across the road

³ At least two different accounts are obviously confused together by Matt. of Westminster, and his chronology is even more erroneous than his facts. Lingard, however, follows it. Parry (*Hist. of Parliaments*) is equally misled.

⁴ Wherever these have been printed by Brady or Rymer, I have referred to their collections.

⁵ Robert of Glocester, p. 558. *Ann. of Waverley*, p. 219.

that led northward from Evesham to Alcester. Ere three hours had passed the corpse of the great Earl lay mangled amid a ring of faithful knights, and the "murder of Evesham, for battle none it was," was over.

Simon de Montfort's army, after finishing its meal, was again on its march to join the Earl when the news met it, heralded by that strange darkness that rising suddenly in the northwest and following as it were on Edward's track served to shroud the mutilations and horrors of the battle-field.⁶ The news was soon fatally confirmed. Simon himself could see from afar the noble head of that great father borne off on a spear-point to be mocked at Wigmore.⁷ His retreat was uninterrupted: the pursuit had streamed naturally away southward and westward, through the streets of Tewkesbury heaped with corpses of the panic-stricken Welchmen whom the townsmen had slaughtered without ruth or pity; and amid the darkness and the big thunder-drops the army fell despairingly back on Kenilworth. "I may hang up mine axe," are the bitter words attributed by the poet to their leader, "for feebly have I gone."⁸ Once within the castle he gave way to a wild sorrow, day after day tasting neither meat nor drink,⁹ till he was roused into action again by a great emergency. The news of the shameful indignities offered by Mautravers and the Marchers to the corpse of the great Earl before whom they had trembled so long, had at last reached the garrison at Kenilworth, and the knights broke out in a passionate burst of fury such as we see in the story of Becket's murder.¹ Richard of Cornwall, his son, and some of his knights were prisoners in the castle, and the garrison clamored for their blood. Simon had enough nobleness and self-restraint to interpose. "To God, and Him alone, was it owing," owned his uncle afterwards, "that I was snatched from death."²

It was noble, for no mercy could be looked for from the conquerors. Fresh from the butchery of the fugitives in the corn-fields and gardens of Evesham, the Royalists flung themselves on their foes with the wild licence of victory. The triumphant blare of trumpets which welcomed the

⁶ Rob. of Gloc. saw it, "and was well sore aferd," p. 560.

⁷ Wikes, p. 71.

⁸ Rob. Gloc., p. 561.

⁹ Wikes, p. 71.

¹ Rishanger, p. 50.

² Rishanger, p. 50.

delivered king into Evesham, "his men weeping for joy,"³ rang out in bitter contrast to the universal mourning.⁴ It was the inauguration of a reign of terror. The rights and laws for which men had toiled and fought so long seemed swept away in an hour. England, in the words of her anonymous poet,⁵ was—

"Nescia venturi cuius sit subdita juri,
Sub quo custode, sub Christo vel sub Herode."

Every town which had supported Earl Simon—and what town had not?—was held to be at the king's mercy, its franchises to be forfeited.⁶ The charter of Lynn was annulled, Oxford was heavily fined, London was marked out as the special object of the king's vengeance, and the farms and merchandise of its burghers seized as first fruits of its plunder. The darkness which on that fatal morning had hidden their books from the monks of Evesham as they sang in the choir, was but a presage of the gloom that was to fall on the religious houses.⁷ From Ramsey, from Evesham, from St. Albans, rose the same cry of havoc and rapine. But this was little to the sweeping sentence of confiscation which was assumed to have passed by the mere fact of rebellion on all the adherents of Earl Simon. To disinherit these was to seize the estates of half the landed gentry of England. "Exhæredati," says the anonymous poet, "si fiant connumerati, millia cum binis deca bis sunt acta ruinis."⁸ The Royalists, however, did not scruple to declare these twenty thousand disinherited, nor the king to lavish their lands away on favourites and foreigners. The very chronicles of their party recall the pillage with shame.⁹ But all thought of resistance lay hushed in the universal terror. Every prison, save those of Dover and Kenilworth, opened its gates to the prisoners of Lewes.¹ The wife of Hugh Despenser flung open the dungeons of the Tower, and fled weeping to the protection of her father, Philip Basset. Even at Kenilworth Simon "saw no other rede"² than to release his prisoners.

³ Wikes, p. 71.

⁴ Rishanger, p. 48.

⁵ Quoted by Halliwell. Notes to Rishanger's Chronicle, p. 144.

⁶ Contin. Matt. Paris, ad ann. 1266.

⁷ Rishanger, p. 47.

⁸ Rishanger, p. 145.

⁹ "Rex et sui complices non sicut decuerat cautiores effecti sed potius stultiores . . . non solum possessiones . . . indigenis sed et alienigenis sine personarum discretione concessit." Wikes, p. 74.

¹ Lib. Antiq. Leg., p. 76.

² Rob. Gloc., p. 661.

But other motives than mere panic influenced Simon in this release. His captives were set free on the 6th of September,³ two days before the date of convocation for the Parliament at Winchester. The mere assembly of a Parliament seemed to promise an end to the present reign of utter lawlessness. It was known too that in the Royalist camp itself a powerful party existed, headed by Prince Edward and Earl Gilbert de Clare, which, however hostile to De Montfort, shared his love for English liberties. By his release of the prisoners of Kenilworth Simon added to their ranks the wise and moderate Richard King of the Romans, and that prince returned the obligation by a promise, under his hand and seal, to exert his influence in favor of the Countess of Leicester, of Simon's brothers also, and of himself.

For the moment, however, all wise and moderate counsels were of little avail. The Parliament met in the usual temper of a Restoration Parliament, only to legalize the outrages of the past month. The embittered prisoners, fresh from the dungeons of the Barons, poured into Winchester to add fresh violence to the demands of the Marchers. The very wives of the captive loyalists and the widows of the slain were summoned to give fresh impulse to the reaction. Their place of meeting added fuel to the fiery passions thus heaped together, for Winchester yet bore the marks of its pillage by Simon on his way to Kenilworth, and its stubborn loyalty must have been fanned into a flame by the losses it had endured. In such an assembly no voice of moderation could find a hearing; the four prelates who favored the national cause, the Bishops of London and Lincoln, of Worcester and Chichester, were excluded; the heads of the religious houses were summoned for the mere purpose of extortion. The efforts of King Richard and Edward were met by those of Edmund, Henry's second son, who, unsated with the gift of the lands and honors of Earl Simon, placed himself with Mortimer and Giffard at the head of the ultra-loyalists.⁴ The four resolutions passed were but the legalization of their violence; all grants made during the King's captivity were revoked; the De Montforts were banished; the charter of London was annulled; the adherents of Earl Simon were

³ Rob. Glouc., p. 561.

⁴ Rishanger, p. 49.

disinherited, and seizin of their lands given to the King. Henry at once appointed commissioners⁵ to survey and take possession of his spoil, while he moved to Windsor to triumph in the humiliation of London. Its mayor and forty of the chief citizens waited in the castle-yard amid the jeers of squires and grooms, only in defiance of their safe-conduct to be thrown into prison, and Henry entered his capital in triumph, as into an enemy's city.⁶ The surrender of Dover came to fill the cup of victory ; it was by this port that the foreign auxiliaries whom Richard and Amaury de Montfort had sailed with the Earl's treasure to enlist, were designed to land ; while in itself it headed the formidable league of the Cinque Ports. "On the sea," writes Edward of them, in August, "they commit a thousand piracies and murders ; nor is any one suffered to land unless he be first conducted to Dover, and his arrival approved by its inhabitants."⁷ A rising of its prisoners compelled its surrender in October, and the success of the Royalists seemed complete.⁸

In fact, their difficulties were but beginning. Their triumph over Earl Simon had been a triumph over the religious sentiment of their time, and religion avenged itself in its own way. Everywhere the Earl's death was viewed as a martyrdom, and monk and friar, however they might quarrel on other points, united in praying for the souls of the dead as for "soldiers of Christ." Within a short time after Evesham⁹ it began to be whispered that Heaven had attested the sanctity of De Montfort by miracles at his tomb. How great was the effect of this belief may be seen in the request of the Arbitrators of Kenilworth to King and Pope for the suppression of these miracles ; in the efforts for their suppression throughout the reign of Edward the First ; in their continuance into the reign of his successor.¹ Their immediate result was a sudden revival of hope. "Sighs," breaks out Rishanger,² "are changed into songs of praise, and the greatness of our former joy has come to life again." Nor was it in

⁵ *Fœdera*, i. p. 462.

⁶ See the full account of the London Transactions in *Lib. Ant. Leg.*, p. 77, etc.

⁷ *Royal Letters*, Hen. III., p. 406.

⁸ *Wikes*, p. 72.

⁹ *Rishanger*, p. 48.

¹ An enquiry was made in this reign into the miracles worked at Henry de Montfort's tomb.

² *Rishanger*, p. 49.

miracles alone that the "faithful," as they proudly styled themselves, began to look for relief from "the oppression of the Malignants."³ The same Parliament which by its decrees of exile robbed Simon of any hope of accommodation provided him with an army by its decrees of disinherison. In the first moment of the reaction he had quitted Kenilworth and joined John d'Eyville and Baldwin Wake in the Isle of Axholme. So fast did foot and horse flow in to him, that Edward and his cousin Henry of Almaine hurried into Lincolnshire to hold him in check. But already the south and the west were backing the resistance in the north; the men of the Cinque Ports, putting on board their wives and children, swept the seas and harried the coast;⁴ while Llewellyn, whose raid upon Chester had caused the hasty dissolution of the Parliament of Winton, butchered without mercy the routed fragments of the host sent against him.⁵ Rishanger himself, penning his grand eulogy of Earl Simon quietly amongst all the uproar, saw the rise of the new spirit of resistance in the streets of St. Albans.⁶ The town (these details of the story light up the time) was diligently guarded and strongly closed with bolts and bars within and without, and in its dread of war refused entrance to all strangers wishing to pass through, above all to horsemen. The Constable of Hertford, Henry de Stok, was an old foe of the townsmen; he boasted that, in spite of bolts and bars, he would enter the place, and carry off four of their best villeins captive to Hertford. He contrived to make his way in, and loitered foolishly about. A butcher passing by overheard him ask his followers how the wind stood; and guessing his design to burn the town he knocked him down. The blow gave heart to the townsmen, they secured De Stok and his followers, struck off their heads, and fixed them at the four corners of the borough.

In this moment of reaction, the Legate Ottobuoni landed with the Queen,⁷ bringing with him the calm wise policy of Rome. In the hour of their triumph Pope Clement had been a bitter enemy of the Barons; immediately on his accession he had despatched Cardinal Ottobuoni to preach

³ "A pressura malignantium." Rishanger, p. 49.

⁴ Annals of Waverley, p. 221.

⁵ Ann. of Waverley, p. 220.

⁶ Cont. Matt. Par. ad ann. 1265.

⁷ Nov. 1, Ann. of Waverley, p. 221.

a crusade against them, to form a league of princes for the defence of "the common cause of kings," and to induce Louis of France to put himself at the head of it. But with their overthrow his tone changed. "*Tristia nobis et læta enarrastis*," he wrote in reply to the news of Evesham. Henceforth congratulations on the Royal successes⁸ merely serve as preludes for earnest exhortations to moderation and clemency. "Clemency," wrote the Pope to Henry, on October 25, "is the strength of a realm . . . Forgiveness will win more to love you and your son than punishment and harshness . . . If the heat of vengeance represses the hatred of a few, it goads that of the many." Clement had accompanied his letter of absolution to Earl Gilbert with like exhortations to assist the King and Prince Edward, but also anxiously to study the peace of the realm, and to exhort them to clemency. It was Edward's severity that Clement seemed most to fear, and to him he wrote in yet stronger appeal. "It is against yourself that you are cruel when you are cruel towards your people; it is your own power that you diminish . . . Rather knit their hearts to you by benefits; by these win over your foes, that so of traitors you may make liege men, and of enemies friends." Noble words, and destined to find in Edward one noble enough to understand them. In the first flush of victory Edward had stood alone in desiring the captivity of the Earl and his sons, against the cry of the Marchers for their blood.⁹ He had wept over the corpse of his old playfellow, Henry de Montfort, and had followed the Earl, his uncle, to the tomb. If his brother Edmund joined Mortimer and the other loyalists, Edward took his stand resolutely with the party of moderation and peace. He had marched, as we have seen, to stem the rising in the North. On his arrival at Axholme, he at once entered into negotiations with his cousin, and, adding the solicitations of the queen and the legate to his own, prevailed on him to quit the island and appear before the King.¹ There Richard of Cornwall welcomed him as the saviour of his life; he presented him to his brother, and Henry gave him the kiss of peace.² In spite of the opposition of the Marchers, conscious that

⁸ Rymer, I. p. 463.

⁹ Nangis, p. 372.

¹ Rishanger, p. 50.

² For the two sides of a contested story see Wikes, p. 73, and Annals of Waverley, p. 221.

however, from the blood-connection between them, the court might wish to save the De Montforts, yet that between Simon and the men who had sworn his father's death and mangled his father's corpse no terms were possible, success seemed on the point of crowning this bold stroke of the peace party, when Earl Gilbert interposed. His position was indeed most difficult. He had not fought against liberty, he had bound Edward by oath to preserve it, ere he entered with him on this campaign. He had wrested a like promise from Henry in the very hour of exultation after Evesham. So conscious was he that neither his love of liberty nor his past struggles for it could ever really be forgiven by the Royalists, that he had thought it wise to obtain a formal pardon for his share in the victory of Lewes from the King,³ and a release from his excommunication at the hands of the Pope. But, if distrusted by the conquerors, he was hated by the conquered.⁴ It was his treason to which they attributed the ruin of their cause. Above all, he, the pupil of De Montfort, had sworn the earl's death; the blood of the father lay between him and the sons; the safety of the one lay in the ruin of the other. In the face of the more pressing danger, Earl Gilbert threw his weight into the scale of the Marchers, and peace became impossible. The question was shelved by a reference to arbitrators; Simon, so his party complained, was detained in spite of his safe-conduct, and moved in the train of the royal army at Christmas from Northampton to witness the surrender of Kenilworth, which had been stipulated in the original terms of agreement as the price of his reconciliation with the King.

The castle was the one great obstacle that remained to a general peace. As early as August, 1265, Edward had enclosed, in a letter to Roger Leyburne, a list of the chiefs of its garrison and a summons to surrender. "*Et cum sint nonnulli in castro de Kenilleworth quos possumus et debemus nostros inimicos merito reputare, quorum nomina vobis mittimus præsentibus annotata, existimatur pariter expediens ipsis fore scribendum ex parte nostri domini supradicti ut, si nolint inimici publici reputari et exhæredari ac vitam perdere, prout meruerunt, dictum castrum committant sine morâ quâlibet nostro domino et assignent, nec ista littera alii*

³ *Fœd. i.*, p. 464.

⁴ *Rishanger*, p. 51.

quam religioso deferenda committatur.”⁵ But the garrison attracted no special attention till the departure of Simon for Axholme at the close of November. It seems to have been part of the plan of the campaign on which he entered that the castle should by increased activity draw down on itself the attention and efforts of the Royalists, and thus give the insurgents in the north time to take the field in arms. Immediately therefore on his departure, the garrison scoured the country, ravaging cruelly on all sides, and sweeping such a store of provisions into the castle as would suffice, they boasted, for seven years’ consumption. Every day brought new troops of the Disinherited to swell their numbers, and, pressing as was the danger from Simon at Axholme, the attitude of Kenilworth appeared so formidable to the Royalists that on the 10th of December the King despatched from Windsor a summons to his nobles to meet him at Northampton for a campaign against the castle, and from Northampton on the 26th he directed Osbert Giffard to raise the posse comitatus of Oxfordshire and Warwickshire “ad gravandum et expugnandum illos qui se tenent in castro de Kenelworth.”⁶ The sudden appearance of Simon in the Royal camp and his offer to surrender the castle promised to end the matter, but the opposition of Earl Gilbert had changed the face of affairs, and it was, in his own belief, as a man betrayed and a prisoner that Simon was led before the castle to perform his part of the contract. The reply of the garrison to the royal summons shows that they understood his situation, and freed him from the responsibility of their refusal. They had received ward of the castle, they answered, not from Simon but from the Countess, and to none living save to her, in her presence, would they surrender it.⁷ Adroitly as the refusal was framed it was not likely to make Simon’s position an easier one. Immediately on his arrival in London the award was announced, binding him to quit the realm, and not to return save with the assent of king and baronage when all was again at peace. No formal acceptance seems to have been given, and Simon remained in free custody at London; but sinister rumours, probably the work of the ultra-royalists whose

⁵ Royal Letters, Hen. III., 406.

⁷ Rishanger, p. 51.

⁶ Rymer, i., p. 467.

great aim it was to get rid of him, reached his ears, and, warned at length that he was doomed to perpetual imprisonment,⁸ he resolved to escape. On the night of Ash Wednesday he stole cautiously out of London with his men and hastened to Winchelsea,⁹ where the citizens were expecting his arrival. His escape gave a new vigour to the war. Llewellyn wasted the Border; the Cinque Ports ravaged more mercilessly than ever; the garrison of Kenilworth pushed their invasions even to Oxford, and the Disinherited again rose in the north. It was spring-time, when, as Wikes expresses it,¹ the vast forests which then covered the country "clothed themselves in their covert of leaves," and it was easy for outlaws to live under the greenwood tree. Baldwin de Wake and John de Eyvil, both of them brothers of knights in garrison at Kenilworth, and the latter a prisoner at Evesham who had but recently escaped, threw themselves, with a numerous band of followers, into the wood of "Suf-feld frith," and harried with fire and sword the counties of the north and the eastern coast; Sir Adam Gurdon, a knight of gigantic size and renowned prowess, wasted at the head of a smaller band the shires of the south. In almost every county of the kingdom bands of outlaws were seeking their very existence in rapine and devastation,² while the royal treasury was empty, and London's enormous fine had been only swept into the coffers of the French usurers.

But a strong hand was at the head of affairs, and Edward met his innumerable assailants with untiring energy. Henry of Almaine, son of the King of the Romans, was sent with a large force to the north; Mortimer to the defence of the Welsh border; three or four men were levied from every township in Oxfordshire and Berks to garrison Oxford. Edmund, the King's second son,³ was despatched to Warwick to hold the Kenilworth knights in check. Edward himself and Earl Gilbert hurried on Sir Simon's track to secure the sea-ports by which foreign auxiliaries could be introduced. Throwing out scouts in all directions, he fell, on the 7th of March, suddenly on Winchelsea.⁴ The surprise was complete. Many of the citizens were slain; many rushing in wild panic to their boats were drowned, and their leader, Henry Pedeu, fell into

⁸ Rob. Glocest., p. 564.

⁹ Waverley, p. 221.

¹ Wikes, p. 75.

² Wikes, p. 75.

³ Wikes, p. 76.

⁴ Wikes, p. 76.

Edward's hands.⁵ His life was spared by Earl Gilbert's advice, and Edward made use of him as an agent for the reconciliation of the Cinque Ports. The success of this policy of moderation was immediate. The most obstinate of Henry's opponents submitted in a week, for on the 15th of March the Cinque Ports accepted a peace whose terms were a presage of the coming Dictum.⁶ They were promised a complete oblivion of the past, freedom from all forfeiture, the confirmation of their charters and privileges. "For what reason these concessions were made I know not," growls the royalist scribe of the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, and the growl no doubt echoes the general sentiment of his party. Heeding nothing of their discontent Edward held on his way, scouring the south with the same mixture of caution and alacrity, clearing the woods of Berkshire, dispersing Adam Gurdon's band at Whitsuntide, and capturing their renowned leader. The day before this close of the insurrection in the south had seen the last blow given to the rising in the north. Henry of Almaine fell on the knights at Chesterfield while the bulk of them were hunting in the woods; of the two leaders who remained in the town, D'Eyville cut his way out and escaped, Earl Ferrars, "sick with gout and other woes," was taken in his bed. The band dispersed, some keeping to the woods, others, amongst whom was Henry of Hastings, making their way to Kenilworth.⁷

All was now free for the great siege. Edmund Crouchback had held Warwick in the face of the garrison, but he had been able to do little to check its insolence. The news of Simon's escape to France had filled the knights with hope; ⁸ they raised his standard,⁹ boasted of the letters they had received from him,¹ and awaited eagerly the foreign auxiliaries which the family of De Montfort were making strenuous efforts to raise.²

The countess had retired to the Dominican nunnery at Montargis, but her sons were actively employed in raising money and men. Guy de Montfort, their father's elder brother, had married Petronilla, countess of Bigorre in her own right, and this county their son, Eskivat, unable to

⁵ *Annals of Waverley*, p. 221.

⁶ *Lib. Ant. Leg.*, p. 83.

⁷ "Sir Henry of Hastings to Keningworthe drew and found there fair company of good men inou." Rob. Gloc.

565.

⁸ *Wikes*, p. 76.

⁹ *Westminster*, p. 343.

¹ *Wikes*, p. 77.

² *Rishangor*, 53-4.

defend it against the Gascons, had granted in 1250 to his powerful uncle, Earl Simon. In October, 1265, the countess and her son Simon, as yet still in England, surrendered it to Thebault, King of Navarre and Count of Champagne, probably to provide means for the army which the brothers, now united in France, were endeavouring to raise. The King seems to have entertained considerable apprehension of their efforts: the grant made to Prince Edward in April, 1266, of "all foreigners and merchants from beyond sea desiring to come into and abide in this our realm," and the directions to suffer none such to travel or traffic without special licence were probably intended to provide against Sir Simon's spies;³ while in May the King's fears broke out in a writ from Northampton to all bailiffs and barons of his ports; "Cum Symon de Monteforte et complices et fautores sui, inimici nostri, cum multitudine armatorum quos sibi jam colligunt in partibus Gallicanis regnum nostrum hostiliter ingredi proponant, ut accepimus, ad idem regnum nostrum perturbandum et iteratam guerram in eodem de novo suscitandam," they were to keep guard against invaders day and night.⁴

The bold attitude of the Kenilworth garrison, their hopes of foreign aid, and the universal outburst of the spring, had changed the temper of the royal camp. The exultation of Evesham had sunk into despondency. Ottobuono had applied for permission to abandon his hopeless mission, and the Pope, while reproving him for his cowardice, left it at his discretion to stay or to go.⁵ Henry himself gave the strongest sign of his wish to conciliate popular favor in the relaxation of his grasp upon London, and by despatching a writ from the camp enabling the citizens to elect their own sheriffs. The reception of the writ showed how, within the city, late so panic-stricken, the old spirit of freedom had revived; the popular party met the nomination of William Fitz-Richard by the King's friends with a tumultuous demand for the release of their leaders. "Nay, nay," they shouted, "we will have no mayor but Thomas Fitz-Thomas; him we will have freed from prison with his fellows that be at Windsor," and a popular rising against the magnates was only prevented by the armed interposition of

³ Rymer, i., p. 468.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Papal MS. in Brit. Mus., quoted Milman, *Lat. Christ.*, vol. v., 71, notes.

Roger Leyburne.⁶ The same new spirit showed itself in the royal army on its gathering at Oxford in the middle of April. Though the summons against Kenilworth had been specially proclaimed at every market cross,⁷ many refused to attend, alleging it to be contrary to law to be summoned thrice in a year;⁸ while those that came showed greater inclination for negotiation than war. It was in compliance⁹ with their counsel that the King and the Legate despatched the Archbishop of Edessa, an Englishman by birth, a man wary and eloquent, to exhort the garrison to surrender; but his exhortations, while giving them timely notice of the King's approach, succeeded only in quickening their activity in the collection of forage. Far from dreading, they had long been desirous of a siege, and as if to provoke the King to yet speedier attack, they seized a royal *cursor*, cut off his hand, and sent him thus mutilated, with ribald jests, to the royal camp.¹ But, bitterly as Henry resented the affront, the siege was still delayed. From Northampton, whither the royal army had marched from Oxford at the end of April, Edward was suddenly called away to check the bands of northern marauders, who had seized and pillaged Lincoln. The task proved an easy one, but it wasted two months, and an attempt of Edmund to invest the castle in the meantime, single-handed, was repulsed with loss.²

At last, on the 23rd of June,³ 1265, the royal army encamped around Kenilworth, and the siege was formed. But, in spite of the King's oath not to stir thence till the castle was his own,⁴ it was plain from the first that war was to be secondary to negotiation. Even after the rejection of the Archbishop's offers we find a safe conduct granted on June 14th, while the army was still at Northampton, to the Disinherited who wished to treat with the Legate; and, a few days only after the commencement of the siege the Legate, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and two of his suffragans, came with the purpose of arranging a peace.⁵ Fifteen days' fruitless efforts ended, however, in an equally fruitless excommunication of the obstinate garrison, and the siege commenced. It was no

⁶ Lib. Ant. Leg., p. 86.

⁷ Close Rolls, Brady, p. 656.

⁸ Rishanger, p. 54.

⁹ Ibid.

¹ Ibid. Close Rolls, Brady, p. 656.

² Annals of Waverley, p. 222.

³ Wikes, p. 78.

⁴ Annals of Waverley, p. 222.

⁵ Ibid.

light undertaking, and Henry had shown his sense of its magnitude by directing the citizens of Warwick to forward to the camp at Northampton . . . "Cementarios et omnes alios operarios de balliva tua, cam hachiis, pikasiis, et aliis utensilibus suis."⁶ The castle was so strong as to have been deemed impregnable. No fortress of the realm could rival it in its equipment of war. Its supplies would have sufficed an ordinary garrison for years.⁷ But the 1,200 milites who had gathered there formed rather an army than a garrison, and made the operations not so much a siege as a war. Sir William de la Cowe and Sir John de la Warre were the wardens of the castle.⁸ The names of some of its defenders are here given, as appended to Edward's letter from Chester, in August, 1265. "Joh. de Muzegros, Ingerramus de Bayllo, Rad. de Lymes', Hugo de Culeworth, Nich. de Bosco, Hugo Wake, Joh. Fitzwalter, Will. de la Cene, Philippus de Boyville, Hugo de Traham, . . . de Caudewelle, milites; Walterus de Barkesvile, Nicholaus le Archer, Joh. de Bovy, Ric. de Havering', Joh. Page, Willielmus Camerarius; Walterus de London, clericus; Thomas de Wynton, clericus; Walterus de Glou, Galfridus de Crulefend, Joh. Luvel, Rob. Luvel, Thos. Luvel, Ricardo de Sancto Johanne, valletti." Besides the two chaplains given here, Robert of Gloucester tells us of Master Peris of Radnor, that was the "stalewardeste clerik on of al Engelonde."⁹

All had hailed Henry of Hastings as their leader when, with Sir Nicole de Bois, he fled to Kenilworth, after the rout of Chesterfield. They saw without alarm the "tents and pavilions" rising in the meadows around, the lines drawn about them, and the erection of eleven petrarie, which rained thenceforth night and day a shower of stones upon the castle.¹ Edward had made vigorous efforts to match its renowned armament. In the Close Rolls for the year we find mandates directed to the wardens of the city of London, John Walround and John de Luids, bidding them supply Conrad the balistarius with £12, "ad nervos et cordas emendos et ad balistas faciendas;" and on October 23rd an order to the constable of the castle to forward to Kenilworth quarrells and fourteen balistæ without delay. But throughout the

⁶ Close Rolls, 50 Hen. III., Westminster, Nov. 20.

⁷ Rishanger, p. 51.

⁸ Rob. Gloc., p. 565.

⁹ Ibid.

¹ Rishanger, p. 57.

royal engineers found themselves overmatched. A wooden tower of wondrous height and breadth, constructed by Edward at enormous cost, from whose floors more than 200 balistarii poured arrows and other missiles on the garrison, fell before the stones hurled perseveringly against it by a mangonel from within.² A machine, called the bear, which sheltered a number of archers, was levelled by one of the petrariæ of the castle. Barges were brought at much expense from Cheshire, and an attempt was made to assail the walls from the water, but the attempt failed. Throughout the siege, in fact, the besiegers were thrown practically on the defensive.³ The gates of the castle stood defiantly open from morning till night, and the garrison made daily sallies of horse and foot, threatening the very herds which, gathered for the consumption of the Royal army, browsed in the meadows beneath. The besiegers, on the other hand, ventured on no general attack, but confined themselves to repulsing these desperate sallies. On one day only were they interrupted by an incident characteristic of the time. From the open gate descended a bier, surrounded with tapers, bearing the corpse of a brave knight of gentle blood, who had fallen wounded into the hands of the Disinherited, and was now borne forth for burial in accordance with his dying wish. The courtesy of the castellans may have aided the efforts of the peace party in the royal camp. Rejected as their first offer had been, the Legate and the King of the Romans had not ceased their attempts at mediation, and their spirit was shared by the Parliament that met before Kenilworth on St. Bartholomew's day, August 24th, 1266, and which a sense of the importance of the crisis caused to be numerous attended.⁴ Their first act showed their resolve that this strife should cease. The King's most pressing need was for money. The great expense of the siege had forced him to leave his Queen penniless at Windsor.⁵ The treasury he had brought with him was drained. His first demand, therefore, after a solemn confirmation of the charter, was for a tenth from the clergy for three years. The whole Parliament united in their reply. They would first establish peace, if peace were possible, and then answer the King on

² Rishanger, 56.

³ Rishanger, pp. 55-6.

⁴ "Magnum Parliamentum." *Annals*

of Waverley, p. 222.

⁵ Close Rolls, 50 Hen. III.

this matter. The Legate added his approval, and the King at once gave way. On the 26th of August (according to the original record in Norman-French on the Patent Roll, 50 Hen. III. *in dorso*), "it was agreed and granted by common assent, and by the common counsel of the bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, and all others," that six commissioners should be chosen, who in turn should elect other six, to provide for the state of the kingdom and of the Disinherited. The words of the record sufficiently indicate the national character of the act; the additional words of the Annals of Waverley, perhaps, only indicate the general impression which it conveyed. In that account, it is stated that the commissioners, bishops or barons, were specially to be men English-born and lovers of their country.⁶

The character of the commissioners chosen corresponded with the temper of the Parliament. All were of the party which, as distinct both from the ultra-Royalists and from the National cause, we may call "Constitutional Royalists." The Bishops of Exeter, Worcester, Bath and Wells, Robert Walround, Roger de Someri, and Alan de la Zouche formed the first six, and these associated with themselves the Bishop of St. Davids, the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, John Baillol, Philip Basset, and Warin de Bassingbourne. With the exception of Earl Gilbert all had been staunch supporters of the Crown. De Bohun, Basset, De Someri, and De la Zouche had been captured at Lewes. Bassingbourne had headed the Royalist charge at Evesham. But the majority of them were well known as inclined to a policy of moderation. The peaceful inclinations of the court were notorious, and two of the bishops (Walter Giffard and Nicholas Ely) were, the one a Royal chancellor, the other an ex-chancellor. Walround, a man of great diplomatic experience, had in 1262 been joined on a like commission with Philip Basset and Walter de Merton to effect a compromise with the barons. Basset himself, one of the bravest of the King's supporters, was pledged to moderation by the fortunes of his house. His son-in-law, Hugh Despenser, and his cousin, Ralph Basset, had fallen by Earl Simon's side at Evesham; his daughter, Despenser's wife, had taken shelter with him after that fatal overthrow. The widow of Ralph Basset, again, was the daughter of Roger de Someri, and the father's loyalty alone

⁶ "Indigenas et terram diligentes." Ann. of Waverley, p. 223.

saved her manors from confiscation. Bassingbourne had been enriched by the forfeitures of the barons, but his son had served in their ranks, and was still unpardoned. Of the two earls, De Bohun, though ever on the King's side, was a staunch supporter of English liberties, and his son had been one of the rebel leaders at Lewes and a captive at Evesham. His colleague needs no comment—he was Earl Gilbert of Clare.

The Twelve⁷ were the first to make solemn oath, “*de utilibus ordinandis* ;” and the King, the clergy, and the people in succession swore to the observance of their Ban. The Legate and Henry of Almaine were added as umpires in case of any division of opinion,⁸ and at the close of August their deliberations began. It is worth while to notice that on the first head submitted to them, the question “*De statu Regni*,” whose importance we shall see presently, the twelve were perfectly in accord. On the second, of the state of the Disinherited, unanimity was impossible. Should any or none be excluded from the redemption of their lands —“*fiat exhæredatio aut redemptio*”—was the question that met them at the outset. Some contended that there might be cases of total confiscation, others that only a third of the lands should here and there be restored, others advised the restitution of a half. The matter was at last referred to the umpires, and it is to Henry and Ottobuoni that the final decision was owing, and liberty of redemption on one term or another left open to all.⁹

The decision was the signal for a storm of opposition. Liberty of redemption—in other words the rescinding of the confiscation—was the death-blow of the ultra-royalists. Mortimer and his fellow-marchers had the credit, they pushed to the utmost the claim of having “brought the King back.” “*Quasi reges dicebantur, regale dominium sibi protectum usurpando eo quod Regem tanquam a carcere liberassent.*”¹ Theirs had been the profit of the pillage of the clergy, and of the confiscation of the Disinherited. Every motive of hatred and greed urged them to resist this proposal to disgorge their spoil. They broke out

⁷ Westminster, p. 344.

⁸ Rishanger, p. 57.

⁹ The questions and decisions of the umpires are appended to the *Dietum*,

and give us the inner history of the consultations of the Twelve.

¹ Rishanger, p. 48.

in mad violence, threatening the life of the Legate himself. But their power was over, the national resolve was not to be shaken by the threats of a faction, and the utter rout of Mortimer by Llewellyn at Brecknock,² the only defeat that had chequered the course of the Royalist success, in the spring, had damaged their leader's influence. Backed by Edward and Earl Gilbert the Legate met their threats boldly. He had received commission, he said, to excommunicate all disturbers of the peace, and the excommunication which they had solicited against De Montfort, he would, if need were, fulminate against them.³ Then they turned against Earl Gilbert of Gloucester. On him was now to fall the Nemesis of the one black deed that stains his life. The departure of the sons of De Montfort had left him free to break from his unnatural union with the Marchers, to stand forth again as the champion of English right and English justice. He earnestly supported the decision of the arbitrators, and the restoration of their lands to the Disinherited. By grant, or yet oftener by lawless seizure, the bulk of the spoils were in the hands of the fierce marauders with whom he had sworn against the earl's life, and now there were dark rumours of a league against his own.⁴ The struggle at last ended in secession, both parties quitted the royal camp, Mortimer ostensibly to protect his lands against the Disinherited, De Clare with the avowed design of crushing, by the decisive stroke which he afterwards executed, the last relics of the influence of the Marchers.

The strife did not interrupt the labours of the Twelve, while the Bishop of Ely brought tidings to the camp which quickened the anxiety of all for some speedy pacification.⁵ The whole face of the country, drained of its defenders by the concentration of the royal forces round Kenilworth, was scoured by the bands of the Disinherited, in spite of royal directions that castles and towns should be carefully guarded, and all depredators be at once pursued with the Hue and Cry (Close Roll, 50 Hen. III., Westm. March 15). By one of these bands the Isle of Ely, though jealously guarded by the bishop, was seized about Michaelmas, and the natural fortress at once filled with Disinherited.⁶ Prince Edward

² Ann. of Waverley, p. 222.

³ Rishanger, p. 57.

⁴ Rishanger, p. 59.

⁵ Rishanger, p. 53.

⁶ Wikes, p. 77.

was detached against this new danger, but the tide of popular courage was still rising. The king's brief, despatched to all the sheriffs of England, directing the observance of the Great Charter throughout the realm, had no sooner been read at Guildhall on the Eve of St. Michael, than the citizens claimed the free election of their own mayor and sheriffs which was provided in it. These envoys appeared now in the camp, and returned successful. William Fitz-Richard, the royal nominee, was removed, and the city made its own election of bailiffs.⁷ Amid all this the commissioners proceeded in their settlement of the details of redemption, continually referring their disputes to the Legate and Lord Henry, who as invariably decided in a sense favorable to the Disinherited. On the 7th of October, though still unproclaimed, the award must have been really completed, for on that day the king (Pat. Roll, 50 Hen. III.,) granted power to Philip Marmion, William de la Zouche, and William de St. Omer, "to treat for peace with those who hold out against us, and to grant them safe-conduct to the royal camp." But the formal announcement was reserved for the Parliament now summoned to meet at Northampton at the close of the month. The Legate, desirous of increasing the sanction to be given by it to the Dictum of the Twelve, had directed all archdeacons to forward lists of the abbots and priors within their provinces, and had threatened with excommunication all spiritual persons who neglected to attend.⁸

In the presence of the two Kings, the Legate, and this great assembly, the Twelve, on the 30th of September, the Wednesday before All Saints' Day, pronounced their award. Beside five copies of minor importance, the oldest and most valuable text of the Dictum is that preserved in the Cott. MS. Claudius D. ii. f. 119 b, a copy beautifully written and in complete preservation, and from which the text given in the Statutes of the Realm has been taken. It bears in the Chronicles and in the heading of the MS., the same title of the "Dictum" of Kenilworth; though sometimes in the course of the document styled "ordinacio nostra;" the words have commonly been rendered the "Award" of Kenilworth; it is, perhaps, too late to suggest a change, but I have

⁷ Lib. Ant. Leg., 86-8.

⁸ Rishanger, p. 67.

ventured to style it the "Ban of Kenilworth," partly as the rendering given by the only contemporary, Robert of Gloucester, who designates the *Dictum* by an English term, partly as restoring to the word the truer sense, which, save in the phrase "giving out the bans," it has almost wholly lost.

The *Dictum* is so long, so encumbered with details, and so easily accessible in the Statutes of the Realm, that I need not give more than a brief abstract of most of its later provisions. Its earlier are more important. It is easy, by passing them over, to regard the Ban as the mere capitulation of a beaten party, though even then, our common historians, who adopt this interpretation, forget to explain why it is claimed as a victory by the chroniclers, such as the Annalist of Waverley and Rishanger. But, in truth, the "Award concerning the State of the Realm," which they pass over, is the most important portion of the whole, while the details of the redemption are but temporary arrangements, passing away with the emergency which called them forth.

The Ban opens with words too solemn to be viewed as merely formal. "In the name of the Holy Trinity, to the honour of God, the Saints, and the Catholic Church; for the honour, prosperity, and peace of the King, the whole realm, and Church of England, we, associated to make provision for the State of the Realm, and of the Disinherited, having from the King and others, barons, councillors of the realm, and nobles of England, full power, according to the form written in public letters sealed with the seals of the aforesaid King and others, make under God's favours those provisions which, according to law and right, we deem to be in accord with God's good pleasure and the peace of the realm, accepting no man's person in this matter, but having God alone before our eyes, and acting therefore as in the sight of God." After this solemn exordium, the Twelve proceed to the first great question laid before them, "*De Statu Regni.*" Their primary care is to restore the machinery of government to its full efficiency; to render to the king all former rights and prerogatives; to declare all amenable to his courts; to annul all acts of his while in captivity. But from this they pass to a series of demands strangely neglected by historians, but constituting a solemn assertion of English liberty. First, they claim a real administration of justice.

“ We beseech the King, and respectfully press on his piety, that he appoint such men to administer justice as, seeking not their own but what is of God and justice, may duly settle his subjects’ business according to the laws and customs of the realm, and so render the throne of the King’s majesty strengthened by justice.” Thence they pass to like petition and request that “ the King fully keep and observe those ecclesiastical liberties, charters of liberties and of forests, which he is expressly and by his own oath bound to preserve and keep.” “ Let the King,” they add, “ establish on a lasting foundation those concessions which he has hitherto made of his own will and not under compulsion, and those needful ordinances which have been devised by his subjects and by his own good pleasure.” In the same way they demand the suppression of the abuse of purveyance, the restoration of the Church to its former condition, and the immediate restitution of its charters and privileges to the City of London.

In the opening of their second division, “ *De Statu Exhæredatorum*,” they lay down the broad principle that in this alone among civil wars confiscation was to be the fate of none. “ *Non fiat exhæredatio sed redemptio.*” For this purpose the commissioners divide the Disinherited into classes, according to the ransom due from each. The garrison of Northampton, the plunderers of Winchester, those who had fought against the King at Lewes, Evesham, and Chesterfield, who had sent their aids voluntarily against him, or committed ravage, murder, and arson on their neighbours, might redeem their lands on payment of five years’ rental. Fines, gradually decreasing to half a year’s rental, were assigned to lesser offenders, and elaborate directions given for the due execution of the redemption, on which it is needless to dwell. The difficult question of the De Montforts was evaded ; Henry III. had referred it in the spring to the decision of the King of France, and the Court seems to have contemplated their return after all was settled and peaceful. The murder of the King of Almaine’s son Henry by Simon and Guy de Montfort, in revenge of their father’s death, alone prevented this by turning into fierce hatred the neutral dispositions of the Court. “ *Disposuit Deus*,” wrote some bitter Royalist exultingly under the picture of the murder on the wall of the church at Viterbo, “ *Disposuit Deus ut*

per eos vir tantus obiret, ne, revocatis his, gens Anglica tota periret.”⁹ But the commissioners petitioned King and Pope alike against the popular canonization of Earl Simon and “the vain and silly miracles” reported to be wrought at his tomb. Henry was requested to satisfy as far as possible the disappointed grantees, lest their resentment should furnish occasion for fresh war; immediate restitution was promised to those innocent persons who had been disinherited on false charges, and punishment was denounced against their accusers. Finally, a complete indemnity for all wrongs done or endured throughout the troubles, and the full benefits of the Ban were assured to those who availed themselves of its terms within forty days after their publication, and the King was requested to appoint twelve commissioners to carry out equitably its details.

The Annalist of Waverley’s summary of it, “facta pronuntiatione adjudicati sunt terris suis omnes exhæredati,”¹ marks the popular appreciation of the Ban as a victory for the national cause. Those only who had won the victory failed to recognise its value. With the exception of Henry of Hastings and the mutilator of the King’s *cursor*, on whom a fine of seven years was imposed, the defenders of Kenilworth fell within the general terms of the Dictum, and on its confirmation by King and baronage it was at once offered them. The exemption of their leader may have angered the garrison, or the rising at Ely roused fresh hope; that offer was at any rate refused. Then the Legate, in his red cope among a ring of bishops, pronounced against them the sentence of excommunication. They met it with defiance and mockery; innumerable pennons and standards fluttered out along the walls,² whence a puppet Legate, in cope of white, pronounced a jesting excommunication on Ottobuoni and the Royalists.³ In spite, however, of defiance and mockery, the inevitable end drew near. Louis of France, since the rejection of his award by the barons, had been the steady friend of the

⁹ Westminster, p. 350.

¹ Ann. of Waverley, p. 228.

² Rishanger, p. 58.

³ Rob. Gloucester, p. 566. It was the device of

“Master Philip Porpeis that was a quaint man,
Clerk and hardy of deeds, and their
chirurgion.

They made a white Legate in his cope of
white

As the other red, as him in despite,
And he stood as a Legate upon the castle
wall,

And cursed King and Legate and their
meu all.”

Crown. He had suffered the Count of S. Pol to conduct auxiliaries to the King, but his opposition had foiled⁴ the efforts of the sons of De Montfort to raise a similar force, and Simon and Guy had abandoned their enterprise and were following their cousin Philip de Montfort to the Italian campaign. Thinned as the royal army had been by the departure of Prince Edward, Earl Gilbert, and Mortimer, it still clung to the siege, and summoned carpenters for the erection of huts for winter quarters. Want and fever disabled the once enterprising garrison from taking advantage of their weakness. Provisions were failing; there was no forage for the horses; the want of water was ill compensated by abundance of wine; there was no wood for fires, and the walls were so shattered by the constant attacks that the sufferings of the besieged from cold became intolerable. In the beginning of November they were forced to agree to a surrender if no aid came within forty days, and in the suspension of arms which followed they sent letters to Simon. No relief came or was expected, and in the middle of December the garrison marched out. They had to the last hidden their state from the besiegers, but there were now only two days' rations in the place, and their worn and emaciated frames, the pale and discoloured faces of the Disinherited, told the tale of sufferings gallantly borne. The stench within the castle which they left was so intolerable as nearly to suffocate the Royalists who entered it.⁵

This is no time to tell the story, which never has been told, of the events which followed the surrender of Kenilworth. It is enough to say that Ely accepted the Dictum, that Earl Gilbert's masterly seizure of London procured its definite acceptance as public law.

I cannot close this memoir without suggesting two thoughts which seem to spring from the history of this memorable year. It is perhaps the greatest instance in our annals of that resolve to struggle on when all seemed lost, to which so much of our freedom is owing. It is fortunate that in the battle of liberty, as in the battle of Waterloo, Englishmen never knew when they were beaten. Other peoples have wrested liberty from weak princes on the crash of thrones, but England alone has won hers in the hour of

⁴ Rishanger, p. 55.

Wikes, p. 77-8.

royal triumph, or from kings such as Edward the First. And then, with this Ban begins what has been a national characteristic ever since. We do not write *Væ Victis* as the motto of our revolutions, nor can party struggles cause us to forget our truer brotherhood as Englishmen. It is something that from the Dictum of Kenilworth we can look proudly along to the self-restraint of the Restoration, to the clemency of 1688, to the forbearance and mutual respect which restrain the bitterness of the political strifes of to-day,

THE PAINTED GLASS IN THE BEAUCHAMP CHAPEL AT WARWICK.

By the late Mr. CHARLES WINSTON.

A Memoir read at the Annual Meeting of the Archæological Institute at Warwick, July 26, 1864.¹

NOTWITHSTANDING the assistance afforded by Sir William Dugdale's account of the painted glass in the Beauchamp chapel, its present shattered and dislocated state renders it a difficult task to re-arrange it, or to ascertain what parts occupy their original positions, or even to form a conjecture as to the nature of that which has been lost. Fortunately for our investigations, the glass hitherto has not been "restored," but only "repaired by some ignorant glazier," as the phrase is; but such a person I have ever found to be less mischievous than even the most accomplished restorer.

I will not make any long quotations from the documents of which Sir William Dugdale has furnished abstracts, but the following particulars will be found useful.

It appears by the will of Richard, Earl of Warwick, whose executors built the chapel, and who was Lord Despencer in right of his second wife,² that he bequeathed an image of gold to the shrine in the church of St. Alban, to the honor of God, our Lady, and St. Alban; another to the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury; a third to the shrine at Bridlington in Yorkshire; and a fourth to the shrine in the church of St. Wenefride at Shrewsbury.

The contract for glazing the chapel windows was made in 1447 by the earl's executors with John Prudde of Westminster, glazier.³

Sir William Dugdale adds that after the windows were finished, the executors caused some alterations to be made,

¹ In the absence of the lamented author, this memoir was read, at his request, by his friend the Rev. John Louis Petit.

² [See Note A. at the end of this Memoir.]

³ [See Note B. at the end of this Memoir.]

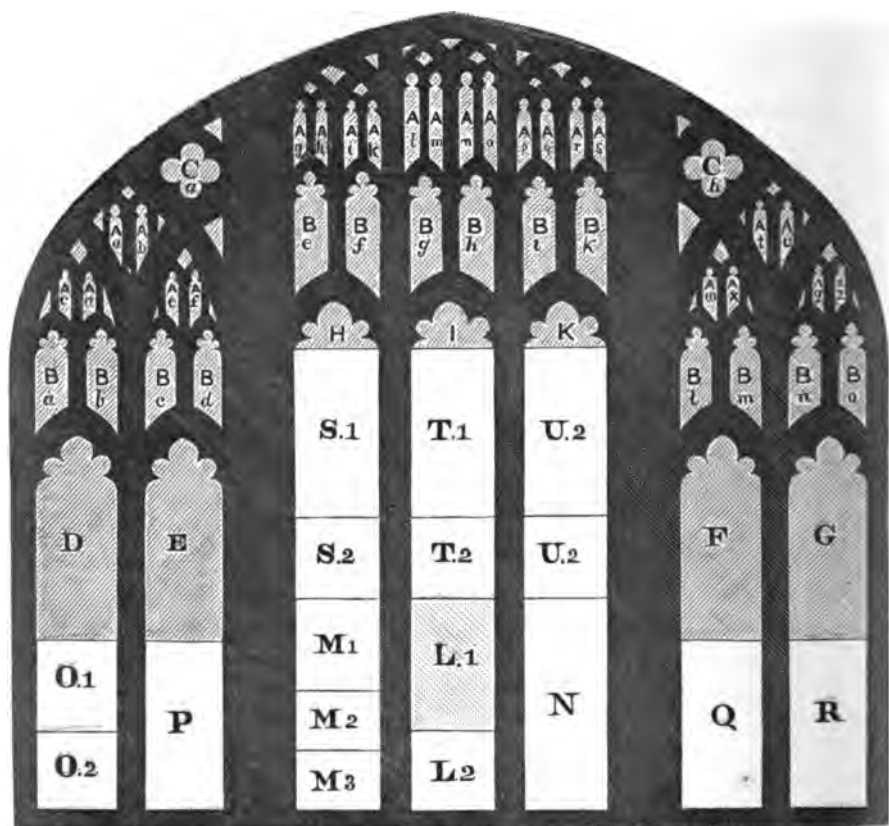


Diagram of the East Window of the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick.

The glass portions shaded with diagonal lines from right to left indicate the original glass remaining in situ; the portion dotted, marked L. 1, appears to be original glass misplaced.

being some addition (not stated) for "Our Lady," and "scripture of the marriage of the earl."

The east window of the chapel, as the most prominent and striking object, naturally arrests our attention; it will, however, assist our investigation of its contents, if we first take a brief survey of the side windows. For it will, I fear, be found, that the east window has undergone the fate of most east windows, in having been made the receptacle of fragments collected from other windows. Indeed I may state my belief, that of the glazing of the east window, which at first sight appears so perfect, little else remains in its original position, than the glass in the tracery lights, the four upper figures in the side lights, and the small fragments in the cuspidated heads of the three central lights. In the accompanying diagram the original portions still *in situ* are indicated by shading diagonally from right to left, and a piece which I believe also to be original, though somewhat displaced, is indicated by dotting, the spaces filled by glass inserted being left white.

To begin with the side windows of the chapel; although the remnant of the ancient glazing of these windows is so scanty, there is enough to indicate the original composition.

The same general design pervades the three windows on the north side of the chapel, and the first window from the east on the south side.

The tracery lights of each window are filled with a choir of angels; and each of the lower lights was originally occupied by a single figure with a waving scroll above its head, which ascended into the cuspidated head of the light. Of these scrolls only the upper parts now remain; but by the inscriptions on them it sufficiently appears that the figures were mostly prophets or patriarchs. Figures with the lower parts of such scrolls waving above and about their heads are to be seen in the east window. These, it can be shown, have been removed from some of the side windows. Indeed it can, I think, be proved, that two of the figures in the east window have been removed from the first window from the east on the north side, by the agreement of the inscriptions on the lower parts of the scrolls with what remains on the upper parts still continuing in the side window.

The lower lights had no borders, but were filled with

colored grounds alternately red in one light and blue in the next. Each ground was ornamented with a foliated pattern, and was divided by a narrow ornamented band—interlaced like a fret—into a series of small compartments; the red ground into lozenge-shaped compartments, the blue into square compartments, in which were placed alternately the founder's badges, viz., the white ragged staff, and the white bear with a yellow chain and muzzle. The figures and the scrolls were embedded in these grounds, and the figures were represented standing on brackets only, and not under canopies.

The remains of the colored grounds are found in the side lights, and are all *in situ*. They afford a means of identifying figures in the east window (which retain their grounds, and sometimes their brackets also) with the lights in the side windows out of which they have been taken.

The angels in the tracery lights of the first window from the east, both on the north and south sides, are engaged with musical instruments. They are placed on a blue ground powdered with yellow flaming stars.

But the angels in the tracery heads of the two remaining windows on the north side, and, as it would seem from the appearance of the fragments, in the heads of the two opposite windows also, were furnished with scrolls inscribed with portions of the hymn supposed to be sung by the angels, and marked with appropriate notes of music adapted to some sort of instrument. These scrolls most resemble the leaves of a book; and they are arranged in such a manner as to present the inelegant appearance of a series of chevrons.

The scrolls are preserved only in the middle window on the north side; the inscriptions on them relate to a festival in honor of the Virgin; and the prophetic scrolls in the lower lights of the same window seem to have a general reference to the coming of Our Lord.

A somewhat different arrangement is adopted in the lower lights of the middle window on the south side. They appear to have been filled with a "multitude of the heavenly host"; in some of the lights yellow rays dart upwards. The glazing in the lower lights of the last window on the south side cannot be considered as original.

We will now return to the east window.

It will be the more regular course to commence with the

tracery lights of this window. They are evidently designed with reference to some important sacred subject in the lower lights; though we find in some of them (as well as in the heraldic grounds of the lower lights of the side windows already noticed) that strange admixture of objects of secular pomp and worldly vanity which usually characterizes the works that we are fond of attributing to "the piety of our ancestors" in the middle ages.

The upper row of tracery lights (marked A in the diagram) is principally devoted to a display of the founder's motto, in allusion to his marriage with a lady who eventually became heiress to the great Despencer family. The whole of this motto, "Louey Spencer, tant que vivray," is repeated in each pair of lights; one half, "Louey Spencer" (*i. e.* praise Spencer), being written on a scroll in one light, and the remainder, "tant que vivray," on a scroll in the next. The lights otherwise have reference to the sacred nature of the general design. In the upper part of each light are represented clouds colored in the lights alternately blue and red, and powdered with yellow flaming stars; from which clouds yellow rays descend, and are received on the red or blue foliated ground, as the case may be, on which the scroll containing the motto is placed. Of the originality of this glass there can be no reasonable doubt.

The next row of tracery lights (marked B in the diagram), is entirely of religious design. In each is represented, on a blue foliated ground powdered with yellow flaming stars, a red seraph standing on a yellow wheel, and holding a scroll of the same character as the angelic scrolls in the side windows, on which is set forth a portion of the "Gloria in excelsis," with musical notes. The hymn commences on the left hand or north side of the central part of the window, and continues across the six central tracery lights. It recommences on the left hand, or north side of the window, and continues across the four north tracery lights; it again recommences in the left hand light of the south side of the window, and terminates with that series. The adaptation of the hymn to the number of lights, and the occurrence of the blue ground with flaming stars, afford a proof that the glass in this tier of lights is also original.

The glass in the two quatrefoils (marked C in the diagram) may also be considered as original. Each quatrefoil

was originally occupied by a cherub, colored yellow, on a blue foliated ground. Of the remaining tracery lights the larger ones are filled with the blue ground and yellow flaming stars, and the smaller ones, mere holes, with plain pieces of red or blue glass. There is no reason for questioning their originality.

We can have no difficulty in concluding that the four figures in the upper part of the lower lights on the sides of the window (which are marked D, E, F, G, in the diagram) are also original and *in situ*; for it abundantly appears that these figures represent the four saints in whose honor the earl bequeathed the golden images mentioned in his will.

The first in order on the north side of the window (marked D in the diagram) is that of an archbishop, as indicated by his cross-staff. The inscription formerly on the bracket supporting the figure (the figures never had any canopies) is now lost, but Sir William Dugdale, in his notice of the east window, states that there were in his time, "besides those costly portraitures in glass of Earl Richard, with his wives and children," (of which we shall hear more presently,) "the pictures, in their full proportion, of St. Alban, the protomartyr of England; St. Thomas of Canterbury; St. John of Bridlington; and of St. Wenefride." The figure in question may therefore be considered to represent St. Thomas of Canterbury.

The second figure from the north (marked E in the diagram), representing a king in royal apparel, armed in plate, having a blue surcoat with a yellow saltire, and bearing in his hand a cross, is at once identified with Dugdale's description by "S^cs Alb" (Sanctus Albanus), the remains of the words inscribed on the bracket supporting the figure.

The third figure from the north (in the south wing of the window, and marked F in the diagram) is that of a female saint, in a slate-colored purple mantle (black is hereby indicated, but Prudde was mindful of his covenant not to use black glass if he could avoid it) having a jeweled border, and in a similarly colored under-dress, and bearing a pastoral staff. This is also identified with Dugdale's description by the word ". . . . Wenefrede" remaining on the bracket which supports the figure.

The fourth figure (marked **g** in the diagram) we may reasonably conclude represents St. John of Bridlington, though the name on the bracket has been lost. It is that of a male saint, bald-headed, in a slate-colored purple cope and white surplice, and holding a pastoral staff. In scale and general character it entirely accords with the other three figures.

The figures of St. Thomas and St. John are on red grounds, those of St. Alban and St. Wenefride are on blue; each ground being divided into compartments, and ornamented with the founder's badges, the bear and the ragged staff, like the grounds in the side windows. The order of the arrangement of the colors of these grounds—red, blue, blue, red—is a strong proof not only that the figures are *in situ*, but also of the originality of the glass which occupies the cuspidated heads of the three central lower lights. For it will be found, that of these three lights the two outer ones had red grounds, and the inner or central light an exterior blue ground; an arrangement which would produce an alternation of red and blue grounds across the lower lights of the window thus:—

| Red | Blue || Red | Blue | Red || Blue | Red |

The glass in the cuspidated heads of the three central lower lights would appear to have belonged to some large subject. It seems to have immediate reference to some design which consisted of three glorified figures, the centre one of which was either larger than the others or was raised above them. For the glass in the centre light (marked **i** in the diagram) represents the upper part of a nimbus (not cruciferous as far as I could ascertain), from which yellow rays proceed, and extend over a red ground next the nimbus, and over a blue ground beyond; which blue ground occupies the remainder of the space as far as the stonework will allow. This blue ground is painted to represent clouds, and is powdered with yellow flaming stars.

The glass in the two outer central lights (marked **h** and **k** in the diagram) represents only yellow rays traversing a red ground, and these rays, it is evident from their less divergence as compared with those in the centre light, proceeded from some point lower down in each light than the nimbus in the middle light.

We probably should conjecture rightly, if we supposed that the subject of which these fragments formed part consisted of some prominent piece of Marian symbolism. The chapel is dedicated to the Blessed Virgin ; and she was one of the holy persons intended to be honored by the earl's bequest of a golden image to the shrine of St. Alban. But, in order to ascertain whether any other portions of the glass now in the window belonged to such a subject, a consideration of the space which it may be supposed to have occupied becomes necessary ; and in this we must particularly attend to what Sir William Dugdale says, as to the state of the window in his time.

In his *Antiquities of Warwickshire* there is an engraving of eight kneeling figures, the portraits, as appears from the inscriptions which accompany them, of Earl Richard, the founder ; of his first Countess, Elizabeth, and her three daughters, Margaret, Eleanor, and Elizabeth ; and of his second countess, Isabella, and her two children, Henry, first Duke of Warwick, and the Lady Anne. Among these inscriptions we may recognise the "scripture of the marriage of the earl," added by the earl's executors after the completion of the windows.

These portraits are arranged on the page in three rows ; the upper one consisting of the effigy of the earl between those of his two wives. But this arrangement, though the most convenient for the engraver, we may be certain was not the arrangement of the figures in the window. All analogy points to the conclusion that these portraits were placed in the window in a single row ; a supposition which, indeed, is strengthened by the attitudes of the figures in the engraving. The earl, who is represented in profile, looks towards the spectator's left, which, if the figure were in the window, would in reality be facing the north. His first countess and her three daughters look in the same direction as the earl ; whilst the second countess faces the earl, and consequently would look towards the south ; to which point also her son and daughter turn. So that if the figures are supposed to be in the window, and there placed in a single row, the earl, his first countess, and her three daughters would look towards the north, and face his second countess, her son, and daughter, who would look towards the south.

The difficulty is to determine whether these figures were arranged in a row which continued uninterruptedly across the whole window, or which was divided into two portions and confined to the outer lights, under the figures of St. Thomas, St. Alban, St. Wenefride, and St. John.

Of course, if our opinion should be in favor of the continuity of the row, the space to be allotted to the central subject will, as a necessary result, be greatly diminished.

If we could, with absolute certainty, identify the figure in the lower part of the middle light of the window (marked L. 1 in the diagram) with the effigy of the founder delineated in the engraving given by Dugdale, its size, coupled with the appearance of the engraved figures, might solve the question. For the figure in the window, with its tent-like canopy of state of which the remains exist, is on a scale sufficient to occupy the entire breadth of the light. Such dimensions must have given rise to great crowding of the figures, if we suppose that they were all upon the same scale, and were confined to the four lights in the wings of the window. That they were of the same size, appears from the engraving which is given by Dugdale; and all analogy would confirm that supposition, for the son and daughters were grown persons when the glass was put up. And that the figures were not so greatly crowded together, as must have been the case had they been confined to four lights, also appears from the engraving, where each figure is represented separately, and with the whole of its heraldry shown; which the engraver could hardly have supplied had they very much overlapped each other. I say, had they very much overlapped each other, because, even according to the theory of a continuous row, two of the earl's daughters by his first wife must have occupied one light; but, according to the contrary theory, five figures on one side of the window at least must have been crowded into two lights. I think that it is more probable that the figures were disposed in a continuous row which extended across the entire window; and that the founder was placed in the middle light, his countesses in the lights on each side, his three daughters by his first wife in the two south outer lights, and his son and daughter by his second wife in the corresponding lights on the north side. It is probable that the canopies of state in the three middle lights were a little taller

than those in the outer lights ; and, if the theory of a continuous row of figures is correct, we may reasonably conclude that the effigies occupied in the centre lights the spaces marked in the diagram L. 1 and 2, M. 1, 2, and 3, and N ; and in the side lights the spaces marked O. 1 and 2, P. Q. and R, immediately under the figures of St. Thomas, St. Alban, St. Wenefride, and St. John ; which would leave, as the space available for the principal subject, that marked in the diagram S. 1 and 2, T. 1 and 2, and U. 1 and 2.

The difficulty felt in identifying the existing figure in the middle light with the engraving of the founder's effigy arises from a discrepancy in the heraldry on the dresses of the two figures. The arms represented on this figure in the engraving given by Dugdale are the quartered coat of Beauchamp and Newburgh. Those on the figure in the window consist of the same coat with an inescutcheon of pretence of Despencer. The latter arms would no doubt be the earl's proper coat after his second wife became heiress of the Despencer family, and I can account for the discrepancy only by supposing, either that the figure in the window belongs to another series of effigies in the chapel, which is improbable both from Sir William Dugdale's silence, and the absence of any allusion to the founder in the tracery of the side windows, or else that the engraver by accident omitted the Despencer inescutcheon. Sir William Dugdale has left no description of the arms in addition to the engravings ; and there is this circumstance which seems to impugn the engraver's accuracy, that in the plate the Despencer inescutcheon (omitted in the earl's arms) is made to appear in the arms of the Lady Eleanor, the second daughter of the earl's first wife, who was heiress of Lord Berkeley, as well as (properly) in the arms of the Lady Anne, daughter of the earl's second wife, who was ultimately heiress of the Despencer family. The figure, which is much mutilated, is turned, like that in the engraving, towards the north, and has evidently been placed under a canopy of state. The head of the figure is lost, and has been replaced by that of a lady, perhaps one of the female effigies. The canopy has lost its upper part, and the whole subject has been thrust upwards above its proper position in the window.

With the exception of two subjects which I shall presently

notice, I think that we shall have no difficulty in concluding that of the remainder of the glass in the window none formed part of the original design ; and that, with regard to these two subjects, strong grounds may be adduced for the belief that they have been removed from some other windows in this chapel.

To commence with the three lower centre lights of the window ; the subject in the north light (marked s. 1 in the diagram) is the upper part of the figure of St. Elizabeth. On the portion of the scroll which remains above the head of the figure is part of the forty-third verse of the first chapter of St. Luke's Gospel ; and the residue of the scroll with the remainder of the verse is, I think, in the cuspidated head of the next light but one to the east of the first window from the east on the north side of the chapel. This glass is an insertion. What at first appears to be the lower part of the saint (marked s. 2 in the diagram) is, in fact, the lower part and feet of another figure on a larger scale than was that of St. Elizabeth, and probably the remains of the figure of a prophet or patriarch. Another ground for concluding that the glass in question is an insertion consists in the fact, that the nimbus is plain and not radiated, and that the red background to the figure, instead of being plain red, like that in the cuspidated head of the light, is reticulated and ornamented with the bear and the ragged staff.

The subject in the south light (marked v. 1 in the diagram) is the upper part of the figure of the Blessed Virgin. On the portion of the scroll which remains above the head of the figure is part of the forty-eighth verse of the first chapter of St. Luke ; and the residue of the scroll with the remainder of the verse is, I think, in the cuspidated head of the light nearest the east of the same window on the north side of the chapel to which the figure of St. Elizabeth belonged, and from which this figure also must have been taken. Another ground for concluding that it is an insertion in the east window consists in the fact, that its background is not red, like the ground in the cuspidated head of the light above, but blue ; and moreover it is reticulated and ornamented with the founder's badges ; both which features would be correct, if this figure stood, as I have supposed, next to that of St. Margaret in the window on the north side of the chapel. What appears to be the lower part and

feet of this figure (and occupies the space marked v. 2 in the diagram) really belongs to a different figure; which last, from the inscription on a scroll at the bottom of the bracket beneath, appears to be that of the prophet Amos.

The subject in the middle light (marked τ. 1 in the diagram) is the upper part of the figure of a prophet or patriarch. The figure holds a small scroll rolled up, to which allusion is made in the inscription "... , non aperietur" on the scroll which waves above the head of the figure. It is clearly an insertion; the ground is blue ornamented with the founder's badges. The lower part or feet (marked τ. 2) in the diagram belong to another figure, which appears from the inscription on the bracket to have been that of the prophet Isaiah.

The two subjects concerning which I think the greatest difficulties must be felt to exist are the following. It will be most convenient to commence with that in the lower part of the southern central light (which is marked N in the diagram).

The subject here represented is the Blessed Virgin. She is kneeling, and turned towards the north side of the window. The hands are crossed upon her breast; the eyes and countenance are downcast. Above the head of the figure is a red cloud, from which yellow rays diverge, spreading themselves over a blue ground powdered with yellow flaming stars, down to the shoulders of the figure. It is habited in a mantle and close-fitting under-garment, the upper part or body of which is richly jeweled, and the lower part or skirt is purple, powdered with small roundels, each representing yellow rays issuing from a blue cloud. The nimbus is red. This figure, which is of a larger size than any of the four original figures in the window, but is on the same scale as the figures of some prophets or patriarchs in the lower part of the window, which clearly have belonged to some of the side windows, may, from its appearance, have formed part of the subject of the Annunciation, or of the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin. If the latter, we might be inclined to think that we had at last discovered some part of the subject which occupied the upper portion of the central lights.

But the space required for the representation of a Coronation of the Virgin, on such a scale as the size of the

present figure would demand, would greatly exceed the limits necessarily prescribed by the adoption of the theory of a continuous row of effigies across the window. Though I fully admit the difficulties which surround the subject, in whatever light it is regarded, I think that, upon the whole, it is less easy to conceive that this figure formed part of the missing central subject, than that it belonged to one of the side windows of the chapel.

In the most northern of the centre lights (at the spot marked *M. 1* in the diagram) is a head of Christ crowned with thorns and surrounded with a cruciferous nimbus. The countenance, which is turned towards the south, looks downwards. The scale of this head is the same as that of the last-mentioned figure. Whether this head was originally on a blue background traversed with yellow diverging rays, I am unable to say, but, on a close inspection, it appears that the blue ground we now see is made up of fragments of glass once used for draperies; and that the greater part, at all events, of the existing yellow rays has been cut from fragments of yellow glass originally used for other purposes. This modern work may have been done in repairing an original design; and it may have been devised with the intention of producing an effect in conformity with that of the radiated ground above the figure of the Virgin in the opposite light.

The remains of a figure, which are just beneath this head (and occupy the space marked *M. 2* in the diagram), appear not to have belonged to the head in question. About the shoulders there is a portion of background, red, diapered, and powdered with yellow flaming stars. The background to the remaining portion of the figure is blue, divided into small squares, and ornamented with the founder's badges. The rest of the light (marked *M. 3* in the diagram) is filled with remains of a third figure.

My impression is that the head of Christ belonged to one of the side windows, as well as the rest of the glass with the exception perhaps of the fragment of the red background which is powdered with yellow stars. This indeed may have belonged to the upper part of the middle light.

There seems to be no difficulty in supposing that the remainder of the glass does not belong to the east window.

The space below the kneeling figure of the earl (marked

L. 2 in the diagram) is filled with fragments, amongst which is a portion of foliage with red fruit intermixed, which may have belonged to a painting of the Temptation of our first parents—if there were such a subject—in any one of the side windows.

To proceed to the glass in the lower parts of the outer lights; that immediately below the figure of St. Thomas (in the space marked o. 1 in the diagram) consists of the upper portion of the figure of a patriarch or prophet. This figure is on the same scale as that of the Virgin and the head of Christ in the spaces marked N and M. 1 in the diagram. It is evidently too large for the place it occupies; for, if complete, it would extend about one-fourth of its length below the sill of the window. There can therefore be no reasonable doubt that this glass belonged to one of the side windows. Above the head of the figure is a wavy scroll, in this instance complete, but without any inscription. The background is red divided into lozenges, and ornamented with the founder's badges. What appears to be the lower part of the figure (and occupies the space marked o. 2 in the diagram) is, in fact, a portion of another.

The subject which occupies the next light (in the space marked P in the diagram) is the upper portion of a prophet, as appears from the part of the scroll that remains above its head, and the inscription upon it. It is evident that this figure is not *in situ*, it being too large for the place. If completed by the addition of its lower part and feet, the figure would reach below the sill of the window to a distance equal to one fourth the height of the figure. It is upon a blue ground divided into squares, and ornamented with the founder's badges. Without doubt it belonged to one of the side windows.

On the south side of the window, the lower part of the light (marked q in the diagram) is filled with fragments, consisting principally of the remains of two figures, each on such a scale as would render them, if completed, about one-fourth too long for the light. We may therefore conclude that they belonged to one of the side windows. The ground is red divided into squares, and ornamented with the founder's badges.

The remaining part of the window (marked R in the diagram) is occupied with a portion of the figure of a

prophet or patriarch, which, if completed by the addition of its lower part and feet, would, like the others, be too tall for the light. It may therefore be considered to have been removed from one of the side windows. The background is red divided into lozenges, and ornamented with the founder's badges.

Such is the best account that I have been able to furnish of these most interesting windows. It is unavoidably dry and technical; and possibly some of the positions which I have advanced will not meet with ready acceptance. I shall, however, be sufficiently repaid for the pains I have taken, if my survey of the glass should in any degree facilitate the labors of others.

In conclusion I will add a few observations on the general character of the glazing.

In the contract with the earl's executors John Prudde, the glazier, amongst other things, undertook to employ no English glass, but to glaze all the windows with the best foreign glass that was procurable in England; to use the best colors, and as little white, green, and black glass as possible. Designs on paper were to be delivered to him by the executors, which were to be fresh traced, and pictured in rich colors by another painter at Prudde's expense, from which the glass-paintings were to be executed. The whole cost of painting and fixing was to be at the rate of 2s. per superficial foot, which would be equal to about 1*l.* 4s. present money.

I imagine that the use of foreign glass at this period was not unfrequent. For I cannot perceive that the material used in these windows differs in texture or tone from much other glazing of the same date with which I am familiar. The small effect that the weather has had on it proves it to be a very hard kind of glass; but glass of an equally hard nature, and of the same date, may be seen elsewhere. Nor is there anything remarkable in the quality of the colors. Prudde, indeed, seems to have been a man of sounder taste than his employers; for notwithstanding their objection to the use of white and of green glass, he seems to have used each color without stint. In point of general execution his work is a very good average specimen of the period. It is brilliant, rich, harmonious, and solid; and as flat and confused as the contemporary glass-paintings, and paintings in

oil or water-color always are. To have been otherwise at that time would have been impossible; for the art of producing relief in any kind of painting was then unknown. Its discovery was reserved for a later period. Once known, the practice was adopted with equal eagerness by the artists in glass-painting, and by the artists who worked in oil or water-color; and during the period when modern art touched perfection, the different means of representation were each faithfully worked out according to its own peculiar laws. In Prudde's work we recognise the influence which the general art of his period exercised on his own, just as we see in the next century the glass-paintings influenced by the progress of the Renaissance. It is surprising to me that persons should ever fall into the error of supposing, that there is any necessary or scientific connection between glass-paintings which look as if they had been "ironed out flat," and Gothic architecture. Flatness was the fault of the art of representation in painting generally in Prudde's time. The flatness of his own work is evidently the result of his ignorance of a better method, and not of intention.

The members of the Institute will have an opportunity on their visit to Lichfield of comparing the effect of these glass-paintings with that of glass-paintings about one hundred years later. I shall not anticipate their judgment by any remarks. I will only recommend them to prepare themselves for the occasion by studying the example under consideration, and noting its defects as well as its merits. If the state of modern glass-painting in England is deplorable, as an examination of the specimens now exhibited at South Kensington abundantly proves it to be, we should remember that the fault lies rather with the patrons of the art than with its professors. A general truth is involved in the verse—

"The Drama's laws the Drama's patrons give."

* * * The correction of this memoir and its preparation for the press were among the last labors of the lamented author, of whom a sudden and unforeseen stroke has deprived us. Though a learned, careful, sound, and acute archæologist in many branches of the science, he was best known from his

studies in the art of glass-painting, in regard to which his reputation was European. Of this art he not only investigated and illustrated the history and principles, but endeavoured, we may hope with some success, to restore it, not in a spirit of mere imitation, but as a living and progressive art, and to raise its standard to a level with those acknowledged by artists both in painting and in sculpture. Much remained for him to do had he been spared longer, but he has laid a foundation on which others may securely build. With his refined taste and sound judgment was combined a technical knowledge, not merely of the treatment, but of the actual manufacture of the material. His drawings of glass paintings are unique. In character and expression, force, truth, purity, and brilliance of color, as well as in the representation of the texture of the glass, they are unparalleled. They are, in fact, as perfect fac-similes of the originals as can be produced by water-color upon paper.

J. L. P.

A.—Richard Earl of Warwick, who founded the Beauchamp chapel, in which he was interred, and died 30th April, 1439, was son and heir of Thomas Earl of Warwick by Margaret daughter of William Lord Ferrers of Groby. He married, first, Elizabeth daughter and heiress of Thomas Lord Berkeley, by whom he left three daughters, Margaret, who was the wife of the famous John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury; Eleanor, who married first Thomas Lord Roos, and secondly Edmund Beaufort, Marquis of Dorset and Duke of Somerset; and Elizabeth, who married George Nevil Lord Latimer: this earl married, secondly, Isabel daughter of Thomas le Despencer, Earl of Gloucester, who by the death of her brother Richard and her elder sister Elizabeth without issue became sole heir to her father. This Isabel was the widow of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Worcester, the cousin of the earl, who had a special dispensation from the Pope to marry her. By her he left issue Henry his son and heir, afterwards Duke of Warwick, and one daughter, Anne, who became the wife of Sir Richard Nevil.

B.—An abstract of the covenants between the executors of the earl and the several artists employed in the erection and decoration of the chapel and tomb is given by Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, edit. 1656, p. 354, of which the following is an extract, so far as relates to the glass:—"John Prudde of Westminster, glasier, 23 Junii, 25 H. 6, covenanteth, &c. to glasse all the windows in the new Chappell in Warwick, with Glasse beyond the Seas, and with no Glasse of England; and that in the finest wise, with the best, cleanest, and strongest glasse of beyond the Sea that may be had in England, and of the finest colours of blew, yellow, red, purple, sanguine, and violet, and of all other colours that shall be most necessary, and best to make rich and embellish the matters, Images, and stories that shall be delivered and appointed by the said Executors by

patterns in paper, afterwards to be newly traced and pictured by another Painter in rich colour at the charges of the said Glasier : All which proportions the said John Prudde must make perfectly to fine, glasse, eneylin it, and finely and strongly set it in lead and souder, as well as any Glasse is in England. Of white Glasse, green Glasse, black Glasse, he shall put in as little as shall be needfull for the shewing and setting forth of the matters, Images, and storyes. And the said Glasier shall take charge of the same Glasse, wrought and to be brought to Warwick, and set up there, in the windows of the said Chapell; the Executors paying to the said Glasier for every foot of Glasse *ii.s.*, and so for the whole *xcii.li. i.s. x.d.*

“ It appeareth, that after these windows were so finished, the executors devised some alterations, as to adde for our Lady; and Scripture of the marriage of the Earle, and procured the same to be set forth in Glasse in most fine and curious colours; and for the same they payd the sum of *xiii.li. vi.s. iv.d.* Also it appeareth, that they caused the windows in the vestry to be curiously glazed with Glasse of *ii.s.* a foot, for which they payd *L.s.* The sum totall for the Glasse of the said Vestry and Chappell, *xvi.li. xviii.s. vi.d.*, which in all contain by measure;

“ The East window, *cxlix. foot, i. quarter, and two inches.*

“ The South windows *cccclx. foot, xi. inches.*

“ The North windows *cccv. foot.*

“ The totall *decccx. foot, iii. quarters of a foot, and two inches.*”

MEDLÆVAL GEM ENGRAVING.

By C. W. KING, M.A.

ALL who have written upon the Glyptic Art assume that gem engraving was utterly extinct in Europe during the whole extent of the Middle Ages—that is, from the coronation of Charlemagne as Emperor of the West in the year 800 down to the middle of the fifteenth century (1453), when Greek fugitives from Constantinople re-established its practice in Italy. The continuance of the art within the Greek empire during that period does not enter into the question, for this, together with all the other arts of antiquity, maintained a feeble existence there down to the very last, as numerous camei, some in fine sardonyx but the greater part in blood-stone, remain to testify. The agreement of these in style with the bezants of John Zimisses and the Comneni shows that the manufacture of such ecclesiastical decorations (their subjects are always Scriptural) was prosecuted with considerable briskness between the tenth century and the thirteenth. No Byzantine *intagli* were, however, produced during the same period, for if such had existed, they would be easily recognisable by the same unmistakeable stamp of the epoch impressed upon them, both as to subjects and their treatment, that marks the Byzantine camei and ivory carvings. The reason for this extinction of intaglio engraving is obvious enough; signets cut in hard stones were no longer in request, the official seals for stamping the leaden bullæ authenticating public documents were, like coin-dies, sunk in iron; whilst those for personal use were engraved in the precious metals.

Camei were the ornaments above all others deemed appropriate for reliquaries and similar furniture of the altar; a tradition dating from imperial times. In the estimate of art then current, the value of the material and the time expended

in elaborating it counted for much. Another consideration also influenced this preference, the greater facility of executing a tolerable work in relief than in intaglio: a fact declared from the first by the nascent art producing the perfectly modeled Etruscan scarabs, which serve as vehicles for such barbarous intagli upon their bases, and confirmed by this second childhood of the Byzantine school.

It is at first sight apparent, from two considerations, that the genuine Gothic artists never attempted engraving upon hard stones. The first, and this an argument of the greatest weight, is that no gems are to be met with exhibiting purely Gothic designs. We know from the innumerable seals preserved, both official and personal, many of them most elaborately drawn and artistically executed, what would be the designs that gems engraved by a hand contemporary with these seals must necessarily have exhibited; for, as the analogy of the two arts requires, the same hand would have cut the intagli in stone and the seals in metal. Thus at a later time we find that the famous gem-engravers of the Revival, such as Il Greco, Matteo del Nassaro, and Valerio Belli, were also die sinkers. Any gems, therefore, engraved either in Italy, France, or Germany between the years 900 and 1453 would necessarily present such subjects as saints in ecclesiastical or monastic costume, knights arrayed in the armour of their times, and, above all, architectural embellishments, canopies and niches, the customary decorations of the mediæval seals in metal.

Besides this restriction as to subjects, the drawing of those ages has, even in its highest correctness, a peculiar character never to be mistaken, and which even pervades the paintings of the Italian school down to late in the fifteenth century, and those of the German for a century longer. Lastly, a class of subjects distinct from any known to antique glyptic art, armorial bearings arranged according to the rules of heraldry, would have constituted a large portion of anything executed in those times for seals, and yet such are wholly deficient.¹ Again, in the choice of the antique intagli set in mediæval seals, there is often evident a desire to pick out some figure agreeing with the owner's cognisance. And indeed some of the metal seals exhibit in their heraldic animals an attempt to

¹ See note 4, page 325.

copy representations of the like objects upon gems. Antiques of the class being so highly esteemed from the supposed mystic virtues of both substance and sigil, doubtless, had it been within the mediæval engraver's power, a gem would have been preferred by him for the purpose when about to execute the signet of a wealthy patron : on this consideration our second argument is founded. The great number of antique gems set in mediæval privy seals sufficiently proves how much such works were in request. The legends added upon the metal settings enchasing them show how the subjects were interpreted to suit the spirit of the times, often in a sense so forced as must have tried the faith of even their simple-minded owners. Certainly, had it been possible to execute in such valued materials designs better assimilated to the notions they desired to embody, such would have been attempted in a manner more or less barbarous, but still bearing unmistakably the stamp of Gothic art. This remark applies exactly to the latest intagli of antiquity, or rather to the earliest of mediæval times, the date of which can be accurately ascertained, the signets of the Emperor Lotharius. One is set in the cross that he presented to the Cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle, an oval crystal, $1\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in dimensions, engraved with his head in profile covered with the closely fitting Roman helmet seen upon the contemporary coinage. Around runs this legend cut in the stone, in imitation of a favorite Byzantine invocation which is found upon the *aurei* of the same epoch—

+ XPE ADIVVA HLOTHARIVM REG.

—“Christe adjuva Hlotharium Regem.”—Both the style of the portrait and the lettering agree with those seen on the Carolingian *sous d'or*.

Still more curious, because betraying more of a national character, is the other seal of Lotharius,² of which an impression only exists attached to a document, dated 877, preserved in the archives of the department of the Haute-Marne, a bust in full face, the hair long and parted, with seemingly a nimbus over the head, having the hand upon his breast, and in the field something like an arrow, perhaps intended for a palm-branch. The entire design shows the taste of the age, retaining no reminiscence of the antique even in its lowest

² Figured in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1858.

decline.³ The beveled edge shows that the stone was a nicolo about $1\frac{1}{4} \times 1$ inch in size. On the metal setting is the legend, cut in large letters—

LOTHARIUS DEI GRACIA REX.

The Byzantine camei themselves supply a further illustration ; they exactly agree in character with other bas-reliefs of the same origin in whatever materials they may be executed, ivory, box-wood, marble, or bronze.

Amongst the Transalpine nations, at least during the last two centuries of the period above indicated, heraldic devices would have been beyond all others the subjects to employ the seal-engraver in preference to those of a religious character. In fact, Agricola writing soon after 1450 mentions the engraving of coats of arms upon the German onyx as then in common use, without the slightest allusion to that art as having been but recently introduced into Holland. However, as Bruges was then famed for its jewelers (L. de Berquem flourished there at that time), no doubt every new invention in the lapidary's art speedily found its way thither, and was cultivated to the utmost. It is on record how munificently similar discoveries were remunerated by the wealthy of those times, as Charles the Bold's liberality to the inventor of diamond-cutting conspicuously testifies.

Briefly to sum up the substance of the preceding arguments. For the space of five centuries the Gothic seal-engravers were employed in executing an infinite number of signets in metal, to which business all their skill was devoted, as the elaborateness and occasional merit of the work manifestly proves. The designs on these seals were invariably in the taste of their age, being either religious or heraldic, and generally accompanied by architectural decorations.

The style of all these ages has an unmistakeable character of its own, from which the simplicity of the artists could never deviate by an attempt to revert to antique models ; indeed, whatsoever Gothic art has produced shows the exact date, almost the very year of its production. Yet nothing, to speak generally, displaying the Gothic style has ever come to light amongst the profusion of engraved stones preserved, not even amongst those set in church plate, which would have admitted as more appropriate to its own destination any

³ See the "Trésor de Conques" for the strange intaglio of the Saviour in amethyst, of this period.

contemporary work, had such been attainable. As a proof of this, immediately upon the Revival we find the most eminent gem-engravers employed almost exclusively in executing crystal plaques with intagli of Scriptural subjects for the furniture of the altar.

Nor did such an exclusion of contemporary works (had any existed) arise from a disregard of the productions of the glyptic art. The rudest works of antiquity are to be seen encased in Gothic goldsmiths' work, honored with the same precious mountings as the finest and most costly stones. It was enough that the subject suited the taste of the goldsmith, the art exhibited therein was altogether disregarded. It is very plain besides, that, in consequence of the prevalent belief in the virtue of sigils, all engraved stones were esteemed as more valuable than those not engraved, even though the latter were of a more precious species. Again, it was not its mere antiquity that gave the sigil its virtue; that was derived entirely from the heavenly influence under which it had been made, and therefore the same and invariable whatever was the date of its execution. For example, we have abundant proof that, as soon as the art was revived, the manufacture of astrological talismans flourished quite as vigorously as of old under the Lower Empire. The case therefore stands thus. We find signets as important as ever, and their execution employing the best skill of the age, but taking for their material only metal; whilst, nevertheless, antique intagli in gems were more valuable than ever, and adapted to the prevailing notions by the most forced interpretations. The supply, too, falling so short of the demand that the very rudest were accepted and highly prized by persons not destitute of an appreciation of the beautiful, or at least of the highly finished—and, nevertheless, in spite of all this love of engraved stones, not a single production existing of that class which can be assigned to a Gothic artist. From these considerations we are forced to agree that the general conclusion of archæologists is well founded, and that the art during all the above period was totally extinct in Europe except within the precincts of Constantinople.

It is true that a passage or two in the works of mediæval writers seem to contravene this conclusion, for example, where Marbodus, writing at the close of the eleventh century, directs how to engrave particular sigils on the proper

gems : such as a vine entwined with ivy on the sard ; a lobster with a raven on the beryl ; Mars and Virgo holding a branch on the calcedony, &c. ; directions which at first sight would appear to indicate the existence of artists capable of executing his directions. But in reality the passage proves nothing, being no doubt merely transcribed from the same more ancient sources whence he drew the materials for his Lapidarium.

We come now to consider a most interesting class of monuments, and which may be pronounced exceptions to the above rule ; few indeed in number, and their origin forming the most difficult problem to be encountered in the history of this art. These exceptional pieces are what Vasari alludes to (*Vita di Valerio Belli*) where, treating of the engravers of his own age, the Cinque-Cento, he has these remarkable words:—"The art of engraving on hard stones and precious stones (*gioie*) was lost together with the other arts of design after the fall of Greece and Rome. For many and many a year it continued lost so that nobody was found to attend to it, and although something was still done, yet it was not of the kind that one should take account thereof. And, so far as there is any record, there is no one to be found who began to work well and to get into the good way (*dar nel buono*), except in the times of Martin V. and of Paul IV. (1417 and 1464). Thenceforward it went on improving until Lorenzo the Magnificent, &c." Vasari's "*buono*" always means the classic style ; the expression "although something was still done," cannot be understood as meaning nothing more than the Byzantine camei that occasionally found their way into Italy, or works done in that country by the Greek artists, so much employed before the springing up of a native school, as painters and architects, like Buschetus, the builder of the Duomo at Pisa, and those who raised S. Marco at Venice in so purely Byzantine a style. The mention of the two popes indicates the place of the practice and the improvement of the art as Rome itself ; in fact, we know that Paul IV. was a passionate lover of gems, and left a magnificent collection, purchased of his heirs by Lorenzo dei Medici, and incorporated in his own, a sufficient proof of the taste and judgment exhibited in bringing them together. A cameo portrait of the pontiff amongst them is said by Giulianelli to be a fine per-

formance, and to show the hand of an accomplished artist, affording the best confirmation of Vasari's statement.

But to go back to the very earliest times in which any traces of the art appear, Scipio Ammirato (Hist. Flor. p. 741) mentions a certain Peruzzi, "il quale era singolare intagliatore di pietre," as forging the seal of Carlo da Durazzo. This was in the year 1379.⁴ Here then is an instance, not to be looked for at so early a period, of a prince having for his seal an engraved gem, and that apparently not an antique, else the Florentine artist had not been competent to imitate it so exactly. Again, Giulianelli (p. 76) quotes Gori's *Adversaria* to the effect that before the year 1300 the Florentine Republic used two seals—both engraved stones. The first, large, for sealing public documents, was a plasma engraved with a Hercules (one of the supporters of the city arms), with the legend running round it—SIGILLVM FLORENTINORVM. The other, small, for letters, bore the Florentine lily; legend—SIGILLVM PRIORVM. The mention of the large size of the former seal, as well as the subject in such a stone, suffice to show that this plasma was not an antique intaglio fitted into the seal with the legend added upon the metal, whilst the engraving upon the second must necessarily have been done expressly, as no such device could have been supplied by the relics of antiquity.⁵ Giulianelli also remarks, with some plausibility, that, in the same way as the art of mosaic-working was kept up at Rome during the ages following the fall of the Western Empire, there is reason to believe that the art of gem-engraving may in like manner have been maintained there. That the Italian lapidaries could at all times shape, facet, and polish the softer stones, such as

⁴ The signet of Jean sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy (d. 1417) is preserved. His arms are engraved upon a pale sapphire, which is colored underneath with the proper heraldic tinctures. In the Waterton Collection I observed a shield of arms very skilfully cut in a fine jacinth, and set in a ring evidently by its fashion belonging to the first half of the fifteenth century.

⁵ Le Trésor Sacré de Saint Denys (1646): S. Louis.—"L'anneau du meisme glorieux Roy Sainct Louis qui est précieux: Il est d'or semé de fleurs de lys, garny d'un grand saphir quarré sur lequel est gravé l'image du meisme saint avec les lettres S. L., qui veulent dire *Sigillum*

Lodovici. Sur le rond de l'anneau par le dedans sont graves ces mots, *C'est le Signet de Roy S. Louis, qui y ont esté adjoustez après sa mort*" (p. 107). The wedding-ring of the same prince is said to have been set with a sapphire engraved with the Crucifixion; the shank covered with lilies and *marguerites*, allusive to his own name and his wife's. This attribution is a mere *custode's* story. Mr. Waterton lately examined the gem, and puts it down at a much later age: the king, a full length, has the *nimbus*, showing the figure to be posterior to his beatification. It probably belongs to Louis XII.'s time.

amethysts, garnets, emeralds, is apparent from the number of antique gems of those species extant, but recut into the then fashionable octagonal form for the purpose of setting in mediæval rings. Vasari's second date indeed, 1464, might be supposed to have some connexion with the influx of Greek fugitives after the fall of Constantinople eleven years before. But Vasari would certainly not have discerned any "improvement" in what they were capable of producing, for Italian plastic art was by that time fully perfected, as we see by Luca della Robbia's terra-cottas, not to mention the bas-reliefs of Ghiberti and Donatello. And again, in all probability very few of the artist class fled from Constantinople, the Greeks naturally enough preferring the tolerant Mohammedans to their persecuting rivals of the Latin Church. The emigrants were the nobles, special objects of jealousy to the conquerors, and the grammarians, whose learning was greatly sought after in Italy and most liberally remunerated. Besides this, Byzantium, when the empire was once more re-established after the expulsion of the Franks, who had held the city during the first half of the thirteenth century, did nothing more for art, its vitality having been utterly exhausted by the grinding tyranny of those barbarians. When Vasari specifies two particular periods after 1400, and quotes the pontificates of two popes as manifest epochs of improvement in the glyptic art, he must be referring to works done in Italy and by Italians. It is very provoking that Vasari, usually so loquacious, should have passed over this most interesting dawn of the art with such contemptuous brevity. He mentions no engraver by name antecedent to Gio. delle Corniule, who worked for Lorenzo dei Medici, and had learnt the art from "masters of different countries" brought to Florence by Lorenzo and Piero (his father, not his son, it would seem) to repair (*rassettare*) the antiques they had collected. These expressions prove that the art was flourishing already in other places before it was domiciled in Florence; and this was perhaps the reason why the patriotic Messer Giorgio passes so slightly over these earlier celebrities—"vixere fortes ante Agamemona." Milan was long before noted for its jewelers; Anguilotto Bracciaforte was celebrated in the fourteenth century. These lapidaries cut into tables and pyramids the harder precious stones, such as spinels and

balais rubies, and even polished the diamond before L. de Berquem's discovery in 1475 of the mode of shaping that stone; and therefore, as far as the mechanical process was concerned, they were fully competent to engrave intagli. The engravers named by Camillo Leonardo, in 1503, as then the most eminent, and who therefore must have been working for many years in the preceding century, in the school of the quattrocentisti, are Lionardo of Milan, Anichini of Ferrara, Tagliacarne of Genova, Gio. Maria of Mantua. "Their works, equal to the antique, were diffused all over Italy," which presupposes a long-established reputation previous to the date of his "Speculum Lapidum." Some of these may have been Vasari's "foreign masters."

It was in the year 1488 that Lorenzo founded the Accademia di S. Marco, appointing as president the aged Bertaldo, the favourite pupil of Donatello, for the cultivation of all the fine arts, including the glyptic. But it was long before this, and in his father's lifetime, that he had summoned the foreign engravers above alluded to: inasmuch as Gio. delle Corniuole learned the art from them it must have before been extinct at Florence. Vasari's expression, "diversi paesi," would, in the language of his times, apply to the states of northern Italy almost as strongly as to Flanders, or to Alexandria, for to the Tuscan even those of the next city were foreigners and "natural enemies."

As the die-sinkers of his age were, as a matter of course, the most eminent gem-engravers, such was probably the case in the century before; and Pollaiuolo, whose dies for the Papal coinage he so highly extols, may be supposed likewise to have tried his skill upon gems, and to have inaugurated the improvement that dawned in his times at Rome, where he and his brother worked till their death in 1498. And since the earliest works quoted by Vasari are both portraits in intaglio—that of Savonarola (put to death in 1498), by Gio. delle Corniuole, and the head of Ludovico Sforza (Duke of Milan from 1494 to 1500), executed in ruby by Domenico dei Camei⁶—we may conclude that the pieces done in 1417 and 1464, which began to show signs of improvement, were similarly portraits, and in intaglio. Such was naturally the first method in which the die-sinker

⁶ He doubtless executed in the same gem the portrait *in relief* of his conqueror

Louis XII., now in Her Majesty's collection.

would essay his skill upon the new and refractory material, and the one in which the result would be most serviceable to his patron. No camei of that age are to be found that can be imagined to exhibit the improvement mentioned by Vasari, and the supposed cameo portrait of Paul IV., above quoted, I very much suspect belongs to a later pontificate.

Vasari's hints, coupled with these facts, throw some light upon the origin of that rare class of intagli mounted in massy gold rings made after the mediæval fashion, which, both by the intrinsic value of the stone and of the setting, evince that they were designed for personages of the highest rank, being the greatest rarities that the age could produce. On this very account such are the precise objects likely to exhibit the most novel and most admired improvements in the art. First amongst these ranks the spinel in the Marlborough Collection engraved with a youthful head in front face, wearing a crown of three fleur-de-lys. (See woodcut, fig. 1.) The intaglio, in a small square stone, is deep-cut and neatly done, but the face is quite the conventional Gothic head seen on coins, and exhibits no individuality whatever to guide us in attributing it to any particular personage. It is set in a massy gold ring ribbed longitudinally, and chased with flowers in the style prevailing about the middle of the fifteenth century, a date further indicated by the lettering of the motto engraved around it on the bezel—*tel il nest*—"there is no one like him." It is evident that both intaglio and ring are of the same date, for, besides the Gothic fashion of the crown, the work of the intaglio has nothing of the antique character, and, though highly polished internally, does not appear to have been sunk by the antique method; this last remark, indeed, applies to the entire class now under consideration. The portrait may be intended for some Italian prince of the age. The only circumstance against this explanation is that the motto is in black letter, a Tedescan barbarism unknown in Italy, where the round Lombardic continued in use until superseded by the original Roman about the date of 1450. The species of the gem at first suggests to us the famous portrait of Ludovico Sforza already noticed; but, that being on a ruby the size of a *giulio* (*i. e.*, an inch in diameter), it follows necessarily almost that, like the heads on the improved coinage of the times (imitated by Henry VII., and by James IV. of Scotland in



Fig. 1.—Intaglio on Spinel. Marlborough Collection.

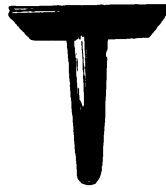


Fig. 2.—"Signet of Matthew Paris." Waterton Collection.



Fig. 3.—Intaglio; Fourteenth century?
Examples of Mediæval Engraved Gems.

his bonnet-pieces), the latter would have been in profile in somewhat slight intaglio, stiffly drawn, yet full of character, like the contemporary relief in ruby of Louis XII. just mentioned.

The Marlborough gem was described in the old catalogue as the "Head of a Lombard king;" but not only does the form of the crown contravene this explanation, for these barbarians, as their coins and the contemporary Frankish *sous d'or* attest, aped the diadem of the Byzantine Cæsars; whilst for their signets they had their own image and superscription cut on massy gold rings, of which Childeric's is a specimen, or on large gems of the softer kinds, as in the two seals of Lotharius above described.

Mr. Albert Way discovers in this little portrait a resemblance to that of our Henry VI. upon his great seal. Of this similarity there can be no doubt; yet, unfortunately, such a coincidence is far from deciding the question, such portraits being entirely conventional, and suiting equally well any number of contemporary princes. He conjectures that the ring, a lady's from its small dimensions, may have belonged to Margaret of Anjou, which is, indeed, supported by the loving motto, "There is no one like him." This pleasing and romantic theory has, doubtless, several circumstances in its favor. This princess coming from the south of France (if we allow that the art in Italy was sufficiently advanced to produce such a work), her position would have enabled her to procure its best and earliest performances. Her marriage with Henry VI. took place in 1445, a sufficient time after the first epoch (1415), named as that of an improvement in the art in Italy. Her father, the "good king René," had been dispossessed of Naples in 1442, only three years before; he was himself an artist as well as a poet, and introduced many useful arts into Provence, glass-making amongst the rest. The last being then chiefly cultivated with a reference to art in the production of elegant vessels or of painted windows, there is a probability that gem-engraving likewise may have shared his patronage. Such an attribution of the ring would also explain the appearance of the black letter, used till late in the following century by the French, in the motto, and the general style of the jewel itself, which certainly is not of Italian workmanship. But enough of attributions founded upon mere probabilities. In

the Uzielli collection there was a somewhat similar work (procured in France by Bööcke), a female head in front-face very deeply cut in an octagonal amethyst, but quite in the stiff Gothic manner of a metal seal, and certainly not antique, not even to be referred to the Lower Empire. It was set in a very heavy ring made like a many-stranded cable, a fashion much used throughout the fifteenth century, and, indeed, extremely tasteful. Here, also, both gem and ring are apparently of the same date, but there is no inscription of any kind to assist conjecture. Of such heads given in full face more shall be said when we come to a most interesting specimen of the kind.

A greater affinity to the "Henry VI," both in material, execution, and lettering, is the jacinth intaglio now in the Braybrooke collection, set in a weighty though plain ring, which is said to have been found in Warwickshire. The device is a triple face combined in one head, seen in front, but differing altogether in treatment from the three masks thus united so common in Roman work. Here, indeed, a certain Gothic grimness pervades the design, and the hair is done in a manner totally different from the ancient, being represented by thick straight strokes, each terminating in a drill-hole. The intaglio, highly polished, is deeply sunk in the stone, and executed with the very greatest precision. On the bezel is the motto *noel* twice repeated. This triune face is the cognisance of the noble Milanese family, the Trivulzi, being the rebus on the name, "quasi tres vultus." The style of this intaglio, so bold and forcible, yet full of a Gothic quaintness, has no similarity whatever to the Roman antique. There can be little doubt that we have here an actual gem cut at Milan about the year 1450. A supposition which would account for the use of the black letter in the motto, will plausibly indicate at the same time the former owner of this valuable signet. Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, surnamed "the Great," born in 1441, having been slighted by Ludovico Sforza, became the most active partisan of his mortal enemy, Charles VIII., and afterwards of Louis XII. and François I. What, then, more natural than that he, a general in the French service, should inscribe upon his family signet the well-known Gallic war-cry, "Noel," *i. e.*, Emanuel, "God be with us," and that in the character still prevailing in his adopted country?

Our third example is analogous to the last in many respects. It also is cut in a precious material, a large and good sapphire, and is a female face in profile, the head covered with a cloth after the fashion of the Roman *contadine* (see woodcut, fig. 2). It is worked out in a manner resembling the preceding, allowance being made for the difference necessitated by the superior hardness of the stone, the most difficult (after the diamond) that ever taxes the engraver's skill. The intaglio has an extraordinary polish, but in technique equally as in design it differs totally from the few antiques extant in this stone, and yet more from the numerous examples in it executed after the Renaissance. Round the beasil, in neat Lombard letters, runs the warning, TECTA LEGE LECTA TEGE, a favorite motto for mediæval seals. On the authority of this motto the signet has been attributed to Matthew Paris, and the head-cloth fancied to be a Benedictine hood; apart from all other considerations, so valuable a ring was beyond the station of a monk like that chronicler. The Lombard character may appear on works made in the same year as others inscribed in the black letter, supposing the former executed in Italy, the latter by a French or German jeweler. The subject is undoubtedly the very one that we should expect a mediæval engraver to select for so valuable a stone—the head of the Madonna. There is an attempt to represent curls where disclosed beneath the head cloth, the conventional drapery for such a type: blue is, moreover, the color appropriated to the Virgin Mary. This ring, also massy and valuable, was found in cleaning out an old well at Hereford. Thus we have, within the circle of my own experience, three intagli on precious stones, and bearing a certain family resemblance to each other.

Last to be described, but not the least important, is an intaglio on an occidental cornelian, not a *sard*. It is a female bust in front face; upon the head is a sort of diadem, placed horizontally; round the neck is a chain, supporting a small undefined ornament. At first sight this bust reminds one of the type upon the coins of Licinia Eudoxia in the fifth century; but there can be no doubt, after examination, that it is designed for a Madonna. The work indeed is very tolerable, but the face has the usual impudent and smirking expression that marks the female heads in the later ages of

Gothic taste ; certainly such a manner was foreign to the Roman hand, even in the lowest stages of the Decline. Imperial portraits, even after the execution had become quite barbarous, are still successful in preserving a certain rude expression of dignity and repose. This stone is not set as a ring, but in an octagonal silver seal, in shape far from inelegant. The legend on the setting—PRIVE SVI E POY CONV—"Privé suis et puis connu," is well cut in bold Lombardic letters, like that on the ring last mentioned. This seal, found at Childerley, Suffolk, in 1861, was ceded by the late Mr. Litchfield of Cambridge to the Prince of Wales.

All the above described engravings distinguish themselves at the very first glance from the innumerable examples of really antique intagli adapted to mediæval usages. The latter, whether the finest Greek or the rudest colonial Roman, have an air of antiquity about them which cannot be mistaken, in addition to the characteristic shaping of the stone itself. For all antique gems (excepting the sard, the red jasper, and the sardonyx, when cut transversely by the older Greeks) have always a surface more or less convex, and more especially so in the case of the three precious kinds we have been considering, but which in all these is perfectly plane. The work also betrays in every line the heavy touch of the engraver accustomed to cut seals in metal.

It is only a matter of wonder why the Italians, at least in the great trading cities, Pisa, Venice, Genoa, did not sooner attain to proficiency in gem-engraving ; in constant intercourse as they were with the natives of Alexandria and of the Syrian ports, to say nothing of their artistic relations with the Byzantine Greeks, in all which regions the art was extensively practised, the more especially amongst the Mohammedans, in the cutting of Cufic, and later of Persian calligraphy with the accompanying arabesques and floral decorations. This is the more singular as the Italians are known to have learnt many arts from the Arabians, especially those established in Spain, such as the manufacture of ornamental glass, enameled wares or Majolica, and damascening metal. Many Italian words relating to the arts betray the sources whence the latter were derived, being pure Arabic, such as *zecca*, *tazza*, *gala*, perhaps also *cameo*, &c. It is not however unlikely that some amongst the ruder talismans, on which Hebrew letters appear, were

made in the interval preceding the date of 1417, hinted at by Vasari as the space when something continued to be done, although it was of no account. Yet, had the Italians, before the year 1400, practised gem engraving even to this limited extent, we should expect to find a class of intagli existing, of which no examples have yet presented themselves, namely, the patron saints of the respective cities, just as the contemporary Byzantines were doing with their St. George, Demetrius, and Theodore, and their own mintmasters in the types of their national coinages. We should expect often to find on gems the well-known figure of St. John of Florence and his old lion; Marzocco, the "Tota Pulchra" of Pisa; the Santo Volto of Lucca; St. Martin; and above all the Winged Lion of Venice. The last was the especial device for a merchant's signet, and therefore does it figure on so many counters or Nuremburg Rechenpfennings.

Sometimes indeed a calcedony or cornelian is found bearing a regular "merchant's mark," but all known to me seem later than 1500, and may have been engraved as late as Elizabeth's reign, which has left abundance of signets of this sort in metal.

To return to the triple face on the jacinth above described: its most strange magical-looking aspect irresistibly suggests an equally strange hypothesis to account for it. It strongly resembles the heads of certain mysterious statuettes bearing Arabic legends of unknown purport, figured by Von Hammer (*Mines de l'Orient*, vol. vi.) as the very images of Baphomet that the Templars were accused of worshipping. It certainly would well represent the "ydole avec trois faces" specified in the articles of accusation. Hence sprung the but too seductive idea that some dignitary of the Order, stationed in the East, might have employed a native engraver to execute to his commission this image on a precious stone, and the same theory would account for the other female heads similarly on precious stones, whose style is evidently contemporary with this triplet's. In that case all such female heads would typify the Female Principle so important in the Gnostic scheme, their Achamoth, or Wisdom. As on the Roman talismans of the sect a Venus appears for her to the eyes of the uninitiated, so a bust that would do duty for a Madonna might have served to baffle the curiosity of the

profane, when adopted by these the latest cultivators of the Gnosis, to typify their mystic *Mete*.

In such a sense the enigmatical motto "Though secret, I am afterwards known," and the injunctions to silence would be highly appropriate, the true meaning of the devices being only understood by the "free, equal, and admitted brother;" but such an explanation, tempting as it is, will not stand a closer investigation, for it is based upon a mere chimera. The figures so laboriously collected by Von Hammer manifest in everything the spirit of the Cinque Cento and a certain inspiration of Roman art, for in some the idea has evidently been borrowed from the Hercules wrapped in his lion's skin, whilst the armour in others is much too classical in its details to have been of the work of the Templar times. The astrological symbols, too, so profusely interspersed are not even as ancient in form as those employed by the Gothic architects in their sculptured decorations, but exactly correspond with those found in printed books of the sixteenth century. The Arabic inscriptions also are in the modern Neskhî, which had not superseded the Cufic in the ages in question; and this circumstance alone suffices to demolish the whole fabric he has so ingeniously reared. All these considerations united show that these figures, if not altogether modern forgeries, were made to serve some purpose in the proceedings of the alchemists or astrologers in the train of the emperor Rudolph II., or perhaps, as certain Masonic emblems denote, they had reference to the arcana of the Rosicrucians. The latter flourished amazingly in Germany after the year 1600, before they were merged into the Freemasons sometime in the next century; and, seeing that the motives of these statuettes are evidently borrowed from Florentine bronzes, the latter explanation is, perhaps, the nearest to the truth. At this date the notions of the Kabala and mysticism of every kind flourished most vigorously; indeed, the astrology and alchemy of the preceding ages were simple science conducting its investigations according to the rules of common sense, when compared to the extravagant theosophy established by Paracelsus and his disciples.

From all this we are driven back to the conclusion before attained from other data, that these mysterious intagli, instead of being early mediæval works, are specimens of the earliest

revival, and belong to the school of the quattrocentisti. By the very beginning of that age the Italians already sought after engraved gems as works of art, as appears from Cyriac of Ancona's letter respecting the coins and gems collected by the Venetian admiral, Bertuccio Delfin, the first possessor of that famous amethyst, the Pallas of Eutyches. His words describing the latter prove that the merit of a fine intaglio was perfectly appreciated before the year 1450.

A silver seal, "of fourteenth-century work," found on the site of the Priory of St. Mary Magdalene at Monkton Farleigh, Wilts, displays a female head in nearly front face (intaglio), covered by a veil drawn closely under the chin. (Wilts Mag. vol. ii., 389). The legend is CAPVT MARIE MAGDALENE in the Roman letter that first began to supersede the round Lombardic. But the design of this intaglio is too fine and full of the classical taste to be referred to the early Revival. Its motive may be even from a work of the Augustan age, the portrait of some imperial lady in the costume of a votaress of Isis. It is almost identical in design with the terminal figure in the Townley Gallery, mis-named the Venus Architis.

Mr. Albert Way has favored me with an impression of a seal, containing an intaglio, perhaps the most indubitable example of a mediæval engraving of all yet mentioned. It is a female bust, with a band around the head, and another under the chin: the hair is tied in a large bunch at the back of the head, a fashion peculiar to the early part of the fourteenth century. In front is a spray with flowers, a Gothic lily in its conventional form. The execution of the intaglio, highly polished inside, though far from rude, differs entirely from the antique. The subject, I have no doubt, is "Santa Maria del fiore," and engraved by an early Florentine; perhaps a specimen of the skill of Peruzzi, that "singolare intagliatore di pietre;" an artist capable of such a performance in that age would well merit such a reputation (see woodcut, fig. 3).

The engraved stones set in mediæval metal works, even in the most important pieces remaining, such as the shrine at Cologne, and that of St. Elizabeth at Marburg, are all of Roman date and of trifling artistic value—probably because they were extracted out of Roman jewelry then in existence belonging to the latest times of the empire. The finer works of Greek art, ancient even to the Romans themselves, had,

one may well suppose, disappeared in the ages following the fall of the empire, and are now the fruit of modern research amongst the remains of long-buried Italian and Grecian sites. Of this fact, the scarabei are a proof, now so abundant, yet unknown to the mediæval jeweller, or to the earlier collectors after the Revival, almost in the same degree. In fact, the whole domain of archaic Greek and Etruscan art may be said to have lain in darkness until a century ago, as that of Assyrian did until our own times.

Not more than two engraved gems, both camei, with designs in the genuine Gothic style, have come under my notice. Of these the first can easily be accounted for, and adds no argument to either side of the question ; not so the second, which set us as hard a problem in its class as the ruby forming the first subject of this dissertation.

To begin with the first cameo, formerly in the Uzielli collection. The Madonna, a half-length and in front face, holds before her the Infant supported on a cushion resting on the balustrade of a balcony containing them. They are enshrined in a deep canopy sculptured in the latest Gothic or Flamboyant style. But, since this style lingered on in France and Flanders late into the sixteenth century, in a sacred subject like this (especially as it may have been the copy of some ancient sculpture of peculiar sanctity), the introduction of Gothic ornamentation does not necessarily prove that this piece was executed before the year 1500. It may in fact have been done on this side of the Alps long after the classic style had regained its ancient dominion in Italy. The work is very smooth and rounded in its projections, although in the flattest possible relief ; and its whole manner reminds one strongly of that characterising the cameo portraits of Henry VIII. and his family, of which there are several known. In all likelihood it was the work of some French or Flemish engraver in the reign of François I. But the seal-engravers mentioned by Agricola in Germany and Holland towards the end of the preceding century, had they attempted cameo-cutting, would have adhered to the Gothic manner. The stone is a black and white onyx, the relief in the dark layer, $1\frac{1}{2} \times 1$ inch.

The second is an agate-onyx, 3 in. high by 2 wide. In the white layer, most rudely carved, Christ Ascending, holding a long cross ; before him, a kneeling figure, a subject

frequently seen in sculptures upon tombs. It is not possible to describe the rough chipped-out execution of the relief, the stone appearing as if cut away with a chisel. Neither work nor design bear resemblance to Byzantine camei, even the rudest of the class. The only plausible explanation is to suppose it the first essay of some German carver, who had acquired some slight notion of the mechanical process from the Italian inventors, and had attempted a novelty as to material, following his own national taste in everything else. The stone seems to be a true agate-onyx, perhaps of the German species, not the softer alabaster-onyx often used for camei at a later date. This curious piece is supposed to have been found in Suffolk. The outline of the stone being irregular, it is difficult to conjecture the purpose it was intended to fulfil, perhaps to be set in a cross, or some object of sacred use. Even in this case, bearing in mind that a work in this mediæval style would have been consistent with the state of art in England long after 1500 (the Gothic type was for many years retained by Henry VIII. in his coinage), this monument does not necessarily carry us back to the first period mentioned by Vasari, still less to the times preceding it.*

After all, upon consideration of these data, the only conclusion that they justify seems to be one not very dissimilar to that generally adopted by archæologists, that the purely Gothic artists, down to the early Revival (this is until after 1400), never attempted gem-engraving. Vasari, in his remark that "something continued still to be done," must refer to the feeble productions of the Byzantine cameo-cutters; but his "improvement in 1417" may apply to Italy, and be the source of the singular intagli in precious stones, whose peculiar character is only to be explained upon this supposition; whilst the Gothic camei may be ascribed to Teutonic apprentices in the new art, and so be in reality much posterior to the early period properly the subject of our investigation.

* Chabouillet (*Glyptique au Moyen Age*; *Rév. Arch.* 1854, p. 550) has published three camei in the French cabinet, which he considers not of Byzantine origin. The first, Christ teaching his disciples, he ascribes to the tenth cen-

tury; the next, Christ in flowing robes standing under a vine, to the thirteenth; the third, the Adoration, an exquisitely finished piece, to the close of the fifteenth. He judges them Italian.

THE STATUE OF THE DIADUMENUS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM
CONSIDERED WITH REFERENCE TO THE DIADUMENUS OF
POLYCLETUS, DESCRIBED BY PLINY AND LUCIAN.

BY RICHARD WESTMACOTT, R.A., F.R.S.

AMONG the valuable additions in sculpture made during the last few years to the collection of antiquities in the British Museum, are now to be noticed some statues very recently acquired from Rome, where they formed a portion of the objects of Art preserved in the Palazzo Farnese, the property of the ex-King of Naples.

I have selected one of these as the subject of a few remarks which I propose to offer to the Archæological Institute, as it seems to me to have some special claims to the attention of archæologists, independently of the interest it must have, as a work of sculpture, in the estimation of all intelligent and competent judges of Art. I shall add to these some conclusions at which I have arrived during my investigation of ancient authorities, and my own examination of the work in question; and I shall beg to offer these with great deference to the impartial judgment of those scholars and antiquaries especially who take an interest in ancient sculpture.

The statue referred to is in marble, and represents a youth of small life-size, entirely naked, adjusting a fillet round his head; hence its title, *Diadumenus*. The figure rests chiefly on the right leg, the left being slightly advanced, and bent at the knee; but the left foot is well planted on the ground. The support is at the right side, and is formed of the trunk of a palm-tree, showing the stems of the leaves cut short, in the usual way of representing this accessory.

The fillet, *ταυλα*, with long ends, embraces the head, being tightly pressed on the hair over the forehead.

The right arm is raised, and the hand is holding one end of the fillet on this side, as if about to return or tie it.

The left arm is broken off, but it is preserved. It is, how-

ever, a modern restoration. The action is copied from the other arm.

It has been supposed by the learned that this statue may be an ancient copy of a celebrated work by Polycletus, called *Diadumenus*.

The statue has received injury in various places. The surface, in the lower part of the legs, has been tampered with, apparently with the view of rubbing out stains in the marble; and a cross fracture, running through both thighs, by which the statue was broken in two, has been repaired, and the separated portions fastened together by iron pins and clamps. All this has been done clumsily, and, as is often the case in works of this kind, evidently by incompetent hands. Fortunately, however, no irreparable damage has been done; and, though it will require great care, it will not be difficult to restore the statue to its almost original condition, as, with the exception of the left arm and a portion of the nose, every part of it is indisputably ancient.

The style of Art in this work is characteristic of what is known to have prevailed in the advanced part of the fifth century, B. C., when sculpture was throwing off the remaining stiffness of what has been called the later Archaic school.

The head claims attention both for character and treatment. It shows some of the peculiarities of the early school referred to, and at the same time the influence of the new and more perfect style that was being introduced. The same connection with the Archaic manner may be observed in the somewhat conventional treatment of the divisions of the *torso*—less in the back than the front—and especially at the base or lower lines of the *obliqui* muscles, on both sides. On the side of the loose or resting (left) leg this is very striking, and it is obviously untrue to nature. In that action of the lower limb there would be no indication of force or weight in this muscle. Another circumstance to be noticed, with reference to the archæological question, is the peculiar and elaborate treatment of the hair on the *pubis*. It is carefully dressed in small parallel curls, showing, in this respect, a very remarkable resemblance to the same treatment in Archaic works, of which good examples may be seen in the casts, preserved in the British Museum, of the Eginetan marbles from the temple of Jupiter Panhellenius.

The peculiarities here generally referred to will be at once apparent if the work under consideration, and others known to belong to the transition period, are compared with the sculpture of the immediately succeeding school, inaugurated, or rather perfected, by Phidias and his contemporaries. Polycletus, it is true, was amongst these ; but it is important to this inquiry to know that he was also associated with those who belonged to the later phase of the Archaic school. This is clear from two curious passages, one of which occurs in Cicero (*de clar. Orat.* xviii.), the other in Quintilian (lib. xii. 10). The writers are describing, in illustration of their own subject, the style of art of a series of sculptors, downwards, from the artists of the most Archaic school ; and the various steps or changes in the productions of the different sculptors are traced down to Polycletus. These traditions are sufficiently interesting to be quoted at length.

Cicero says : " Quis non intelligit Canachi signa rigidiora esse quam ut imitentur veritatem ? Calamidia, dura illa quidem sed tamen molliora quam Canachi ; nondum Myronis satis ad veritatem adducta . . . Pulchriora etiam Polycleti," &c., &c.

Quintilian, in like manner : " Duriora et Tuscanicis proxima Calon atque Egeasias ; jam minus rigida, Calamis ; molliora adhuc supradictis Myron fecit. Diligentia ac decor in Polycleto supra cæteros," &c.

The examples that will most clearly exhibit the perfection of style ultimately attained may fortunately be found where the comparison may easily and readily be made. This is in the sculptures of the Parthenon now preserved in the British Museum.

From what has already been said it will be seen by all who take interest in ancient art, that this statue of the Diadumenus has very great claims to attention. Although, in some respects, it may not be placed quite on an equality with the sculpture that illustrated the immediately following school, it must undoubtedly take a very distinguished place among the productions of a most important period in the history of this art. It precisely occupies that very narrow line of demarcation between the lingering traditions connected with the old prescriptive style—hallowed by long usage and its application to the mythical traditions of Greece—and the consummation of sculpture in its noblest and

purest phase ; when, under Phidias, Alcamenes, Praxiteles, and others, the highest perfection of form, and the most refined and careful execution were shown to be compatible with the most dignified and sublime conceptions,—a combination which the religious prejudices of the previous ages, in their attachment to the Archaic types, deemed inadmissible.

I shall now proceed to make some remarks on this statue with reference to the great historical interest that attaches to it. The artistic merits of the work are naturally those which have chiefly claimed my attention ; but in order to explain, or lead up to, the supplementary matter I have to bring forward, it will be expedient to touch slightly upon some collateral circumstances bearing upon the history of the Diadumenus of Polycletus.

The statue in the British Museum evidently represents a young man tying or attaching a fillet : precisely what the Greeks termed *Diadoumenos*. Two authors especially, Pliny and Lucian, describe a statue so called as one of the most celebrated works of Polycletus. The former (lib. 34, c. 8) says, "*Polycletus Sicyonius, Ageladæ discipulus, Diadumenum fecit molliter juvenem,*" that is, "Polycletus, the Sicyonian, the scholar of Ageladas, made a youthful Diadumenus, or a young man tying on a fillet." I omit here the expression *molliter*, as it will hereafter be referred to more particularly.

Lucian (*in Philopseude*) speaks of "the statue tying a fillet on the head as very beautiful, the work of Polycletus." The original is τὸν διαδούμενον τὴν κεφαλὴν τῇ ταινίᾳ, τὸν καλόν, ἔργον Πολυκλείτου.

Pliny adds that this work was estimated (not sold, as some have translated it) at the sum of a hundred talents—*centum talentis nobilitatum*—equal to nearly £25,000 sterling. However exaggerated this valuation may appear to us, yet, as Pliny seems to have been in the habit of recording every report or piece of gossiping that reached him, it is fair to conclude that this statue, so pointedly referred to, enjoyed a very high public reputation. The allusion to it by Lucian has, perhaps, still greater weight, for he had the professional and practical knowledge that would especially qualify him to give an opinion on a work of the kind. Although it appears he did not choose to exercise the art, he was educated as a sculptor, so that his testimony that the Diadumenus was beautiful (*καλόν*) is of no small value.

Now we not only have here the subject of our statue defined, but there is further curious evidence to connect this identical work with the age of Polycletus himself, in the characteristic style it exhibits.

It is precisely that which is said to have distinguished this sculptor's productions. Pliny, describing the peculiarities of the manner of Polycletus, says that he usually made his statues standing on one leg: "*Proprium ejusdem ut uno crure insisterent signa.*" And with respect to another characteristic—the *square*, conventional treatment to which allusion has already been made—that they, the *signa* or statues, were of a square character: "*quadrata tamen ea esse,*" &c.

This statue exhibits these very peculiarities.

So far all this helps to strengthen the belief that the Diadumenus of the British Museum may be a true and literal copy of the celebrated statue referred to in such complimentary terms by the ancient writers above quoted; and, beyond this, the evidence it bears of undoubted antiquity, may justify us also in considering it a work executed in the time of Polycletus.

If it were possible at first to think it a late Roman copy, we should expect to find it executed in the marble of the country, the *marmor Lunense*, now known as the Carrara marble; but the material is unquestionably Greek—the famous marble of Pentelicus, so extensively used by all the greatest sculptors of Greece. But there is room also for another supposition, almost logically arising out of these premisses; and a question is involved in it of the greatest possible interest to antiquaries and lovers of art. It is very remarkable that there is no direct mention made, by any ancient writer, of the material in which two of the most famous works of antiquity, the Diadumenus and Doryphorus, were executed. It has generally been assumed that they were of bronze, as were so many of the best works of the great masters, but there is no authority for it; while there is fair reason for supposing they were among the numerous ancient works executed in marble. At any rate, no evidence can be produced to prove the *Diadumenus* of Polycletus was not executed in this material; it, therefore, may, at least, be discussed as an open question.

Though Polycletus is especially celebrated for his works in bronze, in which he was the rival of Myron, "*emulatio autem in materiá fuit,*" he is also mentioned as the author of various statues in marble. Pausanias (lib. ii. c. 20) refers to one, at Argos, of Jupiter Milichius; and again (c. 24) to three others, in a temple on Mount Lycone, of Apollo, Latona, and Diana, all of which were of "white marble" (λευκου λιθου); showing beyond any question that this sculptor worked in this material; of which the expression marks distinctly the white, bright hue (λευκός). However, the object is simply to point to the fact that these were well-known works of Polycletus, in marble; and, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, to suggest that the Diadumenus may have been executed in this material.

It is now time to refer to an expression used by Pliny (*loc. cit.*) in his description of the Diadumenus, the consideration of which was postponed when the translation of the passage was given, but which may now be properly introduced in connection with this part of the subject. It is the term *molliter*, which means "softly" or "delicately"—*fecit molliter juvenem*.

The expression has usually been interpreted as referring to something delicate or effeminate in the sculptor's treatment of the figure. But, assuming that the statue represented a youth who had been successful in the games, as the palm-tree in our supposed copy would lead us to believe, *molliter*, taken in the above sense, scarcely seems appropriate. It is true, the upper portion of the figure exhibits lightness and a certain elegance in the forms, but not in a degree that would make the term *molliter* applicable to the whole figure. The lower part is obviously of a robust character, rather overcharged than not, so that here there is still less justification or reason for the use of the expression. As then *molliter* appears to be a term of questionable propriety as applied to the physical form of *any* subject of the athlete class, or a trained competitor in the public games, may it not be permitted to endeavour to find an explanation for it free from the objection above referred to, and yet that may make the expression applicable to the statue of the Diadumenus? May it not be more consistent, as well as reasonable, to refer it to the *technical* treatment of the *material* in which the statue was executed,—an explanation of the term

which, while it meets the objection as to its misapplication to the subject of the statue, gives great additional force to the presumption that the original work was in marble? Marble admits of the finest and most delicate manipulation, and there is ample authority to show how highly the ancients valued perfection in this branch of art. The term *molliter* would, then, correctly express this delicate execution, and would be taken in connection with *fecit* rather than with *juvenem*, and would be the equivalent to the modern Italian *morbidezza*, often used by sculptors to describe the soft, rich quality of surface which may be given to marble.

This speculation may be thought to be beside the question, and I offer it with deference, not resting upon it as an argument, inasmuch as the premisses are only assumed. I also admit that the view scholars have taken, that Pliny intended to imply a comparison, or rather contrast, between the works he is describing, is deserving of attention; though in a question of artistic criticism the judgment of that writer may not be placed very high. It is to be remembered that Lucian, a better authority in this respect, makes no remark upon the age or treatment of the statue. He simply says it was "beautiful."

Incidentally, reference has been made, above, to the difference of character of form observable in the upper and lower portions of this statue; that while all the upper portion, as the head, throat, and body, are comparatively of a light character, there are, in the lower extremities, the indications of great physical power. The quality of these forms, in a certain force and fulness in the thighs, the strength shown in the hips, and the size and breadth of the feet, give rise to other curious speculations, suggesting the probability that this statue represents a successful competitor who gained his distinction in one of those contests of activity, such as running, in which the lower extremities were chiefly called into action. In all the contests requiring great muscular force and weight—as wrestling, boxing, quoit-throwing, and others of the kind—a very different development would, I am disposed to think, have been displayed. It would have been in the deep chest, the muscular arms, and the thick, short throat, that the appearance of great strength would have been exhibited.

I will now briefly sum up the evidence that has been

adduced for claiming for this statue a very distinguished position.

That the statue is ancient, there is no reason to doubt.

That it represents a youth occupied precisely as the Diadumenus of Polycletus, described by Pliny and Lucian, can scarcely be questioned.

That the style of the sculpture corresponds with that which characterised the works of a certain age, and that this was the age of Polycletus, and recorded as essentially the manner of this sculptor, must be allowed by all competent judges.

And that the material is Pentelic marble, and not Italian marble, admits of no doubt, and is further corroborative of the true Greek origin of the statue.

There is no reliable history of the place or time of its discovery, though it is said to have been found, with other ancient remains, in the ruins of the Baths of Caracalla; but the circumstance of this statue having been preserved in Rome, where so many of the masterpieces of the great sculptors of antiquity were collected when Corinth, Athens, and other cities of Greece were despoiled of their best works of art by their Roman conquerors, strengthens the presumption that it was among the important monuments of Grecian sculpture thus accumulated in the Eternal City.

I approach the conclusion of my subject with some anxiety, but I will not shrink from announcing the strong impression that has been left on my mind, after a careful review of all these various arguments, and a not less conscientious examination of the statue itself.

It seems to me by no means impossible, nay, there is rather a very great amount of probability, in the cumulative evidence adduced, that in this interesting statue we possess, not simply an ancient copy of a celebrated work, but the original Diadumenus of Polycletus.

I am of course prepared to hear so bold an opinion questioned as a mere conjecture. But though it may not be in our power, at present, to pronounce authoritatively on so nice a point, I have no hesitation in saying, that both from the ancient authorities, as well as from my own practical acquaintance with technical points of Art, there appear to me very sufficient grounds for entertaining this gratifying

belief ; while I think, I hope not presumptuously, that there are none equally strong for rejecting it. I have touched but gently on various questions which may seem rather to belong to the province of scholars than of the practical artist. Feeling my incompetency to deal fully with these, I respectfully leave their consideration to others better qualified to decide upon them.

Possessing, as we already do in this country, the original sculptures of the Parthenon, of the Mausoleum, and of the Temple of Apollo in Arcadia, it would indeed be a subject of congratulation if we could establish the authenticity of so celebrated a production as the far-famed Diadumenus—one of the most famous of the many famous statues of antiquity ; a work of one of the greatest masters of sculpture whose names have been handed down to modern times ; and so highly esteemed by the ancients, that we are told the almost fabulous money value of one hundred gold talents was set upon it.

It is not necessary, nor would it be desirable, to enter here upon the questions that have arisen among scholars and antiquaries respecting the precise date of Polycletus, and especially whether or not there were two or more celebrated sculptors of the name. The artist whose work has now been discussed lived, there can be no doubt, in the earlier part of the fifth century B.C., probably between 480 and 430 before our era. He may, therefore, although one of the late Archaic school of sculptors, have been also contemporary with the sculptors of the best age of Greek Art.

R. W.

Original Documents.

BENEDICTIONES AD MENSAS EKKEHARDI MONACHI.

Communicated by DR. FERDINAND KELLER, President of the Society of Antiquaries of Zürich; Hon. Member of the Archaeological Institute.

(From Mittheilungen der Antiqu. Gesells. in Zürich, Band III.)

IN the collection of remarkable manuscripts preserved in the library of the convent of St. Gall is the "Liber Benedictionalis," a work written A.D. 1000 or thereabouts, the contents of which throw considerable light on the cloister-life, as also on the customs and general state of culture of that period.

Ekkehard the Fourth, or the younger (born A.D. 980, deceased 1036), was a monk and "magister scholarum" in the convent of St. Gall, and author of the "Casus S. Galli,"¹ a work of inestimable value for a knowledge of the mediæval period, and especially so with regard to Germany. While a student under the direction of his tutor Notker (Labeo), and also in after life, Ekkehard composed a number of poems on various subjects, such as epitaphs, inscriptions on pictures, hymns on the yearly festivals, short graces for meals, etc., which form collectively a considerable volume. It bears the name of "Liber Benedictionalis," and is numbered 393 among the manuscripts in the library of the convent.

All these poems are in Latin, and in the rhyming hexameter verse called leonine. They are by no means remarkable for elegance of diction, nor correct in form; occasionally they are so obscure that the author has felt himself obliged to render his meaning more intelligible by the addition of detached words, or notes, in Latin and German. In the case of several poems it is evident that they are no effusions of poetical inspiration, but must be regarded as exercises for making Latin verse, or as themes—"dictamina magistri diei debita"—as the author himself terms them, the purport and development of which the tutor had explained. Occasionally they are mere memoranda of Notker's lectures on rhetoric, logic, dialectics, astronomy, etc., or quotations from Greek and Latin poets and historians read with the tutor. With all their imperfections and want of poetical merit, these poems, and among them the "Benedictiones ad Mensas" especially, a precise reproduction of which we now give, form a part of those interesting works which afford us a glance of the inner life and social condition of the middle ages.

It is well known that the term *Benedictiones*, or blessings, is given to those solemn acts so frequent formerly in the Mosaic ritual, and adopted by the Christian religion, whereby, by means of certain prayers, the grace and favor of Heaven were to be extended to some project, or person, or thing. The ceremony in use since the first centuries of the Christian Church, at the rite of benediction, and also at that of exorcism so closely connected with it, has been the making the sign of the cross, and the aspersion of holy water. Under the former formula the blessing and the adjuration

¹ This domestic record of the convent is published by Perts, Monumenta Germanicæ, vol. ii., with explanatory notes by Von Arx.

were practised not merely by the priests at important ceremonies, but also by the laity at the commencement of almost every daily occupation. They made the sign of the cross on forehead and breast, or on whatever came in their way. They made it on coming in or going out, on retiring to rest, at striking a light, over weapons and books, over vessels and garments, and especially over the meats of which they were about to partake. That the use of the sign of the cross was associated with the enunciation of each of the following blessings is plain from the tenor of a number of the verses.² It may be asked whether these and similar formulæ really were made at meals, and for individual dishes, in convents; or whether we are to consider the examples before us merely as poetical essays. In favor of the former view is the fact that at the time when the author lived the most trivial events, such as putting on new clothes, trimming of the hair and beard, or letting blood, were in this and other convents preceded by certain prayers;³ and further, that this pious mode of regarding the external events of life did not merely prevail in the convents, but throughout Christendom generally. The second view is undoubtedly correct as regards a number of verses which contain medical prescriptions, recipes for certain dishes, and so forth, which have nothing to do with blessings. Graces are also enjoined in convents by the Benedictine rule, and by the Capitularies of the Frankish emperors. Among the poems of Alcuin⁴ we find a benediction at meals. Benedictions of bread, water, and salt occur in several forms, both in Latin and in Anglo-Saxon. Besides these examples very few graces have come down to us from the early middle-age period.

Each of the lines in the following benedictions stands by itself, and has no connection with the rest; each contains the blessing of some dish, or of some drink, that has just been brought to table. Sometimes the form of blessing of the same object is repeated with trifling variation. But what sets a value on the actual position of the verses is the circumstance that the individual groups appear to betoken the separate parts or courses of a repast, which not only includes the dinner, but also the dessert and the *symposium*. That it was, at least, the author's design not merely to quote a list of dishes, but to give a poetic description of the real repast with its individual accessories, appears from the tenor of the first three lines, and from the heading of the different divisions being marked by the repetition of the word "item."

Mention is naturally first made of bread, the most sacred of all elements of food, in its various forms and modes of preparation; and then of salt, a

² Prudentius, Hymn. vi.

Fac cum, petante somno,
Castum petis cubile,
Frontem locumque cordis
Crucis figura signet.
Crux pellit omne crimen,
Fugiunt crucem tenebræ.
Tali dicata signo
Mens fluctuare nescit.

³ Von Arx, Geschichte von St. Gallen. l. 254, and in Pertz ii., p. 76, "Ekkehardus versibus leoninis benedictiones multiplices in usum superiorum scripsit, quibus esse ad lectiones in choro et preces mensales rhythmicè pronuntiandæ erant."—Haupt's Zeitschrift, iv. 577: "Wherefore they bless vessels, measures,

eggs, lights, water, salt, flesh, etc."—*Benedictio uvarum, novellæ fabæ, novelli panis, musti. Stat. Ord. Clun., etc.*

⁴ *Fercula nostra plus Christus benedicat in aula,*

Et sua multiplicet clementer munera servis,

Qui mannam populo celesti misit in imbre,

Rupibus et sic ei sitienti flumina fudit,

Panibus et quinis satiavit millia quinque,

Qui convertit aquas mirandi in vina saporis,

Nos, et nostra simul benedicat fercula mitis,
Conseruetque suos famulos in pace serena.

no less important requirement of life. The meal then commences with fish, as is still the custom in many countries. Then follow poultry, butcher's meat, game, made-dishes, and vegetables, and the repast closes with dessert and various drinks. We must not conclude that at that period, even at great entertainments, meats and drinks were displayed in such profusion and diversity; the purpose of the poet doubtless was, that no dish known at St. Gall at that period should remain without its appropriate blessing. Hence each separate verse tells us of some article of food considered in Ekkehard's times acceptable and rare, the produce either of the adjacent mountains or the warmer plains of Germany, or placed within the power of wealth by the stream of commerce that flowed near St. Gall through the valley of the Rhine. In the eighth and ninth centuries the greatest abstemiousness, both as regarded the quality and the quantity of aliments, prevailed as a rule in the monasteries and was strictly observed. Later, however, after wealth and the need of a more generous mode of living had entered their walls, these very institutions became the places where care of the body, and especially its daily nourishment, obtained particular consideration.⁵ The art of preparing food then attained such a degree of culture that, just as the cloister-dwellers surpassed their contemporaries in the department of knowledge, so did they also excel in that of agreeable and delicate living; for centuries afterwards the convent-kitchen was held to be the school of cookery. In the case of St. Gall this transition from early simplicity and austerity to profusion and luxury is very remarkable, and of this the *Benedictiones* give us a striking proof. "Even in the ninth and tenth centuries," says Von Arx, "the monks were not allowed to eat meat, although their forests were full of game and their stalls full of cattle, and though, through lack of Italian fruits, and the high price of fish, they were compelled to live on pulse and on *muss*." This *muss* diet was so usual at St. Gall, that Gero knew no better translation of the words *cibi* and *cœnari* than *mus* and evening *mus*. The bill of fare which Abbot Hartmuot, elected A.D. 872, made out, and which was followed at St. Gall for two centuries afterwards, was completely indited in this spirit. There is no departure from the Italian rule, except in the matter of drink and kitchen stuff, when the bottle of wine, which the rule allowed, was changed for two bottles (*mass*) of beer, and lard took the place of olive oil in cookery. Each had his separate portion of meat and drink." The aspect of the table was entirely changed after they had taken to eat meat.

Nor are the dietary precepts and the medicinal remarks altogether without interest. Thus we learn that mushrooms, to be eaten safely, must be boiled seven times; that hazel-nuts are injurious to the stomach, while, on the contrary, garlic is wholesome; that millet is poisonous in fevers, and leeks can only be safely taken with a liberal allowance of wine; that the flesh of peacocks, swans, and ducks is indigestible, but goat's milk is very wholesome. Several of the statements betray the superstition and ignorance of the period. Thus the beaver is classed with fishes, and called a fish; and it is further told how the quail, to draw the sportsman's pursuit

⁵ As regards the convent-diet in the eleventh century, compare S. Wilhelmi Constitutiones Hirsauigienses in Vetere Disciplina Monastica (auctore P. Marquardo Hergott), cap. vi., &c.; Parisiis, 1726.

⁶ Also in the Engelberg gloss. Haupt. Zeitschrift iii., *cœnaculum* is rendered by *muosgadem*, and elsewhere by *muosstete*. *Mus* may be translated porridge, and from it is derived the American mush, or porridge of maize flour.

from her young to herself, will feign lameness ; that pigeons have no gall, etc.

Many of the things mentioned, the fruits in particular, point to the vicinity of the commercial route to Italy, or to the close connection of the cloister with that land. That St. Gall was in friendly intercourse with Bobbio, a monastery founded by St. Columbanus, the master of St. Gallus, is clear from several passages in the "Casus S. Galli." By means of the Italian convents it is probable that this famous and greatly frequented abbey obtained not only æsthetic support in valuable manuscripts, musical compositions, etc., but also many corporeal enjoyments, as rare and costly provision for the larder. If we allow that chestnuts, peaches, plums, mulberries, figs, and other fruits were brought from the convent property on the shores of the Lake of Constance and in the valley of the Rhine—yet, in any case, melons, pomegranates, olives, almonds, citrons, dates, kidney-beans, and many other such things are the produce of southern countries. The customs and usages of Upper Italy are also visible in the mention of wine thickened by boiling, the use of capons, the dish of eel-pouts served up with mushrooms, and the use of these fungi as vegetables ; also in the taking of little birds by threads (*in roccolo*), a pursuit in which the inhabitants of Lombardy still evince as much pleasure as dexterity. Many of the dishes which, beyond doubt, were regarded as delicacies not easily obtainable, as herrings and stock-fish, the spices and condiments required for made dishes (*cibi arte facti*), and prepared wines, testify of the commerce of Central Europe with the North and also with the remote East.

With regard to the order of the lines and the period of the composition of these forms of benediction, it must be observed that, although for the most part the verses are written immediately in sequence, yet the poet has inserted no inconsiderable portion between the lines, and not always in their proper places, at later periods, during numerous revisions of his work. These interpolations betray themselves sometimes by the color of the ink, sometimes by the smaller writing.

The letters, words, and sentences which are introduced between the lines and above the words to which they refer are partly changes of expression, partly more precise definitions and interpretations. The object of the first is either to furnish the person saying grace with a formula which accurately describes the quantity, (*panis, panes,*) or the quality, (*niveus, rubeus, coctus, frixus,*) or the nature (*volatile—natatile*) of the dish actually before him. The last explain, sometimes in Latin, sometimes in German, the object in question, as—*tenera lanugine mala—citonix ; cambissa (Gemse), i.e., fera Alpina ; panis elixus—cesotin (gesotten) brod ;* or they refer to diet, or to natural history.

It must be further observed that in the manuscript the inscription and the greater part of the initial letters of each line are in red ink.

To facilitate consideration of the plan of the repast and its courses, it may be well to enumerate the dishes in the order in which they appear.

First, the poet prays Heaven to keep the guests assembled at the richly-spread board from contention. This was by no means superfluous, when we consider the quarrels which at that period were continually taking place, and especially among Germans, at festal occasions.

Bread, and salt, which are already on the table, give occasion for the mention of the various farinaceous preparations and of the sauces.

Bread (v. 6, 7)—bread in the form of cakes, twists (v. 8, 9), crescent-shaped bread (v. 10), boiled bread (v. 11), toasted bread sprinkled with salt (v. 12), egg-cakes (v. 13), bread made with yeast (v. 14), bread made with leaven (v. 15), wafers (v. 16), unleavened bread (v. 17), spelt bread (v. 18), wheaten bread (v. 19), rye bread (v. 20), barley bread (v. 21), oat cakes (v. 22), new bread (v. 24, 25), broad, hot and cold (v. 26, 27), bread baked under hot ashes (v. 28). The list closes with the blessing of the fragments (v. 29, 30); for, as the bread had been blessed, the remnants could not be applied to any unworthy purpose (John vi. 12).

After the blessing of the salt and the sauces (v. 37, 38) the dinner begins. First, fish are brought in: boiled fish (v. 39), stock-fish or tunny (v. 42), sturgeon (v. 43, 73), varieties of salmon (v. 44, 45, 47), varieties of eels (v. 46, 57, 58), pike (v. 48), *rubulgra* (v. 49)? lampreys and lamperns (v. 50, 55), varieties of trout (v. 51, 52), herrings (v. 53, 54), perch (v. 59, 60), roach (v. 61), roasted fish (v. 62), cray-fish (v. 63), fish broiled and peppered (v. 65, 66), char (v. 67), gudgeon, chub (v. 69), small fry (v. 70), beaver (v. 71).

Birds (v. 74, 75)—peacock (76), pheasant (v. 77), swan (v. 78), goose (v. 79, 80), crane (v. 81), duck (v. 82), quail (v. 83), pigeon (v. 84), turtle-dove (v. 85), and other kinds of pigeons (v. 86), boiled fowl (v. 87), capon (v. 88), chicken (v. 89), ptarmigan (v. 91); small birds taken in snares (v. 92, 93).

Butcher's meat—beef (v. 96, 97), veal (v. 98), mutton (v. 99), lamb (v. 100), goat (v. 101, 103), kid (v. 102), roasted meat (v. 104), shoulder of beef, roasted or boiled (v. 105), pork, roasted or boiled (v. 106, 107, 108), ham (v. 109), young pork (v. 110), bacon (v. 111), sausage meat (v. 112), flesh of the domesticated boar, boiled and roasted (v. 113, 114), meat roasted on the spit (v. 115), boiled and roasted (v. 116).

Game (v. 117, 118)—bear's flesh (v. 119, 120), wild boar (v. 121), stag and hind (v. 122), roasted venison (v. 123), bison (v. 124), urus (v. 125, 126), wild horse (v. 127), buck (v. 128), roebuck (v. 129), roe (v. 130), fawn (v. 131), ibex (v. 132), chamois, boiled and roasted (v. 133), hare (v. 134), marmot (v. 135).

After courses—milk (v. 137, 138), cheese (v. 139, 140), cheese with honey, pepper, and wine (v. 141), with honey alone (v. 142, 143), cheese of goats' milk (v. 144), honey (v. 145, 146, 147), honeycomb (v. 148), mulberry jam made of yellow and white mulberries (v. 149), mulberry wine (v. 150), warm drinks (v. 151), spiced honey-wine (v. 152), made dishes (v. 153), dishes seasoned with pepper and vinegar (v. 154, 155), mustard (v. 156), mashed herbs (v. 157), spices (v. 158, 159), thin cakes (v. 160), cakes of fine meal (v. 161), eggs (v. 162), pulse (v. 163, 164) purée of beans (v. 165), beans (v. 166), chicory (v. 167, 168), vetches (v. 169), lentils (v. 170), purée of red lentils (v. 171, 172), purée of millet (v. 173, 174), kidney-beans (v. 175).

Fruit (v. 177)—apples (v. 178, 186), olives (v. 179), citrons (v. 180, 181), figs (v. 182), dates (v. 183), grapes (v. 184), pomegranates (v. 185), pears (v. 187), wild pears (v. 188, 189, 190), quinces (v. 191), chestnuts (v. 192), peaches (v. 193), plums (v. 194), cherries (v. 195, 196), bitter cherries (v. 197), hazel-nuts (v. 198), walnuts (v. 199, 200), nuts of all kinds (v. 201).

Garden stuff—roots (v. 204), seeds (v. 205, 206), medicinal herbs (v. 207), herbs (v. 208), cabbage (v. 209, 210), leeks, cooked and raw

(v. 211), mushrooms, cooked (v. 212), all the *brassica* tribe (v. 213), melons (v. 214), garlic (v. 215, 216), pumpkins (v. 217), lettuce (v. 218), salads (v. 219).

Drinks—wine (v. 223—234), must (235—240), new and old wine (v. 241, 242), wine, honied or spiced (v. 247), sage-wine (v. 248), cider (v. 249), mulberry-wine (v. 250), boiled wine (v. 251), mead (v. 252, 253), houied wine (v. 254, 255), beer (v. 256—259), water (v. 260—265).

BENEDICTIONES AD MENSAS

YMMONI ABBATI DE SANCTO GREGORIO FRATRI GERMANO

COMPACTÆ ROGANTI.

discordiam uel inimicitias

Non sinat offensas super has deus affore mensas.

Taliter

Largiter impensis assit benedictio mensis.

Rite superpansas repleat benedictio mensas.

us is sit is
 Appositi panes sint damnarantis inanes.

Hunc œsum

5. Hoc munus panum faciat benedictio sanum.

uel sit fraudis et hostis

Uerbum cum pane non sit uirtutis inane.

perceptio

Egris et sanis bona sit benedictio panis.

Hanc panis tortam faciat benedictio fortem.

Erige Christe manum tortis benedicere panum.

ITEM.

in lune modum factum

10. Panem lunatum faciat benedictio gratum.

œsôtin brot

Hoc notet elixum benedictio per crucifixum.

Mulceat hoc frixum benedictio cum sale mixtum.

*rex christe**oua louant sicut fœx*

Panem fac gratum crux sancta per oua leuatum.

Sit cruce signatus panis de fece leuatus.

V. 8. Torta panis (tortelli, tourte), refers to all kinds of cakes made with white flour, also to wheaten bread in general.

V. 10. Panis lunatus.—Small crescent-shaped rolls of the finest flour were eaten in convents, and especially during fasts. They are still known in various parts of Switzerland under the name of *gipfel*.

V. 11. Panis elixus.—Boiled bread—small rolls, first boiled, then baked, in the shape of a ring, as still made at Schaffhausen. Panis elixus is identical with lagana, lagena.

V. 12. Panis frixus cum sale.—Slices of bread toasted and prepared with butter and salt, like English buttered toast.

V. 13. Panis per oua leuatus.—A sort of bread made with eggs and milk.

15. Hoc fermentatum faciat benedictio gratum.
leuatam fermento
 Has deus oblatas faciat dulcedine gratas.
 Azima signetur cruce paschaque commemoretur.
 Panem de spelta repleat benedictio multa.
 Triticeum panem faciat crux pestis inanem.
 20. Numen diuinum signet panem sigalinum.
repleat uel solidet
 Ordea si panes fuerint sint pestis inanes.
 Robore sit plena fuerit si panis auena.
 Omne genus panis repleat benedictio donis.
 Tam nouiter cocti cruce panes sint benedicti.
 25. Iste recens coctus cruce panis sit benedictus.
uel gelidi
 Hi calidi panes sint fraudis et hostis inanes.
 Hic gelidus panis sit pestis et hostis inanis.
 Peste procul Christe sit subcineritius iste.

SUPER FRAGMENTA.

- Nil leue nil unum uiolet tot fragmina panum.
sacra
 30. Fratrum fragmentis assit manus omnipotentis.
prope ait

AD DIUERSA UICTUALIA.

- Assit cunctorum fons largitorque bonorum.
 Det deus illæsus sit noster potus et esus.
 Sit cibus et potus noster benedictio totus.
 Omne quod appositum est cruce sancta sit benedictum.
 35. Sit cibus appositus crucis hoc signo benedictus.
 Sit noster uictus uirtute crucis benedictus.

V. 16. Oblata, i.e. "panis ad sacrificium oblatas, hostia nondum consecrata. Nomen inde datum pani tenuissimo ex farina et aqua confecto, ad ignem ferreis prellis tosto;" in French, *oublies*. Du Cange.—In German Switzerland they are called *offeten*. When, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, fine baking was introduced in the convents, persons were especially appointed to

prepare the different sorts of wheaten cakes, as wafers, tarts, &c.

V. 17. Panis azymus. — Unleavened bread.

V. 28. Panis subcineritius. — Bread baked under hot ashes. "*Fouace*, panis subcineritius, sorte de gros gâteau bis, qui se fait ordinairement au village." Richelet.

Hunc salus ipsa salem faciat non exitialem.

Istam ^{sulza}salsuram faciat benedictio puram.

Hos pisces coctos cruce sumamus benedictos.

40. Hos benedic pisces qui talibus æquora misces.

Pneuma sibi sanctum perfundat aquatile cunctum.

Sit cruce millena benedicta marina balæna.

Danubii piscis sit ^{huso sit odor}huso saporis in escis.

Salmo potens ^{laba}piscis sit sanus et aptus in escis.

45. Fortis in esocem mittat benedictio uocem.

Faciat grauidam fungi dulcedine triscam.

Illanch præcellat alemannicus et mala pellat.

Omnibus unus ^{non habet species sicut alii pisces. idem ubique est.}aquis sit lucius esca suavis.

Crux faciat sanam uirtute potente rubulgram.

50. Lampredam raram nimium benedic dee caram.

Multiplici ^{troctas}troctam ^{benedictas}cruce sumamus benedictam.

Omne genus ^{harinch}troctæ benedic super omnia macte.

Sit salsus piscis bonus almarinus in escis.

V. 38. Salsura, salsa, condimentum, Gallis *sauce*, seu quæ salis vel condimentis inserviunt, videlicet piper, sinapi: assaisonnement. Du Cange.—What the middle ages understood by *salsa* may be clearly seen from the old cookery recipes published in the Bibliothek des Literar. Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. ix., according to which the *salsa* (No. 48) is made of sour grapes, sage, and garlic; or (No. 49) from wine, pure honey, ginger, pepper, and garlic. *Sulza*, *salsura*, *salsugo*, *murium*, *nitrum*, etc., have all the same meaning.

V. 42. Marina balæna.—Doubtless stock-fish, also called strumulus. The mode of dressing is given in the recipes just referred to. As, however, balæna would appear to imply a large fish, the tunny may be meant, which also formerly was salted, and formed an article of commerce. According to Oken, it was often reckoned among the whale tribe by old writers, and is the largest fish which was caught for food.

V. 44. As well known, salmo and esox designate the same fish, the salmon. It bears the former name in summer, and the latter late in autumn,

when it enters the small rivers.

V. 46. Faciat, sc. benedictio. Trisca (Swiss Germ. trüsche), gadus lota, eel-pout.—How favorite a fish this was in the middle ages, and especially its liver, is shown by the comment of the chroniclers that the Abbess of the St. Felix and Regula convent at Zürich, Elizabeth of Matzingen, “had swallowed up the vineyard called the Golden Slope, at Zollikon, with eel-pout livers.”

V. 47. Illanch.—This is the name of the lake salmon (*salmo lacustris*), which ascends the river Ill from the Lake of Constance, where great numbers are caught.—“*Vel suctus datus*,” I cannot interpret.

V. 49. Rubulgra.—What fish is intended, I have not been able to ascertain.

V. 50. Lampreda.—This was always a favorite fish, and expensive by reason of its scarcity. It ascended the Rhine as far as Strasbourg, but is not found in the rivers of Switzerland.

V. 51. Trocta, tructa (*truite*, trout), *salmo lacustris*, *salmo fario*.

V. 53. Almarinus.—This name is not to be found in any romance, or in any mediæval work on natural history, and

Sit dulcis prorsus piscis dee sic sale morsus.

55. Anguillas gratas fac crux novies oculatus.

Fercla superstantem signet crux sancta natantem.
uel uolantem

Mittit in anguillam dextram qui condidit illam.

Pars tanta piscis nostris benedicta sit escis.
prensit

Non sinat hanc percam deus in dulcedine parcam.

60. Hunc piscem coctum cruce sumamus benedictum.

Hunc rubricum coctum factor fore fac benedictum.
rutin

Piscis adest assus. benedicat eum cruce passus.

Cancrorum uescas faciat qui condidit escas.

Piscis sit gratus crucis hac uirtute notatus.

65. Pisces sint grati grato studio piperati.

Piscis sit gratus signo Domini piperatus.

Hanc ualaram crassam fratres cruce sumite pressam.

Pisciculis tantis crux obuiet altitonantis.

Sub cruce febre sine sit crundula cum capitonc.

70. Millia coctorum benedic dee pisciculorum.
uel captorum

Sit benedicta fibri caro piscis uoce salubri.

Omne natans trinus licitum benedicat et unus.

has possibly been invented by the poet, like many other names in the Benedictiones. It may be an abbreviation of ulex oralec (herring) and marinus.

V. 55. Anguilla novies oculata (Petro-myzon fluviatilis), lampern, or river lamprey.—In the time of Ekkehard this was a very favorite fish in the German convents. In England it occasionally bears the local name of "seven-eyes" and "nine-eyes." Yarrell.

V. 56. Fercla is the accusative. May the holy cross bless the fish now lying in the dish.

V. 61. Rubricus (Cyprinus rutilus), the Roach.

V. 65. Piperatus, i.e. pipere conditus. "Unusquisque fratrum accipiat duas portiones piscium, unam salsuginatam, alteram piperatam." Du Cange.

V. 67. Walara, waler, wels (char?), Silurus, Ausonii Mosella, v. 135, is not found in the lakes of German Switzerland, but in the small lakes of Suabia.

V. 69. Crundula (Cobitis barbatula),

the gudgeon. Capito (Cyprinus cephalus), the chub. In Upper Italy, cavedo and capidone.

V. 70. Millia coctorum. — These are evidently the "heuerlinge," or young perch-fry, which are caught in great numbers in the Swiss lakes in August.

V. 71. Fibri (Castor fiber, Linn.).—The beaver has disappeared from the Swiss rivers, in which it was frequently to be found in the time of Gessner, the Swiss naturalist. "The Aar, Reuss, and Limmat," he writes, "contain many of them, also the Birs, near Basel." Rüttimeyer (Thierreste aus den Pfahlbauten) mentions the occasional appearance of the beaver in the canton of Lucerne, as late as 1804, and, in the Valais, in 1820. In the middle ages the flesh of the beaver was in request, and might moreover be eaten on fast-days, probably from the notion that it was rather fish than flesh. The chase of the beaver was also a popular amusement, for which dogs, properly trained, were used. Google

Pneuma . . . donis pars hæc bona sit sturionis.

ITEM.

- Piscibus æquipares benedic rex christe uolucres.
uel hanc signet es
75. Crux benedicat auem faciatque sapore suauem.
uel dapes indigesta
 Nil noceat stomachis caro non digesta pauonis.
i. e. pavo albus
 Sit stomachis sana cruce nobilis hæc phasiana.
 Iste cibus cigni noceat nihil arte maligni.
 Anseris illæsus nostris sit faucibus esus.
80. Fauce malum rauca nullum paret hæc deus auca.
 Crux benedicta gruem benedic faciendo salubrem.
 Escis decretam benedicat Christus anetam.
coturnix simulat se claudam, ut post se currentes a pullis abducatur.
 Sit dulcis pernix simulataque clauda coturnix.
sine felle
 Pneuma potens propriam benedic uirtute columbam.
85. Turtureis paribus benedicat trinus et unus.
 Omne columbinum dominus benedicat in unum.
 Gallinam coctam sacra crux faciat benedictam.
 Castrati galli sit jam caro noxia nulli.
 Plurima tantillis assit benedictio pullis.
uel licentia
90. Sit bona se functis uolucrina comestio cunctis.

V. 73. Sturio.—The sturgeon ascends the Rhine as far as the falls at Schaffhausen.

V. 76. Caro pavonis.—That the peacock, still eaten in England, was already reared in the eighth century, partly for its beauty and partly for the table, is apparent from Charlemagne's *Capitulare de Villis*, according to which poultry-yards in the royal farms were to be provided with peacocks, pheasants, ducks, partridges, and turtle-doves.

V. 77. Pavo albus.—These words in the gloss doubtless belong to the word "pavonis," just above them, and only prove that Ekkehard was acquainted with the white peacock.

V. 78. Cignus.—The swan, a bird of Northern Europe, very seldom appears in Switzerland. In the Salic land it figures as a domestic animal.

V. 81. Gruem.—The crane also is a rare bird in Swiss valleys. It was preserved

in Germany, and must formerly have been more common. By the Alamannic laws a fine was imposed on those who should steal or kill this bird (xcix. 17).

V. 84. Sine felle.—The people on the banks of the Rhine still hold this tradition. There was no fine for killing pigeons, and he who found them on his ground might take them. This perhaps gave rise to the saying, "Pigeons have no gall, therefore they belong to all." Galen had already exposed the popular error among the Romans that pigeons have no gall.

V. 88. Castrati galli, capones.—The castration of the cock, known to the Romans, appears to have been commonly practised on the Swiss side of the Alps in the eleventh century.

V. 90. Se functis.—Perhaps this word is to be divided—*se* standing for *ca*—that is, comestione—those who have partaken thereof

- Sub niue se pernix mersans sapiat bene perdix.
 Infer tantillis dee mille cruces uolucellis.
 Nil noceant ulli de decipulis uolucelli.
 Crux faciat salubres quibus est sua forma uolucres.
 95. Sub cruce sit sanctum licitale uolatile cunctum.

ITEM.

- Sit bouis illæsus stomachoque solubilis esus.
 Sub cruce diuina caro sit benedicta bouina.
 Inpinguet uitulum crucis alma figura tenellum.
 Signa crucis mille carni socientur ouillæ.
 100. Christe crucis signum depinxis hunc super agnum.
 Omne malum pelle deus hac de carne capellæ.
 Crux sacra nos lædi uetet his de carnibus ædi.
 Sit cibus illæsus caper et sanabilis esus.
 Omnia qui cernis benedic ^{uel assamina} crustamina carnis.
 105. Omnipotens sermo cocto ^{frixo} superintonet armo.
 Coctus ^{assus} adest porcus. procul hinc satan absit et orcus.
 Per sacra uoxilla caro sit benedicta suilla.
 Scultellæ porci procul omnis sit dolus orci.
 Pradonem coctum cruce signamus benedictum.
 110. Dextera porcellum benedicat summa tenellum.
 Lardum lixatum faciat benedictio gratum.
^{kehaechot}
 Carnes conflictas cruce sumamus benedictas.
^{carnis. piscis.}
 Hanc uerris massam dulcem faciat deus assam.
 Pars uerris cocta cruce Christi sit benedicta.
 115. In cruce transfixum gerat assa ueru caro Christum.

V. 95. Licitale uolatile.—Just as the 72nd verse, which closes the fish-list.

V. 104. Crustamen. — Whatever is covered with a crust, assamen. There is in these lines a remarkably frequent abbreviation of words ending in *entum*.

V. 108. Scultella, for scutella.

V. 109. Pradonem.—Ham. Cartular. S. Crucis Quemperleg. "Samam vini et

duodecim formellas, uel unum lardi bradonem det monachis. Hoc est, si bene conjicio, petasonem seu pernam. Hollandi etiamnum uocant brade pulpam petasonis, seu partem ejus magis carnulentam." Du Cange. Brât, pulpa, pinguedo; brâto, assatura. Graff's Wörterb. Glossa interl. München, prat, pulpa, caro mollis. In another gloss, brado, sura, Schmeller 1,

Carnibus elixis benedicimus atque refrixis.

ITEM.

Sub cruce diuina benedicta sit ista ferina.

Sub cruce diuina sapiat bene quæque ferina.

Et semel et rursus cruce sit medicabilis ursus.

120. Hunc medici sanum memorant nullique noeuum.

Dente ^{petulcus} timetur aper. cruce tactus sit minus asper.
uel cerus

Cerui curracis caro sit benedictio pacis.

Hæc satan et laruæ fugiant crustamina ceruæ.

Signet uesontem benedictio cornipotentem.

125. Dextra dei ueri comes ^{uel benedict} assit carnibus uri.

^{crucis hoc signamine}
Sit bos siluanus sub trino nomine sanus.

V. 119. *Medicabilis ursus*. — Gessner minutely enumerates the medical uses made of the flesh of the bear. This animal, now only to be found in the Alps of the Grisons, in Tessin, and the Valais, and rarely even there, must formerly have abounded on the Sentis mountains in Appenzell. This appears to be the case from the biography of St. Gall, also from the narrative of a hunting expedition undertaken in the lands of the convent in honor of Conrad I., given in Ekkehard's "Casus St. Galli," and further by the statements that the "villici majores" of the convent kept bear-hounds. Mention occurs in the Alamannic laws of the bear as a preserved animal.

V. 124. *Vesontem cornipotentem* (Bos bison, Linn., Bos priscus, Bojanus).—This animal bears the name also in Latin of bisons, bubalus, bucerus, bonasus. The Alamannic law (xcix.) shows the existence of the bison formerly in southern parts of Germany. "Si quis bisontem, bubalum, vel ceruum," etc. As also does the name of the village of Wisendangen, near Zürich, written in the year 808, Wisuntwanges, namely, a meadow where the bison pastures. The bison, mentioned by Pliny, Hist. Nat., viii. 15, was found in a wild state in Central Germany till the beginning of the last century. At present it is only to be found in a forest of Lithuania, where it owes its existence to the protection of the Russian Government.

V. 125. *Uri* (Bos urus, Linn., or Bos primigenius, Boj). Cæsar, De B. Gall. vi. 28. According to Cuvier the urus also was found wild in Europe till the sixteenth century, and in England down to the seventeenth century, after the bison had been long extinct. That both the bison and the urus were numerous in Switzerland in the pre-historic period is proved by the numerous remains of the animal discovered in so many Pfahlbauten, or lake-dwellings. A horn of the urus, set in silver, was to be seen some fifty years since at the convent of Rheinau. Even in the time of Pliny these horns were used as drinking-cups, and they served the same purpose down to the middle ages. "Uris cornua sunt immensæ concavitatis, ex quibus ampla sasis et lævia pocula fiunt." Fulco, lib. i. Viæ Hierosol. The elk (Cervus Alcea) is not mentioned here, though its horns are met with in the Pfahlbauten. It appears to have become extinct between the period when these lake-habitations existed and the time of Ekkehard. Cæsar, De B. Gall. vi. 27.

V. 126. *Bos siluanus*, also *bos silvestris*, *vitulus agrestis*, *bubalus*, *bufalus*, appears, on comparing the numerous passages in mediæval works, in which the wild ox is referred to, to be the same animal with the bison. Names and animals, however, were often confounded, as it was not the intention of the authors to make an accurate distinction between the different species.

Sit feralis equi caro dulcis in hac cruce Christi.^{sub}

Imbellem dammam faciat benedictio summam.

Capreus ad saltum benedictus sit celer altum.

130. Sit cibus illæsus capræ. sit amabilis esus.

Capreoli uescam dent se comedentibus escam.^{us det}

Carnes uerbicum nihil attulerint inimicum.

Pernix cambissa bona sit elixa vel assa.^{i.e. fera alpina}

Sub cruce diuina caro dulcis sit leporina.

135. Alpinum cassum faciat benedictio crassum.

Sit caro siluana crucis omnis robore sana.

ITEM.

Hoc mulctro lactis sit uita uigoroquo reflectis.

Primitus hoc macti memores benedicite lacti.^{lactando}

V. 127. Equus feralis, ffor erus, the wild horse, or rather a horse become wild. Strabo relates that wild horses lived in the Alps; but if this even were so, it was no longer the case as far back as the time of Pliny. It is yet less probable that the upper regions of Switzerland should still have contained wild horses after the lapse of a thousand years, and when they had become to a certain extent populated. In Anton's History of German Agriculture, iii. 371, we find that, so late as the year 1316, wild horses, "vagi equi," were found near Münster in Westphalia. "But these can only have been such as remained night and day in the woods, and never lived in stables." By "equi feri," therefore, we can only understand horses which had become wild and ranged at liberty over the Alps. That the Germans, and especially the Alamanni, did eat and relish horse-flesh, even after their conversion to Christianity, is stated by credible authors. Thus Pope Gregory, writing to St. Boniface, A.D. 732. "Inter cætera agrestem cavallum aliquantos comedere adjunxisti, plerosque et domesticum. Hoc nequaquam fieri deinceps, sanctissime frater, sinas, etc. immundum enim est, et execrabile." Again, we find in a letter from Pope Zachariah to St. Boniface, A.D. 751. "Imprimis de volatilibus, id est, graculis et corniculis atque ciconiis, quæ omnino cavendæ sunt ab esca Christianorum. Etiam et fibri


et lepores et equi silvatici multo amplius vitandi." It is to be presumed that, with the extinction of heathenism, a corresponding change must have occurred in the feelings of the clergy as to the lawfulness of adopting the flesh of certain animals for food. The objections to their use probably had arisen from the fact of such animals being commonly eaten by the heathen Teutons, and offered in their sacrifices. In any case, we see in the passage just quoted, that at least four of the standard dishes at St. Gall had been anathematised by Pope Zachariah some 250 years before.

V. 128. Damma (C. dama, L.), Fr. daim, Engl. the buck, was often taken in the woods near Lucerne, even in Conrad Gessner's time. It has since been entirely extirpated by the chase. When the Lake of Lungern was drained, horns of this animal were found in the mud.

V. 132. Verbe. For ibex, for the sake of the verse. — The ibex (steinbock, bouquetin, capricorne) is now only found, and rarely, in the Alps of Savoy.

V. 133. Cambissa (chamois). — This animal, in most of the Swiss cantons, bears the name of gambathier.

V. 135. Cassus Alpinus. — By cassus is undoubtedly meant the marmot. I have not been able to discover whence this name comes. In Ekkehard's time at St. Gall the marmot was called mument. Is it from *cassa, katze, cat?*

V. 138. Hoc for huic. 

- ^{os} Hunc caseum dextra signet deus intus et extra.
^{os}
s. lumbis, renibus.
140. Parturiat nullos lactis pressura lapillos.
 Mel piper et uinum lac dant minus esse nocium.
 Lactis pressuram crux melle premat nocituram.
 Optime sumetur caseus si melle . . . detur.
 Lac mage caprinum medici perhibent fore sanum.
145. Hoc mel dulcoret deus ut sine peste saporet.
 Hoc millenarum benedic dee mel specierum.
 Tristia qui pellis benedic dee nectara mellis.
 His bone Christe fauis benedic fauus ipse suauis.
^{at}
 Pultibus et luttis niueis benedictio guttis.
150. Jungatur læto benedictio læta moreto.
uel calidosque
 Gratia feruores inflet quoscunque liquores.
 Hoc pigmentatum faciat crux addita gratum.
 Arte cibos factos deus artis fac benedictos.
 Omnia sint grata perfusa per hæc piperata.
uel gustum. uel tristis condimen aceti. seul.
155. Sumamus læti mixtam mordentis aceti.

V. 141. Mel, piper et vinum.—In all mediæval works which treat of diet, cheese is pronounced unwholesome, and it is recommended not to partake of it without the addition of spices. Hence the practice, at an early period, of mixing up herbs and spice in cheese, especially in the tasteless kind made from goat's milk. The green cheese (schabzieger) owes its origin to this practice.

V. 149. An ill-constructed verse. Luttis for luteis. Does this benediction apply to the sauce of yellow mulberries?

V. 150. Moretum, moratum, moracetum.—Mulberry-wine. "Potio ex vino et moris dilutis confecta." Capitulare de Villis: "Vinum, acetum, moratum, vinum coctum," etc. "Singulis vasis vini, medonis, cervisiæ, pigmenti, morati, sicera," etc. Du Cange. That on this side of the Alps moretum was not only prepared from mulberries, but also from blackberries and other berries, is well known.

V. 152. Pigmentatum.—"Statutum est ut ab omni mellis et specierum cum vino confectione, quod vulgari nomine

pigmentum vocatur, contra Domini tantum excepta, qua die mel absque speciebus vino mistum antiquitas permisit, fratres abstineant." Statut. Ord. Clun. This drink was also known by the name of claretum, in the preparation of which, in former times, the most favourite of all spices, pepper, was used; it stood in higher estimation than mulsum. "Non solum multo vino sed et mellito: nec solum mellito sed et regis speciebus vino confecto utentes." Stat. Ord. Clun.

V. 154. Piperata, pepper-sauces, spiced sauces in general, poivrade.—"Piperata vini, vel aceti. Piperis raritas ac pretium fecit ut pro quibusvis aromaticis speciebus hæc vox usurpata est." Du Cange.

V. 155. Mixtam for mixturam.—Condimen aceti is also a sauce of sour flavor, prepared from wine or vinegar, with a mixture of salt, cumin, leeks, anise, pepper, mustard, etc., and was served with roast meat. See the above-mentioned recipes (43-49) in note to verse 38. Condimen means in general a spice for flavoring dishes.

Crux domini sinapis jungatur morsibus acris.

uel una

Tot pinsis erbis salus ipsa sit addita uerbis.

Istam mixturam faciat benedictio puram.

Pinsia. tunsis

Hac cruce pigmentis assit manus omnipotentis.

Optime

160. Grate commentis crucis assint signa placentis.

libemus

Hac cruce signata comedamus adorea grata.

um

um

In spem natius benedicat conditor oua.

Christe tuum numen cruce condiat omne legumen.

Pneuma tuum numen super istud funde legumen.

165. Pulmentum fabæ faciat deus esse suauis.

Summe dator fabas benedic quas ipse creabas.

uel hunc esum uel omne genus

Hanc speciem ciceris benedic qui cuncta tueris.

Crux domini pisas descendat in has numerosas.

Uessicæ inuisas petris benedic dee pisas.

170. Dextra cibos lentis benedicat cunctipotentis.

Primatum sit uendenti benedictio lenti.

Sit primogenita uendens rubra coctio lenta.

uel cruce summa

Hoc milium coctum super omnia sit benedictum.

Non pariat milium febris ulli frigus et æstum.

175. Christe habitans cælum solabere triste phaselum.

Sint cruce sub sancta benedicta legumina cuncta.

ITEM.

Arboribus lecta sint dona dei benedicta.

Hæc pie Christe doma sint nobis mitia poma.

Hunc oleæ fructum faciat lux pax benedictum.

V. 159. Pigmentis.—Spices.

V. 160. Placentis.—This is a sort of cake still made in Switzerland, and very popular with the peasantry. It consists of a large, flat, round cake of dough, thickly covered with meat, fruit, herbs chopped up, onions, bacon, or cheese, all well baked together. In the above-mentioned old cookery receipts (vide note to verse 38), not less than nine different sorts of placentæ (flat cakes) are men-

tioned. In some parts of Switzerland they bear the name of *dünnen*, in others of *welen*.

V. 161. Adorea.—Cakes of fine wheaten flour.

V. 171. Primatum uendenti.—In allusion to Esau, who sold his birthright for a mess of pottage of red lentils.

V. 175. Triste, that is mordens, sæuus. See v. 155.

180. Da Petre de roma sint mitia cedria poma.
 Cedria uirtutem dent poma ferantque salutem.
 Ficorum grossis benedictio gratia massis.
uel crux sacra
 Assit dactylicis palmarum gratia grossis.
 Appropriare botris sit nulla licentia tetris.
185. Mala granata faciat benedictio grata.
 Malorum species faciat benedictio dulces.
faciat mollescere dura
 Conditor ipse pyra fore det dulcedine mira.
 Ad lapidosa pira uessicæ torpeat ira.
 Ut lapidosorum bona sit uessica pirorum.
190. Malis juncta pira stomachi non sentiat ira.
citonia
 Sub cruce sint sana tenera lanugine mala.
 Castaneas molles fac qui super omnia polles.
 Persiceus fructus cruce sancta sit benedictus.
 Majestas una benedicat cerea pruna.
195. Christe tua dextra benedic cerasia nostra.
 Hiberiæ tellus dedit hæc. Italisque Lucullus.
 Christus amarinas cruce mulceat Hiberianas.
stomacho nocent.
 Crux in auellanas ueniens det eas fore sanas.
 Gratia triua nuces sibi partas det fore dulces.
200. Quos dedit in flores nux plurima seruet honores.
 Sit genus omne nucum specie distans benedictum.
 Pneumaticus feruor foueat quæ quisque dat arbor.
 Arboris omnis onus benedicat trinus et unus.

ITEM.

Gustu radices faciat crux has fore dulces.

205. Seminis hanc speciem dominus det ferre salutem.

V. 180. Da Petre de Roma.—This is the only verse in which a saint is invoked. The Italian fruit, probably citrons, doubtless reminded the poet to ask a blessing from Rome.

V. 184. Appropriare, i. e. approximare,

appropinquare.

V. 196. Hiberia or Iberia.—A territory near the Caucasus.

V. 197. Amarinas.—Cherries of a bitter and sour taste, still termed *asseri* and *âmeri* in German Switzerland.

Hoc holeris semen stomacho fac Christe leuamen.

Sub cruce diuina benedicta sit hæc medicina.

Summus ab hac erba dator omnia pellat acerba.

Hortorum fructus sancta cruce sit benedictus.

210. Hoc benedicat holus qui cuncta creat bona solus.

uino multo uincuntur

Coctos seu crudos porros crux det febre nudos.

septies eos coqui iubetur

Sæpius elixos repleat benedictio fungos.

uel erbas

Caules omnigenas faciat benedictio sanas.

Christe potens pones super hos tua signa pepones.

allum stomacho bonum. renibus malum.

215. Uirtutem stomachis solitam dent allia laasis.

Sed non millenas renibus operentur arenas.

Nomine sit domini benedicta cucurbita summi.

Lactucis horti benedictio sit cruce forti.

Concisas erbas in acetum crux det acerbæ.

AD OMNIA.

220. Ad crucis hoc signum fugiat omne malignum.

Omne sit edulium uirtute crucis benedictum.

Omne suum munus benedicat trinus et unus.

BENEDICTIONES POTUUM.

Lætitiâ domini sapiant hæc pocula uini.

Sit noster potus domini benedictio totus.

225. Sancta dei dextra benedicat pocula nostra.

Hunc fratrum potum repleat benedictio totum.

Tot calicum munus benedicat trinus et unus.

Christe tuum rorem super hunc effunde liquorem.

Uinitor hæc mitis benedicat munera uitis.

230. Uitibus enatum benedicat gratia potum.

V. 206. Semen holeris.—I am unable to explain what Ekkehard alluded to by this term.

V. 219. Concisas in acetum herbas.—

Salad.

V. 229. Uinitor.—An allusion to the parable of the vine and wine-press.

Uitibus anatum benedic deo christe temetum.

Fratres

Læti haurite de uera gaudia uite.

repleat, roboret

Misceat interna deus hæc uirtute phalerna.

Munere diuino sit huic benedictio uino.

235. Crux det in hoc mustum placida dulcedine gustum.

uel signata dei cruce

Quam sapiant gusta condita pneumate musta.

calicis

uel benedictio

Hunc uitis haustum faciat noua gratia faustum.

Nesciat hæc Bromius fugiat Carchesia Bachus.

huic

rubeo

Complaceat Christo niueo benedicere musto.

240. Musta recens hausta faciat benedictio fausta.

uel benedic

Christe hiesu musta bona fac et uina uetusta.

Uina uetustatis bona sint simul et nouitatis.

Pneumatis ebrietas mentes det sobrie lætas.

Conditor hæc uinum confortet in omne uenenum.

245. Cor faciat lætum uina de uite temetum.

Christi mixtura sit perflua potio pura.

Hoc pigmentatum supero sit rore rigatum.

Dulce sauinatum faciat benedictio gratum.

sicera est ut Aug' ait sucus pomis optimis expressus.

Sucum pomorum siceram fac Christe saporum.

quod uocant moracetum

Qui melle digestus ut
ulnum inebriat. Et
diuturnius durat.

250. Potio facta moris superi sit plena saporis.

ulnum coctum

Neminis hoc passum caput efficiat fore lassum.

Pneuma suum rorem det in hunc spirando medonem.

V. 248. Vinum sauinatum.—Perhaps sauinatum stands for saluiatum, sage wine, a favorite drink in the middle ages. "Vinum inde (salvia) conficiunt, quod saluiatum uocant, quo plurimum uti solent in principio menese," etc. De Conserv. Valetudine. Parisiis, 1572. In the Capitulare de Villis, savina appears among the garden vegetables. The same word in Gl. S. Blas. p. 52, is rendered by sevinbaum, or savin. The leaves of the savin (*Juniperus sabina*) were kept by apothecaries at a very early period; whether they were used like wormwood, to flavor wine, I cannot say.

V. 249. Sicera here means cyder. Siceratores, i.e. qui cerevisiam, vel pomatum sive piratum, vel aliud quodcumque

liquamen ad bibendum aptum fuerit facere sciunt. Capitulare de Villis, cap. 45. Sicera implies therefore every fermented liquor, except wine, made from grain, fruit, &c. Thus in a letter of St. Boniface to Pope Zachariah, A.D. 751. "Monachos constituimus viros strictæ abstinentiæ, absque carne et vino, absque sicera et seruis, proprio manuum suarum labore contentos."

V. 250. Conf. v. 150.

V. 252. Medonem, mead, which in Southern Germany and Switzerland has been superseded by wine, cyder, or beer. According to mediæval directions mead was made from water, honey, and aromatic herbs, boiled together and allowed to ferment

Mille saporā bonis sint pocula sana medonis.

Υποκρα. In mulsa bibit i.e. melle et aqua. Inuentum
Dextra dei celsa uelit hæc benedicere mulsa. est mulsum Con . .

255. ... dite pingula Hoste propulso sit mulso.

. . . i.e. ordes cervias
Fortis ab iniucta cruce cælia sit benedicta.

ebria qua
Dira per hanc fortes subiit Numantia mortes.

uel benedictio
Optime prouisæ uix gratia sit cereuisæ.

Non bene prouisæ confusio sit cereuisæ.

ITEM.

260. Cor faciat clarum potus sincerus aquarum.

Hunc haustum fontis mundet manus omnipotentis.

Nulli fons uiuus stomacho sit Christe nociuus.

i.e. stomacho
Timotheo uinum Paulus cui dat medicinam.

euangelica
Frigidus iste calix mercede sit unice felix.

265. Pneumatis has mundas faciat fore ros sacer undas.

The Institute is indebted to Mr. W. M. Wylie, F.S.A., for the translation of Dr. Keller's Introduction and notes which accompany his Memoir in the Transactions of the Antiquaries of Zürich. They are here given with the author's revision and additional observations.

We gladly avail ourselves of Mr. Wylie's obliging assistance in giving effect to the wish of our learned friend at Zürich that so instructive a document should be brought under the notice of English archæologists through this Journal. It cannot fail to be acceptable as supplementary to the highly curious Plan of St. Gall given in a former volume (vol. v. p. 85), in which not only are arrangements shown for brewing, baking, and providing various articles of food above enumerated, but many medicinal and culinary herbs mentioned by Ekkehard appear in the *Hortus*. Amongst fruit-trees also the quince, medlar, fig, chestnut, mulberry, walnut, &c., occurring in the foregoing document, are represented as actually growing in the conventual orchard of the ninth century.

V. 254. Mulsum, sc. vinum.—Claretium, a drink prepared from honey and wine, as also from honey and water. In this latter case it is not distinguishable from

mead, which is also sometimes called mulsum.

V. 255. A part of this verse is illegible.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, 1864,

Held at Warwick, July 26 to August 2.

The Inaugural Meeting was fixed for two o'clock, and a large assembly having congregated at the Court House, which had been placed at the disposal of the Institute by the kindness of the Mayor and Corporation, the Chair was taken by the MARQUIS CAMDEN, K.G.

The noble President of the Institute, in opening the proceedings, alluded to the high gratification with which he presented to them a nobleman so universally esteemed and beloved as his noble friend Lord Leigh, who had most kindly consented to take the part of Local President of their Meeting in his county. He (Lord Camden) alluded to the pleasure which he had derived from the gathering of the Institute in the previous year in Kent; he felt assured that, under the influential encouragement of his noble successor in office, a fresh impulse would be given to their researches in a district full of objects of interest and attraction.

The LORD LEIGH, President-elect, having then taken the chair, the Worshipful the Mayor of Warwick, accompanied by the majority of the Corporation preceded by the civic insignia and mace, came forward and presented the following address, which was then read by the Town Clerk:—

“To the Right Hon. Lord Leigh, Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Warwick (President of the Meeting), and to the Members of the Archaeological Institute.

“My Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen,

“We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Warwick, in council assembled, beg to offer you our cordial welcome on this your first visit to our ancient borough.

“It was with feelings of the liveliest satisfaction that we received intimation of your wish to hold the Annual Meeting of the Institute this year in this town, and we are most desirous to afford you every proof of our welcome.

“We are sure that the town and neighbourhood, replete as they are with many architectural and historical specimens, will afford the learned members of the Institute many objects of interest and attraction, particularly the Castle, St. Mary's Church, Lord Leicester's Hospital, the Gateways, and the College.

“We highly appreciate the value of the investigations of the Institute,

and congratulate ourselves on being instrumental in benefiting the neighbourhood by bringing you amongst us, and we trust that while your stay here may be a source of pleasure to us all, your researches into objects of interest in the town and county may afford a material and useful addition to the valuable information brought to light by the labors of the Institute.

“ We again welcome you most heartily, and place at your disposal our Court House and old charters.”

The noble PRESIDENT desired cordially to thank the Mayor and Corporation for their address to the Institute, and also to acknowledge the kindness with which the noble Marquis had introduced him to the Meeting. He felt honored in being called upon to preside on the present occasion over the Archæological Institute—a Society which had diffused much useful knowledge throughout the country, and saved many objects of historical interest from destruction. He regretted that he did not possess the archæological knowledge which had distinguished his predecessors at these annual assemblies; but, on behalf of the county he begged to offer a hearty welcome, and expressed a hope that the result of the present meeting would prove replete with instruction and interest to all who might participate in the proceedings. Lord Leigh, in conclusion, alluded to the excursions which had been arranged for the week as promising to the visitors now assembled in his county scenes of no ordinary attraction.

Dr. WHEWELL, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, as an antiquary who had attended many of the meetings of the Institute, begged to say that he believed the hope expressed by Lord Leigh would be amply fulfilled. On behalf of his archæological friends now around him, he might speak with confidence of the pleasure with which they hailed the prospect of assembling in a district full of historical and other features of more than ordinary interest. His experience of former meetings had shown the advantages accruing from them in investing the memorials of bygone times with fresh value and attraction, and in affording new sources of social enjoyment, through the interchange of information and the warm regard which they had invariably tended to establish amongst persons of kindred tastes, who were brought together on such occasions in the intimacy of friendly intercourse.

Mr. EDWARD GREAVES, M.P., begged to welcome the Institute on behalf of the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood; he felt sure that they hailed with satisfaction the visit of an Association which was not merely useful in itself, but included among its members gentlemen who occupied a high social *status*, and were in the foremost ranks of science, literature, and art. He did not doubt that, in their annual peregrinations, the members of the Institute found that each town possessed objects highly worthy of attention, from association either with distinguished individuals or remarkable historical events. Warwick was no exception to the rule. The inhabitants of the ancient borough believed that the county of Warwick possessed places and objects of peculiar interest; it did not, however, fall within his province to enumerate them, as they would be described by an archæologist who was thoroughly conversant with the ancient vestiges and the annals of Warwickshire. He felt convinced that great benefits would result from the visit of the Institute; additional information would be imparted respecting subjects at present imperfectly known; greater interest would be excited in regard to national monuments and the landmarks of history. He, therefore, in the name of the borough, welcomed the Insti-

tute most heartily ; he hoped that they would enjoy as much gratification as the inhabitants of Warwick would experience in giving them welcome.

Mr. A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE rose, in compliance with the request of the noble Chairman, to acknowledge the welcome so cordially tendered to the Institute, in the name of the inhabitants of the borough by Mr. Greaves. He considered it a happy omen that, when the Institute was coming of age—for the Society was entering on the twenty-first year of its existence—they were holding their anniversary gathering in the tutelary city of that great patriarch and exemplar of English archæologists, Dugdale. He did not know that a more appropriate place could have been selected for their twentieth anniversary than the metropolis of that county which was indissolubly associated with the name of that eminent historian and antiquary, with the name also of the illustrious Shakspeare, and in which Drayton, the great topographical poet of England, was born.

The Ven. Archdeacon SANDFORD, as representing the archdeaconry of Coventry, desired to express the satisfaction felt by the Clergy of that part of the Diocese in receiving the Institute, and participating in the objects of their visit. He was not himself an antiquary, and many of his clerical friends might likewise be unskilled in ancient lore ; but they all knew what benefits archæology had conferred upon the history, literature, jurisprudence, architecture, and theology of their country—he might add, upon the arts and sciences also. Archæology, indeed, had developed the annals of the past, excavated buried cities—thrown light upon pages of history which otherwise must have remained obscure, and established as authentic facts what must otherwise have been vague and crude hypotheses.

The LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD, on behalf of the Institute, expressed the thanks of the Society for Archdeacon Sandford's hearty welcome. Their visit to Warwick was naturally suggestive of a long line of worthies connected with it in the past. There was St. Wolstan, a name that carried them back to the Saxon Heptarchy ; and, to descend rapidly through the mediæval ages, there was the great Dr. Parr, who certainly would have astonished Wolstan by his profound learning and attainments. Then, descending further, there was the Dean of Chichester, a great mediæval ecclesiastical authority. Remembering the welcome which he and other friends had received from the present Abbot of Stoneleigh, who had received them with more than abbatial hospitality, and more than abbatial grandeur—and the encouragement that his friend the Archdeacon of Coventry had extended in the name of the clergy of the neighbourhood, he looked forward with unusual pleasure to their present visit to Warwick. They did not come simply for personal gratification, but to exchange ideas with those with whom they were brought into contact. They hoped to generate archæologists in their progress through the country ; he thought that this was an important thing to be borne in mind, because whatever tended to draw men from living in the mere time present, and to carry them back into the past, had also a tendency to lead them on into the future. Thus by the linking of these three things, by the fusion of the beautiful shadows of the past with that obscure but magnificent promise of the future, they were better able to realise what they ought to endeavor to live for. Not, then, as mere old mites living in some remote old cheese, but as men thoroughly alive—because living in the present, looking back to the past, and onward to the future—they desired to see others added to their ranks.

Mr. R. GREAVES, President of the Warwickshire Natural History and

Archæological Society, said that he was commissioned by that body to offer a cordial and sincere invitation to the Institute. Their Museum and library were open to the members of the Institute, and every facility in their power would be afforded. There were many features of interest in the town of Warwick and also in the surrounding country, but, as he was not an archæologist, he would introduce a distinguished member of the Council of the Local Society—Mr. Bloxam—who would, on their behalf, briefly point out the objects in the town and county most worthy of the attention of archæologists.

Mr. C. H. BRACEBRIDGE, in seconding Mr. Greaves' address, remarked that the Museum of the Warwickshire Society had been established some twenty years ago. It had from time to time received valuable contributions, and had gradually assumed a very instructive and beneficial character in the country. Mr. Bracebridge observed that the Society hoped to derive many advantages from the present visit of the Institute, in calling increased attention to local vestiges and historical inquiries.

Mr. MATTHEW H. BLOXAM said that he thought some sketch of the ancient remains and chief historical incidents in connection with Warwickshire might prove acceptable to many, and he proposed to invite attention as succinctly as possible to those which seemed to him of leading interest. At the time of the Roman conquest of Warwickshire, A.D. 50, that county appears to have been occupied by two of the ancient British tribes, the Dobuni and the Cornavii, the natural boundary being, in his opinion, formed by the river Avon. Frontier fortresses were found near that river on the northern bank at Brownsover and Brinklow, and at a greater distance on the southern side at Burton Dassett, Nadbury, and Brailes. In advancing through the county on the three Roman roads, anciently British trackways, the Icknild, the Foss, and the Watling Street, they threw up their entrenchments across or near to these roads. Of six Roman camps in this county, five were thus placed; and they could not fail to be struck by the fact that the Romans, under prudent generalship, advanced by systematic and carefully guarded steps, having a base of operations to fall back upon in case of a defeat, which they took, as well as victory, into their calculations. The other remaining camp was at a distance from any known Roman road, and it appeared to him to have been formed for the purpose probably of cutting off the communication between two British fortresses, one on Beausale Heath, and the other north-west of Solihull. There appeared to have been no fighting in this county, the fortress of Brinklow must have surrendered without a conflict, otherwise we should have Roman earthworks thrown up on or near the banks of the Avon, about two miles distant. Many Roman remains had been discovered in different parts of the county, but none of great importance. Of the Anglo-Saxons it appeared, from remains which had been found, that two different tribes, possibly the Jutes and Angles, inhabited Warwickshire, as the Anglo-Saxon ornaments discovered in Warwickshire were diversified in character. He had discovered sites of ancient towns or settlements, evidently destroyed by the Danes, as British, Roman, and Anglo-Saxon remains had been discovered on these sites, and they knew, from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, that this county was ravaged by the Danes early in the eleventh century. Then came the period just anterior to the Norman invasion, when Earl Leofric and his countess Godiva held so great a sway in the kingdom, and in this county in particular. But they must

not forget that even previous to this two of the Anglo-Saxon forts erected by Ethelreda, daughter of King Alfred, A.D. 914, to defend Mercia, were within this county. Of these there are existing remains in the mounds at Warwick Castle and at Tamworth Castle, both washed at the base by rivers. The Norman conquest had given us that admirable exposition how the lands were divided towards the close of the eleventh century, and which also enables us to make a fair calculation as to the population of each place when Domesday Book was compiled. To the intestine wars and disordered state of the country in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries might be attributed those numerous moated sites of which no historical evidence had been preserved as to when they were formed, purely defensive only against sudden and unforeseen attacks of marauders. Passing on to the reign of Henry III., when that great general and statesman, Simon de Montfort the elder, Earl of Leicester, had his principal residence in this county, it was that the memorable siege of Kenilworth Castle, that great midland mediæval fortress, the Sebastopol of the age, took place. The castle proved impregnable; the besieged forces had to be starved out, and at last surrendered pretty much on their own terms. New species of artillery, constructed for flinging large masses of stone, were then invented. Royal visits had been paid to Warwickshire by Henry III., Richard II., Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI., who made Coventry his favorite place of abode; Richard III., who was taken prisoner on Wolvey Heath; Edward IV., Henry VII., Queen Elizabeth, whose progresses through the country were well known; Charles I., Charles II., James II., William III., George IV., William IV., and by our gracious Queen Victoria. Among Warwickshire Worthies, first and foremost must be mentioned Shakespeare. After him come a noble band of poets—Michael Drayton, Somerville, Jago, the latter a schoolfellow with Shenstone at the little grammar-school of Solihull. Walter Savage Landor, the oldest living poet of the present age, was born in Warwickshire, and educated at Rugby. Amongst those poets who, though not born in this county, have come to reside there, might be mentioned Addison, and the present Rector of Rugby, the Rev. John Moultrie. Of architects we might boast of Sir William Wilson, and of Hiorns of Warwick, both natives of the county. Inigo Jones was also here, and in more than one place has left traces of his admirable works; and Sir Christopher Wren resided here. Of antiquaries we may boast of Sir Symon Archer, and of Sir William Dugdale; of the latter it had been truly said, that "what he hath done is prodigious, and therefore his name ought to be venerated and had in everlasting remembrance." Mr. Bloxam observed that before he concluded he must briefly mention some historical incidents which took place in the seventeenth century. In 1605 Catesby's plot, commonly known as the Gunpowder Plot, originated in this county, of which Catesby was a native. The principal rendezvous of those in the secret were at Coughton Hall, near Alcester, and at Norbrook House, between Alcester and Warwick, a moated residence belonging to John Grant, one of the conspirators. Lastly, on the fifth of November, a large party, few of whom appear to have been in the secret, met on Catesby's invitation at Dunchurch. The Princess Elizabeth, afterwards Queen of Bohemia, had been previously escorted from Combe Abbey to Coventry. The civil wars in the seventeenth century, as to action, commenced in this county. In August, 1642, the King assembled troops on Dunsmore Heath, and marched to attack Coventry, then walled round. He was

repulsed on attempting to enter that city, and retired with his forces to Stoneleigh Abbey. The following day he marched towards Southam, and near Long Itchington his troops had a skirmish with the Parliamentary forces, in which the King's party was worsted, with the loss of from forty to sixty killed. Mr. Bloxam would only cursorily allude to the battle of Edgehill, which took place on October 23, 1642. In this engagement members of the same family fought on different sides. Thus the Earl of Denbigh was in the King's army, whilst the Lord Fielding, his son, was engaged on the opposite side. The King's standard, which had been taken, was recovered by a Warwickshire hero, Captain John Smith. Mr. Bloxam hoped that these remarks could not fail to interest persons not already familiar with the history and antiquities of the county, and he believed that the visitors would find abundant objects to engage their attention while they remained in the neighbourhood.

The DEAN of CHICHESTER observed that he rose with much satisfaction to return thanks to those gentlemen who on the present occasion represented an Association connected with a county which he regarded with no slight affection, having passed nine happy years in the city of Coventry. If any proof were needed of the value of such local gatherings as the Meetings of the Institute, it might be supplied by the instructive statement for which they were indebted to his friend Mr. Bloxam, to whom, as President of the Historical Section, he (Dr. Hook) desired to convey their most hearty acknowledgments.

A memoir by the late Mr. WINSTON, on the Painted Glass in the Beauchamp Chapel, was then read by the Rev. J. L. Petit, F.S.A. It will be found in this volume, p. 302, *ante*.

The proceedings of the meeting having thus terminated, the Museum of the Institute was opened in the Corn Exchange, by the liberal permission of the committee and subscribers. The collection, formed with the greatest care and tasteful arrangement by Mr. CHARLES TUCKER, F.S.A., was remarkably rich in objects connected with the county, and in works of art of unusually choice description.

On leaving the Court House, a large party proceeded to St. Mary's Church, the Beauchamp Chapel, the Leicester Hospital, and other objects of interest in the town, under the guidance of the Rev. HERBERT HILL, Head Master of the King's School.

Mr. Hill observed that there was at Warwick, before the Conquest, a St. Mary's Church, mentioned in Domesday Book. The first Norman Earl, Henry de Newburgh, formed the intention of making a more important foundation by uniting the endowments of the church of All Saints, within the precincts of the castle, to those of St. Mary's. He did not live to complete his design, but it was carried out by his son Roger de Newburgh, whose grant of incorporation was executed in 1123. Whether the church was actually completed by that year is uncertain; the whole fabric was probably rebuilt about that time, for the crypt is a Norman work, and engravings of the church as it existed before the fire, in 1694, show that it then possessed a fine Norman tower. Mr. Hill believed the ground plan to have been the same as at present, with the exception of the chancel, which was lengthened at a later period, and the additional buildings on the sides of the choir. In the reign of Edward III. Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, Constable of the English army at the battle of Crecy, ordained by his will dated 1369, that a choir should be erected,

and that his body should there be buried. This doubtless was the time at which the choir was lengthened eastwards; the enlargement is shown by one new pier and two bays of the crypt, which belong to the architecture of this period. This work was completed by his successor, the second Thomas Beauchamp, who also rebuilt the body of the church. The whole of this work was finished by 1364. The tower of the old Norman church was preserved. There had been a question among students of architecture whether the building could have been erected at that time, the four-centred arches of the windows seeming to indicate a later date: this point he should leave to the architects to decide. The documentary evidence appeared to show that the building was completed at the time that he had mentioned. In 1694 the church was burnt down, and was rebuilt at a cost of about 5000*l.*, to which sum Queen Anne contributed 1000*l.* It was finished in 1704; the architect being Sir William Wilson. There are portions of the church to which no exact date has been assigned; the vestry, the lobby, the oratory on the south side, and the chapter house, may probably belong to the period of the Beauchamps, except the last, which is of an inferior style. On the south side of the choir is the Lady Chapel, usually called the Beauchamp Chapel, a most beautiful piece of workmanship, built according to the will of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in Henry the Sixth's reign. He died in 1439; the foundation was laid in 1443; the chapel was consecrated in 1475, and the body of the Earl with due solemnity laid there. After having stated these particulars, Mr. Hill invited attention to the principal monuments. In the centre of the Lady Chapel is the well-known memorial, and effigy of gilded brass, from which it takes its name—that of Richard Beauchamp, with only one exception, the most splendid in the kingdom. Here also, beneath a costly monument, lies Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, the favorite of Elizabeth; and near his stately memorial is the alabaster effigy of his brother, Ambrose, Earl of Warwick. The examination of the church concluded with a visit to the crypt; its massive Norman piers have been assigned to the times of Henry I. Here is preserved a relic of mediæval manners, a ducking-stool, the punishment of unruly females, not disused in some places until a comparatively recent period.¹

From St. Mary's Church the visitors proceeded, under Mr. Hill's friendly direction, to Leicester's Hospital; they were received by the Master, the Rev. Thomas Cochrane, and examined the picturesque structure founded by Robert Dudley in 1586; also the ancient chapel of St. James over the West Gate, formerly connected with the gild of St. George, and now used by the brotherhood of the hospital. The great Hall, where, in 1617, James I. was sumptuously entertained by Sir Fulk Grevil, is now used as a brew-house and encumbered with coals; an unseemly misappropriation which justly called forth a remonstrance from the Bishop of Oxford and Mr. Beresford Hope.

At the Evening Meeting the Chair was taken by Sir JOHN P. BOILEAU, Bart. The following Memoirs were read:—

¹ A history of the collegiate church of St. Mary at Warwick, with numerous illustrations, a ground plan, plan and view of the crypt, &c., is given in the Notices of Churches published, in 1847, under direction of the Architectural

Committee of the Warwickshire Nat. Hist. and Arch. Society, vol. i. See also Mr. Gough Nichols's Description of St. Mary's, Warwick, 4to., with seven plates of the Beauchamp monuments.

Notices of some remarkable sepulchral memorials of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, existing in Warwickshire. By Mr. M. HOLBECH BLOXAM, F.S.A.

The Ban of Kenilworth (Dictum de Kenelwortha). By the Rev. J. RICHARD GREEN, M.A. Printed in this volume, p. 277.

Wednesday, July 27.

A Meeting of the Historical Section took place at the Court House; Mr. ALEXANDER BERESFORD HOPE, LL.D., F.S.A., presided. The first Memoir related to a subject of great local interest:—

The Parliament of Kenilworth. By the late Rev. CHARLES HENRY HARTSHORNE, M.A. Printed in this volume, p. 143.

The following Notes on the Domesday Book for Warwickshire, by Mr. CHARLES TWAMLEY, were then read by Mr. Burt.

“The recent publication by Government of a fac-simile of Domesday Book, is an inestimable boon to the antiquary, and an important aid in studying the state of England at the period of the Conquest. Being interested in the history of Dudley Castle, standing on the confines of the counties of Worcester and Stafford, and not far from the northern borders of Warwickshire, I investigated the nature and extent of the lands held by William Fitz Ausculf, the owner of the castle at that time, and I found some curious mistakes in the Domesday survey, which misled Sir William Dugdale in his history of Warwickshire, and also Sampson Erdeswick in his history of Staffordshire. Having observed these discrepancies I made note of them, and have thought that they might deserve the consideration of the present meeting.

“1. William Fitz Ausculf, besides having considerable possessions in other counties, had 15 lordships in Worcestershire, 5 in Warwickshire, and 29 in Staffordshire. These, 49 altogether, lay around Dudley Castle, within a distance of from five to eight miles. The boundaries of the three counties, in this neighbourhood, are exceedingly irregular, and evidently were so at the time of the survey. Peninsulas of each county running one into the other, with isolated portions lying intermixed, cause great confusion. This district forms part of the central watershed of England, with a stiff clay soil, exposed to cold winds, and is comparatively sterile. The more fertile valleys north and south of this ridge were, no doubt, first settled; and then portions of the central barren ridge were from time to time occupied and reclaimed, and added to those counties to which the settler belonged. All this was the occasion of great confusion, and we find traces of it in the Domesday survey.

“2. The first thing I will mention is a mistake, wherein the lordship of Essington with land in Byshbury, being in Cuttlestone Hundred in Staffordshire, held by Fitz Ausculf, and rightly included in the list of his possessions in that county, is introduced a second time into the Warwickshire list, as will be seen by the following extracts:—

‘IN STAFFORDSCIRE.

‘In Cudulveston h'd.
‘Rogeri’ ten. de W. (i. e. Willelmo
fitz Ausculf) ii. hid. t're in *Esenin-*
getone. T'ra e' iii. car. In d'nio e' una, et ii.

‘IN WARWICSCIRE.

‘In Cudulvestan h'd.
‘De W. ten. Roger' ii. hid. in *Esenin-*
getone. T'ra e' vi. car. In d'nio e' una
et ii. servi et xv. vill'i et ii. bord' cu' iii.

servi, et xv. vill'i, cu' ii. bord. h'nt iii. car. Silva i. leu. l'g et t'ntd' lat. In *Biscopoberie* e' una v' t're p'tin' huic M. s. vastu, e' om'ino. Valuit et valet xx. solid.
'Godeva comitissa tenuit.'

car. Silva i. leuu. l'g et t'ntd' lat. In *Biscopoberie* e' una v' t're p'tiner' ad hanc t'ra' s. vasta' e'. Valuit et valet xx. sol'.

"A similar error occurs in the list of lands "Willielmi filii Corbucion," at the end of which, in the Warwickshire Domesday, is the entry :—

"In Colveston h'd.

"Ide' W. ten. *Cillentone*. Ibi sunt iii. hidae. T'ra' e' vi. car. In d'no e' una car. et ix. servi et xiii. vill'i et vi. bord. cu' v. car. Ibi ii. ac' p'ti. Silva ii. leuu. l'g et dim. leu. lat. Valuit iii. lib. modo xxx. sold'. Ep's de Cest're calu'niat' hanc t'ra'.

"This is Chillington, the seat of the Gifford family, which is altogether omitted in the Staffordshire Domesday. But Erdeswick rightly surmised the fact from other evidence, and says, 'Corbucion held it under the Bishop of Chester,' whence it appears that the Bishop succeeded in establishing his claim mentioned in Domesday.

"3. Other mistakes arose from the confusion of the county boundaries above alluded to, and also from many places being actually transferred, after the Conquest, from one county to another. Thus we find that Fitz Ausculf had in Worcestershire Domesday, among other places, *Escelie*, to which the Berewick of *Berchelai* belonged, and also *Werwelie*. These I believe to be Echels or Nechels, with Bordesley and Olney, Olton or Oaken End, all now in Warwickshire. Dugdale, not finding these places in the Warwickshire Domesday, concluded that they were altogether omitted; but, observing that they were part of the inheritance of the barons of Dudley, he surmised that the two former were part of Aston manor, and the latter connected with Solihull. Speaking of Nechels, Dugdale says: 'Of this place there is no mention at all in the Conqueror's survey, forasmuch as it was then involved with Aston; but the name thereof, *scil. Nechels*, or *Echels* (for it is indifferently written) discovereth it to have been a wood at first, Echel signifying the same in the German language (whereof our Saxon is a branch) as *Quercus* in the Latine. I am of opinion that one of the old barons of Dudley granted it, originally, unto one of the family of Parles.' (Hist. Warw. edit. 1656, p. 644.) And of Bordesley he says: 'This being originally a member of Aston, and therewith involved at the time of the Conqueror's survey, descended to the Someries, barons of Dudley.' (Hist. Warw. p. 645.) Speaking of Olton, in Warwickshire, Dugdale says: 'This, through the corrupt pronunciation of the vulgar, is now called *Oken end*; but that it had its name after the plantation at Solihull is apparent enough from what I have formerly said; that of *Wolverle* being waived, and thereupon called the *Old town*. But by this new name of *Olton* I find no mention of it till 19 E. I., upon the extent of the lands belonging to Roger de Someri, Baron of Dudley, who was then certified to have one meadow and a pasture here at that time.' (Hist. Warw. p. 693.) In *Werwelie* Ausculf had only half a hide, which agrees with the meadow and pasture of the Someries.

"4. Upon looking at the population of some of the lordships in Stanlei Hundred, now forming part of Knightlow Hundred, it appeared that there was a denser population than in Fitz Ausculf's lands, and I determined to compare the two together.

“Stanlei Hundred consisted of the following lordships :

<i>Names in Domesday.</i>	<i>Modern Names.</i>
1. Stanlei	Stoneleigh.
2. Optone, and Chineurde	Kenilworth.
3. Aceshot	Ashow.
4. Quatone	Leek Wootton.
5. Widecote	Woodcote.
6. Bericote	Bericote.
7. Malvertone	Milverton.
8. Muitone	Myton.
9. Lamintone	Leamington Priors.
10. Newebold	Newbold Comyn.
11. Witenas	Whitnash.
12. Tacesbroc	Tachebrook Malory.
13. Erburberie	Herberbury.
14. Ulchetone	Ufton.
15. Radeford	Radford Simels.
16. Lillintone	Lillington.
17. Cobintone	Cubbington.
18. Westone	Weston subtus Wethell.
19. Bubenhalle	Bobenhall.
20. Rietone	Ryton-on-Dunsmore.
21. Ulvricetone—Ulvestone	Wolston.
22. Brandune	Brandon.
23. Bادهचितone	Bagginton.
24. Bilveie—Bilnei	Bilney.
25. Condone—Condelleme	Coundon, or Calndon.
26. Sowa	Sow.

“To these I added the following places in the immediate neighbourhood, to equalise the number of hides of land in the two districts :—

<i>Ancient Names.</i>	<i>Modern Names.</i>
28. Mortone	Marton.
29. Huningebam	Honingham.
30. Wapeberie	Wapenbury.
31. Stratone	Stretton-on-Dunsmore.
32. Franchetone	Frankton.

“These 32 lordships contained altogether about 123 hides, whilst Fitz Ausculf's 49 lordships contained about 128 hides. The Warwickshire lands had 388 villani, 226 bordarii, 89 servi, 4 ancillæ, 2 milites, and 8 presbyteri, making a total of 717 adults, all males except the 4 ancillæ. Fitz Ausculf's lands had only 267 villani, 178 bordarii, 9 cotmanni, 50 servi, 1 ancilla, 4 various, including ‘unus faber,’ and 7 presbyteri, making a total of 516 adults, against 717 of the Warwickshire.

“5. The variation in value between the time of Edward the Confessor and the period of Domesday is equally remarkable; for, whilst Fitz Ausculf's lands had decreased from 43 pounds to 25 pounds 61 shillings, the Stoneleigh lands had increased from 30 pounds 51 shillings to 44 pounds 1 shilling, between the two periods.

“6. Dugdale infers the existence of a church, wherever a *presbyter* or priest is mentioned in the survey; and, to strengthen this inference, I would observe that in the existing churches of Stoneleigh, Ryton-on-Dunsmore, Wolston, and Church Lawford, places in each of which there was a *presbyter* mentioned in Domesday, there are remains of Anglo-Norman architecture.

"7. In looking through the Warwickshire lands, I observed that in several places in this neighbourhood there are three values given instead of two. In Domesday the value of the land in the time of the Confessor and its value at the time of the survey are stated. But here an intermediate value is introduced, and it is always less than that of the Confessor's time. From this point of depression it rallies, and more than recovers itself by the time of the survey, and generally reaches a value beyond that of the Confessor's time. The following are instances :—

<i>Domesday Names.</i>	<i>Modern Names.</i>	<i>Hides.</i>		
1. Erburberie	Harberbury	1	Vasta est per exercitum Regia.	Valuit x. sol. modo ii. sol.
2. Erburberie	—————	4	T.R.E. val. c. sol. post lx. sol. modo c. sol.	
3. Ulchetone	Ufton	4	" " iii. lib. post lx. sol. modo c. sol.	
4. Redeford	Radford Simele	5	" " c. sol. post lx. sol. modo vi. lib.	
5. Lamingtone	Leamington Priors	2	" " l. sol. post xxv. sol. modo iii. lib.	
6. Maitone	Myton	2	" " iii. lib. post xl. sol. modo vi. lib.	

Totals : ix. lib. l. sol. ii. lib. lxx. sol. xviii. lib.

"All these places lie contiguous to each other. There were two others near, but not immediately adjoining them, which underwent the same fluctuations.

<i>Domesday Names.</i>	<i>Modern Names.</i>	<i>Hides.</i>		
1. Straton	Stretton-on-Dunamore	5	T.R.E. val. iii. lib. post c. sol. modo vi. lib.	
2. Uluricetone	Wolston	5	" " lx. sol. post xx. sol. modo c. sol.	

"It is difficult to account satisfactorily for these fluctuations, or to know the reason why they were recorded.

"The statement regarding the one hide of land in Harberbury, which belonged to the church of Coventry, that was wasted by the king's army,—'vasta est per exercitum Regis,'—may be the solution of the difficulty, and it may be further explained by the following extract from the Saxon Chronicle :—'Anno 1085. This year men said and reported as certain, that Canute, King of Denmark, the son of King Sweyn, was coming hither, and that he designed to conquer this land with the assistance of Robert, Earl of Flanders, whose daughter he had married. When King William, who was then in Normandy, heard this, for England and Normandy were both his, he hastened hither with a larger army of horse and foot, from France and Brittany, than had ever arrived in this land, so that men wondered how the country could feed them all. But the king billeted the soldiers upon his subjects throughout the nation, and they provided for them, every man according to the land that he possessed. And the people suffered much distress this year. . . . Afterwards, when the king had received certain information that his enemies had been stopped, and that they would not be able to proceed in this enterprise, he let part of his forces return to their own homes, and he kept part in this land through the winter.' (Sax. Chron. p. 458, Bohn's edit.) As, however, William issued the commission for compiling the survey in the winter of that year, the time was hardly enough to allow of the great increase in value which took place after the period of depression. Some allowance may be made on the ground of strict accuracy as to dates on the part of the writer of the Chronicle, and, on the part of the Commissioners, of a desire to make the best appearance of a beneficent effect of the rule of the Conqueror in this country."

At the close of the Meeting, a large concourse proceeded to the Castle, by the courteous permission of the Earl of Warwick, who, with great kindness, gave every facility of access to all parts of the fabric and of the defences by which it is surrounded. Soon after eleven, the visitors assembled in the inner court, where the Rev. CHARLES H. HARTSHORNE awaited them; he then proceeded to deliver his Discourse on the Architectural features and history of the Castle. He said that he had often had the pleasure of addressing the Archæological Institute on buildings of great interest, but he had never felt it so difficult to fulfil the task allotted to him as on the present occasion, because the building which they now saw, was, beyond comparison, the most remarkable object of the kind in the kingdom of Great Britain. It was impressive from the style of its architecture; the richness of the corbels that encircled the towers, the cedars, and the external decorations combined, made up such a glowing picture, that he felt at a loss to find suitable language to describe it. He would, however, commence by detailing some particulars of the early history of the building. According to the ancient rolls, in the 19th Henry II., the Castle was provisioned and garrisoned at an expense of £10, which, according to the present value of money, would be about £200, on behalf of the king, who was contending against his son, and it remained in his hands three years. In 20th Henry II., there was paid to soldiers in the Castle a sum equivalent to £500 at the present time. In the following year the building required considerable repair, which cost about £50, and in the same year a large payment was made to soldiers employed in its defence for the king. The next occasion when any works were carried out at the Castle was in the 3rd year of Richard I., but repairs to any great extent were not undertaken until the 27th of John. It was defended in that year for 253 days, the soldiers receiving pay at the rate of 2d. per day. In the 48th year of Henry III., William Mauduit, Earl of Warwick, was surprised by the adherents of Simon de Montfort, then holding Kenilworth, and the walls of the Castle were completely destroyed. So complete was the devastation, that in 1315, 9th Edward II., it was returned in an inquisition as being worth nothing, excepting the herbage in the ditches, valued at 6s. 8d. He should next allude to the building which was entirely erected in the reign of Edward III. In 1337, a new building was commenced, as in that year a license was granted by the Crown to found a chantry chapel in the Castle. The documents of that date are not very specific, and therefore their information is confused. But in the reign of Edward III., Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, whose monument is to be seen in the choir of St. Mary's church, commenced the noble structure before them. Mr. Hartshorne was unable to state definitely when it was begun, or when it was completed, but there was some ground for supposing that it was finished in 1380. It was unsatisfactory that he could not be precise upon this point, but he had come to the conclusion that the work was not commenced before 1330, or completed until about 1380. That left an interval of 50 years to be filled up, but this they were unable to do in consequence of the absence of documents relative to that period. He had found on the summit of one of the towers a rude inscription, which was, in his opinion, some slight evidence. He had thus deciphered it:—"R. E. xxx. + iii."—the thirtieth year of the reign of Edward III. This was very unsafe evidence, he was ready to admit, but it was desirable to seize any indication which might supply evidence, and Mr. Hartshorne had, however, some faith in that inscription.

He was of opinion that it was placed where he found it, to show that the tower was finished in the year 1357. The next feature to which he would allude was the building of Guy's Tower in 1394, by the second son of Thomas Beauchamp, who had built the greater portion of the Castle. That information was derived from Sir William Dugdale, and stated in his history of Warwickshire. The Tower was completed in the 17th Richard II., 1394, at a cost of £395 5s. 2d. He must now hasten onwards between 200 and 300 years, to the reign of King James, when Fulke Greville, subsequently Lord Brooke, was the owner of the castle, and he spent £20,000 in making it habitable, and restoring it to its former importance. The next work alluded to was the noble entrance hall; Mr. Hartshorne was not prepared to state the precise time when it was built; neither, in consequence of its late age, is this part of the fabric of any essential value to the antiquary. Coming down to a still later period, he would allude to the judicious alterations made by the present Earl of Warwick, under the superintendence of Mr. Salvin, by whom a considerable portion of the south-east corner, which was formerly perfectly useless, had been made habitable. There were no particular military defences about the Castle, but he would call attention to the beauty of the masonry, the closeness of the joints, the fine dressing of the stones, the machicolations, and the corbels on the towers, the altitude and remarkable proportions of which they could only estimate by going to the base of it.

The numerous visitors proceeded to the interior of the Castle; their attention was invited by Mr. GEORGE SCHARF, F.S.A., to the numerous portraits and productions of art which there supplied a subject for a discourse replete with tasteful criticism and information. We regret that the limits of this notice do not permit us to offer a detailed statement of the observations made on the occasion by our talented friend. Before leaving the Hall, the Bishop of Oxford expressed, on behalf of the Society, their high sense of the kindness and courtesy of the Earl of Warwick, which all who had shared in the enjoyment so liberally extended to them on that day could not fail heartily to appreciate.

The Rev. J. R. GREEN expressed his wish, before the Institute progressed to fresh scenes of antiquarian interest, to advert briefly to the famous Guy, whose story had been handed down as a myth of the dark ages. It might be well to consider that, whenever the same or very similar popular legends were found associated with more than one hero of olden times, there may probably have been a certain amount of truth in the dim tradition. It might deserve consideration that the renowned "ealdorman" of Mercia, Leofric, played an important part in the affairs of the county about the time of the Conquest, and might certainly have performed the acts of prowess attributed to the mythical earl, Guy. It was, however, a singular coincidence, that similar prodigious feats had been ascribed to Leofric's contemporary, Simon, earl or ruler of Northumbria, the part of England where Guy's conflict with the dragon was said to have occurred.

Mr. M. H. BLOXAM remarked that he had considered the legend to have been derived from a French romance of the twelfth or thirteenth century, in the fourteenth century there was a metrical version of it in that language, the earliest version of the story, as he believed. At that time, Guy, or a prototype, was reputed to be a veritable living personage, his sword and coat of mail having formed the subject of a bequest in 1369. In a Latin MS. of the fifteenth century at Magdalene College, Oxford, by

Girard of Cornwall,² it is related that there was a battle between Guy and some other hero of ancient story, and some such contest was a matter of history, the weapons with which they fought being hung up in Winchester Cathedral after the conflict. In the reign of Henry VIII. a pension was granted for the custody of Guy's "porridge-pot." In early MSS., and in the history of "The Renowned Guy of Warwick" printed by Copland about 1550, no notice was taken of the tale of Guy's conflict with a dun cow, the first reference to which was made, he believed, in the seventeenth century. Dr. Caius, who wrote "De Bonasi Cornibus," about the year 1552, mentioned having seen a bone of the cow, or *bonasus*, at Warwick Castle, in the place where the arms of Guy were kept. He also affirmed that he had seen what was reported to be the blade-bone of the same animal over the north gate at Kenilworth, a rib being also hung up in the chapel at Guy's Cliff. In 1636 the armour of Guy was at Kenilworth Castle; his horse-armour, with his sword, dagger, and the "rib of the dun cow," at Warwick. Evelyn visited Warwick Castle in 1654, and saw a two-handed sword, staff, horse-armour, "and other relics of Guy." The armour exhibited as Guy's consists of a bacinet of the time of Edward III., a breast-plate, partly of the fifteenth century, and partly of the times of James I.; the sword is of the reign of Henry VIII.; and his "staff" is an ancient tilting-lance, which in itself is very curious. Fair Felicia's slippers are a pair of footed stirrup irons of the fifteenth century, and the horse-armour belong to the same period. Mr. Bloxam concluded by saying that he possessed the original blade-bone of the dun cow, but he must admit that its similarity to a bone of a whale was remarkable.

On quitting the castle, a numerous party set forth, on the invitation of the noble President, to visit Stoneleigh Abbey. The vestiges of the monastery are comparatively few. Lord Leigh pointed out a gateway, with other remains of the conventual buildings, and also many valuable works of art in his possession. He also produced a valuable Chartulary of the monastery, and invited attention to some of the most remarkable documents which throw light on its early history. After partaking of his kind hospitalities, the Master of Trinity College begged to convey, on behalf of the Institute, their most hearty acknowledgment of the kindness shown towards the Society by their noble President and by Lady Leigh; Dr. Whewell's expressions were warmly seconded by Mr. Beresford Hope. The visitors then took their leave, and proceeded, under the guidance of the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, to Kenilworth. The picturesque remains of the castle, Mr. Hartshorne observed, are well worthy of the notice of the archæologist, even when compared with the noble example of military architecture examined in the earlier part of that day. It is supposed that the castle of Kenilworth was built by the chamberlain of Henry I., Geoffrey de Clinton. Mr. Hartshorne was unable to fix the precise date; it might, however, be placed about 1123 or 1125. The next notice of the fortress occurs on the great Roll of the Pipe, 20 Hen. II. 1174, when the castle was garrisoned by a strong force which there remained 77 days. In 1184 the walls were repaired at a cost of 26*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.* The next record is on the Sheriff's Roll, and claims attention as giving rise to speculation whether the present keep

² Printed by Hearne, Chron. of Dunstable, t. ii. p. 825. See notices of the Romance of Guy in Warton's Eng. Poetry, sect. iii., and Ellis's Specimens.

In 1398 Richard II. made special grant of a suit of tapestry at Warwick Castle, representing the story of Guy, to the Earl of Kent.

was the work of Geoffrey de Clinton, in the twelfth century, or should be assigned to King John in the fourteenth and following years of his reign, 1203—1208. It is stated that no less a sum than 937*l.* 9*s.* was then expended; the particular buildings are not specified; the amount, however, of expenditure being considered, Mr. Hartshorne inclined to believe that it may have been applied to the erection of the keep. He thought it improbable that the soft red sandstone used in the building should have been preserved from the twelfth century in so uninjured a state as we now see it. He doubted whether, in fact, the castle presents any work of so early a date as that usually stated. On careful comparison of the architectural features, and taking into consideration the three records above cited, he had come to the conclusion that the keep may have been erected by King John. In the reign of Henry III. we find many particulars recorded in regard to Kenilworth. That king was a great builder; he erected a chapel at Kenilworth in the third year of his reign; and at a later time he made a considerable outlay; he built great part of the outer walls in 1245, and also a tower, which had fallen. During the siege in 1265 the castle doubtless suffered. It was granted by Henry III. to Edmund, his second son, by whom it was held until his death in 1295, when the castle passed by his bequest to Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, who built the range from "Lunn's Tower" to "Mortimer's Tower;" this portion Mr. Hartshorne believed to be the building mentioned in a document in the Duchy of Lancaster Office as begun in 1314. The castle was afterwards in possession of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, until 1361, and it was held by John of Gaunt from that time until 1399. About 1392, the hall was erected; 20 masons were then employed, doubtless upon that grand feature of the fabric, which Mr. Hartshorne proposed to designate "John of Gaunt's Hall." It is of Early Perpendicular style, similar to that of Trinity Church, Coventry. After various vicissitudes Kenilworth came into the king's hands, and subsequently it was the property of the Earl of Leicester. The "Swan Tower" was built in 1563. In concluding his discourse Mr. Hartshorne adverted to the interesting coincidence, that, on that very day, in 1575, Queen Elizabeth quitted the castle, after "enjoying princely pleasure" during seventeen days spent in the sumptuous hospitalities there celebrated in her honor by the Earl of Leicester.

The thanks of the Society having been offered to Mr. Hartshorne, whose exertions had essentially contributed to their gratification throughout the day, the Rev. W. F. Bickmore, vicar of Kenilworth, offered a few observations, and produced an old register, by which it appeared that Cromwell's soldiers lodged in the church in 1645. Mr. Bickmore said that he had found no record of any assault of the castle at that period, but he pointed out certain mounds near the approach, upon which, according to tradition, Cromwell had planted his cannon. After visiting the church and vicarage the party returned to Warwick.

Thursday, July 28.

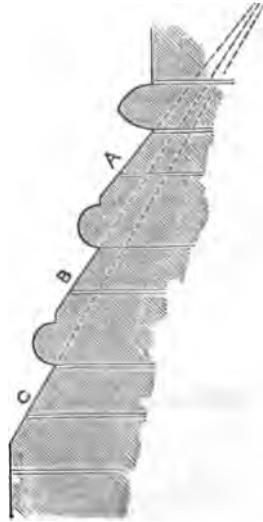
This day was reserved for an excursion to Coventry. On arriving at St. Mary's Hall, the visitors were welcomed by the Mayor (Mr. Minster), and the chief members of the Corporation. A collection of documents, autograph letters, ancient registers of the civic companies, curious seals, with many relics of local interest, were arranged in the Hall. A congratulatory address was delivered by the Mayor, in which he alluded to the archæolo-

gical attractions of Coventry, the ancient buildings thrown open to inspection, and the valuable municipal evidences, now in course of arrangement by Dr. Jackson Howard and Mr. Doggett. The thanks of the Society were warmly expressed by Lord Neaves and Mr. Beresford Hope. Mr. Bloxam also spoke at some length in reference to paintings and objects of interest in the Hall, and he alluded to certain local celebrities.

The visitors proceeded first to St. Michael's Church, a structure of the fifteenth century which justly called forth the eulogies of Sir Christopher Wren. Mr. Bloxam, Mr. Beresford Hope, and Mr. Skidmore offered some remarks on the architectural features. In this Church the "Coventry Mysteries" were performed; some of the dresses used in those remarkable scenic entertainments exist, as Mr. Bloxam remarked, in the collection of Warwickshire relics formed by the late Mr. Staunton, at Longbridge.

The remains of the Cathedral were next examined; they are situated in a churchyard close to Trinity Church, and were exposed to view in 1859, under the direction of the late Mr. Murray, architect of the Blue Coat School, which was partly erected on the Cathedral foundation. They have been assigned to the thirteenth or early part of the fourteenth century, and consist chiefly of portions of the west front and of a tower, and part of the nave. The diocese of Lichfield was originally called the bishopric of Mercia, the see was afterwards established in 669 at Lichfield, removed in 1075 to Chester, and thence to Coventry in 1102. After the death of Bishop Robert de Limesey, 1117, the see was commonly denominated that of Coventry and Lichfield. The ancient Cathedral may probably have been demolished when the Act of Parliament, 33 Henry VIII., after the dissolution of the priory of Coventry, made the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield the sole Chapter for the Bishop. We are indebted to Mr. E. W. Godwin, F.S.A., who kindly accompanied the visitors in their investigation of the relics of this interesting fabric, for the following notes and for a section of the base-moulding.

"The remains of Coventry Cathedral are of the xiiith century; they consist of the W. wall and portions of the N. and S. tower walls, the latter being about 10ft., the former about 30 ft. in height. The western façade was divided into five bays, namely, a nave with N. and S. aisles, and towers occupying the external bays, as at Wells. The lower part of all the western responds and the jambs of the great west doorway remain, as also the greater part of the bases of the tower. The angles of the latter and of the nave were occupied by octagonal turrets set diagonally, or with the angle in front. There are remains of staircases in the tower turrets. The great base-moulding of the W. front is remarkably bold and effective. In the accompanying section (see wood-cut) the three gradations of slope, A, B, C, which give this base such power, are shown by dotted lines."²



² Some discussion arose as to the levels; the lower courses of masonry

Trinity Church was next inspected; the elaborate stone pulpit is unequalled by any in the kingdom; it is believed that it was originally enriched with ornaments formed of the precious metals. The visitors then proceeded to the Convent of White Friars, the dormitories, ambulatory, and other buildings of the xivth century, noticing the oval window from which, according to tradition, Queen Elizabeth, in no complimentary rhyme ending "Good lack! what fools ye be," responded to the loyal address of her lieges of Coventry. Mr. Bloxam gave a very interesting explanation of the details of conventual arrangement, and he remarked that the White Friars present the most remarkable features to be found in any of the ancient buildings of Coventry.

In the evening a *Conversazione* was held in the Museum of the Institute at the Corn Exchange, where the collection, tastefully arranged by Mr. Charles Tucker, was again viewed with great satisfaction.

Friday, July 29.

At an early hour the archæologists set forth by special train for Lichfield, where they were received at the Guild Hall by the Mayor and Corporation. Here PROFESSOR WILLIS delivered his lecture on the Architectural History of the Cathedral, preliminary to a proposed examination of the structure under his guidance in the afternoon. He specially adverted to the remarkable evidence regarding the earlier arrangements of the Cathedral, brought to light in the course of works of restoration in 1860, under Mr. Gilbert Scott's direction. They have been detailed in the Professor's memoir in this Journal, vol. xviii. pp. 1—24.

A memoir was also read by the late Mr. CHARLES WINSTON, on Painted Glass in Lichfield Cathedral, originally in the Abbey of Herckenrode in Flanders. Printed in this volume, p. 193.

On the return of the excursionists to Warwick, a meeting took place, at which the chair was taken by the DEAN of CHICHESTER. The following communications were read:—

Notices of examples of Decorative Mosaic pavements, chiefly on the Continent. By ROBERT WOLLASTON, Esq., M.D.

Observations on Incised Markings occurring upon certain rocks in Northumberland, and likewise in Argyleshire and the County Kerry. By the Rev. J. COLLINGWOOD BRUCE, LL.D., F.S.A. This memoir was profusely illustrated by drawings executed by Mr. MOSSMAN, by direction of the late Duke of Northumberland, and exhibited by his Grace's kind permission.⁴

Saturday, July 30.

A Meeting of the Historical Section took place at ten o'clock. The

with the plinth-course, pass uninterruptedly along the inside of the W. wall, so that the sill of the doorway is 2 ft. or 3 ft. above the floor of the nave. Mr. Godwin thought, however, that the steps which seem to have led down into the nave would then, as now, be fixed after the building was roofed in, and the

masons would build their work independent of these stone fittings.

⁴ See notices of these singular vestiges in this volume, pp. 87, 163, *ante*, and a paper by Mr. George Tate, F.G.S., Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, vol. v. p. 137, where almost all the Northumbrian examples are figured.

Chair was taken by the Very Rev. the DEAN of CHICHESTER, D.D., F.R.S. The following Memoirs were read :—

Boscobel, and the Memorable Escape of Charles II. By the Rev. GEORGE DODD.

The Life and Times of John de Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the reign of Edward III., 1333—1348. By the DEAN of CHICHESTER. This valuable memoir on a very distinguished native of Warwickshire has subsequently been published by Dr. Hook, in his Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, vol. iv.

In the afternoon the members with their friends set forth for Stratford-on-Avon; on their road thither they visited Charlecote, the ancient seat of the Lucy family, descendants of Sir Thomas Lucy, whose name is associated with the history of Shakespeare.

On arriving at Stratford, the party were courteously received at the Church by the Vicar, the Rev. G. J. Granville, who gave a short account of the collegiate foundation, and of certain architectural points of interest. Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. B. Ferrey, and Mr. Severn Walker offered some observations on the fabric and the peculiar arrangements connected with its ancient collegiate character. The Vicar pointed out in the registers the entries of the baptism and death of Shakespeare, and, at the request of Mr. Beresford Hope, he described the proceeding to which much exception had been taken in regard to the re-coloring of the bust of the great dramatist; it had been done under his immediate directions; on the removal of the stone color, with which it had been covered, distinct traces of the original coloring appeared, and the colors had been carefully restored. There were few persons, Mr. Granville believed, who now entertained any objection to the renovation thus adopted, in order to preserve as precisely as possible the aspect and character of the original condition of that precious memorial.

The visitors proceeded to the Guild Hall, to the Chapel of the Holy Cross, to the site of New Place, where Shakespeare passed the later days of his life, and to his birth-place, where numerous relics of the "immortal bard" have been deposited. They were accompanied in these interesting explorations by the Mayor of Stratford, Mr. Flower, and by some members of the Corporation; their obliging attentions contributed much to the general gratification. A large series of valuable documents was arranged for inspection through the obliging care of Mr. Halliwell. On taking leave, a vote of cordial acknowledgment was proposed by Mr. Beresford Hope.

A *Conversazione* at the Museum of the Institute concluded the varied occupations of a very agreeable week of social enjoyment.

Monday, August 1.

A Meeting of the Section of Antiquities was held under the presidency of the Hon. Lord NEAVES. The following Memoirs were read :—

Notes on Warwickshire Numismatics, the Mints of Warwick, Coventry, and Tamworth. By Mr. EDWARD HAWKINS, F.S.A.

Observations on the Limits of the British Town of Cassivelaunus, within which St. Albans now stands. By Mr. SAMUEL SHARPE, communicated through Mr. James Yates, F.R.S.

Notice of "The Black Book" preserved amongst the muniments of the Corporation of Warwick. By Mr. G. T. ROBINSON.

"On the Bust, Portraits, and Monument of Shakspeare." By Mr. E. T. CRAIG.

In the afternoon an excursion took place to the ancient stronghold of the Clintons, Maxtoke Castle. Coleshill Church was visited on the road to that place. Mr. Godwin here kindly took the part of cicerone; he observed that it is a Decorated church, enlarged westwards in the Perpendicular period, as shown by the piers where the two styles meet, the western responds of the Decorated church having been left. The roofs and windows, seemingly in Decorated style, are of the later time, the old work having been copied only in the roof of the nave. During recent restorations foundations of the Norman church were found within the line of the Decorated arcade of the nave, but at present the only relic of that age is a richly sculptured font, figured in Parker's Glossary of Architecture. There are two effigies of knights, date thirteenth century, and several tombs of the Digby family.⁵ In the centre of the market-place at Coleshill may be seen a kind of pillory, with irons for fastening an offender to the whipping post, and a platform for the exposure of criminals. The post has been used, as Mr. Godwin stated, within the last 75 years, in a case of assault and drunkenness.

At Maxtoke Castle the guests were very courteously welcomed, in the absence of Mr. Fetherston-Dilke through illness, by Mr. John Fetherston, who had provided most hospitably for their entertainment. At the close of the collation which had been prepared in a spacious marquee, the healths of Mr. Dilke and his obliging representative on this occasion were proposed by Lord Neaves. A memoir was read, on the Architecture of the Castle and its historical associations, prepared by the present owner of this picturesque example of the baronial residence when the stern requirements of defence became in some degree modified. We hope to be enabled hereafter to give Mr. Dilke's memoir on this structure. The following notes, for which we are indebted to Mr. Edward W. Godwin, by whom the visitors were accompanied in their examination of the building, cannot fail to prove acceptable. "Maxtoke Castle is essentially a fortified house, not a castle in the mediæval sense of the word. The outer wall, enclosing a space of about 180 ft. by 168, is 5 ft. in thickness; at the angles are octagonal towers, about 28 ft. in diameter, and projecting so as nearly to clear the inner angle formed by the main walls. In the centre of the east wall projects a gateway of two bays, the entrance being flanked by octagonal turrets. The chief apartments were on the west side; the hall stood in the centre of this side, immediately opposite the gateway. The upper rooms of both the towers and the gateway were dwelling-rooms. No care seems to have been taken to confine the look-out to the inner court. The broad traceried six-light window of the chapel and the tall two-light windows of the hall look out upon the moat. Many of the tower windows are of two lights, transomed and seated, and do not appear to have been designed for defence. Indeed, the more we examine this fourteenth century example of domestic architecture, the more evident it is how completely

⁵ The small brasses of two vicars of Coleshill, in the spacious Perpendicular chancel, deserve notice as dated; one, William Abell, 1500, vested in a chasuble; the other, Sir John Fenton, de-

ceased in 1566, "whose soul Jesus pardon." He appears robed in the Geneva gown, the Bible in his left hand; the familiar prayer for the deceased is here retained.

its architect devoted attention not to military requirements but to domestic comfort. If it were not for the crenellated wall, which almost every manor-house of any importance possessed, and the gatehouse, which is scarcely more warlike-looking than some of the old hospital and college gateways, there is nothing to place Maxtoke in the rank of castles. However, attention should be directed to certain details, such as the grooves in the merlons for the shutter rods (see Viollet le Duc, *Dict. de l'Archit.*, vol. iv. pp. 382, 389), the ironwork of the gates with devices of the Stafford family, and the heraldic tiles, removed in masses to form the floors of the beer cellar and offices. The groining of the N.W. tower is good. The chapel window is unusually large, and has a raking cill rising northwards, clearly marking the line of stairs from the hall on the south to the solar or upper room on the north of the chapel. The charm of Maxtoke is the completeness and admirable proportions of the whole design. Its plan reminds us more of some of the French *chateaux* than of the English castle or even manor-house. The chateau at Bury, near Blois, presents a very similar general arrangement."*

After the examination of the Castle the adjacent remains of Maxtoke Priory, founded in 1331 by William de Clinton, were visited. Mr. Godwin pointed out the general plan; the structure was a cross-church with a cloister on the north; the greater part of the tower, rising from the intersection of the cross, remains. It is a fine piece of plain architecture, in long sloping set-offs from the square to the octagon, having a noble effect. The remains of the church are of two dates; the earliest work, of the XIIIth century, is seen in the moulded jamb of one of the chancel windows and in the chancel arch; the tower seems to have been inserted about 1350, the junction of the tower-piers with the old chancel arch-piers being distinctly marked. The gateway is in good preservation; the gate retains the old iron hinges; one of them is figured in Parker's *Gloss. Arch.*, pl. 65. After inspecting the Priors' Lodgings, and some curious vestiges of armorial bearings in one of the chambers, given by Dugdale, the excursionists returned to Warwick through Packington Park, by the obliging permission of the Earl of Aylesford.

Tuesday, August 2.

The Annual Meeting to receive the Report of the Auditors with that of the Central Committee, and for other affairs of the Society, was held at the Court House. The Chair was taken by Mr. BERESFORD HOPE.

The Report of the Auditors for 1863 (printed at page 191 in this volume), and also the following Report of the Committee, were read by Mr. Burt; both were unanimously adopted.

At the termination of another year, and of another of those local gatherings which seem to prove increasingly acceptable to the votaries of archaeological research, the Central Committee may indulge in a retrospect of

* Mr. Fetherston called attention to some fragments lately dug up, consisting of a broken capital of a nook-shaft, portion of a base to the same, and a piece apparently of an archivolt. They seem to belong to a late period in the transition from Norman to Early English, and may be relics of some earlier fabric of

the close of the twelfth century. The license to crenellate was granted to the Earl of Huntingdon, 19 Edw. III, but there may have been an earlier residence at Maxtoke. A description of the existing castle is given in Parker's *Domestic Architecture*, xiv. Century, p. 246.

unusual interest as regards the progress of the Institute. In former years, when called upon, in accordance with accustomed usage, to pass in review the advance of the Society's efforts and influence, the progress of archaeological science, or the results of conservative endeavors for the preservation of National Monuments, the retrospect has been limited to a single year; the Committee has not only now, however, to congratulate the members on the success which has marked the course of their proceedings since their last assembly, held so pleasurably under the auspices of the Marquess Camden. At the termination of twenty years, during which the purpose of the Institute has been steadily and advantageously sustained, the Committee cannot refrain from inviting the members to share in the satisfaction with which they look back upon the series of annual assemblies held during that period in the chief cities of the Empire,—the growth of public sympathy in objects for which the Society was instituted,—the establishment of kindred provincial Societies and of Museums which have been among the results of these archaeological congresses, and the general promotion of intelligent interest in historical and antiquarian researches. In these days of periodical celebrations, with the recent recollection of the Tercentenary associated with the greatest name in the annals of English Literature, the Institute also may now, on the banks of Avon, enjoy their vicenary celebration.

In the review, however, which the Committee are called upon to offer of the year elapsed since the Society assembled under the walls of Rochester Castle, there are circumstances claiming special gratulation. At that time the loss which the Society had sustained through the lamented decease of their enlightened and generous Patron, the Prince Consort, was fresh in remembrance. The Committee then hailed with grateful satisfaction the continued evidence of Royal favor and encouragement, in her Majesty's gracious permission that the Museum formed at Rochester should be enriched with valuable objects from the Royal collection at Windsor Castle. During the last Session, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales has been pleased to signify his assent to become the Patron of the Institute in the place of his lamented father—an evidence of the favorable consideration of the Prince, shewn also by his presentation to the Library of the Institute of a work which he had caused to be printed, descriptive of certain antiquities disinterred in Egypt in excavations made under the supervision of His Royal Highness, during his recent Tour in the East.

The progress of archaeological science has been marked in a striking degree since the meeting in Kent in the previous year. Among important subjects of investigation, of the greatest interest alike to the geologist and to the antiquary, the discoveries of vestiges of primeval Man in the tertiary strata, and also in caverns and other unexplored depositories, have claimed the attention of ethnologists throughout Europe. The researches in France by M. Lartet and Mr. Henry Christy have developed in certain ossiferous caves facts of remarkable character; their recent explorations in the ancient province of Périgord, connected with a remote prehistoric period when the reindeer seems to have existed in Southern France, have opened out a fresh ground of curious speculation. However valuable these relics may be, those lately secured for the British Museum through the agency of Professor Owen, from the Bruniquel cave in the South of France, are of even greater importance, particularly as with the extensive series of weapons and implements of bone, spears, harpoons, and the like, a number of human crania have been obtained, which may supply, through the skill

of the comparative anatomist, a clue to the race and the period to which these remarkable remains should be assigned.

In our own country a fresh proof of the liberal encouragement of archaeological research shown by the Duke of Northumberland claims anew an expression of marked satisfaction. His Grace, to whom we owe the accurate Surveys of the Roman Wall and of numerous early antiquities in the Northern Counties, skilfully surveyed by Mr. MacLauchlan, had directed his attention, nearly ten years since, to the circular markings incised upon rocks in the vicinity of the Cheviots, first brought under the notice of the Institute by the Rev. William Greenwell at the meeting at Newcastle in 1852. During the last autumn his Grace has directed accurate drawings to be taken of all examples of these mysterious markings, the import of which has not been explained; he has caused them to be engraved, in order to bring so curious a subject before the archaeologists of Europe. At the meeting of the Institute in London in December, the drawings were exhibited, with the permission of the Duke, by Dr. Collingwood Bruce, who explained the chief features of this very curious discovery; it has subsequently been ascertained that similar rock-markings exist abundantly in Argyllshire, as shown by drawings and facsimiles for which the Institute has been indebted to Mr. Davenport Graham, and also in the County Kerry: of the latter an account by the Very Rev. Dean Graves will be published by the Royal Irish Academy.

The Committee have not considered it expedient in the past season to continue the special exhibitions, which had been commodiously carried out during previous years in the spacious apartments in Suffolk-street. The present office of the Institute in Burlington Gardens, secured last July, has proved convenient as a central and more quiet position than the crowded thoroughfare in which the Institute had for some years been located. Through the courtesy of the Arundel Society, whose more extensive apartments are closely adjacent, the monthly meetings of the Institute, which had proved unusually attractive and numerous attended, have been occasionally held in the Meeting Room of the Arundel Society. In no former year has so copious a provision of valuable communications been received on these occasions, and the Committee cannot omit to advert with satisfaction to the continued goodwill and liberal confidence with which precious objects of antiquity and art have been entrusted for the inspection of the members.

The researches by individual archaeologists and members of the Institute have been prosecuted with fresh activity: we may refer to the notices of primeval relics in Wilts and Hampshire made known by Mr. Stevens and Dr. Blackmore; to discoveries of Roman remains announced by Mr. Ferguson of Carlisle, by Mr. Colquhoun, and Mr. Ambrose Poynter; to the Hon. William Stanley the Society has also been indebted for the results of his very curious explorations in Anglesea among the dwellings of a very ancient race. The Director of the Museum of Artillery at Woolwich, General Lefroy, has, with constant courtesy, contributed to our gratification, not only from the instructive collection lately arranged in the Rotunda under his directions, but in bringing before the Society valuable relics from the Lake Dwellings in Switzerland, and the curious massive artillery of the time of Henry VI. left by the English forces after the siege of Mont St. Michel in 1423. The recently completed official Catalogue of the Museum at Woolwich has been produced under General Lefroy's care, and

it forms a valuable guide to the information which he has so successfully sought to combine in that depository.

An extensive Museum has been organised at Salisbury during the last year, and an instructive catalogue prepared through the exertions of Mr. Nightingale, Mr. Stevens, Mr. Osmond, Dr. Blaekmore, and other able fellow-laborers, who have rendered the collection one of the most valuable in this country, more particularly in primeval relics, antiquities of flint from the drift, and other objects of the stone period, as also in relics of bronze, and in the varied illustrations of mediæval manners and miscellaneous objects collected at Salisbury by Mr. Brodie. The Salisbury and South Wilts Museum is established on a permanent footing in commodious premises, under the control of the Town Council as trustees; it will doubtless in a few years become, in a district so rich in ancient remains, a collection of unrivalled interest and instructive character.

It has constantly been the endeavor of the Committee to exercise a conservative influence, so far as may be practicable, in any case when public monuments or ancient remains may be threatened with injury. On a recent occasion their attention was strongly invited to the destructive project, stated to be in contemplation by the Eastern Counties Railway Company, to carry a branch line between two of the sepulchral hills at Bartlow in Essex, cutting away the base, and recklessly injuring those almost unique grave-mounds, the interesting nature of which was set forth by the late Mr. Gage Rokewode in the Archæologia. It would be unnecessary to enter into any detail of the measures taken by the Committee of the Institute, or the correspondence with directors and engineers; the urgent remonstrances against so needless an act of Vandalism were met with extreme courtesy, but it proved too late to effect anything beyond a trifling change in the course of the line, the Act of Parliament having been obtained and the conveyance of the land completed, before notice was given to the Institute of the impending evil. It can only be regretted that the attention, either of influential residents near the spot, who professed themselves interested in the preservation of historical monuments, or of the Archaeological Society of the county, which occupied so influential a position under our lamented friend Lord Braybrooke, had not been aroused before it was too late, and when the intervention of individual influence, or the appeal of the Institute, could no longer be available. It was truly observed by one who addressed himself strenuously to the rescue of the Bartlow Hills, that it is an idle mockery to call upon the highest medical skill when the patient is *in extremis*. If the hand of the destroyer has not been effectually arrested in this occasion, it was through want of timely information, which might doubtless have insured a result satisfactory to all who take interest in preserving such memorials of bygone ages.

In the retrospect of another year the Committee must again with regret enumerate the frequent losses which the Society has sustained during that brief period. Among some of the most valued of their early coadjutors, by whose sympathy and assistance the earlier days of the Institute were constantly cheered, must be mentioned the late Professor Cockerell, for some years a member of the Central Committee, and whose accomplished taste will be held in honored remembrance, more particularly by those who listened to his elucidations of the works and genius of William of Wykeham, at the Winchester meeting in 1845, or to his discourses in the sculptures in Lincoln Cathedral and the Chapter House at Salisbury. In

the same foremost rank of long-trying friends, now no more, may be mentioned the venerable descendant and the parent of archaeological worthies, Mr. Bowyer Nichols, one of the last acts of whose lengthened life, devoted to literature and the antiquities of his country, was a proof of his constant interest in the affairs of the Institute, by aiding their researches into Kentish archaeology at the Rochester meeting. With hearty sorrow must the memory of our late excellent friend in Northamptonshire, the Rev. Thomas James of Theddingworth, be cherished; the able exposition of the history and archaeology of his county, which inaugurated the proceedings of the meeting at Peterborough in 1861, is without parallel in the reminiscences of our annual gatherings. The Society will gratefully recall the kindly encouragement of the Bishop of Peterborough, patron of that meeting, whose lengthened career of usefulness has lately terminated. Among other supporters and friends of previous years associated with the exertions of the Institute in the promotion of archaeological knowledge, and whose recent removal must be recorded with regret, are, the Ven. Archdeacon of Hereford; the accomplished bibliographer and antiquary, Mr. Botfield, whose courteous assistance and resources were long and cordially given in encouragement of our purpose; Mr. S. Peace Pratt, for several years a member of the Committee, and a constant attendant at our meetings; Mr. Richard Falkener, of Devizes; also a cordial friend from the commencement, the lamented Mr. William Salt, eminent as a collector of Staffordshire topographical materials; Mr. Robert Biddulph Phillips, a name of honorable repute as an intelligent inquirer into the history and ancient vestiges of Herefordshire; the Hon. and Rev. Richard Cust, brother of the noble president of our meeting at Lincoln, Lord Brownlow, whose encouragement enhanced the gratification of the welcome which the Institute found in his county in 1848. In this list of losses of antiquarian fellow-laborers, some of whom are numbered among those earliest in the ranks, when, twenty years since, the incipient purpose of the Society was inaugurated, a few friends of more recent times still remain unmentioned; Mr. George Wentworth, one of the local secretaries for Yorkshire, indefatigable in his investigations of family history and topographical lore in the stores of his ancestral muniments at Woolley; Mr. Thomas Salt, of Shrewsbury, by whom a valuable memoir was contributed at the meeting in that town in 1856; and, lastly, the friendly promoter of our auspicious assembly at Carlisle, Col. Maclean of Lazonby, whose treasures of Cumbrian antiquity were freely placed at our disposal.

Whilst reviewing these unusually numerous losses, the Committee hail a hopeful promise for the future in the undiminished energy and unanimity by which the proceedings have been characterised. In no previous year, moreover, has the accession of new fellow-laborers been more frequent; amidst deep regrets for friends now no more, it has been cheering to perceive many, with young and fresh energies in the study and conservation of national antiquities, press forward to fill the vacancies in our ranks.

The Report of the Committee having been received with satisfaction, it was then carried by acclamation that the MARQUESS CAMDEN, whose favors to the Institute at their meeting in his county had been enhanced by his consent to be President for the ensuing year, should be requested to prolong for a further period the distinction thus conferred upon the Society.

A numerous list of candidates for election, including the noble President of the meeting, Lord Leigh, the Very Rev. the Dean of Windsor, and several persons connected with Warwickshire, was then submitted to the meeting; they were duly enrolled as members of the Institute. The following lists of members of the Committee retiring in annual course, and of members of the Institute recommended to fill the vacancies, were proposed and unanimously adopted.

Members retiring from the Central Committee:—William Tite, Esq., M.P., *Vice-President*; John Anderdon, Esq.; Charles D. E. Fortnum, Esq.; Samuel B. Howlett, Esq.; Robert T. Pritchett, Esq.; W. J. Bernhard Smith, Esq.; the Rev. William Stubbs. The following being elected to fill the vacancies:—Edward Hawkins, Esq., F.S.A., *Vice-President*; the Hon. Robert Curzon; the Hon. Wilbraham Egerton, M.P.; Richard Rivington Holmes, Esq., F.S.A., British Museum; Brigadier-General Lefroy, R.A., F.R.S.; Frederic Ouvry, Esq., Treas. Soc. Ant.; the Hon. William Owen Stanley, M.P.; Sir Thomas E. Wynn, Bart., M.P. Also, as Auditors for the year 1864, Walter D. Jeremy, Esq., M.A.; Sir Richard C. Kirby, C.B.

A communication was then read from the Treasurer, Mr. Hawkins, stating his regret that he found increasing inability to attend the meetings of the Committee with his wonted regularity, as heretofore, and to participate in the proceedings of the Institute. Mr. Hawkins expressed the hope that some member of the Committee, able to devote more constant attention to their deliberations and to the interests of the Society, might be found willing to occupy the position which he had for many years held.

The CHAIRMAN observed that the Society at large would heartily unite in those sincere feelings of regret with which the meeting must receive the resignation of their kind friend and worthy Treasurer. It would, however, be their hope to enjoy for many years the continuance of that cordial interest in the welfare of the Institute which Mr. Hawkins had so long shown. An expression of grateful esteem and acknowledgment to Mr. Hawkins was unanimously carried, on his retiring from the duties which he had so kindly discharged during twenty years.

It was then proposed, with unanimous assent, that Mr. Henderson should be requested to accept the position of Treasurer of the Institute.

The selection of the place of meeting for the following year was then discussed. The assurance of friendly co-operation had been received from several places presenting advantages deserving of consideration. Amongst these Dorsetshire seemed to have been regarded with favorable predilections, as a promising field of operations. Mr. Beresford Hope, however, advanced cogent arguments in favor of a Metropolitan Congress. He pointed out, besides Westminster Abbey, the Tower, and objects of paramount interest in the City, numerous attractions available within reach of London,—Windsor, Hampton Court, Eltham, Waltham and St. Albans; the year, he suggested, when the Institute might be considered, so to speak, as attaining to its majority, might be appropriately devoted to a demonstration, taking the metropolis as a centre. After some discussion it was determined that Mr. Beresford Hope's proposition should be deferred for future deliberation, and, on the proposition by the Rev. C. W. Bingham, seconded by Mr. Henry Farrer, F.S.A., it was decided that the meeting for the ensuing year should be held at Dorchester. It was also

unanimously determined, that the EARL of ILCHESTER, whose favor and kind co-operation the Society had for many years enjoyed, be requested to confer his sanction on the meeting in his county by taking the part of local President.

These arrangements having been satisfactorily concluded, the members proceeded to the Assembly Room, where many of the visitors and ladies awaited them. The Hon. LORD NEAVES presided, and the following memoirs were read:—

Notice of a Roman villa lately found at the Chedworth Woods, Gloucestershire, on the estates of the Earl of Eldon, and of two examples of the Christian monogram there brought to light. By the Rev. SAMUEL LYONS, F.S.A.

The Mediæval remains discovered within the Castle Ring in Cannock Chase, Staffordshire. By Mr. F. MOLYNEUX.

The chair was then taken by the noble President, and the general concluding meeting took place. Lord LEIGH commenced by adverting to the valuable facilities and courteous welcome accorded by the Mayor and Corporation, and proposed, on behalf of the Institute, a vote of hearty acknowledgment, to which the Mayor responded with expressions of interest and gratification in the retrospect of so pleasurable a week.

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE proposed thanks to the Corporations of Coventry, Lichfield, and Stratford-on-Avon, for their friendly courtesies and assistance; especially to the municipal authorities of the first-named city, for the highly interesting Museum arranged on occasion of the visit of the Institute to St. Mary's Hall.

Mr. REPTON, M.P., proposed an acknowledgment to the exhibitors by whose liberality the Museum of the Institute had been enriched,—especially to Her Most Gracious Majesty, and also to the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Craven, Lord Dormer, the Warwickshire Archaeological Society, and many friendly contributors to the rich series of examples of art and illustrations of local archaeology and history so admirably organised by Mr. Charles Tucker. Mr. GREAVES, M.P., moved a most cordial expression of thanks to the Earl of Clarendon, and to Mr. Fetherston-Dilke, for their kindness in facilitating the excursions to Kenilworth and Maxtoke. Thanks were likewise proposed by Sir RICHARD KIRBY, C.B., to the Local Committee, and by the Rev. C. W. Bingham, to the contributors of memoirs, especially to Mr. Bloxam, whose extensive knowledge of the antiquities and history of his county had been an unflinching resource in their investigations; to the Dean of Chichester, Professor Willis, Mr. Hartshorne, Mr. Fetherston, and to many others who had freely drawn from their stores of information.

Mr. FETHERSTON acknowledged the compliment paid to the distinguished persons, amongst whom, as a contributor of a memoir on a subject of familiar interest to him, he had the honor to find himself associated. He rejoiced that foremost in that list had been placed the name of Mr. Bloxam, for, as a Warwickshire man, he loved his county, and had a confident hope that amongst those who lived in Warwickshire, "the heart of Old England," there would ever be found some one worthy to bear the mantle which fell from the great archaeologist, Dugdala.

Lord NEAVES expressed the high satisfaction with which he begged to propose the most cordial thanks of the meeting to their noble President. They knew that Lord Leigh was ever foremost to promote every good work

within the range of his influence, and, even if the Institute might not rank with associations for the higher purposes of philanthropy, he hoped that it was not beyond the sphere of that expansive and enlightened utility which embraced all objects that tend to refine the mind, to enlarge our relations with our fellow men, and to extend our knowledge. This vote of thanks was seconded by Mr. BERESFORD HOPE, and carried enthusiastically.

Lord LEIGH sincerely thanked the meeting. He expressed the gratification that he had derived from the visit of the Institute, and the distinction of presiding at a gathering which was not merely an occasion of social and pleasurable relaxation, but of the interchange of knowledge in regard to national institutions and subjects of high public interest. He felt satisfaction in becoming associated with the Society as a member, and, with the cordial desire that future meetings might prove equally enjoyable and successful as that now brought to a close, he bade them farewell. The meeting thus concluded.

The Central Committee desire to acknowledge the following donations received in aid of the expenses of the Warwick meeting, and of the general purposes of the Institute:—The Right Hon. Lord Leigh (President), 10*l.*; the Mayor of Warwick, 5*l.* 5*s.*; the Mayor of Coventry, 5*l.* 5*s.*; Sir Charles Mordaunt, Bart., M.P., 5*l.* 5*s.*; G. W. Repton, Esq., M.P., 5*l.*; Sir John Boileau, Bart., 5*l.*; The Master of Gonville and Caius' College, 5*l.* 5*s.*; the Master of Trinity College, 2*l.*; Alexander Beresford Hope, Esq., 5*l.*; Sir R. N. Hamilton, 2*l.* 2*s.*; Thomas Thompson, Esq., M.D., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Henry G. Bohn, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; W. W. Kershaw, Esq., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Archaeological Intelligence.

THE Professor of Political Economy in the University of Oxford, Mr. J. E. Thorold Rogers, announces a History of Agriculture and Prices, from 1259 to 1792, compiled from original records. This important work, intended to illustrate the condition and resources of the English people from the earliest existing documents, and to determine, as far as possible, the actual relations of labor and prices during several centuries, will be produced at the Clarendon Press, for Messrs. Macmillan. Two volumes (1259—1400) are in the press.

We desire to invite notice to the Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, an interesting record of West-country History and Archaeology, which commenced in March, 1864, the first number being issued with the forty-sixth annual report of the Society. This journal will be forwarded to any antiquary, not a member of the Institution, on prepayment of three shillings annually; subscriptions are received by the Curator, Mr. W. Newcombe, or by Messrs. Heard, the Publishers, Truro. The numbers already published include notices of ancient vestiges almost peculiar to Cornwall, such as the subterraneous chambers near St. Just, described and illustrated by Mr. Blight, whose researches are known to readers of this Journal through his account of Chysauster (*Arch. Journ.*, vol. xviii. p. 39.)

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