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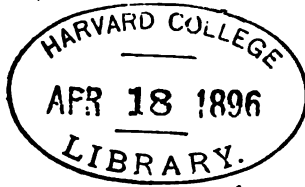
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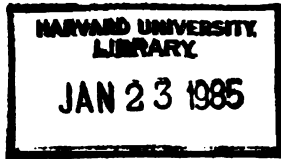
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The Archaeological Journal.

MARCH, 1883.

ROMAN LIFE IN EGYPT.¹

By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

I have no intention of entering on a systematic or general consideration of the subject I name, but rather of laying before the Institute some of the more remarkable products of Roman work in Egypt, which have come to light in the course of my excavations this spring. Nearly everything that I have brought to England was found in a large cemetery belonging to the town of Arsinoe, the capital of the province of the Fayum; this district is about 60 miles south of Cairo, and is really one of the oases of the western desert, near enough to the Nile to be fed by a canal. I had this province assigned to me last winter by M. Grébaud, the director of the department of antiquities at Cairo, and for the archaic interest of the pyramids and labyrinths, and the later value of the Roman portraiture, I could hardly wish for a better district. The whole of the work in the cemetery of Hawara was entirely a bye-affair; I did not stop there a single day outside of the time spent in opening the pyramid there, of which I hope to have somewhat to say next year; and the products of the cemetery were so much given in as well, a prize to maintain patience.

The whole system of the mummification in later times, and the decay of Egyptian customs, could be traced out in this cemetery with great advantage. The native

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, July 5th, 1883.

custom in Egypt, as is well-known, was to embalm the body and deposit it in a subterranean chamber approached by a tunnel or well. In the Ptolemaic times this system degraded into cutting a pit 8 or 10 feet deep, and letting the coffin down on end into it, finally laying the coffin flat at the bottom with its feet in a recess cut on one side of the well and the head end in the bottom of the well itself, in fact reducing the chamber to a minimum. But about the beginning of our era a great change took place, perhaps consequent on the Roman occupation of Egypt. The embalmed bodies in place of being interred were kept for years above ground, probably in the houses of their families; and hence arose a new motive, and a powerful one, for decorating them. This decoration at first took the form of a more elaborate style of the same covering used before. The head piece of canvas covered with stucco and painted was enlarged downwards over the chest, and covered with brightly painted scenes of the deceased and the divinities; not only the face was gilt but more and more gilding crept into the decoration. This stage, retaining the old motive but making it purely decorative, with the original ideas partly lost, and the old hieroglyphic inscriptions reduced to nonsense or mere twirls of the brush, or even omitted altogether,—this was in force during the first century of our era; and a late type of this is dated to about 100 or 120 A.D. by the name of a person Titas Flavius Demetrias (misspelt Flagias).

The next stage, when all the religious decoration had become confused and corrupt, was to introduce the arms of the figure in relief on the stucco work of the chest. Rarely the flesh was naturalistically painted, usually the whole was gilt; the conventional attitude was with the left fore arm horizontal, and the right arm bent up and holding a wreath of red flowers, grasped together in the hand. This stage probably lasted some little time, judging by the number of examples; and if it is dated between 100 and 140 A.D. it will not be far wrong. These mummies usually had a canvas wrapper richly painted with the traditional religious scenes; afterwards it was of pink with gilt figures. The gilt heads were more and more carefully modelled, the faces being in some an evident portraiture

of the individual; and the general work is about as fine as such materials could possibly allow, the richness of the burnished gilding and its condition after such a long burial being surprising.

Something more life-like was still craved for, to represent the lost faces in the house, and the painted canvas cover of the mummy suggested the next step, to paint the face on canvas instead of modelling it. Accordingly we find a few instances of portraits painted in colours on a canvas ground, sometimes in tempera on gesso, sometimes with wax on the thread of the canvas directly. The scheme was not very happy, and was felt to be unsuitable, for it was continued but a very short time. Probably this introduction of Greek painting—for Greek it distinctively is—at the period of about 140 A. D. may be traced to the great impulse given to late Greek art, particularly in Egypt, by Hadrian; and his visit to Egypt in 130 A. D. may well have been the cause of the settlement of Greek artists in Egyptian towns. Another attempt was made by the placing of a portrait on a wooden panel in the place of the face, amidst the moulded and gilt draperies, and arms encrusted with onyxes and agates in their jewellery. This wooden panel had a gilt background to the head, like a Byzantine picture; only one example was found, now at the Bulak Museum.

These tentative experiments in decoration quickly gave place to the use of a portrait on wooden panel alone, without any remains of the gilt draperies or arms, but with occasionally a simple stucco gilt border of vine pattern around the face. The bandaging of the mummy covered the edges of the panel portrait and secured it in position; while the body was covered with an elaborate system of cross bandages forming sunken squares, with a gilt button in the bottom of each. This system prevailed for probably a century or so, from about 150 to 250 A. D.

About the time of Constantine portraiture seems to have finally disappeared, and probably the mummies were no longer kept above ground. The bodies seem to be then merely dried without the elaborate preparations with bitumen or cedar oil which belong to those of earlier times. While at the same time the personal possessions,

such as children's toys, &c., were more usually buried with the body. Funereal offerings of coins in jars were still made down to the end of the fifth century A.D. ; as large numbers as late as Leo are found buried, in one case all cut into fragments to prevent their re-use, and in another case plain blanks of thin copper foil were buried.

In all the Roman period the custom was to bury not in a coffin, nor in a pit-well ; all that system went out when bodies were kept above ground and decorated. The custom then was to build brick chambers above ground, along the sides of the road in the cemetery, and to bury the bodies in shallow graves in the floors of the chambers covered with loose earth and dust, often only a foot or two down. Very frequently a whole family of mummies appears to have been huddled off by an undertaker, and buried anyhow in the first convenient hole, heads and feet in any direction : in one case a dozen gilt head mummies were forced into a square pit of an old tomb, several upside down in order to get room for their shoulders among the legs of the others.

All this period is of little interest from an Egyptian point of view ; but as an illustration of the decay of beliefs and customs of extreme antiquity, as a study of the extent to which Greeks and Italians adopted the habits of the people among whom they lived, and as the surrounding of an important chapter in the history of painting, we may well give some attention to this series of changes which I have now briefly traced.

We will now turn to some technical examples of the products of Roman life in Egypt. The portraits on cedar wood panels are rarely in tempera, only a few early trials being thus executed. The regular mode was by mixing the colours with melted wax, exactly as we do with oil, and then laying them on, usually with a brush, sometimes with pastel. A coat of priming of the ground-colour of the subject was laid on first, and then the painting was worked in upon that. Cross-hatching of a darker tint, or spotting, is occasionally seen in the earlier examples ; but usually the right tint was mixed and laid on smoothly with a great delicacy of blending in and shading. Of the technical excellence of these portraits I need not speak, as it is manifest to all ; many of them could hardly be surpassed,

and would be creditable to any master of the present age. Yet it must be remembered that these do not shew us the best work of that time ; they belong to a small provincial school of painting in an out-of-the-way district of Egypt, and they may have been as far below the work of the Greek artists of Alexandria, as a portrait painter's work in a county town in England is below the quality of Royal Academy pictures. If such work as we see in the Fayum belonged then to a mere province, what would be the skill of really celebrated artists in Alexandria? And if such was the art in the decadence of Greek work, of a time when their vase paintings and sculpture are considered barely passable, what must we imagine the paintings of the grand age of Zeuxis and Parrhasios, and the richer magnificence of Apelles, to have been?

But pictures were painted not only to decorate the dead, but also to hang on the walls of the rooms. The first actual example of a picture frame preserved to us comes from one of these tombs at Hâwara. It is almost exactly like a modern Oxford frame, but with a slit and groove in front of the picture to slide in a sheet of glass over it ; and clear glass as large as this I have found some years ago at Tanis. This had been placed by the side of a mummy in its grave, having evidently been hung on a wall before that, by the cord fastened to it.

Over the bodies wreaths of flowers were often placed, both when buried in wooden coffins, and when laid in the open ground. These wreaths of red roses, of narcissus, of *immortelles*, and many other flowers are beautifully preserved, and can be identified, and the separate flowers laid out as botanical specimens in the present day. Thirty-five different species of plants have been labelled by my friend Mr. Newberry in this collection from the cemetery of Hawara. We are brought much nearer realizing the flower wreaths of the Greek and Egyptian banquets, when we see and handle these actual plants entwined when the Ptolemies still ruled.

Some of the toys are remarkable for originality. Rag dolls and pottery dolls may be expected ; but a bird on wheels, and a sedan chair with a lady inside borne by two porters all modelled in terra cotta, are very curious, and unique as far as I know. A good example of the

Roman cinerary urn of lead, filled with burnt bones, was discovered.

In technical work a cut glass vase is worth notice, from the clearness and whiteness of the glass, and the firm and regular execution of the wheel cut pattern upon it. A set of paint saucers was found in the tomb of a man who was probably a tomb decorator; and a perfect example of a bow drill occurred amongst a quantity of carpenter's chips and leavings, lumps of pitch, &c., &c.

My other work of this season, the examination of the site of the Labyrinth, the tunneling of the pyramid of Hawara, and the discovery of the remains of the celebrated colossi mentioned by Herodotus, all lie outside of the scope of this paper. But I hope it will be seen how for purely classical art, literature, and work, Egypt is one of the best grounds for research; in no other country could such remains have been preserved in such perfect condition.

THE WARWICK VASE.¹

By PROFESSOR E. C. CLARK, LL.D., F.R.S.

I can add but little to the account given by the official guide and the various guide books. Some few particulars I have gathered from other sources as to its history, its probable author, and its possible original destination.

The guide-books tell us that it was purchased by a *late* Earl of Warwick from Sir William Hamilton towards the close of the last century. The inscription on the pedestal¹ tells us that the vase was dug out of the ruins of Hadrian's "lordly pleasure house" at Tivoli, that it was repaired at the charge of Sir William Hamilton, then our ambassador to the King of Sicily, sent home by him and dedicated by him to the "ancestral or national genius of liberal arts" in 1774. The inscription in question is not, as sometimes at Rome, a defacement of old work, the pedestal, and part of the foot of the vase, being modern. The repairs you can see. They are evidently the faithful replacement of the original in all cases but one—to be mentioned presently—as to which there is some question.

What Sir William Hamilton meant by "the ancestral or national genius of liberal arts," I do not exactly know. Sir William was a man of elegant taste in more directions than one. We owe to him the collection and preservation of many beautiful works of ancient art, the majority of which were purchased by Parliament for the British Museum after his death in 1803.

¹ Read at Warwick Castle, August 9th, 1888.

² I suppose this was the second Earl Brooke and Warwick who, according to West, writes thus of the work of art and its present locality: "I built a noble

greenhouse and filled it with beautiful plants. I placed in it a vase considered to be the finest 'remain' of Grecian art for its size and beauty." Query, the Earl's or West's writing?

The present one was engraved in his "Vasi e Candalabra," by Piranesi, from whose brief notes to the engravings I learn the further particulars that it was found in the year 1770, during excavations carried on in the bed of a small lake called Pantanello, which was anciently included in the *enceinte* of Hadrian's villa. Of course, this is not the time to describe that wonderful town of walls and terraces which Hadrian built or finished on his return from his last progress round the world. I cannot trace this lake Pantanello on the modern plans. Near the entrance are the remains of what is generally considered to be a Greek theatre, overlooking the so-called valley of Tempe and the stream at the bottom of that valley. The "lake" may have been there. How the vase came into it we do not know. The villa is said to have been occupied by the Gothic King Totila, 544 A.D., in his siege of Rome. This precious monument of art may have been flung in to save it, on the invader's approach, like the mass of curiosities in the well of Coventina, near Hadrian's own Roman wall from Newcastle to Carlisle. Hadrian's villa was finished between 135 and 138 A.D., but the works of art brought to it from all parts of the world might have various and much earlier dates. This work is, I know not on what authority, generally attributed to Lysippus, celebrated for his portraits of Alexander, a Greek artist of what is called the third period, about the close of the fourth century before Christ, in which the beautiful or elegant style began to replace the noble severity of Phidias and his school. The subject speaks for itself. The lower rim, so to speak, is covered by two tiger or panther skins, of which the heads and the fore paws decorate the sides of the vase, while the hind legs are interlocked, and hang down between the handles. These handles are formed of pairs of vine trunks, the smaller branches and grapes of which twine round the lip of the vase. Heads, each with a thyrsus or a club, belonging to the owner of the head, are arranged along the tiger skins. With one exception these heads are generally, and, I think, correctly regarded as Silenuses, or male attendants of Bacchus, the god of wine. The exception is of a very beautiful female face. This has been held by some *savants* to be modern, and it

has been suggested that it is in fact a portrait of Lady Hamilton. I leave the question to interest your curiosity or thirst for knowledge as soon as I have done, which will be in a very few moments. There is a crack round the greater part of the head ; the face is somewhat modern ; the restorations of the eighteenth century were by no means free from insertions of this kind. On the other hand, the *hair* is, I think, continuous with the main substance of the vase ; the face is attributed, you must remember, to a period of beauty and softness rather than of Phidian dignity ; and it does not appear to me to be exactly that of Lady Hamilton. That she loved to be represented as a Bacchante, we know—whether she would have acquiesced in the pointed Faun's ear, which this figure bears, as cheerfully as Hawthorn's Donatello, I am not so sure. Piranesi gives the female head in his engraving, and says nothing of any change. Assuming this to be an original Bacchante or Faun, the somewhat masculine surroundings of the lady are not out of keeping with the accounts of the strange and rather mixed picnics in which the votaries of Bacchus indulged. Classical scholars will remember, in that weird play, the Bacchae, how the mother of Pentheus vaunts her prowess and success in their wild hunting revel over the hills of Boeotia. Apropos of hunting, I may say a word on the club. This object is both pastoral and hunting—used to throw at a stray sheep, also to knock down a chance hare. The *thyrsi* bear the usual fir-cone, or the whorl of vine or ivy-leaves, with the pyramid of grapes, or the spear-point, inciting to madness, which peeps through. The tigers or panthers, the vine trunks, tendrils, and grapes, the thyrsi, and the beautiful Bacchante, amidst the Silenuses, all belong to the same god. This is a Bacchic representation, a subject which will suit very well with the time of Lysippus, as the beauty of the work suits the traditional characteristics of his school.

Several suggestions have been made as to the original destination of this vase. The most favoured one appears to be that it was "a vessel in which to mix *wine* with water, and was intended for the centre of such apartments as were devoted to festive entertainments," or "was pro-

ably dedicated in some temple of Bacchus." With regard to this wine mixing story, I may remind you that the vessel holds 163 gallons. It may have had that quantity of liquor put in it in Hadrian's time. Even in our degenerate days we read of conduits and fountains running wine. But I think you will agree that the original destination of the vase could scarcely have contemplated this as an ordinary proceeding. Moreover, I believe I am correct in saying that no aperture has been found in the bowl, which is, perhaps, a little against its having been used for holding any liquid. A fountain might have been intended to play in it, of which the water was to run over the edge, but even here we should expect a pipe to introduce the supply. I should question whether this particular specimen, and others like it, were ever meant for anything but purely decorative purposes. But as most decorative objects have had their origin in a use of some kind, I am inclined, in the case of these large vases, to suggest the *bath* as furnishing their first idea. The Greek bath was not on so vast a scale as those stupendous labyrinths of building which we see at Rome—club-house, public-house, people's palace, all in one. The great hot-air chamber and cold swimming bath were by no means the invariable and conspicuous features which they became in the days of Diocletian and Caracalla. What we do see, in the Greek painted representations of bathing, is, sometimes a basin or tub wherein the bathers could stand or sit, but more often a round or oval vase, resting on a pedestal, round which they stood to wash themselves. That is the vessel which I imagine to have been enlarged into the great ornamental vases, such as the one before you. Athenæus, it is true, writing under the Roman Empire, speaks of those *in use* as holding sometimes as much as 50 gallons. This is much larger, and, if for use, would I think have been of metal. Of course, this is far too clean and sharp workmanship to be a copy from metal, though metal copies have been made of it.

I take the object, then, of this work of art to have been, from the first, purely decorative. From the Bacchic emblems which it bears, I think its original *locale* to have been, very probably, a temple of Bacchus, as was suggested

by Piranesi ; nor is it impossible that Hadrian may have placed it in some corresponding position within his town-like palace under Tivoli. There was, as I have said, among the other theatres, one which modern antiquaries consider to be a copy of the Greek ; and Greek theatres contained frequent artistic references to the origin of all dramatic representation in the feast of Dionysus.

OPENING ADDRESS OF THE ANTIQUARIAN SECTION.¹

By the REV. JOSEPH HIRST.

Archæology, as it is now understood, or the study of the Monuments and relics of bygone ages, was never pursued with greater ardour than in the present day. During the last century, and in the beginning of the present, classical antiquity was the object of careful study, and many admirable works, some remarkable for their colossal learning and exhaustive research, were published by the scholars of Europe, in illustration of the history, laws, customs, and remains of classical antiquity. Great and important, however, as were these works, which will ever be regarded as a monument of the industry, culture, and intelligence of their authors, they were based on a study of mere books and records, and on such inductions as might be drawn from a knowledge of the present, for the unravelling and unfolding to us the history of the past. It is only, to speak roughly, within the last quarter of a century, that excavations have been conducted on a large scale, and that the wrecks and still surviving monuments of antiquity have been investigated and studied on the spot. The value of the information derived from actual contact with the tangible remains of the past, the sureness of touch gained by familiarity with visible structures, the light shed on the dark regions of antiquity by this new method of practical experience, cannot be too highly estimated. It is needless to say how by the aid of the decisive test of actual measurement, of ocular inspection, and of present personal discovery, surmises were found to be suddenly changed

¹ Read at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, at Leamington, Aug. 7th, 1888.

into facts, theories erected on insufficient grounds were scattered to the wind, and many a cherished hypothesis, based merely on induction from the present, was banished for ever from the domain of science.

Suffice it to recall the discoveries made in Assyria, Asia Minor, Egypt, Greece, Italy, and Cyprus, to give an idea of the extent and completeness of the information now gained. The names alone of Nineveh, the Troad, Mycenæ, Tiryns, Ephesus, Olympia, Epidaurus, Eleusis, Athens, Pompeii and Rome, are enough to assure us of that re-birth of the knowledge of antiquity, and of that return of taste for and interest in the history of the past, which is so striking a characteristic of the present generation. Nay, it may be said, that we are but at the threshold of great revelations, and the awakened interest in antiquity of the cultured and educated classes of our age and country, gives every promise of rising to the importance of the occasion, and of girding itself to make still further efforts to win the prize within its reach, which is nothing less than that of bringing the peoples and places of ancient times within the field almost of actual observation. The Societies recently founded for exploration in Egypt, Palestine and Cyprus, the Society of Biblical Archæology, the Hellenic Society, and that of the British School at Athens, are proof enough of this encouraging hope. Egypt and Palestine alone, we may say, give every sign of bearing in their womb vast surprises for us. It is quite evident that the knowledge we have of these two countries, or rather of the two phases of ancient civilization represented by these names, is as yet in its infancy; and that we are on the eve of making, on this almost unexplored ground, discoveries which will confirm the Bible records, and throw new light upon its teachings. I am told by a great authority in Egyptology, that in spite of our many discoveries concerning the dynasties and history of ancient Egypt, we have as yet found no record or distinct mention in hieroglyphics of Moses, Jacob, Joseph, or Jeremiah. But we must remember, that it is only in this present century that we have begun slowly and painfully to spell out, as it were, the pictorial language of ancient Egypt; that the number of hieroglyphic records brought under our notice is as yet but small; that an immense number of papyri

and inscriptions are yet waiting to be examined ; so that sooner or later amongst the countless records of ancient Egypt we are almost sure eventually to find all that we want. Nay, cannot we even now triumphantly say that these hallowed names have, during the last few months, from Egyptian sources been swimming into our view, thanks to the timely aid and to the efforts with pick and spade of some of our own members ?

The last half century has seen revealed to us another ancient language, that of Assyria, and we are only now putting together the broken and scattered fragments of its cuneiform tablets, and of its cylinders, which carry us back, in the information they give us, to a period of the world's history long anterior to that of Egypt itself. Many other languages of the ancient peoples, which occupied the countries round about the Mediterranean, are still as sealed books to us and utterly unknown. When the long lost languages of Phrygia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Carthage, Iberia, and Etruria, shall have become known to us, and their inscriptions and records have been read, how much information shall we not receive ? From this rapid survey it is evident to what direction the attention of our fellow workers throughout the world is now chiefly turned. Indeed, the field of Archæological study seems suddenly to have shifted ground, and to have reached deeper, wider, richer, and more fruitful strata. Our minds seem to have been lifted out of the narrow sphere of home concerns, and of the contracted region of our own country, and to have been almost wholly transported to those vaster fields occupied by the nations of antiquity. The study of the monuments and customs of our own country will ever be of immense importance for the illustration of our own national history. But we must remember that we are only one of many nations, and there is far away in the dim regions of the past, and calling for attention at our hands, an aboriginal history, of universal, or, as I may say, of *humanitarian* interest, which equally concerns us all. Knit as we all are in one lasting brotherhood, we cannot but feel attracted to the origins of our race, which, moreover, contain within themselves, in some way or other, the germs of all future, separate, distinctive and national

development throughout the many lands of East and West. The names of Leland, the prince of antiquaries; of Camden, Gale, Stukeley and Horsley, and of our great county historians, will ever be held in honour, and their labours highly appreciated by us; but they themselves would have been the first to acknowledge, had the regions that are now being explored, been known to them, and could the cities and monuments that have now been unearthed have been visited and inspected by them, that these visible records of the past contained within them secrets of the utmost value which were more worthy of their attention. For in the far past are the seeds of the future, and it is only by investigating the first efforts of man in art and handicraft, that we can thoroughly understand the after developments of Roman and mediæval times, and indeed judge and estimate in a proper manner the results we have attained to at the present day. It is in the intimate study of the monuments and remains of the Ancient World, when man was feebly beginning to shape the records of his history on the native rock, on hewn blocks of granite, or on polished marble, and to trace the glowing fancies of his mind on moulded or on painted clay, that we see those germs of light and beauty which were afterwards to dazzle us with their finished splendour, and to charm us with their incomparable grace, on the Acropolis of Athens or in the baths and palaces of Rome.

It is not for me to dwell on the refining and ennobling influence which a disinterested study of the past has upon the human mind. There is something in the contemplation of the past which lifts us above our present interests, and the lower atmosphere of our daily life, and transports us into a realm, where, divested of all thought of ourselves, and without any reference to the strife on many battle-fields that is going on around us, we can study and investigate the monuments of antiquity simply for their own sakes. In this serene atmosphere, in this unclouded sky, in this all-inspiring field of the labours of our fathers in human history, and of the makers of what we are, we can spariate at peace and gather in a rich harvest of useful information, of novel interest, and of unceasing charm, without any disturbing thought, or any lurking ulterior view. Not, however, that the study of the past is without

all bearing on the present ; for so great are the lessons and examples of former times, that far from blinding or blunting our energies in the present, they give us still greater zest and interest when we return therefrom to our daily avocations. Enough for me to recall to your recollection in this place the words of the great moralist of our English Midlands—"Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses—whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings."¹ But the study of archæology has far more important issues in the domain of science than to afford a pleasurable pastime, or to have merely an indirect bearing on the culture and improvement of our minds. Of archæology, we may say what Quintilian said of the study of language—*Plus habet in recessu quam in fronte promittit.*

In all sciences it is the origins of things that require our first attention, and the case is not different in archæology. It is in order to illustrate this truth that I wish this evening, however briefly, to draw your attention to that distant and hazy period when man's yearning and attempts after artistic expression were in a state, we may say, of involution and potentiality, rather than of actual exercise and execution. It is by peering thus into a time when things were at their beginning, when ideas were assuming form, and forms were settling into outward shape, that we can come to assist, as it were, at the genesis of art, and by seeing from what it has come, discern also after what it is striving, and whither it tends. A mere dilettante acquaintance with the monuments of antiquity, with ruins, and sculptures, and heirlooms from the battlefield, or from the chance survivals of the ancient household, is not enough to satisfy the thirst for knowledge which is characteristic of the modern mind. We live in an age of exact definitions and of scrupulous adherence to facts ; when everything concerning man's actual physical existence upon earth must be brought to the test of accurate observation, and of strict, logical induction therefrom. If we would claim for archæology a place amongst the sciences, it must be on this condition : that it is studied in a proper and scientific manner within

¹ Dr. Johnson

the range of the facts with which it deals. The rank of a science can be claimed by us for archæology only on the condition that we take things at their origin, watch over their progress, and follow their development, and thus become enabled to assign to every effort of the mind of man resulting in a fresh direction imparted to architecture, to sculpture, and to painting, to the growths and differences apparent in art, in warfare, and in domestic manners, its proper place in the world's list of failures or in its muster-roll of victories.

And here I must say a word on another advantage to be derived from the study of archæology, viz., its relation to history. I am about to introduce you to a period of time in the world, and to a scene of man's activity in Europe, dating from before the age when history proper began to be written. For the office of the antiquary precedes that of the historian. Long before the first literary effort of the historian, there were tools, arms, buildings, and monuments. The period of which we have here hung on the wall some genuine specimens in these beautiful votive shields, that have just been discovered in Crete, belongs to the eighth century before Christ, a period which, to accurately discriminate from the *pre-historic*, of which there are no records or inscriptions whatever, and the *historic*, when the first literary record began, we had best perhaps style *proto-historic*.¹ An artistic culture flourished on the Island of Crete long before the time of Homer. There is no book, we may say, of the Iliad or of the Odyssey, where there is not mention of Crete. For its laws it is celebrated by Plato and by Aristotle. In Crete Plato lays the scene of his dialogue on laws. From Crete come the first artists into Greece. But we know that in Crete there were, before the Greeks, Phœnician Colonies, and these were nothing else than so many emporiums or factories, whence the merchandize of the East was carried and spread abroad over the whole country. History tells us nothing of the actual period of which we speak.

¹ Historical records, properly so-called, says Grote, do not begin until long after the date of the first recorded Olympiad, or 776 B.C.; and the paucity of attested facts for two centuries after that date is extreme (History of Greece, Preface). He elsewhere sets down the Theogony

of Hesiod to the half century preceding 700 B.C., and he notices its distinct bearing, in the portion which respects Hekaté, upon present life and customs, as traced in the allusions to Crete and Delphi. (Ch. I, note).

Whatever we know about this very ancient phase of Cretan civilisation, and of the relations of this island with the East, and especially with Phrygia and Phœnicia, is the outcome of a number of notices and incidents scattered in classical authors, which have to be tested by the discoveries of Archæology.¹ These deductions from the evidence of visible remains, whether in sculpture or in colour, together with the conclusions we can draw from a naturalistic or ethnological explanation of the most ancient myths, is all the information that can be gathered about those primitive times. Hence the historian can now no longer dispense with the archæologist,² and Archæology is absolutely necessary for this archaic, non-historic, or ante-historical, because unrecorded period, in order to show forth the relations which the different peoples of the earth had then with one another, and to illustrate the high significance which all artistic productions of that age have for the history of religion and the development of human thought.

About the year 625 before the Christian era, there suddenly sank beneath the horizon, and disappeared from the face of the known world, a city which had filled a great place in history, a city with the name of which we have all been familiar from childhood—Nineveh, the city of Sennacherib, where Jonah had preached, whence Holofernes had marched, where Tobias had lived in bondage. One might think that it had been engulfed like Sybaris, swallowed up by some catastrophe like Sodom and Gomorrah, or buried in its own ruins by an earthquake, so that not a vestige of it remained. Xenophon passed by the site where it had upreared itself in magnificence, and he had not heard even of its name; Alexander the Great never suspected, when he led his

¹ "Hœckh," says Grote, "in his learned work *Krêta*, has collected all the information attainable, respecting the early influence of Phrygia, and Asia Minor upon Krête: nothing seems ascertainable, except the general fact; all the particular evidences are lamentably vague." (*History*, vol. ii, p. 16.)

² The canal dug by order of Xerxes across the promontory of Mount Athos, and the sailing of the Persian fleet through it, are feats in themselves so

very improbable, that they are singled out by Juvenal, as a glaring example of Grecian mendacity:

Creditor olim
Velificatus Athos et quidquid Grœcia
mendax
Audet in historia. (Sat. x, 173-75.)

Historians have now no doubt of the occurrence and the Daric discovered in the soil during the present year, affords archæological confirmation of our historic certitude.

victorious army into that very land, that a great city once flourished on the banks of the Tigris, before which had trembled more than once the proud capital seated on the rival Euphrates, that Babylon which he himself wished to make the capital of his vast empire. Rome established on the spot one of her military colonies; but no son of Rome ever thought of the warlike memories buried beneath the soil which the Roman legionaries delved and trod:

Cernimus exemplis oppida posse mori.

A few years ago we were ignorant not only of its site but of almost everything about Nineveh. The Bible alone had preserved the record of events contemporaneous with the various Assyrian Empires; for other ancient historians gave but scant and broken indications of any knowledge of Nineveh, and held an almost inexplicable silence concerning its checkered fortunes. A history of Assyria by Herodotus, if ever written, has not come down to us. All information about the manners, arts, sciences, works, and even the type and character of the Assyrian, were involved in the same uncertainty. We were ignorant alike of the costume he wore, of the arms he bore, of the tools he worked with, of the language he spoke, of his writing, and of his physiognomy. We could represent to ourselves with tolerable exactness an ancient Egyptian, a Greek, or a Roman; we could not seize with accuracy and fulness the outward semblance of an Assyrian, and reproduce him as a living being before our eyes.¹

For two thousand four hundred years Nineveh lay lost to view, and after this immense lapse of time the knowledge of Nineveh was restored to us by the labours and discoveries of Botta and of Layard. The people of the country had neither pens nor ink nor paper; they had no papyrus like the Egyptians, nor prepared skins like the inhabitants of Pergamus, Greece or Rome; but they had soft clay in abundance, a substance which when hardened is proof against both fire and water; and on this they wrote their records in a manner more lasting and imperishable than either papyrus or parchment afforded. Thus within the last few years, in addition to the palaces and the human-

headed winged animals revealed to us by excavation, which by the way throw such light on the sculptures of the Tabernacle, and on the ordinances of the Mosaic ritual, we have been thrilled with surprise by the discovery of vast subterranean libraries full of inscribed tablets, which have given us unexpected confirmation of the traditional story of the Creation, of the Fall, of the Flood, and of the Dispersion of mankind.

Thus was restored to life, we may say, a great and populous city, possessing palaces which displayed a barbaric magnificence, at once colossal, rich, elaborate, and artistic, which no ancient or modern edifice has probably ever surpassed—the splendid capital of an empire which extended roughly from the Caspian Sea to the Mediterranean and to Cyprus, and from the Euxine to the Persian Gulf.

But what has Assyria to do with Crete? A number of bronzes bearing representations of an Assyrian character, and decorative motives of Assyrianising tendency, or evidently in imitation of Assyrian ornamentation, have just been found buried under the earth in a cave sacred to Jupiter in Crete. In the whole world there is nothing like them. No bronzes have as yet been found of so rich and advanced a character bearing so early a date; shields so ancient have never before been found in Europe and perhaps not in Asia. The question arises how Assyrian work of the eighth century before Christ should be found in Crete. We interrogate history, but history gives no answer. This is evidently a question for the archæologist not for the historian. If, then, we inquire how these bronzes of an Assyrian character could have come to Crete in this so-called proto-historic age, we shall find that the sea-faring Phœnician merchants must have been the intermediaries between Crete and Asia. Now the Phœnicians had warehouses in the bazaars of ancient Babylon, and there they would naturally learn to imitate the decorative system of the country, and after applying it to the metal work of their own forges, afterwards carry these trophies of their skill with them in their ships and

¹ As an old pupil of S. Sulpice I have allowed myself to adapt this passage about Nineveh from the work of one of

its most learned professors, the Abbé Vigouroux. See his *La Bible et les découvertes modernes*, vol. I, pp. 152, 160.

scatter them over the whole world. Written records for this period are wholly wanting, but the precious and telling crumbs of knowledge, history's *χαμάλια* as we may call them, that we gather up by archæological research, enable us to re-construct and picture for ourselves a most important page of man's life and labours on earth in the twilight of time, when nations were in their infancy.

The island of Crete, therefore, holds a very important place in the history of art development. In the centre of the great Mediterranean¹ on the highway of the seas, situated mid-way between Asia Minor, Egypt, Greece and Italy, it served as a connecting link between East and West. On mount Ida, where Cretans, Phœnicians, and Greeks met for common worship, lived in the most distant times the first inhabitants of the island, the fabled inventors of the use of fire, of smelting copper and iron, and of the working of these metals into tools and weapons; the first, according to Diodorus Siculus, to use the bow, the sword and the helmet in warfare, and the first to establish military games; the reputed authors of poetry, music and religious rites. Here lived Minos who first gave laws to men, the first amongst mortals to build a

¹ Perhaps it would be more conformable to the mode of speaking of the ancients to describe Crete as in the Adriatic Sea. Certainly Solinus (flor. circa 238 A.D.) confesses to a difficulty as to what name he should give the sea in which Crete is situate. *Provinciæ est Oretum dicere, quam aboleræ in quo mari jacet: ita enim circumfusæ illius nomina Græci permiscuerunt, ut dum aliis aliis inferunt, pene obtinuerint univocæ.....ab austro libyis undis perfunditur et Agyptiis.* (II, 8.) Now what is here called by Solinus *Mare Libyæum*, was according to Orosius also called the Adriatic: *Insula Oreta sita est oriente Carpathio mari, ab occasu et septentrione mari Oretico, a meridie Libyæo, quod et Hadriaticum vocant.* (I, 2, § 97.) Ptolemy however calls by the name of Adriatic the sea touching Crete upon the west: *Ἡ Κρήνη περιπέσσεται ἀπὸ μὲν ἀνατολῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδριατικοῦ πελάγους* (III, 17, 1; cf. III, 15, 1 & 2; VIII, 9, 2, etc.). My venerated friend and early instructor, Prof. De Vit, from whose learned monograph in two 8vo. volumes, of some 800 pages, on *Adria*, just published at Florence by

Cellini, I have taken these quotations, adduces also the authority of Dionysius of Halicarnassus for making the Adriatic stretch from the coasts of Syria to the straits of Gibraltar (I, 2), also Pomponius Mela (II, 2, 2), Martianus Capella (VI, 657), Jordanes Romanus, who says: *Rodus insula dicitur totius Atriæ insularum metropolis* (§. 223, M; cf. §. 151 G.; and *Get.* §. 156), and Orosius who affirms that Tripoli is washed on the North and Sicily on the east by the Adriatic: *Tripolitana provincia habet a septentrione mare Siculum vel potius Hadriaticum. Sicilia ab oriente cingitur mari Hadriatico* (I, 2, § 90, cf. §. 100). I have given these authorities as they are in addition to those mentioned by Dean Howson where he proves St. Paul landed in Malta after St. Luke had said: *navigantibus nobis in Adria*. Mommsen, in his re-integration of the monument of Anoyra (Berlin, 1883), furnishes a proof that in the Age of Augustus the Adriatic was considered synonymous with our Mediterranean. *Vide* also De Vit, *OROMASTICON, sub voce Adria*.

fleet,¹ and to make himself feared at sea. Here we see a striking resemblance between this little isle which ruled the waves, cleared the ocean of corsairs and extended its influence over many lands, of this little isle, which already in the time of Homer was celebrated for its hundred cities, with that other isle, which in the time of the Romans could boast of a hundred townships, an isle no less famed for its metal work and its mastery of the sea, the Isle of Britain.

But Crete was principally famous, as the birthplace of Zeus and the cradle of Zeus worship. Zeus or Jupiter, the greatest of the Olympian gods, and the pivot on which turned the legends of Greek and Roman mythology, was according to the common account brought up in Crete. There was he fed by nymphs with the milk of the goat and with the honey of the mountain bee, while the Curetes clashed their weapons in a warlike dance, to drown the cries of the sacred infant entrusted to their care, and to prevent his father, Cronus from learning the place where he lay concealed. An ancient tradition, older than the memory of man, pointed to Mount Ida as at once his cradle and his tomb; for there Zeus was reputed both to have been born and to have died; and, throughout the world, Crete was esteemed the favourite isle of Jupiter, as Cyprus was of Venus, and Delos of Apollo. The priesthood of Delphi, the seat of Apollo, son of Zeus, the most famous oracle of antiquity, and styled by the Greeks, the "navel of the earth," was but an offshoot from the still more ancient fane of Crete.²

¹ "When the city of Kyrene was founded a century and a half after the first Olympiad (776 B.C.), it was difficult to find anywhere a Greek navigator who had ever visited the coast of Libya." (Grote, Hist. II, p. 101, of Herod. IV., 151.)

The *Galassoparia* of Crete, noted by Herodotus, Thucydides, Aristotle and Strabo, is an undesigned coincidence, in point of date with what we are told by Egyptian monuments as to the various invasions of Touraha and Pelesta from over the water, which Egypt suffered during the XVth and XIVth centuries B.C., that is from the reigns of I Ramses and of his son Seti I, surnamed Minphthah (the Greek Sethos), of the XIXth dynasty, to that of Ramses III, head of the XXth

dynasty. Aristotle observes how conveniently Crete is situated to exercise empire over the *Ægean* sea. Eusebius in his chronicle registers an invasion of Cyrenaica by the Persians in 1333 B.C.

² Demeter, according to the Hesiodic Theogony, lived in Crete, and there by Jason, had a son named Pluto. In the Eleusinian story, preserved in the Homeric Hymn, the past abode of Demeter in Crete is not forgotten. Crete is also the scene of the myth of Europa, or at least of its final act. It was in Crete that by Zeus Europa became the mother of Minos, and she was afterwards married to Asterion, King of Crete, who brought up for her the children whom she had had by the King of the gods.

In the summer of 1884 a shepherd, who was feeding his flocks on the slopes of Mount Ida, happened to scratch with a stick on the floor of a grotto, when he was surprised to find almost at the very surface numerous fragments of terra-cotta lamps, some pieces of very thin gold-leaf, and a few small bronzes. On the news spreading to the neighbouring village, shepherds and peasants ran up the mountain side and began without delay to break up the ground in all directions, within and without the grotto, and soon found themselves possessed of considerable booty in the shape of antique objects of different kinds.

Dr. Fabricius was at that time travelling in the island engaged on an archæological mission he had received from the German Archæological Institute. He no sooner heard the news than he betook himself to Mount Ida, where he arrived in time to be able to examine and take notes and drawings of the objects found while they were still in the hands of the country people. Shortly after they were all sold and irretrievably dispersed in various private collections.

Towards the end of September the Greek Syllodus of Candia¹ took steps to have the cave explored, but it was not until the melting of the snows of winter, that they were able, in the spring of 1885, to have a picket of Turkish gendarmes posted near the grotto, in order to protect its hidden treasures. The revolutionary movement, however, which took place in the island about the end of May, frustrated even this good intention, and

¹ Too much praise cannot be given to the enterprise, forethought, and enlightened zeal for the true interests of science displayed by this infant Society of the Greek inhabitants of Crete, which dates its existence only from the year 1875. A special meed of praise is due to Dr. Chatzidakis, who, since 1838, has been at the head of this literary and scientific institution. But for his personal intervention and superior learning, the discoveries which we have now to record would never perhaps have taken place, or, at least, would not have so directly and so fully come to the knowledge of the savants of Europe. Some idea may be gained of the rapid development of this interesting Greek Syllodus,

which has already done so much to earn the gratitude of all lovers of art and students of history, from the fact that at the annual general meeting held in October, 1887, ten new members were enrolled, bringing up their number to a hundred, and subsidies were acknowledged from the Archæological Society of Athens, which granted them 4,000 francs, and from the Governor-General of Crete, who had assigned them a thousand piastres annually. The receipts of the Society during the past year had been 79,170 piastres, and the expenses in acquiring antiquities, transporting them and placing them in their newly-founded museum, amounted to 52,684 piastres.

during twenty days of anarchy, the gendarmes of Mount Ida having returned home, almost the whole village poured into the grotto, and, dividing out the whole ground round-about amongst themselves, excavated it without let or hindrance for two or three weeks. On order being re-established in the island, the gendarmes returned and the Greek Syllagus, having paid an indemnity to the villagers according to the value of their discoveries, were able on August 31st to undertake excavations on a regular plan. They were confided to the direction of Dr. Halbherr, and to G. Aeraki, one of the professors of the Greek Gymnasium of Candia.

A better idea can be obtained of the position and nature of the grotto from the two drawings which are exhibited on the wall, than from any description of mine. Suffice it to say that the newly identified Zeus cave presents the appearance of a large opening in the flank of a high vertical rock on the eastern slope of Mount Ida and is divided into two distinct compartments. The first or outer cave is twenty-five mètres wide at the mouth, and thirty-one mètres wide about the centre. It had been filled in by earth and stones that had fallen from the top of the mountain, so that the floor slopes steeply inwards for about nineteen mètres, and then becomes level at the further end, forming an almost level space nearly fifteen mètres square. At its mouth the cave is about nine-and-a-half mètres high. Advancing in a north-westerly direction we come upon a smaller and inner grotto, about twenty-two mètres long and twelve mètres wide at its opening, but only four-and-a-half mètres high, and almost quite dark. The ground of this inner cave, as also a large portion of that of the larger one, is composed of ashes, charcoal and bones of animals, amongst which are some ox skulls, the remains of ancient sacrifices.

The mouth of the principal cave bears an exact resemblance to the square stage opening or drop scene of a gigantic out-of-doors theatre, and, like the front of all Grecian temples, looks towards the East. On either side project from the mountain flank two huge masses of rock, reared like bulwarks to defend the entrance, and in the open space between them stands the imposing altar of sacrifice, which has been square-hewn out of a massive

rock, which in ages long gone by had dropped from above. The altar forms on the top a rectangular surface four-and-threequarter mètres long and nearly two wide; its height is about three feet and it is correctly oriented in the sense of its greatest length. It stands on a rocky platform one mètre and a half wide, raised about three mètres above the level of the ground. The platform, or dais, commands a view of the whole of the interior of the first grotto and of a part of the further grotto as well. Before the grotto is a level space or platform, as wide as the grotto itself and seventy-five inches long.

Round about the altar, at a depth of about two feet, were found a number of votive objects, lamps, ornaments of gold, feet and other portions of tripods, numerous fragments of terra-cotta, with many cast bronzes of a very archaic period, and of high significance. In the grotto itself, besides some few prehistoric objects, as two or three needles made of bone and a kind of two-edged knife made of obsidian (which may also be part of a necklace), were found a great number of hammered bronze articles, as shields, cups, cauldrons, etc.

The great number and variety of objects found answer well to the great veneration in which this cave was held, consecrated as it was by one of the chief myths of the religious system of the Pan-Hellenic world, and to its situation in the centre of the island, at about an equal distance from the two flourishing cities of Gortyna and Cnossos. All the objects found are either utensils directly serving in the rites of worship, as tripods, cauldrons, etc., or votive offerings of the most various kinds, such as are found in the inventories of the treasuries of the Parthenon, and of the temple of Delos, or amongst the recent discoveries of temple offerings at Olympia or at Dodona. Amongst all this variety of objects, as bronzes, beaten with the hammer or decorated in *repoussé* work, as the great cauldrons, the shields, the bowls and cups, plain or figured, etc., and the cast bronzes, as feet of tripods, numberless handles of vases, statuettes, votive animals, decorative figures single or in groups, ornaments of gold and silver, ivory, amber, crystal, engraved stones, pseudo-Egyptian majolica, terra-cotta, arms of iron, coins, etc., what surprises us not a little is the total lack of inscrip-

tions. Only one small piece of gold has upon it a few letters, but they are well nigh illegible. Of the numerous vases and other votive objects found, not one bears a trace of the least dedicatory inscription.

The identification of this now historic and truly prolific cave on Mount Ida with the Ἰδαίων ἄντρον τοῦ Διός, the importance of which was first pointed out by me in a letter to the *Athenæum* of Feb. 12th, of last year, was worked out by Dr. Fabricius in the Athenian issue of the German Archæological Institute, Vol. X. His reasoning is based upon a personal examination of the locality, which was evidently used for worship and the object of great concourse, and on comparison of its chief characteristics with all that can be gathered from ancient authors; to which must be added the sacred and votive nature of the objects found there. He confirms his conclusions, first, by a passage of Diodorus Siculus (V, 70), who speaks of the God's cradle-cave, of the pastures on the mountain-side, of the copper-coloured bees, and of the cold wind and snow that wreath those giddy heights. Theophrastus next is quoted, who, in his History of Plants (III, 3, 4), speaks of the votive offerings put up in the Idæan Cave, furnishing us further with a distinct local designation and distance, though the name Sauros is not now known to the mountain shepherds as one attached to any of its seven or eight water springs. Lastly, Plato's Dialogue on Laws begins with a poetical description of a pilgrimage from Cnossus to the Idæan Cave, in which the scenery of the present site is clearly discernable. The distance of the grotto from Cnossus is about a day's journey, eight or nine hours' walk. Theophrastus (Hist. Plant. IV, 1, 3) and others state expressly that the slopes of Mount Ida were covered with cypresses; though now nothing there is seen but evergreen oaks, maples, and scattered brushwood. Thus, besides the information we gain from Plato that the Zeus Cave was a well-known object of pilgrimage, such as friends might make together on a summer's day from Cnossus; the mention by him of the cypress shade through which they would wend their way, is an additional confirmation of the identity of this long-lost but now recovered site. At the time Dr. Fabricius wove this reasoning he was not aware of the confirmation that

would so shortly be brought to his argument by the actual discovery on the spot of a dedicatory inscription, which constitutes our solitary but sufficient proof in point of fact. The slab thus inscribed to the Idæan Zeus is of the Roman period.

Among the many and diverse objects found in the Idæan Cave, the most important from an artistic point of view, are some votive shields, about a dozen in all. These are all circular, with a diameter varying between twenty-two and twenty-seven inches,¹ of very thin bronze metal. These two latter characteristics show that they were not used really for defence, but only as ornamental and votive shields, like those described by Pausanias as seen by him in the gymnasium of Elis.² We know that in all great sanctuaries, such votive offerings were entrusted to the care of special functionaries, who were charged with making periodically the necessary repairs, or if the objects were much damaged, they could be melted down. With the exception of such repairs as have been made at a much later date than the time of their fabrication, not one of these votive shields bore any trace of soldering. They are all single disks of metal, beaten out with the hammer in repoussé work, and oftentimes finished externally with some sharp pointed instrument or the graving tool. This chiselling is especially observable in the central boss or *omphalos*, which invariably takes the form of a lion's head. The most common ornamentations in the decoration of the concentric zones, or of the band dividing zone from zone is the guilloche, that rope intertwinement, consisting of two bands or strings twisted over each other in a continued series, and (2), embossed knobs, or (3), more rarely, garlands of palm-leaves or of flower-buds, which two latter decorations however are more frequently found on the metal bowls discovered in the same place, and at the same time.

¹ The exact measurement, varies generally between 0.55^m and 0.68^m, the thickness of the shields rarely surpassing $\frac{1}{4}$ of a millimètre in the middle and 1 millimètre at the edge. Only two shields depart from these proportions, one measuring in diameter 0.80^m and the other 0.35^m.

² *ἄρα δὲ ἀπὸ δωδεκῶν ἀνέστησαν, ὅτι*

ἕνεκα καὶ οὗτοι ἐκ ἕργων πάλαιον πεποικίμενοι.
(Pausanias, *Descriptio Græciæ* l. vi. c. xxiii, 7.)

In Perrot and Chipiez's *Hist. of Art in Assyria* (vol. I, page 394 of Engl. trans.) can be seen the figure of a temple of Armenia from a bas-relief of Sargon, with its façade formed of pilasters, upon which hang votive shields or targets.

In Plate IX we see a shield with two concentric zones ornamented with figures, beaten out in relief with a hammer, sharply rounded off with a chisel, and finished with the graving tool. The outer circle contains twelve bulls stepping, divided into four groups; the inner circle contains four groups of the Ibex, or ten wild Assyrian goats, at full gallop, equally divided into four compartments, with between them bold representations of the lotus flower. The central boss forms the head of a lion with jaws open, a piece of work marvellously executed. The mane is combed, as it were, into a number of tongue-shaped tufts. The two cavities for the eyes form holes expressly hollowed out to contain pupils of some other material now lost. The illustration is two-thirds the natural size. At the side of the sheet is seen the lion's head in profile. It projects from the surface somewhat over three inches, and displays a freshness, a vigour, a beauty, and a knowledge of anatomy, more Greek than Assyrian, and superior to anything yet found in the archaic strata of Olympia.

Plate III represents another shield, two-thirds the natural size, with the *omphalos* representing also the head of a lion projecting ten centimètres, or nearly four inches from the surface. Four large figures fill the inner band, two winged sphinxes, facing each other, in the act of putting away the cup-shaped flowers of a plant placed between them, and two lionesses, tigers, or else panthers, which meet together in the upper part of the shield. These two animals are again separated by a palm, the artist having wished thus to fill in every vacant space at his disposal with a leaf, a palmette, or a flower. The skin of the sphinxes, and of the other two animals, is marked by a kind of network of square or rhomboidal scales, with in the centre of each an embossed knob or ball.

Plate V, also two-thirds of the original size, represents a shield with a decorated border filled with two figures of warriors and two figures of lions, between which latter is a winged globe, from which proceed two arms grasping some sheaf-like object. The warriors are clothed in a long coat of mail covering the whole body down to the feet, with conical helmets on their heads, the best preserved of the two figures having a round shield in his left

hand. The right hands of the two warriors meet with closed fists before an object like a fan, or flabellum, placed between them. This shield has been cleverly put together out of thirty fragments.

Plate IV, also two-thirds of the original size, represents an enormous bird in the act of taking wing, or rather a fantastic animal which combines the nature of both bird and fish. This monstrous creature occupies the upper and central portion of the shield and stretches with its extended wings beyond the outer ornamental border, almost to the edge of the shield. The back and breast are covered with thick feathers delicately finished with a graver. In the lower part of the shield is a large sphinx in motion with her feet resting on the inner border. The breast is covered with the same kind of plumage as the bird and the head is covered with a kind of tiara, somewhat like a crown of upper Egypt. Two large horned serpents occupy the rest of the field, the vacant spaces being filled in with a ram running, and with two small figures of lions. The border is composed of ornamental rosettes now coupled together, now divided by a pair of smaller rosettes, or else by an ornament like a twisted ribbon or scroll work. This magnificent shield has been put together from five large broken fragments composing the centre, and twenty-nine smaller ones for the most part belonging to the rim.¹

But the finest specimens are Nos. I and II, both representing subjects of the highest interest. They are both like the foregoing of Phœnician workmanship, but in character and detail thoroughly Assyrian. The first of these shields represents Melkart, the Tyrian Hercules, throwing a lion into the air, with on either side winged deities beating drums.²

¹ Compare the disks or platters figured in Perrot and Chipiez's *History of Art, in Chaldea and Assyria* (London 1884, Vol. II, p. 327-334, fig. 217 from Layard), having three zones of animals, the first gazelles, the second a bull, a gazelle, an ibex and a winged griffin, and in the third zone 14 heavy crested bulls. "The idea of employing all these animals for the adornment of such a surface, is entirely in the spirit of Assyrian decoration," (*ib.* p. 335); speaking of Assyrian *patens*, our authors say: "In most cases

the ruling principle of the decoration is the division of the disk into three, four or five concentric circles, but in some instances the whole field, with the exception of a simple border, is occupied by one subject," (p. 329). The best of them are like our shields, beaten up into relief with the hammer, and then finished with the burin.

² Herakles and Aphrodite, two well-defined types of ancient Greek mythology, have each their separate range of action in legend, in worship, and in epic, lyric,

The second shield represents Astarte,¹ the Sidonian Venus, nude between two lions, whom she holds subdued, as it were by an imperious gesture, with underneath two Sphinxes, in the same face to face symmetrical arrangement. These two shields have been carefully reproduced in Plates in the Reliquary for December, and I must therefore refer to its pages for a full description of the peculiar character of their ornamentation, and for their high artistic and historic significance.

Here, then, on these shields we have the memories of many lands gathered into one. Here we have the sphinx, the palm-tree, and the lotus, borrowed from Egypt, set in the stiff, formal, heraldic, and face to face arrangement peculiar to Assyria. To Assyria, too, belongs the hybrid monster, the winged creature, the clothed human form, the love of rich decoration. Here on these shields we have portrayed the relation of Phœnicia with both these seats of ancient civilization, first with Egypt and afterwards with Assyria. What fresh motive in decoration or what new idea the Phœnicians engrafted on to this double stream of artistic development, it is difficult to say, for this is a portion of the history of art, which, owing to the great scarcity of materials from which to judge, is as yet in its infancy. The independent art creations of Phœnicia, are, so far as known, very few. Hence the great value of these new discoveries is abundantly apparent. In Phœnicia itself sculptured monuments are

and tragic poetry. To Herakles the Greeks assigned Athens as the constant and watchful protectress. The antipathy of Hera against Herakles was the suggesting cause of myths innumerable. "Heracles," says Grote, "was the most renowned and most ubiquitous of all the semi-divine personages worshipped by the Hellenæ...He is found not only in most parts of Hellas, but throughout all the other regions then known to the Greeks, from Gadès to the river Thermôdon, in the Euxine, and to Scythia; overcoming all difficulties and vanquishing all opponents. Distinguished families are everywhere to be traced who bear his patronymic, and glory in the belief that they are his descendants" (vol. I, p. 92, 93).

(1) "The first image of a God which met the eyes of the Pelagi was that of Astarte, whose worship had been so

peculiarly appropriated by the Canaanite traders, that they never weighed anchor without taking an image of her with them; and wherever they founded a factory they set this up as its sacred centre...Melicertes is the same name as Melkart, adapted to the Hellenic tongue. Wherever Tyrians settled they erected sanctuaries to Melkart, their city god. The essential traits of the city Hero of the Tyrians now transferred to Heracles. The worship of these divinities, as well as that of Moloch, of which traces occur in Crete and elsewhere, may be justifiably presumed to have been brought by the Phœnicians into European Greece. These two forms of worship record at the same time the chief epochs of the Phœnician influence which followed the period of the prevailing dominion of each particular town." (Curtius, Hist. of Greece, vol. I, p. 53-5.)

few; her temples have all perished; all that remains of the architectural achievements of early days are a few cave-tombs and rock-sculptures. Harried in turn by nation after nation, nothing else has survived as evidences of art in the home of that great merchant people. But in the islands of the great Mediterranean Sea, in the tombs of Mycenæ, and in those of a host of Etruscan towns in Italy, have been preserved the decorated bowls, and shields, and swords, that these sea-rovers carried with them in their ships. Anyhow the metal work of these shields is Phœnician. On them we see the Melkart of Tyre, and the Astoreth of Sidon, the god of force and the goddess of love, the divinities of destruction and of preservation, of death and of life, those two cardinal pivots or centres of ancient mythology, which the Phœnicians thus carried in two distinct currents towards the West. Here Phœnicia, after serving as a link between Egypt and Assyria, between Africa and Asia, now serves as a connecting bond between East and West, between Assyria, Egypt, and Greece, between Africa, Asia, and Europe. The divinities seen upon these shields were first beheld by the Greeks when they themselves were fashioning into shape their first expressions in art.¹ What influence the decorative motives of Egypt and Assyria, imported by the Phœnicians, had upon the early artists of Greece, it is again, as yet, very difficult to say, and we have to glean such scanty information as we can from what exists of archaic Greek art in pre-Phœnician strata, compared with such ancient Phœnician remains as are entirely destitute of any admixture of Greek influence.² Such is the surpassing value of these Phœnician shields, the most ancient metal shields yet discovered. They belong to an epoch when the Greek race was in its youth, when the springs of its mind were fresh, when it was most likely to be influenced by external agents, and such objects were the first to introduce the young and aspiring Greek to the rigid, severe, monotonous, mys-

¹ According to Grote, Egypt first became opened to the Greeks, during the reign of Psammetichus, about 660 B.C.

² In the 4th Ed. of Preller's *Griechische Mythologie* now in course of publication, no doubt is left that "Aphrodite is

wholly derived from the Syrian Phœnician and Canaanite," the Greeks worshipping "no goddess akin to Venus and to Freya before they came into contact with Oriental religion" (V. Prof. Ramsay in "Classical Review," for Nov. 1888).

sterious, and impenetrable forms of Egypt, and to the dreamy, lack-life, symbolic and ideal creations of the Assyrians. Others may be interested in tracing the motives visible on these shields to Jerusalem, where, in the Temple of Solomon, we shall find instead of the lotus the lily-work, for winged-animals the cherubim, then the palm trees, and the borders figured with lions and oxen. What light these Phœnician sculptures may throw on Scandinavian art, may be best said by others. In principle we must at least admit some connection between Scandinavian art and ancient Oriental or rather Asiatic art (that is to say, not exclusively Assyro-Babylonian), to say nothing of the influence that may have been brought to bear on the far North by Greco-Phœnician or Etruscan mediation. Such purely Asiatic influence may have reached the North by land across modern Russia, at the time of those migrations which brought into Scandinavia the use of metals.

Never before on Grecian soil have so large a number of archaic bronzes, of such high interest and of such great variety, been found. Indeed so scarce are archæological remains of this kind in this age that the lessons of these shields constitute in themselves a perfect revelation. Of this proto-historic period, when written documents are entirely wanting or are extremely scarce, our only information concerning defensive armour comes exclusively from the poems of Homer or from a few primitive vase-paintings and sculptures, while our knowledge of warlike weapons of the ancient Italic, Hellenic, and circum-Mediterranean races is not much greater. No real shields of so early a date as these before us had hitherto been found. Some twenty-one examples of ancient bronze shields have been found in Etruria, which may be safely held to be anterior to the 6th century, B.C. But none so old as these had been as yet found in Greece or in Phœnicia, and we have only two of an equally ancient date from Cyprus, one quite smooth, and therefore of little value, from Nimroud, and four from Van in Armenia. Amongst the rich archæological remains of ancient Egypt we have no specimen of a metal shield.¹ Every one knows

¹ The shield discovered in 1880 by Van, on which we read an inscription of a King of Urardha or of Armenia, by name
Capt. Clayton, at Toprak-Kilissa near

the difficulties that philologists and commentators have consequently encountered in determining the shape, material, composition and ornamentation of the shields of Homer. The extreme importance therefore of this discovery of actual shields, cannot be too much insisted on. To the written words of Homer and of Hesiod, to the pictures of Phœnician, Pelasgic¹ and Chalcidian vases, and to some Attic ones of very archaic style, to some Cyprian terra-cottas, and to the numerous sculptures of the ancient Assyro-Babylonian monarchies, which have hitherto been the only sources whence we could obtain any trustworthy knowledge of the ancient Greek and Eastern shield, we can now add this fine series of Cretan shields which have just been unearthed in time

Rushas, a contemporary of Assurbanipal, is thus described by Perrot and Chipiez, who figure it in their *Hist. of Art in Assyria*, Vol. II, p. 347. "In the centre there is a rosette with many radiations; next come three circular bands separated from each other and from the central boss by a double cable ornament. The innermost and outermost zones are filled with lions passant, the one between with bulls in the same attitude." The Photographic album in the Assyrian gallery of the British Museum gives for events of Assurbanipal's bas-reliefs, the dates 668 to 650 B.C. According to Rawlinson "It has been generally supposed that Asshur-banipal died about B.C. 648 or 647.....but recent discoveries render it probable that his reign was extended to a much greater length," perhaps down to 626 B.C. ("The five great monarchies of the ancient Eastern World," Vol II, p. 219.)

¹ The Pelasgi, after having long served as a kind of scholastic *materia prima*, out of which were evolved the various populations of the Mediterranean basin, and after having long figured in introductory chapters before each separate country's local history began, have in the last few years met with such a persistent denial of any claim to a distinct nationality, that they have grown accustomed to be dismissed with a Dickens's dictum, "I don't believe there never was no such people." A re-habilitation is now sought for them with the help of Lenormant, who identified them with the Philistines, and Dr. De Vit devotes several chapters in the first volume of his recent work on Adria in support of this conclusion. He

maintains with Lenormant that the Pelesta, who, with the Touraha, invaded Egypt both by sea and by land in the reign of Ramses III., of the 20th Dynasty, are identical with the Pelishtim or Philistines, who had then for some time been settled on the coasts of Palestine, and that the Pelesta and Philistines are identical with the Pelasgi. Dr. Guest, in his *Origines Celticae*, says the Pelasgi (*salala*) were the ancient Tyrrheni or tower-building Turseor. Various ancient authorities point to Crete as peopled by the Pelasgi; and thence, according to Lenormant, came the Pelesta or Pelishtim mentioned on Egyptian monuments. Now the Philistines are called in the Bible *Cerethim*, and the Septuagint translate the *Cerethim* of the Hebrew text Cretans, whence it is concluded that the Pelasgi, Pelesta, Philistines, or *Cerethim*, are all one people, and came originally from Crete. For further proof see De Vit's *Onomasticon*, tom. II., *sub vocibus* Capthorim, *Cerethi*, *Creta*. In Smith's Bible Dictionary we read, "The Egyptian Shayretana (same as the Hebrew *Cerethim*) of the Sea, are probably Cretans" (under *Pelastites*). Movers and Ewald both bring the Philistines into Palestine from Crete. De Vit thinks that the Venetian city Adria was founded some seventeen centuries before Christ by the Pelesta or Pelasgi, and he thus explains two names attached to the immediate neighbourhood as the *Fossiones Philistinae*, the island *Pelestina*, and one of a people called *Pelestini*, as known by the title given by Pliny and by Frontinus (*Agrimensor*) to Adria in Picenum.

to fill up a notable gap in our knowledge, and which show us the passage from the rich geometrical decoration of the borders, and from geometric decoration generally, to that which consists in figures, so that their study is of the greatest use in determining the various points of contact between Oriental and Italo-Greek civilization, and in illustrating the transmission of both geometric as well as animal and figurative decorated forms from East to West. It has been remarked that all the most ancient shields yet found, present a great family likeness, whether we consider their dimensions, their form their mechanical construction or the character of their ornamentation, as an example either of the rich geometric concentric borders, or of the transition from the geometric to the figured style. But the principal service, these newly discovered shields render us is that by the evidence of an actual and tangible object, they act as a trustworthy check on the imaginative creations of the poet, and on the oftentime no less free and unfaithful creations of the decorative and representative Arts, just as the knowledge of geography, and the use of a map enable us to correct the legend of the fabulous localities visited by the Argonauts, or the notion propounded by Aristotle, that the Danube had a forked course with one mouth in the Black Sea and the other in the Adriatic.¹

In conclusion I must express my great indebtedness to Dr. Halbherr, Professor of Greek Epigraphy at the Roman University, and to Dr. Orsi, now attached to the museum at Syracuse as Inspector of Excavations, whose joint or double monograph, the first part upon the technique and the second on the artistic and historic meaning of these shields, published at Florence by their respective authors in the *Museo di Antichità Classica* (Vol. II, Punt. III), in the spring of this year, has been my almost exclusive guide

¹See in the Journal of the Asiatic Society (Vol. XIV, p. 653) Prof. Sayce's account of the bronze shields from the ruined temple not far from Karataah, near Vastan, south of Van, purchased by Sir A. H. Layard at Constantinople, and now in the British Museum. The inscription which runs round the shield shews it to have belonged to Rúsas, son of Ermenas, the contemporary of Assur-

banipal. In the summer of 1830 Mr. Rassam excavated on the same site and discovered two other bronze shields, which are ornamented with rows of lions between lines of waves, also of the time of Rúsas. Compare the shields and ornamentation figured in Layard's "Monuments of Nineveh," Second Series, Plate LVII to LXVIII.

and instructor in the description of these works of art. I have also to thank them both for some valuable assistance I have very courteously received from them by letter in answer to my inquiries for further information. Lastly a word of praise must be accorded to Prof. Comparetti for the excellent and munificent way in which he has illustrated the letter-press by Halbherr and Orsi with numerous wood-cuts, and by the further addition of an *Atlante* in imperial folio, containing twelve large reproductions in phototype of the chief objects found in the Idsaen Cave.

THE BATTLE OF EDGEHILL¹,

By THE REV. G. MILLER, M.A.

It was on the evening of the 22nd of October that Charles arrived at Edgecot, a little village in Northamptonshire, about four miles from Banbury, which town was garrisoned by the Parliamentary troops. A council of war was summoned, at which, as there were no tidings of Essex's army, it was determined that Sir Nicholas Byron should, with his brigade, storm the castle of Banbury, on the morrow, while the rest of the army continued their march towards London. The council broke up, and the officers returned to their quarters, which, as the troops were spread over a large area of ground, were in many instances at some distance from head quarters. Rupert's quarters were at Mollington, a village partly in Warwickshire and partly in Oxfordshire, about four miles off. The position of his tent is to be seen in an old map of Warwickshire, which also furnishes much important evidence on the subject before us, as well as on many others of historical and antiquarian interest. Some say that Rupert slept at Mr. Spencer's seat at Wormleighton, but of this I can find no real evidence. When night had closed in, the watch fires of Essex's army lighted up the country in front of the little town of Kineton, and shewed to these videttes the near approach of their opponents. Tidings of the close proximity of the two armies was sent at once to Rupert, and about midnight the King received a message from the Prince "that the rebel army was within seven or eight miles (the distance was really ten miles), that their head quarters were at a village called Kineton, on the edge of Warwickshire, and that it would

¹ Read in the Historical Section at the Meeting of the Institute at Leamington, August 8th, 1888.

be in his Majesty's power, if he thought fit, to fight a battle the next day." Word was therefore sent to counter order the march to Banbury, and the different divisions of the army were instructed to march the next day to the Edge Hills.

It was not till eight the next morning that the King left Edgocot, and as the distance was nearly ten miles, noon was passed before he arrived at the Edge Hills, and saw the enemy drawn out in the plain below. Early in the morning Rupert's advanced guard had occupied the hills, and the sight of them, as they lined the hillside, gave to Essex the first intimation that his road to London was stopped by the King's forces. As the soldiers on the hills increased in numbers, Essex drew out his forces in front of Kineton, the advanced guard taking up a position about a quarter of a mile below the village of Radway, having with them some of the artillery. When the King arrived at the Hills, he made a careful examination of the enemy's forces with a telescope, from the point called Knoll End. The spot where he stood has been raised into the shape of a crown, and was planted with a clump of trees early last century by one of my ancestors. The enemy were near enough to be able to distinguish the King, and immediately fired their guns at the place where he stood. The shot fell short, beneath him, into a field since called Bullet Hill. The firing of the cannon was followed by cheers from Essex's soldiers. The position of the King on the brow of the Edgehill was a peculiarly strong one. The hills rise gently from Kineton to Radway, to the height of 100 feet; the rise from the village for the next 300 yards is very considerable, and from that point to the top of the hill the ascent is precipitous, the hills rising abruptly about 280 feet. A council of war was held to determine the next step to be taken. Lord Lindsay, the General, strongly advised that they should remain on the hills and await the enemy's attack. This advice was opposed by the fiery Rupert, whose success at Worcester over some of Essex's best troops made him inclined to hold the enemy cheap. The King was appealed to for his decision. He was anxious to engage the enemy at once.

There was also great difficulty in obtaining provision,

as the country hereabouts was so much under the control and influence of Lord Brooke; so many false reports too had been spread abroad respecting the fierce and bloody disposition of the Cavaliers—of the cruelty they inflicted upon the inhabitants of which robbery was one of the least. The King also had with him a number of proclamations, offering a free pardon to all who would lay down their arms. These he wished to distribute amongst the enemy's soldiers, many of whom, he was assured, were anxious and ready to desert the Parliament and join him. Charles, therefore, gave the order for marching down the hill to attack the enemy, an order which made Field-Marshal Lord Gough, when surveying the battle field from the hills some few years back, exclaim that Charles was not only no general, but a—fool. The position even in these days of rifles and powerful ordnance would be difficult to take; in the days of the Civil Wars it was simply impregnable. The line of battle was formed in the following order. On the right wing was Rupert with his cavalry; Carnarvon in his rear forming the reserve. Next to him were the brigades of Digby, Astley, Willoughby, and Aston; while the left wing was commanded by Wilmot, the Commissary-General.

The Edge Hills above the village of Radway in those days, were not clothed with wood as is now the case, but were for the most part entirely open ground, like that part of the range above the village of Tysoe. There was, however, a small park round Radway Grange, surrounded, as was the custom in those times, with a thick belt of trees. The occupant of the Grange was John Washington.¹ There also appears to have been a wood of some extent on the brow of the Hill above the house. The King's standard, near which the King stood, was on the spot now occupied by Edge Hill Tower, which was built by the writer's ancestor and opened in March, 1751, and from this spot Charles took a careful survey of the enemy's position before he descended the hills. The wood and the park, surrounded by the belt of trees, obliged Charles, as

¹ Most probably the John Washington who emigrated later on to America with his wife and two sons, and who was the direct ancestor of George Washington. He was a descendant of Sir L. Washing-

ton, of Sulgrave, who married Miss Ligh, heiress of Radway. The chain of evidence in reference to this subject I shall publish shortly.

he marched with his centre down the hill, to diverge somewhat to the left. He, therefore, passed the village of Radway, on the left of the old churchyard, and while his troops marched on to meet the enemy, he took his stand on a knoll of ground to the left hand, about 100 yards on the south of the present church. It was three o'clock when the King descended the hills. The bells were ringing for the afternoon service, the Vicar of Radway being then Jeremiah Hill, who seems to have been in hiding during the Commonwealth, and was restored to his own again in 1662.

The afternoon was far advanced, and the sun had only two hours more to shine before sinking beneath the horizon. Essex's army was ready for resisting the attack. Starting from the right wing, his line of battle was composed as follows: First stood the regiments of Balfour, Mildmay, Stapleton, Constable, and Colonel Essex; then Ballard, Lord Brooke, Hollis, and near to them towards the left, Wharton, Mandeville, Cholmondeley, Lord Essex's regiment, Fairfax, and Ramsay; Fielding's regiment being in the rear. Essex's position, in the centre, was a strong one. He had taken advantage of a ridge between Radway and Kington for drawing up his line of battle. The ridge was naturally covered with furze and bush, thus affording shelter for the troops. And while, too, all was open field elsewhere on the plain, along the ridge the only hedgerow, that was to be found hereabouts, ran parallel with Essex's troops. At the foot of the ridge there was a small brook. These advantages of position were to be found also on Essex's right wing, though to a less degree; while the left wing, being on open ground, and that falling off towards the little River Dene, presented no advantage to the Parliament troops, but was, on the contrary, adapted for the advance of cavalry. To strengthen, as he supposed, this wing, and to prevent his position on the ridge from being outflanked, Essex extended his line in this direction, tactics as faulty as those of Marmont which ended in his defeat at Salamanca, when a Wellington, not a Charles, was in command.

Arriving on the plain, Rupert fiercely charged the enemy's left wing, and as soon as they joined the battle, Sir Faithful Fortescue, with the troops that had lately

arrived from Ireland, discharged their pistols on the ground, and, wheeling around, joined Rupert's cavaliers. The enemy's left was instantly routed. Rupert's impetuous charge was delivered with such effect that his opponents fled with loose rein to Kineton, some never stopping till they arrived at Stratford, where they announced the defeat of Essex. Rupert himself did not draw rein till he came to a spot near to the road between Kineton and Chadshunt, still called Rupert's headland. At the head of Rupert's force, the King's Bodyguard, which consisted of some 200 gentlemen, were allowed to charge. They were anxious to answer the jeers of the common soldiers, who thought but lightly of these gaily dressed cavaliers, by showing that they were really to lead the attack. The folly of the King in giving way to their request was shortly seen. Wheeling round when he had arrived at the headland, Rupert's troops fell upon the baggage of the Parliament army, and carried off Lord Essex's carriage.

Near to the old ford over the brook at the bottom of Bridge-street, Kineton, where a new road was made a few years ago, some skeletons were found, which, from the position wherein they were discovered, makes it more than probable that they were the bodies of some who were defending the ford against the assaults of Rupert's soldiers. After a while the cavaliers were disturbed in their pillaging operations by the near approach of Hampden's regiments, who, on hearing the guns of the combatants, hastened to join their companions in arms. The advanced guard, with some guns they had brought with them, opened fire upon the cavaliers, who then retreated from Kineton. Had Rupert held his force well in hand, and, having driven back the enemy's right, had formed on the flank of Essex's centre, and charged it with the same impetuosity with which he had defeated the right wing, Essex's centre must have been completely rolled up, and Edgehill not Naseby would have been the decisive battle of the Civil War. Whether this would have been an advantage to the country or not, it is not for me to say: I have only now to do with describing the battle. While Rupert was attacking the enemy's left, Commissary-General Wilmot proceeded to

attack the left wing. At the first onset he appears to have driven back the foe, but when he arrived at certain hedgerows and enclosures which had been lined with Essex musketeers, his advance was stopped. Clarendon states that these enclosures were near to Kington, while most of the Parliamentary authorities make out that they were within the lines occupied by Essex's soldiers. The farm houses of Battle farm and Thistle farm were probably not in existence at that time, as except in the case of an old house or two still remaining, where once there had been a village, single farm houses were seldom to be met with in the old open fields till many years after the battle of Edge Hill.

Tradition says, as I have remarked, that there was only one hedgerow between Radway and Kington, and that hedgerow, which still exists, is on the spot occupied by Essex's centre. The ditches too which are mentioned, must have been on the lower ground, somewhat to the rear of Essex's army, where some natural watercourses are still to be found. Willmot, therefore, in the first instance seems to have driven back the enemy, but was afterwards checked in his advance. Some authorities following Colonel Fiennes and others, state that he was driven back to the hills, while others say that he lost but little ground. This and other disputed points have lately been elucidated by the deep draining and deep cultivation of the land. The actual area on which the battle was contested, can now be shown with considerable clearness. I have carefully traced out the area on which bullets, cannon balls, and other relics of the fight have been found by this deep cultivation, so that I can point out to within a hundred yards or so, the area on which the combatants contended. That Willmot was driven back to the village of Radway can now be clearly disputed, as no remnant of the fight in the shape of bullets, skeletons, or cannon balls have been found beyond this the immediate confines of the two parishes, and no bullet marks are to be seen on the wall of the old house. That a number of his raw recruits, when his force was galled by the fire of Essex's musketeers and he was obliged to give ground, fled to the hills is more than probable, just as some of Essex's troops fled to Stratford when driven back by Rupert, and as the Belgians

fled to Brussels from Waterloo, but that there was not any fighting between the two forces beyond the first field or two in Radway parish, as now enclosed is quite apparent. Simultaneously with these two attacks of the two, the king's centre moved forward to attack the centre of Essex's army. Now when the king descended the hill and proceeded to attack Essex's centre, he not only gave up his impregnable position on the hills, but, as Essex's centre was posted upon the before mentioned ridge, after crossing the Radway brook, the king had to ascend the rising ground to attack the enemy, and to attack them too as they stood under the cover of the broken ground. Notwithstanding this, at the outset, he seems to have driven back the enemy's centre, and advanced through the bush and furze till he came to the before-mentioned hedgerow, in front of which the fighting must have been excessively severe. Here the largest amount of the *debris* of the fight are found; here was the grave in which the common soldiers were buried. Just at this time, the attack of Wilmot, on the king's left, began to fail, and he was driven back some little distance. This, Major Ross, who is writing accounts of the battles of the Civil Wars, as military studies, rather disputes. He has not, however personally examined the ground. The discovery of bullets in this direction shows that there was heavy fighting on that spot, to which I assert he was driven back. The enemy was, therefore, able to attack the king's centre in an oblique direction with his cavalry. Rapin states that the attack of the king's centre by Balfour and the cavalry was from Essex's left wing on the side left exposed by Rupert. This view Major Ross endorses, and the number of bullets, skeletons, &c., found in this direction, leads much to the same conclusion.

The King's centre was now in danger of being utterly routed. The standard bearer, Sir E. Varney, was killed, and Secretary Chambers, attended by six troopers, was carrying off the standard in triumph. Just then Captain Smith, of Skilts, a Warwickshire squire, was riding with his groom near the spot, when a boy cried out "They are carrying off the standard." Putting on an orange scarf which had belonged to a dead trooper, and calling to some infantry soldiers to follow him, he attacked Chambers,

running him through with his sword. And though afterwards wounded in the neck with a poleaxe, he pierced and killed another of his assailants, and the rest ran away. Then, mounting one of the Roundhead's horses, and calling on a foot soldier to hand him the Standard, he rode off with it. Soon after, meeting with some of the King's horse soldiers that had rallied, he delivered the Standard to Robert Hutton, who took it to the King; and the next day Smith was knighted for his gallant act. The King seeing that matters were going ill for him in the centre, left his position near the present church, and, with the courage he always showed in adversity, went forward to rally his troops. For a time the King himself was in great danger of being captured, as he had no body-guard with him. He was, however, soon surrounded by some of his own soldiers, and the danger passed away. Lord Lindsay endeavoured to rally the Royalists, but, advancing too far in front of his own regiment, was shot in the thigh and taken prisoner, as was also his son, Lord Willoughby, who tried to save his father. It was Lord Lindsay who, before he entered the battle, uttered these well-known words to God: "O Lord! Thou knowest how busy I must be this day. If I forget Thee, do not Thou forget me. March on, boys." The contest must have been excessively severe. The number of bullets that have in the last few years been ploughed up or found in digging the new drain, is, after the lapse of so many years, very large.

The King's troops contested the ground inch by inch, and at the end were only driven back some 400 yards from the front of Essex's position as barely any traces of the battle have been found on the Radway side of the brook, or where the brook turns up towards the hill beyond a straight line drawn in the direction the brook has hitherto run. Rupert's troops having, as we have seen, been disturbed in their acts of plundering by Hampden's advanced guard, retired in straggling order to the battlefield. On their return, according to Rupert, Balfour's troops at once returned and formed safely in Essex's rear. The King who retained at this crisis his full presence of mind, endeavoured to collect a sufficient body of the straggling soldiers to charge the enemy on their

flank. He was, however, able to get only a few together. And the success of their efforts seem to show that had they charged in sufficient number the issue of the day would have been different. But the men and their horses were weary. Now was seen the folly in allowing the Body Guard to leave the King. Now was seen the misfortune of Carnarvon's troop disobeying their orders and charging with Rupert's Cavalry. Had they remained in reserve to act when required and cover the flank of the centre, a victory, not a drawn battle would have been the result. As it was Essex's troops would not leave their good position on the ridge amongst the bushes, so the two forces for the few remaining minutes of daylight stood looking at each other; but night, the friend of weary and dismayed armies, parted them. Then the King ordered his cannon nearest to the enemy to be drawn off, and with his whole forces spent the night upon the field. His carriage, which had descended the hill from Knoll End late in the evening, down a trackway still known as King Charles's road, drew up at a spot called the King Leys Barn, where the writer's great grandfather planted a clump of trees to mark the spot. The trees were cut down in 1863 to enlarge the farm-yard, but the spot is still to be identified. This spot is half-way between the hills and the position occupied by the army of the Parliament, and only 600 yards in the rear of the brook. As the King's carriage came down the hill it would draw up not in the front, but somewhere near the rear of his forces.

We have here another fact to show the King's centre was not driven back to any great extent. That many of their enemy, unused to warfare, fled for refuge to the top of the hill when the battle was somewhat against them, we know was the case, as one-third are said to have fled the field. But that the King was driven back to the hills either in the centre or to the left, is from these facts simply impossible. The next morning the King walked to the village of Radway, where he breakfasted at a cottage, in which was preserved the old table, on which his meal was served. The cottage was pulled down in 1882. Neither party was anxious to resume the battle; the Parliamentarians had a wholesome dread of Rupert's cavalry, while the King found that Essex's infantry,

which had been for many weeks longer in training than his own—for his own troops had only been formed into an army after his arrival at Shrewsbury, September the 20th,—were better soldiers than his own. A small troop of the King's cavalry, however, went forward, under Captain Smith, and brought off four guns which had been left close to Essex's position. Towards noon the King sent his herald, Sir William Neve, with a proclamation of pardon to those who would lay down their arms. This proclamation he was not allowed to distribute. He brought back, however, tidings that Lord Lindsay had died of his wounds, as there was no surgeon to attend him. In the afternoon Essex drew off his forces towards Kineton, and from thence marched to Warwick. The King, seeing this, went back with his two sons to the hospitable quarters of Mr. Chauncey, of Edgecote. On the Tuesday morning, Rupert's cavalry followed the retiring army almost to Warwick, and found that they had left many of their wounded and some of their carriages at Kineton. On the Wednesday the King's army was numbered, when it was found that the numbers were greater than he expected, those that had run away in the midst of the battle having rejoined regiments. The number of soldiers on each side was somewhere about 10,000. The dead, which amounted to about 1,200, were buried on the field of battle, in a field just in front of the oft mentioned hedgerow, in the parish of Kineton, by Mr. Fisher, the vicar. The officers were buried by themselves, about 200 yards distant, in a north easterly direction. The army, finding themselves masters of the situation, marched to Edgecote, and from there to Banbury, where they stormed the castle. The statement of the numbers killed is given by the Rev. Mr. Fisher.

NOTES ON ROMAN ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS FOUND IN LEICESTER, AND NOW IN THE TOWN MUSEUM.¹

By G. E. FOX, F.S.A.

The Town Museum of Leicester possesses one of the largest collections of architectural fragments of the Romano-British period² that can be found in this country, mostly derived from excavations made for various purposes and at various times, within the lines of the walls of that ancient city.

Before proceeding to describe in detail these relics of the Roman time, it will be necessary to give a slight sketch of the site on which they have been found.

The present town of Leicester, has within the last fifty years far outgrown the narrow limits of the older city. But in so doing, it has left very distinct traces of the ancient boundaries. On examining the map, it will be seen that the streets called Soar Lane and Sanvy Gate on the North, Church Gate and Gallowtree Gate on the East, and Millstone Lane and Horsefair Street on the South, form three sides of a parallelogram, on all which sides the walls of the mediæval town are known to have existed, which walls there is very little room to doubt, were built on the foundations of the walls of the Roman city of *Ratae*. There is no trace of the fourth wall, on the West side, but it is scarcely to be supposed that the Roman town was not completely surrounded by a mural defence. It is conjectured that the western wall ran from a point where the northern one touches the river Soar, to some point west of Southgate street, where it joined the southern wall. The huge mass of masonry

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, November 1st, 1888. The following paper does not pretend to deal with all the Roman Architectural Antiquities found in Leicester, but only with those preserved in the Museum.

² The Museum Committee having lately decided on a re-arrangement of this collection, in order to its better display, the re-arrangement has been carried out with great judgment by the present Curator, Mr. Montagu Browne, F.Z.S.

called the Jewry Wall, occurs in the centre of this supposed line, and has been considered with great probability, to be the western gateway of the Roman city. Westward again of this supposed wall, and at no great distance from it, the river Soar flows in an irregular line, from south to north. As Roman remains have been found quite down to the brink of the river, and between it and the supposed line of the Roman western wall, there must have been a suburb here, if the western wall lay on the conjectured limit. The discussion of this question does not, however, come within the scope of this paper; it is enough to state that all the relics preserved in the museum, with a few exceptions, were unearthed within the boundaries just mentioned, viz., the lines of streets whose names have been given, on the north, east and south sides, and the banks of the river Soar on the west. Within the area just described, two lines of main streets will be seen to cross each other, the one running east and west, consisting of High street and St. Nicholas street, (in which latter street most of the Roman remains have been found), and one from north to south, High Cross street and Southgate street. As is so usually the case where a town sprang up again on a deserted Roman site, and even within existing Roman circumvallations, the mediæval lines of communication do not represent the Roman ones. Thus in Leicester the streets named are of mediæval origin, though perhaps in High Cross street, there are faint indications that it, in part, followed one of the Roman ways. The greater number of architectural objects preserved in the museum, came from the four streets mentioned above. The exceptions are fragments of a mosaic floor, and a short column, both of which came from the ruins of a villa in a field, called the Cherry orchard, near Danett's hall. This is a site, west of the old town about three quarters of a mile from the present West Bridge. It will be described further on.

Returning now to the consideration of the fragments in the museum, the most prominent of these form the group numbered from 4 to 7B.¹ in which all the parts are

¹ The reference numbers given in this paper are those borne by the objects themselves in the museum, and are

repeated in the plan and plate accompanying this paper.

placed as they appeared *in situ*. The following sentences, recording their discovery, (in St. Nicholas Street, November 1867), are quoted from a Report for the year 1867, in the transactions of the Leicester Architectural and Archæological Society.¹

“During excavations at the north-east corner of that street” (St. Nicholas Street) “abutting upon High Cross, the workmen came upon portions of two Roman columns standing upon a plinth, at a depth of between fourteen and fifteen feet from the present surface. The plinth of wrought stone, one foot thick, rested upon a rubble wall or foundation. The two columns with their bases complete, stood (measuring from the centre of each), 10 feet 10½ inches apart. They were each 1 foot 11 inches in diameter. The height of the portion of one was, including the base 4 feet 4 inches, the height of the other also including the base and a portion of the column found at its side and replaced, 6 feet 2½ inches.”——“It should be mentioned that in the year 1861 remains of other columns were found in the same locality, one column being discovered in a direct line with those now under notice.” This is No. 8 in the museum and on the map. There are some slight differences of dimension and proportions in these three bases found on the same spot, but they are practically the same, and all belonged to the same building.

The large drum of a column marked No. 4 has a dowel hole in the top and a lewis hole cut through it, and near this, what looks very like a mason's mark in the shape of an incised letter T. The hollowed stone which lies on the plinth, in this group, between the columns appears to be part of the guttering which ran in a line with the plinth, to receive the rain dropping from the eaves of the portico or colonnade. The drum of a column lying next it is interesting for the following reason. In every Roman site in Britain where columns, or capitals, or bases are found, there is evidence of the lathe being used in forming them, and in this Leicester collection that evidence is not wanting. Even such heavy masses of stone as the drums of shafts seen here, have been turned into shape in the lathe. If this

¹ Vol. III. Part 4. 1874. p. 384.

drum (No. 6) be examined, it will show a dowel hole in each end meant to contain a plug of wood, in which the rods of iron forming an axis are fixed, and at one end a second hole near the circumference to receive the elbow from this axis, without which the movement of rotation could not be imparted to the stone to be worked upon.

Not only was this method employed in Britain, but it appears to have been in use in Gaul also, for M. de Caumont, in his work on Gallo-Roman antiquities, says that the form of capital the most frequently found in France must have been turned. Some of the bases in the Leicester collection have been thus worked; certainly the portion of small shaft with its base (No. 15) has been formed in this manner. The little column, found on the site of Wyggeston's Hospital, High Cross St., July the 27th, 1875, looks very like the column of a colonnade of the upper story of some building, which had a hand-rail from shaft to shaft. The hole for the tenon of the rail, cut as small as possible so as not to weaken the shaft, with the little bracket worked on the shaft under it, to carry the greater width of the rail, are noteworthy.

St. Nicholas Street yielded further specimens of the Roman builders' work. No. 2A and No. 10 bases, and No. 3, a capital, (see plate), were found in this street between the Methodist Chapel and the corner of the line of houses known as the Holy Bones, facing St. Nicholas churchyard.

Here, fortunately, we have a capital of one of the columns, of somewhat remarkable form, a peculiar variety of the Doric. There is another in the Museum, No. 19, resembling it, but more elaborate and of smaller dimensions. It is a singular fact that this capital (No. 3) is not unlike in section the fragment of a capital of one of the columns of the portico of the building supposed to be the Basilica of Lincoln, lending probability to the idea that it exhibits a local variety of the Doric order employed in the Midlands. In the necking of the large capital (No. 3) and in the mouldings of the base No. 9, may be observed deep holes and grooves. Such grooves occur opposite each other in the upper mouldings of the bases of the columns, *in situ*, of the portico at

Lincoln, just named, and they may be seen cut into the sides of capitals and bases on most Roman sites. They indicate, with little doubt, in many instances, the existence of screens of open work of simple geometrical pattern fixed between column and column, or used to fill either square or arched openings affording light and air to the interior of buildings. In Rome itself, and in the principal edifices of important continental cities, these screens were either of marble or bronze. In this distant province they were, more probably, of the humble material, wood, bronze being too costly to be much in use. To a certain extent barriers of latticed work of this character may be considered the prototypes of the traceries which filled the windows of churches, and the arcades of cloisters, in the middle ages.

The two bases Nos. 13-14, were found, *in situ*, in July, 1861, close to St. Martin's church. The following extract from the report for that year in the Transactions of the Leicester Architectural and Archæological Society, gives the details relating to their discovery. "The excavations at St. Martin's, Leicester, have brought to light many antiquities of great interest. Several considerable portions of the foundations of ancient walls have been discovered, and upon removing the earth—in July last—on the north side of the church close to the palisading dividing the church ground from the Town Hall lane, the workmen came to a rubble wall of considerable thickness, surmounted by a wrought stone platform, upon which stood the bases of two massive Doric columns, each about two feet in diameter. These columns in all probability formed a portion of a colonnade, which, judging from their size and the space intervening between them—about ten feet—would be of considerable length." I will here only remark that the section of these bases shows a comparatively late date, being much ruder than the profile of those found at the corner of St. Nicholas street.

A few other fragments will attract attention, Nos. 21 to 26, part of well carved impost moulding, and what may possibly be the stones of an arch all found in High Cross street at its junction with Blue Boar lane. Also, may be noted the Corinthian capital, the only one of that

order in the collection (No. 17), found in a garden in Talbot lane. It is very rude in execution and doubtless very late in date, and its effect much injured by the loss of the volutes.

Last but not least in interest, the fountain tank No. 12 must be noticed (for section see plate). This was discovered September 5th, 1862, at No. 52 High Cross street, near its junction with St. Nicholas street, at a depth of about 10 feet in excavating for a cellar. It may have been a street fountain, but if objection be made that it is too small for that purpose, then it must have stood in the peristyle of some important house. Its finely moulded outline, unfortunately not perfect in any one part, may, with some attention still be made out and is worthy of study. There are traces of a lining of the usual pink cement on the inner surface of the basin.

Before passing on to describe the Mosaics which the museum contains, mention must be made of a few minor objects.

The collection shows various forms of tiles, roof tiles, with fragments of their cover joint tiles (imbrices) (Nos. 49, 50, 49A), found in Jewry Wall Street (at M. on plan); the usual building tiles marked by the feet of the animals which have strayed across them in the brick-field, where they lay drying before being baked, amongst them being one with the impression of the nailed sandals of the brickmaker himself. There are also flue tiles of the usual form and character. One of these, however (found on the site of Wyggeston's Hospital), has an exceptional interest, for it is signed. It is preserved in case No. 4 of the archæological room, and is inscribed "Primus fecit." The letters are scratched out with the tools used in scoring the surfaces of flue tiles to give a firmer hold to the plastering with which they were covered.

As to the patterns on flue tiles scored in this manner, they are far too rude to have been made with any intention of being used for decorative purposes. But there is a class represented in this collection, specimens of which are placed in the case containing the inscribed tile mentioned above, which were undoubtedly employed for decoration. These are the tiles stamped with reed-like lines, forming patterns of diamond and other shaped

diapers (see Nos. 3,010, Case 4, archæological room, and 3,495 same Case, the latter found near Talbot Lane. They may have been employed for the wall linings of bath rooms (for sudatoria or calidaria), for all the tiles thus stamped have traces of flanges, indicating their use for flues. Occasionally they are found with mortar adhering to their faces, but this only proves that such fragments have been worked up as old material.

A second variety, much more rare than the above, of which the museum possesses only a tiny fragment (No. 3,498, Case 4, archæological room), shows the imprint of patterns in very low relief. Pieces of such tiles, with an ornamentation of peculiar character, were picked up in the excavations of a Roman house at Alresford, near Colchester, and a portion of one of an identical pattern with these on the site of a villa at Chelmsford, both in Essex. Similar specimens are preserved in the British Museum, which were found in London. Others again are in the Guildhall Museum in the City of London.

The Mosaic pavements which the museum contains are perhaps more interesting as affording opportunities for studying and ascertaining the nature of the materials of which they are composed, than for any singularity of design or excellence of workmanship.

On this site, there seems less certainty than on others of naming the districts from which these materials were drawn; and perhaps the considerable use of tile tesserae in the pavements of the villa, in the cherry orchard, Danett's Hall (to be hereafter described) may be an indication that the mosaic workers could rely less than usual, for the construction of their pavements on the natural products of the surrounding country than was the case elsewhere.

The mosaics preserved in the museum come from three different floors, two found in the town, one from the cherry orchard, at Danett's Hall, outside it.

No. 1 has some interest as showing the only figure subject yet found in Leicester.

It was discovered according to Nichols, the historian of Leicester,¹ about 1675, in making the cellar of a house

¹ See History and Antiquities of the Town of Leicester, by John Nichols, F.S.A., p. 9.

opposite the Elm trees, near all Saints' church, (for the site, see No. I on plan). It is an octagonal panel, one no doubt of others now lost, surrounded by the usual braided border, and containing a youthful male figure, nude, with flying drapery behind him, leaning against a stag. In front of this group is a Cupid, with bow bent, and arrow raised towards the other figures. The subject may possibly refer to the myth of Cyparissus and the stag. It has been absurdly misnamed Diana and Actæon! No adequate representations of this panel exist. Those which have been made are little better than caricatures, both as to colour and form. Though the figures are ill drawn in the original, the copies made of them are still worse. There is a great delicacy in the colouring, unusually so for Romano-British mosaic. In these days when so many processes are available for re-producing form and colour, it might be worth while to attempt a faithful copy of this curious fragment of antiquity.

Mr. John Paul, F.G.S., of Leicester, to whom I am indebted for the careful identification of the materials of this and of the other Roman pavements in the museum, sends me the following note on the tesserae of this panel. He says, "The white, grey, creamy white, the black and a few pieces of liver colour in the horns of the stag, are all fragments of marble. The bluish grey, is a limestone probably from the coal measures, the tesserae of reddish brown, and others of a yellowish brown are both limestones, whilst a brown and a dull citron are both fine grained sandstones. I am unable to determine from what locality these materials have been procured, but I think the probability is in favour of Derbyshire for the marbles and limestones; and the sandstones must I think have been brought from a distance. In both pavements" (this and the Cherry Orchard one) "the red tesserae are pottery and as you suggested this is the only artificial material used."

Nos. II., III. and IV. are portions of a pavement from Vine street. They exhibit a somewhat coarse piece of work though showy and effective.

No. V. This is part of the pavement of the largest room of the villa discovered in the Cherry Orchard, Danett's Hall.

This villa lay to the westward of the Roman city on the opposite side of the river Soar, at a distance of about three-quarters of a mile from the old town. It must have had some road connecting it with the town; possibly a lane called Watt's Causeway, enlarged and since named King Richard's Road served for purposes of communication with Ratae.

According to an account in Nichols, the cherry trees which gave the site its name were planted sometime early in the last century. In this orchard, about 1782, in grubbing up the roots of one of the trees, a portion of the floor of a corridor was discovered, and though a continuation of it in a northern direction was traced by the owner of the ground, no further endeavour seems to have been made to uncover it. The portion of floor found at this period was figured in Nichols' *Hist. and Antiquities of the Town of Leicester*, (pl. ix., fig. 2.) and also in a communication from that writer to the *Gentleman's Magazine* (Oct. 1786).

In the year 1851, the Literary and Philosophical Society of Leicester, through its Archæological Section, undertook the exploration of the site, and an account of the proceedings drawn up by the late Mr. Walker (the architect who superintended the excavations) was transmitted by the Secretary of the Society to the British Archæological Association, by whom it was published in the seventh volume of their Journal. Operations were commenced with the object of finding the fragment made known by Nichols. On the first day a pavement was uncovered but not the one illustrated by that gentleman. It was the floor of a room about 15 feet square, the tesserae of which were about 1 inch square and composed of red brick and a greyish drab stone. The pattern consisted of interlaced squares of red on the grey ground. Continuing the excavations onward in the same line in a northerly direction, the explorers came to the largest room discovered, which measured about 28 feet by 18 feet. Here, at the western end of this chamber Mr. Walker says, "A very beautiful semi-circular pattern was disclosed, executed in very small tessellæ of four colours, viz., blue, red, brown-pink, and white,¹ repre-

¹ This is the fragment No. V in the Museum. As to the materials of the tesserae of this pavement, Mr. Paul considers that the white resembles a hard

senting in the centre a shell pattern, in the two divisions of which, next the line of the diameter of the semi-circle, are dolphins swimming towards the centre. This shell pattern is bounded all round by the guilloche ornament, outside of which is a vandyke of black and white, bounded by strips of grey and red tessellæ about one inch square. On the south-western side of this pavement, a stone pedestal" (No. 27 in the collection) "was found laid carefully down on the tessellæ, which were uninjured beneath it; this pedestal seems to be executed in Ketton stone." A fragment of a guilloche border at the eastern end of the room marked the extent of this chamber.

Pushing the trenches still further north in the same line, the explorers came upon another floor of a chess-board pattern in red and grey tesserae, the whole showing a room 14 feet square.

The pattern figured by Nichols was not yet found, so the excavations were continued in another direction, with the result of laying bare the pavement of a corridor at right angles to the range of rooms already discovered. This was 56 feet in length and 7 feet 8½ inches in width, and consisted of alternate squares of grey and red tesserae, brick and grey stone, each tessera being an inch square. At the upper end of this, the corridor floor illustrated by Nichols, was at last found. It ran beside the range of rooms just described and at right angles to the corridor mentioned above, with which it probably communicated. This large gallery was upwards of 120 feet long by over 11 feet wide, and showed in its flooring the same red and grey tesserae as in the other rooms, arranged in three distinct patterns.

The walls of the villa had been eradicated to their very foundations. No hypocausts appear to have been found though flue tiles were turned up, and one filled with concrete to serve apparently as a support to a floor was discovered *in situ*. Fragments of wall plaster were of course numerous, but some must be specially noted as

kind of chalk such as that used as building material in the interior of Ely Cathedral, and that the blue or rather blue grey and the yellow (called above brown-pink) may have been obtained in Leicestershire.

The stone for the common greyish drab inch square tesserae used in great quanti-

ties in the other and coarser floors, he says, "would easily be got from the coal measures of Leicestershire or Derbyshire."

I think it very possible that the bluish grey and black tesserae of the Leicester pavements may, on further examination, prove to be of Barrow limestone.

they bore the impress of reeds. Common pottery was plentiful, but no Samian ware was discovered, and only four coins,—all of the lower empire.

The simple style of all these floors, with one exception, and the poverty of the material possibly indicate that the owner of the villa, though well to do, and having doubtless "everything handsome about him," was hardly in as affluent circumstances as that wealthy citizen of Ratae the floor of whose dining room (?) may still be seen in the town in Jewry Wall street.

Be that as it may, before the site was built over in 1868 further explorations were made by the Literary and Philosophical Society conjointly with the Architectural and Archæological Society of Leicester, but with little result. Another pavement however rewarded their researches. This was 15 feet by 9 feet 6 inches and showed a pattern of intersecting circles in coarse black and white tesserae. It was situated opposite the Newfound Pool Inn and 25 feet from King Richard's Road, formerly known as Watt's Causeway.

All vestiges of the villa were then obliterated by the increase of the town in that direction and the only relics of it now to be found are in the museum.

It is to be regretted that some fragments of each pattern of the corridor floors uncovered in these excavations could not have been preserved. The plan however, prepared by Mr. Walker and exhibited in the museum, affords valuable information. From it we learn not only the disposition and colouring of the floors, but it preserves for us the lines of the walls of the building.

The villa seems to have been erected on the plan, usual in the larger class of Romano-British houses in the country, viz., of a series of rooms of various sizes and destinations, placed round an open court, or round two courts if the establishment was a large one, all connected by corridors looking into the open space, not infrequently laid out as a garden. Even in the smaller houses, not built in this fashion, a corridor running along the front of the house is a common feature. These corridors surrounding a central court or garden, play an important part in the economy of Roman houses in Britain and elsewhere, for many of the ordinary employments of the

household were undoubtedly carried on in them where they were sufficiently ample. Such is certainly the case in the smaller class of houses in Pompeii, as the excavations constantly reveal. In one house there, Fiorelli believed he found indications of the presence of looms, with the name of each slave who worked in them scratched on the wall in the place assigned to him.¹

Perhaps it may not be too great a stretch of imagination to fancy that the voices of women occupied with their spinning and other household cares, and the click of the busy loom echoed through the corridors of this little country villa within sight of the western gate of Ratsæ.

I have now described in some detail, the architectural fragments preserved in the Leicester Museum. It remains to be seen what deductions may be drawn from them as to their probable date in the long period of the Roman occupation of Britain.

Unfortunately, speaking generally, our materials for forming a judgment on this subject are but scanty. Until a very recent period and even at the present day sometimes, but little care has been taken to preserve the few architectural relics of the Roman period which have escaped destruction. While minor antiquities, often of little value, have been carefully treasured up from the earliest times of investigation, the fragment of frieze, or shaft, or base which might have afforded an invaluable key to the age and proportions of the building, amongst the ruins of which it had been buried for centuries, was left abandoned on the spot where it was unearthed, for rain and frost to destroy, little or no record being made of its existence.

The evidence afforded by these sculptured stones of the degree of civilization in Roman Britain has scarcely yet been appreciated at its full value.

Of these stones those most frequently found, are the bases and capitals of columns.

The capitals are for the most part of the Doric order, differing widely from the usual form. The type most commonly seen is represented in the Leicester collection by the capital of the short column from the cherry orchard

¹ See "Descrizione di Pompei per Giuseppe Fiorelli," 1875, p. 226.

at Danett's Hall (No. 27)¹ and one other (No. 18) (see plate for both). Not only is this a common form in Britain, but in France also. It may perhaps be taken as the type of Doric capital throughout Britain and certainly in Northern Gaul. The base used was the attic one, as was shown by a discovery of columns with their shafts and capitals intact at Saincaize, near Nevers, in France, in the year 1861.² It is impossible at present to say at what period this peculiar form of capital was adopted in Romano-British buildings and in those of Gaul. M. de Caumont believes that it is as old as the age of the Antonines, from the fact that the columns mentioned above were found in the ruins of a building which contained busts of the emperors Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius. The profiles of Romano-British capitals of this order (the Doric) vary continually—in this collection alone four or five different profiles may be observed.

If, however, the sections of the capitals give little help in the determination of their age, we may conjecture with more certainty the comparative periods of the bases. These do not vary to the same extent, in the form and number of their several members, as the capitals do. They all, or mostly all, follow the form commonly known as the attic base, consisting of an upper and lower torus moulding divided by a scotia with a fillet above and below it. Frequently a large reversed cyma moulding, or a hollow (cavetto) occurs above the upper torus, joining it to the shaft, and the larger this member is the later in date will the base be to which it belongs. The two torus mouldings, with their dividing scotia, are, however, constant features in these bases, and the greater or less projection of the torus mouldings, and the depth or shallowness of the hollow between them, are, in all probability, indications of their earlier or later date.

If reference be made to the bases No. 4A and 7A (see plate), from the corner of St. Nicholas Street, it will be seen that they follow pretty closely the usual type of attic base, though they are somewhat clumsy. From this fact they may be taken to belong to one of

¹ In the Museum at Cirencester, and in the Roman baths at Bath, may be seen capitals of this type in its most perfected form.

² See *L'Abécédaire or Rudiment d'Archéologie, Ere Gallo-Romaine*, par M. A. de Caumont, p. 95.

the earliest buildings yet found in Leicester. Let these, however, be compared to those found, *in situ* also, near St. Martin's Church (Nos. 13 and 14). The section of these at once shows a difference of proportion. The torus mouldings are much heavier, they are nearly of equal size, and the lower scarcely has a greater projection than the upper one. The hollow, too, between them is much reduced in depth. That this is not a mere accident can be shown by the comparison of these bases with examples from other sites, and the museum exhibits other bases with even flatter torus mouldings and shallower hollows, (see especially the foot of the dwarf column from the Roman villa in the Cherry Orchard, No. 27 on plate). Approximately such a base as No. 14, from St. Martin's Church, may be conjectured to be of the time of Constantine. If we make allowance for the difference between the art of a distant province and that of the capital, it may be compared not unfavourably with such a base as that of the great pier, occurring at the angle of the apse of the Basilica of Constantine in Rome—(see plate of sections). Here, the flatness of the torus mouldings is a striking feature, and constitutes a strong point of resemblance with the Leicester base.

Another likeness to the art of Constantine's time may be found in the flatness of the ornamentation of the Corinthian capital (No. 17) from Bath lane. This might be compared with a pilaster capital from the Basilica above named. Although of far inferior workmanship, and in a less precious substance (for one is of white marble while the other is of a coarse red sandstone), it shows that tendency to mere surface carving which is so apparent in what remains to us of the works of the Constantine period. The capital in question probably formed part of a building of very late date. It must not be supposed that this example is flat because it is of rude workmanship, for rude ornament has not, necessarily, this quality. Taking into consideration therefore, the characteristics mentioned above, it may be fairly conjectured that the building of which the fragments from the corner of St. Nicholas Street formed part, was one of the earliest edifices of *Ratæ*, possibly of the period of Hadrian, while the bases

from St. Martin's Church upheld the columns of a far later structure, perhaps of the time of Constantine, and that some edifice with Corinthian columns of whose capitals No. 17 is an example, stood in Bath lane, and was an erection also of the age of Constantine.

It is greatly to be regretted that the evidence is not sufficient to shew the nature of the buildings of which these fragments formed part. It is not impossible that the broken columns from the corner of St. Nicholas Street sustained the portico of the Basilica of Rataë, and that those found *in situ*, by St. Martin's Church, adorned a temple, but such conjectures are mere guess-work, and their too ready acceptance only tends to restrict research. It is an interesting fact that the present St. Nicholas Street from its junction with High Cross Street, to the corner at Holy Bones, and onward along the line of houses so named, has produced more fragments, and those of more importance, than any other part of the city.

These discoveries all point to the fact that important buildings of the ancient town stood in this locality, and somewhat closely together.

How complete the destruction or abandonment of the Roman city must have been, seems to be shown by the absence of Roman stonework of any size in the fabric of the primitive church of St. Nicholas. Rubble from the walls, and a certain quantity, not large, of Roman tile are visible in the masonry of its rude nave, and appear to be all the materials the site afforded when the christianised Teutons raised the humble edifice of their new faith upon the ruins of the Roman city. No massive plinths and shafts from Basilica or temple were used again in its construction, as is seen so often in more southern lands, and the only conclusion that can be drawn is, that the fallen columns and huge entablatures, either overthrown by violent destruction, or levelled by gradual neglect and decay, had been so completely covered by the accumulation of the soil and the wreck of the buildings they supported, that only grass grown mounds met the view of the early builders seeking materials for their church, then rising upon the desolate site. One mighty fragment (now called the Jewry Wall), alone presented itself to their view, the most perfect part, it might well be, of the ruined

walls of the town, and that they possibly utilised in their new fabric, and so preserved it to be a puzzle to future generations and a subject for legendary story and mediæval romance.

The ruins of the Roman town of *Ratæ* still exist deeply buried beneath the streets and lanes of the modern city of Leicester. Systematic research for their discovery is no longer possible, but some favouring chance, and the public spirit displayed by her citizens, who have already done so much, may yet bring to light relics of the long-forgotten Roman past, even more historically valuable than those preserved in the museum, which I have here endeavoured to classify and describe.

REFERENCES TO PLAN SHOWING ROMAN ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS IN LEICESTER.

The numerals in red on the Plan indicate remains either existing *in situ* or preserved in the Town Museum. In the latter case, only those are marked, the site of whose discovery has been ascertained. The lines in red show the limits of the Roman City.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

Carte in Nichols' Hist. Leicest.—“The History and Antiquities of the Town of Leicester, &c., 1795. By John Nichols, F.S.A.,” in his Hist. of Leicestershire, Vol i.

Nichols' Hist. Leicest.—Idem. Idem.

Throsby, Hist. Leicest.—“The History and Antiquities of the ancient Town of Leicester, attempted by John Throsby,” 1791.

Thompson Hist. Leicest.—“History of Leicester,” 1849. By James Thompson.

Trans. L. A. and A. Soc.—“Transactions of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society.”

Ord. Surv. . Ordnance Survey.

- A. Floor of mortar, walls and traces of a hypocaust (?), and large foundations of a wall of Forest stone, laid dry. Near Water House, High Cross Street, next west end of the Friars. (Site of Johnsons Buildings.) Found 1667-8. (Carte in Nichols' Hist. Leicest., p. 11).
- A tessellated floor, a hypocaust and painted walls, site of Johnsons Buildings. Found 1667. (Throsby, Hist. Leicest., p. 19.)
- B. Large Sewer from East Gate, found at end of seventeenth century. (Thompson, Hist. Leicest. Appendix A. p. 447.)
- C. Wall and pavement of stone like a street. Found 1716. (Carte in Nichols' Hist. of Leicest. p. 11.)

- D. Tessellated floor, White Lion Inn. Found 1723. (Carte in Nichols' Hist. of Leicest., p. 11.)
- E. Tessellated pavements on site known as Vauxhall, close to the River Soar. Found in 1747. (Throsby, p. 19., Nichols' Hist. Leicest., p. 11.)
- F. Tessellated pavement found in S. Aisle of St. Martin's Church, 1773. (Nichols' Hist. Leicest., p. 12.)
- G. Tessellated pavement found on site of County Gaol. (Throsby Hist. Leicest., p. 383.)
- H. Tessellated pavement and hypocausts, under Mr. Stephen's House, now No. 18, High Cross Street. (Throsby, Hist. Leicest., p. 20.)
- I. Tessellated pavement under Mr. King's House, afterwards in possession of Mr. Collier. (Throsby, Hist. Leicest., p. 20.)
- K.K. Concrete floor, large foundations, columns, and large drain. Found 1793. (Throsby, Hist. Leicest., p. 388 *et seq.* with folding plate, p. 387.)—and foundations at the Talbot Inn. Found 1793. (Throsby, Hist. Leicest., p. 2.)
- L. Concrete floor, and massive wall in line with the Jewry Wall, at Recruiting Sergeant Inn. (Nichols' Hist. Leicest., p. 12.)
- M. Tessellated pavement, *in situ*, found 1830. (Thompson, Hist. Leicest. Appendix A. p. 445.)
- N. Pavement found in 1839. (Ord. Surv.)
- O. Wall and bases and shafts of columns. Found 1859. (Trans. L. A. and A. Soc., vol. ii, Pt. 1, 1866, p.p. 28, 24.)
- P. Painted walls of a room. Found 1866, in the street, Southgate Street, near Mr. Warren's premises. (Trans. L. A. and A. Soc., vol. ii, Pt. 1, 1866, p. 22.)
- Q. Coarse pavement and fragment of column. Found 1866, in Southgate Street, in street, between Mr. Johnson's Malt Offices, and Mr. Collier's house. (Trans. L. A. and A. Soc., vol. ii, Pt. 1, 1866, p. 22.)
- R. Rough tessellated pavement. Found 1876. Site of Opera House, Silver Street. (Trans. L. A. and A. Soc., vol. iv, Pt. 2, 1876, p. 106, and vol. v, Pt. 1, 1879, p. 55.)
- S. Concrete floor, foundations, and drain. Found 1859 and 1876, in Bath Lane. (Trans. L. A. and A. Soc., vol. ii, Pt. 1, 1866, p. 22, and vol. v, Pt. 1, 1879, p. 41.)
- T. Inscribed tile, "Primus fecit," Wyygeston's Hospital. (Trans. L. A. and A. Soc., vol. vi, Pt. 2, 1885, p. 96.)
- V.V. Columns found in 1885, now placed in St. Nicholas' Church-yard. (Trans. L. A. and A. Soc., vol. vi, Pt. 3, 1886, p. 161.)
- W. Tessellated pavement, Blackfriars St. Found 1885 (?) (Trans. L. A. and A. Soc., vol. vi, Pt. 4, 1887, p. 208.)
- X. Tessellated pavement, Sarah Street. Found 1885 (?) (Trans. L. A. and A. Soc., vol. vi, Pt. 4, 1887, p. 210.)
- Y. Foundation of wall, roof tile, and fragments of ornamented, stamped flue tiles. Found 1898, in St. Nicholas' Church-yard, in digging foundations for new N. transept to Church.
- Z. Large drain to W. of Jewry Wall, (mentioned by Throsby) re-discovered and its direction traced towards the Jewry Wall. (Trans. L. A. and A. Soc., vol. vi, Pt. 5, 1888, p. 312.)

ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS IN TOWN MUSEUM.

(NOTE.—The fragments are numbered as in the Museum.)

MOSAIC PAVEMENTS.

- No. I. Octagonal panel from a pavement. Subject, *Cyparissus and the Stag* (†) Found 1675. (Carte in Nichols' *Hist. Leicest.*, p. 9.)
- Nos. II, III, IV, Portions of a pavement of geometrical design. Found in 1839 in Vine Street.
- Nos. 1 and 1 A. Parts of shaft of column found at S.W. corner of Methodist Chapel, St. Nicholas Street. (Ord. Surv.)
- Nos. 2 A. to 3, }
 9 and 9 A. and } Bases plinths and capital of column. All found in St.
 10 and 10 A. } Nicholas Street, between Methodist Chapel and corner
 of Holy Bones.
- Nos. 4 to 7 B. Two bases of columns, with shafts, and plinth, &c. Found *in situ* at N.E. corner of St. Nicholas Street in 1867. (Trans. L. A. and A. Soc., vol. iii, Pt. 4, 1874, p. 334.)
- Nos. 8 to 8 B. Base and plinth of column, found in St. Nicholas Street, matching the above and close to them, 1861 (Trans. L. A. and A. Soc., vol. iii, Pt. 4, 1874, p. 334.)
- No. 12. Fountain tank. Found at No. 52, High Cross Street, in 1862.
- Nos. 13, 14. Two bases of columns found *in situ* when excavations were made for new N. transept of St. Martin's Church, 1861. (Trans. L. A. and A. Soc., vol. ii, Pt. 1, 1866, p. 90, for plan of site see plate opposite p. 96.)
- No. 15. Small base and shaft, with bracket worked on the shaft. Found 1875, on site of Wyggeston's Hospital.
- No. 16. Small base and shaft. Found in 1850 (called in Ordnance Survey, "an altar stone.")
- No. 17. Corinthian capital, found in 1844. (L. A. and A. Soc., vol. ii, Pt. 1, 1866, p. 24.)
- No. 19. Portion of capital, found in Sarah Street, 1875.(†)
- Nos. 21 to 26. Carved impost mouldings and carved fragments, perhaps from an arch, found at junction of Blue Boar Lane and High Cross Street.
- Nos. 3495-8. Fragments of ornamental, stamped flue tiles in Case No. 4, archaeological room. Found in 1879. (Trans. L. A. and A. Soc., vol. v, Pt. 1, 1879, p. 41.)
- † Much worn base and fragment of a Capital. Found under house, W. side of Southgate Street, about 12 yards south of Bakehouse lane. Lying in grounds of Museum, outside conservatory.
- A. A. Fragment of stone carved with a niche, containing a portion of a rude figure in relief.

DISCOVERIES RECORDED IN LEICESTER BUT NOT NOTED IN THE PLAN.

From about Red Cross Street down to the Elm Trees, (near All Saints Church.) 6 or 7 feet from the houses on W. side of street, an old stone wall, fallen down towards the houses. Found 1685, (Carte in Nichols'

Hist. Leicest.) Drain of hewn stone at entrance to lane leading to Castle, running from the Friars to the river. Found in 1685. (Carte &c., p. 11.)

Found next the King's Arms, (formerly in High Street), a stone wall running to the street, 1710. (Carte &c., p. 11.)

Found, a wall in the cellars of Mr. Carter's house, and, in next house, a drain of stone, 1717. (Carte &c., p. 11.)

Two Mosaic pavements, found in 1754, in Blackfriars, on property belonging to Rogers Ruding, Esq., figured in plates vii and viii. A third, adjoining, in plates ix, fig. 1, found at same date. (Nichols' Hist. Leicest., p.p. 11, 12.)

Fragment of tessellated pavement, found on site of Grey Friars. (Throsby, Hist. Leicest., p. 396.)

Foundations and remains of floors, near the Peacock Inn, High Cross Street, 1858 (?) (L. A. and Soc., vol. i, Pt. 3, 1864, p. 215.)

Foundations, S. and W. of Jewry Wall. (L. A. and A. Soc., vol. i, Pt. 3, 1864, p. 305.)

Granite and Sandstone Walk, from near All Saints Church, to near Goal, running in middle of High Cross Street. (L. A. and A. Soc., vol. ii, Pt. 1, 1866, p. 23.)

Foundations on Mr. Sarson's premises, near St. Nicholas Street. (L. A. and A. Soc., vol. ii, Pt. 3, 1869, p. 207.)

Results of excavations along the east front of the Jewry Wall. (L. A. and A. Soc., vol. ii, Pt. 2, 1867, p. 202 *et seq.*, and vol. iv, Pt. 1, 1875, p.p. 54, 79.)

Foundations and town ditch (?) Messrs. Rust's yard, near Jewry Wall (L. A. and A. Soc., vol. v, Pt. 1, 1879, p. 41.)

NOTES ON ROMAN BRITAIN.

By F. HAVERFIELD, M.A.

A. THE FOUNDING OF VIROCONIUM.¹

The military operations of Ostorius Scapula, in Britain (*circa*, A.D. 50) are described by Tacitus in some detail, but with that fatal want of precision which ruins nearly all the Roman historian's military descriptions. One passage, which might otherwise be comparatively clear, is unfortunately corrupt. "As soon," says Tacitus,² "as Ostorius perceived signs of coming trouble, he disarmed the suspected tribes." Then—to quote the MS. reading—*cunctaque castris antonam³ et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat*. I propose to consider the emendation and interpretation of this passage.

It has usually been held that Ostorius erected a chain of forts from the Severn to the river denoted by the corrupt word *antonam*. Almost every river in the Midlands, has at one time or other, been pressed into service, but assent has been given generally to Mannert's conjective *Avonam*. Thus Nipperdey and Müller—the latest editors—read *Avonam inter*. Ostorius, on this view, erected forts from the Severn to the Warwickshire Avon. Some writers have, indeed, talked of the Bristol and Salisbury Avons, but these ideas require no refutation; they are geographically absurd. If *Avonam* is correct, the Warwickshire Avon must be meant.

There are, however, several objections to this view. (1) The military significance of the operation is not very clear. Why should a chain of forts have been drawn

¹ This, not Uriconium, seems to be the correct spelling.

² *Annals*, xii, §1.

³ The reading *antonam*, given in the English translation of Mommsen, *Roman Provinces*, i, 178 n, is a misprint.

along this particular line? There is not a word in Tacitus to confirm or explain such a proceeding. Again, the Avon is not a large river; it is of no strategic importance, and a line drawn from the Severn to it, simply ends in the air. Nor is the difficulty less if we assume, as one authority does, a line of forts "along the course of the two rivers," reading, I suppose, *ad Avonam*, not *Avonam inter*. Ostorius would not be at all likely to fortify the line of the Avon. (2) Besides this, no one has been able to point out these forts with any definiteness, nor is there much agreement among those who suggest sites. I do not, however, attach great importance to this point; forts might vanish in the lapse of years. (3) A more serious difficulty, and one which cuts at the root of all previous explanations, is supplied by the latin itself. We have really no warrant to translate *castris* "forts." The singular *castrum*, though often used by modern antiquaries in England and abroad, is rare in latin unless coupled with a proper name, like *Castrum Inui*. The plural *castra* denotes two things, (i) "a camp," and (ii) where the context implies plurality, "camps." I do not know any passage in any good writer where *castra* is simply the plural of *castrum*; certainly, as the index of Gerber and Graef shows, there is no such passage in Tacitus. The latin for "fort" is *castellum*, for forts *castella*. Now, in the passage before us, there is no implied notion of plurality, and we must therefore render "camp" and give up our "line of forts." Indeed, the best editors of Tacitus, tho' they accept *Avonam*, correctly render *castris* "a camp."

This rendering has also been adopted by Mommsen in his *Roman Provinces (Römische Geschichte, v. 162.)* He supposes that Ostorius fortified the site near the junction of the Tern and the Severn, which we know as Viroconium, making *Antonam* represent the otherwise unknown name of the Tern.¹ I think this view deserves general assent. Viroconium was certainly founded about this time, and "near Tern and Severn" is a good description of its position. It is, indeed, just the description given by the foreigner

¹ I think my friend, Mr. Scarth, in his remarks on this point (*Arch. Journal*,

xliv (1887), pp. 355-6, has misunderstood Mommsen's view.

Hübner sixteen years ago, before Mommsen's view was thought of.

I believe that a simple conjecture will greatly strengthen Mommsen's view, and I propose to read *castris ad Trisantonam*. The palaeographical alteration is very slight, far slighter than is involved in any rival hypothesis. The name *Trisantona* is well known as a British river name. Ptolemy mentions one in the south, which is probably the Sussex Avon. Now the name *Trisantona* would regularly pass into "Tryhannon" or some similar form,¹ and from Tryhannon to Tren—the older name of the Tern—is but a little step.

B. ROMAN ROADS IN SUSSEX.

It usually assumed, indeed it is an article of faith amongst Sussex Archæologists, that a Roman road ran along the south east coast of Sussex from Chichester to Pevensey, and Hübner has admitted it to his map of Roman Britain, marking it as *certa sed non explorata*. I have lately ventured to deny that this road is proved, and, as I have been told I am unreasonably sceptical, I should like to briefly state what I believe to be the facts.

The arguments for the road are *a priori* and *a posteriori*. It is contended, (1) that the road must have existed, and (2) that we have evidence of its existence.

(1) It is not unnatural to suppose that there was some communication between Pevensey and Chichester. The former may, I suppose, be assumed to be Anderida; the latter represents the capital of the Bēgni, whatever exactly that capital was called. The district between the two towns was also occupied by the Romans, or by civilized Britons, to an extent which, if not so great as has been thought, was certainly considerable. But it does not follow from this that there must have been a road. First, there was no great need of communication between Chichester and Pevensey. Chichester was, an important town, but nearly all the coins and other datable remains found in it belong to a period before 270 A.D. Pevensey on the other hand, belongs to the 4th century. The *Notitia*, as Mommsen has pointed out, represents the military condition of Britain, as it was about 300 A.D.,

¹ Rhys, *Celtic Britain* (ed. 2) p. 80, H. Bradley, in *Academy*, May 19, 1883.

and is perhaps connected with the reforms of Diocletian.¹ Anderida then must have risen as Chichester declined—a fact which would be suggested by the coin finds alone.² Secondly, as to the civilized inhabitants of the intermediate districts, Avisford, Clayton, Duncton, Eastbourne and so forth. It seems not impossible that these people may have communicated with one another, and with the outer world, over the treeless downs or along the shore in coasting vessels. We know that, 1500 years ago, the estuaries of the Sussex rivers, Adur, Arun, Ouse and so forth, were very much larger than they now are and General Pitt-Rivers has pointed out that the arrangements of the pre-Roman fortresses, Chanctonbury, Cissbury and the rest seem based upon this fact. Southern Sussex was, in fact, broken up into several pieces by these rivers, and the probabilities are rather against land communications. It is not difficult to construct, from the evidence supplied by Dixon and Dallaway, a map of Sussex as it was before the Norman Conquest, and anyone who will do so, will, I think, admit that the Chichester and Pevensey road does not look so very probable. The fortress of the "Saxon Shore" *portus Adurni* belongs, of course, to the same date as Anderida. It is usually placed at the mouth of the Adur, but without real grounds. It is almost certain that the river was called Adur only after and because the *portus Adurni* had been located by Camden near its mouth.

(2) An examination into the evidence for the existence of the road, will I believe, equally lead to scepticism and a verdict of non-proven. There are a vast number of statements in print relating to this road, but, so far as I can judge, nearly all these statements are simple statements. A Roman road is a definite thing; it is not any old trackway which will serve as a specimen of Roman work. And what I miss in the statements about the "road" is just the evidence required to prove it Roman. The facts amount to the following. Between Chichester and Shoreham there is no trace of a road. A good many

¹ It is to be regretted that English antiquaries have so far ignored Mommsen's settlement of the question, and go on referring the British chapters of the *Notitia* to 400 A.D. The main bulk of

the *Notitia*, no doubt, belongs to the later date.

² The coin finds at Chichester range (roughly) between A.D. 50-270, those at Pevensey between A.D. 280-380.

assertions have been made, but no one really pretends to have discovered a Roman way. For the section from Shoreham to Brighton the ultimate authority is a remark in Belhan's *History of Brighton* (p. 8 in the 1st ed.), but this remark is just one of those assertions which cannot be accepted untested, and it gives no indication of the course of the alleged road. East of Brighton the case is somewhat different. Near Ditchling and Glynde there are undeniable remains of old trackways, but it is uncertain whether these are British or Roman. General Pitt-Rivers decides in favour of the former, but it is quite possible that the Romans used the roads. From thence to Pevensey, the statements are most conflicting. The supposed road has been traced in many places; but these places do not fit in. A map of them would shew parallel pieces, gaps, and a general direction by no means straight. Besides, there is, here too, a distinct want of proof. An old way can be traced through certain fields, says one writer; it is, therefore, assumed to be Roman, and yet it is most uncritical to make the assumption.

I shall be asked why, with all this lack of evidence, the road was ever conjectured to have existed. I am afraid that "Richard of Cirencester" (*i.e.* Bertram), and the false reputations of Arundel and Lewes are most to blame. Bertram saw, no doubt, that a road from Chichester to Pevensey joined together what seemed two points of a V. He therefore, for the edification of Stukely and to the confusion of real research, drew the road and put into the 15th *iter* the details

Regno

ad decimum x

anderida portu mp

Clearly he saw that Arundel would form a convenient station, so he inserted it, unfortunately giving it a name which is—in form—unparalleled in the itineraries of Britain. He did not, however,—nor did anyone till 1852—know for certain the site of Anderida, so he omitted the distance from Arundel, and left a gap between Anderida, and the next entry, *Ad lemanum*. Most unfortunately, his forgery was not detected for nearly 100

years. Antiquaries went on believing in the road, and naturally they "saw" it—the wish was father to the thought. Naturally enough they saw it at Arundel and Lewes, for there they believed Roman stations to have existed. But it is a literal fact that no Roman remains of any sort have been found in Arundel; the importance of the place is first apparent in Domesday Book. At Lewes something has been found, but nothing to prove a settlement,—an urn or two, a few coins, a fibula. Such things occur round Lewes; they are traces of the time when the Roman armies stormed the hill forts on the neighbouring heights, and they occur most abundantly on Mount Caburn and the earthworks connected with it. Of a Roman settlement in or near Lewes there is no trace.

C. EPIGRAPHICA.

1. In the *Archæological Journal* for 1886, (xliii. 286) Mr. W. T. Watkin gives a new description "recently found built up into a wall at the Bishop's Palace, Chichester." The inscription runs thus:—



At first sight it is obvious that the reading is suspicious. The first line of a Roman inscription could hardly end with RIAM. A modern enquirer, thinks, of IN OR AD MEMORIAM. This phrase does occur, usually abbreviated (e.g. Wilmanns 82, from Aquileia), but, so far as I know, seldom at the commencement of sepulchral inscriptions. I was therefore tempted to examine the stone myself. I found it in a corner of the Bishop's garden but not "built into a wall": indeed, so far as I could find out, it never had been built into a wall. As far as could be deciphered, it read.



The letter M is larger than the letters below it, the down-

strokes being $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. It was also plain that there were no letters immediately before it; the first line of the inscription must have read I.O.M. or D.M. the latter being the more likely. It is, indeed, no new inscription but simply one discovered in 1809 in the S.E. part of the walls, published by Dallaway and Horsfield, and reprinted by Hübner (C.I.L. vii, 14). In 1809 more of the stone was surviving than now. The inscription was then, as Hübner gives it

M
 NVBAT
 ARIVS
 LXXXV

Of course the fragment is not, in itself, of any importance, but inscribed stones are so rare in Southern England, and indeed in any part of England except the four northern counties, that it is doubly necessary to be correct in dealing with them. This inscription, then, is not, as the archaeologists thought in 1885, a new find, but a stone published half a century ago.

2. In the Chichester Museum are to be seen some fragments of a marble inscription from Densworth, which were copied by Hübner (C.I.L., vii, 17). It has not been noticed that these fragments are almost certainly the fragments alluded to by a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* 1858 i, 532.

3. It may be convenient to print here the names of potters on the so-called "Samian ware" preserved in the Chichester Museum.

ABII from the "East walls" Hübner 1336, 501.

I should read FABII, as there are traces of a letter before A. "Fabius" has been found in London.

CENSORINI This stamp is not given by Hübner, but is quoted by Mr. Roach Smith from the Allier valley (Coll. Ant., vi, 71), and the Compiègne district (vii, 26). CENSORINI is commoner.

COCVRO . F quoted by Hübner (331) from London, Colchester, Castor and York, by Mr. Roach Smith from France (*l.c.*) vi, 72).

CRACVNA . F Hübner No. 358, Roach Smith *Roman, London*, p. 106.

IVLLINIM *ib.* 580.

BOVLARISF *ib.* 823.

REBYRIS . OF *ib.* 898.

SIXTIM *ib.* 1062.

TAVRICIM Hübner has TAVRIGVSF and TAVRICIF
(1110-1).

4. Mr. W. T. Watkin (*Roman-Lancashire*, p. 187) quotes among the potters' marks found at Lancaster the name IMANNI, and the same mark is given by Mr. Roach-Smith (*Roman-London*, p. 104), IMANN. Hübner who saw the piece read IMAVA and puts it beside a supposed IMBAN from Aldborough (No. 515). IMAN is quoted from the Allier valley (*Coll. Ant.* vi, 72). I suspect these marks, mostly imperfect, are really variations of CINNAM. The name very often appears with letters reversed: thus CINNAM occurs in the Pesth Museum, CINNYMI is said to have been found in London and IMANNIO is quoted from Picardy. These last three facts I borrow from Descemet (*Inscriptions Doliaves Latins*, Paris 1880), who (pp. 138-154) discusses the meaning of these inverted letters. His conclusion is that they are sometimes errors, more often distinguishing marks of different or rival factories.

Original Document.

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

Viro venerabili et amico suo in Christo karissimo, domino priori de Motesfonte, W. de Perci salutem in Domino. Noverit dilectio vestra quod implacitati sumus apud Leicestriam coram justiciariis itinerantibus, ego et dominus Eustachius de Bailloillio, et domina Agnes filia mea, uxor illius E., et dominus prior de Sandonia, de villa de Fotestona. Quare vos exoro quatinus pro amore meo mittatis mihi per Ricardum de Moreдона, unam cartam de confirmatione Domini J. Regis de omnibus terris et tenementis que juste adquisivit dominus W. Briwerre vel potuit acquirere, et maxime de manerio de Fotestona cum omnibus pertinentiis; et quoddam cyrographum de finali concordia facta in curia Domini Regis inter Margaritam de Pillande et W. de Briwerre de tercia parte ville de Fotestona; et unam cartam Jordani de Abernon(?) de jure et clameo si quod habuit idem W. in terris que fuerunt Henrici de Secohevilla in Fotestona, que quietum ei clamavit; et unam cartam domine Margarete de Pilland de toto jure et clameo quod habuit in Fotestona et in Lincumbe et in Godeling, que quietum clamavit domino W. Briwerre et heredibus suis; et cartam Rogeri Giffard qui renuncit et quietum clamavit domino W. Briwerre totum jus et clameam quod Mazra ava illius vel Baldewinus pater eius habuerunt vel habere potuerunt in Fotestona in Leicestresira; et aliam cartam Rogeri Giffard quod debet ad voluntatem et summonicionem W. Briwerre coram justiciariis ubicunque fuerint vel alibi ubicunque voluerit venire ad recognoscendum quietam clameam quam ei per carta sua fecit de toto jure et clamea quod Mazra ava illius vel Baldewinus pater illius vel aliquis antecessorum illius vel ipse vel aliquis heredum suorum unquam habuerunt vel habere potuerunt in Fotestona in Leicestresira. Et vos precor quod cum festinacione eas mihi mittatis, qui dicti justiciarii sederunt apud Leicestriam die Lune proximo post festum Sancti Hyllarii, tamen inde facientes ne dominus Eustachius, nec ego, nec domina Agnes filia mea, nec prior de Sandona, simus perdentes per defectum cartarum illarum. In cujus rei testimonium mitto vobis has literas meas patentes.

A seal in yellow wax is appended on a strip of the parchment. A knight on horseback, in flat-topped close helmet, sword in hand, and shield on left arm, galloping to dexter: SIGILLUM WILLELMI DE PERCY.

This document is among the charters of the Duchy of Lancaster (A) 289, and is briefly catalogued in the 35th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (Appendix No. 1), and there said to date between 1199 and 1216. I took a copy of it when going through these Duchy Records some years ago.

In the "House of Percy," by Mr. de Fonblanque (vol. i, pp. 35, &c.), it is related that this William de Percy was the only son of Henry de Percy, the sixth baron, who died in 1196, when the son [who, if born in 1193, was only three years old, though on another page he is said to have been fifteen at his father's death], fell under the tutelage of his uncle, Richard de Percy, who usurped his nephew's rights and became seventh baron, holding a large part of the family property till his death in 1244. Mr. de Fonblanque adds that William de Briwere (doubtless the same person referred to in the letters patent) was the official guardian of the minor, but appears to have wanted either the will or the power to resist Richard's high handed proceedings. That this was so is clear from the Yorkshire Pipe Roll, 13 John, where Richard de Percy appears as holding fifteen fees of the half fee of William de Percy's Honour, while William Briwere holds the fifteen fees of the other half of the same Honour with the heir, whom he no doubt married to his daughter Joan, as she is named by Dugdale. On p. 46, Mr. de Fonblanque says that Agnes, the youngest daughter of the above William de Percy and Joan Briwere, married Eustace de Balliol after 1254. This, however, must be incorrect, if this William, eighth Lord of Percy died (as he says), in 1245, a year after his usurping uncle Richard, for the above letter to the prior of Mottisfont urgently requesting him to send with haste six writings in his hands, for an impending law plea at Leicester, shews that Lady Agnes had married Sir Eustace de Balliol before her father's death.

This Sir Eustace de Balliol was no doubt nearly related to the chief line, and perhaps an uncle of John Balliol, King of Scotland. He seems to have been dead before 5th May, 1276, when his widow Agnes leased her land in Foxton to her son Ingram de Balliol, for five years, confirmed by Edward I (Patent Roll, 4 Edw. I). Ingram appears earlier, on 8th Oct. 1270, in his father's lifetime, before an Assize Court at Leicester for disseising the master of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit of Saundon, of a freehold in Foxton, probably the same given them by his grand father William de Percy (*Calendar of Scots Documents*, vol. i, no. 2573). Lady Agnes his mother was dead by 28 May, 1291, when Edward I then at Norham Castle deciding the claims to the Scottish Crown, respited Sir Ingram's homage till All Saints' day, at the request of the King of France. (*Calendar ut supra*, vol. ii, no. 479). Sir Ingram, styled "of Tours," was dead before 20 Feb. 1298-99, when Edward I gave all his lands in England and Scotland (including Foxton) to his cousin Henry de Percy, as Ingelram de Umfraville, who had the hereditary right to them, was a rebel (*Calendar ut supra*, vol. ii, nos. 1060, 1102). He left a widow Isabel, who being in France, had licence from Edward II to appoint attorneys on 28 January 1307-8. (*Calendar ut supra*, vol. iii, no. 34). From the nature of his succession, they evidently had no children.

The seal of William de Percy, which is the first given on the Plates of Percy seals, is the same as that appended to the above letters patent, which is a very good impression. But I fail to trace on it the saltire which appears on the shield in the plate.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

November 1st, 1888.

J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, Esq., V.P., F.S.A., in the Chair.

MR. G. E. FOX read a paper on "Roman Leicester," in which he gave a sketch of the site on which Roman remains have been found, and a general description of the important relics which have been brought together in the Leicester Museum. This is printed at p. 46.

MR. E. PEACOCK sent some notes describing a singular head of a man holding his beard with the right hand, and forming one of the drip stones of a lancet window on the western side of the massive Early English tower of the church of Kirton in Lindsey.

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Fox and Mr. Peacock.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By MR. G. E. FOX:—A large plan of Leicester, and a series of drawings of Roman Mouldings and Antiquities from examples preserved in the Leicester Museum.

By MR. E. PEACOCK:—A drawing by Mr. E. Howlett of a drip-stone head at Kirton in Lindsey, and a latten dish with a Christopher in the centre.

MR. C. D. E. FORSTNUM exhibited and presented a lithograph drawn by Mr. J. H. Steinmetz, contrasting the new south transept of St. Alban's Abbey with the picturesque old one now destroyed, and with the "Five Sisters" at York, the supposed type of the Sisters of St. Alban's. Mr. Steinmetz asked, "will it be believed that the ceiling of the transept cuts this extraordinary five-light window in two, and, that the St. Alban's Sisters are provided with another set of heads internally disguised by some means of blackened felt from being seen externally?"

The Chairman added that he had seen the south transept of St. Alban's and could hardly imagine anything more ugly, though he had been informed that the "restoration" of the north transept was the worst of the two.

December 6th, 1888.

The Rev. Sir T. H. B. BAKER, Bart., in the Chair.

MR. F. C. J. SPURRELL read a paper on an Ancient Boat or "dug out," discovered in the excavations for the Albert Dock at North Woolwich, whose form was peculiar, but the interest of which lay in the fact that a section of the soils above and below it—a thing rarely attended to—showed that it belonged to a period very slightly preceding, if not actually that of the Roman arrival in Britain. The camp of Hastings at Shoebury was described by plans and sections, and was shown to belong to that type of camp to which Witham and Danbury also belong. At the time of Constantine it was an inland camp, and, judging from a study of the erosion of the coast, must, when complete, have had between its nearest point and the sea a distance of half, or even a whole, mile of country, which latter distance Mr. Spurrell preferred. The route taken by Plautius in his invasion of Britain was examined, particularly with

regard to the interesting point mentioned in Dion's narrative as to the locality of the river joining the sea. By recent examination of the buried soil of the Thames marshes, Mr. Spurrell gave distinct reasons why the point could not be near London, inasmuch as during part of the Roman occupation the tide had not yet submerged the low lands of the Thames so far up the river, which were dry and the waters fresh. He gave physical reasons for placing the region where the Thames joined the sea then some twenty miles, or thereabouts, lower down, and in the neighbourhood of Gravesend or East Tilbury; and remarked that had the late Dr. Guest and Sir G. Airy, the latest writers on the subject, examined the matter more deeply, they would have found the old surface very different from what they supposed, and they would have learnt, as he had done, that the ocean was further from London in the first century than in the nineteenth.

MR. J. PARK HARRISON drew attention to the beauty of the carving, of some of the spandrils of St. Frideswide's shrine in Oxford Cathedral, and expressed an opinion that, although it would not be possible to reproduce the original design, much might be done to show the work to more advantage. He also referred to the symbolical representation in stained glass, in the same cathedral, of the dedication of the convent of St. Mary "by the Thames," and its possessions at Thornebury (now called Binsey), which he said was almost unique; and mentioned that the seal of the monastery, which dates from about 1120, shows St. Frideswide, with an open book in her hand, sitting beneath an arch over which is a thatched building, probably intended for Thornebury. Mr. Harrison thought that the book in the University arms was possibly derived from this seal; and he quoted Dr. Ingram as having stated that the monastery of St. Frideswide, with its surrounding halls—some of which were founded by Anglian (or Mercian) kings—was a place of learning in very early times, a fact recognized also by the Warden of Merton College. Mr. Harrison further suggested that St. Frideswide may have been adopted as patroness of the University from a tradition which had been handed down of her learning and skill in the arts of healing and music beyond that of her contemporaries. The book appears in the hand of her stained-glass effigies in the Latin chapel, and in the statue outside the cathedral.

THE REV. PRECENTOR VENABLES gave an account of the portion of the Roman wall lately discovered at Lincoln. This will appear in a future Journal.

MR. WINSLOW JONES read a paper on a Saxon font in Dolton Church, Devon, which appears to have originally formed the lower portion of an early monolith, and to have been inverted and hollowed out for a font. It is described in Lysons's "Devonshire," p. 331, but since that antiquary's time it was cased in wood. In 1862 this was taken away, and the font found to be coated with plaster; on this being also removed the original highly enriched surface was revealed.

Votes of thanks were returned for these communications.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. Park Harrison—Photographs of foliage and heads from the shrine of St. Frideswide.

By the Rev. Precentor Venables.—Plans, &c. showing the recent discoveries of Roman remains in Lincoln.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

EARLY LINCOLN WILLS. An abstract of all Wills and Administrations recorded in the Episcopal Registers of the Old Diocese of Lincoln 1280—1547, by ALFRED GIBBONS. (Lincoln : James Williamson, 1888).

The diocese of Lincoln was in the middle ages much larger than it is at present. Before the changes which took place in the reign of Henry VIII it included the counties of Lincoln, Rutland, Northampton, Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham, Oxford, Leicester and Hertford. We need not therefore point out to our readers how valuable a volume we have before us. Mr. Gibbons has included every testamentary document to be found in the registers, and as far as we can test his work without having the MS. before us we are bound to say that it seems extremely well done. We have, in fact, found no errors whatever, except a few misprints which the reader will be able to correct without difficulty as he goes along. It is of course unfair to criticise a book for not being something quite different from what it professes to be ; we cannot, however, help saying that we regret that the documents have not been given in full. The reason, of course, is that had this been done the number of pages, and consequently the price, would have been much increased. We think, however, considering to how very large a portion of England these documents relate, that had it been properly made known funds would have been forthcoming for printing the whole of them *in extenso*. For genealogical purposes an abstract made by a careful antiquary like Mr. Gibbons is as valuable as the original, but for almost every other purpose it is much less useful. The testators who figure in these pages are of all ranks of life ; we have yeomen, shopkeepers, merchants, esquires, knights, peers, and members of the princely race of Plantagenet. We are not sure that the great people's wills are by any means the most interesting.

The customs and ritual practices of the mediæval church have light thrown on them on almost every page. Some things that occur are quite new to us, for example, in 1380 John de Beverley "domicellus" wills to be buried in Westminster Abbey on the south side of King Edward, and desires that his body be drawn to sepulture by two male asses, if such animals can be procured, but if they cannot, then by two horses. One would like to know what is the meaning of this, was it provided for as a mark of humility, or was it an act of reverence, in as much as our Blessed Lord entered Jerusalem riding on an ass ? This same person leaves forty shillings each for the repair of the glass windows in three parish churches, on condition that his shield of arms be placed therein. In this, as in so many other cases, it is probable that the

armorial shield was used not as a mark of vanity, but for the sake of inducing the persons who observed the window to pray for the rest of the donor's soul. There are several mentions made of pilgrimages. Men not uncommonly made rash vows which they were unable or unwilling to perform, and then the obligation had to be handed on to the executors. For example, Roger Beauchampe, Knight, provides that Roger, the son and heir of Roger, his son and heir, is ordered to make a voyage against the infidels, to which the testator is bound in the sum of two hundred marks by the will of his grandfather, Sir William de Beauchamp. The date of this will is 1379. In the same year a London citizen, John Pyel, directs that a man shall go on pilgrimage to Walsingham, Canterbury, Lincoln and St. John of Beverley, and in 1408 a member of the knightly race of Copuldyk of Harrington, co. Lincoln desires a man to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. In 1415 we find a person leaving money for masses "in recompensacionem quinque vulnerum et septum mortalium peccatorum." A mass in recompense for the seven deadly sins may explain why they are sometimes represented in stained glass. Some very curious fragments illustrating this subject still exist in a window of the parish church of Newark upon Trent. In 1393 Richard de Treton, rector of Oundell, requires that five candles in the form of a cross should be burnt round his body. He evidently feared that his friends would give him too pompous a funeral for he provides that no more candles than the number specified shall be used. The interest of this volume is not confined to England. In 1415 John Prowger, Knight of West Raisen, a little town in Lincolnshire, makes his will at Calais, and desires to be buried in the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Calais, before the Crucifix, if he dies there. John de Assheby, Esquire, who also seems to have been a Lincolnshire man made his will on the 6th of September, 1415, "In viagio domini nostri Regis apud Haaflew nuper existens, per ictum lapidis ibidem morte preventus." We have by no means picked out the most interesting passages. There is in fact not one page in the volume which does not contain facts worthy of the careful study of all who are interested in mediæval manners.

EXCAVATIONS IN CRANBORNE CHASE, NEAR RUSHMORE, by LIEUTENANT-GENERAL PITT-RIVERS, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., P.G.S., F.Z.S., &c., Printed privately, 1888, Vol. II.

In the September number of the *Journal* for last year we noticed at some length the first volume of this valuable work: the second is now before us. It records the excavations in some barrows near Rushmore, in the Romano-British village at Rotherley, in Winkelbury Camp, and in British Barrows and Anglo-Saxon Cemetery on Winkelbury Hill. The excavations have been conducted with the same patience, thoroughness, and attention to detail that characterised the excavations recorded in the first volume, and the results are chronicled and tabulated in the present volume with the same careful minuteness: eighty-five plates, most conscientiously drawn, bring the objects found most clearly to the reader's mind.

Unlike the village at Woodcuts, with which the first volume of this work is largely taken up, the village at Rotherley had never before been explored, or indeed even noticed. The General spent eight months over

its excavation, during which time eleven or twelve men, as well as his trained staff of assistants, were constantly employed. Rotherley proved to be smaller than Woodcuts and to be a much poorer village: this was made clear by the paucity of the coins, the few oyster-shells, the absence of ornamental plastering, and other *indicia*. The skeletons of numbers of new born children were found in different parts of the village. The inhabitants of Rotherley are of the same low stature as those at Woodcuts, a fact to which the attention of the Institute was directed by the General in his Presidential address at Salisbury,¹ to which we refer our readers.

To show the thoroughness of the way the General works, we may mention that no less than fifteen domesticated animals of various sorts were measured externally; they were then slaughtered, and their bones measured; from the information thus derived, the size of the animals whose bones were found at Woodcut and Rotherley have been calculated. We own to a feeling of commiseration for the fifteen victims to science.

The bulk of the volume is taken up with the Rotherley excavations of the Romano-British period, but the barrows excavated at Rushmore and elsewhere are of the bronze period, and the cemetery at Winkelbury is Anglo-Saxon, so that a variety of relics are figured in the plates of this volume.

We are afraid the General will not find many imitators of his noble way of spending the wealth he has inherited: but the following sentence from his preface should have been recently read in every court of quarter sessions in England, when they wound up their affairs for transmission to the county councils.

"The expense of conducting explorations upon this system is considerable, but the wealth available in the country for the purpose is still ample, if only it could be turned into this channel. The number of country gentlemen of means, who are at a loss for intelligent occupation beyond hunting and shooting must be considerable, and now that a paternal Government has made a present of their game to their tenants, and bids fair to deprive them of the part that some of them have hitherto taken, most advantageously to the public, in the management of local affairs, it may not perhaps be one of the least useful results of these volumes if they should be the means of directing attention to a new field of activity, for which the owners of land are, beyond all others, favourably situated. It is hardly necessary to insist upon the large amount of evidence of early times that lies buried in the soil upon nearly every large property, which is constantly being destroyed through the operations of agriculture, and which scientific anthropologists have seldom the opportunity or the means of examining."

ANNALS OF THE HOUSE OF PERCY, FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE OPENING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, by EDWARD BARRINGTON DE FOWELANQUE. (London: printed by Richard Clay and Sons, for private circulation only. Two volumes octavo, I, pp. xxvii, 620, and folding pedigree in pocket: II, 693.

There is no necessity to call the attention of the present representatives of the House of Percy to the sarcastic advice given by General Pitt-Rivers to his brother landowners, which we have cited in a notice of the second volume of the General's *Excavations in Rushmore Chase*. Archaeologists, antiquaries, anthropologists, and *hoc genus omne* owe a debt of gratitude to the Dukes of Northumberland for the care with which they have preserved for the scientific examination of the above-named

¹ *Journal*, vol. xlii, p. 271.

gentlemen "the evidences of early times," that occur or have been found upon their property, and even far beyond its limits: nay, they have done more; they have recorded, or caused to be recorded surveys of these objects in many valuable volumes. The transference of county business from quarter sessions to county councils is not likely to leave any member of the House of Percy "at a loss for intelligent occupation beyond hunting and shooting:" the hereditary tastes of the family will be sure to break out in a way that will be agreeable and profitable to the working members of the Institute, and, that will increase the general sum of knowledge possessed by the world at large of the ways and doings of our predecessors in the land that is now ours.

Nothing puzzles more the intelligent foreigner than the habitual influence which the great governing families of England have exercised from the earliest times down to the present day, and which (spite of what croakers may say) is only scotched, not killed by recent legislative changes: those persons, foreigners or Englishmen, who have the opportunity of reading the two volumes whose title is at the head of this notice, will learn something about the extent of that influence, and the reason of its existence in the case of one of the greatest of the great governing families of England.

Legend has done much to obscure with traditions the origin of the House of Percy; these Mr. Fonblanque has ruthlessly swept away: the first of the English Percies was a William de Percy, probably cadet of a noble family that owned the Château de Perci near Villedieu in the Department of La Manche. This William de Percy appears to have settled in England in the days of Edward the Confessor, and to have more or less adopted the habits of the Anglo-Saxons among whom he lived, as evidenced by his *sobriquet* of *Ale Gernons*, showing he had adopted the Anglo-Saxon practice of growing whiskers, while the Norman custom was to go clean shaven. He also married a Saxon lady of rank, though the story cannot be maintained that makes her a daughter of Gospatrick, Earl of Northumberland. William de Percy would have to leave England when Harold expelled the Norman settlers whom Edward the Confessor had encouraged, but he returned the year after the battle of Senlac. He received from Hugh Lupus, the Conqueror's nephew, a grant of lands which Lupus had had from his uncle, and on which he was himself indisposed to settle, preferring to return to Normandy. The grant included the town and port of Whitby with the surrounding lands; Yorkshire, not Northumberland, was, as many of our readers will be surprised to learn, the cradle of the English Percies. This William de Percy was summoned to Parliament, as a baron: his great-grandson, the fourth baron, also named William, acquired large landed possessions at Petworth in Sussex. He left two coheiresses, Maud, who married William de Newburgh, third Earl of Warwick, and died without issue, and Agnes married to Joceline de Louvain, who took the name of Percy, but by special arrangement retained the arms of Louvain and Brabant, and thus the blue lion ramping in a golden field became, on the introduction at a later date of quartering, quartered with the five golden mill picks in a blue field of Percy. Joceline's half-sister Adeliza, queen of Henry I, obtained for him a grant of the lordship of Petworth. With Agnes de Percy, who long survived her husband, the line of the Norman Percies ended, and a new line commenced, which for

nearly five centuries played a conspicuous part in English history. The Norman line it may be remarked were great benefactors to Whitby Abbey.

Four barons Percy of Louvain succeeded and bring the line down to 1272, when the ninth baron Percy died aged forty-five, leaving an infant son. This little lad grew up Sir Henry Percy, the first in the family of that name, and became a distinguished soldier, prominent in campaigns in Scotland, Wales and France; he purchased in 1309 from Anthony Beka, Bishop of Durham, the Barony and Castle of Alnwick, which that prelate had obtained in a rather shady way. Thus commenced the connection of the Percies with Northumberland. His son and grandson, also named Henry, distinguished warriors by land and sea, were the second and third lords Percy of Alnwick, and the eleventh and twelfth barons Percy reckoning from *Als Gernons* the first baron. The three lords Percy of Alnwick did great works at Alnwick Castle, which the first of them almost reconstructed, and much of his building can be recognised at the present day. The second lord Percy had a grant from the Crown of the castle and manor of Warkworth.

The life of the fourth lord Percy of Alnwick (he was born in 1342 and fell at Bramham Moor in 1408) was cast in eventful and tumultuous times. When but fourteen he fleshed his maiden sword at Poitiers: at eighteen he was married to Margaret, daughter of Lord Nevill of Raby, and by her was the father of the world-renowned Hotspur: by his second wife, Maud, sister and heiress of Anthony, Lord Lucy and widow of Gilbert de Umfreville he acquired the castle and honour of Coekermouth in Cumberland, and the silver lucies of Lucy as an addition to his achievement of arms. He was admiral at sea and general on land, and was in 1377 created first Earl of Northumberland. Hotspur predeceased his father, falling at the battle of Shrewsbury, so that when the first Earl of Northumberland fell at Bramham Moor, the title devolved upon a boy of 10 years, whose mother had carried him into Scotland, when Hotspur fell at Shrewsbury. There he was kindly received by King Robert, and brought up on terms of intimacy with his eldest surviving son, afterwards James I. He was restored in England on the accession of Henry V., and was killed in defence of the house of Lancaster at the battle of St. Alban's; four of his sons fell in the same cause, namely Henry the third Earl at Towton Field, Sir Thomas at Northampton, Sir Ralph at Hedgeley, and Sir Richard also at Towton. The fourth Earl was murdered by a mob at Cockledge. Over the fifth Earl, Henry the Magnificent, whose Household Book was printed in 1770, and who kept almost regal state; over the sixth Earl, Henry the Unthrifty, the lover of Anna Boleyn; over Simple Tom, dying on the scaffold for his faith, and his successor and brother cruel Henry; over the Wizard Earl, and his son the Lord High Admiral and Lord General of England, space forbids us to linger.

Joceline Percy, only son of the Lord High Admiral, succeeded in 1668 as eleventh Earl, but died two years later. As he left an only daughter, the Lady Elizabeth Percy, the honours of the ancient house passed for a second time by an heiress, who in her sixteenth year, having already been twice a widow, but never a wife, married that Duke of Somerset, who was known as "The Proud." She inherited the baronies of Percy, Lucy, Poynings, Fitz-Payne, Brian and Latimer, but not the earldom of Percy. By pre-nuptial settlement the Proud Duke bound himself to assume for him-

self and his issue the name and arms of Percy, a condition from which his duchess released him on attaining her majority in 1688. From her the six Percy baronies, enjoyed by her, passed to her son, Algernon, who as heir to his father, had the courtesy title of Earl of Hertford, and as heir to his mother was Baron Percy, Lucy, Poynings, Fitz-Payne, Bryan and Latimer: he succeeded as seventh Duke of Somerset in 1748, and was in 1749 created Baron Warkworth and Earl of Northumberland with special remainder in default of heirs male to his son-in-law, Sir Hugh Smithson and Elizabeth his wife. This Algernon, Duke of Somerset and Earl of Northumberland had two children, George Seymour Lord Beauchamp, and Lady Elizabeth Seymour, who in 1740 married Sir Hugh Smithson, an English gentleman of good family with Percy blood in his veins. By the death of her brother in 1744 she became heiress to the Percies' honours. On her father's death she succeeded to the Percy baronies, and her husband under the special remainder succeeded as Baron Warkworth and Earl of Northumberland, and he was in 1767 created Duke of Northumberland and Earl Percy; in 1784 he was created Lord Lovaine of Alnwick with special remainder to his second son Algernon Percy. Lady Elizabeth, 1st Duchess of Northumberland brought to her husband the Percy estates in Northumberland, but the Proud Duke of Somerset alienated the Percy estates in Sussex, Yorkshire and Cumberland, and settled them on his grandson Charles Wyndham, afterwards Earl of Egremont and Baron Cockermouth. For something like two centuries the Percies had made Petworth their home: now that it was alienated, they returned to Northumberland, and made Alnwick their home.

The first Duke's son Henry, who served as Lord Percy in America, succeeded as second Duke, and was succeeded, as third and fourth Dukes by two of his sons, Duke Hugh, who might have been called "The Magnificent," and Duke Algernon, a name dear to antiquaries and to men of science. On the death of the last the honours devolved on Duke George, son of the second son of the first Duke: he enjoyed them but for two years, and was succeeded by his eldest son Algernon George, sixth and present Duke and the fourteenth member of the House of Percy on whom the Sovereign has conferred the Order of the Garter.

The space at our disposal hinders us from going more fully into the history of the Percies; this sketch we have given will serve to show that they have from the Conquest to the present time been intertwined with the whole history of England: during all that time there has never been a period, when the influence and support of "the Percy" has not been of the first importance to the Government; scarcely a century in which the lives and lands of the house have not been staked in defence of the popular cause. Throughout that period, also, there has been in the North no rival in magnificence or social weight to the head of the House of Percy.

By the munificence of His Grace the Duke of Northumberland these noble volumes have been placed upon the shelves of the library belonging to the Institute. All that the paper maker, the type founder, the engraver, the lithographer, and the binder can do for a book has been done for these beautiful volumes: if one was inclined to be hypercritical, one might hint that the volumes are a little too heavy to be held in the reader's hand, and must be perused at a reading desk, or at a table; and

yet one would not wish them to be a single leaf the less. They consort well on the shelves of the Institute with another monument of the spirit of the Dukes of Northumberland, the surveys of the Roman Wall and of Watling street made by Mr. Mac Lauchlin at the expense of a former Duke.

A well arranged folding pedigree in a pocket at the end of the first volume enables the reader to trace clearly the descent of the honours, the more easily because the pedigree does not follow to their remotest descendants the collateral branches; a confusing habit, to which modern pedigree makers are too much addicted. The pedigree gives the armorial bearings of Percy and all its alliances. and the present Duke's achievement of arms, emblazoned in colours, is placed in an odd position, at the very end of the second volume, after the indices. The student of sphragistics will revel in the plates of Percy seals in the first volume: many *fac similes* of autographs are given, and the portraits also form a most interesting series.

ENGLAND IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. By the Rev. W. DENTON, M.A. Worcester College, Oxford, Author of *Servia and the Servians; Montenegro, its People and their History; The Christians in Turkey; Records of St. Giles, Cripplegate, etc., etc.* London: George Bell and Sons, 1888.

Those who had a personal knowledge of the late Mr. Denton, or are acquainted with his numerous works, know with what painstaking care and thoroughness they were produced, and the picture he draws of the condition of all classes of the community in England in the 15th century, (and there is no reason to believe that it was any better in other countries) is simply appalling.

Mr. Denton divides his work into an Introduction divided into two parts, and the body of the work containing two chapters. In the first he describes the state of England down to the death of Edward I, at which date he considers the country was at the zenith of its prosperity; and that during the period following the death of that Monarch it began to decline until it reached its lowest state of misery towards the end of the fifteenth century, from which it was delivered by an entire re-organization under the despotic tyranny of the Tudors.

In the opening of his admirable Introduction Mr. Denton treats of the benefits arising from the amalgamation of the language and races of the Saxons and Normans, forming one nation of Englishmen possessed by the same patriotic feeling, leading to the growth of the constitution and parliament and the responsibility of the King's Ministers. He points out that long before any parliament was summoned the most important functions of a parliament were executed by the Manorial and County Courts. "These Courts legislated for the Manor as fully as the parliament legislated for the nation in its corporate capacity. Indeed," he says, "it seems to have been intended at the first that parliament should not interfere within the jurisdiction of the Manorial authorities, unless by way of appeal; and it was not without remonstrance on the part of the suitors in these local courts that parliament and the King's court claimed, after a time, to pass Laws effecting manorial rights, and to adjudicate on matters touching the tenure of lands and the customs of Manors." After giving a description of the constitution of

Manors, and of the several classes of tenants, free and unfree, he states that "at the death of Edward I, the popular element represented by the [Manorial] courts was powerful and exerted considerable influence throughout England. Parliamentary powers were ill-defined, new, and feeble, whilst the local courts of Manors, at which every man was bound to be present, occupied much of the ground now held by parliament and were both popular and active." These courts were held from three weeks to three weeks, and consequently were almost in constant session, and justice was promptly executed by a popular tribunal possessed of a local knowledge of the circumstances, and there were not any crimes or offences with which they could not deal except high treason.

During the whole of his reign Edward gave his vigilant and close attention to the improvement of his realm, and the promotion of the prosperity and happiness of his people. Immediately on his accession he took steps to amend the laws, and effected such reformation as justly to acquire the designation of the English Justinian. Chief Justice Hale affirms, "that more was done in the first thirteen years of his reign to settle and establish the distributive justice of the Kingdom than in all the ages since that time put together." He modified the feudal system, and improved the condition of the servile tenants. He encouraged the making of roads and of building bridges, and, generally, increasing the means of communication, with numberless other improvements. At his death the people of England were in a state of great prosperity; the country was making continual progress, population was advancing, the local courts were in full vigour, and brought justice to every man's door. A growing commerce repaid and encouraged the labours of the agriculturist and the industry of the artisans. The people were amply provided with food and clothing, and a growing refinement was fast obliterating the coarseness which had hitherto prevailed.

Mr. Denton writes that the sufferings endured by the people of this country during the 182 years following the death of Edward I cannot be tabulated. The whole course of the reign of his successor was marked by domestic deterioration and external disgrace. The loss of the Battle of Bannockburn was the loss of Scotland, a calamity alike to both nations. In 1332 arose a renewal of the war with that country to bring it under feudal subjection to England. The French King having afforded considerable succours to Scotland, in retaliation Edward invaded France in 1338, which was the beginning of a war with that country which lasted over 100 years, and although the victories of Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt shed the greatest lustre on the English arms, it exhausted the resources of the country and checked the increase of the population in England, and so greatly diminished it, that soldiers at times could no longer be raised. Though from exhaustion short truces were from time to time made, it could not be called a state of peace, and pestilence supervened and swept impartially over both countries.

England, in many ways, suffered much in consequence of this war, in the heavy burden of taxation—the suspension of trade—the inroads of pirates on the coast towns, which were sacked and destroyed and the inhabitants slain. There were, however, other miseries more desolating than war approaching to ravage the country. Famine and pestilence, the fruit of war, destroyed what man failed to reach.

The greater part of the twenty years reign of Edward II were years of

want consequent upon a series of bad harvests. The sufferings of the peasantry were intense. Corn rose to enormous prices, and the poor had no money to purchase. A murrain also destroyed the cattle and sheep; the poultry also, and even the bees were destroyed. The loss of human life was enormous. To this succeeded "the Great Pestilence," known as "the Black Death," which swept off one-third of the remaining population. We cannot enter into the piteous details related by Mr. Denton, but must refer our readers to his graphic pages.

The decrease of the population in consequence of war, famine, and pestilence had this further result. It broke up the manorial system upon which the Constitution was based. Disorder and lawlessness everywhere prevailed. Personal service due to the Lords of Manors by their servile tenants, had in better times, when wages were low and provisions very cheap, been commuted for a money payment of one half-penny for a labourer's day's work. But this arrangement was only of a provisional character, it being specifically provided that it might be changed at any time at the pleasure of the Lords. This agreement was disavowed by the tenants, who claimed the right, in the scarcity of labourers, to demand such wages as they could obtain; and absolutely refused to give those personal services to which the Lords were legally entitled. An attempt was made, by the Lords, generally, to resume the labour service. This led to violent agrarian insurrections and the grossest outrages, even to the Archbishop of Canterbury being dragged from his retreat in the Tower and beheaded by the mob on Tower Green. Within twenty years after these insurrections arose the successful rebellion of Henry of Lancaster. Henry, well knowing the shadowy nature of his title to the Crown and the base means by which he obtained it, and the loyalty to Richard II. which still animated some of the great nobles and a large portion of the people, thought it prudent to abstain from entering upon a war with France, which some of the Barons greatly desired. But no sooner was he dead, in 1413, than his son Henry V. prepared to renew the war and re-conquer the country. He won the famous battle of Agincourt and many other great victories, and eventually was recognised as heir to the Crown of France after the death of Charles in 1420. It was estimated that a greater number of men had been slain in these wars than was then living in both realms.

Henry VI. was a very weak though peaceful sovereign, and in the first thirty years of his reign lost all that his father had won in France. The loss of the French territories, which had been acquired at the cost of an enormous amount of blood and treasure, aroused the discontent of the nation, and encouraged the adherents of the House of York to put forward their claim to the throne of England. The first battle was fought at St. Albans in 1454, and the decisive battle of Towton placed the Duke of York on the throne as Edward IV. From this time until 1485 when Henry, Earl of Richmond defeated King Richard III. and usurped the throne, the country was in a state of great disorder.

Mr. Denton states that at this time the commerce of England had been almost destroyed by these incessant wars. Great parts of the land, formerly cultivated, lay waste for want of hands to till it. Hamlets and villages had disappeared, and the sites could only be traced by the remains of the Grange round which the tenants had once clustered, or by the ruins of the church tower in which sheep were folded. The gentry

had suffered in common with the yeomen and copyhold tenants, "the former could not supply a sufficient number of persons qualified to fill the important and honourable post of Sheriffs of counties, nor the latter even to serve as jurymen in the courts of law." All the towns except London were well nigh ruined, and the standard of morals greatly reduced.

Turning from the introduction to the body of the work the first chapter which attracts our attention in the author's description of the state of the country, is the extreme ignorance of statesmen of the value of statistics. They guessed at the number of parishes, of Knight's fees, of acres under cultivation, and the population, and Mr. Denton considers that they failed to guess rightly. There now remains absolutely no data upon which to form even an approximate estimate of the number of the people, and therefore we possess no assurance that Mr. Denton, whilst condemning the guesses of his predecessors has in estimating the population of England and Wales in 1372 as not exceeding two and a half millions, guessed any way nearer the truth. Many remarkable mistakes have arisen in consequence of the ignorance alluded to. Very interesting descriptions are given of Rural England, its forests, fens and swamps, moors and morasses; agricultural produce, rents, and manures, the common field system which everywhere, more or less prevailed, and continued down to the last century, though, doubtless, it was not a profitable method of cultivation; enclosures, game, and poaching. Forests, their nature and privileges, highways and byeways, means of conveyance and rate of travelling, postage of letters, &c., &c. Upon all these subjects much curious information is afforded.

Chapter II. relates more especially to the various grades of people, their dwellings, food, habits, and wages. With reference to the last a comparison is drawn between the relative condition of agricultural labourers at the end of the fifteenth century and the present, reckoning, of course, their advantages and disadvantages respectively, and Mr. Denton justly comes to the conclusion that the former were infinitely inferior to those of the same class at the present day. The consideration of the question of taxation, land tenures, depression of trade, and condition of the small landowners concludes this chapter.

In the third and last chapter the Author deals with the aristocracy, which, during the Civil War, had been nearly one half exterminated. At the beginning of the fifteenth century fifty Peers had been summoned to parliament, but to the first parliament of Henry VII. they had become reduced to twenty eight or twenty nine. They all possessed manors and had Baronial halls or castles, which, as a rule, they no longer occupied. Their minds had been given to martial exercises to the neglect of education and literature, in which they were generally grossly ignorant; and, moreover, were greatly impoverished by the extravagancies connected with costly pageants, splendour of dress, and hosts of idle retainers. After the seizure of the crown by Henry the whole power of the country was centred in the hands of four or five great houses, and it was the policy of the Tudor Kings to depress the ancient nobility and to raise up new men.

Mr. Denton's is a work of great interest and value, and bears evidence on every page of its impartiality and honesty, and extensive examination of authorities. Nevertheless, it appears to us that he has failed to place himself mentally in the period of which he writes, and to look at facts

not as they would be seen by a contemporary, consequently the pictures he has given of rural life in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are somewhat distorted. Much of the calamities and extreme distress suffered by the poor would appear to us to have arisen rather from the visitation of God, in the long succession of bad harvests, pestilences and murrain in cattle, and in the terrible consequences inseparable from war, and yet wars will never cease, than to bad government. We are not exempt from such calamities even now. Some, at least, of the sovereigns who succeeded Edward I. were not bad or heartless men: *a.g.* Edward II., Richard II., and Henry VI. were weak rather than evil. And if we had the power to select strong men, like Edward III., it might not much improve matters. With these remarks we can cordially commend Mr. Denton's book to our readers, and trust it will in no long while be followed by his work on the Church during the same period, for which we are told in the Preface to this Volume, he has collected materials.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF PROVENCE AND THE RIVIERA. By DAVID MACGIBBON, Author of *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1888.

This is a very welcome volume, for we apprehend little is known in England of the special peculiarities of the architecture and other arts prevalent in the remote district to which it relates. Mr. MacGibbon points out that in the south of France the ancient architecture is distinctly unlike that of northern France, with which, from our contiguity and early political associations, we are acquainted, though not so intimately as from those causes we ought to be. To account for the difference to which he alludes he gives a brief and rapid sketch of the history of this southern region, shewing how political circumstances have influenced the character of its architecture.

In carrying out his work in accordance with the circumstances related in his historical sketch, he divides the subject under two epochs—the Roman epoch, and the Mediæval epoch, treating of each period separately; taking up first the buildings of the Roman period in sequence as they are met with in descending the Rhone from Lyons, and in the various localities along the Riviera both east and west of Marseilles; and having exhausted the examination of the Roman buildings in the province, returning to Lyons to repeat the process and examine the mediæval structures throughout the same district.

The first place of importance visited in going down the river was VIENNE, on the right side, now called St. Columbe. It is a place of great interest as the cradle of Christianity in the west, having, according to tradition, been founded by St. Paul in his journey into Spain. The Archbishops of Vienne became for sometime, Mr. MacGibbon tells us, Primates of Gaul. The town has had a very chequered history, from which its buildings have greatly suffered. The most important of the Roman buildings now remaining is the temple dedicated to Augustus and Livia. It has been applied to various uses and has been subjected to great abuses, but it has been carefully and judiciously restored, and is now only surpassed, as a complete example of a temple of the Romans in Gaul, by the Maison Carrée at Nîmes. It is about 80 ft. long and 50 ft. wide. In front are six Corinthian columns crowned with an entablature

and pediment, and on each side six detached columns, with two pilasters in rear attached to the cella. The whole is placed upon a stylobate, to which twelve steps ascend in front. The temple stood on a forum, some of the pavement of which has been recently uncovered. An illustration of this elegant structure is given.

At ORANGE, the ancient Aransio, some grand Roman remains exist; the most imposing of which is, we think, the elevation of the procenium of the theatre. It was a large building, the seats were arranged in tiers as in an Amphitheatre except that these extended only to a half circle the other half being appropriated to the actors, &c. This building was constructed to accommodate 16,000 spectators. But the finest relic in an artistic point of view, Mr. Mac Gibbon says, is the Triumphal Arch. It has been ascribed to Tiberius A.D. 21, but the author considers that its style and ornament forbid this conclusion. It is covered with sculpture of a high class. It had suffered much damage but Mr. Mac Gibbon is able to say that "The work of restoration has been executed with great care and success. The west side has been almost rebuilt, but with plain stone, applied merely for the purpose of preserving the rest. No attempt has been made to imitate the old work, and what remains of the ancient structure is not scraped and polished up, as so often happens in French restorations, whereby the value of the monument, as an example of ancient art, is entirely destroyed." Alas! the evil here referred to is not confined to France. It is rampant in our own country, and has been for half a century. Would that our so-called "restorers" would learn the lesson here taught them! The architecture of the buildings at Orange as elsewhere is very particularly described, but for these details we must refer the reader to Mr. Mac Gibbon's pages. At CARPENTRAS not far from Orange is another triumphal arch, more simple in design than that last mentioned. It has only one arch which is supported by fluted pilasters with composite capitals. The upper parts above the arch are destroyed. Some sculptures remain on the sides representing captives chained to trophies. The bas-reliefs are in very bold projection and are remarkable, in that distant objects are characterized by a sunk line around them. "This style of emphasizing shadows and outlines, and also the method of doing so by means of holes drilled round objects, is common," the author says "in the sculpture of the lower Empire."

At St. REMY, also, are the ruins of a grand triumphal arch of the same type, and a well preserved mausoleum. The arch has only one opening flanked by fluted columns of which the capitals are gone. On each side of the arch are well-sculptured bas-reliefs representing captives in chains accompanied by women. The Archivolt is admired by Mérimée, which he calls a garland of fruit and flowers. He is of opinion from the great analogy of style between the various Triumphal Arches of Provence; that those at Orange, St. Remy and Carpentras were erected at the same epoch and to celebrate the same event: namely, the victories of Marcus Aurelius in Germany.

ARLES, the ancient Arelata, the famous capital of Roman Gaul, is supposed to have been founded by the Greeks from Massilia before the time of Cæsar. There are here the remains of a magnificent Amphitheatre. The walls form a complete circuit and a large part of the seats still exist. It is in the shape of an ellipse and measures 459 feet in length, 341 feet in breadth and is calculated to accommodate 26,000

spectators. Many relics have been found at Arles and the Amphitheatre and some beautiful objects are figured.

NIMES, to which we pass on, is situated at the base of the hills which bound the plain of the Rhone. It formed the capital of the Voices *Arecomiques* (or inhabitants of the flat country). In 121 B.C. it voluntarily submitted to Rome, and a few years B.C. Augustus planted a Colony here, and it became an important town with walls and towers. In 447 A.D. it was ravaged by the Vandals, and a few years later fell into the hands of the Visigoths, who made the Amphitheatre their fortress. This structure is not so fine as that at Arles, nor is the interior so well preserved, but the exterior is more complete. It measures 437 ft. by 332 with 32 rows of seats, which would accommodate 20,000 people. It is now well seen in consequence of the removal of mean buildings which surrounded it. Its architectural character is well described. A very large part of the ornament is left in block, according to the usual practice of the Romans, until the completion of the structure. The gem, however, of Nimes is the *Maison Carrée* before mentioned (p. 85), as surpassing the temple of Augustus and Livia at Vienna. The *Maison Carrée* is thought to be, possibly, the most pure piece of Roman work beyond the Alps. It is fully described and beautifully figured.

THE *PORT DU GARD* is a magnificent specimen of Roman Engineering. It is situated about 13 miles N.E. from Nimes on the way to Avignon, and formed a portion of the Aqueduct, partly in tunnel and partly in open canal, of about 25 miles in length, for supplying water to Nimes, and was built by M. Agrippa, son-in-law of Augustus 19 years B.C.

"Roman remains," Mr. MacGibbon remarks, "are found very capriciously in Southern Gaul. While a small provincial town like Nimes possesses so many splendid examples, the great ancient cities of *Marseilles* and *Narbonne* have scarcely a single relic of their Greek or Roman civilization left." This section of the volume, referring to the fine series of Roman structures which we have been contemplating, concludes with the remark that it is not till we reach Verona, or Rome itself are monuments to be found comparable with the amphitheatres of Arles and Nimes, or the theatre at Orange, and there is no temple, even in Rome, so complete and so striking in its unity and spirit as the *Maison Carrée* at Nimes.

In Chapter V. Mr. MacGibbon treats of the architecture of the Roman transition period. He says:—"The transition from the architecture of Roman to that of *Medieval* times forms one of the most interesting and instructive epochs in our art. The whole history of Roman architecture is that of a transition from the external *trabeated* style, with its horizontal *entablatures*, to the complete development of the internal *arched* architecture, which was the final outcome of Roman constructional forms." He says:—"The leading features of that *Italo-Greek* architecture contains a reminiscence, or survival, of the primitive elements of a wood construction, and points out the identity of the elements in structures, in wood, and in stone." For his explanation we must refer the reader to his pages. The *trabeated* system was gradually superseded by the use of the arch, which, from its previously obscure application to vaults, drains, &c., was advanced to external use in elevations in combination with elements of the *trabeated* style, and together formed that architectural method of which the Romans were such masters. This combined use

may be seen in all the best Roman structures, as in triumphal arches flanked by pilasters, and amphitheatres with rounded wall openings, combined with trabeated decorations in the form of horizontal entablatures and pediments on engaged columns or pilasters. A fine example of this mixed style is shown in the church of San Miniato (figured, p. 101.) The arch also was introduced into the interior in vaulting as well as for other purposes; and, in course of time, the trabeated elements gradually disappeared.

Mr. MacGibbon in treating of the plan of the early Christian churches scarcely accepts the traditional belief that their apsidal termination was derived from the Roman basilica, and that, in fact, in many instances, upon the adoption of Christianity, the basilicas themselves had been converted to Christian worship. "The basilica had, no doubt," he says, "the form of a pillared hall with central and side-aisles, the former lighted by a clerestory, but it had no apse, or if it had one it did not occupy the prominent position of that feature in the early churches." He does not specifically accept the theory of Professor Baldwin Brown, as stated in the Professor's *From Schola to Cathedral*, which Mr. MacGibbon has placed before his readers whose theory is that, as the domed baptisteries, so frequently built in connection with early Christian churches were derived from the memorial cells used alike by pagans and Christians in the cemeteries, so the apsidal churches were imitations of the Scholæ, or halls of meeting of private societies, and that the Christian burial-gilds like other gilds, were allowed by the Emperors to have their scholæ. Mr. MacGibbon does not assent to, or reject, this new theory, but passes on with.—"However this may be,"—and we shall do the same, and leave the consideration of this interesting question to experts who are better qualified to deal with it. "However this may be," Mr. MacGibbon says: "the type of the early Christian church or basilica presented to view an elongated hall, with two or four rows of pillars, dividing it into three or five aisles, with a lofty triumphal arch at the end of the central nave, leading into an open space raised some steps higher than the nave, and in which stood the altar. Beyond this was the invariable apse with its semi-domed ceiling adorned with mosaics, and containing, elevated by a few steps above the floor, the throne of the Bishop and the seats of the Presbytera."

Mr. MacGibbon says "there is every reason to believe that this was the usual form of the early churches in the west, and that in Rome such churches have been preserved or restored." He mentions also the exceedingly interesting church of San Vitale at Ravenna, but whether this was designed as a monument or a church is uncertain. It is octagonal and domed, very much after the style of the temple of Minerva Medica and similar Roman structures. He says "San Vitale has a special interest from its having formed the model adopted by Charlemagne for the church which he erected at Aix-la-Chapelle to serve also as his own mausoleum," and he remarks, "that it constitutes an example of Roman design reproduced in Ravenna under the late Empire, as a Christian structure, and again serving as a mediæval mausoleum as late as the eighth century," which shows distinctly the continuity of Roman design and its direct influence on the art of later times.

The style of the Romanesque in Provence was greatly influenced by Byzantine art and the early use of vaulting in the Provençal churches

is another striking characteristic in the architecture of the district. A good example is shown in Toulouse Cathedral, an illustration of the interior of which is given. Another remarkable feature in this church is the early use of the pointed arch in the vaulting, windows, and in other details. Moreover no trace of the trabeate element is apparent. The introduction of the pointed arch in the north of France did not arise until long afterwards, and it is remarkable that when it did come into use there, it was discontinued, at least for a while, in the south, and the round arch adopted in preference.

After the introduction of Gothic Architecture in northern France in 1174 on the building of the Abbey church of St. Denys its rapid and extensive development was very remarkable. Within a century afterwards it had reached its highest excellence and was found in most of the great cathedrals of that region. Nor was the style confined to ecclesiastical structures. It extended to every class of buildings, for, as Mr. MacGibbon observes, "it is one of the characteristics of Gothic that it is available for every variety of architectural requirement. It is a free and natural style, not subject to arbitrary rules, but ready to apply itself in the simplest and most direct manner to all human wants in the way of building."

The architecture of the South became influenced by various disturbing causes. The Riviera, or Mediterranean littoral, fell into the power of the Genoese and of the French. The former introduced the elements of Italian Gothic, and the latter flamboyant work, and the Roman classic still lingered on. How much these influences affected the architecture of the district which we have under review is shown by the remains yet existing, or by studying the description and illustrations given in Mr. MacGibbon's very interesting work, to which we must refer the reader, for we have already exceeded the space assigned to us. We, therefore, can only give a brief and hasty sketch of the Author's second journey.

After describing LYONS, and the mediæval buildings there, the Author pursued his journey, as before, down the river Rhone. VALENÇON is visited, which is not very rich in architectural remains. The Cathedral Mr. MacGibbon considers is of the twelfth century and shows some special features of the influence of the style of Auvergne. Thence to CRUAS and the ancient Cistercian Abbey, the chapel of which, built in the same century, shews the simple style of the Cistercian fashion. Further on is AVIGNON, which, in 1308, became for more than a century the seat of the Roman Pontiffs. The Palace of the Popes is situated on the top of an abrupt rock, on the summit of which stands the Church of Notre Dame des Doms, a building of great interest, composed of Roman and arcuated work combined. Most of the present palaces, however, were built in the fourteenth century. Of this structure, and of the town, a very interesting description is given. The Church of Tarascon was originally built in the twelfth century, and re-edified in the fourteenth. The south porch is of the earlier date and is a beautiful example of the Provençal style, showing the mixed character of the details of the style. The round and octagonal nook-shafts have caps partly copied from the Corinthian and partly carved with Romanesque figures. The numerous fine mouldings of the arch contain a curious mixture of Roman and mediæval ornaments in the classic combined with the dog-tooth enrichments. The small arcade above with alternate fluted pilasters and

round shafts all finished with enriched caps resting on a cornice supported on carved heads have an advanced Romanesque appearance, of which a good illustration is given.

In the castle is an example of the southern square tower with the northern round form, while the details are all of the northern character. It was erected in the fourteenth century. At **ARLES** the principal mediæval edifice is the church of St. Trophime—a large and important structure exhibiting examples of all the peculiarities of Provençal architecture, on a complete and extensive scale. The west portico is particularly fine, and is of the same style as the porch at Tarascon above mentioned, though much finer. It is well illustrated. The cloisters of the church are very splendid and are also illustrated. St. GILLES has a still more splendid portal of the same character of those at Arles and Tarascon. St. Gilles was the chief priory of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. At **MARSEILLES** few relics are found of Roman or mediæval structures. Of the latter the most remarkable is the church of St. Victor, in which is an instance of the partial adoption of the Gothic of the south, and an attempt to combine Gothic details with southern structural features. The church of St. Sauveur at **AIX-EN-PROVENCE** was built in 1103. The architecture resembles that of Notre Dame des Doms at Avignon. We find the same fluted Corinthian columns and cornice of Roman enrichments and arched openings between. The small engaged columns with twisted and fluted shafts and straight arched lintel are, however, Mr. MacGibbon remarks, restorations of the twelfth century. The cloisters are an admirable work of art.

Irrespective of Mr. MacGibbon's description of the architecture of the countries of which he treats his historical sketches are of much interest and value. We have greatly exceeded the usual space at our command, and without touching upon the mediæval architecture of the Riviera must close this notice. If, however the Editor will courteously allow us the requisite room in the next number of the *Journal*, we shall be pleased to add a second brief notice of that portion of Mr. MacGibbon's instructive and valuable work.

Archaeological Journal.

JUNE, 1889.

BAMBURGH CASTLE.

By GEO. T. CLARK.

Whatever may be the value of the patriotic boast that

“Britannia needs no bulwarks, no towers along the steep,”

she is not altogether unprovided in this respect, and Dover on the south and Bamburgh on the north, have been from remote, and probably from pre-historic times, fortresses by nature almost impregnable, and rendered completely so, in proper hands, by art.

Nature has indeed done much for Bamburgh, but art has there done ample justice to nature. Bamburgh has been compared to Windsor and to Dover, and the comparisons are not to its disadvantage. It resembles Windsor in its length of front and in the position of its keep, a massy, lofty, and central structure, not inferior even to the celebrated Round Tower of the royal fortress. Of oaks and elms and velvet turf it cannot boast, but it has the wide waste of waters on the one hand, and the broad and highly cultivated lands of Northumbria on the other, and the roving Anglander who first fixed upon the rock as his residence, probably found the pathless ocean more to his taste, and productive of richer spoils, than the glades of even a Norwegian forest.

With Dover the northern hold has more in common. Less lofty indeed, and in area less extended, Bamburgh is by no means its inferior in strength of position, and is far beyond it in that stern and savage grandeur that so well becomes a fortress exposed to the fury of a turbulent ocean. Its walls seem to form a part of the rifted face of a great mass of basalt, a fragment of the vast sheet of Plutonic rock spread partially over Northumberland, and

the eastern edge of which forming the reefs and islands of Farne, renders all approach from the sea difficult and dangerous.

The basalt, black, intensely hard, and more or less columnar in its structure, is here about 75 feet thick, and rests upon a substratum of sandstone, the line of junction being a little above the level of high water. The platform, entirely occupied by the castle, includes an area of about three acres, large enough not only to accommodate a very strong garrison, but to afford protection to the adjacent villagers and husbandmen, who are recorded to have found shelter there during the not infrequent raids from Scotland. It is, naturally, precipitous all round, but with faces varying considerably in height. That to the landward retains its original cliff of 50 feet, unbroken, and predominates far and wide over moor and fen and not unproductive corn-land, but that towards the sea, naturally lower, is choked up by a mass of blown sand, which at one time threatened to overwhelm the castle, and had to be removed by art.

No inhabitant of these regions, in times when every man's hand was lifted against his neighbour, could afford to neglect a position so secure by nature, and fortunately so, since the bare scalp of rock would afford little material for any primitive defences, and any sort of fosse would be both unnecessary, and with the tools of a savage people, impracticable. Hence there is no trace of early occupation, nor of the works which are said to have been thrown up in the sixth century, and as to the exact character of which there is much doubt. In truth, however, no work, short of masonry, and that of a superior character, could long stand against the rude septentrion blasts from the German ocean.

The history of Bamburgh, though dating from so early a period as the sixth century, includes but few events of more than local interest, although the rock was for more than five centuries the chief seat of an important province, and was besides closely associated with Aidan the apostle of Northumbria and Oswald its Bretwald and its earliest martyr.

It is still a vexed question when, or even about what period the Northmen began to invade the shores of Britain,

or in what parts, from pirates and plunderers, first became owners of land, and collected their family settlements into provinces and kingdoms. It was however certainly a very early settlement that took the name and place of the Celtic province of Bryneich or Bernicia, a tract extending from the Forth to the Tyne, or it may be to the Tees, with a seaboard open to the still-arriving hordes from the loins of the North. All who so came were doubtless welcome, for besides the Picts and Scots from beyond the Forth the province lay open along its whole western length to the kingdom of Strath-Clwydd, at that time held by the remnant of the Britons with even more than their wonted bravery and tenacity. Never were these qualities made manifest more brilliantly than on the field of Cattrath, and in the person of Urien Rheged, a battle and a hero fortunate in that they have been commemorated in enduring verse by such masters of patriotic song as Aneurin, Llwarch hên, and Taliesin.

It was towards the middle of the sixth century, in the thick of the struggle between the rival races, those battles unjustly called of "kites and crows," but which were the making of the English nation, that Ida, son of Eoppa, tenth in descent from Woden, arrived with a strong body of Angles in forty ships upon the shores of Bernicia. He landed north of the Tweed, but speedily overcame or made common cause with his Jutish predecessors, and took possession of and identified himself with the rock known to the Britons as Dinguearoy, and to the Jutes as Cynclibanberg or "the royal dwelling" and afterwards

" castrum a priscis jax nomine dictum "

as Bebbanburgh, so called, according to Bede, from Bebba, the queen probably of Aethelfrith, the grandson of Ida. In what condition Ida found the place we are not told; Gaimar describes it as even then a royal seat, and Ida's work as a restoration.

" Ida rescut Northumberland.
 Sachez co fu li primers reis.
 Ki la tenist del lin d'Engleis.
 Icist Ida dusze anz regna,
 E Baenburc ben restora."

He enclosed, it appears, the place with a hedge and

afterwards with a wall. "He timbrode Bebbanburh, seo was aerost mid hegge betyned har aeftermid wealle." Not certainly what we now understand by a hedge, for no thorn, even blessed by St. Joseph himself, would flourish on that weather-beaten crest; nor indeed was that or any other defence needed upon the greater part of the circuit. We may suppose the hedge to have been a palisade of timber, confined to the lower part of the cliff about the present entrance, and the wall reinforcing it to have been without cement, such as the Vikings sometimes employed with considerable skill in their sepulchres.

Nennius, who barely mentions Ida, says of his grandson Eadfered (Ethelfrith) Flesaura, that he reigned 12 years in Bernicia, and as long in Deira, A.D. 593-616, and gave to his wife Dingué-Aroy, called also from her, Bebbanburh. The fame of Ida has been proclaimed by his Celtic adversaries, who mention him only as "Flamddwyn," or "the Flamebearer," from the conflagrations that accompanied his progress. Though described, not unnaturally, by the Celtic bards as always overthrown, he was on the whole, victorious, and "semper armatus et laboriosus," closed his reign in battle, having consolidated Bernicia into a powerful kingdom which he transmitted to his descendants, of whom Eadwin gave name to Edwinesburgh or Edinburgh, and under whom Bernicia and Deira became the Northumberland of the Saxons, and finally an integral and very important part of the realm of England.

Although there is no continuous history of Bamburgh, it is occasionally mentioned in the chronicles as the scene of considerable local events, and it certainly continued to be the seat of the rulers of the province. Penda, the opponent and conqueror of Oswald, laid siege to the place in A.D. 642. It seems he collected fuel far and wide, and piled it up; probably in front of the works in timber, covering the entrance. The Pagan chief, however, reckoned without the Saint whom he had outraged, and at the prayer of St. Aidan the wind shifted, and the fire was kindled in vain. Above half a century later, A.D. 710, a second attack also failed, when Eadulf, the usurper of Northumberland strove to get possession of its lord, Osred, son of the Northumbrian Alfred, a boy under the

charge of Berthfried his guardian. Forty years later, A.D. 750, King Eadberht here imprisoned Bishop Kynwolf of Lindisfarne, and kept him here thirty years.

The next considerable mention of Bamburgh was in A.D. 866-7, when the Danes, then holding York, laid waste the country from Whitby to Melrose and forced the Bishop to leave Lindisfarne, and seek a safer resting place for the remains of St. Cuthbert. Later on, A.D. 924-6, Athelstan, the founder of the English monarchy having destroyed the castle of York, the mound of which still remains, dispossessed Ealdred from Bamburgh, and having defeated the Danes at Brunenburgh, added Northumberland to his kingdom, and established it as a Saxon earldom.

The next assailants of the fortress in force were again the Danes who, A.D. 993, having failed in their attack upon London by the Thames, ascended the Humber, and marching with their usual rapidity upon Bamburgh, found it in the hands of earl Eadulf, an aged man under whom the defences had been neglected, so that the Danes were able to enter by storm, and to obtain thence considerable booty. A few years before this, Lothian, less the castle of Edinburgh, had been ceded to the Scots, and their king, Kenneth, had been escorted by Eadulf to the court of the English Edgar. A little later however, soon after the Danish attack, Eadulf received a hostile visit from the Scots under Malcolm the son of Kenneth. They penetrated, almost unopposed, as far as Durham. Eadulf, unable to take the field in person, confined himself to Bamburgh, while Uchtred his son maintained the family reputation by defeating the Scots and putting them to flight. He died in 1016.

Duke William, on his arrival in England, found Morcar, and after him Copsi, in the Saxon earldom. They were succeeded by Cospatric, and he, in 1068, by Robert Comyn a Norman, whose death at the hands of the people led to William's celebrated march into the North, and to his savage treatment of that country. This was followed by the re-admission of Cospatric into the earldom and his establishment at the castle. During this brief second tenure of office Malcolm again invaded the earldom and reached the mouth of the Wear, and there

welcomed his Saxon relatives who were in flight from William. Cospatric meantime made a counter attack upon Malcolm's western territory, and returned thence laden with spoil to Bamburgh.

Bamburgh was next held by Waltheof, and after an episcopal interval, by Alberic whom genealogists have tried to establish as the de Vere ancestor, and then by Geoffrey Mowbray, bishop of Coutances, supported and succeeded by his nephew Robert Mowbray, the head of a most turbulent family. Robert, who had supported Rufus against his brother Robert, finding himself in a distant and independent position, played the robber baron at the expense of some Swedish merchants who had landed on his shores. The Red King summoned him to answer to their complaints. Robert declined to obey and garrisoned his castles. The King could not afford to pass by a defiance from such a quarter, and marched against the Earl, took Tynmouth and Newcastle, held by his brother, and laid siege in person to Bamburgh. A few particulars of the siege are preserved by Oderic.

An assault was out of the question, and Mowbray, a man of great personal strength and stature, was a bold and experienced captain. Rufus therefore laid out a regular camp, of which it is probable the traces remain in the fields south of the village, and within this he constructed a large tower of timber called in the Chronicle a "Malvoisin." The term, in mediæval warfare, is usually applied to a tower, also of timber, but placed upon small strong wheels, on which it could be pushed up to within a few feet of a castle wall, and from it a plank bridge be let fall upon the ramparts. Such a work was here impracticable. The cliff with the wall upon it was much too high for such an attempt, and the ground at the foot of the cliff far too steep. The "Malvoisin" was probably intended as a precaution against a sally from the garrison and as an intimation that the besiegers were prepared to undertake a blockade. It also would increase the power of throwing light projectiles over the walls.

Earl Robert, secure in the strength of his fortress and probably having a free communication with the sea, could afford to despise all open attacks. His enemy therefore had recourse to stratagem. A letter was written inviting

the earl to come to Newcastle, and pointing out how that castle might be retaken. In consequence Mowbray left Bamburgh with an escort of thirty knights and rode towards Newcastle. When nearly there he was attacked, wounded, and taken, and Rufus, who had left for the south, directed him to be brought before the walls of the castle, with the threat that unless it was instantly surrendered his eyes should be put out. Upon this, his wife, Matilda L'Aigle, and his kinsman and Lieutenant, Morell, gave way. Mowbray was imprisoned for life, Matilda allowed to find another husband, and Morell took service with the King. Bamburgh thus fell into the hands of the Crown and so remained, with some trifling intervals, castle and manor, for several centuries.

Bamburgh now appears in the Public records. Its castle-guard and other services were paid to the Crown, and the expenses incurred on its account are met by the sheriff and charged in the roll of the pipe. Various manors are named as held of the Crown and lands are granted in Bamburghshire. The Churches of St. Oswald and St. Andrew were given by Henry I to the Priory of Nostell, and in a later inquisition, 17 John, they are called "Baenburc church and chapel, attached to St. Oswald-Nostell juxta Pontefract:" but the parish church is dedicated to St. Aidan, and there are now three chapelries. Also a cell or sub-priory seems to have been founded. The castle and manor were placed in charge of a constable under whom all works were carried on, estimates of their cost being first certified by a jury.

Bamburgh did not stand alone as the property of the Crown. Wark at times, Berwick and Newcastle always, were regarded as royal castles, but Durham remained in the possession of the bishops, as did Norham, the keep of which, built by bishop Flambard in 1121, rivalled Bamburgh in size and strength. Newcastle had been provided with a Norman keep in 1080, and Carlisle in 1092. The particulars of Tynmouth and Harbottle castles are unknown. Prudhoe, an Umfraville castle, has a Norman keep. Wark had a shell keep on a mound, but the great Saxon burh, wholly artificial, a short distance north of Coldstream, did not receive any Norman additions.

The charges for works at Bamburgh lie very thick about the first half of the reign of Henry II, when [1169, 16 H. II] William son of Waldef was fined for refusing help to the king's work at the castle, and afterwards paid to have a respite concerning it. The internal evidence of the keep coincides generally with this period to which it may very probably be attributed.

There is no regular list of the castellans, they only appear from time to time in the Pipe, Patent, and Close rolls. The artizans employed are named from their trades, as Osbert cementarius, Philip carpentarius, Adam faber, Robert janitor etc.

There being no standing army, and the royal revenue being often levied with great difficulty, the royal castles were usually left with but small garrisons, often just enough to close the gates, and when a war was impending repairs were hastily and imperfectly executed, and mercenaries hired as a garrison. Still the continual danger from Scottish raids, caused more than usual attention to be paid to the Border castles.

On the accession of Stephen, when David of Scotland overran Northumberland, Bamburgh held out. It was besieged, and a part of the wall thrown down, but it was not taken, and when, after the battle of the Standard, David of Scotland was allowed the earldom, Bamburgh was at first withheld. It would seem however that Prince Henry of Scotland obtained it, since one of his charters in 1147 is dated thence. He may have retained it until his death in 1153, when it was again in the possession of the English Crown.

Soon after his accession Henry II visited the north as far as Wark, where works were in progress, but there is no evidence that he was at Bamburgh. It is probable that by 1174 the keep and exterior walls were completed and that the castle was thus able to resist the Scottish invasion which was fatal to Appleby and Brougham, where the keeps are of somewhat later date, and resisted by those, somewhat earlier, of Prudhoe and Carlisle. It was at the close of this expedition that William of Scotland was taken prisoner before Alnwick.

During the reign of Richard, Bamburgh seems to have remained unassailed; but it was included in the sale of

the earldom to Bishop Pudsey, on whose death the impetuous monarch offered it, but without Bamburgh, to William of Scotland. Nothing, however was concluded. Mr. Hodgson Hinde has discovered that, at the accession of Richard, Roger Hoveden, who is one of the authorities for the particulars of the castle, was one of the two justices holding forest pleas in Northumberland and Cumberland. At this time the men of Bamburgh are set down at £9, 3s, 4d. as a gift to the king. The repairs are continued through the reign and when John came to the throne, the king's houses were repaired and the castle was provisioned with pork and wine. King John, that most locomotive of sovereigns, was here 13th, 14th, and 15th of February, 1201, and again, 28 January 1213, when he dated a letter to the Emperor Otho from hence. When John's misgovernment tempted Alexander to cross the border to promote an English rebellion, Bamburgh remained faithful. Nevertheless the reign of Alexander is honourably remembered for the attempt then made for the first time to establish a general though rough code of laws for the border, to which either nation could appeal with some chance of being listened to.

Henry III was here in March 1221, when a grange or barn was ordered to be constructed within the castle, 180 ft by 34 ft, for which timber was supplied from the forest. In times of danger balisterii and soldiers were provided, and cross-bows and quarrell-bolts, bacons and wine were supplied. Sometimes the stores of wheat and wine suffered from keeping and were ordered to be sold, and fresh supplies purchased, but always under proper inquisitions and certificates. No doubt the greater part of the cost of the works was in labour and materials, which do not to any great extent appear in the sheriff's accounts.

Under Henry the expenditure was continued. Smiths' work and carpenters' work went on; balistæ of horn and of wood were supplied, and a thousand quarrells for ammunition. In 1221 Robert de Lexington, a justice, informs Hubert de Burgh that the Border was tranquil. Meantime the gutters of the keep were to be put in order, and the lodgings, the great gate, and its drawbridge were ordered to be repaired, and the stores of corn and wine to be replaced. The king's tower was to be covered with

lead, and the mill and mill-pool attended to, and so all through the reign to its end in 1272. Henry founded a House of Friars Preachers in Bamburgh towards the close of his reign.

Edward I does not appear to have visited Bamburgh, unless when in 1296 he summoned Baliol to attend him there, and on his neglecting to obey, marched to Edinburgh and made him prisoner. Under Edward II Roger de Horseley was castellan, but Edward committed the castle to Isabella de Bellomont, widow of John de Vesci, "cum tronagio Regis ibidem" that is with the royal toll on the weights of wool, but for this she was to pay £110 per annum. Probably she did not reside here, for in 1315 Horseley seized upon certain provisions on their way to the garrison of Berwick, the contents of a ship cast ashore below the castle, a breach of the law for which he was called to account.

Bamburgh was a part of the dower of Isabella, queen of Edward II and it was thither that Gaveston was sent, a nominal prisoner, in 1311, to be transferred to Scarborough just before his death. It was probably under the dictation of the Barons that in that year an ordinance provided "Que le chastel de Bambourgh soit seisi en la maynes le roi sicom l'ordeynment veut." A few years later, 12 Ed. II the burgesses of Bamburgh and other crown tenants under the castle petition to be allowed to continue in their lodgings within the castle with remission of rent, their lands having been wasted by the Scots. This was granted, as were similar petitions from the other tenants. No doubt they had been allowed to erect temporary buildings in the lower ward. In 1323 the queen was here, and the castle seems to have been threatened by the Scots; a movement intended to divert the king from an attack on Berwick.

There is no special mention of Bamburgh during the reign of Edward III save that in 1334-5 the Earl of Murray, a prisoner at war, was lodged here until his removal to York, costing altogether £32, so that the castle was then inhabited, though probably not much more, for 86 Ed. III it appears that the "fons" in the great tower was corrupted by butcher's offal thrown into it in the time of Richard Pembridge. On the accession of

Richard II Parliament prayed that Bamburgh and other castles might be put in order. In this reign mention is made of three springs of sweet water belonging to the burgesses of the Vill; Wyderwell, Edgewell, and Maudlynwell.

In the war of the Roses, as the conflict moved northwards, Bamburgh came within its sphere. After the battle of Towton in 1461, when Queen Margaret sought assistance on the continent, and returned with 2000 auxiliaries, she landed first at Tynmouth, but finding herself unsafe there, re-embarked for Berwick. In the passage her lieutenant, Pierre de Bracy or Brézé, was driven ashore under Bamburgh and had to flee on foot to Holy Island, with the loss of 400 men. The Queen however recovered Bamburgh, which was held by the Yorkists till after the battle of Hexham, in May 1464, when Sir Ralph Gray fled thither from the field, and was besieged by the Earl of Warwick, who battered down a portion of the wall which fell upon and nearly killed Sir Ralph. The castle was given up and Henry Percy, afterwards Earl of Northumberland, had charge of it. He also abused his privilege of right of wreck by plundering a Scottish vessel cast upon that inhospitable shore.

Neither Henry VII nor his successor seem to have paid much attention to the border fortresses, and Bamburgh probably became ruinous. There was however a Captain, and from time to time the Warden of the Marches was admonished to keep his castles in proper order. In 1552 Sir John Horseley is to see to the castle beacon, and in 1587 Lord Wharton is to look to the general defences.

At the Dissolution John Forster got a share of the Bamburgh church lands and the family established themselves at Edderstone in the parish, and took an active part in the defence of the Marches; but there are complaints that the Captain does not reside in the castle, and finally John Forster got a grant of both castle and manor from James II. The family adhered to the Stuart cause, and in 1715 Thomas Forster joined the rebels and forfeited his estates.

Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, had married a sister of Thomas Forster, and at her instance he purchased the forfeited estate, and founded the beneficent trust which

bears his name, and is still in full activity. It would seem that Lord Crewe found the castle a mere ruin, and nearly covered up with blown sand which had choked up the keep and covered the remains of the chapel. This must have been going forward for a considerable time, for when the sand was removed in 1770 the well and the chapel were looked upon as discoveries.

Happily for the success of the trust Dr. Sharp, Archdeacon of Northumberland had a seat at the Board. Under his active care the sand was cleared out, the keep made habitable, and the great hall and lodgings fitted up and converted to their present uses.

DESCRIPTION.

The rock rises from 120 to 150 ft. above low water, for its surface though smooth, is not level, the central part on which the keep stands being the highest, and the extremities from 10 to 30 ft. lower. The area is long and narrow, being about 406 yds. long by, at the broadest, 100 yds. and at the north end much narrower. The whole area was contained within an exterior curtain wall, which towards the sea has decayed and been replaced by modern masonry capable of carrying guns and connected with a signal battery. It includes about 3 acres. Along the western or land front part of the curtain is original, though it has been sorely breached and battered and where necessary rebuilt. Its lower 20 to 30 ft. is built as a revetment against the rock, but above the interior surface it rises sometimes as a parapet, but more generally as a lofty wall supporting the domestic buildings, or as a mere plain curtain of 20 to 25 ft. high.

Upon this front are four half round towers or rather bastions, since they rise but slightly about the curtain. One, the largest, caps the junction of the main with a cross wall; a second, of no great size, is placed opposite to the keep, and two others are connected with the domestic buildings; that nearest the great gate commanding the approach. Between these last are two rectangular towers, also connected with the buildings. The keep is the grand and central figure of the group, rising far above the whole. It is difficult to exaggerate the grandeur of this landward front, the rock, and the curtain which seems to be a part of it, extending nearly a fifth of

a mile, with a height of from 130 to 150 ft. above the plain, and the rude massy keep rising some 70 ft. higher.

The area is divided into three wards, of which the upper or southern contains the ancient Entrance by steps, the Chapel, and the Lodgings or domestic buildings. The Keep stood upon a cross wall, now removed, dividing the upper from the middle ward, and this again is divided from the northern or lower ward by a cross wall, strengthened by a half-round tower with prolonged sides, and a gateway which has undergone restoration.

The main entrance is at the south end through a sort of barbican, between two half-round towers, once protected by a drawbridge, and duly portcullised. Entering, on the left, the ancient entrance, a steep narrow flight of steps cut in the rock, ascends to the ward above. The main entrance is continued, ascending, and having on its left the precipitous rock crested by the wall of the upper ward. The road thus reaches a second gateway, also strongly fortified, and is continued between the ward curtain on the left and a partial outer or seaward wall on the right, until it reaches the level of the middle ward, when it turns abruptly to the left, and through a gateway, long since removed, reached the upper ward, and the entrance to the keep.

This upper ward is protected towards the sea by an outer curtain, commanding the roadway just described. Along its west or landward side are placed the domestic dwellings, arranged against the wall, and overlooking the cliff. Nearest to the keep are some vaults, possibly for prisons. Then what may have been retiring rooms from the hall, and next the hall itself, 57 ft by 30 ft, having four windows and a door towards the court, and probably having had as many windows towards the cliff. Beyond the hall are butteries, and between them a curious vaulted passage leading to the kitchen and to a small chamber, probably a cellar. Other buildings extend towards the main entrance. These domestic dwellings have formerly been allowed to fall into ruin, and they have been restored, added to, partitioned and plastered, so that though most of the old walls, passages, and vaults remain, the whole has been so disguised that but little accurate knowledge

of the old arrangement can, at present, be obtained. The interiors of the mural towers have, however, been but little altered, and there remains a curious balcony or parapetted passage between two of the towers, commanding the exterior approach. There is no very evident Norman work in these buildings, they probably range from Henry III. to Edward II.

The chapel stood detached near the south end of the ward, at the head of the steps. It lies east and west, and was composed of a long narrow nave, 56 ft. by 12 ft. having a small door. An eastern archway opened into the choir, 15 ft. by 16 ft., beyond which was an apse, semi-circular, with prolonged sides and strengthened externally by flat pilasters of which the bases remain. The chapel is nearly levelled to the ground, and its existence, long forgotten, was only discovered late in the last century on the removal of a heap of blown sand. It is late Norman of about the age of the keep, but the apse and perhaps the choir, are the older parts, though not by much. The choir seems to have had a small south door.

The keep stands between the upper and middle wards, being entered from the former. It stood in the line of a cross wall, now removed, in which a gate, as has been mentioned, communicated with the middle ward.

The middle ward was divided from the lower ward by a strong cross wall or curtain pierced by a strong gateway now rebuilt. Near this, upon the wall, is a small half round tower, with prolonged sides. At the west end of this wall, where it joins the main curtain, is a three-quarter tower or bastion.

The lower ward, somewhat triangular in figure, is protected along its western front by the curtain, here of great height and strength, against which modern storerooms and stables have been built. In this wall is a small postern from which a steep narrow flight of steps descends into a sort of small outwork, intended to cover the postern and to give a safe passage to a spring of fresh water. This ward is at present very weakly defended towards the sea front. Probably an attack in force was not apprehended on this quarter. There do not seem to have been any detached buildings of a permanent character in either of

these two wards, they were no doubt intended for the barracks of mercenaries, and for a shelter for the tenants and their cattle on the occurrence, not infrequent, of a Scottish raid.

THE KEEP.

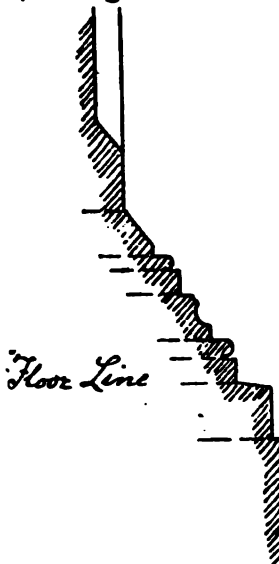
If, on the one hand, Bamburgh, as it now stands, presents nothing that can be attributed to its founder, or even to those who possessed it for the five and a half succeeding centuries, on the other hand the castle, at least in its general aspect, remains pretty much as it stood in the reigns of Henry III, or Edward II.

The predominating feature of the fortress, that by which it is known to those passing within view of it by sea or by land, is its grand central tower, a very fine, and on the whole a very perfect example of a late Norman rectangular keep of the first class, worthy to be named with Hedingham, or Kenilworth, or the tower of London, and resembling the latter, and the keeps of Dover, Lancaster, Newcastle and Appleby, in that it is at present inhabited.

Its base, laid upon a rock, probably but little below the surface, measures 77 ft. 2 in. east and west, by 69 ft. 8 in. north and south, as it will be convenient to describe it, though in truth the north face fronts about E.N.E.

These dimensions include a plinth with a projection of 4 ft. all round, and a height varying with the uneven surface of the rock, but averaging about 5 ft. 6 in. Its mouldings, are not altogether of a Norman character, and have probably been recut when the building was restored in the last century.

Each angle of the structure is capped by a pilaster 12 ft. broad, and of 9 in. projection, meeting at a solid angle, and between them are on the north and south fronts, two pilasters of similar projection, and 6 ft. broad and 11 ft. apart; and upon the east and west fronts a

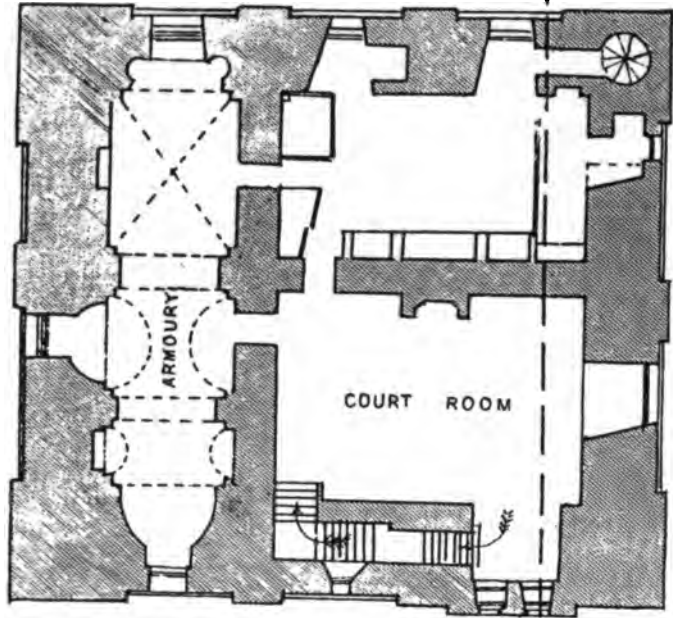


single pilaster, 7 ft. broad, and placed near the centre of each face. The capping pilasters rise vertically, without set off or reduction, 60 ft., to the top level of the intermediate parapets, whence they are continued as turrets, 7 ft. square, to a height of 8 ft. Their parapets have one notch or embrasure on each face, and the parapets of the intervening curtains have four and five each. The six subordinate pilasters retain their breadth, but are set back at two offsets of a foot each, corresponding to sets off or reductions in the wall, into which these pilasters die a little below the base of the parapet. Besides these, usual in such keeps, there is another pilaster 15 ft. broad and also 9 in. deep, placed near the east end of the south front, and carried up to the second floor. In this is placed, at the base, the entrance portal, and above it a pair of round-headed windows, no doubt representing earlier loops. This thickening of the wall to give depth to the portal may be taken as a part of the evidence that the entrance here is original.

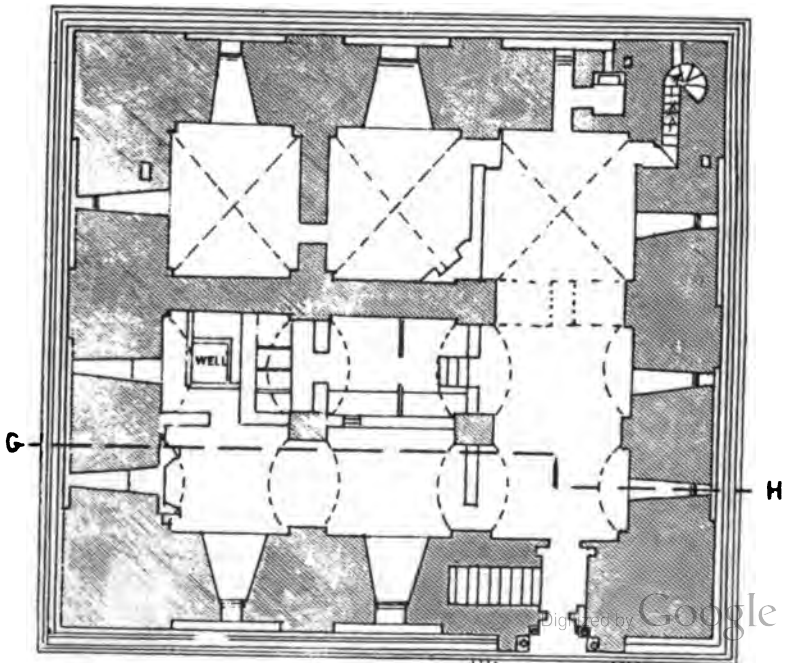
BASEMENT.

The dimensions of the building above the plinth are 61 ft. 8 in. north and south by 69 ft. 2 in. east and west, and the north, east, and west walls are 9 ft. thick, the south wall 9 ft. 4 in. leaving an internal area of 43 ft. 4 in. by 51 ft. 2 ins. This is divided by an E. and W. wall, 4 ft. 6 in. thick, into two unequal portions, the northern 16 ft. the southern 22 ft. 10 in. broad. These again were subdivided, the north part by a cross wall 4 ft. thick, the south wall by two arches springing from a central pier 4 ft. by 3 ft. and from two responds in the walls. Besides these the southern portion was again subdivided by an arcade, running east and west, of three arches. The general result is the subdivision of the basement area into nine bays of which the three northern are nearly 16 ft. square and the six southern are considerably smaller. The bay occupying the N.W. quarter is shut off and is entered by a small original doorway. The rest are either open or divided by modern partitions. The main cross wall, at its east end has been cut away to represent an arch, and thus a small doorway has been removed. The vaults are some groined and some barrel vaulted of differ-

BAMBURGH CASTLE.



1ST FLOOR PLAN.

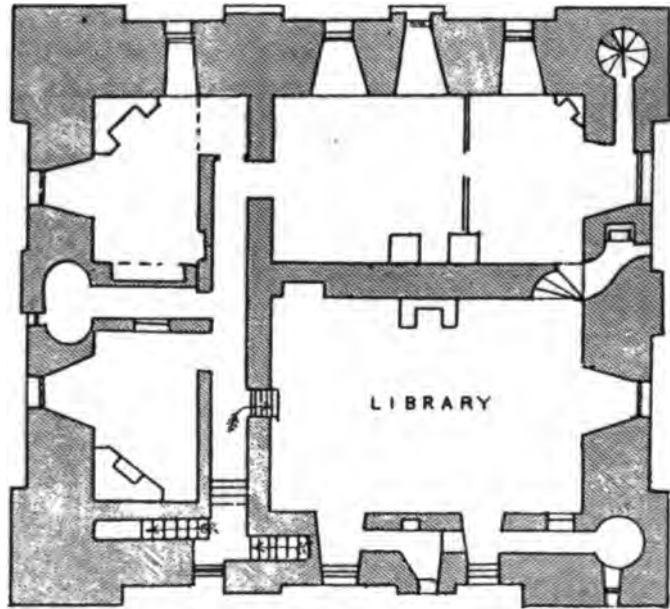


GROUND PLAN

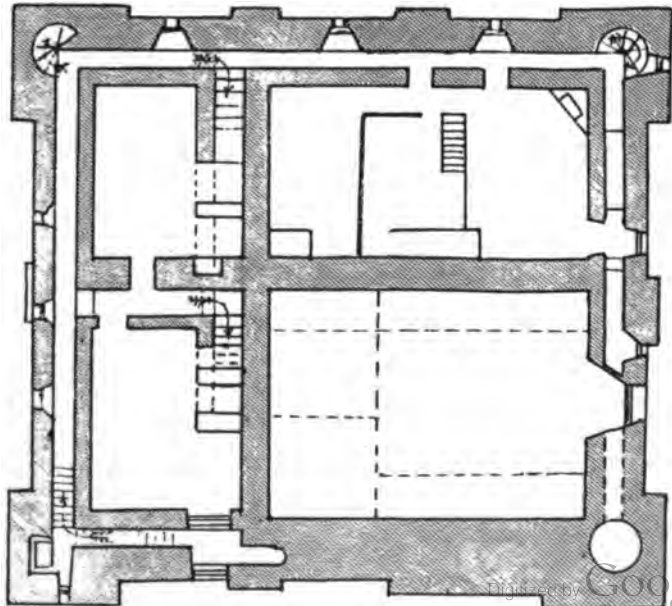
SCALE 80=1 FOOT.



BAMBURGH CASTLE.

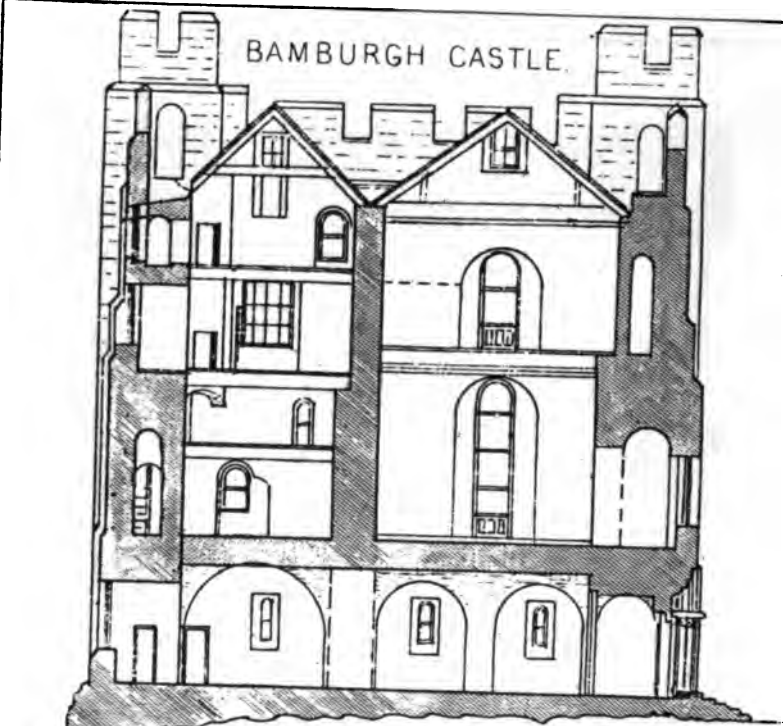


2ND FLOOR PLAN.

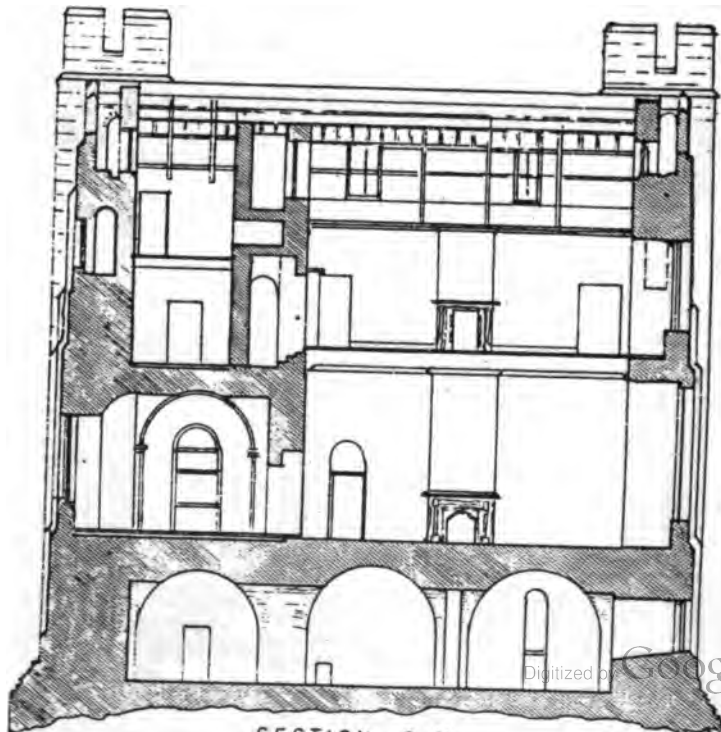


3RD FLOOR PLAN.

BAMBURGH CASTLE.



SECTION E.F.



SECTION G.H.

SCALE 25'-1 FOOT.

ent spans and height, the highest 13 ft. but all round-headed, and all very plain. The piers are rectangular, without caps. In the central western bay is the celebrated well, 150 ft. deep, now disused. The vaults are evidently original, and a fragment of plinth shews the original floor to have been about 10 inches lower than the present one.

The basement was lighted, or rather ventilated, by 12 loops, three on each face, or rather by eleven loops, the door taking the place of one, so that that each of seven of the eight outer bays had its loop. The six to the E. and W. are unaltered, and have narrow slightly splayed recesses, the others have been converted into small windows and the recesses enlarged. The eastern loop on the north front has been altered and in its side a small mural chamber has been excavated as a garde-robe, probably modern. Near to this is the entrance to a well-staircase 5 ft. 6 in. in diameter which rises by sixty two steps 52 ft. to the upper gallery, and communicates with each floor.

The only entrance to the keep is in the south front near its east end. Five steps lead up to the doorway which is 3 ft. 6 in. broad and 7 ft. 6 in. high, flat-topped and shoulder-headed. Above is a plain tympanum set in a round-headed recessed arch of two members. The arches spring from four detached shafts with plain Norman caps and abaci, two on each side; the passage within is 5 ft. wide and vaulted. There was no portcullis and the portal was only closed by a stout door supported by a strong wooden bar. Neither was there any drawbridge or exterior defence, as is proved by the unbroken surface of the rock.

On entering the doorway, in the passage, on the left, a small plain opening admits to a flight of 27 steps, the staircase threading the south wall, 4 ft. broad and vaulted, and lighted by a loop in the exterior wall. At the head of the staircase is a landing, and on the right 2 steps more reach the level of the first floor and open into the Court room.

This floor measures 43 ft. 4 in. N. and S., by 51 ft. 2 in. E. and W., and there is a reduction of the east wall to 7 ft. 10 in., the west wall to 8 ft. and the north to 8 ft. 6 in.; the south wall is increased to 7 ft. This area is

divided between four rooms:—the Court room, the Kitchen, and the Armoury. The Armoury occupies the whole west side of the building. It is 41 ft. 3 in. long by 14 ft. broad, and has a window at each end, and one near the centre of the west side. The windows are set in semi-domed recesses and have been enlarged. This room is vaulted and divided from the others by a wall 4 ft. thick. Two cross arches divide the room into three bays. The northern bay 16 ft. by 14 ft. has a groined vault with shafts at the angles. The other bays have barrel vaults laid crossways. There were originally two rooms divided by a wall 4 ft. thick, and this has been cut away to resemble an arch, so that at this time the room may be described as divided by two cross arches into three bays. The northern bay, 16 ft. by 14 ft., has a groined vault with shafts at the angles.

That there were two rooms is evident from the appearance of the masonry and by the existence of two original doors. Had not this chamber lain north and south it would certainly be taken for the chapel which even as it is, one half of it may have been. As at the Tower and at Colchester, it is the only vaulted chamber above the basement level.

The Kitchen, 17 ft. 2 in. N. and S. by 33 ft. 2 in. E. and W. occupies the north-east quarter. It is entered by original doors from the Court room and Armoury through walls 4 ft. thick, and has two windows to the north and one to the east. All have been enlarged and small cupboards cut in the window jambs. There was originally a short passage in the wall leading from the side of the east window to the well-staircase. This has been blocked and a more direct opening made.

The Court room occupies the S. E. quarter. It measures 33 ft. 3 in. by 22 ft. 3 in., and is 17 ft. 3 in. high. It has a large window in a splayed recess towards the east, and to the south a deep recess, 10 ft. by 8 ft. contains the two coupled windows over the entrance doorway. From the west side of this recess a staircase 3 ft. wide ascends in the south wall to the upper floors. It is lighted by a lateral loop enlarged into a small window. This staircase ascends twenty steps to a small landing, whence a passage passes off to the right, up three steps, and reaches the second floor level.

At this level the walls are again reduced in thickness, the west wall to 8 ft. 2 in., the north to 8 ft. 6 in., the east to 7 ft. 10 in., but the southern wall remains at 9 ft. 6 in. The area is 51 ft. 7 in. by 43 ft. 8 in.

This floor like the lower one contains three rooms, but none are vaulted. They are three bedrooms and a library. The first and second bedrooms occupy the west side, being over the armoury. That in the S.W. quarter is 18 ft. 7 in. by 10 ft. 8 in., and has a window to the west. That in the N.W. quarter is 18 ft. by 10 ft. 8 in., and has windows to the west and north. The partition between them is 7 ft. 1 in. thick, and is threaded by a vaulted passage 3 ft. 9 in. broad by 6 ft. high, which leads into a mural chamber in the west wall lighted by a small loop. The chamber has been enlarged into an oval, 8 ft. by 6 ft., and serves as a dressing and bath room. The third bedroom faces the north. It was 33 ft. 3 in. by 17 ft. 8 in. and had three windows to the north and one to the east, with splayed recesses, from one of which a narrow mural passage leads into the well staircase. There is some slight doubt whether this passage be original. This room has been divided into two by a modern partition.

The fourth room is the Library. It occupies the S.E. quarter and measures 33 ft. 3 in. by 22 ft. 8 in., and is 13 ft. 4 in. high. Its floor is four steps higher than the others, to give height to the Court room below. This arrangement is no doubt modern. There is one window to the east and to the south are two. The two communicate by a mural passage which at its centre expands into a small chamber, lighted by a loop. This passage is continued on the further side of the easternmost window and leads into a circular chamber, 5 ft. 6 in. diameter, contained in the S.E. angle, and lighted by a south loop. Probably this chamber was originally a well staircase ascending from the second floor to the upper gallery. In diameter it matches with the N.E. wall staircase.

This floor contains an arrangement which is exceedingly rare in these keeps, being found only at Dover. The wall separating the eastern and western rooms 7 ft. 5 in. thick, is threaded by a vaulted passage 3 ft. 9 in. broad, which gives access to all the rooms, and from which the cross passage already described is given off. The wall between

the north bedroom and the library is solid: at its east end is a doorway which opens both into the bedroom and into a chamber in the east wall, probably an original garde-robe. It will be remarked that the mural staircase from the landing upon which steps led to the second floor was mentioned as continuing to the floor above. From that landing 15 steps ascend to the S.W. angle of the building, which contains a mural chamber lighted by a southern loop. Thence the staircase is continued, rising by 6 steps, in the west wall, to the upper gallery 2ft. 6in. broad 6ft. high, which threads the W.N. and W. walls. Within the two former it is unaltered, and is lighted by three loops on each face, but in the east wall the gallery has been blocked in modern times, though in places it is still seen. It was evidently continued to a cylindrical chamber in the S. E. angle, now closed, and which no doubt, as already mentioned, contained a well stair ascending from the second floor to the gallery. There has always however been a difference between the east side and the two others. In them the windows are simple apertures in the outer wall. In the third side the gallery traversed the splayed sides of the windows so as to admit the light into the rooms within. At the N.E. angle the well stair below ends and communicates with the gallery. At the N.W. angle a fresh well staircase commences and ascends by fourteen steps to the allure or rampart walk.

There is some doubt as to the date and original arrangement of this upper floor. It was clear from weather mouldings now concealed in the east and west walls that originally there was no third floor, but the second floor was roofed ridge and furrow, no doubt with a covering of shingles, and a central gutter: the whole being concealed within the outer walls. This was so at Porchester, Kenilworth, Bridgenorth, and in many other keeps. Soon afterwards, quite within the Norman period, more space was wanted and lead coming into use, an upper floor was added, and a flat roof laid on. Here the walls of this new chamber with the original doorways remain, though plastered over in quite modern times, probably about 1770. The flat roof, then no doubt rotten and gone, was replaced by a ridge and furrow, but at a higher level, as now seen, so as to give more bedroom accomodation.

The rampart walk along the top of the outer wall, still remains, and from it short staircases ascend the four angle turrets. The peculiarities of this keep are the entrance at the ground level, not, it is believed, known in any other large keep; the mural stair, as at Richmond and Prudhoe, but found nowhere else to the same extent; and the absence of fireplaces and flues which the Tower of London, was long supposed to be without, but recently one or more have been discovered there, though without flues, the smoke having been allowed to escape by small apertures in the outer wall a few feet above the fire, as at Colchester and Rochester. It is not likely that any fireplaces or smoke vents should be concealed here; they would have been discovered when the keep was re-fitted, nor in this case would the Crewe trustees have gone to the expence of building fireplaces and running up flues against the face of the walls.

It is probable that Dr. Sharp found the keep open to wind and weather; the roof and floor gone; the basement choked with sand; and the parapets and angle turrets much broken down. These he replaced, preserving, as may be seen, a great deal of the old work. He laid new floors, put on a new roof, cleared out the well, put fireplaces and flues into the rooms, converted many of the loops and some of the smaller openings into Norman windows, and made the whole building not only habitable but comfortable. Looking to the period when all this was done, and what the Canons of Durham were then about to do to disfigure their cathedral, Archdeacon Sharp surely deserves praise, not only as an active trustee, but, at least at Bamburgh, as what was then far more rare, a skilled and tasteful restorer.

This paper would be very incomplete did not the writer acknowledge the hospitality he received from Sir John Lubbock, at his visit, the occupant of the keep, and the assistance he has had from Mr. R. G. A. Hutchinson, the able and active Resident, under the Crewe Trustees. His are the plans and sections of the keep, and with them he has favoured the writer with his own valuable observations upon the details of the building. The general plan is taken, in substance, from the Ordnance Survey.

**THE OPENING OF THE TOMB OF BISHOP OLIVER
SUTTON, AND THE DISCOVERY OF A CHALICE,
PATEN, AND EPISCOPAL RING.¹**

By THE REV. PRECENTOR VENABLES.

On the morning of Saturday, March 9th, 1889, the workmen engaged in repairing and partially relaying the pavement of the presbytery of Lincoln Minster, popularly known as the Angel Choir, preparatory to its being once more made available for purposes of worship, had occasion to raise the slab which was known to cover the grave of Oliver Sutton, who was Bishop of the See from 1280 to 1299. The position of the grave was under the second arch from the east end, on the north side, in a line with the recently erected cenotaph of the late Bishop Wordsworth, which occupies a similar place under the third arch. The slab covering Bishop Sutton's grave was one of very large size, measuring 12 ft. in length by 4 ft. in breadth, of Purbeck marble, which from its want of hardness and homogeneity had become grievously decayed and fractured. It is said, in Brooke's reprint of Sander-son's MS. catalogue of the sepulchral memorials in Lincoln Cathedral, taken before the devastation of the Great Rebellion, to have borne an inscription in Lombardic letters. Of this inscription, if it ever existed, all traces have disappeared. The covering slab being raised the workmen were led by a natural curiosity to pursue their investigations further than necessity required, resulting in the curious and interesting discovery which I am about to lay before the Institute.

Immediately beneath the slab was a layer of rough stones embedded in sand, below which lay slabs of the

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, April 4, 1889.

local Lincoln oolite, covering the grave as a lid, 1 ft. 7 in. from the level of the floor. The grave itself was an oblong rectangular stone chest constructed of dressed masonry, and, as already stated, covered with a stone lid. The dimensions of this chest were 7 ft. 3 in. long, 2 ft. 8 in. broad, and 1 ft. 10 in. deep. The whole of the interior was lined with sheets of lead, forming a shell containing the body. One sheet covered the bottom of the chest, rising up all round vertically to the height of 3 ins., and met by another sheet of lead running down the sides and covering the junctures, the whole being invested by a third sheet running all round the cavity from top to bottom. All the joints were carefully soldered. The whole aperture of the grave was covered by another horizontal sheet of lead, strengthened and kept in its place by four transverse iron bars, 1 ft. 6 in. apart, soldered to the lid by leaden "tabs," two to each bar.

On removing this last covering the skeleton of Bishop Sutton was discovered, in an excellent state of preservation, with the exception of the skull. The bones lay in the midst of a mass of decaying vestments, perfectly formless, having lost all that would indicate their material or texture. The flesh had completely decayed, leaving the bones bare. Though the skull had entirely disappeared, neither tooth nor fragment of bone remaining, a considerable mass of hair of a bright brown hue inclining to red, indicated the place where it had lain. Beneath it was a head-rest formed of a block of oak, 2 ft. by 6 in., cased in lead supporting a mouldering woollen cushion.

The leaden receptacle shewed indications in the dark stain 2 in. deep all round, of the brine or other antiseptic liquid which had been poured in upon the corpse, upon closing down. The workmen informed me that the lid ran down with moisture when first opened.

To come now to the most interesting feature of this discovery. On the right side of the skeleton were a silver-gilt chalice and a paten laid on it as a lid, standing upright as originally placed nearly six centuries back. The vessels were covered with a piece of fine linen about 7 in. or 8 in. square, which, when first discovered, was hanging in graceful folds all round, the bright metal gleaming

through the rents time had made. On the admission of the air, the frail tissue soon fell to pieces. The chalice is of much the same shape and dimensions as that from Berwick St. James, Wilts, now in the British Museum, also of silver-gilt, which is figured in Mr. St. John Hope's memoir on "Medieval Chalices and Patens," in *The Archaeological Journal* (vol. xliii, p. 142). Its form is somewhat more elegant, the lower part of the stem below the knob having a more graceful concave curve. This chalice belongs to "Type A" of Mr. Hope's classification, to which he assigns the approximate date c. 1200—1250. These vessels are somewhat later in date, the bishop having died in 1299, but were probably of earlier construction, being almost certainly "massing vessels" not vessels expressly made for the purpose of interment with the corpse. The chalice stands $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. high. The bowl which is broad and shallow is 4 in. in diameter, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep. There is a slight quasi lip round its edge. The foot is circular, of the same diameter as the bowl. There is a bold knob to prevent the cup from slipping through the hand of the priest, projecting half an inch from the stem. The chalice was constructed of three pieces of metal, the bowl being soldered to the stem, and the knob with a ring below supporting it, riveted to it. The whole vessel is very carefully made, but is entirely destitute of ornamentation or symbol. The gilding is still brilliant on the inside of the bowl, but has disappeared from much of the outside surface of the vessel. From the carefulness of the fashioning of both chalice and paten, and from the solidity of their make, as well as from the preciousness of their material, Mr. Hope is of opinion that they must have been intended for use at the Sacrament of the Altar. The bishop probably had richer and more elaborate vessels for his customary use, but those now found would have been occasionally used by him. They almost certainly do not belong to the class of funeral vessels.

The paten is $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter. Both the inner and outer depression are circular, uncusped. In the centre of the inner depression is the *Manus Dei* issuing from conventional clouds, in the act of benediction. This symbol marks an early date. In later times the *Vernicle*

—i.e. the Face of the Blessed Lord—or the *Agnus Dei* were more in favour.

The ring had dropt from the finger, and was found between the legs of the skeleton. It is pronounced by an experienced jeweller to be of pure gold, 22 carats fine. After the dirt was washed from it it was as bright as the day it was first put on, and still bore marks of the burnishing tool. It is of large size, probably intended for the index finger of the right hand. The hoop is massive, circular in section, not at all flattened. It is joined to the bezil directly without any shoulder, or lateral spreading out. The bezil is large and massive, gabled in section, roughly oval in shape, adapted to the outline of the large piece of rock crystal with which it is set. The bezil is strengthened with four slender bands of circular section. A similar rim runs round it and unites it to the setting which encircles the crystal. The face of the stone is perfectly flat and highly polished. Mr. Hope writes, "the ring is clearly Oliver Sutton's ring, and not undertaker's stuff. The crystal may be a pale sapphire, or the bishop may have liked the crystal."

This is the third episcopal ring in the keeping of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln. The other two are those of Bishop Gravesend, which has lost its stone, and of Bishop Grosseteste, which is set with a sapphire of fine hue. The chalices and patens found in the graves of these prelates, when opened at the close of the last century, are also preserved, with others, in the Cathedral Library.

On the left side of the skeleton lay the mouldering remains of a crozier. This was of wood, and was in the last stage of decay. Mr. Hadley was enabled to take photographs of the head of the staff, which was exquisitely carved with vine or maple leaves.

A few biographical notes of Bishop Sutton may not be out of place. He was originally a Canon of Lincoln, and was elected Dean in 1275. It is recorded of him as an unusual merit, that as Dean he kept residence at Lincoln. By the faithful and kindly performance of his decanal duties Sutton so completely gained the confidence and goodwill of his Chapter that on the vacancy of the See by the death of Bishop Gravesend he was chosen his suc-

cessor, *per inspirationem*, the choice being accepted by the king. He is described as *vir litteratus*, who being a regent in arts had studied canon and civil law, and had purposed to devote himself to theology, and proceed to the highest degree in that school had he not been elected Dean. Both as Dean and Bishop he proved himself a careful governor, both in temporal and spiritual matters. "Entirely averse from avarice" he caused all the fines and ameracements paid to him by offenders against the ecclesiastical laws to be made over to the mendicant friars, poor nuns, and the poor and needy of the parishes where the offences had been committed, "not retaining a penny for himself." He never distressed the people of his manors with exactions or tallages beyond their legal dues, and distributed liberal alms to the more needy among them. To his Cathedral and his Chapter he was a great benefactor. He increased the Commons of the Canons, and for the protection of the Canons as they went to the nocturnal services, from evil disposed persons who had previously made the Close their rendezvous, he obtained the license of the King, Edward I., for the erection of an embattled wall round the Close, strengthened with towers and with double-gate houses at all the entrances to the precincts. For the use of the parishioners at St. Mary Magdalen, whose church had been pulled down by Remigius for the erection of his cathedral, and who had up to this time been accommodated in the nave of the Minster, Sutton erected a separate church, where its successor now stands, between the north-western gate-houses—the Exchequer Gate—of the Close. He also caused the cloisters to be erected, and commenced a college for the residence of the vicars, Senior and Junior, who had previously lived dispersedly, and not always very reputably, in different houses in the town. This "Vicars' Court," as it is termed, left unfinished at his death, was continued by his executors.

Bishop Sutton died during his attendance at Matins, in the Minster on St. Brice's Day, Nov. 13, 1299. He breathed his last as the choir were singing the last words of the Antiphon—

Iste confessor Domini sacratus
Festa plebs cujus celebrat per orbem
Hodie lætus meruit secreta
Scandere coeli.

Schalby, Sutton's registrar, to whom we are indebted for these particulars of the bishop, states that he had conversed with Sutton's confessor after his death, whose simple and emphatic testimony was "non possum negare quin justissimus, constantissimus et mundissimus homo fuerit."

THE CASTLE OF FOUGÈRES AND ITS LORDS.¹

By J. BAIN, F.S.A. (Scot.)

Few places in Brittany have a more interesting history than the Castle of Fougères—literally “Ferns,” such being the meaning of its name, and the heraldic device of its ancient lords. Already a great and important fortress in the days when the Kings of England were also Dukes of Normandy, it has seen at least two English monarchs and a King of Scotland in warlike array before its walls; it has been the scene of many stirring events in the middle ages, and nearer our own time it was one of the rallying points of the Chouans, those bold peasants who so gallantly maintained the cause of their Church and King against the armies of the Revolution. Balzac’s genius has illuminated this page of its history in one of his inimitable romances, *Les Chouans en Bretagne*. The traveller who leaves Normandy for Brittany, and who prefers to the usual track by St. Malo and Dinan, the road from Avranches by St. James de Beuvron to Rennes, will enter the old Armorican duchy under favouring auspices. By this road the Bretons used to invade Normandy till William the Conqueror planted the castle of St. James in their way and forced his turbulent neighbours to take the route by the mouth of the Couesnon, where the “Pas au Bœuf” below Pontorson, has engulfed many a plundering Breton. The road from Avranches to Fougères is highly picturesque. The trees in this part of France, perhaps owing to the nearness of Brittany, where nature is allowed more of her own way than elsewhere, are not ruthlessly cropped, and growing in clumps and hedgerows have more of a forest appearance than usual. The crimson stalks of

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, April 4, 1889.

the sarrazin or buckwheat, standing cut in the fields, glow in autumn with a novel charm for English eyes, contrasting finely with the changing hues of the forest timber. As we approach St. James, a deep narrow valley on the left, richly clothed with wood, marks the course of the little river Beuvron, on its way to join the Selune, which soon after loses itself among the treacherous sands of the bay of Mont St. Michel. St. James, once possessing a strong castle and a priory of Benedictines, is now a little open town. Only a few fragments of walls and towers on the edge of the ravine overhanging the river, remain to shew its former strength. Shortly after leaving it, the road enters Brittany, a fact made evident in many ways; the country becomes wilder, the road more tortuous, with stretches of gorse covered land, a plant much used by the natives in foddering their cattle, and instead of the tall, spare, Norman, the dark, long haired, and short Breton will be seen in autumn busy with his family or servants thrashing his crops with the primitive flail, on the smooth surface of his open farmyard.

Few things shew more clearly than their husbandry the conservative character of the Bretons. The road winds along, passing now a wood, in whose dark recesses one might almost suspect a wolf or two to be lurking, now an old mansion with its étang, or moat, and at last reaches the base of a tree-crowned hill, from which the old walls and houses of a town look forth. By many indications one can perceive that a place of some consequence is near at hand. The traveller is, indeed, close to Fougères, the chief place of the arrondissement, with a population of between 9,000 and 10,000 inhabitants. A strong smell of leather pervades the environs, revealing the principal trade to be "cordonnerie." The natives also carry on other industries, such as dyeing, tanning, glass blowing, and the making of sabots. The hill, on which the town stands, rises to the height of 440 feet, and an extensive view is gained from the platform, east, south, north, and west. In the last direction, a winding street runs through the market place by a steep declivity to the gateway of the castle. The town of Fougères in shape much resembles a pear, the broadest part being at the top of the ridge on which the visitor is standing, while the narrower part

tapers off downwards towards the castle, the old town walls bounding either edge of the declivity, and leaving little more space than the breadth of the street, and the houses and gardens on each side. To the east and south of its upper and broadest part, Fougères is now an open town, its gates and walls there having been long destroyed. It has burst its bounds in that direction towards the forest, and the road to Rennes. Elsewhere the walls still remain, no longer fit for defence, for houses have been built on them, and ivy creeps over all the old embrazures. On a spur projecting from the plateau towards the south, just outside the walls, stands the principal church of St. Leonards, a conspicuous object in the landscape, as the richly timbered ground slopes steeply away from its site northwards into the valley, where stands another church under the castle walls with an oddly deflected spire—that of St. Sulpice. Further to the north and west, an amphitheatre of low hills surrounds the castle, broken only by the road to Dol and St. Malo. In the valley between, the little stream of the Nançon winds around the town and castle, flowing gently to join the Couesnon, a mile or so further down. The town once possessed four gateways, only one of which, that of St. Sulpice, remains. Eight important highways intersected at this town. Fougères being one of the most ancient fiefs of the duchy, its early lords, who were of the same stock as the Dukes of Brittany, took precedence of all their other feudatories. Passing down the street already described, between old houses with arcaded fronts resting on heavy wooden pillars, we arrive at a moat, supplied by the Nançon, and crossing two successive drawbridges, no longer moveable, we enter under an archway into a court flanked by two towers of the 12th century, where doubtless in days of yore any stranger underwent a strict examination before obtaining permission to proceed further. But we may now go on unchallenged to the place d'armes or outer bailey of the fortress, large enough for a tournament, surrounded by many flanking towers, all bearing individual names indicative of historic incidents in the annals of the Castle and its owners. The donjon, or keep, has long been razed, though its three flanking towers remain, two of them bearing the romantic

names of the "Tour de Mélusine" and the "Tour de Gobelin." The third, at the extreme north-west angle, bears the name of "Clisson," the constable of Brittany, and contain a prison chamber at its base, accessible only by a ladder. The only light is a small slit in the 12 or 13 ft. wall. Near the latter, a postern, once communicating with the keep by a covered way, opened on the high road, many feet above its level, affording access by a ladder or otherwise without passing through the main entrance next the town. The fortress, like the solid rock on which it stands, resembles an irregular triangle, the apex being next the town. The great height of its walls, seemingly from 30 to 40 feet, added to that of its rocky foundation, protected it on the south and north-west. To the north-east, a moat in addition protected it. Notwithstanding this, it was carried by escalade on a memorable occasion in the 15th century. It is said to have been founded in the 11th century, but little of it probably dates earlier than the end of the 12th. Two of the largest towers which cap the angles of the walls to the south-west bear the names of "Raoul" and "Surienne," and seem, (or possibly the superstructure only) to be of the 14th or 15th century. These, with a square tower called the "Tour de Cadran," front the church of St. Sulpice, and command the road from Dol and St. Malo, which enters the town by the already named gate of St. Sulpice, whose tower is still entire, and shews the grooves for working the chains of the drawbridge. Closely adjoining is the last of the castle towers on this side, the "Tour de Plesguen," joined by a curtain to the gateway, through which nothing could enter the town save by permission of the Lords of Fougères. Having thus given an imperfect outline of their fortress and bourg, let us see what manner of men and women held high state in these deserted halls and towers, now in the peaceful occupation of a large manufacturer of dyed wool. The origin of the Lords of Fougères is lost in the mists of Breton antiquity. The first their historian traces was Meen or Maino, the younger son of Juhel Berenger, count of Rennes, who, in the 10th century, received the lordship in appanage from his father. The Counts of Rennes were of the stock of the old Breton princes, derived from

the British leader Conan, who is said, early in the 5th century, flying from the tyranny of the stranger, to have led a body of his countrymen to a new Britain beyond the sea, then known as Armorica. In a later day, the descendants of these men swelled the army of William the Conqueror, and received wide lands in the country that their forefathers had abandoned to the Saxon and Angle. For two centuries and a half the male descendants of Maino held the foremost place among the nobles of Brittany. They allied themselves with the Dukes of Brittany, the Earls of Chester, the De Rohans, and other great houses. They founded, after the manner of their times, abbeys and churches, and sometimes retired to these sanctuaries. They also made war on not unequal terms with crowned heads. Those who wish full details of their history will find it in the works of the learned Benedictines, Fathers Lobineau and Morice, and the Sieur d'Argentré. The third baron, Maino, and his wife Adelaidis, appear in a deed granted by their relative Maino, bishop of Rennes in 1050, of two churches to Mont St. Michel, and it is added in the record, that "their young son Juhel present in his mother's arms, and crying, was pacified by a monk with twelve pennies," an interesting and graphic touch of nature in a dry legal document. This Maino was a munificent benefactor to the Abbey of Marmoutiers, and after his death, Adelaidis his widow, and her surviving son, Raoul I, in 1104 granted to the same house the church of St. Sulpice in the valley below the castle, till then known as the chapel of Notre Dame de Marais, with all rights of baptism and burial over the inhabitants of the castle of Fougères, reserving only to the lord of Fougères the right to hear mass in his own chapel of St. Mary within its walls. This Raoul, besides making the pilgrimage to Rome, was himself a great church benefactor. He was endowed by the Conqueror with many lands in Normandy and England for his services at the Conquest, and in 1112, with consent of his wife Avicia, and their four sons, he founded the celebrated Cistercian abbey of Savigny across the Norman border, conferring on it valuable possessions, an example followed by many other Briton and Norman nobles. Scarce a stone remains of this great abbey, the

mother house of Furness, Kirkstall, Byland, and many others still splendid in ruins, whose riches are commemorated in the Norman proverb—

“De quel côté que le vent vente
L'Abbaye de Savigny a rente.”

Henry, his son, the next lord, gave additional lands to Savigny, and ended his days there as a monk. His son, Raoul II., was the most distinguished of the line. With the air of a sovereign prince, he styled himself in his charters “Radulfus, Dei gracia Filgeriarum Dominus.” During the struggle for the succession to the Duchy, between Eudon, viscount of Porhoët, the second husband of Bertha, daughter and heiress of Conan the Great, and his stepson, Conan earl of Richmond, Raoul sided with Eudon, and in 1162 seized the castles of Dol and Combourg. Conan obtained the aid of Eleonora of Aquitaine, Queen of England. Raoul, foreseeing trouble, took the cross in 1164, hoping to obtain the protection of the Holy See. But Henry II. descended that year upon Brittany, and Raoul, in place of departing for the crusade, had to defend his castle. Henry sat down with an army before it. The siege was long and severe, and, as we are told by the chronicler, proved the courage and skill of Raoul. But in 1166, both town and castle were taken by assault, and dismantled by Henry. William the Lyon, King of Scotland (whose sister was the wife of Conan), is known to have been with the besiegers. Such losses would have been enough to arouse the resentment of Raoul, but another motive animated it. Henry, by marrying his young son Geoffry, to Constance, the youthful daughter of Conan, imagined that he had quietly secured the ducal throne. The proud Bretons disgusted with Conan's thus bringing them under the yoke of a stranger in preference to one of the princes of his own sovereign house, of which the warlike Raoul was a scion, formed a league, with Raoul at its head, against the foreigner. Conan, called “the Little,” to distinguish him from his grandfather, had died young in 1170 (he was only 31) perhaps of chagrin. Raoul seized the castles of St. James and Le Tilleul, defended by Henry's Brabançon mercenaries, and burned them. He restored his own castle in 1173, and also prepared a singular subterranean retreat, in which to conceal

his treasures, the "celliers of Landean," still existing in the forest, a few miles from the town. Unluckily for him Henry's soldiers captured the convoy on its way to this place of safety. Raoul, however, again seized Dol and Combourg, and met the English force in a pitched battle on the plain of Dol. He lost nearly all his allies in the battle, and had barely time to take refuge in Dol when Henry, hurrying from Rouen, made him and the Earl of Chester prisoners. Raoul regained his liberty by giving his sons, William and Juhel, as hostages. Henry at last made peace with him, and in 1185 Raoul, as Seneschal of the Duchy, "an officer," says the chronicler, "of the first dignity, which he merited by his high birth and rare valour," assisted at the assize of Geoffry Plantagenet, Duke of Brittany. In 1190 he carried out his long cherished design, and departing for the Holy Land, is said to have died there in 1194. Like his ancestors he was a munificent benefactor to the Church, and founded the Abbey of Rillé, between Fougères and Rennes. It was by this active and turbulent noble that the following curious act of homage was performed to the Abbot of Mont St. Michel, for the land held of that religious house by the lord of Fougères. In the chartulary of the abbey it is related that in the year 1188 Raoul de Fougères rendered his homage on the fête of St. Michael in October, St. Michael de Monte Tomba (on the 16th of that month), by ringing the bell for vespers and matins until the abbey servants took the cord from his hands, when he was bound to give them a cask of wine; in the evening there was brought to him a habit, similar to that of the monks, and one "bote"; he might sleep if he choose in one of the chambers of the abbey, and after the High Mass on the fête he, with three or four of his knights, sat at meat on the Abbot's right hand in the refectory, while the rest of his retinue took their repast elsewhere, or in the town. If the seigneur of Fougères slept in the town of the Mount, the seigneur of Maçé, a neighbouring manor, was bound by his tenure to awake him and conduct him with a lantern to the monastery before matins.

William the son of Raoul, died before his father, and Geoffry his grandson, was one of the chief opponents of

King John, when that unprincipled monarch attempted to seize the possessions of his murdered nephew, Arthur of Brittany. In 1202 John laid siege to Fougères, but retired without attacking it, and revenged himself by laying waste the country to the gates of Dol. His Brabançon routiers desecrated that cathedral, and even set fire to its roof, as is still remembered there and related by the local historian. The distaff succeeded to the sword, and the grand-daughter of Geoffry, Jeanne de Fougères, carried the inheritance into the family of Lusignan, renowned in history and romance. It is probable that to her husband, Hugh XII, count of La Marche and Angoulesme, may be attributed the building of the 13th century tower, bearing the name of his ancestress, the fairy Melusina. "Thus," says an eminent writer, M. Leopold Delisle, "ended the House of Fougères which, during two centuries, had played so brilliant a part in the annals of Brittany, Normandy and England." Yet the castle was destined in other hands to witness important events. Guy de Lusignan was forfeited by Philip le Bel in 1307, who united La Marche and Angoulesme to the crown of France, giving his sister Yolande the lordship of Fougères, which she held till her death in 1314. It passed to the house of Alençon, and after being captured by the celebrated Du Guesclin became the property of the Dukes of Brittany in 1415.

In May 1444 a truce for five years was signed between France and England, including Brittany. Francis I. of Brittany, however, had seized and imprisoned his brother Gilles on pretence of his treating with the English. In retaliation it is supposed, and secretly instigated by Henry VI., or some of his nobles, Francis de Surienne, an Arragonese knight, governor of Verenneuil, and Conde sur Noireau, and a knight of the Garter, surprised and took the castle of Fougères on the night of the 23rd March, 1448-9, and refused to deliver it to the Duke of Brittany, saying he held it for the English king. The truce was at an end, and the events which followed form a brilliant chapter in the history of France. The English, with singular ill-fortune, rapidly lost all that had been won by the valour of Henry V.; while the French, under Arthur of Richmond,

Constable of France, closed a series of successes by the decisive battle of Formigny in April, 1459, which ended the rule of the House of Lancaster in France.

Such is an imperfect outline of the chief events in the history of this romantic place. The visitor, who from the heights to the west, looks down at evening, on the vast bulk of the ruined fortress lying in deep shadow, while the last rays of the setting sun light up the old town beyond, its houses rising, tier above tier, till the view culminates in the Beffroi, and the tower of St. Leonard's on its wood crowned slopes, will admit, varied as his experiences may be, he gazes on a panorama of singular charm. Should he be endowed with some of that imaginative faculty that so greatly enhances the pleasures of travel, fancy will come to his side, and re-people the deserted battlements. He may recall the warlike Raoul, setting forth with his chivalry to Palestine, the bold Du Guesclin, incorruptible champion of Brittany, or the crafty Aragonese, and his midnight escalade. Or fairer forms may flit across the scene; ladies look out from their towers, as their knights ride forth to battle, the fabled Melusine hovers around the abode of her descendants, and Diana of Poitiers (for she, too, once owned the castle) displays once more the charms which captivated the most Christian king. And as the short twilight melts in darkness, and the gazer, shaking off his visions, seeks the valley below, he may even fancy in every bush a devoted Chouan, stealthily creeping to seize the walls manned by the hated soldiers of the Republic.

THE PASGUARD, GARDE DE COU, BRECH-RAND
STOSS-KRAGEN OR RANDT, AND THE VOLANT PIECE.

By THE HON. HAROLD DILLON, F.S.A.

Such are the names given in the English, French and German works on armour to the erect guards on the shoulders of suits, as seen in original examples and as found in monumental effigies, brasses and other representations in pictures and illuminated manuscripts. Whatever may be said of the French and German terms for these defences, the English word *pasguard* is certainly misapplied when referring to them.

When this erroneous nomenclature first obtained, it is difficult to say; but as late as 1697 there were some who still knew what the word really referred to. In the Tower Inventory of that year, the fine suit of tilting armour (No. 11 of the present collection) was described as "One Armour cap-a-pe Engraven with a Ragged Staffe, made for ye Earle of Leisester, a Mainfere, Passguard and Maineguard and Gantlett." The Mainfere and Gantlett are of course the defences of the left and right hands, the Mainfere as explained by the late Albert Way being the main de fer or bridle gauntlet. The Maineguarde we may reasonably suppose to be the large detached piece of armour engraved like the suit, with the Ragged Staff, and covering the front of the upper part of the body. This piece as will be seen on examination fitted closely over the upper part of the cuirass and the left shoulder, and a small attached piece, further defended part of the left arm. The whole was kept in position, by the upper part fitting tightly round the front of the helmet, a pin on the right side of the latter passing through the Mainguard; and below, a staple projecting from the tapul or ridge of the breastplate passed through this extra defence and would

be secured by a linch pin. At some period the slot for this staple (in the breastplate) has been filled up but its former existence is still clearly defined. A strap with a metal tag was also attached to the small plate, and the tag which was pierced with an eye, fitted over a pin projecting from the left side of the cuirass. The upper part of this Mainguard which, conformed as before noted, to the contour of the neck and lower part of the helmet, was actually a separate piece of metal and only rivetted to the main portion. This upper part has been (we conceive) wrongly termed the *volante piece* but was really only a part of the Mainguard. Having thus disposed of three of the pieces mentioned in the 1697 Inventory we may take the Passguard to refer to the other loose piece now seen with the suit. This portion of the panoply is also engraved with the Ragged Staff and is undoubtedly of the suit.

In shape it is irregular, and in Meyrick and Skelton's fine work a similar piece is engraved at fig. 5, plates vii and viii.

It has a hole in it, for passing over a pin on the left elbow piece, to which it would be thus fixed by a linch pin.

Its purpose was to afford additional protection to the left arm at the elbow joint between the top of the Mainfere and the lower part of the Grandguard or Mainguard.

To return to the so-called Pasguard; in this suit neither of the upright plates springing from the shoulders, is now left. That there were two originally, may be seen if we examine the means by which they were attached to the pauldron. It will then be observed that the upright plate had its lower edge bent so as to form an angle; and in the bent portion were three holes which passed over pins standing out of the pauldron. These pins also have gone, and the holes for them on the ridge of the shoulder have been filled up. Small hooks acting as linch pins, probably secured the upright plates on these pins, as may be seen in the one plate still remaining on the left shoulder of figure No. 10 of the Tower collection. For further proof of the former existence of these plates on this suit, we have only to look at the sketch by Zuccherro for a portrait of the Earl of Leicester, who is represented in

this very suit.¹ The Grandguard is seen on the ground behind him, and on each shoulder are shown the so-called Pasguards.

It may now be interesting, having shown what the so-called Pasguards were not, to examine what these defences were, and to endeavour to trace their use in armour in England.

Their object was clearly to protect the neck from blows of sword or lance directed from the side. Some have imagined that the Ailettes of the 14th century were for this same purpose, but if so it is curious that they should have disappeared from the scene, after the comparatively short period during which they are represented or mentioned.

The earliest instance of the upstanding plate on the shoulder that we have yet met with, is in the Bedford Missal. This magnificent MS. was executed about 1424. Three of the illuminations are figured in outline in Gough's description of the MS. 1794. In one of these is seen a king, standing in a room and being armed by his attendants. The king who is in full armour except as regards his head, on which is a crown, has on his right shoulder a series of three plates or lames, the upper one of which is bent upwards so as to form a standing ridge. The left pauldron is composed of two plates only, but the upper one is very large and this also has its upper part bent so as to form a similar ridge.

The Manuscript having been executed in France, this may have been a foreign fashion only, and indeed the two next instances in point of date are, in one case certainly, if not in both, subject to the same observation.

In the National Gallery there is a beautiful little picture of St. Anthony and George, painted by Pisano in 1438.

St. George, who stands in full armour, except a large straw hat which he wears in place of a helmet, has on his shoulders the very large shoulder pieces which appear to have been in fashion in Italy at that date. His back is turned to the spectator, but one can see the standing-plate on the left shoulder. Its upper edge is bent over so as nearly to reach the plate of the pauldron itself.

¹ The sketch which is now in the British Museum had been engraved in black and

red, the original colours, in Rogers' *Imitations of Drawings*.

The next example in point of date is the latten effigy of Richard Earl of Warwick. This exquisite figure so often of the greatest use for the solution of questions of detail, affords good instances of the upright guards. As figured by Stothard and Blore, one can see not only the front, but the back and side views of these additions to the shoulder defences.

The left pauldron also gives indications of the fashion which later on became a decided feature of this part of the suit. This is a point on the very slope of the shoulder, and we see it strongly marked in the brasses of Stapleton 1466, Curson 1471, and Sir H. Grey 1492. In the brasses of Sherbourne 1458 and Dengayn c. 1460, we find the upright guards and also a second ridge on the shoulder, while the Quatremain brass of about 1460 has a series of ridges on the large left pauldron. A similar treatment of the left pauldron is seen in the brass of Sir Thos. Peyton (1508) and several others.

Standing plates with invected edges, on both shoulders are seen in the Parice brass c. 1460, and double ridges on the left shoulder only, are observable in the brass of le Strange 1478 and that of W. Berdwell 1508.

In the portraits now at the Pinacothek of the brothers Baumgartner c. 1512, figured by Hefner, both these warriors wear shoulder pieces with erect guards. In the splendid engraved suit of Henry VIII No. $\frac{3}{2}$ of the Tower Collection the two guards vary in size and shape. That for the sword arm, as one would expect is much smaller than the one on the left shoulder, which is high enough to reach to the level of the ear and instead of being a simple curved upright plate, is in three planes.

The guards on the fluted suit No. $\frac{3}{2}$ of which one only now remains, were like the later examples on the Leicester figure and No. $\frac{1}{2}$, fixed by pin and staple to the pauldron and so could be removed at pleasure.

When the Salade and beaver were worn, one might well wish for a further and more complete defence for the side of the neck, but with the Armet, and the Burgonet and Buffe, it seems hardly necessary to add to the protection afforded by these close fitting headpieces. There is no doubt however that the upright guards were invented and used to meet some special requirement; for the extreme

reasonableness of each portion of the warlike panoply (until exaggerated by individuals) is one of the distinguishing and most worthy points of the armourer's art.

THE VOLANT PIECE.

Meyrick and most other writers on Armour have spoken of this piece, as an additional protection for the lower part of the head of a jousting knight, but rivetted or otherwise made fast to the upper part of the Grandguard. Such defences are seen in many collections and besides detached examples in the Tower Armoury, that belonging to the Leicester suit No. A₁ may be mentioned as a fine specimen of this portion of the panoply of the knight in the Tilt Yard.

That it had some special name there is little reason to doubt, but we are inclined to think that *Volante Piece* was not its proper designation. We do not propose to enquire here what that name was, but to offer some suggestions as to what the Volante piece really was. The term belongs to the 16th century and is used by Hall in his interesting account of the accident, so nearly fatal, which befel Henry VIII in 1524.

It will be remembered that on that occasion Henry who was jousting with his friend and brother-in-law Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, started on his course "the viser of his headpece beyng up and not doune nor fastened, so that his face was clene naked," Brandon, who was not only short-sighted but unable from the fashion of his headpiece, to see the king, also started and, to the great dismay of the beholders, who perceived the state of the king, but too late to prevent the encounter, "strake the kyng on the brow right under the defence of the hedpece on the verve coyffe scull or bassenet pece, whereunto the barbet for power and defence is charnelled, to whiche coyffe or bassenet never armour taketh hede, for it is evermore covered with the viser, barbet and volant pece, and so that pece is so defended that it forseth of no charge."

We here have the Volant piece, Barbet and Viser mentioned as the front portions of the helmet. The Barbet is the piece protecting the chin and lower part of the face and like the viser, it is "charnelled" or hinged to the Coyffe or bassenet piece which includes the main

portion of the helmet. The Viser is of course evident, but what is the Volant piece? The name implies a moveable portion, and referring to Baron de Cosson's valuable Catalogue of Helmets in vol. xxxvii of this *Journal* we find on page 51 something which complies with this condition. Speaking of the Salade for the joust, we are told that some examples have on the front portion, two plates corresponding in contour to the exterior of the Salade, and resting on or in some cases behind a slight ridge on the Salade. These plates are retained in position by a bar with forked extremity, which fastened to the upper part of the Salade, holds the two plates by this forked end, against the Salade. A smart blow from the opponent's lance would displace the bar, and the plates being liberated would fall or fly off. Here we have the idea of "volant." But the main object of these plates was to add to the protection of the brow. In the Musée d'Artillerie, Paris, there is a Salade of this kind, figured at p. 404, Vol. II of Viollet le Duc's *Dictionnaire du mobilier*. At the Tower, the suit No. 2, supposed to have been purchased in Spain, and worn at the Eglinton Tournament in 1839 by the late Marquis of Waterford, has these two plates. But this suit is a modern forgery, and one of the most glaring proofs of its falseness consists in the position of these plates which have been rivetted to the Salade, and fixed in a way that could never have been the custom. In fact they are sometimes described as wings. The Armet of figure No. 3 however has an additional reinforcing plate over the brow. A similar piece is also seen in the Armet No. 30 at Paris and figured in Viollet le Duc's work at Vol. V., pl. I. This reinforcing plate answers the purpose of strengthening the brow of the helmet, and though not detachable like the plates on the Salade, by a blow from a lance, it is not rivetted to the "bassenet pece" but is removable just as the Visor is.

Von Leber at page 112 of his *Wien's Kaiserliches Zeughaus* mentions that this extra brow piece *Stirndoppelstück* is not uncommon or of very great antiquity. He mentions four other helmets at Vienna as having such a piece.

In the suit No. 3 at the Tower the absence of ornament on the part of the helmet under this piece (the whole of

the rest of the helmet and suit being engraved) points to its being always worn on the helmet. It has a stout rib on its lower edge which coincides with the brow of the main portion of the armet, and conforms to the ridge of the armet terminating at the sides in invected outlines with trefoiled finials between the curves. It is retained in position by the pivots of the Visor which pass through it and the Armet itself on each side.

When Henry VII created his son Henry, Prince of Wales, at the Pas d'armes, at Westminster, the challenger was to come "in harness for the tilt," without targe or brochette, woolant piece over the head, rondall over the garde, reste of advantage, fraude, deceit or other malengine." We may then suppose that the term does apply to something over the head, and not the fixed piece which forms a part of the Grandguard. That piece in modern French works is called the Haute piece, and such may be a fair term for it, but Volant cannot be applied.

It would be very desirable to ascertain the earliest occurrence of the different terms as now used for armour, and we should then avoid much of the confusion which is caused by giving names to things, which when they were in use were never known by them.

NOTES ON RITUALISTIC ECCLESIOLOGY IN NORTH-EAST NORFOLK

By J. L. ANDRÉ.

The remarks which it is proposed to offer here on the churches of the north-eastern part of Norfolk, being confined to observations on the buildings and their fittings only so far as they appear to illustrate the belief and ceremonial of the mediæval church, I have ventured to entitle Ritualistic Ecclesiology; as it is not intended to notice any features in the architectural or constructive sense usually implied under the designation of Ecclesiology.

Norfolk may be called a "happy hunting-ground" for the ecclesiologist, as the churches are unusually numerous for the area they occupy, are generally easy of access, and a very large number of them were re-erected or altered at the close of the fourteenth century, a date from which till the middle of the sixteenth, the unaltered English ritual displayed the greatest amount of its splendour, and probably was in no place more effectually carried out than in the ecclesiastical edifices of East Anglia, a conclusion to which I think every ecclesiologist will come who has inspected a fair number of these buildings.

It is hardly necessary to say that in Norfolk there are several examples of churches standing in the same churchyard, as at Antingham, and Gillingham; but at Weybourne, on the north-east coast, there is a still closer combination of ecclesiastical edifices, the monastic and the parochial churches being conjoined in the following singular manner:—The tower of the former, of very early Norman date, forming now a north chapel to the

parish church, the east wall of the chancel of which was the west wall of the monastic nave, and is quite solid, there being no east window to the parochial edifice; this latter had its own tower, so that the appearance of the combined churches resembles that presented by a somewhat similar example at Wymondham, also in Norfolk.

A peculiar feature in some of the smaller parish churches is the great width of the nave, as at Aylmerton and Hempstead (near Eccles); a width allowing of a western tower flanked by windows in the end wall, even where there are no aisles. At Reedham, there is a similarly wide body with western tower, and covered with a single span roof, the east wall of this nave has two arches, the northern one opening into the chancel, the other into a south chapel.¹ The position of the tower in the middle of the west wall forbids the idea of there having been a central arcade under the apex or ridge of the roof; such as is not unknown in some few examples. These wide aisleless naves were perhaps intended to facilitate preaching to large congregations, as we find them in several of the churches erected by the Dominican order abroad, an order called also that of the Friars Preachers, from the prominence given by them to pulpit oratory. The space obtained by the width of these naves also allowed of altars being placed one on each side of the chancel arches, the piscinas in connection with which remain in numerous examples.

At the Collegiate Church of Ingham, we have the singular feature of a chapel raised one storey above the rest of the floor of the building; it is now in ruins, but the holes for the joists which carried the flooring, and the piscina remain; the latter in the south wall shows conclusively the use to which the chamber was applied. The only similar instance that I know of in England is at Horsham in Sussex, where there is a chapel placed over a crypt. In both these cases they occur on the north sides of the chancels. At Horsham there was an altar dedicated to St. Michael, which was probably the one in the chapel mentioned, as there are altars in the galleries of

¹ The ruined nave at East Beckham, has two arches in its east wall, a chancel arch, and a smaller opening north of it.

some foreign churches, and erected in honour of that archangel.

There is a very peculiar arrangement at the east-end of the chancel at Tunstead, and which can perhaps be best described as a vestry, similar in position to that seen in some late examples at the back of the high altar; here it is within the building and occupies the whole width of the chancel, having a depth of about four feet; there is a doorway on the south side, entered by a descent of one or two steps, whilst on the north is a flight of eight high and solid stone steps, landing on the flat stone roofing of the chamber; in this roof is an iron grating, and besides this and the door there are no other openings. The use of this apartment the stairs and aperture are quite unknown, but I venture to suggest that it was a relic chamber, because the permanent character of the approach to the roof points out that it was in frequent use, and the narrowness of the platform, together with the position of the iron grating, forbid the idea that there could have been a second altar in such close proximity to the "Master Altar," as the French call it. If access to the roof over the chamber was only occasionally required, a common wooden ladder would have answered the purpose equally well without the wide and inelegant stone steps, and my conjecture is that the worshipper ascended, and kneeling on the platform prayed to the saint whose relics he beheld under the grating.¹

Singular as is the chancel at Tunstead, that at Rollesby, near Martham, is equally remarkable, and here also I think we may attribute its peculiarities to ritualism in connection with relics. In the interior angle, formed by the junction of the east and south walls, is a square

¹ That permanent and elaborate arrangements were sometimes made for the exposition of relics, is proved by the structural features existing at the west end of Lapworth Church, Warwickshire, of which a description and engraving are given in *Arch. Journal*, vol. xxii, p. 37. If the grating in the chamber at Tunstead is modern, perhaps another theory may be advanced as to the probable use of the apartment, namely, that it served as an Easter sepulchre, the chalice and host being passed through the aperture at Easter, and borne down the stone

steps to the principal altar. Instances of Easter sepulchres behind high altars are not unknown abroad; one is mentioned by Lubke as follows, "Behind the high altar in the centre chapel of the choir corridor in the Church of the Holy Cross at Gmünd, is to be seen a holy sepulchre, a valuable work of the fourteenth century," Lubke, *Ecclesiastical Art*, pp. 250-251. A similar chamber to that at Tunstead is said to exist at Brisley, also in Norfolk. See *Norfolk Arch.*, iv, p. 305.

enclosure made by two pointed arches, placed at right angles to each other; they are about a foot thick, and the east window, a Perpendicular one of three lights, has the splay of the jambs or sides continued to the ground, leaving a recess in the wall, a feature somewhat unusual in connection with an east window; the whole arrangement suggests that a passage was intended through the arches and behind the altar, which would usually in the middle ages stand a couple of feet or more from the east wall.¹ No tradition exists as to the use of this singular addition to the end of a church, and its preservation through the last three hundred years of a changed ritual, borders on the marvellous. The theory which I advance respecting it is that the arches supported a chasse, or reliquary chest, under which sat any diseased person desirous of obtaining his cure by the intercession of the saint whose relics were placed above him. This idea I consider to be supported by some remarks furnished by Mr. John Hewitt, in a paper published in the Twenty-sixth Volume of the *Archæological Journal*, and devoted to the consideration of a perforated tomb at Newington Street, Kent. Amongst other examples the writer describes the shrine of St. Dizier at Alsace, and gives an engraving from an old illumination, reproduced in a work of M. Viollet-le-Duc, which exhibits an altar with its retable, at the back of which, supported partly by the east wall and partly by the reredos, is a chasse of relics.

Concerning this representation an extract is given from the above author's book to the following effect: "The retable masks and supports the reliquary, under which anyone might place himself, according to an ancient custom to obtain the cure of certain infirmities."² I believe that at Rollesby the arches may have been the supports of a chasse of relics under which a person sat for the cure of his malady, and then passed out behind the altar. In confirmation of this view I am informed

¹ The centre of an altar so placed at Rollesby, would be exactly commanded by a squint still remaining in the north aisle of that church.

² At the present day the German pilgrims to the Church of S. Apollinaris, erected on the high hill north of Remogen, on reaching the edifice find, "a

monk and acolytes awaiting them. The priest then takes the relic which is the skull of S. Apollinaris encased in an artificial skull set with gold and precious stones, and holds it over the head of each pilgrim, after he or she has reverently kissed it." *Cath. Times*, July 27th, 1888.

that some years back there was a kind of seat under the arches in question. At Westminster the shrine of St. Edward has open arches, under which, I believe I am correct in saying, it was customary to seat those who desired that saint's intercession to cure their maladies. Respecting the shrine of St Dizier Mr. Hewitt quotes a passage from Didron to the following effect: "The tomb of St. Dizier in the little Church of St. Dizier, in Alsace, is nothing but a stone hollowed into the form of a little cell with two openings. Until 1835 persons suffering from mental malady were passed through these apertures; then they plunged them into a spring of water which runs through the village of Val. An analagous ceremony took place in Auvergne, at the tomb of St. Menoux, for the cure of head-aches." *Didron*, xviii, p. 51. The arch opening on the north side of the enclosure at Rollesby, and the lowered sill of the east window suggest that the invalid, after sitting under the relics, passed round the back of the altar to complete the cure. Passing through or round a sacred object has been a very common process in faith-healing,¹ and having never met with any explanation of the peculiarities seen at Tunstead and Rollesby, I have ventured to suggest the above solutions of the problems—which may be worth very little.

Nearly all Norfolk churches possess west towers, the doorways of many being of great richness; thus at Hickling the western entrance is combined with the window over it and a lofty niche in the apex of the latter, and decorated with more than thirty shields in panels. The width of many entrances is very great, so as to allow of the free egress and ingress of processions; at Tunstead, the opening has a clear space of six feet and seven inches; whilst at Felmingham it is no less than seven feet three inches; in both cases the doors are necessarily folding ones. At Cromer a band of sex-foils runs entirely round the doorway with six winged seraphs within the panels, and at Acle we find the donors of the north porch in a spandril of the outer door-head where

¹ At baptism in the Greek Church, the child is carried thrice round the font, and at marriage the newly wedded pair

walk three times round the temporary altar erected in the church.

they appear "bidding their beads."¹ A consecration cross remains on the same entrance, one of the two directed to be made by the bishop in the Roman ritual. The parvise is a frequent feature in East Anglian churches, and at Cromer there is one over each of the north and south porches.² These chambers were sometimes the abodes of recluses, both male and female, and the church at Lowestoft, in Suffolk, but on the border of Norfolk, still retains the porch chamber which tradition says was occupied by two-sisters before the Reformation. Even after the sixteenth century they were occasionally inhabited, and it is said that John Gibbs, the non-juring incumbent of Gissing, resided in the north porch of the church there after his expulsion from his cure. Frequently the floors of these parvises rested on groining; the bosses, of which exhibited religious figures or emblems.³ At Worstead we have one with the Holy Trinity; two throned and triple-crowned personages, with the dove at their knees; a symbolical representation differing from the usual mediæval one as commonly met with in England.⁴ Our Lord is seen ascending, accompanied by angels, on the centre boss at Hemsby, whilst His mother is figured on another. The coronation of the Blessed Virgin was at Cromer on a boss, now re-placed by one of a different design, and St. Michael, the patron saint of Worstead, appears in a similar manner. Holy water stoups are frequently met with, and there is a very elegant example at Aylmerton, where the bowl is under a finialed arch and carried by a shaft springing from the floor.⁵

¹ The base mouldings of the towers are frequently enriched by flint panel work, bearing the emblems or initials of the patron saints of the churches to which they belong. At St. James, South Repps, the scallop shell of the Apostle is introduced amid waving tracery, and at S. George's, Hindolvestone, the crowned G, and a floriated cross are similarly placed. The lower part of the tower at Coltishall bears the crowned I, for S. John the patron of that church. At North Repps the cornice over the west door has panels charged with I.H.C. and M.R. alternately.

² Cromer possesses three porches, north, south, and east.

³ The wooden floor of the parvise at

Aylsham, has richly moulded beams supported by curved braces springing from angel corbels. At Aylmerton the roof of this chamber has been prettily decorated with flower patterns in colours. When the apartment was inhabited and entered from the inside of the church, the doors of the latter were fastened by wooden bars let into holes in the walls, a practice still in use in some countries of the East.

⁴ At S. Nicholas, Lynn, the central and largest boss represents God the Father enthroned within a rayed glory, and tripled crowned; the smaller surrounding bosses bear figures of angels.

⁵ At Felbrigg there are two stoups in connection with the south porch.

At North Walsham a very curious altar table is preserved in the vestry, it is about the middle of the sixteenth century in date, long and narrow, as though intended to be sat at, it has turned legs which carry a frieze inscribed "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ," &c., over which the words "And blood" have been inserted in smaller letters; over the inscription is a band of pierced trefoiled tracery, showing the work to be very early in the Reformation period.¹ At Wickhampton, there is, I believe, an altar stone in the churchyard, but I have met with none *in situ*. The altar platforms remain at the ends of the aisles at Salthouse, with wooden risers, and the recesses for the altar tables or reredoses exist at the same place. Tunstead retains traces of the panelling over the high altar, and above the site of the north chapel altar at Worstead is a long panel bordered with foliage, which is said to have contained a representation of the beheading of St. John the Baptist.² The piscinas differ in many cases from those in other parts of England, being formed in the east splays of the side windows, the outer angle of each piscina being fitted with two arches supported by a shaft, and under the canopy thus constructed is the basin, which is single and foliated. An Early English one, of the more usual English form, is at Strumpshaw; it is very elegant and with two drains. At Upton the aisles have single piscinas under peculiar canopies filled with pierced tracery of very pretty design; whilst the high altar has a sunken sill for a seat, slightly raised above which is the basin for the piscina, without any covering. At Sherringham is the rare feature of one on the ground, the orifice being on the top of a small stone, moulded like the base of a column; it was in connection with an altar at the end of the north aisle. At Trunch is an example in the unusual position of the north wall of the north aisle, though there is ample room for its insertion in the southern

Baconthorpe has a recess for one in the western respond of the north aisle. There are two stoups one over the other at Billingsford, Norfolk, whilst at S. Nicholas, Lynn, is one in the shape of a small octagonal foot bowl with panelled sides, and an angel bearing a text.

¹ At Winchcomb, Glos., "The table for Communion is placed in the fashion

of Puritanical times, enclosed in a quadrangular space with seats all around and accommodation for kneeling." *Arch. Journal*, vol. xvii, p. 353.

² At Wilton, Norfolk, the reredos of the high altar is said to remain, with paintings of SS. John Evangelist and John Baptist.

respond.¹ At Wroxham there are squints from each aisle, and at Trunch there was one from the now destroyed vestry.

Beautiful as are the traceried bowls of many of the East-Anglian fonts, their interest is, I think, far surpassed by those which bear representations of the administration of the sacraments on seven of their sides, whilst the eighth has some appropriate scripture scene. These sculptures are mostly confined to this district, the only place where, so far as I am acquainted, a similar series exists, being at Farningham, in Kent. The idea intended to be conveyed in some examples is that the sacraments accompany the Christian from his birth until his death, and "after death the judgement," that event forming the subject of the last panel at Marsham and Martham, in the latter example epitomised by a figure of our Lord, flanked by two angels, triple crowned and bearing trumpets, a small skeleton rising from a tomb beneath our Lord. At Gresham the baptism of the Saviour forms the conclusion of the series. Many of these representations exhibit the ceremonies attendant on each rite very clearly, and often with a sly touch of humour. At Martham the priest in Baptism is seen dipping a nude infant into the font, whilst acolytes, one with an open book, the other with the cruets, stand at the left hand of the ecclesiastic, and the mother of the child kneels in front bidding her beads. An attendant in the representation of the same sacrament holds the chrysom cloth at Marsham. At this church Penance shows the confessor and his penitent beneath the outspread wings of an angel, whilst the devil is skulking away with his tail between his legs. At Gresham the figure of Satan was so dreadful that when uncovered from a coating of plaster some years back it was chipped away, leaving only its outline.²

¹ The high altar at Baconsthorpe, has a very beautiful Perpendicular piscina, with two trefoiled arches on marble shafts, and a third arch in the splay of the window whose lowered sill forms the sedile; there is a basin under the western arch but none in the eastern, which thus formed the shelf for the cruets. At S. Nicholas, Lynn, there is a piscina without any sinking, but simply four holes pierced through the slab beneath the recess, a very unusual ar-

range ment. At Roughton, near Cromer, there were two piscinas, one near the high altar, and another in the now destroyed vestry.

² Confirmation as represented at Gresham, Martham, and elsewhere, shows babes in long clothes brought to the bishop; in an example at West Lynn, Norfolk, a man holds one child, a woman another; probably as representatives of the two sexes.

These sculptures were very often coloured and gilded, and the spandrils over them occasionally show the various *instrumenta* employed in the administration of the ceremonies. At Acle the font has panels, one of which has the usual representation of the Trinity, and another the virgin of Pity, the latter a curious composition, as our Lord is portrayed reclining in the arms of His Mother, who appears to be offering to him her breast.¹ Buckenham Ferry has on the shaft among other figures those of SS. Margaret and Nicholas, the first being the patroness of motherhood, and the second, the patron of childhood. Seated lions and woodhouses, or wild men, are placed alternately on the shafts of many Norfolk and Suffolk fonts, as at Acle and Ludham, in the former county; at Ludham the woodhouses are male and female, the latter holding a little woodhouse in her arms.

Woodhouses are the supporters of some coats of arms and form charges on others, but this does not, I think, account for their appearance on the stems of so many fonts, for they would seem to have entered into other features of church decorative sculpture. Thus, at Potter Heigham was a large figure of one, part of which has been placed in the niche over the south porch doorway, and there is in the accounts of Mettingham College, Suffolk, the entry of a payment in 1413 of 40^d to Thomas of Yarmouth for making a "woodwyse" or woodhouse. The presence of the statues in churches of such "halfe-beastly men," as Spenser entitles them, is unaccounted for.²

At Potter Heigham is a remarkable font which, with the high steps forming the base, is entirely composed of terra cotta, or moulded brickwork, the joints of which being wide and the edges of the various pieces very ragged, would seem to show that it was originally covered

¹ Our Lady of Pity occurs on the font bowl at West Drayton, Middlesex, upon which there are also the Crucifixion, and a symbolical representation of "the acco laid at the root of the tree." The stem of this remarkable font is pierced in an unusual but elegant manner.

² In the *Faerie Queene*, book ii, canto x, we read—

"But far inland a salvage nation dwelt,
Of hideous giants and halfe-beastly
men,
That never tasted grace, nor goodness
felt."

And in book iv, canto 7—

"— a wilde and salvage man
Yet was no man, but onely like in shape
And eke in stature higher by a span
All overgrown with haire."

with an extremely thin coating of plaster, such as was used in former times, but never seen now.

The canopy enclosing the font at Trunch is so well known that it is only alluded to here as displaying traces of a crucifix and its attendant figures, having been once fixed on its east side. Pyramidal covers of rich character have adorned the fonts at Worstead and North Walsham, the latter example ending in a pelican for finial, as in many other cases both at home and abroad. At Sherringham the font, placed as usual in Norfolk in the central passage of the nave, has over it a tie beam entering into the construction of the roof and furnished with wall pieces and curved braces, all having been elaborately polychromed, and evidently intended to support the chain connected with the canopy of the font under it.

At the above-named village, and at Barningham Northwood, the seats are shortened in length, or splayed off as it were, to allow of the free progress of processions round the font. In the latter example, immediately east of it, is some stonework let into the floor; it is exactly like a wheel window, and forms a circle 5 ft. in diameter, with a small nave or round in the centre, from whence radiate eight spokes, ending in trefoil arches, the interstices being filled in with neatly cut pieces of brick. This remarkable inlaid figure appears to me intended for a wheel of fortune, placed before the font, as an emblem of human life begun at baptism, to which opinion some measure of support is given by tradition, which asserts that it is a *wheel* placed in memory of a coachman; so that popularly the stonework is considered a wheel, and not the template of a window, as some have conjectured it to be, though there are no traces of any circular window at Barningham Northwood. The probability of its having been intended for a wheel of fortune does not appear so improbable when it is remembered that the same object was painted on the wall at Catfield, in this part of Norfolk. Allusions to fortune and her false wheel are frequent in contemporary writers, such as Chaucer and Gower, and occur in the works of the 16th century Spenser. Great dignity is given to many East Anglian fonts by the number and richness of the steps upon which they are

placed; elaborate panel work cover the risers of many, and on the tread of one set at Acle is inscribed a request to pray for the souls of the donors. Occasionally the upper ranges of steps are so contrived as to allow four out of the top range to project in the form of a cross, as at Potter Heigham; in others, two only do so, as at Worstead, on the east and south sides, and where they are traditionally thus placed for the priest and the sponsor.

There is a very interesting leaden font at Brundal, where the bowl has several crucifixes upon it, the date is very late Norman, or more probably Early English; the figure of our Lord has the feet uncrossed. Another fine leaden example was at Great Plumpstead; but it has been so shockingly mutilated that only a portion remains about the depth of an ordinary stew-pan. I had been led to expect a third specimen at Hasingham, but was disappointed to find that it had been replaced by a stone one of common-place design. Notwithstanding the iconoclastic doings of the Puritans the old fonts were generally respected, and the only seventeenth century one that I have met with occurs at Burlingham St. Edmund, where the stem has very quaint columns to support the bowl.

The many charmingly beautiful rood-screens remaining in Norfolk and Suffolk show us in a vivid manner by their painted effigies, the saints chiefly honoured by our ancestors. The Apostles are those most frequently met with after which come the four Evangelists, and the four Fathers of the Western Church. Perhaps next may be placed the two deacon martyrs, Stephen and Laurence, generally seen together on the same screen; the prophets of the old dispensation and the nine choirs of angels were duly honoured, as were the local saints, either those canonized in due form, or such as were reckoned saintly only in popular estimation. Perhaps St. Catherine is the foremost in the number of female saints portrayed on these screens, but SS. Cecilia, Helen, Margaret, Barbara, and Mary Magdalen appear with almost equal frequency. The Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin is seen at North Walsham, and she appears in company with her mother St. Anne, at Somerlayton, in Suffolk, but on the Norfolk border; her effigy does not occur frequently on screens,

as in most churches she had an altar, image, or chapel devoted to her honour. The Apostles are figured so frequently that it is unnecessary to mention any examples. At Beeston, St. Peter holds a book inscribed "Credo in dm. pat. onpt.;" he is placed immediately north of the screen doorway at Filby, and St. Paul, in a corresponding position, south of it. The keys held by St. Peter are occasionally conjoined in base, as at Filby and Ludham. St. Mark at Potter Heigham is presented to us carrying his emblem of the lion very comfortably seated on his right arm, and St. John at Belaugh holds a chalice from whence an extremely ugly black devil is issuing. Many figures exhibit excellent examples of the ecclesiastical vestments. St. Jerome is always in the scarlet robes of a cardinal, and at Ludham his hat has the broad brim turned down and decorated with several golden ouches or broaches, whilst at his feet gambols his pet lion like a small dog, in a most playful manner.

St. Gregory seen triple-crowned at Upton, wears the mitre of a simple bishop at Tunstead, where he holds a double crozier; at Potter Higham this emblem is in the form of a single cross, and is altogether omitted at Upton. St. Benedict at Burlingham St. Andrew, has a large tonsure, and holds a pastoral staff which pierces a howling demon at his feet, another devil is laughing behind the saint's back and both have skins of dark brown dotted over with red spots, like those of the fish called plaice; the saint is vested in appareled albe, which is crossed by a bright green stole, and covered by a cope of the same colour. At Great Plumstead, the patriarch of western monks is in the full black habit of his order edged with gold, and having two golden broaches attached to the hood, a feature which I have not met with elsewhere. At Hempstead, St. Francis shows uplifted hands to exhibit his stigmata, whilst a crozier leans against him; this emblem is I believe unusual in connection with this saint. In the same church SS. Stephen and Lawrence shew the sleeves of their dalmatics turned back over their arms in a curious manner. St. Clara with book in left hand and monstrance in right, is at Trimmingham, where she appears in full conventual dress of a puce colour, whilst the Benedictine costume and attributes of an abbess

adorn the figure of St. Etheldreda at Upton; here the habit is coloured a very dark green, and a rich crown surmounts the hood. St. Withiburga, born at Holkham, Norfolk, appears in an interesting picture at Burlingham. St. Andrew, clothed in royal robes duly ermined; in her left hand she carries an elaborate model of a cross church inscribed "Ecclesia de Dereham," in allusion to the one she founded at that place. With her right hand she upholds her mantle, and on either side of the figure trip two harts, as symbols of the solitary life of the saint. St. Cecilia at Filby is crowned with a rose garland, and bears another in her hand for Valerian, her betrothed husband, in accordance with the legend, which says:—

"Valerian goth home and fint Cecilie
Within his chambre with an angel stonde;
This angel had of roses and of lilie
Corones two, the which he bore in honde,
And first to Cecile, as I understonde,
He yaf that on, and after gan he take
That other to Valerian her make."

Chaucer, Cant. Tales, 15,686. 15,692.

A fine series of prophets exists at Aylsham, the figures being remarkable for the variety of life-like attitudes in which they are placed by the artist. A similar company of Old Testament worthies was at Salthouse, but of much less merit in conception. The remarkable screen at Barton Turf with the nine choirs of angels is well known. St. George combating the dragon appears on many screens; at Filby his effigy is clad in armour and appendages of a thoroughly German type. St. Eligius at Hempstead has a hammer in one hand and a horse's leg in the other. Occasionally saints of whom little is known appear on screens; thus at Upton is St. Joan of Valois holding a very capacious wicker basket, and a bowl as large as an ordinary wash-hand basin. St. Petronilla appears at Trimmingham with book and key, and at Worstead is a remarkable female saint bearded and tied to a cross; she is crowned and the nimbus is placed at the back of the cross. In the same church is also St. William of Norwich, thorn-crowned, with a knife in his side, and holding two nails.

Kingly saints were much honoured and the screen at Catsfield bears no uncrowned figures on its panels, whilst

at Burton Turf, a parclose is similarly enriched with royal saints. St. Edmund appears at Trimmingham in company with another personage who may be Saint Edward the Confessor; he holds a small bird in his left hand, and is remarkable for having not only a respectably sized forked beard, but abundance of long flowing tresses reaching to his waist; the Confessor holding up the traditionary ring is figured at Ludham, where is also the local royal saint Walstan with his emblem of the scythe; he is met with also at Burlingham St. Andrew, where his legs are bare to the knee in allusion to his having given his shoes to a beggar.

King Henry VI. is often seen on East Anglian screens as well as wall paintings, in which representations due attention is paid to the fact that he was uncanonised; thus at Barton Turf, he is unnimbed, whilst at Ludham he has the aureole, but in both cases the word *Rex* is prefixed to his name, instead of *Sanctus*, placed before those of the saints with whom he is associated. I know of no emblem given to this saint, but a painting at Weasenhams had an antelope at his feet.¹

At Sherringham the screen and loft are unusually perfect, retaining the staircase with its upper and lower wooden doors. In the aisleless nave at Hempstead there were altars on either side of the screen, it having been returned at right angles to enclose them; and at Tunstead the north and south ends of the loft projected beyond the rest. Before the west face of the screen at Ludham is a platform several feet wide, raised on one step, similar to one at Hitcham, Suffolk, which, however, has two steps. At Potter Heigham the loft appears to have been east of the screen, but is generally supported by a beam resting on two posts, a foot or two west of the rood-

¹ The personal popularity of Henry VI. must have been very great in East Anglia, especially if the political tendencies of the people in that part of England, were in favour of the Yorkists, as they are said to have been. Many wills give directions for pilgrimages to be made from places in the Eastern counties to the king's temporary burial place at Chertsey; that of Margaret Est. of S. Martin's-in-the-Bailey, Norwich, dated 1484, provides a sum to enable a man to go for her "on pylgry-

mage unto y^e Abbey of Cherksey ther as King Henry lyeth." *Norf. Archaeol.*, vol. iv. Another will, that of a Lady Darcy, enjoins her servant Marguerete Stamford to go a pilgrimage to "Seint William of Rowchester, and to King Henry." *Essex Arch. Trans.*, vol. iv, p. 6. These vicarious pilgrimages were not confined to Christianity, but the Mohammedan rules also commanded that "these who cannot go themselves must hire some other to go in their room." *Sale's Koran*, p. 44, n.

screen, as at Sherringham, and at Burton, in Sussex. The rood was often borne on a beam above and independent of the loft, as at Tunstead, where the mortises for the cross and the attendant figures are plainly visible; this beam also remains at Ludham and Potter Heigham.¹ At Acle and Worstead the screens rise to a magnificent height, and the one at Ingham was of stone, of which part only remains.

The condition of these fine screens is in many cases lamentable, partly from the effects of time, but still more so from bad usage or neglect. Several have been demolished during the last few years, others have been cut up to form reredoses, as at Beeston and Salthouse, or put away with old lumber, as at North Repps; but the worst case is at Lessingham, where from the nave roof having fallen in during the winter previous to my visit, I am unable to say if any of the screen remains amid the ruins.

The rood-loft staircase is often formed in Norfolk churches in the following manner. A flight of steps is placed in front of the lower doorway of the stairs turret, which is thus entered at three or four feet from the floor level, and the turret itself does not spring from the ground but is projected from the wall at some distance from it, and supported on a cross arch, as may be seen at Belaugh. A similar arrangement was a favourite one for the staircase leading to the parvise. At Catfield this is made a very pretty feature, the inner doorway being in an angle having a battlemented cornice; in the same edifice the rood-loft stretched across both aisles, and some of the steps up to it were cut in the sills of the adjacent windows in an ingenious manner.²

There is a feature in East Anglian churches not often seen elsewhere, I allude to the mediæval western gallery or bell solar which is found in many of the more important edifices, and treated in a much more ornamental manner than the generality of later west galleries, of

¹ The rood-beam at Sutton bears a text in modern lettering, perhaps replacing a former inscription. At Shopland, Essex, the rood was carried on a tie-beam of the roof (there being no chancel arch), the mortise for its insertion being very

clearly seen. At Salthouse and Scarning the Sanctus bells are said to be still hanging from the screens.

² This method of constructing the rood-loft staircase occurs also at S. Michael's, Ormeby, and elsewhere.

which these erections were the prototypes. They are often supported by stoutly timbered framework and arched bracing pieces, as at Aylsham and Trunch; both are coloured, the latter in a bold and rather vulgar design, and is destitute of a gallery front. At the magnificent church of Worstead, the bell solar is an elegant structure groined in wood in a manner similar to that of a rood-loft; an English inscription running along the front, records the erection of it in 1501, when there "Wer hus bodis Chrystofyr Kat Jefferey Dey;" an early instance of churchwarden self-glorification. There were bell solars at Cromer, Felmingham, and the ruined edifice at Overstrand. It is hardly necessary to say that they were not intended for congregational purposes, but as their name indicates for the greater convenience of bell ringing.¹

There are many examples of low side windows, those at Sherringham and Wickhampton have their sills lowered to form seats similar to those often found in connection with altars; this feature shows that at both places it was customary for someone to sit before the openings inside the chancels, and, I consider, thus proving these lych-noscopes were for confessional purposes. At Ludham there has been an opening, now blocked, immediately under the west window, in place of the usual doorway; it resembles a wide lancet and has the head simply trefoiled, and the sill has under it a piece of moulded work or stringing course; it is placed at a height suitable for a person to kneel before the opening and look through it. Western low-side windows occur at the ends of the north aisles at Stanford-le-Hope, Essex, and St. Mary, Guildford, Surrey. At North Walsham, close to the inside of the north doorway, has been an opening 6 in. high by 4 in. wide pierced in the wall, at about 4 ft. from the floor, and was probably for confessional uses. A lychnoscope is found on each side of the chancel at Hempstead.²

¹ There is also a bell solar at Hindolveston; in all the instances cited the towers in which they are met with have western doors, showing that these galleries were intended to facilitate the passage of processions through the

western entrances whilst the bells were being rung.

² At Hargham, near Attleborough, there is a wall at the back of one of the sedilia, which is pierced through; "this opening went to the outside of the wall,

There is a statement in an archæological work that only one Easter Sepulchre exists among the 729 parishes into which Norfolk is divided ; this is quite incorrect, for besides the noble one at Northwood, reported to be the largest in England, there are many others, of which that at Baconsthorpe deserves notice. The front has three arches over which is another panelled and flanked by pinnacles ; it is pierced through at the back into the sacristy. Another somewhat resembling the above is at Kelling, in the same neighbourhood ; here the pinnacles are combined with the panel work in an effective and original manner.

A long cupboard is provided for the parish processional cross and banner staves in some East of England churches ; there is a large one in the north wall of the tower at Cromer, and at Catsfield it is formed in the west wall of the nave, north of the belfry.

There is a beautiful wooden pulpit resting on a stone base, at Burlingham St. Edmund's ; it has been highly coloured and gilt, and round the cornice is the text in Latin : " Among those born of women there has not risen a greater than John the Baptist." A very ancient example is, I believe, at Thurning, Norfolk, and a late one at Hingham bears the text " Necessity is laid upon me, yea woe is me, if I preach not the Gospel," 1 Cor. xx, v. 6.

At Ludham there is a remarkably rude alms box, placed at the west end of the nave ; it consists of a post hollowed out of the solid at the top, and firmly clamped with stout iron strap-work, which has been furnished with three padlocks ; a more elegant example remains at Blythburgh, Suffolk, but also with the receptacle for alms sunk out of the block of wood. Townley in his work *Biblical Literature* says : " This kind of poors-box is common all over the north of Europe, and is placed either at the church door, the entrance to the churchyard, or at the roadside adjoining the church." At Sprawston, Norfolk,

but not directly, so as to serve as a squint, but with a curve, so that it could only be used for the purpose of speaking or hearing through. Externally it had been bricked up." *Norf. Arch.*, iv, 351. At Melton-Constable the lychscope is provided with a desk, and the same

feature appears at Doddington in Kent. An engraving of this peculiarity is given in Glynne's *Churches of Kent*, p. 200. An Article on *Medieval Confessionals* will be found in *Reliquary*, vol. xxiv, p. 129.

there is an alms collecting box, of 17th century date, similar to one at Shipley, Sussex.¹

Consecration crosses are generally plain red crosses-patée and there are four such at Upton, two near the chancel arch and the others adjacent to the aisle piscinas; but at Worstead the consecration crosses are differently treated and become prominent features in the wall decorations; whilst to a certain extent retaining the patée outline, the emblem is floriated, and in some of them encircled with a garland of foliage and flowers, whilst others had black letter legends round them, the size of these crosses is also larger than usual. I am only aware of one other example of an elaborately ornamented consecration cross—at Darenth, Kent, where there is one painted on the south wall of an aisle. In the present Roman ceremonial observed at the consecration of a church, the bishop “anoints with holy chrism the crosses on the two stone door-posts of the church,” and afterwards “the bishop proceeds to anoint the twelve crosses on the walls of the church, and afterwards incenses them.” An engraving from an illumination (given in the *Art Journal* for 1866, p. 359), represents a bishop anointing these crosses on a church interior, of which emblems three are seen, one over each of the piers of the nave arcade; they are of the patée form, and reached by a ladder on which the bishop is represented standing. At Cowfold, in Sussex, the same ceremony was performed at the dedication of the new Carthusian monastic church, a few years ago, temporary staircases being erected for the purpose.

The remarkably fine church at Salthouse, a little village near Holt, has aisles of four bays, each of which has two complete and long two-light windows, a conception giving a wonderful amount of dignity to the edifice, and which I have not met with elsewhere. These windows have their inside sills lowered for seats, forming an almost continuous bench table, and at Belough there is a stone seat at the west end of the north aisle, whilst at Tunstead both aisles have benches of stone.

¹ At Whatton, Norfolk, is an Alms-box dated 1639, with text “Remember the Poore,” it is fashioned like a half-

length figure, with a bag in the left hand, into which the alms are dropped. See *Norf. Arch.*, iii, p. 398.

The wooden seats which remain are generally narrow and low, with very small bench-ends. At Martham and Ludham they had no backs, but in the latter place the end row of seating had the space under it elaborately panelled with pierced tracery. There is a fine series of bench-ends at Sherringham, having among other things carved on them a mermaid, cat and kitten, and a crying child with its nurse. At Trunch there are wiverns and sphynxes on the stall ends.¹

Considering the numerous fittings which exist perfect in so many churches of East Norfolk the quantity of stained glass remaining is remarkably small. The choirs of angels appear to have been in the upper part of a window at Hempstead, of which only a power, triple crowned, and a six-winged seraph remain; there are several saintly figures at Martham, including a large one of St. Michael with scales, and others of SS. Agnes, Edmund, Margaret, and Martha, and some pretty bordering remains refixed at Potter Heigham. The emblems of the Eucharist, a golden chalice and white host, are on the red field of a shield at Plumstead. At Belough the *Excursions in Norfolk*, published in 1819, mention an interesting window, showing St. Michael as the patron of the Universal Church; this has quite disappeared, and such being the case I quote the account given of this glass: "In the north chancel window of the church St. Michael holds a sceptre and a sword, and a pair of scales with the bible in the other hand, and under him are a number of men, women, and children; above him is a Latin inscription in ancient characters, expressing that Saint Michael is the guardian of the faithful people" (*Ex. Norf.* I, p. 124.) At Lammas the same work records the representation in one window of the Last Judgement, and the Blessed Virgin Mary as patroness of the seven corporal works of mercy (I, p. 165). I am unaware if this still exists.

Ancient altar cloths are said to remain at St. Gregory's Norwich, and a frontal from the ruined church of Whittingham, to be preserved at Trowse.

At Great Plumstead a volume of the Paraphrases of

¹ At Long Stratton, Norfolk, the open seats are stated to have nearly a hundred different patterns on the finials.

Erasmus remains in the church chest. It is very perfect and has quaintly engraved initial letters, another book at the same place is a sixteenth century collection of 117 Homilies.

The tomb of Sir Roger de Bois and his wife, dated about 1380, at Ingham, has a very beautiful sculptured representation of angels presenting the souls of the former to God, and the angelic figures at the sides of the same monument are unusually graceful in design.

In many churchyards, there formerly existed chapels, which were separate buildings; the remains of one such exist at Salthouse, and there was a similar erection at Hickling now destroyed. The mortuary or charnel chapel at the west end of Norwich Cathedral had its exact counterpart at King's Lynn; in both cases there was an undercroft lighted by windows and surmounted by a lofty single aisled chapel.¹ The only churchyard cross I have heard of in East Norfolk is at Ingoldsthorpe. A very pretty wayside one remains at Aylmerton, and has a well designed base and shaft; the head, however, is new. Respecting these latter crosses, I cannot refrain from quoting a passage from the will of an East Norfolk lady, one Joan Thurcock, of Cley-next-the-Sea, it bears date 1505, and says: "I will that myn executors do make a crosse of tree be twix thys and the church, if so be they may gett the ground of some gode man to set the crosse on and ther to have a restyng stole for folkys to syt on." At Hemsby there are four crosses at some distance from the church, and said to have marked the space included as a sanctuary.²

Much more could have been said on the ritualistic ecclesiology of this part of England, especially as regards the fine rood-screens; but as, in the words of an old preacher, I would "rather send away my hearers longing than loathing," I bring these remarks to a conclusion.

¹ In 1308, a carnyary or charnel-house was built in the churchyard of S. Nicholas, Great Yarmouth, by a widow Sybilla Plath, with a chapel over it, and endowed by her for two priests to conduct divine service in it. In 1588, it was pulled down and one of the city towers, King Henry III tower, converted to a receptacle for human remains.

Manship's History of Great Yarmouth, quo. in Guide to S. Nicholas Church, p. 26.

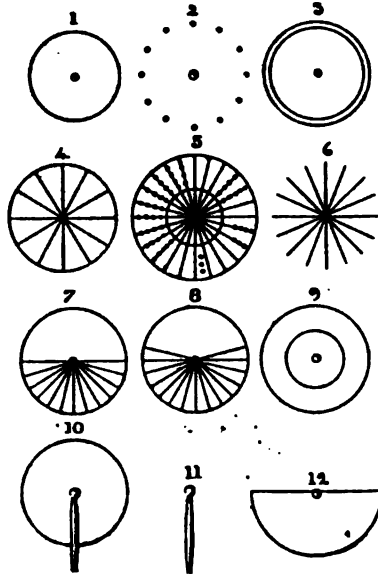
² The boundary of the sanctuary space at Ripon, was "indicated by eight crosses surrounding the church at some distance, one of which remains in a ruined state, and is called Sharrow Cross." About Yorkshire, p. 219.

CUP AND CIRCLE MARKINGS ON CHURCH WALLS IN WARWICKSHIRE AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

By W. ANDREWS.

In 1882 the Warwickshire Field Club visited Solihull, when upon the west end of the church upon both sides of the doorway we found about 100 well-formed cup marks upon the wall, within a few feet of the ground. They were hemispherical, and about 2 ins. in diameter, smooth inside and well-finished, and had evidently been produced by a drill; upwards of forty were upon one block of stone. No knowledge of the origin of them was possessed by the officials of the church. Interspersed among them were a number of vertical grooves. These grooves are very common upon church walls in Warwickshire, and are traditionally believed to have been produced by sharpening arrows. Two years later I noticed a number of similar cup marks upon the tower of Yardley Church, near Birmingham; and afterwards about fifty upon the south face of the tower of All Saints' Church, Derby. This led me to make further researches, and within the last year I have found similar marks upon at least a dozen village churches within a few miles of Coventry. There are also a great number upon the bell tower at Evesham. I can give no opinion about the origin of these cup marks, but two theories have been suggested. The first is, that they are bullet marks. This theory would suppose that the walls of three-fourths of the Warwickshire churches have been used for target practice, which I find difficult to believe. Also the Solihull marks have certainly been made by a drill. I have seen thousands of bullet marks upon walls on the battle-fields of the continent, but they bear no resemblance to these cups upon the church walls. Possibly, however, the following may throw some light upon the subject. In the proceedings of the Berlin Anthropological Society for June, 1875 (see *Nature*, June 8th, 1882), attention was called to the existence of cup marks on the church of Cottbus in Brandenburg. The result of this was that similar marks were afterwards discovered in more than twenty different localities in Prussia, also in Germany, Switzerland and Sweden. They are usually on the south side of churches, near an entrance, and not beyond the height of a man's arm. These cups are believed to possess healing virtues, chiefly for charming away fevers, and in some modern instances these cups in the church walls have been anointed with grease like the cups in the prehistoric elf-stenar in Sweden. In Posen a tradition refers to the cups as the work of damned souls, who ground them out in the night time.

I have also found that church walls contain other markings, especially incised circles, which often have rays diverging from the centre. The smallest which I have yet found is $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter upon Nuneaton Church, and the largest 23 in. in diameter (half a circle only) upon the Church of Hampton in Arden. The simplest form is a plain circle with hole in centre Fig. 1. There are thirteen of this pattern, about 7 in. in



diameter, upon a buttress at the north-west corner of the Abbey Church at Bath. One similar in size upon Dadlington Church, Leicestershire. Three smaller ones upon Floore Church, Northamptonshire, &c. There are six spot circles, similar to Fig. 2, upon the south wall of Nuneaton Church. They vary from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter. There is one 18 in. in diameter, represented by Fig. 8, upon a south buttress of the chancel of Cubbington Church, Warwickshire. Of Fig. 4 there are two examples on Nuneaton Church; one upon Berkswell Church, Warwickshire; and two upon Norton Church, Northamptonshire. They vary from $3\frac{1}{4}$ to 9 in. in diameter.

Upon Stoke Golding Church, Leicestershire, is a 12 in. circle, of which Fig. 5 is a sketch. Beside the diverging rays there are rows of holes sometimes coinciding with the rays and sometimes not. Upon Knowle Church, Warwickshire, is a group of sixteen rays of 7 in. in diameter, but without a circle similar to Fig. 6. Fig. 7 is a common pattern. These usually are from 6 to 8 in. in diameter, and at first sight look like miniature sun dials. But the rays are equi-distant or nearly so, and consequently do not correspond to the hour lines upon a dial. Also no figures are engraved. There are four of these upon Shilton Church, near Coventry, three of which are close together and near the ground. The south wall of Floore Church, Northamptonshire, has the remains of nine of this pattern, some of them seem not to have

been properly completed. There are also examples upon the churches of Cubbington and Chilvers Coton, Warwickshire ; and also at Hinckley, Leicestershire. There is a well cut example of Fig. 8 upon the south side of Ledbury church, Herefordshire, also another of similar appearance, but not so distinct. Upon Hampton in Arden church is a seven inch circle, shewn in Fig. 9, with another circle concentric within it. Here is also a five inch circle, Fig. 10, with a vertical groove below the centre. Also upon the same wall ten vertical grooves similar to Fig. 11. Upon this church is also a plain half circle, Fig. 12, fifteen inches in diameter. At Bradford Abbas, Dorset, are two rayed circles similar to Fig. 7. I have unfortunately spoiled the sketch of them, but my recollection is that one of them overlaps the other.

It will be asked, Who made these circles ; why were they made ; and when were they made ? To these questions I can at present give no answer. Further investigation is desirable. All the circles contain a small central hole, and, as I have already explained, many of them possess rays. There is no uniform number of rays to the circle. Fig. 6 has sixteen. Twelve in the half circle or twenty-four to the circle is not an uncommon number. A sketch which I have of a circle upon Nuneaton church contains only ten to the circle, and I think it is correct. My belief is that some of these rayed circles have been left unfinished. On Nuneaton church there is a central spot with only three rays, and another with only one ray. The worn and decayed state of most of these circles shews that they are ancient. Most of them are upon the south side of the churches. I only know of one instance (Bath) where I have found circles upon the north side. This seems to indicate that, although they are not sun dials, they may possibly in some way symbolize the sun.

BANBURY CROSS.

By W. LOVELL.

It may be safely affirmed that, thanks to the nursery rhyme, this celebrated cross will never be forgotten while the English language lasts. Looking back to early times we shall see what was said of the cross. It is mentioned in the reign of Edward VI as the "High Crosse." Leland writes, "The fayrest street of the town lyeth by West and East down to the River of Charwell. In the West part of this street is a large area invironed with meetly good buildings, havinge a goodly Crosse with many degrees (steps) about it. In this area is kept every Thursday a very celebrated market. There runneth through this area a purle (pool) of fresh water." The situation of the principal cross is thus identified as being in the part now called the Horse Fair. But Jonson tells us that the advent of Queen Elizabeth brought evil days to the Catholicks. From the date of the execution of the Earl of Essex, which took place in 1601, the oppressed adherents of Rome waxed boldly in the expression of their opinion. Under the strict rule of the Puritans the Show and Pageants which were periodically used at Banbury, Coventry and other places were suppressed, and an attempt was made by the Catholics to revive them. The dresses were procured, the characters rehearsed, and a day fixed for the performance at Banbury. The procession of the performers had reached the High Cross, and the actors were engaged in the prologue of the play when a counter-demonstration issued from the High street, and a collision ensued between the excited partisans of the conflicting creeds. A regular *mêlée* is described as having taken place; but the supporters of the reformed doctrines having both numbers and the law upon their side seem eventually to have had the best of the fray. Having succeeded in driving their antagonists out of the town the rage of the populace took a new direction. Hammers and pickaxes were procured and the "goodly cross," the symbol of the faith of the Catholic World, was strewed in ruins through the Horse Fair. So thorough was the work of destruction that Richard Corbet, Bishop of Oxford, in his *Iter Boreale*, thus describes it—

"The Crosses also like old stumps of trees
Or stoole for horsemen that have feeble knees,
Carry no heads above ground. They which tell
That Christ hath nere descended into hell
But to the grave, his picture buried have,
In a far deeper dungeon than a grave."

To the church the crowd repaired next, and worked their frantic will upon the stately temple. The magnificent windows of stained glass were shivered to atoms as savouring too strongly of idolatry, and the statuary and sculpture mutilated and defaced by the hands of those insensible to forms of beauty. Bishop Corbet charges the rioters with not having left the leg or arm of an apostle, and says that the names of the churchwardens were the only inscriptions to be seen upon the walls. Some legal proceedings appear to have been taken respecting this outrage at Banbury, as some "charges about the syte of the Cross" are mentioned in the Corporation Accounts in 1612. This work of mad destruction appears to have extended to every cross in Banbury, as appears by Corbet's lines before quoted. At an early date the names appear of the "Market Cross," "The Bread Cross" (repaired in 1663), and the "White Cross" without Sugarford Bar, West Bar, besides Weeping Cross beyond the boundary of the parish. There is an ancient gift of one Hall of Bodicot of 3s. yearly to be distributed in bread to the poor of Banbury. The Commissioners on Churches in 1824 state that it has been usual to distribute this bread in Oxford Bar Street on Good Friday; the vicinity of the cross thereto seems to give us the origin of the name of Bread Cross.

But to return to the "High Cross." The inhabitants have to thank the present Empress Frederick for its restoration, for it was not until her marriage that it was resolved to restore the Cross as the most graceful memorial of that event; for to think of Banbury without a cross is to set at defiance all the records of legendary lore. So subscription lists were opened, and the present elegant structure of hexagonal form was erected from a design by Mr. Gibbe of Oxford. It is fifty-two feet in height, of Bath stone, and is divided into three storeys or compartments. The panels of the centre compartment are richly ornamented with the foliage of the rose, ivy, acacia, chestnut, hollyhock and vine, and graced with the arms of Queens Mary and Victoria, Kings Charles I and George I, the Empress Frederick William of Prussia, the Earls of Banbury and Guildford, Viscount Saye and Sele, Sir William Cope, Sir William Compton, the Bishop of Lincoln, and the Rev. William Whately, who was Vicar of Banbury from 1610 to 1639. This William Whately was a Puritan, and is thus referred to by Bishop Corbet—

"If not for God's for Mr. Whateley's sake
Level the walks; suppose these pitfalls make,
Him sprain a lecture or displace a joint
In his long prayer or in his fifteenth point."

The following are some allusions to Banbury in literature:—

Braithwaite in his "Drunken Barnaby's Four Journeys" refers to the town in the well-known strain—

"To Banbury came I, O profane one!
There I saw a Puritane one
Hanging of his cat on Monday
For killing of a mouse on Sunday."

Ben Jonson in his comedy of "Bartholomew Fair" thus refers to Banbury—

Winwife. Alas, I am quite off that scent now.
Quarulous. How so?

Winnif. Put off by a brother of Banbury, one that they say is come here and governs all already.

Quarions. What do you call him ? I knew divers of those Banburians when I was in Oxford.

Littlewit. Rabbi Busy, sir ; he is more than an Elder, he is a prophet, sir.

Quarions. O, I know him ! he is a baker, is he not ?

Littlewit. He was a baker, sir, but he does dream now and see visions, he has given over the trade.

Quarions. I remember that, too ; out of a scruple he took that in spiced conscience those cakes he made were served to brideales, may poles, morrisses, and such profane feasts and meetings. His Christian name is Zeal, of the Land Busy.

William Cartwright, in his comedy entitled "The Ordinary," which appeared in 1651, makes a gamester say—

"I'll send some forty thousand unto Paul's,
Build a Cathedral next in Banbury,
Give organs to each parish in the Kingdom,
And so root out the unmusical elect."

John Cleveland, in a poem printed in 1656 in defence of the decent ornaments of Christchurch, Oxon, occasioned by a Banbury Brother, who called them Idolatries, asks—

"Shall we say
Banbury is turn'd Rome because we may
See the Holy Lamb and Christopher ? Nay more,
The Altar stone set at the tavern doore."

Sir Wm. Davenant, in his Comedy of "The Wits," in speaking of a lady, says—

She is more devout than a Weaver of Banbury that hopes to entice heaven by singing, to make him lord of twenty loams ! "The Tattler" for Sept. 5, 1710, gives a jocular account of an Ecclesiastical Thermometer which had been invented for testing the degrees of zeal of particular places in behalf of the Church. The writer states that the town of Banbury, which had been singled out by Dr. Fuller a century before for its cakes and zeal, proved itself by "the glass," i.e. the above-mentioned thermometer to be still characterised in a marked manner by the latter peculiarity. In the days of Fuller the material things which the town was remarkable for were—veal, cheese and cakes ; while it is not less certain that in the abstract article Zeal Banbury was also notable. Thereby hangs a jest. When Philemon Holland was printing his English Edition of Camden's "Britannia" he added to the author's statement of Banbury being famous for cheese, the words "cake and ale," and so it was passing through the press when Mr. Camden coming in and seeing the change, thinking "ale" a somewhat disrespectful reference, substituted for it the word zeal, very unluckily, as it proved, for the Puritans who abounded in the town were greatly offended by the allusion, and so more was lost than gained.

Mr. Philip Rushes, who was a resident of Banbury, and died in 1832, thus describes the church in 1789, the year before its destruction in his metrical description of the churches seen from Couch Hill—

" But see where o'er the rest will nobler blaze
 Its right crowned turrets Banbury displays
 Upon its hallow'd walls and wide around,
 Thick rising structures occupy the ground.
 Behold how Phoebus with his early lights
 Shines on the battlements and builded heights."

The old church, a very handsome edifice, and one of the largest in the county, was taken down in 1790 under the authority of an Act of Parliament and the present ungainly structure erected on its site. (Add. MSS. Cole, 5832, page 178. Banbury Church, by Browne Willis).—

	yds.	ft.	in.
Length of the Body from West to East	-	31	1 9
Bredth of the Cross Isle from East to West	-	10	2 6
Length of the Chancel from West to East	-	21	1 9
Bredth of the Body from South to North	-	27	1 6
Length of the Cross Isle	:	34	0 0
Bredth of the Chancel	:	8	1 1

The whole length of the Church and Chancel from East to West 64 yards or 192 feet.

Bray, writing in 1777, says that Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, is supposed to have been buried in the chancel of Banbury Church, "under a tomb on which is a mutilated figure recumbent."

The effigy of an ecclesiastic of the fourteenth century, described in Plate XVII of Beesley's History of Banbury, is probably the figure referred to, but this writer says that it certainly was not erected over the remains of Bishop Alexander, as that Prelate was buried in Lincoln Cathedral. None of the ancient monuments have been re-erected in the present church, but a few fragments of some of them still remain in the room which is over the vestry.

Leland writes—"I saw but one notable tombo in the Church, and that is Blacke Marble wherein William Cope Coferer to K. Henry VII. is buried."

For those feeling an interest in this place the excellent History of Banbury, written by Alfred Beesley, and published in 1841, with copious illustrations, will afford a real treat. He received information and assistance from eminent antiquaries and literary men in almost all parts of England. There is also a very good Strangers' Guide by W. P. Johnson, and published by Mr. Walford of the *Advertiser*, Banbury, at the moderate price of sixpence.

To those interested in epitaphs the following are selected from several preserved in the British Musum. (Add. MSS. Cole, 5831, fo. 86 B).—

Epitaphs in Banbury Church.

Here lyeth the Bodies of John Knight 3 Times Baylee of this Borough & Jone his wife by whom he had three sons & 10 daughters whereof 9 were married. They saw springing from their own Loyns 84 children which like Olive Branches were an ornament to their Table. In their Life Time they cherished the Poor & having bequeathed certain Lands

for their perpetual Relief dyed full of days desired, loved, & bewailed of
their Children, Friends & Neighbours.

He dyed } 22 Nov. 1587.
She dyed } 26 Decr 1590.

Graves are Lodgings to the Blest
Not of Honour but of Rest :
Cabinets that safely keep
Mortals' Reliques while they sleep.
When the Trump shall all awake
Every soul her Flesh shall take,
And from that which putrifys
Shall immortal Bodies rise.
In this Faith they liv'd & dyd :
In this Hope they here reside.

(Baker's MSS. vol. xxxviii, p. 464).

On the same wall the proportion of an old man in the middle between
two pillars of blacke marble with a booke in one hand and a handker-
chiefe in ye other. Under him, on a table of blacke marble this—

To the pious memory of Will: Knight Gent, sometime Justice of
Peace and Quora in this Borough, who having had his education both in
the Univ. and Inns of Court continued in the love and practice of good
study, gave good example of morality and piety finished his course in
the true faith and was here layd up in the Hope of a glorious resurrec-
tion, 20th Sept., 1631—

His life, His Breath, His Facultys are gone:
Yet Virtue keeps him from oblivion
Those Arts and Parts that beautifyd his mind,
Like precious oyntment leave his name behind.
His Lamp is out ; yet still his Light doth shine
His Faith and works survive as things divine,
To God he lives, to us tho' dead he be:
The buryed seeds do spring : and so shall He.

Died 1631, *Ætatis* 73.

(Baker's MSS.)

To the memory of James White, son of Mr. Ric. White, of London,
who dyed Dec. the 4th, 1669, having almost finished the 22nd year of
his age—

Brother you've outstript me, I first born
You first unto the Womb of Earth return,
But I shall follow you 'ere long, and then
One Womb shall us enclose yet once again,
Which Womb shall open that like twins we may
Be born on one the Resurrection Day.

Sic litavit Frater ejus natu maximus. R.W.

In Banbury Churchyard.

To the memory of Ric. Richards, who by a Gangreen first lost a Toe,
afterwards a leg, and lastly his life, on the 7th day of April, 1656—

Ah! cruel Death to make 3 meals of one!
 To taste and eat and eat till all was gone
 But know thou Tyrant! when the Trump shall call
 He'll find his feet and stand where thou shalt fall.

Petition of a great Number of the town of Banbury in favour of their Parson Thomas Brasbridge, likely to be deprived for dialiking ceremonies 1590, with a letter to his Lordship from the said Brasbridge. (Lansdown MS., Burgley Papers, 64, fo. 13)—

"Right Honorable—Whereas Thomas Brasbridge many years a preacher of ye worde of god allowed by the university of Oxford was by the presentation of her majesty placed amongst us for our pastor of whose godlye conversation we are all witnesses: where also he hath paynfully labored in his vocation teaching us our duties towards God, her majesty and of one towards another: So it is (Right Honorable) that ye said Mr. Bracebridge is either altogether or very lyke to be deprived of ye small livings he hath amongst us, some matters of ceremonies being prosecuted against him by suche his adversaries of whose violence and wronge towards him ye whole countrye haith heard. In tender consideration whereof and for that the mayntenance in this place is so small that no learned man will undertake the same wherebye we are lyke to be ledd by an unfit guyde. May it please yr. honor yf upon his relation of ye matter it shall seeme reasonable to vouchsafe us the inhabitants of Banbury ye honorable favour to be a meanes that he may continue amongst us his paynful function and we all shall make prayers for so honourable a personage by whom we have received so great a blessinge as is the ordinarye winnings of our soules unto God.

"Your honors most humbly to command,

"The Bayliff, Justice & other the inhabitants of the borough of Banbury."

Then follow the signatures of ninety-five of the inhabitants,

Endorsed 16 Jan. 1590. "To the Right Hon. & our very good Lord the Lord Treasurer of England one of Her Majesty's most honourable privy Council."

Letter, 23 Jan. 1590, from Mr. Brasbridge to his Lordship, endorsed as follows:—"That if the commendacion given anent him by the inhabitants of Banbury and the request of Mr. Treasurer of the Household to whom he is well known may not kepe him from deprivation.

"Yett considering the towne in respect of his former prayers are content to give hym mayntenance preache he or preache he not he prayes that by ye good meanes he may be permitted to preache."

MSS. 14, 15 Jan. 1590, contains Arguments of Sir Francis Knolles, Treasurer of the Household, against the Cross in Baptism and the Surplice.

NOTE.—He ceased to be Vicar in 1590 and died in 1593 at the age of 56 years, and was buried 11 Nov. He was the author of "The Poor Man's Jewel, or a Treatise of the Pestilence.

ON THE MONUMENTAL EFFIGIES IN COBERLEY CHURCH, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.¹

By A. HARTSHORNE, F.S.A.

In offering a few remarks on the monumental effigies in Coberley Church, it is a somewhat ominous preface to have to say that the whole church, save the tower, which has been left in its integrity, apparently under a sort of protest, has been re-built within the last few years.

It is almost an axiom, in what is called "the thorough restoration" of an old church that, whatever else happens, the tombs must be well pulled about; no "restoration" would be complete without this particularity. With reference generally to these long-suffering memorials, in earlier days the clerk and the sexton vied with each other in the violent wresting of the brass plates from their stony beds. Effigies were turned out into the churchyard, soon to be blurred by moss or grassed over; buried, like those at Gonalston, under pews; broken up, despoiled and counterchanged, like the tombs, brasses, and effigies of the six Sir Thomas Greenes at Greene's Norton; hidden under seats, as at Holdenby, or cut up into altar steps as at Bradbourne; while those rare and beautiful works in wood often found a last resting place in the vestry fire, though, certainly, the figure of John de Hastings at Abergavenny has been saved by being mounted up upon a window sill, and that of William de Combermartin at Alderton, Northamptonshire, rescued from the "restoration" of 1848 by being banished to an upper stage of the tower. We must be thankful for small mercies! Other effigies were transported into fields and found useful as gate posts; others again were handed off by *dilletanti* squires to decorate their grottos—there is a notable example near Walsall—with the full consent and approval of those, their proper custodians, whose pride it should have been to cherish such records. In one brilliant district of "the Herald's Garden," the alabaster effigy of no less a man than a scion of the great House of Vere, one who fought at Bosworth, the "pictor insolid" of his pious will, is suffered to remain in the church, but to furnish a nostrum for the local children known as "Vere Powdera." These are a few examples of a large class taken at random, but melancholy enough; a still larger number has been claimed by the modern builder for foundations, how large a number we shall never know, and probably as many have been turned upside down for the paving of dairies and less cleanly places, or brutally broken to bits for general utilitarian purposes.

¹ Read at the monthly meeting of the Institute, June 6, 1889.

A glance through a county history of a hundred years ago shows how much we have thus lost in the shape of monumental records, and the dreary blanks in countless old churches to which we have travelled, hoping to find effigies exhibiting the concentrated history of heraldry and costume, serve but to remind us, if not exactly what shadows we are, at least what shadows we often pursue.

Some forward spirits foresaw the impending voids as long ago as 250 years, and Weever wrote :—"Alas! our noble monuments and precious antiquities, which are the great beauty of our land, we as little regard as the parings of our nails." The author of *Funeral Monuments* spoke rightly, and, taking "monuments" in its narrow sense as monumental effigies, his words apply as much to our own time as to his, and so we come back to the point at which we started, namely the scant regard that is paid to the claims of the monuments and effigies of founders and benefactors when a church is "restored." It may, however, be borne in mind that the historical value and human interest of these memorials consists first of all in their remaining in the places where they were originally set. They were certainly not put into particular arched recesses, under certain windows, within or without the sacarium, upon high tombs, or level with the floor, without special reasons, and reasons far more intense in their religious nature than such as at the present day prompt orderly persons to chose a niche in the catacombs of suburban cemeteries, or to pitch upon a particular spot in the deep shade of a spreading yew in a country churchyard.

But effigies and monuments are not the only things that suffer. Most of us are familiar with the process and results of "restoration," many of us have seen an old church in the agonies; the roofs off,—all at once, of course, so that the frescoed walls can be well soaked by the rains and provide a plausible excuse for stripping off the plaster and pointing rubble masonry which never before was pointed; the old oak stalls and seats turned out to make way for harsh frameworks in pitch pine, and re-appearing later on in the emporiums of "art manufacturers," transformed into grotesque dining-room sideboards and "Early English" occasional tables for the benefit of those unhappy people to whom some demon has whispered "have a taste." When the effigies and tombs of the founders and benefactors are routed out of the chancels or chapels often built specially to contain them, they are, as being, according to the fatuous modern principle "so much in the way," conveyed by the loving hands of the British labourer to a part of the church which they do not fit, while such trifling details as sculptured alabaster angels and heraldic shields are abolished, lost, carried away by the builder to decorate his summer house, or, as in a certain village in the before mentioned "Herald's Garden," utilized for a pigsty. This is but a light sketch of the kind of work that usually goes on in a "restoration," and when it is remembered that it has been taking place all over England for the last fifty years, some idea may be gathered of what we have lost under the head of monuments alone; we shall see a dark side of the picture indeed, as regard architecture, and church fittings generally, when we visit East Anglia. It does not, however, appear that we are even yet sufficiently aware of our position, and it would be interesting, but verily depressing, if one could calculate how few persons in all those re-opening congregations realised how much "restoration" had deprived them of which

could never be brought back, and how many were simply glamoured by the gaudy new tile paving, the golden fleurs-de-lis on the heavenly blue organ pipes, and the lawn sleeves,—and rejoiced in their simplicity that all things had become new.

But the exasperating part of "restoration" is that, with more discretion and less zeal, we might so easily have retained all that was so valuable, and also have had the church seemly and tranquil as it should be, without the violent dialocation of its continuous history, and with the evidence of its long local record still legible upon it.

We have intimated above that we must be thankful for small mercies, and it is fair to say that, whatever the Coberley effigies may have lost in interest by being removed from their original sites in the chancel, they have been tenderly dealt with in their transference to the new altar tomb upon which they now lie in the south aisle. Here we have a man fully armed in the most picturesque of all military harness, that of the extreme end of the reign of Edward II. He wears a high pointed and ridged bascinet, to which a plain camail, with a fringed lower edge, is attached at the line of the nostrils by four sunk studs on either side of the face, and not hung on in the usual way as in later years, by laces threaded through staples. The dexter shoulder is protected by four articulated plates, reinforced by large roundels filled in with rosettes, and, the arms being encased in plate, the elbows are similarly protected by coudees, with single articulations, and reinforced with roundels containing roses. The fore arms are protected in like manner by tubular double-hinged and strapped plates. The gauntlets have slightly peaked cuffs, strapped over leather foundations, the fingers and thumbs being defended by small articulated plates on leather, the whole forming a gauntlet of which we may in vain seek for an original example. A shield, now gone, has been suspended on the sinister arm. This appears, from certain existing iron stumps, to have been separately fixed on and may have been of wood, covered with gesso, and painted with the wearer's arms. Over the body is worn a surcote representing some thin material, probably silk, reaching in front to the middle of the thighs and then cut away until it falls in long folds nearly to the ancles behind. The opening thus formed in front discloses the lower edges of the following garments:—A haketon ornamented with rosettes and a gambeson decorated in the same way and fringed; below this again appears the pourpoint covering of the thighs. There is no hauberk visible, unless, indeed, the fringed garment below the haketon may be taken to be it, which is improbable. The surcote is confined at the waist by a plain narrow cingulum, and, transversely across the hips, is the sword belt studded at intervals with great rosettes, and to it is attached by a single locket close to the cross piece, a long sword with a well-decorated scabbard. The knee pieces are plain and fringed on the lower edges; the jамbs or greaves, of plain plate, thrice hinged and strapped, and the feet, shod by four articulations, rest against a lion with a vast and free flowing tail. The heels are armed with spurs of great elegance, with their rowels in rare preservation, with long leaf-shaped points; the right leg is crossed over the left—a not uncommon conventional English attitude long after the Crusades, with which this particular posture has nothing to do—and between the lion and the surcote is some free leafy foliage which the sculptor, like a true artist, untrammelled by the

exigencies of "high art" chose to introduce, rather than cut away a good piece of material. The whole figure is boldly and freely sculptured in hard yellow limestone, and is in excellent condition. There is a fine natural lie in the statue which gives the idea of its having been discovered in the stone—after the manner of Michael Angelo—and not laboriously measured and "pointed" for according to the modern practice. The man's head rests upon a pillow, and is supported by two angels with long feathered wings.

It will be at once apparent that a harness, such as has been thus coldly described, is full of interest to students of armour. A specialist could dilate long, for instance, upon the fashion of the bascinet, and show—such is the technical knowledge that has been acquired—how this particular shape had gradually grown, almost year by year, from earlier forms, and, as gradually lapsed into later ones, and finally vanished as a recognized head-piece for protection with the end of the civil wars. Or he could indicate from this stony text how the surcoats had its rise, and its accidents of form during the reigns of Henry III and the great Edward; how it lost in time, first, its long-flowing front portion, and then its useless flapping hinder part; how it passed, in fact, from long and loose to tight and short; and, developing into the jupon, passed finally away about 1420; when men were clad entirely in steel, with no mail or textile fabric visible, to reappear not long after in the totally different shape of the heraldic tabard.

All this, and much more, a specialist could do, and sustain the interest also, if he had the time—but we have it not on the present occasion. Or he could take the armour for the hand, as one of our members has done, and again trace it down in its varying forms from the mail muffler with the empty palm, to the rattling gauntlet of the doomed "White King," for there will be always something fresh to learn; or he may deal with the sword, the sword belt, or the spur, and accurately set forth the chronicle of each from the evidences of monumental effigies alone. Alongside with these studies the enquirer cannot fail to corroborate and illustrate general history, and, what is better still, rescue much local story that has well nigh perished. All this interest may spring up at the contemplation of monumental effigies which church "restorers" find "so much in the way," and which are usually dismissed by casual visitors with the frivolous remark, "It is a pity that their noses are broken." The effigy of the lady is simple almost to coarseness, and the drapery is arranged rather as that of a standing than a recumbent figure. She wears a wimple, or chin-cloth, pinned up to the temples over smooth pads, which, being placed over the hair, caused the wimple to stand out free from the neck for the sake of appearance and coolness. She wears a close dress, of which the upper edge is cut low in the neck and covers the bottom of the wimple, and a long sleeved gown falling in heavy folds to the feet, which it covers.

In front of this tomb is a diminutive effigy of a female wearing a veil and a long gown draping the feet, and girded with a strap, after the manner of a French bathing woman; it is not a graceful figure, but an interesting one of a very small class concerning which antiquaries have not quite made up their minds, the question being whether children or adults are thus represented. Examples occur, varying in length from two to four feet, at Westminster, Mapouder, Horsted Keynes, Tenbury,

Ayot St. Laurence, Little Easton, Long Wittenham, Anstey, Salisbury, Abbey Dore, Gayton, Fawaley, and Hacombe. The example at Coberley is two feet ten inches long, including the lion at the feet. She wears a cuffed glove on the left hand, and holds the other in the right ; these details indicate a person of quality, probably a Berkeley, and near relative of Thomas de Berkeley and his wife, who are supposed to be represented in the paramount figures.

With further regard to the character of the armour of Thomas de Berkeley, it is clearly by the same sculptor as those at Leckhampton, near Cheltenham, and Alvechurch, in Worcestershire, and we have identified others in the western counties from the same workshop.

Under a low arch, in what is now the organ chamber, is an interesting stone effigy of a man in civil dress. He wears a tunic with close-buttoned sleeves to the wrists, a long gown falling in large folds to the feet, a supertunic opening from the waist downwards, and a hood with loose careless folds lying on the left side of the neck. A young man is represented with regular features, a delicate mouth and straight under eyelids, that peculiar fashion of Edwardian sculptors, occasionally seen in real life, and when, in conjunction with grey eyes, giving a most piquant effect to the countenance. The youth wears a remarkable profusion of hair, cut square over the forehead and standing out four and three-quarter inches on either side of the face. It is a capital example of civil costume ; he is "saying endless prayers in stone."

There is also in the chancel of Coberley Church an interesting memorial of a heart burial, probably of a Berkeley lord. It represents a half figure of a knight in mail holding a heart in front of a heater-shaped shield, the whole being set within a trefoiled arch under a plain gable, and apparently forming part of a credence. By the process of "restoration" this has been removed from the north to the south side. Its change is to be regretted, inasmuch as the records of heart burials of this character are not numerous, and form the most interesting illustrations of the long "Chronicle of Human Tears."

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

FEBRUARY 7th, 1889.

THE EARL PERCY, F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

Mr. T. TURNER read a paper on "Unusual Doorways in Old Churches," treating of such features, and others of an uncommon kind, in the churches of Orton Longueville, near Peterborough, Longford, near Lechlade, and St. Catherine's Chapel, near Guildford. Concerning the five doorways in the small ruined chapel of St. Catherine, Mr. Turner gave an interesting explanation of their probable use. A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Turner, whose paper will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

Mr. E. LOVELL read a paper on "Banbury Cross." This is printed at p. 159. A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Lovell.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. W. G. MITCHELL.—A photo-lithograph from an excellent rubbing of the great Braunche brass at King's Lynn, taken by Mr. E. M. Beloe, junr.

MARCH 7th, 1889.

THE EARL PERCY, F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

Mr. W. H. St. J. HOPE read a paper on "The Carmelite Priory, or House of Whitefriars at Hulne, Northumberland, in which he set forth at length the remarkable arrangement of the buildings as shown (1) by the extensive remains; (2) from Clarkson's Survey, begun in 1567; and (3) from the excavations recently made by the noble owner, the Duke of Northumberland.

Lord PERCY expressed his satisfaction at having heard Mr. Hope's paper, as the subject was one in which he took a great personal interest; he then described the position of some interments which had been found in the ruins, principally in the vestibule to the chapter house.

Mr. MICKLETHWAITE said he had followed Mr. Hope's paper with great interest. Very little was known as to the arrangement of

Friars' houses, but here was one which, by the aid of Clarkson's Survey, clearly indicated the entire arrangement, and was, therefore, of great value.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Hope, whose paper will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

Mr. E. C. HULME communicated the following Notes on a fine gold "Salute" of Henry VI. :—

"Anglo-Gallic coins were struck by Edward III. for the English possessions in France. He was the first king who struck gold money in France. Under Edward III. a large issue appeared under the name of Calais groats.

"Henry V. struck in gold—moutons and demi-moutons—probably salutes and half-salutes.

"The salutes which have two shields are generally ascribed to the 6th Henry, =54 grains, half-noble. The name is derived from the type, which nearly represents the Salutation of the Virgin. They were struck in imitation of those by Charles VI., 1421.

"The gold coinage of Henry VI. consists of salutes, angelots, and francs. The salutes have two shields. The angelot resembles the salute in type, omitting the figure of the Virgin, and derives its name from the angel which supports the shield.

"With Henry VI. the Anglo-Gallic currency comes to an end. Henry VII. and Henry VIII. struck silver groats, which were the last coins struck by any English king in French territory.

"Legend on obverse of "Salute" exhibited :—AU. 53. HENRICUS : DEI : ORA : FRACORV : & : AGLIA. REX. An angel salutes the Virgin Mary, with the word AVE inscribed in a scroll he holds; above celestial rays; in front two shields, one, the arms of France, the others those of France and England quarterly. A roundel within an annulet under the last letter of legend (indicating place of mintage); Mint mark, Lion. The small crosses which in the previous reign occupied the position of the Lion were not intended for mint marks, but merely a symbol of the piety of our ancestors, and applied upon the coin to point out the commencement of the legend.

"Reverse :—Legend,—CHR. * VINCI * CHR. REGNAT * CHR. * IMPERAT. Within a compartment of double moulding of ten cusps, each terminating in a fleur-de-lis, is a cross calvary between a fleur-de-lis, and a lion passant guardant, underneath the letter R. A roundel within an annulet under the last letter of legend. Mint mark, Lion."

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. W. H. St. J. HOPE.—Ground plan of the Carmelite Priory at Hulne, rubbings of slabs, and rubbings and casts of a piece of an early cross with knotwork, found during the progress of the excavations.

By Mr. E. C. HULME.—A gold "Salute" of Henry VI.

By Mr. E. JAMES.—A number of silver spoons of English and foreign make, including an English example of the fourteenth century with an acorn head; a foreign maidenhead spoon, and several seal-headed ones.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF PROVENCE AND THE RIVIERA. By DAVID MACGIBSON, Author of the *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*. Edinburgh: David Douglas.

We resume our notice of Mr. MacGibbon's interesting volume, and follow him in his route eastwards from Marseilles along the Mediterranean littoral. The Mediterranean Railway, by which he travelled for a considerable distance, passes through a mountainous and rocky district, the summits of the lofty peaks of the hills, he tells us, contrast very strongly with the rich verdure and luxuriant growth in the valleys below them, and the semi-tropical vegetation of the Riviera. The district, however, is singularly destitute of any architectural remains of special interest.

The first place of any note visited was HYÈRES, one of the great health resorts of the Riviera. It is situated on the top of a hill, three miles from the sea, and is famous for its palms, oranges, and other tropical plants. There is a castle here of some interest built in the thirteenth century, which, during the sixteenth century, passed through many assaults and changes in the time of the religious wars, being held by the Catholics and Protestants several times in turn. The enceinte is well preserved, and many of the towers which strengthen it are almost entire. These are, for the most part, square and lofty, and have thus quite a southern aspect. The original crenellations still exist with the holes for the stout beams which carried wooden hoardings for the defence of the summit. The openings are generally long narrow slits, but in the eastern angle tower there are three small pointed arches. The keep is almost wholly demolished.

In the middle of the old town is the picturesque ancient Church of St. Paul, said to have been originally built in the twelfth century, but it has been considerably altered. The walls of the east end have had to be brought up from a considerable depth on account of the slope of the ground, and the lower part of the buttresses shows work of the thirteenth century, but the upper part is later. All the interior is of a late character. A wide chapel crosses the building at the west end, and is surmounted with a plain square tower of the type of the Italian campanile, of which numerous examples are found at Grasse and elsewhere along the Riviera. The upper round arched doorway, with its deep voussours, indicates a style of work not unfrequently met with in the town, and which, Mr. MacGibbon thinks, is doubtless of Moorish or Spanish origin.

The Hotel de Ville occupies the site of the Chapel of a Commandery of The Templars. Although greatly altered it contains fragments of mediæval architecture, and has a picturesque round tower. Altogether it possesses considerable character.

Half-way along the valley through which the railway passes from Toulon to Frejus, lying between the rugged district of Les Maures on the south, and the Alpines on the north, is the station Le Luc, about six miles to the north of which is a structure of great interest to the student of Architecture. This is THORONET, one of the three early daughters of Citeaux, erected during the twelfth century. We have already noticed the very plain character of the early buildings of this austere order, and their character is well known to our readers. The Church of Thoronet, Mr. MacGibbon remarks, is a striking example. It is situated in a retired and rural valley, and is concealed by olive groves on the western slope of the narrow valley. "The church, with its plain apse and little spire, first meets the view, followed, on near approach, by the ruinous but extensive buildings of the monastery which disappear amongst the foliage down the slope of the hill-side. The public road now runs through the upper part of the enclosure of the abbey, and close along the south side of the church; while part of the monastic buildings to the west are occupied as a tavern or farmhouse. The monastery was built in the beginning of the twelfth century on ground granted by Raymond de Béranger, Count of Provence, and continued to be occupied by the Order until the time of the Revolution. The plan is that usual in Cistercian buildings of the period." The church has a nave with aisles crossed at the east end by a large transept, from which, in the centre, a short choir, having a circular apse and two small chapels in each transept, extends towards the east. The choir and chapels have apsidal terminations. "Nothing," Mr. MacGibbon observes, "could exceed the unadorned nature of the design, both externally and internally." The principal entrance is at the west end, and consists of a plain round-headed doorway, without even a moulding, opening into the south aisle. There are two tall windows in the west wall of the nave, a round one in the gable, and a smaller round-headed one over the door in the south aisle, treated with equal simplicity. The space at our disposal precludes us from following Mr. MacGibbon in his lucid description of this remarkable and interesting church, and the details of the architecture; notwithstanding that the interior is entirely devoid of ornament, the religious effect is grand and imposing. The building is fully and well illustrated.

The next structure treated of is the Church of St. MAXIMIN. It is of a totally different character from that of Thoronet. It is said to be the most perfect specimen in Provence of a building in a pure Gothic style. "The design," Mr. MacGibbon says, "has evidently been imported directly from the north. The building of the church was begun towards the end of the thirteenth century by Charles of Anjou, but was not finished until the close of the fifteenth. The plan consists of a nave and aisles, each terminated on the east with an apse. There is no transept. The vaults are pointed and simple in form, the central vault being 90 ft. in height." "When complete," Mr. MacGibbon says, "the aspect of the church must have been extremely light and fairy like. The lofty windows of the clerestory and apse, which are all

pointed, fill up with their traceries the whole visible space, the masonry being reduced to the smallest limits. The same idea was carried out in the aisles, where the windows were originally brought down almost to the pavement. When these windows were filled with stained glass, as they are believed to have been (although it is now completely gone), the effect must have been very fine, and all the more splendid from the remarkable contrast that they would present to the usually somewhat dark and gloomy character of southern churches."

At FREJUS, the cathedral is an example of the adoption in Provence of the "single hall" style of church. Mr. MacGibbon considers that it was probably built in the twelfth century. The original structure consists of a nave of three divisions, or bays, each covered with round intersecting vaults, strengthened with large square groins, and terminated at the east end with a circular apse, the whole extending to 120 ft. in length and 28 ft. in width. The vaults spring from piers, which are really large internal buttresses, with recesses between them 7 ft. deep. The north side wall has, however, been cut out, and an aisle added at a later date, with still later chapels beyond. The string-course, caps, &c., are all of the same simple form employed in so many buildings of the period. It is most massive and impressive, and like numerous other churches in the south was strongly fortified for the protection of the Bishop's Palace and other ecclesiastical buildings, the whole of which are very interesting, and are very fully illustrated.

At RIEZ was a Roman colony. Numerous Roman remains, Corinthian columns of grey granite from the Esterel, with caps, bases and architraves of marble, and numerous fragments of pottery and mosaics, and a large quantity of portions of columns and architraves have been found which have been utilised in building modern walls.

We pass on to CANNES, now almost as well known in England as Brighton. It was a mere fishing village until brought into notice in 1831 by Lord Brougham, who built there the first English villa. It is now "a town of fine residences and splendid hotels, extending four miles along the coast, and rising on the wooded hills, or nestling in the sheltered ravines which seam their flanks." Cannes owed its first existence to a rocky eminence in the bay, and the only ancient buildings are situated on the summit of this eminence. These consist of the "Tour du Chevalier," the ancient Church of St. Anne (formerly the Chapel of the Castle), and the modern parish church of the seventeenth century, the whole being surrounded with the remains of walls, towers and bastions of various periods, presenting a very picturesque *ensemble*. Mr. MacGibbon gives an interesting account of the "Tour du Chevalier" and other remains of the castle, of which there are several excellent illustrations, and of the Church of St. Anne, which was built about the end of the twelfth century, and possesses all the unadorned characteristics of Cistercian architecture.

In the bay opposite Cannes are the two Iles de Lerins, St. MARGUERITE and St. HONORAT. The latter, Mr. MacGibbon tells us, "possesses the most interesting series of buildings in the Riviera, combining, as it does, some features of the architecture of every period and style of Provençal art, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil;" and he adds that "in the fifth century the island seems to have been deserted when St. Honorat retired to it, and there founded a monastery," which became

moet famous for learning, and, like Iona, "a centre from which missionaries issued to enlighten the surrounding countries and spread religion amongst the barbarians." He gives a very full and interesting account of the ancient structures on these islands with numerous illustrations, for which we must refer to his pages.

MOUGINS and GRASSE are next visited. At the first there is not much to notice, but the Cathedral at the latter is of a type essentially different from that which prevails in Provence, and very closely resembles the architecture of Italy; and this character, Mr. MacGibbon remarks, he found more and more strongly developed as he proceeded eastwards. The Cathedral is very fully described and illustrated. The next place treated of which requires notice is ST. CÉSAIRE. The ancient church here is a very quaint little building, consisting of a nave of three bays, 45 ft. long by 20 ft. wide, with an apse 9 ft. deep, built as it were against the east wall of the nave. It is of the twelfth century, and possesses all the simple features of the Cistercian style.

At LE BAR the doorway of the church is very remarkable for the richness of its decorations. It has a pointed arch, and is described by Mr. MacGibbon as "fine Italian Gothic." A Roman inscription is built into the tower. GRASSE admits of many pleasant excursions. From thence GOURDON TOURETTES, ANTIBES, and CAGNES were visited and described. About two miles from the last named place is the Castle of VILLENEUVE-LOURET. It has been considerably modernised but sufficient of the original work remaining to shew its ancient character. It consists of a central castle with towers at the angles and surmounted by a lofty, quaint, and Moorish-looking watch tower, the whole being enclosed by a strong wall of enceint defended with round towers at the angles, provided with large port-holes for guns, and a deep ditch. The entrance gateway consists of an iron grating guarded by two round towers, and furnished with a drawbridge over the moat. These round towers and walls are described as being by no means modern, probably about the sixteenth century, but they have been deprived of their battlements, and consequently have a very squat appearance. The central tower is much more ancient, built of the rough-faced ashler of the thirteenth century, and contains some decayed shields of arms bearing the lances of the Villeneuves and the star of Les Baux. Externally, the east face presents two noteworthy features in the apse of the chapel and the tall watch-tower. The chapel has been converted into apartments, but the outlines and buttresses of the apse seem to be of the fifteenth century. The watch-tower is described as "one of the most perfect examples of those characteristic features of the Maritime Alps." It is of the same nature as the keep towers we have met with at Cannes, Grasse and Antibes, but instead of being square on plan like them, it has the eastern side projected in the form of a sharp angle. The tower retains its battlemented top almost unaltered. About a mile distant from the castle just mentioned is a tower, similar to that described, known as La Trinité. It is perched on the top of a precipitous rock, and is surrounded on the north side by a bastioned terrace. On the other sides it is inaccessible. It is approached by a rude stair, and was entered through a strong gateway now in ruins, and within the enclosure are the ruins of a small chapel. The upper portion of the tower was restored in 1863. Its appearance from the chapel is

singularly picturesque. About $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from La Trinité, as the crow flies, is the ancient town of Bior, one of the most primitive old towns in the district. It stands on the top of a hill and a circuitous post road has been constructed to it, but the ancient access by long flights of wide steps are still used by the peasants and their mules, and Mr. MacGibbon states that these streets are in their way the most picturesque in the Riviera. The church is situated on the highest point of the hill, and was consecrated in 1472, as testified by an inscription in the interior, but the south doorway has an earlier character. The exterior is all altered, but some traces of the original building are observable. Mr. MacGibbon says "Bior belonged to the Templars in 1247, and afterwards to the Knights of Malta." The plan of the church as now existing is very remarkable. It is a single oblong divided into three aisles with three terminal apses. On each side of the eastern bay is a semi-octagonal chapel; projecting from the western bay on the south is the tower, with a square chapel east of it, and there is another chapel, extending the length of two bays, on the north side. It has been "restored" and tricked out with stucco worthy of English churchwardens of the last century.

Mr. MacGibbon says, one of the most delightful excursions from Cagnes is that to ST. PAUL-DU-VAR and VENCE, two of the most interesting old towns in the Riviera. These places are very fully described, and numerous illustrations are given of the olden-time houses and the curious carvings and other details. The carvings of a chimney-piece and a staircase in the Maison Suzaire are remarkably fine. Vence was the Ventium of the Romans, and numerous Roman inscriptions and other remains have been found and preserved. The Cathedral is a building of great antiquity, and is remarkable for the absence of anything like ornament.

NICE is the next place treated of. It possesses no remains of anti-quarian interest deserving special notice, and its environs are equally barren; though full of natural beauties. At Cimies (Cementium of the Romans), where a few Roman relics have been found, is an old convent, and in front of it is a very remarkable cross. The upper limb bears, in a quatrefoil, the image of the crucified seraph which appeared to St. Francis de Assisi. Each arm is similarly terminated. On one is sculptured a pelican in her piety, and on the other the figures of a bishop and a monk. The cross is very elegant in form, and is supported by a twisted marble shaft some nine or ten feet high, having a composite capital bearing a shield, charged with the arms of the founder. Along the abacus runs an inscription, in which the date 1477 only is legible.

VISITS TO MENTONE, CASTELLAR, PONT ST. LOUIS, VENTIMIGLIA, DOLOM AQUA, SAN REMO and GENOA, which places are admirably illustrated, terminate the tour.

The volume throughout, from cover to cover, is of great interest, and the numerous illustrations are generally admirably executed. It should form the companion of every Englishman visiting the interesting district the author so well describes. It seems remarkable, however, that Mr. MacGibbon does not appear to be acquainted with the late Rev. J. L. Petit's "Architectural Studies in France." Mr. Petit visited many of the places treated of by Mr. MacGibbon, and has left us, in his inimitable etchings numerous illustrations of the most interesting

ecclesiastical structures of the continent, many of which are also figured in Mr. MacGibbon's work. There is also a short memoir illustrated by the same talented author and artist, with several of his unique drawings, contributed by Mr. A. Hartshorne to vol. xlv of the *Archaeological Journal*.

HENRY VIII AND THE ENGLISH MONASTERIES. An attempt to illustrate the history of their Suppression. By FRANCIS AIDAN GASQUET, Monk of the Order of St. Benedict, sometime Prior of St. Gregory's Monastery, Downside, Bath. Vol. II. London: John Hodges, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden.

The first volume of Father Gasquet's important work was noticed in a previous number of the *Journal*. That now before us commences with an account of the dissolution of the lesser monasteries, viz., those whose revenues did not exceed £200 a year. In March, 1536, an obsequious parliament had given power to the king to deal as he pleased with these houses. Henry had already formed his designs for carrying out his object, but about this time important events occurred which seemed, for a while, to check his proceedings. On the 7th January, Queen Katherine departed from this world and all its troubles, and on the 17th of May following Anne Boleyn died on the scaffold. The king was thus relieved from all his matrimonial difficulties, and hopes were entertained that, through the mediation of the King of France, a reconciliation might be effected between Henry and the Pope, which all men longed for except a few cantankerous spirits who had their own ends to serve. This reconciliation was confidently expected. The king had become very unsettled in his religious opinions. Mr. James Gairdner, the able successor of the late Dr. Brewer as editor of the State Papers of this reign, says: "Henry had not been quite sure for some years past which doctrines he should order to be upheld or denounced from various pulpits, except the preachers were, of course, to denounce the authority of the see of Rome," but the project of reconciliation was frustrated by an ill-timed and injudicious letter addressed by Cardinal Pole, always impetuous, to the king.

The king thereupon entered warmly upon his design of suppressing the lesser monasteries, and converting their possessions to his own use. "The Court of Augmentation" was created to receive and account for all the lands and goods which were to be seized into the king's hands. Father Gasquet shows us the course of procedure which was adopted. "The Royal Commission was issued to some of the leading men in each county to make a new survey of the houses within the limits of their districts. They were to form a body of six visitors, comprising an auditor, the particular receiver appointed for the county, and a clerk, who were the royal officials, and who were to be accompanied by three other discreet persons, to be named by the king in each county." On their arrival at each monastery they were ordered to summon the superior and shew him the "act of dissolution," and their special commission. Next they were to make the officials of the house swear to answer truly the questions the commissioners put to them. Having done this they had to proceed on their examination into the state of the establishment, and in their report to give the result of their inquiry. They were specially directed to state the number of the religious "and

the conversation of their lives;" how many were priests, and how many were willing to go to other houses, or would take "capacities;" and what servants or other dependents were attached to the establishment. Having obtained this information the royal commissioners were to call for the convent seal and all the muniments of the house, and to make an inventory "by indenture" with the superior, of all plate, jewels, and other goods and property, which belonged to the establishment on the 1st March of this year, 1536. They were then to issue their commands to the superior not to receive any rents, nor spend any money, except for the necessary expenses of the place, until the king's final pleasure was known, at the same time enjoining him to continue to watch over the lands, and "sow and till" as before, till such time as the king's farmer should relieve him of this duty. As for the community, the officer was "to send those that will remain in religion to other houses, with letters to the governors, and those that wish to go to the world, to my lord of Canterbury, and the lord chancellor for capacities." To the latter "some reasonable reward," according to the distance of the place appointed, was to be given. The superior alone was to have any pension assigned to him, and he was to go to the Chancellor of the Augmentation for it.

Since our notice of the first volume of Father Gasquet's work, the Camden Society has issued to its members, under the editorship of Dr. Jessop, an eminent clergyman of the Church of England, an important volume containing the records of five Episcopal Visitations of the Religious Houses of the Diocese of Norwich, between 1492 and 1532. These visitations show that in many of the monasteries and convents in that diocese numerous irregularities existed, especially in the smaller and poorer establishments. They were not, however, generally, of a grave character, and consisted chiefly of a laxity of discipline in many forms, and slander, quarreling, drinking, not apparently to intoxication, and to the inmates being addicted to playing cards and dominoes—harmless amusements in themselves, but not religious exercises. In one case was a dreadful moral offence, the nature of which is not stated. It was reserved to be dealt with by the Bishop more deliberately. This was at Westacre, in 1520. The nature of this single crime is not stated, and the result is not shewn.

In the nunneries there seems not to have been found any more serious faults than those arising from the querulous irritability of aged women, except in one solitary instance, at Cranham, where a young nun had been seduced by a gentleman of position residing in the parish. This was the only case of sexual sin charged against any.

Poverty and misery to a great extent prevailed in these small establishments, arising from reckless overbuilding in earlier times, and the revenues of the houses were insufficient to keep the extensive premises in repair, and we all know how soon neglected repairs result in utter ruin.

We remarked in our former notice upon the villainy of the agents selected by the king and Cromwell as the first visitors of the religious houses, and how utterly devoid of credit were the *comperæ* which they returned. Dr. Jessop fully corroborates Father Gasquet's statements. He writes: "They called themselves *visitors*; they were in effect mere hired detectives of the very vilest stamp, who came to levy blackmail, and, if possible, to find some excuse for their robberies by vilifying their

victims. In all the hideous *comperta* which have come down to us, there is not, if I remember rightly, a single instance of any report or complaint having been made to the *visitors* from any one outside. The enormities set down against the poor people accused of them are said to have been confessed by themselves against themselves. In other words, the *comperta* of 1535 and 1536 can only be received as the horrible inventions of the miserable men who wrote them down upon their papers, well knowing that, as in no case could the charges be supported, so, on the other hand, in no case could they be met or were the accused ever intended to be put upon their trial." (Intro. xii). And again, referring to these *comperta*, he says: "The more such documents are examined the better; if the evidence is damnatory, let the truth be told. Even though it should appear that every religious house in England was a hell upon earth, and every monk or nun was steeped in the foulest depths of vice and wickedness, we may be staggered and confounded by the sad and dreadful and inexplicable exposure, but must needs accept it, though henceforth in speechless shame and horror we shall be compelled to allow that this human nature of ours is a thousand times more base and degraded than we had hitherto allowed ourselves to believe. If on the other hand the additional evidence that time may discover for us shall prove no more than that which this volume makes us acquainted with, we shall have to take a different view from that which has hitherto been the popular view. Then it may happen that we shall be forced to confess that in the sixteenth century there were creatures in common (? human) form, who exhibited as shocking examples of truculent slander, of gratuitous obscenity, of hateful malignity, as can be found among the worst men of any previous or succeeding age; but we shall have to look for them, not within the cloisters, but outside them, among the robbers, not among the robbed." (Ib. l).

The number of the houses of the class now under consideration, according to the best authorities, was somewhere about 360 or 370; the annual revenue of which seized for the king's use was about £30,000, according to the value of money at that time; and the value of the goods seized £100,000.

It is impossible to form any estimate of the number of persons affected by the dissolution of the lesser monasteries. It has been calculated that, besides servants and others employed and supported by them, over 2,000 monks and nuns were turned out of their homes, in which many of them had lived in peace almost their whole lives, without any provision for their future support, though many of them were of great age and decrepid. It was only the heads of the houses who were pensioned. Father Gasquet gives us some piteous tales, for which we must refer to his pages.

All these small houses, however, were not at this time absolutely suppressed. The king reserved power under the Act to continue some of them. And such as he wished to continue were re-founded by Letters Patent as of the king's new foundation, and such of their former lands, and goods and chattels, as the king willed, were restored to them. For this indulgence they had to pay heavy fines, generally about three years' value of the revenues, but within two years, at the general dissolution, though granted *in perpetuity*, they perished with the others. It will, however, be well to note, before passing on, that among the houses thus

re-established there were some of those which had been most gravely defamed by Layton and Legh in their *comperla*, and in more than one instance a superior incriminated by them was re-appointed in the new foundation.

The nefarious work proceeded with great rapidity. The Act for the dissolution of the lesser monasteries passed only at the end of Feb. 1535-6, yet on the 8th July following Chapuys, the Imperial Ambassador, was able in his report to write: "It is a lamentable thing to see a legion of monks and nuns, who have been chased from their monasteries, wandering miserably hither and thither seeking means to live; and several honest men have told me that what with monks, nuns, and persons dependent on the monasteries suppressed, there were over 20,000 who knew not how to live." (State Papers, xi, No. 42.) Mr. Gairdner (preface xij) considers this estimate too high, unless it refers to the ultimate effect of the Act, but to us it appears not unreasonable, indeed, perhaps, below the mark if it were the case that 2,000 monks and nuns alone were rendered homeless in the single county of Lincoln.

This must have been a most piteous sight to behold, and the whole population most deeply sympathised with the oppressed monks and nuns, many of whom had most earnestly petitioned the king to be allowed to continue in religion. The mass of the people, especially, were drawn towards them from feelings of gratitude as their own friends in adversity, always ready to minister to their necessities in body and soul. But this was not all that aroused their indignation. The wanton and heartless spoliation and destruction of the religious houses, the pride and glory of the country side, and the hallowed Houses of God, which in those days all regarded with reverence, and the sale of the tressel tables, stools, and benches, which formed the slender furniture of the poor cells of the monks, and still more the plunder of the rich vestments and altar plate which had been lavishly bestowed for the Service of the Most High aggravated their anger, and excited a spirit of resistance which even shook the nerves of the mighty king.

Apart from the question of religion there was another subject which greatly aggrieved the upper and middle classes. Lands were then held chiefly by military service, either of the king *in capite* or of some mesne lord who held it of the king, and, therefore, on the death of a tenant it devolved upon his son, or next male heir. It could not be alienated without the royal license. The rigidity of the law of military service, had, however, for some time been softening, and men had been in the habit of conveying lands to "uses" or "trusts" to make provision for their younger children, which practice had been winked at. But Henry was anxious to maintain a strong military force, and to this end to prevent the failure of military dues. To put a check upon the practice of uses he proposed to give a testamentary power to the extent of one half of the real estate. The statute was unpopular to all classes. Even the Duke of Norfolk, it was said, expressed disapproval of the measure, and it was determined in Lincolnshire to offer an active resistance to the king's measures, and the following demands were made of the king:—

1. The Commons complained of the dissolution of the religious houses and of the consequent destitution of the povreality of the realm.
2. Of the restraints imposed on the distribution of property by the statute of uses.

3. Of the grant to the king of the tenths and first-fruits of spiritual benefices.

4. Of the payment of the subsidy demanded of them.

5. Of the introduction into the King's Council of Cromwell, Rich and other such personages as be of low birth and small reputation.

6. Of the promotion of the Archbishops of Canterbury and Dublin, and the Bishops of Rochester, St. Davids and others, who, in their opinion, had clearly subverted the faith of Christ.

Father Gasquet gives us at considerable length the interesting particulars of the three northern insurrections at this period:—The Rising in Lincolnshire, The Pilgrimage of Grace, and the Second Northern Rising. He draws his information from the original official depositions of the witnesses preserved in the Public Record Office, so that the accuracy of his statements cannot be questioned. We must refer the reader to his pages.

The collapse of the third attempt of the people to preserve the ancient abbeys of England and maintain the ancient religion, together with the fate of the leaders or assumed leaders, struck terror and dismay into the hearts of the English people—seventy-four men had been, under martial law, hanged by the Duke of Norfolk, who commanded the king's forces, from the walls of Carlisle, and afterwards quartered; and the principal leaders were brought before the said Duke, Sir Thomas Tempest and others, who had been appointed special commissioners, to enquire, with the assistance of a jury, into the guilt or innocence of the persons accused. The commissioners sat at York on the 9th May, but the Duke had taken precautions with respect to the jurors previously. Writing to Cromwell he says:—"I am at this time of such acquaintance with the gentlemen that I dare well to adventure to put divers on the quests of whom some have married with Lord Darcy's daughters and some with Sir Robert Constable's." Adding:—"I doubt not my lord that the matter shall be found according to the king's pleasure." "My good lord," "he goes on, I will not spare to put the best friends these men have upon one of the inquests, to prove their affection, whether they will rather serve his majesty truly and frankly in this matter, or else favour their friends, and if they will not find, then they may have thanks according to their cankered hearts. And as for the other inquest I will appoint such that I shall no more doubt of than of myself." They were arraigned on a charge of high treason "in conspiring to deprive the king of his dignity, title, name, and royal state, namely, of being on earth the supreme head of the English Church." The Duke's policy was quite successful. The prisoners were all found guilty. Lord Darcy was beheaded on Tower hill, two abbots, two priors, and several other ecclesiastics and other persons were hanged and quartered at Tyburn, whilst Constable and Ashe were hanged in chains at Hull and York respectively.

Many of the abbots and monks, who through the chicanery of the king's agents had been prevailed upon to surrender their houses and lands, had, during the insurrection, been restored, not altogether without the king's secret connivance, by the insurgent leaders; and there were also many houses which, as yet, had not been induced to surrender nor had been dissolved. These now in the spring of 1537, immediately after the abovementioned appalling executions, the king determined to proceed against, cautiously, but with the utmost rigour. Instructions were sent

to the Duke of Norfolk to immediately eject the monks and nuns, who had been replaced, as we have just stated, and to restore the houses and lands to the king's farmers; and he was further commanded "to cause all the religious persons that were, or be, in any of the said houses, either to take their livings in such other monasteries of their religion as they shall be assigned to, or else, if they shall refuse so to do, he shall punish them as vagabonds and enemies of the commonwealth, so as no one of that sort remain at large in the country."

It is true, indeed, that the king, in the time of his alarm at the progress of the second Northern Rising, had authorised Norfolk and the Earl of Suffolk to make on his behalf solemn promises that the restored religious should be left undisturbed until the northern parliament had finally settled the question of the dissolution; but such pledges stood not much in the way of a Tudor king, who could direct his commander that he should "in any wise cause such dreadful execution to be done upon a good number of the inhabitants of every town, village, and hamlet that have offended in this rebellion, as well by hanging them up in trees, as by quartering of them and setting of their heads and quarters in every town, great and small, and in all such other places as they may be a fearful spectacle to all other hereafter that would practice any like matter." The king having struck terror into the hearts of his people, and at length satiated himself with blood, determined to proceed by what he considered "the legal forms of ordinary justice to complete the work of punishment."

The king's next procedure was by way of attainder in respect to all abbots, priors, or other heads of houses who had, been, or could, in any way, be accused of having been favourably disposed to the insurrection, even though they had been involuntarily forced into the re-possession of their own houses by the insurrectionary power. Father Gasquet points out that in the statute for the settlement of the Royal Succession (25 Henry VIII, c. 22), upon the declaration of the nullity of the king's marriage with Katherine of Arragon, and consequent bastardizing of the Princess Mary, there were introduced two ambiguous terms, viz., "Estate of inheritance" and "successors" causing two great changes in English law. By the first estates tail were made forfeitable for treason, and the second, other than such persons as shall have been so convict their heirs and *successors*." Under this clause the king claimed upon the attainder of an abbot the forfeiture of the whole of the estates of the fraternity, a principle utterly unknown in former English jurisprudence, and which Burnet argues to be unjustifiable.

Under this interpretation of the Act some of the great monasteries immediately fell. Among them were the abbeys of Whalley, Sawley, Barlings, Jervaulx, and Kirkstall, and the Priory of Bridlington. Their rulers were hanged, generally upon the most flimsy, or no, evidence of participation in any insurrectionary proceeding, and all the houses, lands, and goods were seized into the king's hand, though much of it disappeared in apparently a most mysterious manner. Sir Arthur Darcy in the beginning of June informed Cromwell that he had been at the suppression, and says that "the houses within the gate are covered wholly with lead, and there is one of the fairest churches that I have seen." In fact he was so delighted with the place, that he suggested it would make a good stable for the Royal "stud of mares," which were so costly to the king, "at Thornbury and other places" (173). ogle

The space at our disposal will not admit of our following the author in his interesting though most painful narrative of the malpractices of the king and his venal agents in dealing with the unhappy and defenceless monks—the efforts to incriminate innocent men—the sowing of dissensions among the brethren and inducing the weaker by bribery to bring false accusations against the more steadfast, and other means which are only darkly hinted at. At Furness, after unsuccessfully using every effort to obtain sufficient evidence against the abbot, the Earl of Sussex reported his difficulties to the king, who replied:—"We desire and pray you, with all the dexterity you can, to devise and excogitate to use all the means to you possible, to research and try out the very truth of their proceedings, and with whom they (the monks) or any of them have had intelligence. We think verily, that you shall find thereby such matter as shall show the light of many things yet unknown," adding that meanwhile the abbot and some of the monks should be committed to prison. On the 6th of April, Sussex reported that in his previous examination that he had used the said abbot and his brethren in such wise that it was impossible to get any more than was had before out of them. He told the king that he had committed to Lancaster gaol two of the said monks, which was all he could find faulty, and that there was nothing that could now be discovered against the abbot that would serve the purpose, and explained his plan for obtaining the rich possessions of the abbey for the king. "I, the said earl," he says, "devising with myself, if one way would not serve, how and by what other means, the said monks might be rid from the said abbey, and consequently how the same might be at your gracious pleasure, caused the said abbot to be sent for to Whalley, and, thereupon, after we had examined him, and indeed could not perceive that it was possible for us to have any other matter, I the same earl, as before by the advice of other of your council, determined to essay him as of myself, whether he would be contented to surrender, give and grant unto your heirs and assigns the said monastery." It was a choice between death and surrender. In either case the king would seize the abbey and all its possessions, and the monks cleared out. Human nature yielded to the tempter, and on the 5th April, 1537, the unhappy abbot signed the surrender. The monks were constrained to follow the example of their abbot, and had to quit their peaceful home without pension, only 40s. each in their pockets. And the abbey and its possessions worth £800 a year clear passed to the king, and the rich church and other buildings to the axes and hammers of the destroyers.

In passing on we cannot refrain from calling attention to the pathetic story of the destruction of Woburn Abbey, pp. 191—202, which was seized under the new interpretation of the Act of Attainder on 20th June, 1538, and the abbot hanged before his own gate, and others with him.

Doubtless this dire calamity fell with much greater severity upon the nuns even than upon the monks. Father Gasquet has described the difference very clearly. The monks, although many of them from a lifelong seclusion, and from age, when turned out of their homes with a few shillings in their pockets, or, in many cases penniless, were, at all events, better fitted to battle with the world than feeble women. Many of them were priests, and might hope to gain some maintenance, however

scanty, from the exercise of their office. The nun's lot, however, opened out no such prospect. "Driven from the dismantled walls of her convent, and the veil of her profession stripped from her, the nun could not but suffer the pains of daily martyrdom in the rough surroundings of an uncongenial world."

With regard to the regularities and order which prevailed in the English nunneries at the time of their suppression, even Layton and Legh, in their notorious *comperta*, are able to bring but few charges against their good name, and those of a very trifling character. The reports of these "worthy" emissaries of Cromwell embraced some thirteen counties, and only of 37 nuns in all the convents visited could they speak unfavourably, and even of these all but ten were thought not unworthy of their pension; and they could find only two nuns out of all the convents who were desirous to be relieved of the restraints of a religious life, and this even after the imposition of vexatious injunctions, the acknowledged purpose of which was to render the practice of religion unendurable.

In the subsequent reports of mixed commissions the character given to the convents is uniformly most excellent. Thus the White Nuns of Grace Dieu, co. Leic., the only convent of the Order in England, (Carmelites?) are declared to be "of good and virtuous conversation and living, and all desirous to continue their religion there," and an account is given of their charity and bounty.

A charming description is given from John Aubrey, the well-known Wiltshire antiquary, who was an eye-witness of the habits and practice of the nuns of a convent in that county. "There," he says, "the young maids were brought up (not at Hakney Sarum Schools to learn pride and wantonness, but) at nunneries, where they had examples of piety and humility, and modesty and obedience to imitate and to practice." . . . "This," he concludes, "was a fine way of breeding up young women, who are led more by example than precept; and a good retirement for widows and grave single women to a civil, virtuous and holy life." We had marked the whole passage for extract, but space will not allow it (p. 224).

The king was very anxious, if possible, to obtain possession of the property of the convents without having recourse to actual suppression, and every kind of pressure was used to induce the unhappy ladies to yield up their homes and property to the king, by what was called a "voluntary surrender." The nuns of England, however, as a rule, resisted in the most heroic manner all promises of substantial advantages they would gain by compliance with the king's desire, and upon refusal the threat of deprivation with a very scanty means of subsistence. The commissioners write at the end of March, 1539: "We yesterday came to Ambusbury (Wilts), and communed with the abbess (Prioress) for the accomplishment of the king's commission in like sort, and albeit we have used as many ways with her as our poor wits could attain, yet in the end we could not by any persuasions bring her to any conformity. At all times she rested, and so remaineth, in these terms: If the king's highness command me to go from this house I will gladly go, though I beg my bread; and as for pension I care for none." No doubt she kept her word and went forth, and as for pension she received none. Such statements might be multiplied. Of the 50 convents which survived the

first dissolution the surrenders of some 83 are enrolled on the Close Rolls. But the original documents preserved in the Record Office prove that, for some reason or other, the papers drawn up in blank form by the commissioners, in the majority of cases numbering 28, never received the signatures of the nuns at all. Of the remaining five, one, the surrender of Shaftesbury, a convent of 56 nuns, and at the dissolution of which Cromwell himself assisted, is signed only by Elizabeth Zouche, the abbess. A second document, that of Tarent, although having twenty signatures, is worthless, as all are written in the same hand. Some others were simply marked with crosses, so that of the whole number of convents only three signed surrenders exist.

The next subject dealt with is the "Fall of the Friars," or mendicant Orders. It is scarcely necessary in these pages to point out the distinction between the friars and the monks, nevertheless, it may not be amiss to say a few words upon the subject. The monks, generally, lived a contemplative life, entirely secluded from the cares of the world, in order that their lives might be devoted more entirely to the direct service of worship and praise. They might accept donations from the faithful of lands, with the sovereign's license in mortmain, and goods *ad libitum*, which they expended in affording hospitality to strangers and travellers, the relief of the poor, and in other acts of mercy and charity. Their estates were managed by certain brethren selected for the purpose, but the general community was not disturbed with mundane affairs. The friars were inspired by entirely different motives. Their religious life was an active one, and one of their vows was that of strict and absolute poverty. They did not possess anything they could call their own. Their houses, were held in trust for the Order, and were situated in the worst slums of the worst cities, and here they lived amidst filth, misery, and disease upon the alms which they could collect from day to day, devoting their lives to the poor, to preaching and teaching, and in the endeavour to influence the people by every means in their power to lead honest and religious lives. "The whole history of the church," Mr. Gasquet writes, "does not present a parallel to the enthusiastic reception given by the people to the reforms they preached, and their popularity in England, almost down to the day of their suppression, is evinced by numerous gifts and testamentary dispositions in their favour." He tells us, moreover, that in the sixteenth century the friaries throughout the country numbered some 200. Of these the followers of St. Francis had 60, the Dominicans about 53, the Austin friars 42, and the Carmelites 35. The number of friars in England is estimated at about 1,800.

The poverty of the friars was both a temptation and a snare to them; depending for their support upon the alms of the people they felt independent of the king's favour, and preached loudly and forcibly against his policy, both on the marriage question and the supremacy, which gave him great offence. They ought to have fallen with the smaller monasteries, but the friars were very popular with all classes of the people, and, therefore, very powerful, consequently until the final suppression of the northern rebellion the king hesitated to attack them. Besides they had neither manors or lands to tempt his cupidity. Their buildings also were both plain and poor and were worth but little to him save the value of the lead with which they were covered and the bells,

and for this the buildings were wrecked. The altar plate also was generally worth little, except in a few of the larger houses where some fine pieces were found. "All the vestments and other movables in the Blackfriars house and church at Newcastle was sold for less than £5; the Mayor bought the tiles of the roof and everything in the dormitory for 10s.; two chalices weighing 38 ounces were sent to the royal treasure house, the lead was melted into eighteen fadders, and the royal visitor went away with 30s. as the price obtained by all the desecration and ruthless destruction he had committed." A few shillings each were given to the community and they were turned out of their convent in the depth of winter without any other provision (p. 272).

Though the friars were reprieved for a time the king kept his eye upon them, and their turn came when, upon the final suppression of the northern insurrection, the king thought they were utterly in his power. Meanwhile they had been "harrassed with many difficulties hardly less bearable than absolute extinction." A renegade Dominican friar, named Ingeworth, became Cromwell's unscrupulous and energetic agent in the work of suppressing the friaries. In 1537 he was consecrated Bishop of Dover, and about the same time received two commissions "to visit and vex" his brother friars, and right heartily he carried out his instructions. It is said that as early as 1534-5, seeing the storm arising, a great part of the friars preachers left the king's dominions, rather than conform, and in consequence of the poverty to which they had been reduced. Those who remained were treated with the utmost cruelty and indignity. Many from their helpless poverty, for with the destruction of the monasteries, and the disorganization of the times, the springs of charity had been dried up, coupled with the heavy exactions levied upon them by the king's agents as parcel of their policy, were in a state of the utmost penury. Threatened at the same time by severe punishment unless they conformed to the king's wishes many were prevailed upon to yield, but many others shewed bright examples of constancy and fortitude, and preferred to suffer death in its most terrible form rather than violate their consciences. Among numerous other cases is that of Anthony Brown, sometime a friar observant of Greenwich, and "of late taking upon him as a hermit," who, in 1538, was condemned for his belief in the old doctrine of papal supremacy. The Duke of Norfolk, writing to Cromwell, says: He wrote "out his own confession with his hand," which, says the Duke, you shall receive with this. The friar was found guilty, giving respite to the sheriff for his execution ten days following "for reasons which are stated. He was again examined and argued with by the Bishop of Norwich and others, but nothing could move him, and so we have delivered him, continues Norfolk, to the sheriff to be carried to the gaol and there to suffer according to his foolish doings upon Friday next. "A special messenger was dispatched with great haste to Cromwell, in case the king, or Cromwell, would wish to have him brought to the Tower there to be more straightly examined, and to be put to torture." The Bishop of Norwich tried once more to induce the friar to change his opinion, but without success, and as we know nothing further concerning him, he was, doubtless, executed on Friday, 9th August, as appointed.

There is a very curious, though appalling record of the manner of punishment to which these poor friars were subjected. It relates to one

Friar Stone, an Austin friar of Canterbury. In his examination he very courageously maintained "that at all times he had held and still held and still desired to die for it, that the king may not be head of the Church of England, but that it must be a spiritual father appointed by God." Upon this he was condemned, and the manner of his death may be gathered from the following document, preserved among the city of Canterbury records:—Hist. MSS. Comm. 9th rep. app^x. 158. "A.D. 1538-9.—Paid for half a ton of timber to make a pair of gallaces (gallows) to hang Father Stone. For a carpenter for making the same gallows and the dray. For a labourer who digged the holes. To four men who helped to set up the gallows. For drink to them. For carriage of the timber from stable gate to the dungeon.¹ For a hurdle. For a load of wood, and for a horse to draw him to the dungeon. For two men who set the kettle and parboiled him. To two men who carried his quarters to the gate and set them up. For a halter to hang him. For two half-penny haltera. For Sandwich cord. For straw. To the woman that scoured the kettle. To him that did execution." (p. 260).

As to the expelled friars only one or two individuals were granted any pension for their support, as a rule a few shillings (on an average apparently about five shillings) was delivered to each one on being turned out into the world to find his own living as best he might. "No wonder some were loth to go," writes Father Gasquet. "There was an anacres," writes Ingeworth, of Worcester, "with whom I had not a little business to have her to grant to come out; but out she is." This in one short sentence is a fair representation of the spirit in which expulsion of the friars was conducted" (p. 273).

The king had no parliamentary authority to suppress any of the greater monasteries. In granting him that power over the smaller houses the Act sanctioned his taking the possessions of any of the larger which might be voluntarily surrendered by the respective communities, or otherwise fall into his hands; and after the failure of the third northern insurrection, many, as we have already noticed, were seized under the Act of Attainder, their rulers and some of the brethren being hanged as traitors, and the remainder expelled. This, however, was too slow a process for Henry, and instructions were given to the royal agents by all means known to them to get the religious willingly to consent and agree to their own extinction; and it was only when they found any of the heads of convents so appointed to be dissolved, so wilful and obstinate that they would in no wise agree to sign and seal their own death warrant, that they were authorised to take possession by force. At the same time the king instructed his agents to deny that he entertained any intention of a general suppression. It would be impossible to give any detailed account of the measures resorted to. For these we must refer to the Author's Chapter on "The Progress of the General Suppression," and we have already given sufficient indication of the course pursued. This, upon the whole, had been so successful that by the Autumn of 1539 few houses remained in the possession of their religious owners. Among these were the great Benedictine houses of Glastonbury, Reading, and Colchester. All mitred abbeys, and the most wealthy in the kingdom. These could not by any means be allowed to escape, and no charge of

¹ The hill close to Canterbury, called Dane John.

misconduct had been brought against them, or the communities under their charge. These abbots were true to their trusts, and could not be tempted to surrender. So they were proceeded against upon some trumped up charges of treason, generally we believe the denial of the king's supremacy, and upon some secret inquisition in the tower condemned. Abbot Whiting was hanged with the usual barbarous enormities above described, on Tor Hill, on 15th November, 1539; and Abbot Cook on the same day before his own abbey gate at Reading. Abbot Marshall met his fate at Colchester on the 1st December following. Father Gasquet gives a very interesting account of some of these reverend and holy men and of the preliminaries previous to their suffering. We can only say that of all the black deeds of this black period, not one exceeded this in satanic blackness.

In his review of the Monastic Spoils and what became of them, the author gives us some most curious and valuable historical information, but any, the slightest, approximation to the actual money value of the rich vestments, plate and jewels seized by the king's agents, never was, and never can be known. A very large proportion of it, as might be expected, was appropriated by the vile agents who had been employed in robbing the religious houses. But besides these robberies by the robbers a very large quantity of plate and jewels and other valuable ecclesiastical goods was delivered into the court of augmentation. The sacred buildings, consisting of some of the fairest architecture in the kingdom, together with the sculpture, the shrines, after they had been plundered of the jewels with which they were lavishly adorned, the painted glass, and metal work of the highest class of art, were recklessly and wantonly destroyed. The lands, to a large extent, were bestowed upon the enrichment of "new men" who had been the king's emissaries and accomplices in his work of destruction.

For further particulars we must refer to Father Gasquet's bulky volumes, which, though of great interest, are painful reading; nevertheless it is well that the public should be made acquainted with the true history of this great revolution, the misery it occasioned, the real motives of the actors therein, and the base means adopted in carrying it out. The work is written throughout in a most candid, impartial, and dispassionate tone. The calm and judicial spirit which pervades the work cannot but carry conviction to every thoughtful mind, how much so ever hitherto it has been dulled by prejudice. It is to be hoped we shall learn more of this dark and disgraceful period of our history, though one feels ashamed and horrified at the disclosures brought to light. We heartily thank Father Gasquet for this valuable contribution to English history, and trust he will make further researches in the same field.

THE BOOK OF SUN-DIALS. Collected by MRS. ALFRED GATTY. New and Enlarged Edition, edited by H. K. F. Gatty and Eleanor Lloyd. London: Bell and Sons, 1889.

Some years have passed away since the gifted authoress of "Parables from Nature" published her "Book of Sun-dials." In the compilation of that picturesque collection—first begun, indeed, by Mrs. Gatty in her childhood—she was latterly assisted by Miss Lloyd, and now that a new and enlarged edition has been called for, it is pleasant to recognize that the graceful co-operation and the facile pencil of Miss Lloyd have a

second time been placed at the disposal of the editor. The thin book of former years has now developed into a stout octavo volume, with 390 additional Dial Mottoes, the whole comprising a list of 731 examples, with 65 illustrations.

"Time," says Miss Gatty in the opening of her Introduction, "is a blank if we cannot mark the stages of its progress," and she adds that there has been implanted in us a desire to count how, as it were, drop by drop, or grain by grain, time and life are passing away: Thus Edgar Poe :—

"I hold within my hand
Grains of the golden sand;
How few, yet how they creep
Through my fingers to the deep."

How many have fingered the grains on the sea shore, and how few have applied the moral!

Treating of the manner in which time was reckoned in the ancient world, the expression "the evening and the morning were the first day" is quoted as "the earliest description of a period of time whose duration we cannot precisely estimate." Then we get the day divided into four parts, a system that appears to have lasted until the Christian era. This now gave way to "hours" for the day, the night being divided into military "watches," of which the Jews recognized three, and the Greeks and Romans four of such divisions, the Jewish night being eventually also divided into four watches, as in St. Mark, xiii, 35—even, midnight, cock-crowing, and morning. The first mention of the hour as a distinct space of time is in the book of Daniel, when the dark tragedy overshadowed the master of Babylon. Along with the establishment of a settled calendar came, according to Professor Sayce, the settled division of day and night; this appears to have gradually superseded the simpler arrangement.

Passing more strictly to our subject it is remarkable that no sun-dials of the Egyptian period have been noticed, but that they were early in use we know from the expression "the dial of Ahaz," but what form that instrument, or object took, we know not; and whether it was a mechanical contrivance, or an architectural composition, a scientific instrument, or a great pillar casting its shadow upon a series of "degrees," we would as gladly become aware, "as a servant earnestly desireth the shadow."

Anaximander of Miletus is said to have introduced sun dials into Greece about 560 B.C., but the knowledge of such things may well have reached that heaven-born nation, through the Phœnicians, two hundred years before, and "if," remarks Miss Gatty, "as Vitruvius says, Berosus the Chaldean, who lived in the third century B.C., was the inventor of the hemicycle hollowed in a square, and inclined according to the climate, there must have been earlier forms in Greece." A dial of the form ascribed to Berosus, with the hours marked in Greek letters, is preserved in the British Museum.

The Romans adopted dials, as they did most of their arts and sciences, from the Greeks, and the first dial set up in the eternal city was so placed by Papirius Cursor, 293, B.C., at which time the astronomical year of twelve months was introduced instead of the old Roman year of ten; before this time noon was proclaimed from the front of the Curia.

Some thirty years after a dial was removed from Sicily to Rome, and planted near the Rostra, where, although not being calculated for the latitude of Rome, it was suffered to indicate the wrong time to the citizens for ninety-nine years, when it was at last assisted in its duties by a new one set beside it. Cicero put up a sun-dial at Tusculum in 48 B.C., and they appear to have soon come into common use in Rome and in the Roman empire, and assisted, if they did not rival, the more accurate clepsydra. Miss Gatty tells us that most of those which have been preserved are the works of Greek artists. The Tower of the Winds at Athens had a dial in each of its eight sides, and that brought by Lord Elgin from Athens, with the name of Phœdrus upon it, has been assigned to the second or third century; an engraving of this example is given.

Perhaps no particular nation can be signalized as having invented clocks, because such mechanisms must have gradually grown, like sundials, with the passage of any nation from darkness to light; but the Arabians are credited with much early knowledge in this respect, and it is, doubtless, owing to them that the dial-makers grew more exact in their application of the science of gnomonics, and that sun-dials are so common in Mohammedan countries. But if we had been suddenly asked what nation in the world would most favour the sun-dial we should assuredly have said at once the Chinese, for were they not, according to their own reckoning, acute astronomers before even antiquity began! Not much information is, however, forthcoming concerning the dials of the Celestials, though we gather from Miss Gatty's remarks that they are the commonest things possible in China, and are said to be without mottoes; small wooden boxes with silk line gnomons, comprising sun and moon dials and compass combined, after the fashion of the Nuremberg *portaria*, are the usual things. In Japan they are chiefly in bronze and portable, like the "poke dials" with which we are familiar.

Quoting from the valuable information that the Rev. D. H. Haigh has brought together on the subject, Miss Gatty deals with the different systems of the Northmen for the division of time into eight tides; a modification of this still obtains in "Ultima Thule." The primitive system in the far north, by which the lapse of time is denoted by the shadows of certain rocks, cast successively upon flat stones bearing the numerals, appears to be still in use in remote northern regions. But we take leave to doubt very much that upright stones—menhirs—had originally anything to do with the record of the flight of time.

It appears that the use of the octaval system, the decimal, and the duodecimal, or Chaldean, were each in use in western Europe during the early centuries of the Christian era, and probably soon after the coming of St. Augustine dials became associated with churches. Many dials of the late Anglo-Saxon period remain, and Miss Gatty gives illustrations and descriptions of several, among which we are glad to see the valuable inscribed examples from Yorkshire, as well as some of early date from Cumberland. The consideration of these dials brings about the description of the numerous large and small ones to be found near doorways and windows of churches. Many are certainly earlier even than the ancient buildings on which they are found, indicating a re-use of older materials in early times to an extent that architectural students have only lately begun fully to realize; in others the original divisions

have been altered; many are not dials at all, but mere compass markings, or borings of the idle hours of workmen; and some small ones may be imperfectly worked doorway consecration crosses. All these objects are naturally most numerous in good stone countries, and they become perhaps most puzzling in the land of the softer stone, where they could be easily scratched with the pocket-knife of any loiterer. These rude works of untutored hands tend, not only to confuse and baffle the enquirer by their imperfections and inaccuracies, but, from the air of antiquity which they soon assume, to lead the student entirely astray.

Setting aside for the moment the probability of a large number of the rude wall dials we have just spoken of being genuine mediæval works, there is a remarkable scarcity of such objects, of any consideration, between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the authoress has been assured, we think rightly, that during that period "the history of gnomonics is a blank." With the great Revival in the sixteenth century dialling again came forward, and from that time until the present it has never quite lost in favour, though we are sorry to say we do not recall many instances of the erection of modern ones in the old-fashioned gardens here and there coming again into vogue, such as Bacon describes; strangely enough the great philosopher does not include this picturesque and almost indispensable attribute of "the purest of human pleasures," in his well known Essay;—as Bernard Barton says:—

"I love in some sequestered nook
Of antique garden to behold
The page of thy sun-lighted book,
Its touching homily unfold."

The pillar dial rapidly became very popular in Scotland, and the most ornate and remarkable dials of this period are to be seen in rugged Caledonia. In England the "stumping" of the crosses furnished countless pillars and bases for dials, but, in spite of the high favour in which sun-dials have been held in less impetuous times than our own, it must be confessed that now they have nearly had their day, and "superfluous lags the veteran on the stage." Yet these silent witnesses happily linger in many an old garden or churchyard to become a sort of trying point, a thing of the past to handle and wonder at, for children to climb and spell out the moss-grown date or motto in the stone, or decipher the crest in enduring brass of a house that has gone into darkness,—these things that Charles Lamb thought "more touching than tombstones," and, must it be confessed, which have at last become to the rude seething spirits of the outer strife but flat, stale, and unprofitable! Thus it is almost with a tinge of melancholy that we do no more than pass rapidly in review the long list of dials which Miss Gatty has brought together—all the wise saws, the trite aphorisms, and the far-fetched conceits—and come to the conclusion that the truest motto of all is the translation of the well-known "pereunt et imputantur" which was given in jest to a lady who was being lionized at Oxford,—"they perish and are not thought of!" On the other hand we may not omit to say that Miss Gatty has not approached the matter in this spirit. She has produced a charming volume, and treated her subject with the taste and feeling that seems inherent in the accomplished family of which she is a member, and with the seriousness of purpose that betokens the realization of the moral that "time is a sacred thing."

THE MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CHURCH AND CHURCH-YARD OF ST. CUTHBERT, CARLISLE. Edited by MARGARET J. FERGUSON, with a Preface by the Chancellor of Carlisle. A. Barnes Moss, Carlisle, 1889.

When the saintly George Herbert wrote "Come take a turn, or two, . . . in the Church-yard," he had in his gentle mind the softening influence which the contemplation of tombstones imparts. In our day we are rather apt to overlook the church-yard and hurry through it for the sake of seeing the church. It is, therefore, refreshing to meet with an authoress at her first entrance on "the primrose path," so well balanced as to recognize that history is as a flowing stream, and that it does not cease with our grandfathers; who sees the value of inscribed stones and gives us the inscriptions down to our own day, not only in the church, but also in the church-yard, which has been fortunate enough to attract her attention.

We remember that in 1884 a hardy man, who signed himself "a Midland Vicar," wrote an astounding letter to the "Times" announcing his intention, in a future "restoration" of his church, of clearing away, "as a matter of education," and "with an unsparing hand," the monumental tablets "of a vicious and ignorant age—i.e., the middle of last century." This Midland Vandal, who was careful not to divulge his name, was by law a guardian of the monuments in his church, and that he was a typical example of a protector we call countless old churches to witness. The anger and shame we have felt in visiting the "restored" fabrics all over the kingdom, to find nearly everywhere the same wicked destruction or obliteration of monumental inscriptions, to make way for the vulgarities of the "art manufacturer," may not be adequately expressed on paper. On the other hand it is soothing to meet with Miss Ferguson's painstaking work of rescue.

If it is true that the world does not quite realize what the labours of an editor are, it is also true that no one knows how heavy is the work of copying 550 half-obliterated inscriptions so well as he who has made the trial. To bring these into order, and prepare them for the press, no less than to collect them in the first instance, are works so equally deserving of credit (as well as of imitation) that it would be a delicate matter, in this particular literary partnership, to apportion the amount of our obligation—though we may possibly have our leanings. We cannot, of course, go through the list; the lives of many of those here registered were as the path of an arrow, immediately closed up and lost; the recorded history of others is comprehended, as Addison says of inscriptions in Westminster Abbey, in the two circumstances common to all mankind, and a large number are imperfect. But it is a record for which the people of Carlisle may well be thankful—a brand snatched from the burning.

It appears that St. Cuthbert's churchyard was closed for burials in 1856, up to which time the majority of the inscriptions had been periodically repainted by the persons interested in them. Since then time and neglect have been at work, and when, about ten years ago, Mr. R. S. Ferguson, assisted by the Rev. E. W. Ford, made the transcripts, great deterioration had come about, and within the last ten years damp and frost have caused many to perish entirely. A faculty was recently granted under the Open Spaces Act (1887), to remove the

obliterated stones and change the position of others. Before this was done a plan was required by the Chancellor to be deposited, showing the exact position of every tombstone, and copies of all the inscriptions that could be deciphered. The numbers within brackets, given in the book with each inscription, correspond with those on the deposited plan, so that the exact position occupied by any tombstone can be at once ascertained. This is what can be accomplished by a vigilant Chancellor, and we are tempted to ask why the like system has not been insisted upon in the cases of all churches that have fallen under the ban of the "restorer," who daily devours space throughout the country!

We cordially endorse the hope expressed by Mr. Chancellor Ferguson that this volume may be followed by the publication of the monumental inscriptions of St. Mary's, and Stanwix; there will then be a complete necrology of the Great Border City. By this promising beginning Miss Ferguson has enabled us to "take acquaintance of this heap of dust," and local chroniclers to draw much of the history of the Carlisle worthies from the perishing and cold stones under which they "rest till it be time to rise."

Archaeological Intelligence.

CALENDAR OF THE RECORDS OF THE CORPORATION OF GLOUCESTER. Rental of all the Houses in Gloucester in 1455. Edited by W. H. Stevenson and the Rev. W. Bazeley.—The former of these documents consists principally of full abstracts in English, of the early local deeds in the possession of the Corporation. There are nearly 1300 of these documents; 571 are before 1300, and some date from the twelfth century. There are many fine seals of local families of early date, and this valuable collection which has been hitherto unavailable, has now been carefully arranged and calendared by Mr. Stevenson. The Calendar will be printed in demy 8vo, at 10s. 6d. The Rental was drawn up by Robert Cole, a Canon of Llanthony Priory, near Gloucester. In a length of parchment thirty-three feet long and fifteen inches wide, we have an account of every house in the borough, the names of the owner and tenant, his trade, rent, &c., and in many cases an abstract of title from the time of Henry III. Each of the four main streets are taken in turn, the houses being given in separate columns, the side streets and lanes being similarly treated. Between the columns the space representing the roadway is occupied by drawings of the churches, chapels, friaries, wells, the pillory, &c.. The work is thus at once a survey, directory, and rent roll of the city for 1455. It is proposed to print this curious record in its full Latin, a translation being also given, and the drawings reproduced in fac-simile. This volume may also be subscribed for at 10s. 6d., the price for the two works being 17s. 6d. Names may be sent to Mr. G. S. Blakeway, Town Clerk, Gloucester.

THE CHURCH BELLS OF SUFFOLK, by the Rev. J. J. Raven, D.D.—We have the pleasure to announce the forthcoming appearance of this work, which adds another to the long list of books on Bells. It will be fully illustrated, and will contain a complete list of the inscriptions on all the bells in the county, as well as on many that have been re-cast. The demy 8vo. edition may be subscribed for at 15s., and a limited number in royal 4to. size at 25s. Application should be made without delay to Messrs. Jarrold, Norwich, as the price will be raised on the day of publication.

A GUIDE TO PRINTED BOOKS AND MSS. RELATING TO ENGLISH AND FOREIGN HERALDRY AND GENEALOGY, by G. Gatfield, in demy 8vo, is now in hand.—It is unnecessary to point out the value of such a work as this to the ever increasing number of workers. The author's position and opportunities have well fitted him for the task. We need only mention that in addition to references to printed books a large number

of MSS. in public and private libraries have been consulted and made use of, as well as works relating more especially to Ireland, Scotland, Wales, America, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Holland, India, Italy, West Indies, Japan, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland. The book will thus form one of the valuable series of guides to the contents of the National Collection, which is such a boon to students. Names of subscribers should be sent to Messrs. Mitchell and Hughes, 140, Wardour Street, London.

MR. WALTER BYE has a considerable work in hand, "Cromer Past and Present," which will doubtless be worthy of him. It will be well illustrated, and contain notes of every Inscription in Church and Church-yard, and of every Foot of Fine; References to every Will, and transcripts of every Subsidy Roll relating to the parish, and other local and more homely matter. The price of the work will be—large paper, £2 2s.; small do., 18s., to be raised after the day of publication. Names may be sent to A. H. Goose, Rampant Horse Street, Norwich.

THE CHURCH PLATE OF THE COUNTY OF DORSET. Edited by J. E. Nightingale, F.S.A.—A book on this subject from the hand of one so well qualified will be so very welcome that we need only say that a limited number of copies will be printed, with fifteen illustrations, at 6s., the cost of the printing. Intending subscribers should communicate at once with the Author, Wilton, Salisbury.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE PLACE NAMES, with notes, descriptive, historical, and archaeological of each place, is now in hand, by the Rev. R. S. Baker, Hargrave, Kimbolton.—Under the heading of Enquiry are Name, Saint, Situation of Village, Natural Features, Acreage, Manor, Church, Plate, Great Houses, Manor Houses, Customs, Traditions, Antiquities, British, Roman, Castles, Religious Houses, Crosses, Relics, &c., the whole being verified from personal survey. We shall call further attention to this work later on.

Archaeological Journal.

SEPTEMBER 1899.

CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS A COMPLETE LIST OF MOATED MOUNDS OR BURHS.

By GEO. T. CLARK.

Scattered broadcast over all parts of England, and found occasionally in parts of Wales and in the lowlands of Scotland, are certain earthworks of a peculiar character, and which should not be confounded with those of British or Roman origin, though occasionally superimposed upon them.

Their chief and most striking characteristic is a circular mound, table topped, and surrounded by a deep and broad ditch, out of which, where the mound is wholly artificial, it has been formed.

Appended to the mound, outside of, or beyond its ditch, are one or two enclosures, abutting upon the ditch of the mound, and contained within banks of earth, defended by an extensive ditch, communicating with the ditch of the mound.

These mounds are of various sizes, from 30 to 40 ft. high from the general level, and from 50 to 70 ft. from the bottom of the ditch, and from 60 to 120 ft. in diameter at the top. The appended enclosures range from a quarter of an acre to two acres, and in plan, when original, they are what, in fortifications, are called "lunettes," and are parts of irregular circles. The banks are from 10 to 20 ft. high, and of no great breadth at the top.

Sometimes the mound stands within the circuit of the

main court, sometimes outside of, but touching it; but more frequently it is placed so as to form a part of the circuit, with one-third of its circumference within and the rest without the area.

An earthwork of this description is what is described in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as a Burh, and when we read that Edward or Ethelflede wrought or Getymbred a Burh, this is what we may expect to find, unless the works have been levelled or encroached upon, as is often the case.

These Burhs are not, like British earthworks, placed on the tops of hills, nor like Roman stations upon main roads; they were the centres of large Saxon estates, the seats of great landowners, for which reason, when these were dispossessed, they were taken possession of by the Normans, and gradually their houses and defences of timber were replaced by regular masonry, the shell keep occupying the mound, and the enceinte wall being built along the ridge of the earth banks.

Usually these Burhs are original Saxon works, all the parts being of one date; sometimes, however, they are placed upon a Roman station, in which cases the alteration of the earlier work is evident, and is further shewn by the rectangular plan of what remains unaltered.

This is, or was the case at Wareham, Gloucester, Hereford, Tamworth, Castle Acre, Wallingford, Cardiff, and York, and in the two last instances the Roman wall has been discovered, forming the core or nucleus of the later earthbank.

When the Saxons proposed to close the passage of a river they threw up a mound on each bank. Such banks remain at York on the lower or exposed side of the city, and such are known to have existed at Nottingham, Northwich, Buckingham, Stamford, Bedford, and Hertford, though in these two latter cases one, and in the others both, of the mounds have been removed.

It is still very much the custom to describe these Burhs as British, and sometimes as Roman works, though a little attention to those named in the Saxon Chronicle, or known to be of Saxon origin, would enable the observer to appreciate the distinction.

The list here given is certainly very incomplete, and

where the places have not been visited may be incorrect. Those local topographers who mention earthworks are seldom careful to distinguish between a mound and a bank; others are described indiscriminately under the names of Lows, Barrows or Sepulchral Mounds, Moat or Toot-hills. Others are called Castles, others Forts, but these names are applied more or less freely to Roman and British, as well as Saxon works. Many are omitted altogether in the smaller ordnance survey, or are delineated by some conventional mark, as a circle, when they are not really circular. Many mounds have been removed altogether, as at Gloucester, Hereford, Worcester, Stamford, and Chirbury, though known to have existed. Much confusion is produced from the absence of a settled system of nomenclature, even in the full scale ordnance survey, which for topographical accuracy leaves nothing to be desired.

It is hoped that the present attempt will induce other persons to supply its deficiencies, so that a really complete list of these curious and usually well-defined earthworks may be obtained.

BEDFORDSHIRE.

Bedford.—One of the two mounds mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle has been lowered and surrounded by earthbanks, and the subsequent masonry removed. Payn Beauchamp's castle, *temp.*: Rufus, was besieged by Stephen, 1137, and by Henry III, 1225. The second mound on the right bank of the Ouse has long been removed.

Cainhoe, or Castle hill, in Clophill. A mound. The shell keep of D'Albini is gone.

Eaton-Socon.—Considerable earthworks, but an insignificant mound. Here was a Beauchamp castle.

Puddington.—A very fine moated mound.

Ridgemount.—On the mound is said to have stood a shell keep of the Wahulls.

Risinghoe, in Goldington. A moated mound on which stood a Beauchamp keep. The castle mill remains.

Tempsford.—A small earthwork, with a small mound at one angle; the whole on the Ouse bank. King

Edward threw up a burh here in 921. There seems to have been a later castle near this.

Toddington.—A moated mound. The keep of a Norman castle standing 1224, is now gone. The mound is near the church, and called Congerhill.

Totternhoe Castle is described as a moated mound, with appended earthwork, of rectangular outline.

Yielden Castle.—A large moated mound with fragments of masonry and appended works. Castle of the Barons Trally. In decay, 1860.

BERKSHIRE.

Berkshire seems to have contained only three moated mounds, but they were of the first class for size and strength.

Reading.—Here was a large mound thrown up close upon the junction of the Kennet with the Thames, and just within the Danes ditch. It probably dated from 871. The Norman castle seems to have been razed in 1153. The earthworks were probably levelled when the fort was constructed about 1640.

Wallingford.—Here is a very large moated mound, with enclosures of the same date, the whole occupying one corner of a large rectangular, and probably Roman, area contained within a bank and ditch. On the mound was the house of the Saxon Wigod and the Norman keep of the D'Oyleys. This was the "Caput" of the Great Honour of Wallingford.

Windsor.—The mound has been included within a shell keep, originally of Norman date, as shewn by the foundations laid open by Wyattvil. The earthworks are of the date of the mound, but certain of the ditches, now filled up, may be of British date. At Old Windsor are earthworks, but shewing no definite plan.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Buckingham.—The two moated mounds thrown up in 918 are gone, and the present church stands on the site of one of them. The other was probably occupied by the keep of Earl Gifford's castle.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

Burwell.—West of the church is an oblong mound, 80 by 50 ft. on the top, and moated. Here is a trace of the castle built by Stephen, before which Geoffrey de Mandeville was killed.

Cambridge.—The mound is much reduced in size, and the banks and ditches about it levelled and concealed by a modern prison. Here is a gatehouse of the time of Edward III. The whole stands within a Roman camp.

Ely.—A very fine mound, partly artificial, with appended earthworks. Castle-Hythe Ward presents the memory of a castle constructed of timber by Bishop Nigel, in 1140. Hereward's castle erected in the Fens, of timber, in 1067, was standing in the reign of Henry III.

CHESHIRE.

Aldford.—On the right bank of the Dee. A circular keep upon a moated mound, called "Blobb Hill."

Chester.—Earthbanks and a trace of a mound. Here is a small rectangular keep, the whole occupying one corner of the Roman enclosure.

Doddleston.—A moated mound, and some remains of the castle of the Boydells.

Dunham-Massey.—A shell keep on a moated mound. The masonry, now destroyed, was the work of the Barons Massey.

Eddisbury.—A burh thrown up by Athelflede in 915. Site known, but the mound is gone.

Hawarden.—A natural mound, crowned by a circular keep.

Winderton.—A mound, on and about which was the castle of the Barons Venables.

Malpas.—A mound, 40 yds. diameter at the top. Here was the shell keep of the Barons Fitz Hugh.

Mold.—A mound, probably carried the shell keep of the Barons de Montalt.

Nantwich.—The seat of Earl Edwin. In the 16 Ed. I, called *Castrum Wici Malbani*.

Northwich.—At the junction of the Dane with the Weaver were two moated mounds, 51 ft. and 90 ft. top

diameter. Here was a castle temp. Rich. I, but destroyed soon afterwards.

Oldcastle.—A moated mound, probably with a shell keep.

Pulford.—A moated mound with appended semi-circular banks. Here was a castle in masonry, now gone.

Runcorn.—A Saxon burh, and afterwards a castle, removed to widen the river.

Shipbrook.—Probably a mound. Site called Castle Hill. A Norman fortress.

Shocklach.—A moated mound with appended earthworks. The Barons Malpas seem to have had a shell keep here.

Ullersford.—A mound and probably a shell keep.

CORNWALL.

This county contains many military earthworks, but the greater number are of a different character from those thrown up in the other parts of England in the ninth and tenth centuries.

Cayle Castle, in Phillack, seems to have had a moated mound.

Castle Horneck, near Penzance.—A mound. Here the Barons Tyes had a castle.

Hugh Town, in Scilly.—Is said to possess a mound.

Kilkhampton.—Castle hill, a large moated mound. The seat of the Grenvilles.

Launceston.—Here the mound is natural. On it is a circular keep.

Restormel.—May be described as a large shell keep upon a natural mound.

Trematon.—Upon a lofty conical hill is an oval shell keep 96 ft. by 72 ft. The top of the hill may be artificial. The keep is a fine one.

CUMBERLAND.

Brampton.—A moated mound 150 ft. high.

DEVONSHIRE.

Barnstaple.—A mound. Joel of Totnes seems to have had a castle here.

Barnton.—A mound and circular keep in masonry.

Plympton.—A mound on which stood a shell keep with a well.

Tiverton.—Here was a mound near the church and a Redvers castle. All swept away.

Totnes.—A mound, 80 ft. diameter, with a shell keep; the latter the work of Joel of Totnes.

DORSETSHIRE.

Cranbourn.—Castle hill?

Dorchester.—Doubtful.

Shaftesbury.—Moated mound and, probably, a shell keep.

Wareham.—A moated mound and formerly a shell keep. The whole occupies one corner of a rectangular earthwork.

DURHAM.

Durham.—A fine artificial mound with a shell keep, rebuilt on the old lines.

Eden Hall.—South of this is a moated mound?

Elsewick.—At the south end of the village is a moated mound. Qy. masonry.

Salkesden.—A moated mound and masonry.

Throston.—A mound and masonry.

Tunstal.—Strong earthwork and a shell keep. Qy. mound.

The Yoder.—A large moated mound between Horden and Eden Hall.

ESSEX.

Blethebury.—A seat of the Anglo-Saxon kings. Banks and ditches. Qy. mound.

Mount-Bures.—A large moated mound.

Milton.—A burh thrown up by Hastings, 893. Qy. gone.

Maldon.—A burh by Eadward, 913 and 920. Qy. gone.

Chipping-Ongar.—A large moated mound with earthworks inside the town with masonry, part of Norman castle of Richard de Lucy.

Plessey.—A moated mound in a Roman earthwork, and traces of the Norman castle of Geoffry de Mandeville.

Shoebury.—A burh thrown up by Hastings, 894. Qy. gone.

Westham.—A burh by Eadward, 912. Qy. gone.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

Berkeley.—The shell keep includes the mound, and the castle buildings seem to follow the line of the old enclosure.

St. Briavels.—The mound is nearly levelled, and seems never to have been high. The castle is tolerably perfect. There was a Norman keep.

Gloucester.—A large moated mound on the river's bank with a later castle, all swept away. It seems to have stood near one corner of the Roman enclosure. The city ditch, now filled up, was dug by Harold.

Winchcombe.—A seat of Kenulph of Mercia, near St. Peter's Church. Here was a later castle, all now gone.

HAMPSHIRE.

Basing.—Here is no mound, but a large and very remarkable circular bank with an exterior ditch, closely resembling that near Penrith, and very probably of English origin.

Carisbrooke.—A moated mound and appendages, with a shell keep.

Christchurch.—Here the mound is but small, and upon it is a rectangular keep.

Southampton.—The mound here has been nearly all levelled and built over, but a part of it remains, and around one side are, or recently were, the arches upon which the wall of the shell keep was supported.

HEREFORDSHIRE.

Ewias-Harold.—A moated mound about 120 yds. diameter at the base and 30 ft. high, with appended wards. Upon it stood the shell keep of Alured de Marlborough, or perhaps of Harold, his successor, of which the foundations may be traced.

Hereford.—Here was a large mound connected with a rectangular earthwork of great strength, and probably of Roman origin with Saxon alterations, probably by

Edward the Elder, in 909. The mound has been removed, but most of the earthbanks remain, with part of the exterior ditch. Here was a Norman castle with some later additions, some of which remain.

Huntington.—A very fine and but little altered specimen of a moated mound, with its appended courts. A Norman castle was built upon the earthbank, traces of which remain.

Kilpeck.—Here is a moated mound with appended courts of large area, and the remains of the shell keep of the Norman Kilpecks.

Richard's Castle.—A very large moated mound, wholly artificial, with appended courts. The works were occupied by Richard Fitz Scrob, from whom they take their name, and who was a Norman attached to the Court of the Confessor. There is, however, no masonry here of that date, and but little at all of any age.

Wigmore.—Here are the earthworks and mound thrown up by King Edward in 921, and which were attacked by the Danish army a few months afterwards, but without success. After the Conquest this became the chief seat of the House of Mortimer, whose castle stood here, of which some parts remain.

HERTFORDSHIRE.

Ansty.—A mound and early castle. The mound was the seat of Alward, a contemporary with the Confessor.

Bennington.—The seat of Bertulf of Mercia. A council was held here in 1850, but the earthworks are imperfect.

Berkhampstead.—Here the mound, appended court, and concentric ditches are very perfect, and the foundation of the shell keep may be traced.

Bury Castle, near Ardeley?

Hertford.—Here on the opposite banks of the river were two burhs, thrown up in 913. One is gone, but the other remains, and on it was the shell keep of the castle of de Valognes.

Kingsbury, near St. Albans.—Was a seat of the Mercian Kings. Bertulph, held a council here in 851. Near the palace was a monastery and a castle.

Pirton.—Toot hill.

Stansted Mont-Fitchet.—A moated mound. The castle of the Mountfitchets is gone.

Bishop's Stortford, or *Waytemore*.—Given by the Conqueror to the See of London. The mound remains, but the shell keep is gone.

HUNTINGDON.

Huntingdon.—Contains the extensive remains of a moated mound and appended courts, also moated. Here was the castle of Countess Judith and of the Earls of Huntingdon.

KENT.

Binbury.—An excellent example of a plain moated mound, upon which masonry has never been erected.

Brenchley.—Castle hill. A small mound covered with a camp.

Canterbury Dane John.—Probably a moated mound of earlier date than the city bank and ditch.

Coldred or Ceoldred, near Waldershare.—A large mound, probably the work of Ceoldred of Mercia, A.D. 915.

Heydon Mount.—Qy. a mound.

Kenardington.—A mound attributed to the Danes in 893.

Nevinton.—A large moated mound.

Rochester.—Baily hill, a large mound, partly artificial, probably a Danish work.

Thurnham.—A moated mound with large area appended, near it a rectangular keep.

Tonbridge.—A large and well defined moated mound, having ditches connected with the Medway. The foundation of a shell keep remains and a part of the enceinte wall of the Clares, Earls of Gloucester.

Wodnesborough, near Sandwich.—A moated mound by the church. Probably the work of Ine in 715.

LANCASHIRE.

Arkholme.—Near the chapel is a moated mound.

Black Bourton, in Lonsdale.—Contains some large earthworks and probably a mound. Here was a Mowbary castle.

Castle Hill, near Golborne Gates.—Seems to be a Saxon burh.

Castleton, in Rochdale.—Is, or was, the same.

Gleaston, in Lonsdale.—Here is a moated mound called the Moot hill. It is reputed to have been the site of a castle of the Le Flemings.

Halton.—The seat of Earl Tosti. The moated mound is, as usual, near the church.

Melling.—Gallow hill is a large moated mound, near the church. It is a reputed Saxon seat.

Penwortham or *Penverdant*.—Here, on the river's bank below Preston, is a large mound. On it was the shell keep of an early Norman castle, standing in the time of King John.

Robin Hood's Butt.—At Clapham is a mound, but its character is doubtful.

Sedburgh.—A moated mound.

Stoneyhurst.—Here are two mounds.

Whalley.—Near this, on the opposite sides of the rivers, are two mounds at the confluence of the Ribble, Hodder, and Calder.

LEICESTERSHIRE.

Groby.—Here is, or was, a moated mound, with which, however, great liberties have been taken; if, indeed, it has not recently been altogether removed. It was the site of the castle of the Lords Ferrars of Groby.

Hallaton.—Here is a moated mound 118 ft. diameter at the top, and placed near a Roman camp.

Hinkley.—Here is a very fine moated mound, upon which stood the keep of the Barons Graint-maisnil.

Leicester.—The moated mound here has been somewhat lowered. It stands at one angle of the Roman enclosure, near the river, and the Church of St. Mary de Castro. Some of the Norman masonry of the hall of the castle of the old Earls of Leicester is still to be seen.

LINCOLNSHIRE.

Bourne or *Brun*, called from the spring head close to the moated mound, and which fed its ditches, and those of the castle of the Lords Wake. The mound is thought to mark the seat of Earl Morcar.

Lincoln.—Here is a very fine moated mound, which, with a banked enclosure, occupies one angle of the Roman station, and partly covers up its walls. The original late Norman shell keep still crowns the mound.

Stamford.—Here were two burhs thrown up, one on each bank of the river. One was connected with the later castle, now swept away.

MONMOUTHSHIRE.

Abergavenny.—A moated mound on which stood the shell keep of the Barons Braose and Cantelupe.

Caerleon.—A fine mound, placed in the Roman station, and with traces of a late Norman castle.

Castleton.—A mound near Newport, much reduced in modern times.

Langston.—A moated mound, afterwards a fortified place of the Morgans.

Newcastle, near Skenfritli. — A moated mound of moderate size, with a court, also moated, appended to one side of it. The whole in fair order. No trace of masonry.

Rubina.—A fine moated mound on the high ground behind Ruperra.

NORFOLK.

Castle-Acre.—A fine moated mound with appendages, also banked and moated, the lines of earthwork having been taken for the masonry of Earl Warren's castle, of which the shell keep occupies the mound. The whole covers about one-half of a rectangular Roman camp.

Castle Rising.—Here the earthworks are on a large scale, the citadel being an enclosure heavily banked, something like Exeter. Within it is a rectangular late Norman keep. There is, however, no mound.

Mileham.—A large circular work, with banks of very moderate height, and a slight wet ditch. In the centre is a very low moated mound, and on, or rather in it, the foundations of a rectangular Norman keep. The northern end of this work cuts into a rectangular Roman camp.

Norwich.—Here the mound seems a very moderate addition to a natural hill. The ditch is partly filled up.

The very fine Norman rectangular keep stands on the mound, most probably founded on the natural soil.

Thetford.—One of the finest moated mounds in Britain, attributed to the Danes in 865. It covers eleven acres, and with its outworks, twenty-four acres. No masonry.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

Earls Barton.—A large mound close to the church. Probably a moot hill, and the caput of the large estate owned after the Conquest by Countess Judith.

Farndon, East.—A moot hill, moated, near the church, and connected with an earlier camp.

Silbourn.—A moated mound with a rectangular court. The character of the whole is very peculiar, and its origin obscure. Here was a Norman castle.

Rockingham.—The remains of a shell keep upon a large but low moated mound with courts, now occupied by the castle buildings.

Sibbertoft, or Fox Hill.—Possibly the site of an adulterine castle.

Towcester.—A good moated mound on low ground, close to the river, and not far from the church.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Aston.—Near the fortified parsonage are two moated mounds, called Mote hills.

Wark.—The earthworks, of this very celebrated Border fortress, are remarkable, and include a moated mound and appended wards. There remain parts of the masonry of a keep.

A mile or two over the Border, near Coldstream, is Castle-Law, a very fine example of a moated mound, wholly artificial, and of great size. The outworks seem to have been ploughed up, and there is no trace of masonry.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

Bothamsall.—Castle hill. A mound, but the ditch seems to have been filled up.

Egmanton.—Guddick hill. A moated mound, 40 ft. high and 152 ft. diameter at the top.

Laxton.—A moated mound, 50 ft. high and 142 ft. upper diameter. The appended courts are also moated.

Nottingham.—The Trent below the Castle cliff was guarded by two burhs, one on each bank. Both are now gone.

OXFORDSHIRE.

Auldchester, by Bicester.—The Roman Alauna. In the station is a mound called Castle hill.

Idbury? called Danish.

Middleton Stoney? Earthwork near the church.

Oxford.—A good moated mound, on which was a shell keep, of which a subterranean chamber remains.

RUTLAND.

Belvoir.—Here the natural hill is said to have been raised by an artificial addition, upon which has been placed the shell keep of the Barons d'Albini and Ros. However, this may be, the whole forms a very fine example of a moated mound.

SHROPSHIRE.

Aston, three miles south-west of Ludlow.—Wholly artificial.

Caus Castle.—So named by the Corbet settlers in the eleventh century, but they found there a lofty moated mound and well, still remaining.

Chirbury.—The burh thrown up by Æthelfede in 915 has been removed, but its memory is preserved in the termination of the name, which is also that of the Hundred, and the site of the burh is known as the castle field.

Chun.—Here is a fine moated mound with extensive and strong earthworks. The rectangular keep of the Fitz Alans is built against one side of the mound.

Ellesmere.—A large artificial moated mound, which preceded and has survived the castle of Roger of Montgomery.

SALOP.

Minton.—A small mound near Church Stretton.

Oldbury, near Bridgenorth.—Is probably the burh formed by Æthelfede in 912. Though of moderate height it is well marked, and its ditch is preserved.

Oswestry.—A moated mound, though much injured. Upon it are the remains of the keep of the Fitz Alans.

Pulverbatch.—A mound. There was a castle here, of which all remains are now gone.

Quatford.—A moated mound, chiefly artificial, with a very curious and perfect well.

Shrewsbury.—Here is a small but lofty mound, on the raised bank of the Severn. The remains of the castle of Roger of Montgomery mark the original outline of the court.

Shrawardine, Little.—A large artificial mound.

Tenbury.—Castle tump on the Teme.

Whitchurch.—An artificial mound with the masonry of a keep of the Lords Fitz Alan; the ditches are intricate, and supplied with water.

SOMERSETSHIRE.

Castle Batch.—A moated mound.

Castle Carey.—Mound and other earthworks. The castle of the Lords Lovel is destroyed.

Dunster.—The shell keep of the Mohuns crowned the natural "tor" which, however, is scarped, and a court appended below, now indicated by the walls of the castle.

Montacute.—A natural mound. The keep of the old Earls of Cornwall is destroyed.

Orchard.—Is reported to have had a moated mound.

Pen Pits.—Moated mound, 128 ft. top diameter. An oval court appended.

Stoke-Courcy.—A mound and the remains of a castle.

Taunton.—The mound has been removed, but the appended earthworks of Ine are tolerably perfect, and indicated by the wall and keep of the Norman castle.

STAFFORDSHIRE.

Beaudesert.—A large mound.

Berry Banks.—A seat of Wulpha, king of Mercia. Remains uncertain.

Chartley.—A mound and remains of the castle of Randal, Earl of Chester.

Stafford.—Here was a burh thrown up by Æthelflede on the banks of the Sow, probably destroyed with the later castle.

Tutbury.—A small mound with a late keep.

SUFFOLK.

Bungay.—An artificial moated mound, of moderate size, but very perfect, with bold and extensive earthworks attached to it. The mound has been scarped and revetted with masonry, and upon it is the lower story of a rectangular Norman keep.

Clare.—A very large artificial mound, moated, with attached earthworks on a grand scale. A very late shell keep stands on the mound, but most of the other masonry of the de Clare castle is gone.

Eys.—A grand moated mound and other earthworks. This was an important Saxon seat, and the Caput of a Norman Honour.

Haughley.—A mound. Here was a later castle.

SURREY.

Farnham.—Here is an artificial mound with earthworks. The shell keep of the castle of the Bishops of Winchester remains.

Guildford.—Here is a large artificial mound, on one side of the area, and on the top of which is an early Norman rectangular keep. The earthworks of the attached court are still to be traced.

SUSSEX.

Arundel.—A fine example of a moated mound with spacious court appended. The shell keep is Norman. The well is on one side of, but within the mound, as at Wallingford.

Bramber.—Here the mound is upon a natural hill, on which is a rectangular keep, so placed as to cover the approach. The ditches are early and very fine. On the same platform, but some way from the keep, is the small moated mound, probably the Saxon keep.

Chichester.—The mound stood within the Roman Regnum; traces of it remain. The castle was destroyed to supply materials for a monastery.

Knepp.—A good mound, which was turned to account as a keep by the Barons Braose.

Lewes.—A singular instance of twin mounds, not as at Cardiff, Hereford, and Lincoln, mere thickening of the

earthbank at an angle, but forming two citadels, upon one of which are the remains of the shell keep of the Lords Warren.

Pevensy.—Here is an artificial mound with appended earthworks of its own date, placed within the Roman area. The mound has carried a Norman keep, now in utter ruin.

WARWICK.

Bromwich (Castle).—The mound remains. The masonry of the later castle is gone.

Brinklow.—A remarkably fine mound, wholly artificial. The ditches and appended earthworks are also perfect. There is no record or trace of any masonry.

Fillongley.—Earth banks. At some distance was the castle of the Lords Hastings.

Hardreshull or *Harthill*.—A mound on the edge of the Watling Street, where was the castle of de Hardreshull.

Kenilworth.—There seems to have been a mound here, now enclosed within the wall of the rectangular keep. The earthbanks appended carry the Norman walls.

Seckington.—A moated mound near the church. The masonry of a castle seems to have been removed *temp.* Henry II.

Stoneleigh.—Here is an artificial mound near the church, where the manor courts were held. It is a moot hill, but may have been a military mound.

Warwick.—Here is a mound on the enceinte of the old enclosure. Upon it stood a shell keep, now replaced by a later tower.

WESTMORELAND.

Sedbergh.—A lofty moated mound, near the church. Probably Sedda's burh.

WILTSHIRE.

Castle Combe.—The earthwork here seems to be a moated mound, on which was placed the keep of the castle of the Lords de Dunstanville.

The Devizes.—This is probably the grandest mound in Britain, and its ditches the deepest. There are still some remains of the Episcopal keep.

Marlborough.—The moated mound stands within, or on the edge of, a Norman camp. The masonry of the mediæval castle is gone.

Old Sarum.—Here is a grand central mound with concentric ditches. An unusual arrangement. The district is full of British and Roman remains, but these earthworks seem wholly Saxon.

WORCESTERSHIRE.

Castle Morton, near Upton.—Here is a moated mound, 50 ft. high, near the church.

The Devil's Spittle Fall.—Near Bewdley. A natural hill, fortified.

Worcester.—The moated mound, a large one, stood on the Severn bank close south of the cathedral. Upon it was the keep of Urso d'Abitot. All is now swept away.

YORKSHIRE.

The completion of the Ordnance Survey to the enlarged scale has brought to light a vast number of moated mounds hitherto unrecorded. No doubt it is not in every case safe to infer their character from the map, but in many cases there can be no mistake in the matter.

Adwick le Street.—Castle hill?

Almondbury.—A reputed Saxon seat. The earthworks are called Castle hill.

Armley.—Giants' hill on the Ayr, near Leeds.

Arney.—A moot hill, near Doncaster.

Andrew Howe.

Aysgarth.—Castle Dykes.

Bailey Hill, near Bradford.—A moated mound, 36 ft. across at the top.

Barnby Howe.

Barwick in Elmet.—The moated mound was the seat of the Saxon Edwin, whence called Wendell hill.

Bentley.—A moot hill.

Bolton-Percy.—Here is a moot hill.

Bradfield.—Castle hill, near Bordyke. A moated mound.

Broughton.—Castle hill on the Irwell.

Castleton.—Castle hill, near Danby. A large moated mound.

Catterick.—Castle hill.

Coningsborough.—A natural hill, moated artificially, and having strong earthworks appended. Here also is a moot hill.

Crake.—Was a Saxon seat, and the mound seems to have been removed in 1650.

North Deighton, Howe Hill.—A moated mound.

Egton, Castle Hill.

Freeborough, near Moorshole.—A high artificial mound.

Gilling, near Richmond.—Here seems to have been a mound, recently removed.

Hickleton.—Castle hill.

Howe Tallon, near Barmingham.

Horbury.—Castle hill.

Huddersfield.—Castle hill.

Hunmanby.—Large moated mound, west of the church.

Ilkston.—Large moated mound, near Kippax.

Kirk Levington.—Large moated mound in the folds of the Leven.

Kirk Smeaton.—Castle hill.

Laughton-en-le-Morthen.—A Saxon seat and moated mound.

Laws Hill, Wakefield.—Moated mound and enclosure, upon a natural hill.

Liversedge.—Castle hill.

Lockington.—A moot hill.

Maidens Tower.—South-east of Topcliffe. A moated mound on the Swale, with large enclosures.

Malzeard or *Kirkby Mallessart*.—A large earthwork, near the church.

Mesborough.—Castle hill. A moated mound and enclosures, near the church.

Mickle Howe.

Middleham.—A moated hillock, above the castle.

Mirfield.—A moated mound.

Northallerton.—The Howe.

Oswinhorpe.—A supposed seat of the Kings of Northumberland.

Penny Howe, near Pickering.

Pickering.—Here is a good moated mound with a shell keep and extensive courts all round it.

Pontefract Castle.—A mound at one corner of the area, now included within a revetment wall.

Rastrick.—Castle hill. A fine mound, now levelled.

Ribblesdale.—Mounds?

Rotherham?

Sandal.—A moated mound with formidable ditches; also remains of a keep and other masonry.

Sherborne.—Castle hill.

Sheep or Sharp Howe.

Skipsca in Holderness.—A large moated mound, called Castle hill, with a well on its edge.

Stang Howe, near Hinderwell.

Skelbrook.—Castle hill.

Swarth Howe.

Tadcaster.—Moated mound and enclosures. Trace of a shell keep.

Thirst.—A moated mound, by the river, now levelled.

Thorne on the Torne.—A mound, near the church. Traces of masonry.

Thorpe Heslay.—Castle hill.

Thurn.—Castle hill, near the church. A moated mound.

Tickhill.—A very large moated mound with courts and deep ditches, and traces of shell keep.

Wincobank.—Moated mound.

York.—Two mounds. Bale hill and the castle. The latter very strong with a court and deep wet ditches. On it a shell keep. They were intended to guard the river, and are placed just below the city.

SOUTH WALES.

Gelligaer.—A moated mound of very great size. This is at some distance from the Roman camp, from which the parish derives a part of its name.

Ruperra.—In the Park, on a ridge, is a moated mound of tolerable size.

Ystrdd Owen.—Is a moated mound, but hollow in the centre. It was evidently used for defence. It stands close to the Churchyard.

NORTH WALES.

Bala, Tomen-y-Bala.—A large artificial moated mound south-east of the town.

Bettws, Tomen-y-Castell.—A large moated mound.

Gwyddolwen.—A large moated mound.

Hëndomen.—A large moated mound with moated appendages.

Kedewen.—A moated mound, held by Roger Mortimer in 1278.

Kerri.—A fine moated mound.

Moel-y-Cric, near Northope.—A large artificial moated mound.

Mold, Bailey Hill.—A fine moated mound, artificial.

Rhôs Ddiarbed.—A large moated mound.

Rôs.—A moated mound.

Tafollwern.—A moated mound, whence the Welsh princes dated several charters.

Talybont.—A fine moated mound, held by Llewelyn in 1275, and visited by Edward the I.

Tomen-y-Vardra, in Llanarman.—A very large moated mound.

Tomen-y-Rhodwydd, near Yale.—Two large moated mounds.

Welshpool.—A moated mound, near the town.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF TRÈVES AND METZ.¹

By BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A.

It is well known beyond the limited circle which occupies itself with archæological research that Augusta Treverorum contains more Roman remains than any other city north of the Alps.² As the subject presents a multitude of interesting details, so it has exercised for many years the learning and ingenuity of savants in England, in France, and especially in Germany. Its extent may be inferred from the fact that the biblio-

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, July 5th, 1868.

² The Treveri are frequently mentioned by Julius Cæsar. They appear for the first time in his Commentaries, *Bell. Gall.*, I, 37, imploring his aid against the Suevi; but the notices concerning them in the latter part of this work are much more detailed and important. Book V, cc. 3 and 4, contains an account of the dispute between two rival chiefs, Indutiomarus and Cingetorix. *Ibid.*, cc. 55—58, a formidable insurrection of the Treveri is related; it was suppressed by Cæsar's lieutenant Labienus, and Indutiomarus was slain. This powerful and warlike tribe again formed a league to oppose the Romans, and were again defeated by the same general: *Bell. Gall.* VI, 2, 7, 8.

Another Indutiomarus occurs in Cicero; he was a chief of the Allobroges and gave evidence against M. Fonteius, who was tried for mal-administration of his province, Narbonnese Gaul: *Cic. pro Fonteio*, IX, 19.

Hucher, *L'Art Gaulois ou les Gaulois d'après leurs Médailles*, Part I, p. 41, says, On rencontre chez les Trévires la belle médaille, d'aspect tout romain, sur laquelle on lit GERMANVS—INDVTILLI F., *Hermann ou Arminius*,

filii d' Indutillus ou Indutillius, v. Pl. 50, No. 2 (*Art Gaulois, du temps de César, Meldes et Trévires*). Lelewel gives the same coin, *Études Numismatiques, Types Gaulois ou Celtiques, Atlas*, Pl. IV, No. 25, "exemple insuffisant," as Hucher remarks. According to Lelewel, chap. 111, 247, Indutillius is only another form of Indutiomarus, but this seems doubtful. *Ibid.*, chap. 131, p. 324, he calls attention to the influence of Greek art apparent both in obverse and reverse; the device on the former is a beardless head, and on the latter a bull butting, as in the well-known *didrachms* of Thurii: *Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet.*, Vol. i, p. 163 sq. Leake, *Numismata Hellenica, European Greece*, p. 153 sq.; but see especially the beautiful engravings in *Carolli Numi Italice veteris*, folio, pp. 90—93, *Tabb. CLXV—CLXIX*; *irruentem et furentem (Aetæus) vel ipse caudas motus indicat, Tab. CLXV*; *Bos gradiens capite leniter demisso, Tab. CLXVI*. Rollin et Fournier, *Catalogue d'une Collection de Médailles de la Gaule*, p. 36, No. 396. *Induciomarus!* Tête imberbe diadémée à droite, les cheveux retroussés par derrière en forme de chignon. R. GERMANVS INDVTILLI. O. Taureau cornupète à gauche. *Æ*, 1 et 2 fr.

graphical list, appended to Leonardy's excellent Guide, fills five closely-printed pages; and many publications relating to Trèves have appeared since 1868, the date when the fifth edition of this work was printed. Some persons may think it strange that I should select a theme which others have already exhausted; but as I spent more than a week in the city last autumn studying its monuments, and received most valuable aid from the local antiquaries, Dr. Hettner, Director of the Museum, and Herr Keuffer, Librarian of the Stadtbibliothek, I hope to say something new to some at least of those who may favour me with their attention.¹

The recent discoveries at Neumagen (Noviomagus) made during the years 1877-86, properly find place in any account of the Antiquities of Trèves, because the objects found have been removed thither.² They far surpass all the other results obtained by excavation in the countries bordering on the Rhine.

Among these monuments one of the most interesting represents a Toilet-scene. A lady, clothed in a long fringed robe, whose folds hang gracefully round her limbs, is seated in an arm-chair of wicker work. A maid standing behind, and wearing a tunic with sleeves, arranges her hair in a chignon at the back of the head, while another, dressed in the same manner, holds a mirror

¹ Monsr. Léon Palustre et Monsr. X. Barbier de Montault in the Introduction to their work entitled *Le Trésor de Trèves*, p. viii., speak of M. le Professeur Keuffer as "le plus sympathique des érudits." I can testify from personal experience that Dr. Hettner equally deserves this laudatory epithet.

² For the situation of Neumagen v. Baedeker's *Rheinlande*, Route 45, Von Koblenz nach Trier, p. 288 sq., edit. 1886: it is on the right bank of the Moselle, about five leagues North of Trèves; v. Map 26, *Die Mosel von Trier bis Koblenz, Saarbrücken-Trier-Luxemburg-Eisenbahn*, opposite p. 276.

The Roman name of this place was Noviomagus, and Ausonius calls it Constantine's fort in the beginning of his poem *Mosella* (XVIII.), p. 82, edit. Schenkl, Berlin 1883, *Transieram celeream nebuloso flumine Navam* (Nah)

Addita miratus veteri nova moenia Vingo (Bingen)

* * * * *

Et tandem primis Belgarum conspicio oris
Noviomagum, divi castra inclita Con-
stantini.

Schenkl's edition, founded on a careful collation of manuscripts, often varies from the Delphin, Paris 1730: it contains parallel passages inserted between the text and the critical commentary.

Noviomagus or Noviomagum, is the ancient form corresponding to Nimwegen, Nymegen, on the Waal, in Holland; also of Nyons (Drôme), and Noyon between Amiens and Soissons, in France: *Græcæ, Orbis Latinus*, oder *Verzeichniss der Lateinischen Benennungen der bekanntesten Städte*, etc. The termination *magus* seems to indicate that the town is situated near a river; comp. *Rotomagus Rouen* on the Seine *Juliomagus Angers* on the Mayenne: v. *Durocort*, ou *les Rémois* sous les Romains par feu Jean Lacourt, Chanoine de Notre-Dame de Reims, 1844, p. 86 sq.

for her mistress to look at herself in it.¹ On the left of the principal figure we see a third female attendant, who watches with interest the process of hair-dressing. The whole group was bounded by pilasters one of which still remains; it is ornamented with acanthus leaves, luxuriating in the shaft and capital. As it now exists, the monument is composed of four stones; probably it formed part of a structure resembling the Column at Igel, tapering towards the summit like a pyramid or rather an obelisk. Such memorials were frequently erected in this region—a fact which is attested by the archaeological collections at Arlon (Belgium) and Metz, as well as at Trèves. They are thus described by Dr. Hettner in the *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*.² The base is square or rectangular, and the height at least three mètres; the front always exhibits the portraits of the deceased,—life-size, greater, or rather less; the other sides are entirely covered with reliefs, whose subjects are generally taken from daily life.³

As on former occasions, I wish to consider antique art in its connexion with literature, for thus only can we obtain clear and comprehensive views of an age remote from our own.

Juvenal in his Sixth Satire, vv. 486—507, depicts a toilet-scene: from this passage I quote a few lines:

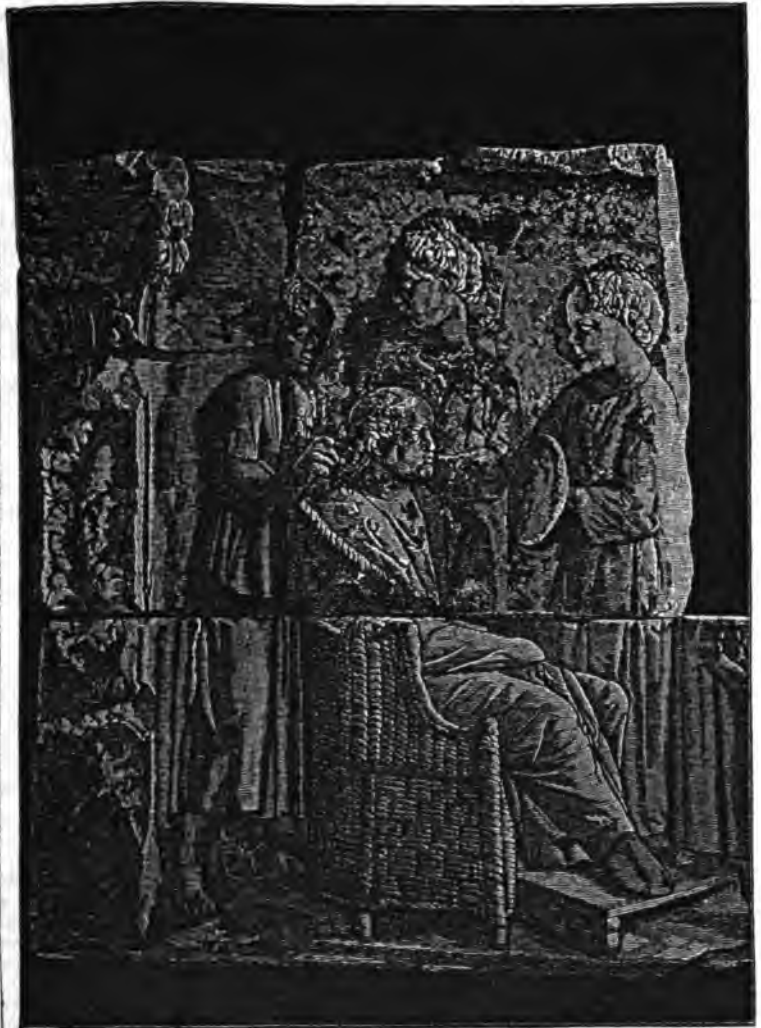
*Disponit crinem, laceratis ipsa capillis,
Nuda humero Pæcas infelix, nudisque mamillis.
"Altior hic quare cincinnus?" taurea punit
Continuo flexi crimen facinusque capilli.*

¹ It should be observed that here the mirror is held by a slave, not by the principal personage; the case is different with modern representations of Truth, where there is no attendant, as in Gumbetta's monument at Paris. I have not met with any personification of Truth in Classical Antiquity; it does not appear among the Virtues symbolized by the Greeks and Romans—such as Fides, Pudicitia, Concordia, Liberalitas, etc.—A. Hirt *Bilderbuch für Mythologie, Archäologie und Kunst*, Zweites Heft, pp. 108 sqq. Dämonen froher Zustände und der Tugenden: p. 104 von manchen gar keine Bilder, von andern keine grossen und bedeutenden . . . auf uns gekommen sind.

² *Neue Folge*, Vol. xxxvi, p. 437,

Die Neumagener Monumente von Felix Hettner.

³ The best example is that at Igel; its general appearance, and the details of ornamentation are well shown in the following works:—*Beschreibung der Alterthümer in Trier und dessen Umgebungen aus der gallisch-belgischen und römischen Periode in zwei Theilen von Friedrich Quednow*, Trier, 1820, Pla. IX—XII: *The Stranger's Guide to the Roman Antiquities of the city of Trèves*, from the German of Professor John Hugh Wytenbach, edited by Dawson Turner, London, 1839: and esp. *Das römische Denkmal zu Igel von Professor Dr. Franz Kugler*, mit einer Kupfertafel, 4^{to}, Trier, 1846. The Plate, which fills a folio sheet, shows the four sides of the monument.



Toilet Scene, from Neumagen.

Quid *Pæcas* admisit? quænam est hic culpa puellæ,
 Si tibi displicuit nasus tuus?
Pæcas, the chief, with breast and shoulders bare
 Trembling considers every sacred hair;
 If any straggler from his rank be found,
 A pinch must for the mortal sin compound.
Pæcas is not in fault; but in the glass,
 The dame's offended at her own ill face.

Dryden's Translation, Works edited by Sir Walter Scott, vol. xiii, p. 169 (1808).¹

The poet speaks of two maids as dressing the lady's hair, while a third attendant of more advanced age and experience presides over the operation and gives her opinion.² Similarly on the stone, three women wait upon the chief personage. V. 495 sq., he says that the hair is rolled up in a circle (*volvit in orbem*); this arrangement appears in a head figured by Montfaucon, *Supplément*, tome iii, chap. 3, where the plaits are fastened with a pin or needle: *Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities*, s.v. *Acus*. The learned Benedictine describes at length his engraving, p. 14, loc. citat., which occupies two pages, showing the group of a woman seated with a girl standing by her side, and the head of the former, on a large scale, seen from different points of view. *Comp. Martial, Epigrams* ii, 66.

Unus de toto peccaverat orbe comarum
 Annulus, incerta non bene fixus acu.
 Hoc facinus Lalage, speculo quod viderat, ulta est,
 Et cecidit saevis icta Plecusa comis.

Juvenal and the sculptor at Neumagen have chosen the same subject, but the poet has treated it as a satirist; he exhibits a scene of domestic cruelty, which he likens to the proverbial tortures inflicted by Sicilian tyrants. The mistress scolds furiously, and the servant is flogged for an

¹ In this passage Dryden's translation seems on the whole preferable; but the expression "*Pæcas* the chief" may mislead, because she is inferior to the slave mentioned below as directing the other two.

² V. 497, *Est in consilio matrona, admotaque lanis*

Emeritâ quas cessat acu.

This is the text of *Ruperti*, but it would be better to substitute the various reading *materna* for *matrona*, as *Otto Jahn* has done in his edition, 1851, following the best manuscript of *Juvenal*, *Codex Pithœanus*. *Materna* would mean that

this woman had been a servant of the lady's mother; she was retained on account of her experience and discretion, though no longer fit for work that required youthful vigour. *Comp. the note of Valerius (H. Valois) in Ruperti's critical commentary. Matrona* could hardly be applied to a person of servile condition: v. *Heinrich*, in loco, *Erklärung*, p. 267. *Nur die ingenua und mäterfamilias est matrona. Eine betagte, und in Ruhestand gesetzte . . . sie hat mit Frisiergehäft selbst nichts mehr zu thun. Acus crinalis*, cf. *Martial*, cited below.

offence that seems quite venial.¹ On the other hand, we see at Trèves a *genre* picture, like a Dutch interior, where everyone is occupied, without excitement.

In another place, Satire II, v. 99, the words *Ille tenet speculum*, which allude to the Emperor Otho, illustrate the attitude of the slave who holds the mirror before her mistress. It is well known that the ancients did not use glasses placed on dressing-tables as we do, but metallic hand-mirrors for the most part; though we find sometimes mention of pier-glasses affixed to walls (*Wandspiegel*), *vitreae quadraturae*. The subject is fully discussed by Becker in his *Gallus*, Vol. ii, p. 258, sq. 306; Vol. iii, p. 201. As the *specula* were appropriated to the dress and adornment of women, their employment by men incurred the reproach of effeminacy.²

Our bas-relief calls to mind passages in sacred as well as profane writers. A familiar text figuratively and beautifully expresses the idea of becoming assimilated to the object of devout contemplation. "We all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord."³

¹ *Pæca, ornatrix*, die Arme wird während der Arbeit von der Farie schrecklich gemisshandelt; sie zerreisst ihr die Haare, und die Kleider am Leibe, Heinrich *ibid.*, p. 266.

² A compendious account of Etruscan *specula*, classified according to subjects, will be found in Dennis's *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, first edition, Vol. i, Introduction, pp. lxxiv—lxxvi, with notes containing useful references: see also *ibid.* Vol. ii, pp. 519—521, Description of Mirrors in the Museo Gregoriano at Rome. Those who desire further information should consult the great work of E. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, four vols., 4to, Berlin 1843—1865, with 367 plates, copious explanations, and indices of matters and inscriptions.

This part of my paper was illustrated by an example from the Collection of the Rev. S. S. Lewis, described by the late Rev. C. W. King in the *Cambridge Antiquarian Communications*, Vol. v, 1882—1883, No. xiii, "On some bronze Etruscan mirrors with engraved reverses," pp. 190—192, pl. iv facing p. 190, cf. *ibid.* pl. v. The representation of Hercules here is very remarkable, because he

is seen "mounted on a tall horse slowly cantering towards the spectator's left." Behind the rider the words *EPKLE HANSTE* are written, which are interpreted as Etruscan forms of Hercules, Pegasus. Myths of this demi-god frequently appear in ancient art, and his attitudes are various. He is portrayed at one time reposing, and at another actively engaged—fighting with a lion or hydra, or carrying a wild boar, &c.—and sometimes riding in a *quadriga*, but not elsewhere, as far as I know, on horseback: C. O. Müller, *Handbook of Archaeology*, English Translation, §§ 410, 411, pp. 563—562, and esp. § 411, Remark i, p. 560.

Mr. King refers to Herodotus, lib. iv. cap. 8 sq. (the citation is incorrectly given in his footnote, p. 191, as lib. iii, cap. 108) and leads the reader to suppose that the father of history mentions one horse ridden by Hercules; but he speaks expressly of a chariot, and uses the word *ἵπποι* in the plural four times—*vás ἑὸν ἵππων* *vás ἑὸν τῶν ἄρτων νεμεσίβου*.

³ 2 Corinthians, iii, 18; so the Authorized Version, but the revisers have rendered the original very differently, "We all, with unveiled face reflecting as a mirror

Let us now turn to another relic of Noviomagus that presents more details than the one we have just been considering. I refer to fragments supposed to have been part of an enclosing wall round a sepulchral monument—blocks of sandstone carved to represent two boats laden with wine-casks. One of them is much better preserved than the other. As is usual in ancient galleys, both ends rise considerably above the intermediate deck, but the stern is still more elevated than the prow. On the side facing the spectator six rowers propel the vessel; by some unaccountable mistake they are provided with twenty-two oars! Though, at first sight, in consequence of the height of the bulwarks they appear to be seated, they are really standing. A man at the bow holds one of the casks with his right hand; the corresponding figure at the helm, sitting under a roof, grasps a rudder. In the hinder part of the ship, holes, as in the Parthenon frieze, are observable, showing that something was formerly attached here;¹ Dr. Hettner thinks it was a statue, but I should conjecture it to have been the *aplustre*, a fan-shaped ornament, often seen on the stern of ancient vessels, and sometimes used as an emblem of voyages or maritime affairs. So it appears in the Apotheosis of Homer, with

the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, even as from the Lord the Spirit." It may be questioned whether the change from *glass* to *mirror* is desirable in a book intended not for scholars, but for general readers—"vulgar Christians," as Dr. Watts calls them: see the Appendix to his *Logic*, which some editions do not include. The learned divine there explains how he varied his style, adapting it to his subject and his audience: cf. *Cicero, Orator*, c. *xxi*, §§ 71, 72, and Piderit's notes.

Again, Alford says that *κατοπτρίζουαι*, loc. citat. means *to see in a mirror*, and his opinion may be supported by comparing 1 *Corinthians*, *XIII*, 12, *βλέπομεν γὰρ ἄρτι δι' ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰβάγματι* (in einem dunkeln Wort, Luther), and St. James, *I*, 23, *ὄφρα ἴδωμεν ἑαυτοὺς καθαρῶς ὡς ἐν ἑσόπτρῳ*, also *ibid.* v. 25 *ὃ δὲ παρακίβηται εἰς νόμον τέλειον τὸν τῆς ἐλευθερίας*, where *παρὰ κίβηται*, *to stoop and look in*, probably refers to a mirror placed on a table or on the ground. In *A.V.* the same word *glass* is used to translate *ἐσόπτρου* and

θαλασσοδύλακος: v. *Apoc. IV*, 6; *XV*, 2; *XXI*, 18.

¹The holes in the Panathenaic Frieze show where the bridles of the horses were attached; they are supposed to have been of gilded bronze, and small pieces of the bronze itself are said to have been found by Lord Elgin's formentor. Sir H. Ellis, *Elgin and Phigaleian Marbles*, Vol. *i*, p. 196; comp. the accompanying engravings of the Panathenaic Frieze. But see esp. the admirable work of Professor Adolf Michaelis, 1871, *Der Parthenon, Text, Tafel IX—XIV*. Der Fries der Cella, § 23. *Bronzeszusätze*, p. 225. Die Zügel aller der 'zaumfrohen Rosse' (*Reich. Prom.* 466) sind nicht im Marmor ausgeführt, sondern wenigstens zu grossem Theile in Metall. Dies ist an den zahlreichen Löchern verfolgbare, in welchen Bronzestifte nicht bloss von Elgins Formern bemerkt worden sind (Clarke *Trav.* II, II, 492), sondern zum Theil noch heute stecken (Westfr. 2 im Widerrist, Nordfr. 109 im Pferdemaul, Südfr. 74 im Schildrande).

reference to the wanderings of Ulysses; and Juvenal gives it a place among the spoils and trophies of war, Sat. X, v. 135 sq. *victaeque triremis Aplustre.*¹ The boat is moving head-foremost to left, which is proved by the water being calm on this side in front of it, and agitated by waves behind it. The rowers turn their faces in the direction in which they are going, as the boatmen on the Rhine and the gondoliers at Venice do at present.

There is an eye on each side of the prow, shaped like a fish's head; the former feature is, I think, still continued in the Mediterranean. Becker, Charicles, scene VII, The Triton, p. 111, English Translation, note 2, quotes the Onomasticon of Pollux, I, 86, and Eustathius on the Iliad, XIV, 717, who says that eyes are painted in the projecting part of the prow. Rich, Companion to the Latin Dictionary, gives a good illustration from a medal, s.v. *Proreta*, the man who stood upon the fore-castle to keep a look-out.² Below the bulwarks, the upper part of which forms a kind of railing, are boards placed at an acute angle to the boat's side; they seem

¹ and streamers borne
From vanquish'd fleets.
Gifford's Translation, edit. 1817,
Vol. ii, p. 25.

Reperti, in loco, has the following note on *Aplustre*: ornamentum puppis, tabulatum, in quo post diactam erigebatur baculus (*σπυλός*) e quo pendeat velum, (h. e. linteum a fascia, *ταυρία*, *flagge*) quo motus venti indicabatur. The Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities s.v. *Navis*, p. 787, has an article on the *stern*, which includes the *aplustre*, *ὀφθαλμῶν*, with three illustrations; see also Rich, s.v. *Aphractus*, with woodcut from the Vatican Virgil. Froehner, La Colonne Trajane, 8vo, p. 99: *Aplustrum* espèce de panache en forme de queue de coq; in the Plate No. 23 facing p. 97, a boat is figured, which has this decoration.

² Pollux, loc. citat., τὸ δὲ ὄπις τὸ πρόπις ἀποσπένδον ἢ πτερὰ ὀφθαλμοῦ, καὶ ὀφθαλμοί, ἔσαν καὶ τὸντοια εἴς τὴν ἐπιγράφουσι. Eustathius, l.c. πτερὰ δὲ ἔσαν, ἔσαν δὲ τὸ ὀφθαλμοί (ὀφθαλμοῦνται, κ.τ.λ. Second German edition of Becker's Charicles, 1854, Bilder altgriechischer Sitte, Vol. i, Siebente Scene, Der Schiffbruch, Anmerkung 2, p. 216.

The Egyptians often painted an eye on the prow: Rosellini, I Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia. Tomo Secondo, monumenti civili, folio, Pisa 1834, No.

CVIII. Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, vol. III., p. 200. The place considered peculiarly suited to the latter emblem was the head or bow of the boat; and the custom is still retained in some countries to the present day. In India it is very generally adopted; and we even see the small barks which ply in the harbour of Malta bearing the eye on their bows, in the same manner as the boats of ancient Egypt. Ibid., Plate facing p. 211, Boats with coloured sails, from the tomb of Remeses III. at Thebes. The same feature may be observed in the paintings that decorate the staircase leading to the gallery of Egyptian antiquities at the Louvre. I am informed that the Chinese paint this device not only on the junks which they have built themselves, but also on the paddle-boxes of steamers purchased from foreigners: for their river-boats comp. a book of Chinese coloured drawings in the South Kensington Museum.

This practice among barbarous nations may be illustrated by the model of a canoe from the North-West coast of America, in the Ethnographical Gallery of the British Museum, where the eye is painted very large: comp. G. F. Angus, New Zealanders, Plate XLII., Ornamental canoe-heads, paddles, &c.

intended to protect the rowers from the splash caused by the oars.

The size of the monument deserves notice, the boat being 2.90 mètres long, 1.15 m. high, 0.60 m. broad. On the other hand that figured on the tomb-stone of Blussus (*nauta*) at Mayence is only about one foot in length: v. Mr. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. II, pp. 124—126, Pl. XXX, showing sculptures and inscriptions on both sides of the stone.¹ Again, the advantage of seeing an example on so large a scale becomes still more apparent, when we contrast it with the minute and imperfect representations on gems and medals.²

I beg to invite attention to a third group, widely different from those already described. Three youths stand round a table, on which a heap of gold coins is spread, and a basket is placed, also filled with money of the same kind; the metal intended is shown by the yellow colour, which was observed at the time of discovery. They wear neck-ties or cravats (*focallia*), as might be expected in a northern climate. These articles were not part of the ordinary costume of the Romans, but were adopted in their armies when they served in cold countries. So we find them on the Trajan Column, in accordance with Pliny's account of the severe winter, during which that Emperor made war against the

¹The monument of Blussus is among the most conspicuous objects in the Museum at Mayence, and properly marked by Baedeker with an asterisk (Das vorzugsweise Beachtenswerthe ist durch ein Sternchen (*) hervorgehoben). The word *nauta* here cannot mean a common sailor, which is evident from the character of the memorial, and especially from the richly ornamented figure of the wife carved upon it; as we apply the term *sailor* to an admiral and *soldier* to a general, so *nauta* is here said of a merchant: cf. Horace, Odes, Bk. 1, 1, 14. I may be allowed to remark that the collection of Roman and German antiquities in this city possesses great historical interest, which is enhanced by an excellent classification; it reflects great credit on the learned director, Dr. L. Lindenschmit.

²Similarly, the archaeological inquirer

will derive great benefit from consulting the older and larger books on the subject; he must not rest satisfied with small and modern compilations. E.g. Winckelmann, *Monumenti Antichi Inediti*, 1821, is one of the best authorities for ancient galleys: *Parte Quarta, Capitolo XV, Bireme*, tom. II, pp. 272—281, he explains many details and Greek names for parts of a ship, v. folio Plate, No. 207, of a marble found at Palestrina; it is copied on a reduced scale in the *Dictionary of Antiquities*, p. 784: comp. Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.*, Tome IV, pt. II, Livre II qui comprend la navigation, la manière de construire les vaisseaux, et leur différente forme, pp. 203—296; Pl. CXXXIII—CXLIII, esp. CXXXIII, *Rostra* ou 'Eperons, Aplustre, though the illustrations in this work do not adequately correspond with the erudition of the text.

Dacians.¹ One young man flattens the heap of coins, apparently with the view of ascertaining better whether they are genuine; the second holds one between his finger and thumb to examine it; the third has before him a pile of tablets for keeping accounts.² We see three elderly men in the back-ground, and one in front: they are all bearded, and have a hood (*cucullus*) to their outer garment, which corresponds with descriptions of Gallic dress by Juvenal and Martial, as well as with sculptures found in France.³ The old man furthest to the spectator's right carries a staff, probably to indicate a journey by land: a strap is slung across his right shoulder and breast, and doubtless a bag was suspended from it, as is done by travellers at present. The expression on these countenances shows discontent and the performance of an unpleasant duty, viz. the payment of rent or taxes, which does not seem to have been more agreeable in ancient than in modern times. When we study the writings of the Greeks and Romans, or survey their monuments, the reflection is forced upon us that, in spite of external changes and mechanical inventions, human nature is still the same as it was two thousand years ago.

¹In *focalis* the *o* is long, and the word is only another form of *faucalis* from *fauces* the throat; so the diphthong *es* is pronounced *o* in French. For examples of the interchange see Professor Key on the Alphabet, letter O, p. 85, §7.

Horace speaks of neckties as worn by delicate and luxurious persons, Satires, II., 3, 255,

ponas insignia morbi,
Fasciolas, cubital, focalia.

For this article of dress on the Trajan Column, see Froehner, op. citat., p. 63, Piedestal. Les armes daces. . . . On y remarque notamment une saie (*sagum*) ; une autre avec la cravate (*focale*) retenue par des agrafes; *ibid.*, p. 66; cf. *omn.*, p. 82 and note (1). Pliny the Younger. Panegyricus, Cap. 12. An audeant, qui sciunt, te assedissee ferocissimis populis eo ipso tempore, quod amicissimum illis, difficillimum nobis, cum Danubius ripas gelu jungit, duratusque glacie ingentia tergo bella transportat ?

²The clerks in the bas-relief, scrutinizing the money before they took it, may be contrasted with the fools of the Parable who bought a field or oxen, and

afterwards went to prove them: St. Luke, xiv, 18—20.

³As an illustration of the *cucullus* and *bardocucullus* (cloak with a hood) I exhibited an engraving published in the Mémoires de la Société Historique et Archéologique de Langres, Tome 1, Planche 22 facing p. 140, figs. 1 & 3—Musée, Fragments Gallo-Romains. The corresponding numbers in M. Brocard's Catalogue are 184 and 185. See the following Papers: *ibid.*, pp. 59—64, Notice sur les costumes des Gaulois en général et des Lingons en particulier, à propos de quelques monuments de l'ère gallo-romaine, par M. Pochiné; pp. 135—141, Langres.—Longe-Porte, par M. Girault de Prangey. Comp. Archaeol. Journ., Vol. xliii, pp. 103—106, where the above-mentioned terms are discussed at length, and many references are given. Guhl und Koner, Das Leben der Griechen und Römer, 2nd edition, 1864, §96, p. 587, fig. 473. Die Tracht--Kopfbedeckung der Männer. Den Pileus ersetzte aber auch die aus den nördlicheren Gegenden, wahrscheinlich aus Gallien, Oberitalien und Dalmatien nach Rom gekommene Capuze, *cucullus* oder *cucullio* genannt, &c.

Some of the antiquities from Neumagen are deposited in the Museum, and others are left in a temporary shed adjoining the Baths. This leads me to remark that the most important of recent discoveries at Trèves was made in the suburb of St. Barbara, south-west of the city, and near the Moselbrücke. I refer to the excavations continued during the years 1877—1885, which have brought to light the Roman Baths, the largest establishment of the kind on this side of the Alps.¹ Formerly the Imperial Palace, at the south-eastern extremity of Trèves, was supposed to be the Thermæ, but some antiquaries doubted the attribution; however, the question is now set at rest completely.² Though the masonry above ground, which had remained even to the second story so late as the beginning of the seventeenth century, has nearly disappeared, the substructions in many of their details can

¹ The visitor cannot fail to be impressed, at first sight, with the great extent of these ruins, which are 172 mètres long and 107 wide; the hall marked A on the Plan is 53·73 m. × 19·60 m. In a few minutes' walk he will come to the Bridge—deserving attention because its piers are still partly Roman. Mr. E. A. Freeman in the British Quarterly Review, July, 1875, Vol. lxii, Art. i, *Augusta Treverorum*, pp. 16 and 22, says that *Cerealis* and *Civilis* met in battle (A.D. 69) upon the Bridge whose foundations support the modern structure. But this is very doubtful; the bridge where they fought was in this neighbourhood, nothing further should be positively asserted. It is more probable that these foundations were laid in the fourth century when Trèves reached the acme of her prosperity, and most of the buildings were erected whose ruins astonish us by their size and solidity. Wytttenbach, *Roman Antiquities of Trèves*, Eng. Translation, p. 105, ascribes the bridge to Agrippa, but his only reason is that the minister of Augustus had Gaul for his province and planned the great highway from Trèves to Cologne. Quednow, *Beschreibung der Alterthümer in Trier*, 1820, carries the date still further back into the Gallo-Belgic period, and twice (pp. 14, 16) asserts that this structure is more than 2000 years old! Often have I had occasion to observe that the exaggeration, to which local antiquaries are so prone, would land us in glaring absurdities.

Quednow, Op. citat., *Brücke über die*

Mosel zu Trier, Kupfertafel II, a fine engraving; Leonardy, *Panorama von Trier und dessen Umgebungen*, 1868, p. 100 sq., with woodcut. For military operations in the country of the Treveri at the beginning of Vespasian's reign see Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, 8vo. edition, Vol. VI, pp. 517—521, esp. p. 520; and comp. Tacitus, *Historiae*, IV, 71—78, esp. 77, *medius Mosellae pons, qui ulteriora coloniae adnectit, ab hostibus inessens*. Wytttenbach, p. 106, has, I think, incorrectly interpreted *medius* as making a communication between the Trevirians and the Agrippinians (people of Cologne). Ryckius, quoted in Rupert's Commentary on Tacitus, gives a better and more simple explanation, *inter castra (Romana sc.) et coloniam Augustam Treverorum*. This bridge appears to be the same as that which, according to Strabo, was constructed in his own time; lib. IV, cap. III, § 4, p. 194, *Μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Μεδιοματρικῆς καὶ Τριβόκχους παρεκείσθαι τὸν Ἐγγυον Τρηούρου, καθ' οὗτος περὶ ἴσται τὸ εἶδμα ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγούτων τὸν Γερμανικὸν πόλεμον.*

² This mistake is repeated in Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, Art. *Augusta Trevirorum*, where the writer, Mr. George Long, states that beautiful arches of the Thermæ still remain, which are built entirely of brick. He has here copied Wytttenbach, *Antt. of Trèves*, p. 65. The semi-circular concentric vaults, characteristic of Roman architecture are very well figured in three plates, *ibid.* pp. 60 and 66.

be fully understood. Dr. Hettner's article in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* for 1882 is accompanied by a large plan, but I have the pleasure to exhibit a still better one which the learned author gave me.¹ The principal apartments, *Frigidarium* (cold bath), *Tepidarium* (heated-chamber), and *Caldarium* (hot bath), are clearly shown; the best course to take in visiting the ruins is also indicated. From the marks on the stones and bricks the date of construction may be inferred, and assigned to the Constantine period, *i.e.*, the first half of the fourth century after Christ.

The "Trésor of Trèves" stands high among the collections of mediæval art preserved in churches; it has often been described by archæologists, and recently an elaborate work with this title has been published by M. Léon Palustre and Monseigneur Barbier de Montault, 4to, with 30 phototype illustrations.² Unquestionably the chief object to be seen here is the ivory plaque, which these authors, like most of their predecessors, suppose to portray a translation of relics made at Trèves, under the auspices of Constantine, and at the request of St. Helena.³ The motive is evident enough, but it is not so

¹ The exact title of Dr. Hettner's Memoir is as follows, *Die römischen Thermen in St. Barbara bei Trier, Ein Ausgrabungsbericht mit einem Plan, von Regierungs- und Baurat Seyffarth. Vom Museumsdirector Dr. F. Hettner in Trier.*

² The richest Trésors are those of Cologne, Limbourg, Aix-la-Chapelle, Metz in Germany; of Milan, Monza, Anagni, Bari in Italy; of Lyons, Troyes, Sens, Reims, Nancy in France: Palustre and Barbier de Montault, *op. citat.*, Introduction, p. I, where some account is given of these Collections as compared, or rather contrasted, with the objects of art preserved in the sacristy at Trèves. The Trésor at Monza is one of the most important, and especially so on account of the relics of Queen Theodolinda: a very sumptuous work describing it, with coloured plates, has been published by the Abbé Bock.

Much curious information relating to art in the Middle Ages will be found in the *Inventaire du Trésor du Saint-Siège, sous Boniface VIII. (1295) publié par Émile Molinier, Paris, 1888.* See also the writings of Monar. C. de Lina.

³ Palustre and Barbier de Montault begin their explanation of the details of

the "Ivoire Latin" with the words, "Une basilique vient d'être construite par l'impératrice dans sa ville natale." It is implied here that St. Helena was born at Trèves, but this statement is not founded on any sufficient authority. Vide *Acta Sanctorum, Bollandists' edition, 18th August, Vol. 35, tom. III, Mensis Aug., pp. 548—552, De Sancta Helena, vidua, Imperatrix, Magni Constantini matre, commentarius prævius. §I. Nomen, ætus ac locus natalis. §II. Examinatur diploma, quo Trevirenses sibi tribuunt Sanctæ natalis; ad quos illi probabilius pertinere videantur; Heleneæ genus. Prasplacet opinio, quæ asserit patriam ei fuisse Drepanum in Bithynia. Gibbon, Decline and Fall, chap. XIV, edit. Dr. Wm. Smith, Vol. ii, p. 109, note 10. It is indeed probable enough that Helen's father kept an inn at Drepanum. Comp. *Nouvelle Biographie Générale, a. v. Sainte-Hélène* for various conjectures concerning her origin, birthplace and marriage. She is said to have resided at Trèves after her son was proclaimed Augustus. Leonardy regards the opinion that the Cathedral was formerly her Palace as quite untenable: *Panorama von Trier, p. 44, sq. Mr. Fergusson, History of**

EXPANSIONS.

Imperatoris Divi
Trajani Parthici
Filio, Divi Nervæ
Nepoti,
Trajano Hadriano
Augusto, Pontifici Maximo, Tribunicia
Potestate V, Consuli III, Parenti Patriæ,
a Colonia Augusta (Treverorum) Millia (passuum)

XXII.

Imperatori Caesari
Ælio Hadriano Antonino
Augusto Pio Pontifici Maximo
Tribunicia Potestate II, Consuli II,
Parenti Patriæ, a Colonia Augusta Treverorum
Millia passuum XXII.

TRANSLATIONS.

To the son of the Emperor the divine Trajan (surnamed) Parthicus, grandson of the divine Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Chief Pontiff, holding Tribunician power for the fifth time, Consul for the third time, Father of his Country, 22 (Roman) miles from the Colony of Augusta (Treverorum).

To the Emperor Caesar Ælius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus Pius, Chief Pontiff, holding Tribunician power for the second time, Consul for the second time, Father of his Country, 22 (Roman) miles from the Colony of Augusta Treverorum.¹

The titles of the Emperors here are the same that we observe on arches erected in their honour, e.g. at Ancona, and also on the coins which they struck.² Thus the small and large remains of antiquity illustrate each other. We are too much disposed to associate the monuments of

¹ In these inscriptions I have followed the text of Brambach, 1867, for want of any better authority: v. chap. on the Columnæ Miliariae in his *Corpus Inscr. Rhenan.*, § 5, p. 346, Augusta Treverorum Marcomagum, Nos. XII 1936, XIII 1937; he refers to Klein in *Rheinisches Museum*, vol. XV, p. 490, 2, and 491, 4. For the second inscription see Orelli's *Collection*, vol. I, p. 199, No. 839.

² Francke, *Zur Geschichte Trajans*, *Kunst und Geschmack*, p. 594.
IMP. CAESARI DIVI NERVAE. F. NERVAE
TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG. GERMANICO. ...

DACICO PONT. MAX. TR. POT. XVIII IMP. VIII
COS. VI. PP. &c.

The letters are still visible on the well-proportioned and well-preserved monument. For other examples of similar appellations v. L. Rossini, *Archi Trionfali passim*. In the case of Ancona his two plates are not as satisfactory as usual, because the arch is partly concealed by a wall: the photographs exhibit it to greater advantage. Comp. the titles on coins of Trajan, Hadrian and the Antonines: Cohen, *Monnaies frappées sous l'Empire romain*, tome II, Pla. I-XIX.

Trèves exclusively with the third and fourth centuries, because at that time it was an Imperial residence; these milestones help to correct the error, and show that the Roman system of government and organization were developed here in an earlier age; this evidence agrees with the excellent style observed in many of the reliefs and other works of art at Neumagen, which could not have been executed when the decline of the Empire was far advanced.¹

Again, we may consider these milliare columns in connexion with the well-known memorial at Igel, the most remarkable of the kind that still exists. The milestones indicate a distance on a Roman road; the sculptures on the monument vividly represent travellers and conveyance of merchandise. On the West side of this quadrangular structure, in the Attic, a light two-wheeled chaise (*cisium*)² in which two men are seated, drawn by a pair of mules, is issuing from the gate of a town, and passing a milestone, inscribed with the letters L IIII. They have been interpreted by Kugler to mean four miles from Trèves, and to refer to the village of Igel. But here he contradicts himself, for in the beginning of his Memoir he says that the distance between these two places is two leagues (*zwei Stunden*), which I believe to be nearly correct. It should also be borne in mind that the Roman mile is about a tenth less than the English, so that four of the former would be about equal to three and a half of the latter. Moreover,

¹ From another point of view these sculptures are interesting; we seldom find countenances so expressive and groups so skilfully arranged in such poor materials as sandstone and limestone. Dr. Hettner, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Neue Folge*, Vol. xxxvi, p. 485, describing the discoveries at Neumagen says, *Es kamen eine grosse Menge Quadern aus Sandstein, wie er an der Sauer bricht, und aus feinem, gelben Kalkstein, wie er sich in der Umgegend von Metz findet, zum Vorschein.* Comp. Führer durch das Provinzial-Museum zu Trier. Zweite Auflage, p. 7, by the same author, *Steinmonumente aus Neumagen a.d. Mosel.*

² The engraving in Wytttenbach, *Eng. Transl.*, p. 143, copied from Quednow, Pl. xii, does not quite agree with the large copper-plate appended to Kugler's *Römische Denkmal zu Igel*; hence there

must be inaccuracy somewhere. Guhl und Koner, *Das Leben der Griechen und Römer*, Zweite Auflage, 1864, p. 681, think that the carriage figured here might be called *caesum* or *cisium* (Cf. Wytttenbach's note, *Op. citat.*, p. 135, and quotation from Ausonius, *Epistle 14*, v. 11 *Sed cisium aut pigrum cautus conscende veraedum*,

Non tibi sit raedae, non amor acris equi.

Veraedus, a rare word, is said to be derived from *veho* and the Gallic *reda*; v. Martial, xii, 14; xiv, 86). *Ibid.*, pp. 453—456, they give an account of the monument at Igel with engraving, and remark that structures similar in style and purpose have been found in the part of Northern Africa called by the Romans *Syrta Tripolitana*: v. Heinrich Barth, *Reisen und Entdeckungen*, Vol. i, pp. 125, 132.

L is not given as an abbreviation for *lapis* in Gerrard's Siglarium or Orelli's Inscriptions; though *lapis* is often used to signify a milestone both by prose-writers and poets, *e.g.*, Ovid, *Fasti*, lib II, v. 682,

Sacra videt fieri sextus ab urbis lapis.

One might explain LIII as meaning 54. The departure from Trèves seems to be expressed by a gate, and so the arrival at some place distant from the city may be denoted by the milestone.¹

The pedestal on the same side contains an analogous subject, but sufficiently varied to avoid repetition that would look monotonous and mechanical. Here we have a heavy four-wheeled cart, loaded with baggage, which is piled up and corded. The sides are not plain boards, but rails with large interstices between them; this vehicle is drawn by three mules, from whose necks bells are suspended; it is going towards the country, symbolized by a tree. Its general appearance is like what the traveller, passing through the village of Igel, may often see even now. The frieze on the north side also represents traffic by land, but in a different manner. Two towns are conventionally indicated, each by a large building; they are separated by a hill, on the top of which is a small house, apparently intended for an inn or post-station. One mule ascends the hill and another descends it; both carry pack-saddles. Lastly, in two compartments of the pedestal we see trade carried on by water, the designs being very similar. The centre of each is occupied by a boat, that has bales of goods for a cargo; the group which is better preserved shows two men towing the boat, and behind it a river-god, probably the Moselle, in the usual semi-recumbent attitude. Mythological figures adorn the composition; above are genii playing with dolphins, and below, Tritons contending with hippocamps.²

¹ On reconsidering the inscription, I have come to the conclusion that L here is equivalent to *leugae*. This measure is $1\frac{1}{2}$ Roman mile or 1500 paces, so that four *leugae* would make six Roman miles, which is nearly the distance between Trèves and Igel. Moreover Orelli, *Op. citat.*, No. 1019, Vol. i, p. 229, supplies an example of L as the abbreviation for *leuga*: *conf. ibid.* No. 5068, Vol. ii, p. 450. Wyttenbach, *loc. citat.*, says that Alex-

ander Wiltheim read CLIII instead of LIII (*sic*). The French word *lieue* evidently comes from *leuga*, but has a different meaning.

² Our own country affords numismatic illustrations of the last-mentioned figure; see Evans, *Ancient British Coins*, with engravings by Fairholt, pp. 211, 258 sq. and 351; Plates V, No. 2; VII, Nos. 9, 10; XIII, No. 7. At p. 259 the author mentions a winged hippocampus



The Phototype Co., 222, Strand, London.

TORSO OF AN AMAZON, TRÈVES.

The milestones above mentioned were found in the year 1825, on the road from Bitburg to Prüm, in the wood of Nattenheim. Bitburg was the first station on the Roman Via from Trèves to Cologne, through the Eifel, and in the Antonine Itinerary, p. 372, edit. Wesseling, is marked thus,

A Treviris Agrippinam. . . . leugas LXXVI (sic)¹
Beda vicus leugas XII²

The finest statue at Trèves is the *torso* of an Amazon, discovered in 1845, in a semi-circular niche of the façade of the Baths at St. Barbara. In this example the left breast is exposed, which agrees with the story that the right was taken off in order not to interfere with the use of the bow; but the ancient artists did not follow this rule invariably. From comparison with other repetitions of the subject at Rome and at Berlin, it seems that the right arm was raised almost perpendicularly, and bent at the elbow so as to rest on the head; the left arm hung down by the side, and the hands grasped the bow by the ends, of which the lower still remains touching the quiver.³ Pliny relates a contest between five celebrated

on the copper coins of Syracuse, and a quadriga of wingless hippocampi on the brass coins of the Præfects of M. Antony. Kugler, *Römische Denkmal zu Igel*, p. 37, gives the following explanation: Tritonen im Kampfe mit Hippokampen, die wilde Gewalt des Elementes und die Gefahren, die in seinem Schoosse verborgen sind, anzuzeigen. One of these creatures has a ram's head, which, on account of the beautiful curve of the horns, was a favourite form with the ancient artists.

¹The total here is incorrect, because it does not agree with the sum made up by adding the distances between the intermediate stations. Numeri collecti efficiunt LXXVIII, see the note in Pinder and Parthey's edition of the Itinerary, p. 177.

²This Roman road passed through Beda (Bitburg), Aueava (Oos or Bronsfeld), Egorigium (Jonquerad, otherwise Jünkerath, or Kütt, or Lissendorf), Marcomagus (Marmagen), Belgica (Wolseiffen, or Billich or Balckhusen), Tolbiacum vicus Supenorum (Zülpich). Bitburg is near Erdorf, a station on the Eifelbahn Von Trier nach Köln: see Baedeker's *Rheinlande*, edit. 1886, Route 50, p. 308; in the same paragraph Fliessem is also noticed, where there are remains of a Roman villa and ornamental mosaic pavements. This place may be visited

in an excursion from Trèves: for a more detailed description of it v. Leonardy, *Panorama von Trier und dessen Umgebungen*, VII. Grössere Ausflüge, p. 181 sq.

Another and more circuitous road from Trèves to Cologne was carried through Coblenz, and is marked as follows (with the direction reversed) in the Antonine Itinerary, edit. Wesseling, p. 370 sq., edit. Parthey and Pinder, p. 176 sq.

Colonia Agrippina (Köln)	mpm XVI
Bonna (Bonn)	mpm XI
Antunnaco (Andernach)	mpm XVII
Confluentibus (Coblenz)	mpm VIII
Vinco (Bingen)	mpm XXVI
Noviomago (Neumagen)	mpm XXXVII
Treveros (Trier)	mpm XIII

Augusta Treverorum was also connected by roads with Durocortorum (Reims), Mogontiacum (Mainz), Divodurum (Metz), and Argentoratum (Strassburg): v. index and map at the end of Parthey and Pinder's edition of the Itinerary, and the *Tabula Peutingeriana* which Dr. Konrad Miller has recently published with the title, *Weltkarte des Castorius*.

³Dr. Hettner describes the *Torso* in his *Führer* durch das Provinzial-Museum zu Trier, p. 20 sq., G. 41 (G = Sammlung der Gesellschaft für nützliche Forschungen). He says that the figure is the *Umbildung* der polykletischen Amazone des Berliner Museums.

statuaries, who competed to produce the best figure of an Amazon. Polycletus, the famous Argive sculptor, is said to have gained the prize over Phidias and the rest. It is not unreasonable to connect the *torso* at Trèves with the greatest names in Greek art, and to suppose that we have here a copy, though probably with some modifications, of a masterpiece executed in the best period.¹ Dr. Hettner thinks the figure at Trèves superior to that in the Vatican, because the folds of the drapery are arranged with less monotony, while the flesh is more natural and animated. A cast of the latter has very properly been placed in the Trèves Museum for the purpose of comparison.²

As the example under consideration is fragmentary, we see but a part of the attributes by which Amazons are usually distinguished. These are *anaxyrides*, drawers or trousers reaching down to the ankles, a two-edged axe (*bipennis*), and a small shield (*pelta*) lunated on one side and having a double curve on the other.³ So Horace speaks of the *Amazonia securis*,⁴ and Virgil, *Æneid* I., 490, describing the queen who came to the assistance of the Trojans, says :

¹ *Naturalis Historias*, Lib. XXXVI, cap. VIII, sect. 19, § 53, Vol. v, p. 148, edit. Sillig. Venere autem et in certamen laudatissimi, quamquam diversis aetatibus geniti, quoniam fecerant Amazonas; quae cum in templo Dianae Ephesiae dicarentur, placuit eligi probatissimam ipsorum artificum qui praesentes erant iudicio, cum adparuit eam esse, quam omnes secundam a sua quisque iudicassent. Haec est Polycliti, proxima ab ea Phidiae, tertia Cretilae, quarta Cydonia, quinta Phradmonia.

² For representations of Amazons see Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture antique et moderne*, Planches, 808-811, esp. the last no.; Texte, tome V, p. 43 sq., Nos. 2031, 2031A; C. O. Müller, *Archäologie der Kunst*, § 121, Remark 2; Baumeister, *Denkmäler des Klassischen Alterthums*, III Band, s.v. Polykleitos, pp. 1350-1352; Tafel XLVIII, and figs. 1499-1504. No. 1503 is a gem on which an Amazon standing is engraved; it is preserved in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and was shown to me by M. Ernest Babelon, bibliothé-

caire. V. Klügmann, *Die Amazonen in attischer Litteratur und Kunst*, Vignette zu S. 1.

³ The vases in the British Museum supply abundant examples of the dress and accoutrements of Amazons: Catalogue, *Mythological Index*, s.v. E.g., vol. II, p. 74, sq., No. 1368 Hydria; p. 87, No. 1393 Amphora. "The Amazon has long hair hanging down her neck behind, and wears a Phrygian cap, a tight fitting jerkin, and *anaxyrides*, both made of a spotted skin, and a striped and bordered *chiton* which reaches to the knees and is girt round the waist." *Ibid.* No. 1394. Comp. Rich's Dictionary, *Bipennifer*, *Bipennis*, *Pelta*, *Peltasta*, *Peltata*, and illustrations. The use of the bow indicates the Eastern origin of this fabled race, and corresponds with the frequent mention of it in the Old Testament: Psalm XXXVII, 14. The wicked have drawn out the sword, and have bent their bow. *ibid.* XLIV, 6, etc.

⁴ Horace, *Carm.* lib. IV, 4, *Drusi laudes*, v. 20; cf. *ibid.* v. 57, *Duris ut illex tonsa bipennibus*.

Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
 Pentheseila furens, mediisque in millibus ardet,
 Aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae
 Bellatrix, audetque viris concurrere virgo.¹

Our own London gives us the best opportunities for studying these mythical women—a subject interesting for other reasons, and because it was so often treated by the ancient sculptors. The friezes of the Temple at Phigaleia in Arcadia and of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus show contests of Greeks with Amazons in every variety of attitude, and with considerable differences of style, the first belonging to the age of Phidias, and the second to the later Attic School in which Scopas and Praxiteles flourished.²

¹ *Æneid*, XI, 659—668. Propertius, ed. Fr. Jacob. IV, 10, 13—16 [III, 11].
 Ausa ferox ab equo quondam oppugnare sagittis

Maeotis Danaum Pentheseila rates ;
 Aurea cui postquam nudavit cassida
 frontem,

Vicit victorem candida forma virum.
 Gori, Museum Florentinum (*Gemmae Antiquae*), Vol. II, pp. 77—79, Tabula XXXII, Amazonum ad Trojam pugna ; Tab XXXIII, figs I, II, III, Achilles Pentheseileam morientem sustinens, &c. Winkelmann, *Description des Pierres Gravées du feu Baron de Stosch, Troisième Classe, Mythologie Historique*, p. 379 sq., No. 272, Pâte antique ; Pentheseila supported by Achilles, which was also the subject of a painting by Panaenus, brother of Phidias, in the Temple of Jupiter Olympius at Elis. *Catalogue of Engraved Gems in the British Museum, 1888*, esp. Plate D. *Scarabs-Archais, No. 281, Pulasky Collection*, described p. 62 ; see also Nos. 1417-1425, 2232, 2294. This unpretending little work will prove very useful to the student, because it contains much curious information which could otherwise only be procured with difficulty, by consulting expensive publications in foreign languages, often not readily accessible.

The British Museum was formerly strong in coins and weak in gems, but since the Blacas Collection has been added (1867), in the latter department it has been enabled to sustain comparison with the *Dactylotheque* of the European Capitals : v. *Catalogue, Introduction*, p. 2.

² Sir J. H. Ellis, *Elgin and Phigaleian Marbles*, Vol. ii., pp. 178—181, 194 sq.

and 211, engravings Nos. 12—23, bas-reliefs in the frieze of the Temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae, near Phigaleia. In No. 18 the Amazon wears trousers ; an Athenian is removing her corpse from the horse that has fallen under her. The sculptures, however, are better seen in the Ancient Marbles published by the Trustees of the British Museum, 4to., 1820. The text is written by Taylor Combe, and the illustrations are executed by H. Corbould in a superior style : v. p. 31, sq., Plate XVIII.

Sir C. T. Newton, *History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidae*, Text, General Index, Amazons, frieze representing their combats with the Greeks found in the Mausoleum, pp. 100, 234—7, 239 et seqq. ; arms and dress, 235, &c. "On one slab only the figures wear a *chiton* with aleeves and *emazyrides*," p. 235 : *Atlas of Plates folio*, lithographed from photographs, Nos. IX and X, 4 slabs.

A good example of an Amazon similarly dressed occurs at Selinus. Serradifallo, *Antichità della Sicilia*, vol. ii., p. 67, sq., Tav. XXXIV, *Metopa del Pronao del Tempio E fuori l'Acropoli* (Bendorff, Pl. 8), notes 229—239, pp. 107, sq., esp. p. 68, *Lunghi calzoni, emazyrides*, le scendono fino a' malleoli, i piè nudi lasciando. Gsell-Fels, *Unter-Italien und Sicilien*, p. 669, *Die Amazone . . . trägt ein kurzes, doppelt aufgeschnürtes Gewand, und einen seitlich geschnürten Panzer, mit grosser Sorgfalt durchgeführt ; als Bogenschütze ist sie mit phrygischer Mütze und an Beinen und Armen eng anliegender Gewandung bekleidet ; sie trägt Schwert, Schild und Streitart*. J. Overbeck, *Geschichte der Griechischen Plastik*, vol. i., p. 459, fig.

Last September, when I visited Trèves, the Provincial Museum was lodged in the same building with the Town Library (Stadtbibliothek), very near the Trierischer Hof, one of the principal Hotels. The antiquities were crowded together, and in many instances there was not light enough to enable one to examine them satisfactorily. But an extensive edifice is now in course of erection which, I doubt not, will remedy these deficiencies—at least we may expect such results will be attained, as far as the learning and energy of the Director can secure them.

The great Mosaic at Nennig ranks next in importance to the column at Igel (though some may deem it even more interesting) among the monuments to be visited by the traveller who fixes his headquarters at Trèves. And I may remark, by the way, that if he is an inmate of the Rothes Haus—itself worthy of notice as having been formerly the town-hall, built in 1450—he will not only meet with every comfort the outer man can require, but also intelligent sympathy and assistance in archæological investigations.¹ Nennig is distant forty kilomètres, or twenty-five English miles, from the city, but very accessible by railway, being a station on the line to Thion-

96, Zwei der jüngsten Metopen von Selinunt. G. Dennis, Handbook for Sicily (Murray), 1864, p. 87, Palermo—Università—Metopes from Selinus, No. X, Hercules and Hippolyta; Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria, 3rd ed., 1883, vol. II, pp. 96-102, The Amazon Sarcophagus (Firenze)—masterly paintings—must be by a Greek artist; note 2, p. 115, battle of Greeks with Amazons, useful references, e.g. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 677-9; and v. Index. Rasche, *Lexicon Rei Nummarie*, s.v. Amazon, Tom. I, part 1, columns 501—510.

On the western side of the Parthenon the subject of the Metopes is probably a battle with Amazons, though some writers explain them otherwise: see Ad. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, Text, III Erklärung der Tafeln, Tafel V. Westmetopen, pp. 148—151; Plates, Taf. V, Nos. I—XIV; notice of Amazons as figured elsewhere, p. 149. *Jahrbuch des Kaiser. Deutschen Archæologischen Instituts*, 1886. Art. by Ad. Michaelis, *Amazonenstatuen*, pp. 14—47, with engravings in the text, and Pls. 1—5 at the end.

¹ The Rothes Haus is one of the most picturesque buildings in the market-place at Trèves, and its front is ornamented with statues. An addition (Anbau) was made in the Renaissance style of the seventeenth century; here we read the following inscription,

ANTE ROMAN TRIVIRIS STETIT ANNIS MILLE
TRECENTIS.

PERSTET ET AETERNA PACIS PRIVATVR. AMER.

This elegiac couplet alludes to the fabulous foundation of Trèves by Trebeta, step-son of the Assyrian Queen Semiramis, who according to the Chroniclers was contemporaneous with the patriarch Abraham! Leonardy, *Op. citat.*, pp. 1 & 39. Trevis in the first line is the mediaeval Nominative singular; in Classical Latinity it would be Dative or Ablative plural. For examples of this name in the legends of coins see *Die Trierischen Münzen*, Chronologisch geordnet und beschrieben durch J. J. Bohl, Coblenz, 1823. The same author published a series of Plates, which is sometimes bound up with the preceding work—*Abbildungen der Trierischen Münzen*, Hannover, 1837: v. Pl. 1, No. 1, TRE-

ville (Diedenhofen) and Metz. As the trains start and return at convenient hours, the excursion may be completed in the morning, with ample time for inspecting not only the tessellated pavement, but all that remains of the Villa. Here, as in many other localities that I have explored, we may combine the enjoyment of nature with the study of art and antiquity. A delightful view is always expanding before us, while the route closely follows the winding Mosel, and one may also catch a glimpse of the valley of its affluent, the Saar, which the railway crosses.¹

The first feature that strikes the observer in the Nennig mosaic is its extent, viz., fifteen mètres long and ten broad, so that the dimensions approach those of a similar one in the Lateran at Rome, eighteen by 10·6 mètres. However, the beauty of execution is much more remarkable; and we are at a loss whether we should bestow our admiration on the general arrangement and distribution of parts, the elaboration of details, or the harmonious colouring of the figures. Another merit deserves to be pointed out. The subject is gladiatorial fights, with which we naturally associate painful ideas—degradation; cruelty and slaughter; but the mosaicist has not forgotten that the province of art is to please and refine, not to excite by an extravagant sensationalism; accordingly he has either avoided or softened any part of his theme that would cause disgust—obeying the Horatian maxim,

Ne coram populo pueros Medea trucidet.²

VIRIS; No. 2, TREVEIRIS. Lelewel in his *Numismatique du Moyen-Âge*, 1835, discusses the money of Trèves (965—1360), pp. 127, 145—8, esp. 193—199, 211 sqq.; *Atlas, Table Chronologique* xxx, 'Type de Trèves, Planche xix, Nos. 1—9; some engravings are also intercalated in the text. Ducange, *Glossary*, s.v. *Moneta, Trevirensi ecclesiae jus culendae monetae restituit Ludovicus Rex. ann. 902 &c.*

For the names of Trèves comp. *British Quarterly Review*, July 1, 1875, p. 10 sq., Article by Mr. E. A. Freeman. Brunet, *Supplément au Manuel du Libraire, Dict. de Géographie anc. et mod.*, gives eight varieties including Trevisis.

¹ Leonardy, p. 118, thus describes the situation of the Villa at Nennig: lag dieselbe auf einem der angenehmsten reisendsten Plätzchen des obern Mosel-

thales mit der panoramatischen Aussicht auf den ruhig dahin fließenden Strom. He also quotes Ausonius, who resided at Trèves, as prætorian prefect of Gaul; cf. *ibid.* p. 5.

Mosella (XVIII) v. 25, p. 83, edit. Schenkl:—

Amnis odorifero juga vitea consite
bacco,
Consite gramineas amnis viridissime
ripas!

Ordo urbium nobilium (XVIII) III, 6, ib. p. 99:—

Largus tranquillo praelabitur amne
Mosella.

² *Ars Poetica*, v. 185.

Let not Medea, with unnatural rage,
Slaughter her mangled infants on the
stage.

Francis's Translation.

He has also adhered to the traditions of ancient sculpture and painting: in the group of Niobe and her children at Florence, maternal love sheltering her offspring from angry deities is more prominent than the sufferings of sons and daughters; and Timanthes, when he portrayed the sacrifice of Iphigenia, veiled Agamemnon's face, that the spectator might not be distressed by the contemplation of a father's agony.¹

A square compartment, octagonal medallions and lozenges between them compose the mosaic. The former are arranged in two groups, four round a marble basin and four round the principal subject; but as one is common to both groups, there are in all only seven: with a single exception they are complete, and represent incidents in the celebration of the public games. Of the latter, four occupy the corners, and two the intervals between medallions: in the centre of each we see a rose framed, as it were, in mæanders, with an outer border of a cable pattern, the whole being mounted on a cross whose arms are decorated with triangles. The remaining space is filled by arabesques, rhomboids, and endless knots, like those with which our Romano-British pavements have made us familiar. Lastly, the composition is enclosed all round by a simple geometrical pattern, black and white, consisting of squares subdivided into triangles, and forming a good background for the complicated designs and varied colours within.²

¹ Various explanations have been proposed to account for this stroke of art. The ancient critics said that Timanthes had exhausted his resources in painting the other figures, and was unable to express the intensity of Agamemnon's grief. Cicero, *Orator*, cap. XX, §74, *Si denique pictor ille vidit . . . obvolvendum caput Agamemnonis esse, quoniam summum illum luctum penicillo non posset imitari: v. Erklärende Indices s. v. [Timanthes]*, edit. Piderit. Quintilian *Institutiones Oratoriae*, lib. II, cap. XIII, edit. Burmann, *Consumptis affectibus, non reperiens quo digne modo patris vultum posset exprimere, velavit ejus caput, et suo cuique animo dedit aestimandum*. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXXV, 10, s. 36 §6: Sillig, *Catalogus Artificum*, pp. 447—9 and note. Perhaps the artist covered Agamemnon's head, because this personage was only an accessory, and

therefore nothing should be done that could make him too prominent, and divert the spectator's attention from the principal subject, Iphigenia: Fuseli's *Lectures*, quoted in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, Art. Timanthes.

² This mosaic has been fully described and illustrated in a magnificent work, entitled *Die Römische Villa zu Nennig und ihr Mosaik erläutert von Domcapitular von Wilnowsky; I, Mit der übersichtstafel des Mosaikfußbodens in Stahlstich; II, Mit acht Tafeln in Farbendruck*. The Plate at the end of the former part gives a general view of the composition; it is on a large scale, occupying two folio pages. I examined this work of art carefully, but I have derived from Wilnowsky some of the particulars mentioned in the text.

For the floral ornaments, knots, etc.,

Its excellent preservation gives the mosaic at Nennig the advantage over many others. For example, the beautiful picture at Corinium of Orpheus subduing wild animals by the power of music has been displaced by the spreading roots of a tree; and at Reims the tessellæ are injured by rain falling through the roof, thoughtless visitors, and still more mischievous *gamins*.¹ On the contrary, the work of art now under consideration has been carefully protected, a solid house has been built over it, and a gallery erected from which alone it may be seen, so that every possibility of injury is averted.

The subjects here depicted are—1, tiger and wild ass; 2, lion and keeper; 3, bear and three combatants; 4, panther and javelin-man; 5, combatants, with staff and whip; 6, gladiators and trainer; 7, hydraulic organ and great horn.

It would be impossible to describe at present all these medallions, though they are replete with interest; but the last two may be selected on account of their special importance. No. 6 is evidently marked out as the principal (*Hauptbild*) by its size and central position. Two fighters are engaged in strife, superintended by the trainer (*lanista*).² At once we observe great variety

comp. C. Roach Smith, *Illustrations of Roman London*, 1859, Pls. VII—XII, mostly coloured, showing tessellated pavements discovered at the Excise Office, Broad Street; under the French Protestant Church, Threadneedle Street; and in Leadenhall Street: they are described pp. 49—59, with references to Mosaics in other places, v. Index, p. 169.

¹ Ch. Loriquet, *Mosaïques trouvées à Reims*, 1862, XVIII Planches. Pl. IV is coloured; Pls. V—XVII are lithographs of medallions; Pl. XVIII, facing p. 345, represents the whole Mosaic of the Promenade in its present condition, the parts destroyed or burnt being carefully indicated: my Paper on the Gallo-Roman monuments of this city, *Archæol. Journ.*, Vol. xli., pp. 112—121.

² Wilnowaky, Tafel VI, Die Gladiatoren mit dem Lanista, which he calls den Glanzpunkt des Ganzen; cf. Text, pp. 8—10. The position of the Lanista here corresponds with that of the umpire (*Βραβεύς*, later *Βραβεύτης*, cf. Horace, *Carm.* III, 20, 11, *Arbiter pugnæ*) in the Grecian games. A large Panathenæic Vase, which is a conspicuous object in

the Rev. S. S. Lewis's Collection, supplies a good illustration. "Two Greek youths engaged in the *ωρυπέριον*, i.e. a combination of wrestling and boxing, often celebrated by Pindar: the umpire holds up his hand and staff to stop the contest." St. Paul may have been thinking of such a scene, when he wrote the words *Καὶ ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ Χριστοῦ κρατεροῦ βραβεύτου ἐστὶν καρδίας ὑμῶν*, *Coloss.* III, 15, which St. Chrysostom explains with reference to a combat and a prize; but Alford *in loco* seems to follow the Authorised Version which translates *Βραβεύτω* "rule," and he paraphrases it thus, "sit umpire, be enthroned as decider of everything," quoting Demosthenes and Polybius to support his interpretation. There is a parallel passage in the Epistle to the Philippians IV, 7, with a different metaphor, however, *Καὶ ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ ἀπερίχουτος παρά τοῦ φρουρητοῦ τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν*; the verb *φρουρέω* (A.V. "keep") has a specific meaning, to guard as with a garrison. Suetonius says of Nero, *brabeutarum more in stadio humi assidens*, c. 53.

here in countenance, dress and deportment. The *lanista* seems to be a Roman, as the hair is cut short after the manner of that nation; he wears a white mantle which leaves the neck and arms bare, and extends down to the calf of the leg; he gives some signal with his right hand, and holds a staff in his left. Altogether, the attitude is that of one who directs and controls with authority. On the other hand, there can be little doubt that the gladiators are barbarians; the long hair of one of them falling down on his shoulders probably indicates a German. We have here a *retiaris* contending with a *secutor*, or *mirmillo* according to Wilmowsky,¹ but I doubt whether his interpretation is correct, because the fish (*μορμύλος*), from which the name is said to come, does not appear plainly. Both figures are nude, but wear a cloth round the loins. A *retiaris*, with his net and harpoon, resembles a fisherman;² hence we should expect him to be very lightly clad, as in the Gospel, "when Simon Peter heard that it was the Lord, he girt his fisher's coat unto him (for he was naked)," where of course the last word is not to be taken literally.³ In

¹ *Lanista*, *myrmillo* and *secutor* occur in Juvenal, but not *retiaris* (net-fighter) which on account of the metre is inadmissible; Ruperti properly includes it in his copious Index, because the accoutrements (*habitus et arma*) of this class of gladiators are mentioned by the author, Sat. II, 143 seq.; VIII, 199-210. Martial uses the word: Preface to the second book of his Epigrams; here, however, he is writing prose: Denique videris an te delectet contra retiarium ferula. Proverbium in eoe, qui infirmo praesidio contra maxime instructum pugnant.

Myrmillo, for *mirmillo*, is the form adopted by Otto Jahn in his edition of Juvenal, 1851, and seems preferable, as the Codex Pithoeanus has Sat VI, 81 *myrmillonem*; VIII, 200 *myrmillonis*. This word is usually derived from *μορμύλος* a sea-fish, which took the place of a crest on the helmet. Stephani Thesaurus Linguae Graecae s.v. *μορμύλος*: *μορμύλος* vocavit Oppianus, *Halientica* I, 100. De Vit prefers to connect *myrmillo* with the Myrmidons, soldiers of Achilles, or with *μύρμηξ*, *μύρμος* (*formica*), because these gladiators went slowly like ants! Etymology was not the strong point of Forcellini, no more is it of his recent editor; but the latter has done good

service by adding many useful references, both in the Lexicon and in the Onomasticon which is now being published.

For the subject of this medallion comp. Winkelmann, *Monumenti Antichi Inediti*, tomo ii, pp. 258—260, pla. 197—199; and Description des Pierres gravées du feu Baron de Stosch (Museo Stoschiano), pp. 471—475, n° 67. *Cornalines*: Catalogue of Gems in the British Museum, No. 877 Eros as *retiaris*, cf. No. 1858-9.

² Wilmowsky, *Op. citat.*, p. 9, Die ersten (Retiarii) scheinen ursprünglich im Fischfang geübte Küstenbewohner gewesen zu sein. Comp. two statues of fishermen in the British Museum: Ancient Marbles, part x, p. 66 sq., Plate xxviii, "his body is clothed in a square mantle, *stomis* or *heteromanchalus*," reaching down to the knee, *ibid.*, p. 68 sq., Pl. xxix, "his only clothing consists of a tunic which is short, descending half way down the thighs." Sir H. Ellis, Townley Gallery, Vol. i, pp. 221—223, 225. These figures wear conical caps (*pileati*), like Ulysses who wandered over the sea, *Catal. of Gems, Brit. Mus.*, 1442—5. The short dress resembles that of the *retiaris* in Winkelmann's Plate, No. 197, lower part.

³ St. John XXI, 7, *Σίμων ὁν Πέτρος, ἄκοσμος ἐστὶ ὁ κίριός ἐστιν, τὸν ἐπιβάτην*

our example his right hand holds a trident and his left a dagger, but the net is absent; the left arm is protected by a wrapper tied closely round it, and the shoulder by a kind of epaulette and guard, otherwise the body is exposed to the adversary's attack. The latter has for armour a great oblong shield (*scutum*) and a helmet that covers his head and the nape of his neck; his right shoulder and arm are defended by the same means as his opponent's left, but without the guard. Our artist has chosen the most exciting moment; already the *retiarius* has pierced with his trident the *secutor's* shield; in the succeeding instant his weapon may transfix the opponent, or it may break, and leave him, naked as he is, with no other help than his short dagger.

But the Medallion No. 7, the lowest in the Mosaic, is the most interesting, because it represents a rare subject, and that too more completely than any other ancient monument with which I am acquainted. In fact we may regard it as almost unique. The water-organ consisted of three parts:—1, the *arca* or chest, in form like an altar, resting on a polygonal (in this instance hexagonal) or round pedestal, and containing receptacles for air and water; on either side were pumps with iron levers to supply the bellows; they are visible for the first time, says Wilmowsky, in this example. 2, the keys, stops, and air-tubes, which do not appear. 3, the pipes, arranged vertically and increasing gradually in height, connected by a broad band, and, like the other portions of the instrument, made of bronze, which was probably gilt, as we may infer from the green and reddish-brown colour of the shadows. Behind the organ stands the performer, his bust rising above it. His feet are not seen, but it may be supposed that they are engaged in working the pumps; his attitude and earnest look indicate a musician enthu-

ἰσχυρῶς, ἢ γὰρ ἰσχυρῶς. The word "fisher's," improperly inserted in the Authorised Version, is omitted by the Revisers; cf. Liddell and Scott, *ἰσχυρῶς*, a tunic worn over another. Campbell on the Four Gospels, Translated with Preliminary Dissertations and Notes, edit. 1839, Vol. ii, pp. 445, 542 sq. "Girt on his upper garment." ἰσχυρῶς, not

having all the clothes usually worn, particularly not having his mantle. The Latin word *nudus* often has the same meaning, so Virgil says, *Georgics* I, 299—
Nudus ara, sere nudus; hiems ignava
colono.

Plough and sow with your coat off.
For other references see Forbiger's note
in loco.

siastic in his art.¹ The *hydraulis* is accompanied by a trumpeter who plays a great curved horn, the cross-piece of which is supported by his shoulder. There is nothing remarkable in its form, and it occurs several times in various scenes on the Trajan column.²

Porphyrius wrote a very curious poem entitled "Organon," and belonging to the class of figured Idylls, so called because the verses are arranged to represent the object described.³ Accordingly, this Idyll was divided into three parts, corresponding with the musical instrument. The first consists of twenty-six Iambic lines for the *arca* or chest; the second is a single hexameter verse, taking the place of the key-board (*καβόν*)⁴; the third contains twenty-six verses, also hexameters, and stands for the pipes, the number of letters in each line increasing

¹ In the Dictionary of Antiquities, *v. Hydraulis*, it is stated that a contorniate coin of Nero shows an organ with a sprig of laurel on one side, and a man standing on the other. This emperor's musical tastes are so well known that I need not enlarge upon them here; but it may be apposite to quote the passages where Suetonius mentions his predilection for the organ: in *Nerone*, c. 41, *Quosdam e primoribus viris domum evocavit transactaque raptim consultatione, reliquam diel partem per organa hydraulica novi et ignoti generis circumduxit*; 44, *In praeparandâ expeditione primam curam habuit deligendi vehicula portandis scenicis organis*; 54, *Sub exitu quidem vitae palam voverat, si sibi incolumis status permansisset, proditurum se partae victoriae ludis etiam hydraulam, et choraulam, et utricularium*. V. edit. Burmann, Vol. ii, p. 189, *Caroli Patini notae in Nerone*, cap. XLII, Tab. XXV, N. 5. *Organis Hydraulicis*. Illorum figuram habes in hoc gemino nummo &c.

The medal above-mentioned, of which I exhibited an electrotype, was struck long after Nero's reign, as is shown by the style of execution: comp. Rich's Dictionary, *v. Hydraulis*; he describes a similar medal of Valentinian, in which the instrument is accompanied by two figures, one on each side, who seem to pump the water which works it. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. viii, p. 303 sq., under the heading *Pseudomoneta* (not in circulation as money); *Chap. on Contorniates*, § iv, *Scenica*.

² La Colonne Trajane décrite par

W. Froehner, *Bucinator*, pp. 73, 78, 93, 104, 111, 138, with accompanying plates, esp. p. 73, *souscours de cor*. . . . Leur instrument la *bucina* (cornet de bouvier) est un grand cor circulaire, dont la courbure est raffermie par une longue barre ornée d'un croisissant. *Bucina, quae in semet aereo circulo flectitur* (Vegetius, III, 5, 24, edit. Car. Lang.). Fabretti, *La Colonna Trajana*, Tav. V, No. 84, cf. 57.

Wilmowsky quotes Overbeck's *Pompeii S.*, 142, fig. 119, but in the 2nd edition the reference is vol. i, p. 169, fig. 128. *Gemälde an der Brüstungsmauer* (podium). Waffnung. The engraving illustrates the *lasietis* as well as the horn-blower at Nennig. In der Mitte der Kampfordnung, mit langem Stabe den Kreis des Kampfes bezeichnend, rechts ein Gladiator, der halb gerüstet dasteht . . . gegenüber ein ebenfalls halbgüsteter, der das Schilchthorn bläst.

³ This writer's name is given in full by Wernsdorf, *Poetae Latini Minores*, Appendix, Tomi II, pp. 365-413, *Publii Optatiani Porphyrii Idyllia figurata—Ara Pythia, Syrinx, Organon*. The first poem consists of twenty-four lines, unequal in length and forming a figure like an altar; the second is only fifteen lines, each being shorter than its immediate predecessor; for the *Organon* see pp. 394-413, Preface, Text and Annotations.

⁴ The verse corresponding to the key-board is

AVGVSTO VICTORE IVVAT RATA REDDERE
VOTA.

by one from twenty-five to fifty, so that the lengths of the pipes are severally reproduced.

It is worthy of notice that for the last-mentioned part the poet and the mosaicist have chosen almost the same number, as the latter gives us twenty-seven. Porphyrius composed this poem to celebrate the Vicennalia of Constantine the Great, A.D. 326; and it procured from the Emperor the author's return from banishment.¹

Though we cannot enter into all the details of the mosaic, one or two features may be noticed. No. 3 shows us a bear who has prostrated one combatant, and is assailed by two others with whips. This animal is rare in ancient art, I presume on account of his ugliness; but he may be seen occasionally, e.g. on a tomb at Pompeii, in the Lycian frieze at the British Museum, and on the coins of Urso, south-west of Corduba (Cordova).² Again,

¹ This festival in honour of the twentieth anniversary of the Emperor's accession had been previously celebrated by Diocletian, A.D. 303. Lactantius, *de mortib. persecutor.* c. 17, Diocletianus perrexit statim Roman, ut illic vicennialium diem celebraret, edit. Le Brun and Dufresnoy. Gibbon, chap. XIII, edit. Dr. Wm. Smith, Vol. II, p. 89. Eckhel places the Vicennalia referred to above in the year A.D. 325, when the Nicene Council was held; but they were repeated at Rome in the following year, Eckhel *Doct. Num. Vet.*, VIII, 76: cf. legends on coins, *ibid.* p. 92, VOT. V-X-XV-XX-XXX; p. 108, VOTA VICENNALIOR. Gibbon, chap. XVIII, edit. Smith, Vol. II, p. 352. *Ibid.*, note 14, he characterizes the panegyric of Porphyrius as written according to the taste of the age in *vile acroestica*. This author uses *vicennalis* for *vicennialis*, Paneg. ad Constantin., Carm. 10, 35,

Virtutum meritis vicennia praeipecte vota, quoted by De Vit.

² Urso is called by Hirtius Ursao; the modern name is Ossuna or Osuna: it is distant 84 kilometres South-East from Seville. Heiss, *Description Générale des Monnaies Antiques de l'Espagne*, pp. 318-320, *Monnayages des Turdétans du conventus Astigitanus*, II, VRSO Pla. XLVI, XLVII, Nos. 1-6. At p. 318 sq. he gives a sketch of the history of Urso, prefixed to the account of the coins. Amongst them are No. 1, Rev. Ours à droite, assis et tenant une palme; No. 2, Rev. Ours debout tenant une couronne et une palme. Ford, *Handbook for Spain*, p. 396, edit. 1873, says "the Romans called the place Gemina Urban-

orum, because two legions, and both of Rome, happened to be quartered there at the same time." This statement seems to be derived from an alteration of Pliny's text, lib. III, cap. 1, § 3, proposed by Antonio Agostino, Archbishop of Tarragona, "inter saeculi XVI doctos Hispanos facile princeps," in the 8th of his *Dialogos de las Medallas, Inscripciones y otras Antiguedades*. The old reading was *Genua Urbanorum*, and he would substitute *Gemina* for the former word. But *Gemina* would mean one legion, probably so called because another legion had been incorporated with it (comp. our military term "linked battalion"): *Dict. of Classical Antiquities*, s.v. *Exercitus*, p. 493, and tabular list on preceding page; Eckhel, *Op. citat.* Vol. iv, p. 472 sq.; Orelli. Index to his edition of Tacitus, Vol. ii, p. 566, s.v. *Legiones Romanae*. Corp. Insc. Lat., Vol. ii, *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae, Pars Secunda, Baetica*, VI. Urso, p. 191, sq., Hübler gives the name of the place thus, *Colonia Genus* (?) *Urbanorum*, and admits his inability to explain the word *Genua*. The geographical position of Urso is well seen in the map of Baetica, on an enlarged scale, at the end of the volume.

I have already remarked that representations of the bear were not frequent in antiquity: *Archaeol. Journ.*, 1873, Vol. xxxv., p. 402, sq. The British Museum possesses more than two thousand gems, but only three bears appear amongst them, viz., Nos. 898, 899, 1896; and of these in one case the authenticity is doubtful. The subject of No. 898 is two Erotes playing with a bear seated to right.

the great variety of scenes is very striking. We have here the Venatio—wild beasts contending with each other or with human beings; the Interlude—men fighting who have whips or staves for weapons, a lighter entertainment that exhibits dexterity only, and comes between the exciting struggles of severer contests; and lastly, the gladiatorial strife that may be continued even unto death. Similarly, in the arabesques, scroll-work and other accessories, recurrence of the same designs is avoided, as anyone who examines the illustrations at the foot of Wilmowsky's coloured plates will soon find out for himself.

(To be continued.)

OPENING ADDRESS OF THE ANTIQUARIAN SECTION.¹

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

I propose, in the few remarks with which I desire to open the Section of Antiquities at this meeting (regretting that a more worthy and competent person has not been called upon to occupy the place of President), to refer to some points of advance which have been made in antiquarian knowledge since the time when the Archæological Institute honoured the city of Norwich and the county of Norfolk with a visit forty-two years ago. It must be, however, in a very restricted sphere that I endeavour to do this; limiting the term "antiquarian knowledge" to matters of almost local interest. I am not about, nor have I the power and learning, to speak of the progress that has been made in the wide fields of Oriental or classical antiquity, of Egypt and Assyria, and the Hittites; or of the investigations of Continental savans; or to take you into the fascinating realms of literature and philology; or even to intrude upon the ground to be occupied to much better purpose at this meeting in the Section of History. But as the Institute approaches towards the year of its jubilee, it may be well to cast a look back and observe a few places where firm ground seems to rise up, and steps of clear progress have been made. It is no disparagement to the memory of the eminent names of those from among us who have passed away, to do this. It was their own object, and the object of all such societies as ours, to accumulate the facts which may elucidate the truth, and it is indeed owing to the researches and persevering study of such men that any satisfactory results have been reached, any long

¹ Read at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, at Norwich, Aug. 6th, 1889.

standing errors dispelled, and any difficulties and problems solved. In fact, there were giants among us here in 1847, with whom we should not venture to compare many of ourselves. The Institute was in the full vigour of its youth, and attracted to itself, as it has continued to do, the best talent of the country in its own line; and the kindred societies, now so numerous, were only beginning to be stirred by the force of its current. In looking at the list of the General Committee of that Norwich Meeting of 1847, I feel awed and impressed by the remembrance of those with whom I had the privilege to associate on that occasion, and in whose society at many meetings in succeeding years so much enjoyment and instruction was found. There appear the names of the then Marquess of Northampton, President of this Section, Bishop Stanley, Dr. Whewell, Professor Willis, Professor Sedgwick, Dr. Guest, Henry Hallam, John Mitchell Kemble, Albert Way, Joseph Hunter, Matthew Holbeche Bloxam, John Henry Parker, and, of more local distinction, Sir John Boileau, Hudson Gurney, Dawson Turner, Henry Harrod, and G. A. Carthew, of whom none are now surviving. These and many subsequent and surviving members of the Royal Archæological Institute, and of its annual committees, have helped to make it what it is, and what it has been; and it is only by having sat at their feet that I can presume to record any brief summary to-day of the advances which in some points we may hope to have made.

In prehistoric antiquities I may almost say that a new science has sprung up within the time to which I refer, and an entire literature has been the result. It is only thirty years since the discoveries by M. Boucher de Perthes in the valley of the Somme (1859), at first doubted and ridiculed, attracted the attention of scientific men, and the existence of flint implements, of vast antiquity, from the drift or river gravels, was accepted as the work of man. Observation of such worked flints had already been made in this part of England by a communication from Mr. Frere, of Roydon, to the Society of Antiquaries, of examples found at Hoxne, in 1797, but the subject lay dormant for half a-century, and I think it was Sir John Lubbock who first classified these implements into

the Palæolithic and Neolithic periods, denoting those fashioned by chipping only, and those that are ground or polished. In 1868 an important Congress was held at Norwich—an International Congress of Prehistoric Archæology, attended by many of the most eminent antiquaries and geologists of Great Britain and the Continent; when our member, Dr. John Evans, F.R.S., now President of the Society of Antiquaries, contributed a highly valuable paper on stone implements, which has since been incorporated in his well-known work on that subject, published in 1872. A corresponding volume of the most interesting and exhaustive character, on bronze implements, was issued by him a few years later. An extensive and accurate knowledge of the stone and bronze period was thus, and by many other works treating on the same subject, made accessible to all, constituting a great advance on the crude and uncertain information of thirty years before. At about the same time, in 1870, an investigation took place in this county which was very helpful to the same class of studies, and has marked an epoch in its pursuit—the exploration of the large collection of pits, known as “Grimes’ Graves,” in the parish of Weeting, near Brandon, by the skill and energy, and chiefly at the expense, of Canon Greenwell, of Durham. The purpose of these deep excavations, lying side by side on many acres of ground, was fully established, not to be British dwellings, as had been supposed by myself and others, but mines for obtaining a very hard and serviceable class of flints for the manufacture of polished, or Neolithic, implements. It appeared that the method adopted by the ancient miners was to sink a circular shaft in the sand and chalk, gradually narrowing to the average depth of about forty feet, and when the bed of the best flint was reached, to excavate side galleries just large enough for a man to work with his pick, made of the antler of the red deer. I shall never forget the impressive moment, among many pleasant hours spent on that occasion, when one of the low galleries was found blocked by fallen chalk, on removing which were found two picks laid down, their handles towards the mouth of the gallery, as they had been left when the chalk fell in; “a sight (says Canon Greenwell) never to be forgotten; to

look, after a lapse, it may be of three thousand years, upon a piece of work unfinished, with the tools of the workmen still lying where they had been left so many centuries ago." The day's work over, the men had laid down each his pick ready for the next day's work; meanwhile the roof had fallen in, and they were not removed until thus unearthed by the explorers of the nineteenth century. Beyond this satisfactory advance, and the opening of some tumuli, and the finding occasionally of coins and pottery and articles of personal use, there is little to record; and our knowledge of the British period in East Anglia is still but dim. We have no lofty hills on which defensive works of that age are to be looked for, and, from the absence of stone, there are no megalithic monuments or cromlechs (now no longer miscalled "Druidical"). A vague tradition of a stone circle having existed at Gorleston has no corroborative evidence to support it. There seems room for enquiry as to the depopulation of the Celtic inhabitants of these districts. Traces of them occur apparently in the names of some natural features, as the rivers, otherwise the record outside of the historians is a blank. Were the Iceni a purely British stock, or had they already a mixture of Teutonic or Northern elements? Considering that this part of Britain would be one of the first to be reached by the invader from the Continent, on his westward march, may the scarcity of the signs of a previous population be owing to the very early date at which they were dispossessed? An opinion is held by some, Mr. Walter Rye among the number, that there was a Danish invasion and settlement in Norfolk previous to the Roman Conquest; founded on the large number of instances in which place-names have Danish or Norse terminations. Even if these are not so many as Mr. Rye supposes—for I am not willing to accept "ham" as a corruption of "holm,"—still it certainly seems incredible that the historical invasion of Danes and their subjugation of the country in the ninth century, would give time enough for the entire obliteration of the Saxon place-names, which must have been in use before over half a county and in Lincolnshire, &c., where the Danish or Norwegian names prevail now. Earlier pre-Roman settlements of long con-

tinuance would solve this difficulty. It may, however, be thought that this is a question more properly belonging to the Historical Section.

I should come now, in the order of subjects, to the Roman period in Britain. The advance here, in general knowledge, is considerable. Many volumes and essays and contributions to periodicals have seen the light, helping forward the more exact knowledge of the Roman occupation; such as Dr. Bruce's "Roman Wall," Mr. Coote's "Romans of Britain," and Mr. Scarth's "Roman Britain;" and from these alone the ordinary student may obtain a fair knowledge of the subject. A valuable dictionary of Roman coins, by the late Mr. Stevenson, of this city, has also been recently published. But as far as our own locality is concerned I am not able to report any very important accession of information within the limit of time that I am treating of. Not much exploration has taken place in our local camps, but some considerable finds of Roman coins, as at Baconsthorpe, and of pottery, bronze ornaments, &c., have been recorded, and additions have thus been made to the cabinets of collectors, and are available for comparison. Some remarkable wells or shafts, of considerable depth, constructed of wood, and square in shape, were found in making the railway at Ashill, and have been described by the late Mr. Thomas Barton. They contained pottery in regular layers, and do not appear to have been merely for waste and refuse. Similar contrivances have been found on the cliff at Felixstowe, in Kent, and elsewhere. The subject of Roman roads and other early trackways will, I believe, be brought before this meeting, in a separate paper, by Mr. Beloe. It may be worth mentioning that where the great road from Suffolk and Essex enters Norfolk at Scole, the original blocks of paving-stone were recently seen in the river Waveney, when the stream was being cleared of the accumulation of soil and weeds. It is to be hoped that no agricultural operations will be allowed to obliterate ancient landmarks of this class, and that antiquities found will be treated with care. The labourer's pick, or spade, has only too often instantly demolished anything suspected of being a "pot of money." There is so much educational interest connected with the Roman

period in Britain, as illustrated by coins and existing remains, that schoolmasters and teachers would do well to acquaint themselves more with it, and infuse a spirit of inquiry into it, and even of the joys of the collector, among their scholars. I will not, however, pursue this branch of my summary of progress further, partly because I have no competent knowledge of it, and also because it is to form the theme of a contribution in the able hands of Mr. G. E. Fox.

As regards the settlement in Britain, after the departure of the Roman garrisons, of the Saxon and other tribes from the northern part of the Continent, especially as to their systems of land tenure and village communities, the effects of which prevail down to our own day, a large and interesting field has been explored. Before 1847 the works of Lappenburg and other foreign authors had brought the subject more to the front; and afterwards those of Von Maurer, Kemble, Sir Henry Main, and others were more especially devoted to it; and, later still, Mr. Gomme and Mr. Seebohm have very fully investigated it. There is still much to be done; and the publication of early records, now so eagerly pursued, and the examination of existing tenures and customs, will, no doubt, eventually clear up much of its uncertainty and difficulty.

I may here mention the valuable service that has been rendered towards staying the destruction of ancient monuments, by the appointment of an inspector under the Act of Parliament, in the person of General Pitt-Rivers; and we may be assured that his aid will not be invoked in vain if occasion should arise for its exercise. The Society of Antiquaries has also issued a forcible appeal to lords of manors and the custodians of court rolls and other documents, to urge their careful preservation; and suggesting that when no longer needed, they might well be deposited in some public department, or in the library of some society. For the purposes of future progress it is also recommended that the large-scale ordnance maps be procured by the local societies, and that all antiquities existing or found in their respective counties be noted down upon them.

One very important branch of antiquities has made a

decided advance in precision in our time—the earthworks of our ancient castles, and the purposes of the stone buildings placed within them. The better knowledge of this subject is due to Messrs. Viollet le Duc, in France, and our accomplished member, Mr. G. T. Clark, whose admirable *word vocis* descriptions of the castles which this institute has visited from time to time have instructed and delighted his audiences for so many years, and whose absence at this meeting, from advancing age, is deeply to be regretted. No one who had the advantage of hearing him at Arundel, Caerphilly, Dover, Kenilworth, Framlingham, Lincoln, Ludlow, Lewes, Pevensey, York and many other places, and where I was not present, can fail to be grateful, or to lament that the author of “*Mediæval Military Architecture*” will not be with us to-morrow at Castleacre. Much confusion prevailed in the ideas, even of recent antiquaries, on this subject. Almost all earthworks that were not rectangular were supposed to be British. The British or Celtic earthworks which we know of in hilly districts, as in Wiltshire and Somerset, and the marches of Wales, are fortified hill-tops, suited to the protection of a large body or tribe of people; and I see no reason to suppose that there is a single example of an earthwork of that period in East Anglia. Norwich and Colchester (or Lexden), were, no doubt, occupied by Britons at one time, but there is nothing in the existing remains that can be supposed to be unaltered. The term “*castle*” is so associated in the modern mind with a building of stone, that persons in general have a difficulty in realising that the castles of pre-Norman date were conical earthen mounds, with their surrounding inclosures chiefly of horseshoe shape, surmounted by a *wooden* dwelling, and defended by timber palisades. The castles of our English or pre-Norman forefathers were not tribal fortresses, but fortified *domestic* dwellings, suited for the long residence of a chief lord and his family and retinue, who held a little court, and dispensed justice and hospitality, with no unfrequent recourse to his “*gallows hill*” for the unfortunate thief or manslayer. Such an earthen or wooden castle became the “*caput*” of an honour, under the manorial system, and wherever such was the case, we shall find the remains of the

conical mound and basecourts of an English castle. We do not look for such mounds at a Roman camp that never became an English castle, as at Caister by Norwich, nor within the moats of a fortified manor-house of Plantagenet days, as at Caister by Yarmouth, but at places like Castleacre which were first Roman, then English, then Norman, we find the earth and stone works of all three periods combined. The largest and finest conical mounds in Norfolk are those of Norwich and Thetford; their great size is due to the importance of their ancient owners. They were both the seats, not of ordinary lords of an honour or manor, but of the kings of the East Angles. Norwich was probably constructed by Uffa in 575, on the site, possibly, of a British stronghold; it was certainly the castle of King Anna in 642. Thetford, one of the largest mounds in the kingdom, and which I regret that the Institute does not visit, was probably also the work of Uffa. It is remarkable as never having had Norman stone buildings erected upon it, for the simple reason that it was not the seat of a great family after the Norman conquest, and there had been no East Anglian kings for many years to occupy it. The mound has been supposed to be Danish, from the same ignorance of the term "castle." Although Thetford was burnt by the Danes in 870 and 1004, they were the wooden buildings that were destroyed, while the earthworks are much older. The absurdity of considering these conical mounds as British will be evident by observing that their pointed tops could only hold a few persons at a time, and would be no refuge for a tribe. In fact, their bare summits were not exposed as they are now, but extensively covered and overhung by timber halls and chambers. When the Norman Conquest took place, and English lords were dispossessed, stone castles, in the Norman fashion, began to prevail, and were very frequently placed upon or within the earlier earthworks. But that the mounds themselves are not Norman is evident from the fact that a newly-erected mound would not bear the weight of a stone castle. Besides Norwich and Thetford, Norfolk has castles with the conical mound at Castleacre, Mileham, Horsford, Middleton, and Wormegay; and Suffolk has them at Bungay, Clare, Eye, Framlingham, and

Haughley. Buckenham and Castle Rising have large surrounding earthworks, but no mound, and this circumstance may be accounted for by the fact that these are two castles of the great D'Albini family, erected after the Norman Conquest, when the mound was no longer a necessary feature. There are some very remarkable earthworks, without a mound, or any later stone buildings, and where there was no chief seat of a lordship, at Warham, near the sea, on the north coast of Norfolk, only a few miles from Binham, but which the Institute had not arranged to visit. They are supposed to be Danish, and they certainly appear to belong to a class distinct from the common type; and, possibly, the great works at Castle Rising may have a similar origin, and be earlier than the Norman buildings within them. Our advance in the knowledge of these structures is thus considerable and satisfactory, and further information of particular local examples may be found in the pages of Mr. Harrod, or the papers of the Norfolk and Norwich Society.

Of church architecture before the Norman Conquest there are very numerous remains in Norfolk, and the subject was treated of at the meeting in 1847 by a veteran member of our local society, Mr. Gunn, who is, happily, still with us. The examples at Great Dunham and Weyborne are well known, and several have been noticed since, as Framingham Earl and Houghton-on-the-Hill. I have ascribed the date of these churches, mostly small, and much altered in later times, to about the year 1020, and not earlier. After the dreaded millennium, the year A.D. 1000, had passed, and the world still remained, activity in church building made rapid progress, and we are told that an order was made by Cnut, after his conversion, that the churches (no doubt generally wooden) which he and his father Sweyn had burnt, should be rebuilt of stone and lime. I believe that a very large proportion of the small Norman churches in our villages have walls really of pre-Norman date. The double-played circular window is very often found when the extremely thick walls are scraped, fitted with a circular wooden frame in the wall, from which cords or canvas was strung through eyelet holes, instead of glass. Pieces

of "long and short" work remain at angles, as at Houghton and Scole; the flints in the masonry are very uniform in size and regular in course, especially at the bottom of the walls; while the upper part of the nave walls are often found reduced in thickness, to accommodate later windows and roofs, so as to give a sloping appearance inside. I think also that, except where there were central towers, almost every small church of early date had its round tower at the west end, owing to the scarcity of building stone in these districts; and that wherever there is now *no* round tower it is only because a wealthy patron or merchant has rebuilt it in the prevailing style of his own day. Our knowledge on these points is thus much improved, and the crude notions held formerly about Saxon and Norman architecture are quite exploded. I remember Bishop Stanley, at the meeting of 1847, referring to the sage opinion, actually held by some, that these round towers were once antediluvian wells, from which the earth, by geological convulsions, had been denuded, and left them exposed, to be turned into bell towers! This is not much worse than the mental calibre of a writer, within the present century, who undertakes to describe a fine fourteenth century church in these terms:—"It was so the custom to unite different orders of architecture, that it is almost presumption to pronounce in which order this building should be classed. The low doors and lofty windows of *Danish* construction; the *acute* forms of *Saxon* architecture in the arches of the windows; and the numerous *Saracenic* buttresses, cause no hesitation on the whole, in pronouncing it to be a *Gothic* building!"

Having come to the Norman period in my glance at the past, I must mention the very conclusive evidence made known through the pages of our local society in 1877, as to the meaning of the name and the birthplace of the first bishop of Norwich and founder of the Cathedral, Herbert de Lozinga. He was not so termed because, as old writers said, he was a liar and a flatterer; nor because he came from Oxford, nor Orford, nor Hoxne, nor Lothingland. His father was Robert Lozinga, or Lotharingus, who came from Lotharingia, or Lorraine, and Herbert was born at Exmes, in the Pagus Oximensis, in Nor-

mandy. Proofs of this are fully stated by Mr. E. M. Beloe, of King's Lynn, in the Norfolk Society's eighth volume. There were many Lotharingians in England, brought over by the Norman kings, in the eleventh century, and another Bishop, Robert, Bishop of Hereford, was named Lozinga.

The religious houses of England, the arrangement of their buildings, their statutes, rules, and ritual, according to their orders, of monks, nuns, friars, or canons, regular and secular, lead to a most interesting subject of enquiry, and much progress has been made in it. We all know Professor Willis's labours. The late eminent architect, Mr. Edmund Sharpe, one of our members, was foremost in the investigation of the plans of Cistercian houses; and the foundations and structural peculiarities of many important buildings have since been carefully examined, with most instructive results. The ignorance shown in many otherwise valuable topographical works of older antiquaries on these points, has almost entirely passed away, and no local historian can expect to gain a hearing if he is behindhand in such information. We hope that one good effect of our present meeting will be the excavation and fuller understanding of the ruins of the Cluniac Priory at Castleacre, under the very able hands of Mr. St. John Hope. Where some of these buildings are what have been termed "double churches," *i.e.*, both conventual and parochial, the arrangement is also now much better understood. The celebrated Arundel case, so well explained in the journal of the Institute by Mr. E. A. Freeman, and in many of his *vivd voce* addresses, as at Dunster, have made the public familiar with the true state of the case. There are several examples of this in Norfolk; and also where the parishioners were allowed to retain the use of the nave at the Reformation, which has consequently been preserved, while the choir and other buildings, granted to a private owner, have been left to go to ruin, as at Binham, Weybourn, and Wymondham.

The fine parochial churches, and domestic buildings also, that abound in Norfolk, of the fifteenth century or later, are owing to the wealth of this district, when it was the chief manufacturing county of England. Noble patrons and rich merchants vied with each other in

rebuilding their parish churches and halls; and on the north coast harbours were open which are now closed and silted up, where trade with the Continent flourished, and caused such beautiful structures as we shall see at Cley and Blakeney, Sall and Cawston, to be built. In the absence of stone quarries, the flints of the chalk or gravel were turned to admirable account, and wood was profusely used in the screens for which the county is famous, enriched by paintings, probably in many cases the work of English artists, and that are not unworthy of the schools of the Van Eyks and Albert Durer. The better knowledge which prevails now of the arrangement and contents of parish churches, and of the services and ritual for which they were adapted, is a hopeful pledge of more intelligent restoration, when needed, and of the more careful preservation and protection of every ancient feature, and of even the smallest link in its history of the past. Mural paintings have been found on the walls of very many churches, and are now either jealously preserved, or have had proper drawings made of them. Some are early and of much interest, as those in the Cathedral, treasured and explained by Dean Goulburn; some are interesting witnesses to the religious sentiments and prevailing cultus of the people at the time to which they belong, and some are consecration crosses and tasteful ornaments. Greater attention is now paid, and better superintendence on the part of archdeacons, clergy, and churchwardens, to church goods, as the parish registers, so valuable for the pedigrees of families that have attained higher position, whether in this country or in America and elsewhere, several of which have been printed *in extenso*; the churchwardens' accounts and other ancient writings; and the Church plate.

In this last subject great advance in our knowledge has been made. The valuable labours of the late Mr. Octavius Morgan, Mr. Chaffers, and Mr. Wilfrid Cripps, C.B., and more recently by Mr. St. John Hope and Mr. Fallow have recorded almost all the ancient plate remaining in England, and have contributed to great accuracy in classifying and dating them. Old wills and inventories show that there must have been an immense store of exquisite plate in the country before it was sacrificed to

the zeal of the Reformation, the rapacity of the Tudors and their favourites, and, later, to the exigencies of the civil wars. Our loss in these, and a thousand other classes of ecclesiastical and personal use, is incalculable. There are some well-known examples of pre-Reformation chalices in England, numbering about 40, but not one has been found in Norfolk. Of patens of the same age, there are about double this number, and of these there have been noticed in Norfolk, by the help of the archdeacons, as many as thirty-three, which have all been photographed for the Norfolk and Norwich Society. It is difficult to account for the large proportion of these patens remaining in Norfolk, especially as only one is known to exist in Suffolk. Edward VI.'s Commission of January, 1553, was issued for the seizure of all Church goods not absolutely required for service, except one chalice and paten for each parish, or two for large populations. Probably the existing patens are those which were then allowed to remain, and the reason that there are so few early ones among them, but that they nearly all date shortly before or after 1500, may be that the Commissioners took care to leave the most recent and least valuable ones. After Mary's reign, and as soon as Bishop Parkhurst came to the see, further changes took place, and the "profane chalices" of Archbishop Parker's Visitation Articles were melted down, and the "decent Communion cuppe," with its cover, took their place. Hence we find a very large number of such cups and patens, mostly of Norwich make, in the diocese, and almost all of the years 1564 to 1570. A great many more have disappeared since through the carelessness of parochial authorities, or have been injudiciously exchanged for more fashionable articles. The improved attention given to the subject will, it is hoped, prevent further loss and illegal sales.

As regards other contents of churches, and especially sepulchral monuments in brass or stone, Mr. Herbert Haines's "Manual of Monumental Brasses" had not been published in 1847, and from that and many other volumes and papers on the subject, our knowledge of costume, armour, and ecclesiastical vestments has much improved, and the public taste in memorials of the dead shows an influence for the better in every churchyard and cemetery.

Truer principles guide the architect, the artist, and the sculptor in wood, stone, or metal, in every department of design, and this advance is greatly owing to the study of ancient examples, begun by Pugin and Carter, and the Cambridge Camden Society, and carried on by the London and provincial bodies that have sprung into existence all over the country. Each locality has been industriously worked to reveal its archæological treasures, its MS. evidences searched among the public records, in the British Museum, or the Probate Offices, and many papers of great value have been enabled to be published, not only at the local expense, but also by the more extended resources, and with the wider publicity of the venerable Society of Antiquaries of London, the British Archæological Association, and our own Archæological Institute.

The county of Norfolk has been more fortunate than many in the literary productions that have contributed to illustrate it, in various departments, in recent years; and it is very gratifying to be able to record such works as the following, that, with many others, have enriched our libraries, and have become indispensable for reference. Besides the volumes issued by the local society, and its other occasional publication, of the "Screens of Norfolk," the "Gates of Norwich," and their edition of Husenbeth's "Emblems of Saints," and a first volume of "Norfolk Records," I may mention in *Topography*, Mr. Walter Rye's valuable "Index to Norfolk Topography," published by the Index Society, on a plan which might be usefully supplemented by a companion volume, recording not only the more public sources of information, but such as might be supplied from private and MS. authority, and from personal observation. In *Local History*, Carthew's "Hundred of Launditch" and "History of Bradenham;" Palmer's "Perlustration of Great Yarmouth;" Mr. Rye's "History of Norfolk," and his "Antiquarian Miscellany;" Mason's unfinished history of the county; Dr. Jessopp's "Visitations of Religious Houses," published by the Camden Society; and several parochial histories, such as Mr. Blyth's "Fincham," Mr. Eller's "West Winch," and others. In *Etymology*, Mr. Munford's "Local Names of Norfolk." In *Church Architecture* and appliances, Dean Goulburn's "Ancient Sculptures of Norwich Cathedral;"

L'Estrange's "Church Bells of Norfolk" (to which may be added Dr. Raven's forthcoming "Bells of Suffolk"); Willius' "Quaint old Norwich," Mr. Mark Knights' "Highways and Byeways," &c. In *Heraldry*, the Rev. Edmund Farrer's excellent "Church Heraldry of Norfolk," in course of publication; Mr. Rye's "Three Norfolk Armories," and Mr. Elvin's valuable recent work on the subject. In *Genealogy and Family History*, Mr. Rye's "Feet of Fines for Norfolk," Harvey's "Visitation of Norfolk of 1563," edited, with large additions, by the late Mr. Dashwood and Mr. Carthew, and still in continuation by General W. E. G. Lytton Bulwer; Dr. Jessopp's Memoirs of the Walpoles and the Norths, and several privately-printed family memorials.

In bringing my "Points of Local and General Archæological Progress"—incomplete as they are—to a conclusion, I must not omit to mention the beneficial influence which such societies as we represent have exercised in preventing the destruction of antiquities and historical remains, and staying the hand of the ignorant "restorer," or the ruthless speculator. The local society of this county has happily been the means, with the help of higher authorities, of saving, by timely protests, the Tolhouse of Great Yarmouth, and the choir of the Black Friars of Norwich, and prevented the invasion of the Cathedral precincts by a railway. Perhaps nothing shows the force of the progress that has been made in the true spirit of the archæologist more than the hearty and intelligent support which the newspaper press has so readily given on these occasions, and in fully reporting the proceedings of meetings.

NORWICH CASTLE.¹

By ALBERT HARTSHORNE, F.S.A.

It is quite obvious that there is nothing that can interest us, or help in the elucidation of its history, in the exterior of Norwich Castle. We are, therefore, constrained to do what we do not usually, namely, inspect the Castle from the inside alone. Here, at least, if we have nothing else, we have plenty of room, for I suppose there are few keeps of this magnitude which are so singularly clean swept of all the internal walls. We will presently see what these main walls have to tell us, but before doing this we must touch a little upon the earlier history, and first deal with certain fictions that have so long hung about and haunted the Castle that they almost seemed to become part of its veritable history. It is to be hoped that these fancies are now finally given up. But it must be remembered that there is nothing so difficult to eradicate as misleading statements that have long been in print, and especially if they have a tinge of romance, and the case becomes more charged with difficulty when the statements to which I shall refer have been made concerning this Castle in works of consideration like Blomefield's *History*, and the *Archæologia* in its less learned days, (1796) and emphasized by plans of admirable execution.

I am fortunately not called upon to reconcile the conflicting opinions as to the site of Venta Icenorum; there must be very few who now think it was Norwich. We are primarily here not to speculate about the Roman, but to inspect the Norman Castle and I need only say, on the first count, that Roman coins and urns have been found in Norwich, and perhaps some day we may have further

¹ Read at Norwich Castle, Aug. 8th, 1889.

evidence for a Roman station of some kind on this very spot. The importance of holding such a position was hardly likely to escape the eye of the Roman looking out from his stronghold at Caister. On the other hand it is desirable that we should first consider the place and then see how Norwich Castle has grown up, as most castles strictly so-called have, from rude beginnings, and, finally, make a closer examination of the details that have been spared of the present building.

Whatever there may have been here in Roman time is now quite out of sight and in its place we have a late Saxon mound surrounded by a single ditch. On the south side is a semi-circular enclosure approached by a bridge over the ditch known as Castle Fee, and on the east a horse-shoe shaped enclosure called the Castle Meadow. Both areas are comprised within earthworks which rest upon those of the inner ditch, and, although now nearly destroyed, portions can still be traced, and it should be noted that the course of these ancient earthworks is still represented by the lines of the streets and buildings. This was the Saxon *burh*,—a moated mound—the hill of the burh—with one or more oval or horse-shoe courts attached to it. There is nothing unusual in the plan. We have it with variations at scores of places, and always with the same dominant idea of protection and shelter for cattle and garrison. In this particular instance the mound is placed at the side of the entire work in order that its power as an exterior defence may best be brought into play.

Now, one can only be surprised, with the knowledge we have at the present day, that the extraordinary plan which Wilkins (led astray by Blomefield) published in the *Archæologia*, in 1795, should have been accepted as correct until as late as 1858. Mr. Harrod then grappled with the difficulty and came to the rescue. He cleared away the two banks and three ditches which Wilkins had constructed from such slight evidences and quite irrespective of the lines of the streets, which in such a case would be the surest test of truth, and from the same material evidence, backed by the irrefragable testimony of a vast quantity of original documents, Mr. Harrod built up the new plan, or rather re-discovered the old one, which

appears in his admirable account of Norwich Castle and which carries conviction upon its face.

It would be difficult now to go minutely into the details of these two plans; they are here exhibited to a large scale and speak best for themselves. But it is interesting to compare them, and quite possible, without explanation, to realize how the outer circles of Wilkins may, in the hands of a man not exactly knowing what he was looking for, have grown up out of the remnants here and there of the real semi-circular and horse-shoe enclosures. It will be borne in mind that there has been a great deal of filling up and levelling of the earthworks and in fact "we cannot see the town because of the houses."

Having now established ourselves on the ground the first question that arises is—what is the date of the mound, the hill of the burh, on which we are standing? We can only obtain this information relatively. From its nature the mound varies but little through a long course, and for the same reason it is a nice question to date any that are not mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as are, for instance, those at Cambridge and Thetford, of the 9th and 10th centuries. The hill of the burh, as was often the case, is here partly natural and partly artificial, and it seems to have been artificially raised, and fortified with its ditches and enclosures in the 9th or 10th century. Upon this mound there must, then, have been a castle or strong place of wood, with a palisade, or hedge, or both, on the banks of the two enclosures. The ancient church at Greensted gives an idea what these wooden buildings were like, and the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* shows how the military events of the 9th and 10th centuries led to the erection of a multitude of these English earthworks and how rapidly the "geweorc" was successively wrought, attacked, stormed, burnt, and restored. Possibly in the middle of the 9th century the Norwich burh received its finishing works for that was a busy and eventful time in East Anglia. It may, indeed, have been first thrown up in the middle of the 7th century, and in connection with this period it is recorded that certain lands granted by Etheldreda to her monastery at Ely were charged with the service of Castle Guard to Norwich Castle.

We have no further evidence that there was a castle here requiring guard in the 7th century or any other example of military service so early. But I see nothing extraordinary in it. The system which was common in the 10th may easily have originated in the 7th century and, indeed, I see no reason why military service in some form should not be as old as warfare itself, for it savours in its nature of prehistoric and primitive times.

For the history of the Castle until the Conquest we have no certain information, but it is said to have been utterly destroyed by the Danes under Sweyne in 1004. This implies that the wood and stone castle on the mound was burnt and the encircling palisades and possibly stone walls thrown down. It is improbable at this time that, with the example of the Roman so near, and numerous stone churches with their carpenter-like details arising, the military works were still entirely of the more perishable material. The science of construction was advancing and castles were not likely to be behind churches in this respect; moreover, the mounds and earthworks were solidifying and were ready to receive the stronger stone castles, the keeps, with their concentrated weight, and the walls of the Norman, which were already springing up in Normandy.

We now emerge into the light of day and we find it stated that the Conqueror built a castle at Norwich. This means not necessarily that a new castle like the Tower of London was constructed, but rather that the Norman strengthened himself within the old enclosures by palisading and probably also walling the earthworks and setting up a shell keep of masonry on the mound. This was the usual policy of the Conqueror for securing himself in his new possessions, and it will be remembered that the castles of his time were of two kinds—the old strongholds hastily strengthened by timber and stone work, with occasionally a shell keep on the mound,—and the new rectangular keeps slowly and scientifically reared upon new sites. The transition from one style to the other was very gradual and not more than a dozen castles exhibit masonry of the 11th century. It was the natural result of circumstances.

Ralph de Guader, Earl of Norfolk, was made Constable

of the reinforced Castle of Norwich. It must have been a strong place, but strong with a different kind of strength to the Castle which came later, because it stood a siege of three months on the revolt of Guader in 1074. With scant gallantry Guader fled, and left his wife the valiant Countess Emma,—of whom we hear so much and know so little,—to defend the Castle. It was assaulted by all kinds of military engines, and when it surrendered to famine—for it was not beaten down,—it was at once fit for the occupation of a garrison of 300 men-at-arms, *loricati*, *i.e.*, men in mail hauberks, cross-bowmen, and engineers. On the death of the Conqueror in 1087 Roger Bigod espoused the cause of Robert Courthose; he seized Norwich Castle and held it against Rufus to whom he subsequently submitted. In 1120 Hugh Bigod succeeded Roger, and in 1135 was holding the castle and only surrendered it to the new King in person.

The exigencies of the military and political situation,—the war between Stephen and Matilda,—seem to have at once placed Hugh again in the castle to hold it for the King, and, perhaps in order to propitiate a restless and powerful noble, Stephen created him Earl of Norfolk, as, with the same views, Alberic de Vere was made first Earl of the long line of Oxford, and some other leading men similarly forwarded for the same reason.

With the death of Stephen's son Eustace in 1152 the way was prepared for a settlement and Henry, son of Matilda and Geoffrey Plantagenet, was acknowledged as Stephen's successor. Towards the end of his reign Stephen seized the castles of Norwich and Rising and gave them to his son, William Earl of Mortaigne, together with Castle Acre, Lewes, Bungay, and others, and in the last year of his reign, in 1154, at the Conference of Dunstable, it was agreed that the multitude of unlicensed or adulterine castles that had arisen since the death of Henry I. (1100) the evil buildings of lesser barons, should be destroyed. At least 140 were so dealt with in 1155. In the general submission to Henry II. Mortaigne's castles were included and thus the larger strongholds regained their importance and value. That Norwich was very important we may judge from a solitary entry on the Pipe Rolls for 1157, that £51 12s. 0d. was paid by the Sheriff

for wages of the soldiers who kept the King's Castle of Norwich—a sum equal to at least £1,100 of our money.

The above is a sketch in the fewest possible words of the early history of Norwich Castle, and it would not be easy even in a full account, to disentangle it from the mazy labyrinth of rapid events and transactions of the first half of the 12th century. As to the building itself authorities have not shrunk from putting a date to it ranging from the time of Knut downwards. I am not so bold as Gurdon, King, Blomefield, Wilkins, or Woodward. Like the earthworks the case of the castle has been prejudiced by wild imaginations. Now, we have the building before us, and I think it speaks plainly for itself, and I claim no earlier date for what I can see than 1120 and no later one than 1140. There may well be work of the 11th century hidden by the deep rubbish in the basement and I hope it will be looked for. At present we cannot perceive it and are not concerned with it.

In giving Norwich Castle this date I compare it only with three other castles of the same period—Hedingham built by Alberic de Vere in the first quarter of the eleventh century; Rochester, built by William de Corbeuil, between 1126 and 1139, as was conclusively proved by my father at the Meeting at Rochester in 1863, and Castle Rising built by William de Albini who died in 1176. No one who has seen these three great towers can doubt that they are of the same period. Hedingham is, if anything, a trifle earlier than Norwich, Rochester is of exactly the same time, and Castle Rising is immediately after, and is no doubt, the work of the same architect or "ingeniator" as Norwich. The keep of Norwich Castle is therefore the work of Hugh Bigod, and the conduct of the man no less than the style of the architecture leads us to the same conclusion.

We have now arrived at the period of the building of Norwich keep, and with its later ancient history I do not propose to deal. It will suffice to say that its turbulent builder took part in the rebellion of 1173, when Prince Henry confederated with the king of France. His strong hold of Framlingham—built by himself and the chief of his castles—and Bungay Castle, gave him much power and influence, and with Flemish mercenaries he attacked

Norwich in 1174. But the tide turned in the king's favour and Bigod surrendered his castles; his power was broken, we take leave of the great castle-building period, and we hear no more of him.

In its subsequent history Norwich Castle was held for Louis VIII against King John, but surrendered to Henry III in 1217. It played no part in the Barons' Wars, and, though kept to a certain extent in repair as a royal castle, it seems to have been already a state prison in 1220. As the city became enclosed with walls, which were begun in 1294, the castle gradually ceased to be its principal defense.

There are entries from time to time on the Pipe Rolls concerning the state and repairs of the Castle until the end of the reign of Edward III, from which period it slowly sank into the condition of a county gaol. In order to better fit it for this purpose, the keep was gutted at the end of the last century and filled with brick buildings for the safe keeping of the evil doers of East Anglia. In 1805 George III gave the Castle to the county; in 1824 large buildings were added on the East side; in 1825 Wilkins "restored" the fore-building, and in 1834 the keep was faced as we see it at present. By the new Prisons' Act the Castle came into the hands of the Government, who, on the building of the new prison, sold the ancient fortress to the city. It has again been cleared, and we have now to see, as I said in the outset, what the dishonoured walls have to tell us.

And first as to what we expect to find in a keep of this period and size. There are some features that are constant; such are:—The *Well*; the *Oratory* or *Chapel*; the *Kitchen*, often difficult to identify; the *principal stair*; the main Entrance, usually covered by a *Fore-building*; the *Hall*, and the *Garderoberes*. All these are the necessary attributes of a rectangular keep, not meant primarily for a residence, but to retire into during a siege or blockade, the spare room in the basement being reserved, not for prisoners but for stores; the strength of the building alone formed its defence. It was not a place to make sorties from, it was a place of refuge until relief or starvation came. Such a building the keep of Norwich strictly was.

Of features not constant, but varying according to the nature of the building are:—The means for defending the

entrance; the character of the openings for light; the passages threading the walls; the stairs leading from floor to floor and down to the basement; the mural chambers and the fireplaces. As to the arrangement of a Norman keep, speaking generally, it consisted of a basement, always for stores, and two or three floors, of which the first usually contained the principal rooms, such as the Hall and Chapel. The entire area was divided by a cross wall, ascending to the second or third floor, according to the number of such floors in one or the other space, pierced with arcades, arches or doors, and carrying the two high pitched roofs which, at Norwich, ran east and west within the parapet.

At Norwich the basement is said to have been vaulted. It is very improbable that such wide spaces as thirty-two feet were originally vaulted in stone before 1150. They were not, indeed, required for protection; but perhaps certain small areas were so treated, as at Castle Rising, and further vaulting inserted later—a common practice. It is said that there was no direct outer communication with the basement. This seems most unlikely inasmuch as, with such an arrangement, all the stores must have been taken up through the fore-building to the first floor and then passed below.

More particularly as to the constant features:—the *Well*: King tells us that this was in the partition wall itself; it is so placed at Rochester and Rising communicating with each floor. In the late excavations this well has not been found, and King's statement is accordingly disputed. The existing well is clear of the wall and seems to be modern. The custom in Norman keeps was either to protect the access to and keep open the communication with the well, by forming the shaft or tunnel in the thickness of the cross wall, with openings at each floor, or to enshrine it in a side wall, as at Kenilworth. The well was of course of the first importance, and the same care for it obtained in France, as for instance, at Coucy, Roquetaillade, Chateau d'Arques, Blanquefort and Fargues. In later and concentric castles in both countries, when the keep ceased to be the actual citadel, the well was safe in the inner ward, which was, in fact, the expansion of the earlier keep. *The Chapel*:—This was no doubt in the south-east corner, in connection with what is called the oratory. The

chapel at Rising is in the same position. Then we have a long room with a fire-place on the south side, perhaps the lodging of the constable; there is the same thing at Rising. The *Kitchen*:—As I have said, is often difficult to identify, but here it must have been in the north west corner, again as at Rising. There has been a curious and interesting change of plan at this point, not quite easy to explain. It appears that the north-west newel stair from the level of the first floor was converted into a fireplace, the chimney of which takes the place of the stair, and starting in the form of a groined cone is drawn into a triple flue and so passes up. It is a curious and unusual piece of construction. I have at present no explanation to offer of the work that some partial excavation has revealed in this corner at the existing basement level. The principal entrance, the *Forebuilding*, was so much restored by Wilkins, that there only remains as original work, the groining beneath the upper landing. The *Hall* occupied as at Rising, the whole of the space on the north side of the cross wall, and the *Garderobes*, much altered, and now called the Archery, are placed, once more as at Rising, on the west front.

I think it is due to my hearers to say that my opportunities for studying this keep have been of the very slightest, and it is quite possible that I have, as a stranger, omitted many important points. But any notes upon a castle in England would surely be incomplete without a cordial acknowledgment to Mr. Clark, for, although he has not particularly described Norwich Castle, I need hardly say that it would have been difficult for me to have even attempted it, without the general and special information he has brought together upon such buildings.

Norwich Castle is now, for the first time in its long history, in the hands of the citizens of Norwich, and I am glad indeed to know that Norwich men recognize that the best way of showing their appreciation of it is to put it to some harmless, rational, use. To roof it and fit it—not in sham Norman—but in a simple unpretending way, for the purposes of a museum,—as has been done at Colchester and Taunton,—would at once preserve its grave, solid, and majestic character, and maintain in security these venerable and historic walls for the contemplation and study of antiquaries of the future.

OPENING ADDRESS OF THE HISTORICAL SECTION.¹

By the Rev. A. JESSOPP, D.D.

It is almost exactly forty-two years since the Royal Archæological Institute paid its first visit to the city of Norwich. It was on the 29th July, 1847, that Bishop Stanley presided in St. Andrew's-hall at the inaugural meeting, which was held to welcome the coming of this society, and to initiate its proceedings. Charles, third Marquis of Northampton, was President of the Anti-quarian Section, Dr. Peacock, Dean of Ely, was President of the Architectural Section, and in the Historical Section the chair was taken by one of the most profound and philosophic historians whom England has ever produced—Henry Hallam.

There were giants in the earth in those days. Dr. Whewell, the Master of Trinity, was amongst them, and so were John Mitchell Kemble and Professor Sedgwick, whom some of us remember, and Professor Willis, whose nephew, J. W. Clark, represents him among us to-day, men who were born to be leaders, and will not cease to be remembered as the founders of scientific archæology in England. We are but followers of them. What they began others have carried on, and the work that they set on foot two generations ago has never stopt, and shows no sign of ceasing and no lack of labourers—intelligent labourers unsparing of themselves, labourers animated by the same thirst for knowledge, the same enthusiasm, and the same earnest desire to buy the truth and sell it not, of which our founders presented in their lives such a noble example.

For myself, standing here to-day in the place which so

¹ Read at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, at Norwich, August 8th, 1889.
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great a man as Hallam occupied when the Institute last assembled in this city, I am far less inclined to be lifted up with pride than humbled by the depressing sense of inferiority which comes upon me as I begin to address you. One of the gods of Olympus was your president here in 1847. Well might it be asked, with some wonder, "Who is he—the man of common clay—who dares to sit in the same seat of honour in 1889?"

In 1847 archæology was quite a new study in East Anglia—the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society had only been started two years—and the new subject was by no means the fashion. There was a general impression that an antiquarian must needs be an old man—a musty, fusty old man. Dominic Sampson was accepted as the type of a class, and there was a wide-spread belief that old men, as a rule, had two absurd vices, one was saving money with none to gather it, and the other was grubbing into the secrets of the past with nobody to interpret them! It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if of all those forty-three gentlemen who at its first starting constituted the governing body of our society, only a single one survives, the veteran Mr. John Gunn, whose name appears still on the list of our vice-presidents to day.

Of the rest, some have not left themselves without witness. Among them Sir John Boileau, F.R.S., bearer of an illustrious name—who for more than twenty years presided over our society, and on whose son, Sir Francis Boileau, his father's mantle has fallen. While deploring Sir Francis' absence from among us to-day, and regretting the cause, we may hope that the illness which keeps him from being with us may leave no serious effects behind it, and we look forward with confidence to some years of research and vigorous work for our society under the presidency of the son—such work as shall not be unworthy of what was achieved under the presidency of his father.

I will venture this morning to put your patience to the test by endeavouring briefly to remind you how very different is the standing-point which archæologists in England take up to-day from that which they occupied when the Institute first came among us in 1847. But I must needs confine myself to our own limited field of

research, for to travel beyond it would carry me a great deal too far.

In the first place, it must be remembered that forty years ago the momentous question of the Antiquity of Man, as it is called, had hardly been thought of. I have a perfect recollection of reading a long letter in *The Times* newspaper during the summer of 1846, in which the writer, adopting a timidly apologetic tone, pleaded for toleration of his errors—if they were errors—and piteously argued that it really was possible, or, at any rate, it was conceivable, that a man might remain a Christian and yet believe that the world was more than 6,000 years old. In those days it was held to be an article of faith—a sort of 40th article, to be tacked on to the other 39—that the period anterior to the coming of our Lord had been accurately measured by a kind of chronological two-foot rule, and had been found to carry us back exactly 4004 years—so many and no more. In those days the geologists were a mere handful, and many of them seemed afraid of their own discoveries, at any rate were afraid of proclaiming them too loudly. That 4004 years superstition hung like an albatross round the neck of the man of science; he trembled to throw it off, and yet as long as it hung there he was hopelessly hampered in all his movements. He could not look behind him, it was impious to imagine an immemorial past, a too audacious peering into which might dash all hopes of a celestial future. Historians took their stand upon what was admitted by all to be a basis of absolute certainty. Into the region of cloudland, as it was assumed to be, only dreamers would think it worth their while to wander. The muse of history, it was said, was a stern and severe goddess, who set her face against speculation and inference—which were only other names for idle guesswork. What was found written in a *book* was evidence; everything else must be distrusted, and at the best must be received with the utmost caution, not to say suspicion. Accordingly, English history, it was insisted on, began in the year 55 B.C., when Julius Cæsar landed on our island. There was the *terminus a quo* which, by common consent, historians and archæologists adopted forty years ago, and which at that time hardly anyone ever thought of getting to the back of.

And yet there was no disputing the fact that the Greeks and Romans had heard of this Britain of ours, and knew something about it, too, centuries before the Christian era. As early as the time of Alexander the Great, Pytheas of Massilia wrote an account of his journey to Britain, and professed to have travelled through the island. It is true that Polybius, about 100 years after, assures us that he could have done nothing of the sort, for he was too poor a man to have made such a costly voyage. It is true also that Strabo, 150 years or so after Polybius, though quoting Pytheas and making use of his works, pronounces him to have been a great liar. But again, that has been found to be a very cheap accusation, often thrown at travellers in ancient and modern times, and yet proved in the long run to have been undeserved. Against Polybius and Strabo we may set the authority of Eratosthenes of Cyrene, in the third century B.C., and of Hipparchus of Bithynia, who lived about 100 years later. Each of these men was the most eminent mathematician and astronomer of his time. Neither of them was a man likely to be led astray by fictitious narratives. Both believed in Pytheas, and both appear to have made use of his travels. Travellers, we are assured, tell strange tales, but a man may be a liar and yet be a traveller. Be it as it may, even at the worst here is a traveller, who asserted that he had visited an island, knowing it to have been an island, 300 years or so B.C., and who got credit for information which he published, information which a generation or two after his death the great teachers of the world were reading, discussing, criticising, and using. As time went on, Strabo, who hardly deserves to be called a great man in any sense, viciously protests that this traveller told lies. Might not the same be said of our old friend, Sir John Mandeville? Yet who doubts that he went where he said he went, even though he tells us some things which he could hardly have seen with his own eyes?

But fifty years ago hardly anyone among us thought it worth while to bestow criticism upon Pytheas, or Poseidonius, or even Strabo. To archæologists the old geographers were almost quite unknown. Not that

those archæologists were idle, or wanting in sagacity, Very far from this; they gave themselves no rest, and their labours were not fruitless. A school of enquirers (who I will venture to call the Romanist school) rose up about this time, and their enthusiasm and success gave, as it could not but give, a great impetus to research. Roman Britain became the fashion, and well that it did so. Year by year and month by month we were startled by some brilliant discovery of "Roman remains," and surprise succeeding surprise compelled us to draw inferences, while they let in fresh light upon us all. But they were always *Roman* remains. The villas, the theatres, the baths, the luxury, the splendour, were all Roman. Nobody seems to have remembered that sneer of Tacitus (*Tac. Agricola*, c. 21), in which he superciliously mocks at the airs the Britons gave themselves in adopting the customs of their conquerors; much in the same tone that a London tailor might sneer at a country-made dress-coat, or a pert journalist might point his ridicule at a farmer's daughter presuming to play the paino. In fact, no one seems to have seen clearly what the real question was which archæologists should set before themselves—archæologists who hoped to get *behind* the line of certainty which historians had somewhat arbitrarily laid down. The main question really was *not* what did the Romans *do* in Britain, but what did they *find*? Or, perhaps, the question which pressed for answer, and which still pressed, might be stated thus—

"What was there in this Britain of ours which made it worth while for the Romans to invade it in the century before Christ—which compelled them to leave it un-attacked for another 100 years (though again and again during that century they bragged of what they were going to do in the way of subduing it), which forced them at last to carry out their threats in 44 A.D., and which induced them, after that to keep their hold of the island for 400 years, repaying them in some shape or other for an expenditure which fairly bewilders us when we try to estimate its magnitude?" I do not think that archæologists have ever set that problem before themselves with a clear conception of the issues involved in its solution,

or with an intelligent determination *to grapple with it*. It is not difficult to account for this. The truth is that the wonderful discoveries announced simultaneously by archæologists from all parts of the world, about 25 years ago, and which in their cumulative force constituted a body of evidence absolutely overwhelming; discoveries which allowed us no longer to hesitate in our conviction that man had been living and toiling, fighting and slaying, making his tools and advancing in the arts of civilised life, far, far back, even into the glacial period (and how much earlier none dared to guess), these discoveries dazzled us all. Everybody went groping about for flint implements, and everybody who groped long enough found them. Archæology in England for a while went half mad upon the antiquity of man. The Romanists found themselves at a discount. The palæolithic and neolithic periods, the intense eagerness to add something to what had been established by Mr. Prestwich, Mr. Evans, Sir J. Lubbock, or Mr. Pengelly among ourselves; or the desire to illustrate the splendid discoveries of Boucher de Perthes, Lartet, Nilson, and others abroad, called away the field—if I may so express it—from hunting the Roman fox. An archæological red herring was drawn across the scent, and the hounds started off in full cry and took another line. These things will happen often enough in a long run—at any rate it used to be so when I was young; we came to a check, but we made a fresh start, and the chase began again as hotly as ever. Unluckily, however, in this instance the thing did not end there. By one of those curious and not uncommon popular delusions which grow up, one knows not how, in times of excitement—religious, political, or intellectual—it came to pass that a persuasion amounting to a conviction took possession of a very large section even of the more intelligent portion of the community—who might have been supposed to know better—that the prehistoric discoverers who had found out so much about the men of the age of the mammoth and the cave bear had somehow been dealing with the same ancient Britons whom Cæsar fought with and failed to subdue. Was not he, this ancient Briton, a prehistoric man? For had not history begun in B.C. 55, and did not the Briton exist before this grand *terminus a*

quo? If it were so the Roman occupation could only have been a military occupation, and it was idle to suppose that anything could be discovered about the half-savage subject people that was worth knowing.

In addressing an assembly like this, I am anxious to avoid truisms, and yet it is necessary to remind you that there are still too many in the outer world who require to be told that the period of time which separates us from the men who fought with Cæsar, and beat him back, is but as a span long compared with that immeasurably vaster period which separates those ancient Britons from the men of the caves and the elevated river gravels, who hunted the mammoth and the woolly rhinoceros with bone harpoons and flint spears and arrows. Between those earlier inhabitants of Albion and the Britons who faced the Roman legions, so enormous a lapse of ages intervened that in the interval not only had the whole animal life of Britain changed, not only had the old fauna disappeared from our island, but from every part of the habitable globe.

And yet it is hardly too much to say that, thanks to the wonderful sagacity and the untiring and the triumphant researches of the prehistoric archæologists, we know almost as much about the life and the habits of the men of that vastly remote past as we do about the civilisation of those later inhabitants of this island who, in comparison with the others, are but the men of yesterday. Surely we ought to have got to know more about those men of yesterday by this time. Some things regarding those British progenitors of ours are well enough established. They had been trading in copper and tin for centuries; they worked the lead mines of the Mendips and the ironstone of Sussex; the first ground of quarrel with them which the Romans had, was because they had allied themselves with the Veneti, who fought that famous sea-fight with Cæsar the year before he invaded us, and the Veneti, we are told, astonished Cæsar by letting down their anchors with chain cables. Clearly, too, those Britons had a formidable mercantile marine; twenty years after Cæsar's coming they monopolised the carrying trade of the Channel, and the export and import duties which they paid constituted an appreciable item in the

Roman revenue (Strabo IV., c. v.) The southern part of our island, too, we hear was thickly studded with buildings (*creberrima œdificia* Cæsar B.G. iv., 13.) Agriculture was carried on on a large scale, especially to the north of the Thames; they had a currency, even a coinage; they had an extensive network of roads; before long Britain became a corn growing country, and the epicures of Rome appreciated very highly the oysters of Richborough. I suspect that the Roman coachbuilders introduced improvements in their fashionable carriages from our side of the Channel. The sentiment of nationality was strong among them; Cassivelaunus ruled over a kingdom that was firmly consolidated, with a splendidly organized army, and such a mighty cavalry force as Rome had never encountered since the days when Hannibal's Numidian horsemen swept over the plains of Italy. When at last Cassivelaunus came to terms, he still had 4,000 chariots that he could bring into the field. Of the Druid hierarchy we unhappily know but little, but this we do know, that they were a highly educated class and the educators of the people, that they had some knowledge of geography and astronomy, and clearly a very elaborate ritual. As to the nonsense which Cæsar talks about their filling colossal clothes-baskets with human victims and making bonfires of them, we must take such stories for what they are worth. But reflect upon all the evidence that has come down to us, and give it only the weight it deserves, and remember that London was confessedly a great emporium long before Cæsar's landing, and continued to be so without a break in its prosperity down to the outburst of that dreadful rebellion of the subject people who had been driven to madness by Roman tax gatherers, Roman *money lenders*, and Roman ruffianism of all sorts; and then consider whether it can be quite so absolutely certain as has been assumed that all those villas and pavements, those roads and baths, those vestiges of a vanished art and a vanished culture, are strictly what we understand by Roman remains, that is, the work of foreign hands, designed by foreign ingenuity, constructed exclusively for Roman officials, who lived outside of the life of a race held in subjection for all those four centuries. Can this people have been

so barbarous at starting, and so incapable of assimilating the new ideas, the new civilisation, of their conquerors, that, when the aliens left them to defend themselves, they (the Britons) became the prey of the new invaders, *not* because they were mastered by overwhelming multitudes from outside, but because they were incapable of doing anything in their own defence as soon as they were deprived of the guidance and command of those very Roman leaders who had themselves run away from any further contest with the hordes of irresistible marauders? Is all this so certain as the majority among us has quietly assumed it to be? I ask as a mere enquirer. I throw out a suggestion. I presume to do no more.

Be it as it may, this *is* quite certain, that we have not yet collected all the evidence that can be gathered, and that our only hope of arriving at clear views on the condition of this island and its inhabitants, say during the four centuries before Cæsar's coming and during the four centuries after his landing, lies in carefully and exhaustively mapping out the discoveries that have been and that remain to be made. The suggestion of the congress that assembled at Burlington-house last year must be carried out systematically, scientifically, and every local archæological society must set itself to construct an archæological map of its own county or district, in which the site of every "find" may be accurately set down, and the significance of every vestige of the handiwork of our progenitors be estimated by correlating it with others that may have been tabulated.

It may be almost said to be a reproach upon our Norfolk archæologists that no one among us has as yet attempted examination of the Pedders' Way, the Devil's Dyke, or of the old trackways which certainly did serve their purpose as lines of communication between distant points in bygone ages. Mr. Warne, in his magnificent work on Ancient Dorset, gave us the results of his researches in this line of enquiry nearly twenty years ago; but no Norfolk archæologist up to this moment has taken the hint or followed Mr. Warne's lead, though it is obvious that only a local antiquary can carry on research of this kind with much hope of arriving at satisfactory

results. A man *must* start on such research furnished with the necessary requisite of local knowledge. He must be in touch not only with the ground he treads, but with the people who are sons of the soil.

So far, we in Norfolk have come on no traces of that stage in the development of civilisation which the lake dwellings of Switzerland afford. We have not come upon them because we have not sought for them. But clear and unmistakable traces of such remains were detected by Mr. Harry Jones at Barton Mere, in the neighbourhood of Bury St. Edmund's, twenty years ago; and, though a man should never prophesy unless he is sure, standing in this place to-day I venture to predict that before the institute visits Norfolk again, remains of the *Phahlbauten* will be found in that district in the middle of the county of Norfolk which now serves as the watershed of the Yare and the Stoke river, where once half-a-dozen or so of lakes were to be found, of which the South mere at Hingham and the meres of Saham and Scoulton are but the shrunken remains.

But archæology does by no means confine her scrutiny of the past to such remains as are exclusively pre-historical, nor, indeed, does she end her researches where written testimony of ancient records begins. There is an enormous mass of raw material which the archæologists will have to work up and interpret for the historian, which consist of actual documentary evidence hitherto neglected or very imperfectly examined. Quite new fields of enquiry have been opened out to archæology during the last few years since men of learning and patient research have begun to busy themselves with the history of early institutions, and with speculations upon the origin of society, the tenure of property in land, and many other kindred questions of the profoundest importance. We have here, in this county, I suspect, many more instances of divided ownership of land than is generally known. No part of England can furnish so many anomalous instances of strange tenures binding on the tenants of a manor, or more unexplained customs whose origin points to a very distant past. Few parts of England are so rich in what are called family papers—*i.e.*,

chests of documents of unknown antiquity which remain to be explored—and already the enlightened jurists of our time have begun to see clearly that the history of early law in England, and the history of a great deal else, will have to be re-written, and that the records to be examined and laboriously studied are to be found not exclusively, and perhaps not mainly, in the great public muniments of the national collection.

It would occupy far too much time to-day if I were to attempt to lay before you anything like a comprehensive account of the great problem which is now exercising the minds of students, and which may be briefly epitomized as the question of the origin of the Manorial System in England. Did the manor spring out of a village community of freemen—a co-operative society—where all were equal in status and all were equally owners of a certain area which they tilled in common for the behoof of all. Or did it originate in a settlement planted by a chieftain with his dependents who won the land and cultivated it for the lord at his bidding. And again, are we to look upon the manor as an institution which is a survival of the Roman domination or was it Teutonic in its origin? So again with regard to the jurisdiction and procedure and authority of the local courts, the courts baron and courts leet, and the rest. The accepted views of the great lawyers of the seventeenth century are in process of being severely cross-examined. Only during the last few months have we been startled by the announcement made by no less a man than Professor Maitland, of Cambridge, to the effect that he strongly suspects that the very word *court leet* is East Anglian, and that the thing itself is to be found before the twelfth century in Suffolk and Norfolk exclusively. I am fully persuaded that the constitutional history of England, in some of its earlier chapters, offers riddles for solution which can only find their answers in our private collections of original documents. What is wanted is for these treasures to be collected into Provincial centres, guarded by responsible custodians, and gradually examined, arranged, and calendared. Not till this is done will archæologists (the pioneers of historical research) have fair play, or

history have a chance of winning solid conquests from the dark places of the past. How much may be done by single students adequately furnished for the work of research, working alone among the archives of a single city; how much such a scholar may achieve if the sources of history are made readily accessible to his enquiries, how much light he may throw upon the history of the development of municipal institutions in England, in a comparatively short time, when the documentary evidence is made ready to his hand—all this I am prepared to hear this morning.

In anticipation of many a lesson which I am eager to receive, and you too are, I doubt not, curious to listen to, I forbear from intruding any longer upon you. I have only one word to add. I believe that no study—no branch of literature I may say—has presented to the cultured classes in this country during the last few years more fascinating attraction, or is becoming more and more extensively popular, *i.e.*, is engaging the attention of more eager and intelligent votaries—than the study of the life of the past in our own land. The progress we have made during the last forty years in our knowledge of the civil, the religious, the constitutional, and economic history of England has brought about a revolution in our opinions and our sentiments on a hundred different questions about which our grandfathers never troubled themselves at all, but which have forced themselves upon us. The advance in our knowledge of man and of his doings cannot but go on. History will not continue to be the random medley of ballad and legend, of gossip and guess work that it was only a little while ago. Such history can serve no better purpose than the song of the scald or the troubadour, sometimes rousing our passions, sometimes beguiling an idle hour. The more clearly we know the truth about the ages that are behind us, the better shall we be able to understand the present, and to shape our course in preparation for that future which some day we, or those that come after us, may hope to forecast more intelligently and more confidently than our present ignorance will admit of. For the light that gleams from the dimness of one horizon flashes too upon the dimness of the other, and

if it be true, as it is, that the boy is father of the man, not less true is it that the growth and development of our race must needs proceed according to some great laws of progress. The unnumbered generations of those that were, each of whom added something, to the aggregate of human experience, were all, consciously or unconsciously, acting their parts in that great drama which the children of men are destined to play out upon this little world of ours.

CASTLE ACRE

By GEO. T. CLARK.

Castle Acre, so called in distinction from West and South Acre, contiguous parishes in the north-eastern parts of Norfolk, is best known to antiquaries as the Caput of the 140 Lordships held by Earl Warren, at Domesday, in that county, but the earthworks to which parish and manor owe their prefix claim a much earlier history, not, indeed, written upon parchment, nor engrossed upon the records of the realm, but not less authentic, nor less legible to an instructed eye.

The Nar, the rivulet of the district, on its way from its not distant sources to its name-children of Narford and Narborough, here winds sluggishly across a level bottom, now a well-ordered water-meadow, but in ancient times a broad and impracticable morass. Taking advantage of so convenient a front a large camp has been formed on the rising ground to the north or right bank of the river. It is in plan a parallelogram about 280 yds. north and south, by 380 yds. east and west, or in strictness north-north-west and south-south-east. The defence was a single earth-bank, ranging from 6 ft. to 12 ft. in height, and protected externally by a deep ditch, the two covering together a breadth of about 30 yds. The northern front runs parallel and on the side of the village street, and is in consequence indistinct, though traceable. The western and most perfect front passing from the street straight towards the river, has the Parish Church of St. James a few yards to its west or outside it, while about 300 yds. to the south-west is what remains of the Cluniac Priory of St. Mary, St. Peter, and St. Paul.

The south or river front, having the morass for its defence, seems to have had a slighter bank, of which

only parts remain. What should be the angle at the junction of the two sides is rounded off in the Roman manner, and is tolerably perfect, and the only angle that is so.

Although the eastern half of the camp has been materially altered, enough remains to shew that this was a regular Roman fortification, having two entrances, in the centre of the northern and southern or longer sides, of which the latter opened upon the morass, here about 100 yds. broad, and traversed by a causeway leading to a bridge across the river; and the former was approached by a long straight road, probably of the date of the camp, running north-north-east, and known as Peddar way.

The Saxon invaders who founded and inhabited the villages hereabouts were minded to take advantage of earthworks, the position of which was so well chosen, and which admitted of being altered to suit their notions of defence. The area, however, was too spacious for their wants, and the earthworks by no means of what they considered necessary strength. They therefore took possession of the eastern half of the work and converted it into the Burh in use among them in the ninth century, and of which so many examples are found in various parts of England, and among their distant kinsman in Normandy.

In the north-east quarter of the camp they threw up a conical mound about 25 or 30 ft. high, and having a flat top 40 yds. in diameter. This they surrounded with the ditch out of which, in fact, it was in great measure formed, and appended to it on the north-east and south sides were two courts, also embanked and moated by ditches which communicated with the ditch of the mound. The smaller of these courts, or wards, that to the north-east, somewhat lunated in form, had an area of about 30 yds. by 40 yds. The larger was about 130 yds. from north to south, and in breadth about 100 yds. To complete this court a bank was thrown up across the old camp from north to south. The house and offices of the chief, of timber, occupied the table top of the mound, and a line of stout palisades ran along the crest of the earthbanks, and possibly along the counterscarp of their ditches.

There is also some reason to think that the palisades were continued along the untouched Roman bank, so as to convert the remainder or western half of the camp into an additional place of safety for the adjacent husbandmen and their cattle. A work such as that above described possessed considerable passive strength, and in the hands of a small but resolute garrison might defy an army for a few days, as the Burh at Towcester is recorded in the Saxon chronicle to have done. Such was, no doubt, the stronghold that Earl Warren found ready to his hands, not unlike what he had already become possessed of at Lewes, and such as his fellow Normans found at Arundel and Tonbridge, and were familiar with on their own estates in Normandy.

The use of masonry in fortifications was then a novelty in Normandy, and probably had not been introduced into England, where, with the exception of a fragment of wall at Corfe, no military masonry of the Saxon age has been discovered. The rectangular keep, then the form of masonry most in favour, was only constructed on level ground, as in London and Malling, or where a natural hill formed a solid platform, as in the later structures at Dover, Bramber, or Norwich. The ordinary Saxon strongholds, of which there were very many, contained an artificial mound, upon which a lofty tower was unnecessary, and could not safely have been constructed. In such places the new structure took the form of the polygonal or shell keep, such as may be seen at Arundel or Cardiff, and of which the foundations remain at Berkhamstead and Tonbridge. Such a shell was erected at Castle Acre, and in part remains. It is composed of a wall 6 ft. thick, an irregular polygon in figure, 120 ft. diameter. Externally the angles are capped by broad flat pilasters in ashlar; internally the hollow angles are rounded. The wall is of chalk with thick facings of flint rubble. Outside, the lower part is built against the mound as a retaining wall, internally it seems to have been about 12 ft. high. Several fragments remain, some of their full height, with traces of a parapet about 4 ft. high. What resembles the pointed vault of a sewer is to be seen, so that probably the work is late Norman, as with such keeps was usual.

The central part of the area is hollow, as though there had been a well, but the whole surface slopes towards the south-east very considerably, and the fragments of wall show that this was so when the keep was built, so that the top of the wall was not intended to be level. The slope coincides generally with the lay of the ground outside, which is remarkable, seeing that the mound evidently is in part artificial.

The main or southern ward was walled in, and the wall, of which two fragments, 180 ft. and 80 ft. long, remain, was built upon the crest of the earthbank, and seems of the date and material of the keep. Each end of the curtain was brought up to the edge of the keep moat, and there carried across the ditch and up the bank, so as to join the wall of the keep. The space below the two walls includes about one-third of the circuit of the keep, which thus stands partly within and partly without the ward, which is a usual arrangement, as at Arundel, Tonbridge, and Lincoln. The north-east ward may have been walled in, but this is not probable; the ditch is crossed by a low wall, but it is of no great strength, and scarcely meant for defence. In the centre of the main ward are traces of foundations, probably of domestic buildings.

The entrance to this ward was on its west side, very near to the counterscarp of the ditch of the keep, and a wall seems to have been carried across the ditch and up the mound from it to the keep. A sketch by Mr. Kerrich in 1787 shews the gate-house tolerably perfect, and its remains are still to be seen. The main ditch in front of this gatehouse is now crossed by a regular causeway, replacing the former drawbridge.

The outer gate, of later date, stands near the centre of the Roman earthwork, on the north front, in the present village, but the Normans did not think it necessary to wall in the whole area of the camp. It seems probable, however, that they enclosed it with some kind of defence, possibly a palisade.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

April 4, 1889.

C. D. E. FORTNUM, Esq., F.S.A., Hon. Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. J. BAIN read a paper on "The Castle of Fongères and its Lords," which is printed at p. 120.

The REV. PRECENTOR VENABLES sent a paper on "The Opening of the Tomb of Bishop Oliver Sutton, in Lincoln Minster, and the Discovery of a Chalice, Paten, and Episcopal Ring;" this was read by Mr. Gosselin, and is printed at p. 114.

The CHAIRMAN called attention to the large size of the ring, such as are found in episcopal graves on the continent, whence he thought this example had been obtained.

Mr. MICKLETHWAITE and Mr. HOPE added some general observations respecting the chalice and paten, and their early type.

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Bain and to Precentor Venables.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the REV. PRECENTOR VENABLES.—Drawings and photographs of the Chalice, Paten, Ring, and Pastoral Staff, found in the grave of Bishop Oliver Sutton.

By Mr. HARTSHORNE.—A coat of mail, formed of twenty-four six-inch squares of mail, each complete in itself, and roughly joined together with iron wire into the semblance of a garment. The remarkable feature of the mail is the unique manner in which the links are joined together. The construction of the links is, indeed, the same as that for ordinary rivetted mail, up to a certain stage. The flattened ends are then—instead of being punched for the reception of the rivets—nicked on the outer side, a thin wire is whipped round them, twisted up into a short head, and cut or twisted off. The whole square of mail was then heavily tinned. It is obvious that this never was a coat of mail, but has been made up into the coat form for the purpose of sale. What, then, was the purpose of the squares? This seems to be explained by some entries in the inventory of Sir John Falstoff, who died in 1459. "1 jakke of blakke linen clothe stuffed with mayle; 1 jakke of blake clothe lined with canvas mayled;" the meaning of the word jakke, as applied to any defensive garment, being, as Mr. Burges has explained, such as were formed of two folds of leather or linen, with something between them. Unfortunately no jack has come down to us, but it may

be taken that the squares of mail in question were tinned in order for insertion between linen, and to prevent rust, as was the case with the splints of a brigandine, and, probably, they were used in the shoulders of jacks, for which their size is well suited. The coat in question has been known to Mr. F. Weekes for some time, and was in the collection of a dealer in Bond Street twenty years ago.

May 2, 1889.

The Rev. F. SPURRELL in the chair.

Mr. J. L. ANDRÉ read a paper "on Ritualistic Ecclesiology in North-East Norfolk." Touching first upon the examples of combined monastic and parochial churches as shown at Weybourne, he commented on and explained the great width of the nave in some of the smaller aisleless churches. The singular feature of a chapel raised one story above the floor of the collegiate church of Ingham, the relic chamber of the east end of Tunstead church, and the remarkable arrangement at Rolleay for the support of a *chaise* under which a diseased person might sit in order for his healing were then spoken of. Passing on to the consideration of the enrichment of western doorways, and parvises over porches, he treated of stoops, altars, piscinas, low side windows, and sculptured fonts and their canopies successively. At Barniugham Northwood a "wheel of fortune" marked in the floor in brick and stone, 5 ft. in diameter, and popularly known as the memorial of a coachman, was described. The Norfolk rood-screens and their magnificent and varied decorations formed a large item in Mr. André's paper, and a careful analysis of the different arrangements of the saints, prophets, and other holy persons upon these ornate barriers brought seeming chaos into order. Further remarks were added upon bell solars, rood-loft stairs, consecration crosses, stone seats, painted glass, alms boxes, and charnel chapels.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. André, whose paper is printed at p. 136.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. GREVILLE I. CHESTER.—The following Early Greek Scarabœoid gems: A Bee, in white chalcedony, from Taranto. An Ibez, in pale blue chalcedony, from Sparta. A Lion, in rock crystal, and a Dog, in agate, from the Greek Islands. A Bull, in sapphirine, from Smyrna; and a Persian Archer, in burnt chalcedony, from Peloponesus.

Mr. CHESTER also exhibited:—Implements of unknown use, made of a bird's bill, from Kourneh, Thebes; an amber necklace, from Selmeyeh, Upper Egypt; and a bronze Thurible, from Southern Italy.

Mr. CHESTER informed the meeting that he had discovered at Tel-el-Amarna, a papyrus of a portion of the twenty-third and twenty-fourth books of Homer, believed to be of the first century.

By Mr. A. OLIVER.—A pewter pot with a hinged lid ornamented with a fleur-de-lis, the name of the owner "Priest" is on the lid and rim, the latter bearing also a portcullis. This object was found while digging for the foundations of the Victoria Tower; an incense burner from the site of Messrs. Rimmel's factory, Beaufort buildings, an earthenware pot from Nottingham Court, St. Giles, a Dutch glass bottle, and a pan of pottery.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

"A DICTIONARY OF ROMAN COINS, REPUBLICAN AND IMPERIAL,"
commenced by the late SETH WILLIAM STEVENSON, F.S.A.; revised in part by
C. ROACH SMITH, F.S.A.; and completed by FREDERIC W. MADDEN, M.R.S.
(George Bell and Sons, London, 1889.)

The aim and object of this work are clearly set out in the "original prospectus," which is given after the preface of the Publishers. It purports to explain the principal types, symbols and devices, which appear on coins with Latin legends and inscriptions minted under the government of ancient Rome, both consular and imperial, to supply biographical, chronological, and monetal references to the Emperors, Empresses and Cæsars, from Julius Cæsar to Mauricius Tiberius; and also to elucidate curious and rare obverses and reverses by mythological, historical, and geographical notices. Anyone at all conversant will grasp at once the magnitude of such an undertaking, and it is very evident after but a cursory glance at the work before us, that its compilation has extended over a very long period. In fact, it is the task of more than the life-time of one individual; and Mr. Seth Stevenson, who undertook it single-handed, unfortunately found this to be the case. His original idea was that the work should form one volume of about 1,000 pages, printed uniformly with the Dictionaries of "Greek and Roman Antiquities," and of "Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology," and that it should be illustrated throughout with numerous woodcuts. The work has appeared as Mr. Stevenson proposed, but, unfortunately, he did not live to see its completion. As now issued it consists of 929 closely printed pages, Mr. Stevenson's labours extending as far as page 829; from this point the services of Mr. Madden have been requisitioned, and on him has fallen the duty of bringing the work to completion. Mr. Madden has long been known as an authority on this particular branch of numismatics, and it is fortunate that the proprietors were able to obtain his valuable co-operation.

Roman numismatics may be divided into two large series, viz., that of the Republic and that of the Empire. The coins of the former are chiefly in silver, a comparatively small portion being in gold struck mainly after B.C. 49, whilst the copper coins are of an earlier date and cease about B.C. 80. Those of the Imperial times are of gold, silver and copper, being issued in large numbers in each of the three metals. The main characteristics of the two series are however very distinct. Down to the death of Julius Cæsar in B.C. 44, the types of the coins refer to past events and supply a long series of illustrations, which record the great deeds of Roman heroes in the past, the mythological and

historical traditions of the nation and many important public events. From the death of Julius Cæsar, contemporary events are recorded, and this is the chief character of the coinage throughout imperial times, which also abounds in allegorical, mythological and architectural devices. When it is understood that the types of the two series taken together number some thousands, it is clear that there was ample material for a large work, and if we add to these, the explanation of the legends, as well as numerous biographical references, its magnitude is still more patent. Towards the elucidation of these numerous types, much work has been accomplished during the last twenty years, even more than had been effected down to that date. The various works of Cohen, Mommsen and Babelon have entirely re-organised the subject, and these authors have brought to light very much matter previously unknown to earlier numismatists. Unfortunately all these productions are posterior to the chief portion of the "Dictionary," and the only most reliable information that Mr. Stevenson had access to was that supplied by Eckhel. It is on this account that the "Dictionary" is not so to say up to date: yet in spite of this serious shortcoming there is to be found in it a great deal of information that is most useful not only to the numismatist but also to the classical scholar and the historian. The critical eye of the numismatist will find besides not infrequent errors old theories propounded which have long been abandoned. This must have been clear to those who saw the "Dictionary" to its finish, and though they may not have been able to make the work abreast of the time, yet we think they ought not to have passed over this imperfection in complete silence. It is, however, far better that the work should have been produced as it now stands, than that it should not have appeared at all. The researches made in Roman numismatics in late years have done much to elucidate the so-called Consular or Republican series, not only as regards the arrangement of the coins but also in reference to the explanation of the various types. The first issue of the early copper coins known as the libral series, which was formerly attributed to the time of Servius Tullius, is now brought down as late as the middle of the fourth century B.C., and the supposed reduction of the *as* from the pound-weight to the half-pound (semi libral) and the quarter-pound (quadrantal) is a theory no longer tenable: and these have been displaced by a one third reduction called the Triental. Also by a system of careful examination of all the principal finds of coins, the whole series has been arranged in chronological order, so that according to Mommsen we have no difficulty in classifying the issues of these coins if not year by year yet by periods. The late Count de Salis quite independently of Mommsen's researches went still one step further. He not only arranged the coins in the British Museum chronologically but also geographically so that the series affords of itself a history of the gradual growth of the power of Rome. In the Imperial series also much new light has been thrown on its classification and on the history of the mint, and the various degradations of the coinage have been explained and conclusively accounted for. The reforms of Caracalla, Aurelian, and Diocletian before imperfectly understood are now matters of history. As these points are chiefly some of the results of recent study they will not be found recorded in the "Dictionary," and, consequently, in consulting the work the student will

have to exercise a certain amount of caution ; but he will not err far if he reads the " Dictionary " in conjunction with the works of Mommsen and Babelon. That Mr. Stevenson has done good service to the study of Roman numismatics no one will hesitate to say, and we can strongly recommend his work as a standard book of reference on the subject. In carrying out the completion of the " Dictionary " Mr. Madden tells us, at page 830, that he has made considerable use of the works of Mommsen, Cohen, Sabatier, Lenormant and others, so that from this point the shortcomings of the earlier portion are not to be found. The illustrations, in which the work abounds, were for the most part executed by the late Mr. Fairholt, who was a skilful and conscientious numismatic engraver, but who has not been quite successful in reproducing ancient portraits. This has been a common failing with most works on Roman numismatics, and in recent years has led to the adoption of various photographic processes, which have answered admirably when a number of pieces are represented on plates, but when it is needed to insert the illustrations in the text, as was the case with the " Dictionary," they are not so satisfactory. When this difficulty is overcome we shall have illustrations as perfect as the coins themselves.

THE REGISTERS OF WALTER BRONSCOMBE AND PETER QUIVIL, BISHOPS OF EXETER, WITH SOME RECORDS OF THE EPISCOPATE OF BISHOP THOMAS DE BYTTON ; ALSO THE TAXATION OF POPE NICHOLAS IV., A.D. 1291 (DIOCESE OF EXETER), by the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON-RANDOLPH, Prebendary of Exeter, and Rural Dean. (London : George Bell and Sons).

Three years ago¹ we reviewed Mr. Hingeston-Randolph's excellent index and abstract of the register of Edmund Stafford, Bishop of Exeter. He now proposes to make that one of a series of which it will be the fifth volume, and the new book now before us the first. This includes the earliest registers extant, and if it be in some respect of less general interest, and more of a dry list of names than the former one, it is certainly no fault of the Editor, for every page proves the labour which he has spent upon the work, and his care to make it as complete and accurate as possible. As a store of facts relating to the Counties of Devon and Cornwall, during the latter half of the thirteenth century, it is invaluable. But these earlier registers are less rich than the later one in those illustrations of the ideas and manners of the times, which have a more than local interest. The new book, with about the same number of pages, extends over a period twice as long as that covered by the former one.

Mr. Randolph keeps to the method he adopted with Bishop Stafford's register, and could scarcely have a better. Few, perhaps, will read the book all through as we have done ; but any in search of information about a place or a person connected with the diocese at that time will have no difficulty in finding here all that the registers have to tell about them, and often something besides.

Bishop Bronescombe's register is perfect and well kept. He reigned twenty-three years, and was an active ruler, as is shewn

¹ Vol. xliii, p. 190.

amongst other things by the fact that he consecrated no less than eighty-eight churches in nine years, and twenty-one of them within thirty days. Anyone who knows what the old consecration service was will appreciate the physical labour of this alone, without reckoning the necessary travelling, and the regular diocesan work carried on at the same time.

These many consecrations should not be taken to imply that the churches were new ones, or that all of them had lately been re-built; though the time was one in which men were zealous church builders. There were arrears to be made up, for we learn from the constitutions published in the legantine visitation of Otho in 1236, that the consecration of churches had been much neglected in England, and it was therein ordered that all old churches not then consecrated should be so within two years, and all new ones within that period from the completion of their fabrics. It is certain that many, and most likely that all the churches Bishop Bronescombe consecrated, were of old foundation, though some had been lately re-built. We have an instance in the book of the union of two old parishes, but none of the creation of a new parish. Like many another, the Bishop strove against the abuses of his time. But the system of dispensations nullified most mediæval attempts at reform. The Church is even now but just freeing itself from some of the evils against which they fought—as, for instance, pluralities and the non-residence of incumbents—and still suffers from the appropriation of rectories in which the good bishop saw so little harm that he appropriated one to endow his own chantry. The monasteries were great devourers of churches in this way, and many a parish still suffers, because the monks appropriated to their own use the endowment which is now sorely needed.

Bishop Quivil's register is imperfect and less carefully kept than his predecessor's, and has suffered badly from the reckless use of galls at the hands of some reader who should have known better. Mr. Randolph has done the best he could with it, and has supplemented it from other sources. No register of Bishop Bytton exists, but in like manner an attempt is made to supply the blank.

After him came Bishop Walter de Stapledon, upon whose register Mr. Randolph is now at work, and he expects to have it ready next year. We hope he will have a long list of subscribers. The price is so low that they can only pay for the printing, even if they do that, and all the good useful work of the Editor will be given to them.

Archaeological Journal.

DECEMBER, 1889.

TRACES OF THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATION IN THE CITY OF NORWICH.¹

By THE REV. W. HUDSON, M.A.

I.—*The general circumstances of the City.*

Forms of
municipal
development
various.

The early history of Municipal Institutions in England is confessedly a field of research which needs much working, and there are few ways in which local archæology can render more useful service than in helping on the work in its own locality. This is all the more necessary, because every municipality has had its own history. The same general aims and aspirations after freedom may have animated the inhabitants of different burghs. They may have had the same ideas of self-government, and the same theories with respect to the regulation of trade and commerce; but, of necessity, each burgh was compelled to adapt its aims and theories to the particular circumstances, often not a little complicated, by which it was surrounded. Municipal institutions in early times were not, as now, the result of a permissive act of a central authority setting forth a fixed model, which any community might copy if it pleased. They were the outcome of a struggle between various rival influences, and the result was modified in different cases, according as one or other of these influences was more than usually in the ascendant.

Norwich an
important
field for study.

I think I may fairly claim for the city with which I have now the honour of dealing, that it presents in this respect a specially promising and important field for investigation. It was in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that the burghs of England chiefly obtained their right of self-government from the kings,

¹ Read in the Historical Section at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, at Norwich, August 9th, 1889.

who, either from need or policy, continued to grant them increasing powers, till Edward I., by summoning their representatives to his Parliaments, recognized them as important members of the body politic. During this time, Norwich occupied a position scarcely second to any other borough in the kingdom. So far back as the time of King Edward the Confessor it was almost unsurpassed in the number of its burgesses, 1320. Though it suffered some drawbacks, the worst being through the rebellion of Earl Ralph against William the Conqueror, not long before the *Domesday Survey* was made, yet it soon recovered itself. Even in the troublous days of King Stephen, when he handed it over to his son William, it could boast of about fifteen hundred. How greatly it prospered after that time until it became in the reign of Edward III. the principal seat of the woollen manufacture, is a matter of history. Its early importance is indisputable.

Its advan-
tageous cir-
cumstances.

I would further observe that, during this critical period of its history, it practically had but one person to deal with, viz., the king. From the earliest times Norwich had been part of the king's demesne. Even the modified alienation of lordship which had been granted to the Earls of East Anglia, as recorded in the *Domesday Survey*, ceased at the Conquest, when, by the death of Harold, who held the earldom, the whole jurisdiction of the city passed into the hands of the king.

The Prior and
monks no real
hindrance.

It may be as well here to clear away a misconception, which some writers have fallen into. Because Norwich was the seat of a Bishoprick, with a wealthy monastery attached to the cathedral having an independent jurisdiction of its own, and because frequent disputes, and at times violent collisions, took place between the monks and the citizens, it has been assumed that the citizens had to fight for their rights against the encroachments of the monks. It was certainly not so. The lands over which the Prior claimed jurisdiction were not originally (with one small exception) part of the burgh at all, but belonged to the adjoining hundreds of Blofield, Taverham, and Humbleyard. The aggressors were undoubtedly the citizens, and all the Prior and monks ever succeeded in doing was to hold their own. In the end

they had to give up even that. At all times they were powerless to hinder the political development of the city.

Nor the Castle. The one great hindrance which the citizens might have had to combat would have been the presence of a powerful noble in the castle. Here again fortune favoured them. The chances of collision between the citizens and the holder of the castle were never great, either when it was held by an earl or by a constable in the king's name. On the one hand, the city was unfortified and not in a position to provoke a conflict; and on the other hand, neither king, earl, or constable had any occasion to interfere with the natural commercial growth of the city. When its career of self-government began at the close of the twelfth century, the castle had ceased to be a danger. The king did not want it for defensive purposes; he did not care to commit it to a powerful subject, who might hold it against him. It would have fallen into decay altogether had it not been converted during the thirteenth century into a gaol, which it continued to be till a few years ago.

Norwich, therefore, had always been specially free from external interference, and when it received the privilege of self-government it was practically unfettered, except by the ancient lordship of the king. It scarcely needs saying that a king at a distance chiefly concerned himself in matters which affected the royal exchequer, and, saving these, had no other interest than to promote the growth of a valuable source of income.

What is meant by having "the same liberties as London." I desire to lay as much stress as possible on this feature of the municipal history of Norwich. because it must greatly affect our view of that history in one important aspect. The charter of 5th Richard I., its first real charter of self-government as I think, grants to the citizens of Norwich the "same liberties and free customs as the citizens of London have." Many writers have assumed that this or similar language used in charters to other boroughs implies that thenceforward those boroughs set themselves to assimilate not only their customs and liberties but their municipal organization to those of the City of London. From this point of view, it seems strange that Norwich with all its advantages of wealth and local importance, should

have been governed by bailiffs and not by a mayor and aldermen till the beginning of the fifteenth century. This view is thus expressed by Blomefield. When the city was finally provided with a mayor, aldermen, and common council in 1417, and had exchanged its old "tolhouse" for a new "guildhall." Blomefield observes:—"Thus the city was now peaceably settled, having greater authority, and its state fixed in a much grander manner than ever it had been before, being exactly the same as to its *government* and ordinances as the City of London then was, *which was what this city from its first charter always aimed at.*"

Meant a similar confirmation of ancient liberties.

I feel sure that this view is not correct. King Richard's charter meant what it spoke of, "customs and liberties," not the special form of government. The citizens of Norwich were confirmed in the enjoyment of their privileges to the same extent that those of London were in theirs. These customs and liberties were called "the same," because substantially they were so. Most of them were the common inheritance of the two cities. In some valuable chapters of "Laws and Customs anciently in use in the City of Norwich," preserved in the "*Book of Pleas*," and dating back certainly to the thirteenth century, perhaps some of them still earlier, the custom of the City of London is only occasionally appealed to. In general, things are said to be done "according to the custom of the city of Norwich."

Not necessarily form of government.

With respect to the form of municipal government, it seems unreasonable to suppose that, if the constitution of the London municipality had from the first been regarded as the aim of other boroughs, Norwich with its chartered right to assimilate itself to London should have taken two hundred years to attain its end. Two other instances make this clearer. Oxford, like Norwich, was authorized by charter to imitate London, and it obtained a mayor in 1229; whereas Lynn, which was authorized to follow Oxford, had a mayor as early as 1204. The only explanation of Norwich retaining its older constitution two centuries later than Lynn, must have been that until towards the close of the fourteenth century the citizens had no desire to make the change. If this explanation is correct, it makes it all the more interesting to search as closely into

the character of the older organization as our existing records enable us to do.

Method of investigation. I propose rapidly to work back from the present time to the point where it becomes necessary to appeal to hitherto unworked sources of information.

II.—*The modern Corporation.*

The present corporation of the City of Norwich derives its authority from the Municipal Reform Act of 1835, which, like most similar modern legislation, effected some salutary changes at the cost of destroying in some ways the continuity of the present with the past.

At the present time the city, which is also a county, is governed by a mayor, sheriff, sixteen aldermen, and forty-eight town councillors. It is divided into eight wards, numbered from one to eight; two aldermen and six councillors represent each ward. The official title of the corporation is "*the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens*," a title which I need not attempt to explain. I would only draw attention to the fact of the "aldermen" being denoted as a separate estate, though they are not really so. The previous history will shew how this arose.

III.—*The mediæval Corporation.*

This modern constitution of the municipal assembly is a mutilated relic of that which existed before the passing of the Municipal Reform Act, which was as follows:— a mayor, two sheriffs, twenty-four aldermen, and sixty councillors.

Four great wards, twelve small wards. There were four great wards, Conesford, Mancroft, Wymer, and the Northern or Ward over the Water. Each of the four great wards was subdivided into three small wards, which also bore distinctive names. Conesford great ward was divided into South Conesford, North Conesford, and Ber Street; Mancroft great ward, into Mancroft, St. Stephen's and St. Giles; Wymer great ward, into East Wymer, Middle Wymer, and West Wymer; and the great ward over the Water, into Fybridge, Colegate, and Coslany.

Represented by twenty-four aldermen and sixty common councillors. Each of these twelve small wards was represented by two aldermen elected for life. The common councillors represented the four great wards, but in unequal proportions,

Conesford having twelve, Mancroft sixteen, Wymer twenty, and the Ward over the Water twelve.

Some important officials, such as the town clerk, recorder, chamberlain, and others, I pass over, because they do not represent any principle of self-government, but are merely administrative officers. One deserves somewhat more prominent notice. There is now one coroner for the city: before the Reform Act there were two. To have a coroner was one of the earliest symbols of exempt jurisdiction. I do not, however, find that in Norwich the coroners ever took much part in the general government of the city, as they did in some places, and therefore they hardly fall within the scope of my present investigation.

Style of the corporation described the governing body.

The full title of this corporate body was *the mayor, sheriffs, citizens, and commonalty*. If this title was simply intended to describe the governing body (as I believe it was), and not the whole number of those in whose name they acted, then by the expression "citizens" must have been meant the twenty-four aldermen; by the "commonalty" the sixty common councillors. As we go further back we shall find support for this interpretation and some traces of the way in which these distinctions arose. It must be remembered in any case that this governing body did not pretend to represent the whole body of inhabitants, but the much more limited body of "freemen," who exclusively possessed the power of electing their rulers.

The organization in existence at the passing of the Municipal Reform Act was legally supposed to be derived from a charter of 15th Charles II. But practically it dated from the beginning of the fifteenth century, when some very important changes took place.

Revision of the organization at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

These changes were not effected all at once. They were the result of four distinct steps:— (1), a royal charter of Henry IV., in 1403; (2), an ordinance of the assembly, in 1404; (3), a composition between two dissentient parties in the community in 1415; (4), a royal charter of Henry V., in 1417. It is necessary to state these changes with precision, in order to understand clearly what the new constitution took the place of.

Charter of Henry IV. City made a county. Four bailiffs replaced by a mayor and two sheriffs.

1. In 1403, the city obtained a charter, by which it was completely separated from the County of Norfolk and made a county of itself, and its municipal organization was settled thus :—

(a) The headship was to be vested in a mayor and two sheriffs. These were to take the place of the four bailiffs, who had previously held the headship of the community. Stated more precisely, while the mayor took the place of the bailiffs as chief magistrate of the city, he also added to this a new authority, which they had not possessed. He was the king's

The mayor the king's escheator.

The sheriffs instead of the bailiffs.

escheator. This was the chief difference between him and the bailiffs, and the chief aspect which his office assumed from the king's point of view. Accordingly, he is not looked upon as taking the place of the bailiffs, but as holding a new office. The office of the bailiffs, who (to the king) were simply the stewards of the king as lord of the city, was now transferred to two sheriffs, who acted as the king's officers, and who were the persons responsible to the king for the future, as the bailiffs had been before, for the payment of the fee-farm rent of the city. In strict accordance with this view we find that the first mayor was elected on May 1st, 1403, soon after the receipt of the charter; but the bailiffs finished out their year of office till Michaelmas, when two of them were chosen to be the first sheriffs.

(b) Besides the mayor and two sheriffs the municipal body is only described generally in this charter as *the citizens and commonalty*, and the same expression is used of their predecessors. The new rulers have confirmed to them the same authority which "*the bailiffs, citizens and commonalty*, their predecessors, had, used, and enjoyed," before this alteration.

Ordinance of assembly in 1404.

2. In the following year an important ordinance was made by the assembly, with respect to the election of the two sheriffs. Eighty persons were to be elected yearly, who should be at all common assemblies by themselves. They were to nominate three persons for the office of sheriff, and present the names to the mayor and "*probi homines,*"

meaning, as will appear presently, twenty-four elected citizens, a body already in existence, and then the mayor was to name one sheriff, and the "probi homines" the other. These eighty appear to be the first form of the future common council; and we may here observe for the first time in our investigation a divergence of sympathy between two portions of the municipal body, what we may call the oligarchical and the popular elements.

Composition made between two parties in 1415.

3. This arrangement lasted only a few years, and led to disputes, which were the subject of a Composition on February 14th, 1415. In this Composition the constituent portions of the municipal body are called by new names. The "probi homines" are called "the twenty-four" or "the twenty-four concitizens" or "the twenty-four of the mayor's council." The eighty now become sixty, and are called "the common council" or "the commons." They are to be elected from the four great divisions of the city, which now for the first time are called "wards," having previously been called "leets." The electors of the great wards are to choose a certain number for each of the sub-divisions of their own great ward.

Imitation of London.

Throughout this Composition it is observable that constant reference is made to the constitution and practice of the City of London. The twenty-four "shall stand in Norwich as they do in London." The mayor shall have the same authority to challenge or restrain one of the twenty-four "as the meyr of London hath." The common council shall have the same power "as the common council of London."

Charter of Henry V.

4. This Composition did not settle the disputes between the mayor, sheriffs, and twenty-four on the one hand, and the commons on the other. The settlement was finally made by a new charter of 5th Henry V. (1417). The chief point of the settlement had reference to the election of the sheriffs, which had been the main subject in dispute. For the future, one sheriff was to be chosen by the mayor and twenty-four; the other by the commons. An important change however is made with regard to the twenty-four. For the first time they are now called "aldermen"; and they are to hold office *for life*.

Twenty-four aldermen.

The electors are described as "omnes cives habitantes et hospicia sua per se tenentes," all citizens who are resident and have separate households.

Various ordinances were made about the same time for the processions of the trade companies, and especially of the Guild of St. George, and the new municipal building which was now erected was called "the guildhall" instead of the "tolhouse," as the former one had been called.

The sum total of these various changes and their rationale seem to be as follows:—(a), the mayor was new both in office and in name; (b), the two sheriffs were new as to their name, but not as to their office. Instead, however, of representing the four divisions of the city as the four bailiffs had done, they represented two parts of the municipal body, which were not quite in sympathy with each other; (c), the twenty-four citizens elected to form a council for the mayor, were not new in respect to their office, but they now assumed a new name, that of "aldermen," and entirely ceased to be representative by holding their office for life; (d), the common council was a new body, and had a new title, except so far as it inherited the old appellation of the "commonalty."

Copied from London. It appears to me that the rationale of these changes is to be found in a desire not previously felt, to imitate the municipal constitution of London. I have pointed out how this is distinctly stated at one stage of the proceedings. It is still more apparent in the change of nomenclature, even when the substance remained the same. No other reason can be assigned for the introduction of the term "aldermen" for the twenty-four citizens. The word had been in use in the city to describe the warden of a trade guild, and one citizen had been called the "alderman of the city hanse." But it is quite plain that the aldermen of the assembly were not wardens of trade guilds. They were in theory intended to represent the leading citizens, the "probi homines" of older times. The name was simply copied from London.

The same explanation is to be given of the substitution of the term "wards" for the divisions of the city, in place of the earlier and more significant word "leets," and of

"guildhall" for "tolhouse." The new building had no more special connection with guilds than the old. The mayor of London held his court in a "guildhall." It was thought becoming to the dignity of the mayor of Norwich to do the same.

IV.—*The Older Constitution.*

It will now become my business to enter upon the more interesting subject of the older constitution which was thus replaced. We have already seen that in Henry IV.'s charter, by which it was altered, it was described as the "*bailiffs, citizens, and commonalty.*" and we have seen who the "citizens" were, the twenty-four assessors first of the bailiffs and then of the mayor, who became the "aldermen." Even at that time, however, the term "citizens" was usually omitted, and at a slightly earlier time the title exclusively used was the "*bailiffs and commonalty,*" "*ballivi et communitas.*" This was the earliest and simplest form of the municipal organization of Norwich, and it will be my endeavour to explain its origin and its character.

Three steps of development.

The propositions I hope to substantiate, or at least to give good reasons for, are these:—

(a) The external framework of the organization, viz., the four great divisions of the city, with which was connected the number of four bailiffs, and also the subdivisions of the four great divisions into twelve smaller ones, which ultimately became the twelve small wards of the city, arose out of the leet organization, governed by the requirements of the frankpledge system.

(b) The "*communitas*" originally meant the whole body of equal citizens. By degrees it came to be used for the community in its acting capacity and so for that portion which habitually acted on behalf of the rest.

(c) As a matter of public convenience this acting portion transferred its obligations, and in so doing transferred its power to a few, the elected twenty-four. The result was the formation of an oligarchical spirit, which led to an alienation of interest between one class and another, and manifested itself, as we have seen, in the more complicated but less healthy course of municipal development which we have already traced.

These three propositions can be conveniently treated

under the three heads of (a) the Bailiffs ; (b) the Commonalty ; (c) the Twenty four elected Citizens.

As the greater part of what I have to say is based upon unpublished documents, I may here mention three classes of documents, from which my opinions have been chiefly formed.

Three classes
of original
documents.

(1) The most important is a series of Leet Rolls, in the possession of the corporation of Norwich. They are seven in number, and their dates are, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 21st, 24th, and 28th Edward I. (from 1288-1299).

(2) The next is a series of chapters of "Laws and Customs anciently used in the city of Norwich." These are preserved in the "Book of Pleas," a bound volume of special interest in itself from certain peculiarities of its structure. It was written in the time of King Henry VI., or somewhat later, and contains a valuable collection of Charters and Pleas relating to the public affairs of the city, the latter beginning with the Iter of 34th Henry III. The customs I have referred to appear from internal evidence to have been reduced to "capitula" towards the middle of the fourteenth century. On the one hand, the mention of freedom from "murder fines" and "presentment of Englishry," both of which were abolished in 1340, would place them before that date; on the other hand, the "twenty-four citizens" mentioned in two of the later chapters can hardly refer to a much earlier period. They resemble in general those of London, published in the *Liber Albus* and *Liber Custumarum*, and those of Ipswich in the second volume of the *Black Book of the Admiralty*, both of which are referred to the thirteenth century. The Norwich customs have a special value for my present purpose in the language they use with respect to citizenship.

(3) The third set of documents are the Enrolments of Deeds of Conveyance in the City Court, which was a Court of Record and answered in substance (and occasionally in name) to the Husting Court of London. The enrolments begin in the year 1285, and between that date and 1300 there are more than 1000 enrolments, the greater number of which run parallel with the Leet Rolls of the same period. The two together throw much light on the condition of the city at that time.

IVa.—*The Bailiffs and the early Organization.*

The office of Bailiff. The *Bailiffs*. I will begin with the Bailiffs. The word in its common use implies subordination to a superior lord, and there is no reason to doubt that it does so in the case of a borough. At Norwich, at all events, the bailiffs were "ballivi domini regis," the representatives of the king's seignorial rights over the city. They were personally responsible to him for the payment of the fee farm rent. It is not, however, from this point of view that we have now to consider them, but as the chief magistrates of the city. They were the executive officers of a self-governing community. In this respect, their authority in the thirteenth century must have been very great, for till the following century there does not seem to have been any *definite* council to limit their action. Into the details of how this authority was exercised in the administration of laws and customs and privileges I cannot pretend to enter. The three sets of documents I have mentioned are full of interesting matter with respect to legal proceedings, but they require a legal training to appreciate their significance, and they do not belong to my subject, which is the development of municipal *organization*, not of rights and privileges.

I have stated that the expression "bailiffs and commonalty" describes the earliest form of municipal organization in this city. It might be more correct to say it is the earliest form in which we can recognize any organization. The office of *bailiff* was first instituted in Norwich in 7th Henry III. (1223). For thirty years previously, the headship of the city had been in the hands of a *provost* (*prepositus*), elected by the citizens from among their own number. This privilege was granted in 5th Richard I. (1194).

Date when self-government began. There is some little difficulty in deciding at what exact time the burgesses of Norwich acquired the right of self-government. The first charter in existence is undated, but about the 29th Henry II. (1182). It is couched in general terms, confirming the "customs, privileges, and acquittances" enjoyed in the time of his grandfather, Henry I. This has been held by Blomefield and others to imply that

Not in time of Henry I. Henry I. had previously granted a charter. Blomefield assigns a date for it, 1122; and specifies that from that time forward the city was governed by a *præpositus* chosen by the king, who accounted to him annually for "the fee-farm or annual profits." He admits that no such charter was known, but repeats on several subsequent occasions the same statement about the provost accounting for the fee-farm of the city. I cannot find that he refers to any reliable evidence, and if by "fee-farm," he means the consideration paid for the enjoyment of self-government, the statement is not in

The citizens say that the city was granted by Henry II. *Book of Pleas*, fol. 21.

accordance with the claim of the citizens themselves. In pleading against the commonalty of Yarmouth in 6th Edward III., after a wild assertion that Norwich was a "*villa mercatoria et civitas regni Anglie*" before Yarmouth was inhabited, they come to more definite history, and say "Afterwards, before the time of memory, a certain King of England, Henry son of the Empress [Henry II.], granted to the citizens the city with all liberties, &c., rendering therefor annually £108," which sum is immediately afterwards spoken of as the "*firma civitatis*."

The monks say by Richard I. Against this statement must be set another, originating with the monks of the cathedral priory. In the document (undated, but not earlier than Richard II.) called "*Historia Foundationis Ecclesie Cathedralis Norwicensis*," inserted in full by Dugdale and also in the city "*Book of Pleas*," (fol. 59) occurs this passage—"Afterwards, in the 17th year of the reign of Stephen, which was the year of the Lord 1152, the commonalty of Norwich made a fine and agreed, as it says, with the aforesaid king for having coroners and bailiffs of themselves; but concerning this they have no charter, nor did they produce one in time of need, because never before the Conquest nor after for one hundred years and more did they have coroners or bailiffs of themselves, but only one bailiff, who in the name of the king held courts and collected ameracements, as it was in Beccles or in Bongey or in other places where merchandize is sold. And afterwards, when Richard I. was reigning, the aforesaid Commonalty of Norwich took to farm, from the hand of the said King Richard I., the City of Norwich with its

franchises and all its profits, as both the king himself had to that time held them in his own hand, and as the Charter of the aforesaid King Richard testifies, the date of which is on the 6th day of May, in the 5th year of his reign, which was the year of the Lord 1194."

These two statements agree in assigning the commencement of municipal independence in Norwich to the close of the twelfth century, and only differ as to time by an interval of twelve years.

Probably in 5th Richard I. The balance of evidence seems in favour of the statement of the monks on this particular point, for Henry's charter makes no mention of any grant of the city at fee-farm, whereas Richard's does. The Pipe Roll of 6th Richard I. also states, "the Citizens of Norwich render account of two hundred marks for having confirmation of the liberties of their city by charter of the Lord King Richard, and for *having their city in their hand*, so that they should answer for the farm due at the exchequer."

"Præpositus" & "ballivus." By Richard's charter they were allowed to choose a præpositus from among themselves, subject to the king's approval, for their executive officer. This they continued to do till 1223, when Henry III. allowed them to substitute four bailiffs for the præpositus. What advance of self-government was denoted by this change there is no direct evidence to show. Possibly it may have meant a real extension of jurisdiction in this manner:—"Præpositus" or "reeve" was the ordinary name for the head man of a "villa" or township, and "ballivus" was certainly used, amongst other ways, for the presiding official in a hundred court. I find, for instance, in the History of the Foundation of the Cathedral just referred to, that the monks complain that when license was granted to the citizens in 37th Henry III. to enclose the city with a foss, among other unwarrantable encroachments they enclosed a place "where the bailiff of the Hundred of Taverham holds his courts until the present day." Possibly, therefore, the appointment of a "præpositus" marks the time when the free control of the *burgh* court and of "bailiffs" when that of the *hundred* court was granted to the citizens. I will explain this more fully when I speak of the leet jurisdiction with

which the bailiffs were associated, and which belonged to the business of the hundred court.

Why four bailiffs. For my present purpose the most interesting feature in the appointment of bailiffs is the number four; for it constitutes the first trace of what I have called the framework of the municipal organization, which continued unaltered till the passing of the Municipal Reform Act in 1835.

Connected with four great divisions called "leets." The earliest existing evidence as to the mode of election of bailiffs, is in an Assembly Roll of 39th Edward III. (1365). There was then one bailiff elected for each of the four great divisions of the city, which were still called "leets." But at the much earlier date of 1288, we find the courts of these leets presided over by the four bailiffs with an elaborate organization of sub-divisions subordinate to the four great divisions or leets. Although, therefore, the actual proof is not forthcoming, it seems impossible to doubt that from the very first the four bailiffs and the four leets were intimately connected with each other. I will endeavour to shew briefly what these leets were.

Meaning of the word "leet." The subject has recently had some valuable light thrown upon it by Professor Maitland of Cambridge, in the introduction to a volume edited by him this year for the Selden Society, and entitled *Select Pleas in Manorial Courts*. To begin with; a note on the etymology of the word "leet," has a bearing on its use in the case of these four divisions so called in Norwich. In that note the authority of Professor Skeat is quoted for the statement that "Leet" must be derived from the Anglo-Saxon lætan, to let or permit, referring to the jurisdiction permitted within a certain district. In some of the earliest instances, however, of its use quoted by Professor Maitland, its meaning seems to be rather that of the geographical district than of the jurisdiction exercised within it. A similar sense is found in one of the "chapters of Norwich customs." The serjeant of the bailiffs is directed to serve summonses to attend meetings on certain leading citizens of each leet, twelve, ten, or eight, "pro quantitate lete," according to the size of the leet. I mention this because the four original leets in Norwich were not mere

The four leets of Norwich.

arbitrary divisions made for convenience, but were topographically distinct portions of the city. In the earliest Leet Rolls they were, as they always remained either under the name of leets or wards; (1), Conesford; (2), Mancroft; (3), Wymer or Westwyk; (4), Over-the-Water. The first, third, and fourth of these constituted the "burgus" of the *Domesday Survey* (T. R. E.), and must even then have been distinguished from each other by their natural position. Conesford was cut off from Westwick by the Castle Hill and its enclosing earthworks, and both were separated by the river from the part on the northern side. The second, Mancroft, had a distinct origin. It was the "new burgh" added to the rest at the time of the Conquest. I do not mean to assert that before the establishment of leet organization, these divisions were definitely separated for administrative purposes. It may have been so. I should rather suggest that the organization was adapted to local circumstances, and was formed on the basis of four divisions, because there were four suitable natural divisions ready to hand.

The sub-
divisions of
the leets.

The origin of the *sub-divisions* of the four leets can be somewhat more clearly traced, especially by the light of Mr. Maitland's conclusions. Let me first briefly explain what these sub-divisions were:—The earliest existing Leet Roll is a roll of presentments of 16th Edward I. (Lent, 1288.) It begins with the "Leet of Cunesford," in which the presentments are made by three sets of capital pledges, the third being specified as for "Berstrete." Then follows the "Leet of Mancroft." The presentments are here made by only two sets of capital pledges, one for the parish of St. Stephen, the other for St. Peter de Mancroft. It is to be noted, however, that whereas in other cases the number of capital pledges is twelve, or one or two more, in Mancroft twenty-three are sworn, so that it may be taken as counting for a double sub-division. The name of the Leet of Westwick is omitted in this roll, no doubt by inadvertence. The presentments in it are divided amongst four sets of capital pledges, representing certain groups of parishes from St. Giles on the west to St. Martin before the Gate of the Bishop on the east. The Leet over the Water is divided between two sets of capital pledges,

one set answering for four parishes, the other for ten. In the third of these rolls, which only contains the presentments for the Leet of Conesford, two of the three subdivisions of that leet are given more precisely. The first set of sworn presentors answers for six parishes, occupying the southern half of Conesford Street; the second for four parishes at the northern end of the street as far as Tomblaud. Berstrete and the rest of the city are missing.

Twelve the
final number. The number of sub-divisions thus specified is eleven, but if we count Mancroft with its double number of presentors for two, we have twelve, which became the permanent number. The only alteration subsequently made was by a slight re-arrangement. In the time of Richard II., according to a list in the *City Domesday* of tenements chargeable with the payment of landgable, St. Giles had been transferred to the Mancroft leet; and ultimately when the four leets became the "four great wards" of the revised municipality, each great ward was sub-divided into three smaller ones. To effect this the divisions of the ward of Westwick or Wymer were reduced from four to three, and those of the Ward over the Water were increased from two to three. These re-arrangements were doubtless arbitrary and done for the sake of symmetry, the whole municipal organization of aldermen and common councillors being based upon them, as we have seen. But the original sub-divisions were not arbitrarily made, but arose out of the requirements of the system of frankpledge.

The Leet organization of Norwich in the thirteenth century seems fully to confirm Professor Maitland's conclusions, and those conclusions help to explain our municipal development. His conclusions are these. He points out that the term "court leet" is of comparatively late use. Originally, to claim a *leet* was equivalent to claiming *view of frankpledge*. Now, by the laws of Henry I., the sheriff was bound to hold a full hundred court to see that all were in frankpledge, *i.e.*, that all males of twelve years old and upwards (with certain permitted exceptions) were enrolled in tithings or associations of ten or twelve for mutual pledge or responsibility. Either the reeve and four men of the township, or in other cases the capital

Mixture of
"view of
frankpledge"
and criminal
presentments.

pledges, *i.e.*, the chief men of the tithings, were bound to appear at the hundred court to answer to this enquiry. At a later time King Henry II., by the Assize of Clarendon in 1166, ordained that in every county and every hundred either the justices or the sheriffs should make enquiry by twelve lawful men of the hundred and four of every township concerning robbers and other offenders. Somewhat later the more serious offences, as homicide, were reserved for the judgment of the crown, but the presentments before the sheriff were allowed to include encroachments, nuisances, and such offences. Mr. Maitland's theory is that to this Assize is to be referred the origin of the "sheriff's tourn," where such offences were tried, and that the two jurisdictions of the sheriff thus became mingled together. The capital pledges, or four men of the township, who came to certify to the carrying out of the law of frankpledge were utilized as the most suitable persons to make the presentments of offences required by the Assize of Clarendon. He thinks, further, that the lords of private jurisdictions who claimed to hold the view of frankpledge proceeded to imitate the practice of the sheriff, and receive from the capital pledges of their tithings presentments of offences similar to those presented to the sheriff at his tourn. It was to these private courts that the term "leet" came to be applied, and it is interesting in this city to observe that he states that the word apparently had its origin in East Anglia, and in the thirteenth century was scarcely used elsewhere.

Two courts in
Norwich.
The city court.

This theory accounts very well for the institution of bailiffs in Norwich in the early part of the thirteenth century. There were towards its close, and no doubt long had been, two courts in Norwich. There was the city court called "curia theolonii" because it was held in the tolhouse or tolbooth. This was, I suppose, the "husting" mentioned in the charter of Richard I. This court may have been presided over in the twelfth century, as the monks affirmed, by the one bailiff who in the name of the king held courts and collected ameracements. I have suggested that under the charter of Richard I. the control and profits of this court were granted to the citizens under a provost of their own election.

The Sheriff's or county court. The other court was the sheriff's court, or county court, called "curia comitatus," and situated inside the enclosure of the castle. Here the sheriff would summon the hundred court for the view of frankpledge, and here afterwards he would hold his tourn, and the presentments ordered by the Assize of Clarendon would be made.

Possibly at appointment of bailiffs the leet jurisdiction of the hundred court was transferred from sheriff's court to city or bailiffs' court. I would suggest then that the appointment of bailiffs meant this—that the hundred court business, the view of frankpledge and the presentments, was now placed under the control of the citizens and transferred to their own court. The four bailiffs took the place of the sheriff of the county, as the two sheriffs afterwards took the place of the four bailiffs. The citizens were allowed to hold their own leet, try their own offenders under their own officials, and place the amercements in their own common chest towards paying the king's fee-farm rent. I should conclude that the division of the city into four leets took place at that time. I should rest this conclusion on the fact that there were four bailiffs, and as I have pointed out there were four natural divisions of the city. It must be observed however, that though the business not only of each leet but of each sub-division of a leet was conducted on different days, the four bailiffs unitedly presided over the whole.

A sub-division included twelve tithings. The sub-divisions are accounted for by the mixture of criminal jurisdiction with the law of frankpledge. The presentments were made by the capital pledges of the tithings. But the law of the land as interpreted by the Itinerant Justices required that there should in every case be not less than twelve presentors. If a lord could not produce twelve capital pledges, his claim to hold a "leet" was disallowed. Hence, when the four city leets were subdivided to bring the business within manageable limits, it was necessary to group together at least as many parishes as would contain twelve tithings, and could therefore produce twelve capital pledges.

The sub-division of the leets was therefore to some extent dependent originally on the density of the population in different parts of the city. It must not be supposed,

however, that the population was just sufficient to produce twelve sets of capital pledges, representing 144 tithings. At the Leet of 1288 the total number of capital pledges making presentments was 150 besides 12 others who were apparently present though not sworn. Nor did the tithings contain just 10 or 12 persons. There is in existence a roll (Leet Roll No. 9) containing the names of all persons enrolled in tithings in the Leet of Mancroft about the year 1307. The tithings are there of most unequal size, some of them very large. Probably from the first the number of separate courts of presentment was intentionally limited to twelve, each of which fulfilled the condition of including at least twelve tithings. As I have observed, the unit of association was the parish. Adjoining parishes were grouped together in larger or smaller numbers, according to the number of tithings they contained.

IVb.—*The Commonalty and Citizenship.*

The "com-
munitas." *The Communitas.* Having thus endeavoured to throw some light on the origin of the earliest executive officers of the community, and the framework of the system they were elected to administer, I have next to see what traces can be found of the origin and early history of the *communitas*, in whose name they were supposed to act. The question of the original significance of the expression is rendered the more difficult, at least here in Norwich (and I think the same is true elsewhere), because by the time it appears in existing documents it already has two different meanings. Sometimes it is used in what, no doubt, must have been its original sense of "the common body of citizens," between whom no distinctions are as yet recognised. But side by side with this general meaning is plainly a more restricted one, according to which it means that particular portion of the body which *at the time* was acting for the rest. There is not indeed, as yet, the deliberate election of a small number to represent the rest, which did not take place in Norwich till towards the middle of the fourteenth century. By that time a decided distinction between two classes of citizens, the higher and the lower, had developed itself and thenceforward took a permanent form, and the expression "communitas," which in its first change was restricted to the higher class became finally attached to the lower.

Its broader
meaning,
"communitas
civium."

If we look at one or two of the earliest occurrences of the word, we shall see how the meaning was in its first stage of transition. In a deed of conveyance, for instance, of 13th Edward I., a piece of land in St. Peter Mancroft was granted by John Page to John de Ronhale. It abutted on the well-known stream called "the Cokeye," and leave was granted to John the grantee to build over the Cockey, preserving its due course, according to the tenor of a deed which John the grantor held "ex communitate civium Norwici." Here the "communitas civium" would naturally mean "the general body of the citizens." The same must be the meaning when the "communitas" is said to have a seal. In November, 1285, letters patent of a person acting in Norwich as attorney for one at Leicester are sealed "sigillo communitatis Norwici" in witness of his seal. In June, 1286, an agreement between "the bailiffs and other citizens" of Norwich and some foreign woad merchants is sealed "sigillo communitatis Norwici." In the same roll of deeds is a specially interesting memorandum of 9th March, 1290, recording how Roger de Tudenham delivered "to the communitas" all the charters and other valuable public documents then preserved among the city archives (all specified by name). And the same day he delivered to the communitas "sigillum suum sue communitatis" their seal of their commonalty. And all these above written were by the assent of the "communitas" delivered to James Nade and three others. In all these cases "communitas" can mean nothing short of the whole body of citizens. There was no limited portion of them which could possibly be said to have a seal.

Its narrower
meaning,
"communitas
civitatis."

But, when we turn to another early entry we find this meaning must be modified. In the Assize Roll of 14th Edward I. is an account of a certain Walter Eghe, who had been hung, but, on being taken to be buried, was found alive. He is stated to have been indicted at the leet of the city, and afterwards charged with theft—"coram Ballivis et tota communitate totius civitatis in Tolboth." It appears, by the 4th chapter of Customs, that thieves caught with stolen goods were to be judged "in Curia Civitatis coram

Coronatoribus et Ballivis." This agrees with the above description, "tota communitate totius civitatis," which would mean that, whereas at the leets the business of the city was sub-divided into eleven sections, the persons who were ordered to be arrested were brought before a court of the whole city. But plainly, in this case, the "tota communitas" can only mean those persons who either chose to come or were specially summoned. The "tolbooth" or "tolhouse" was a small building which preceded the present guildhall, and no great number of citizens could have been present in it at one time. It will be noticed that the expression is not "communitas civium," but "communitas civitatis."

Gradual evolution of a governing body.

Beyond, however, the evidence of merely isolated expressions, there are, I believe, in the three classes of documents I have alluded to (the chapters of Ancient Customs, the Leet Rolls, and the Rolls of Deeds), valuable traces to be found of the way in which a distinct governing body, in addition to the executive officers, evolved itself by a natural process from the general body of citizens, and finally became entirely separate from them.

The "probi homines" marked off naturally.

In the first place there was the natural tendency to leave the administration of affairs in the hands of the few who were able and willing to bear the burden. Moreover, as self-government embraced a more extended sphere of action it involved more pecuniary responsibility to the Crown. The more substantial merchants and citizens therefore naturally formed the administrative class. They were the "probi homines," so often mentioned in early documents; the men whose integrity and financial credit marked them as best fitted to lead their fellow-citizens, and to be dealt with by the king or merchants of other communities. The distinction thus naturally created was emphasized by the Law of Frankpledge. That law was not imposed upon every one. Its object was to retain a hold on an offender. In the case of clerks (perhaps only those in ecclesiastical orders) this responsibility was transferred to their ecclesiastical superiors. There was also another privileged class of persons of indefinite character, whom Bracton and other authorities call

Still further, by law of frankpledge.

"magnates." The theory was that these persons were so publicly known that there was no occasion for others to answer for them. There are traces of such a class in Norwich in the thirteenth century, though it is difficult to furnish any very definite proof of their existence. Some such trace may be found in the early Leet Rolls which seem to disclose the presence in Court of persons who were independent of and apparently superior to the capital pledges. It may, indeed, be shewn by a comparison with the contemporary Conveyance Rolls that as a rule the capital pledges did not belong to the highest class. With some exceptions they were not among those who held the office of bailiff, or possessed a large amount of property in the city. The way in which the names of several leading citizens occur in the leet rolls is curious and suggestive. Frequently, when a person is amerced for some offence, a marginal note says "condonatur ad instantiam A. B. or C. D.," the names of the persons who exercised this privilege being those of the best known substantial citizens. They were not of equal authority with the bailiffs, for when the bailiffs pardoned anyone the entry is "condonatur per ballivos." But they appear to occupy a position between the bailiffs and the sworn presentors.

Glimpse of
the process
at work.

The process of the natural selection of the few to do the work belonging to the whole is actually illustrated for us in the 45th chapter of customs. A complaint is made that when occasion arose to hold an assembly for the common good of the city and the country, the "concives civitatis," although summoned, did not take the trouble (*non curant*) to come, to the great hindrance of public business. It was therefore ordained that for calling together the commonalty (*convocando communitatem*) the sworn serjeant of the bailiffs should serve summonses for particular days on "*melioribus et discretioribus*" of each leet. The serjeant of the leet was to come with a panel prepared, and read out the names of those summoned to appear for that day. Absentees were to be cited to appear "*coram ballivis et aliis bonis viris de civitate ad hoc intendentibus*" to purge their default. If they had no sufficient excuse to offer,

they were to be fined two shillings, one to go to the bailiffs, "pro eorum labore," and the other to the "communitas." From this system of special summonses to the annual election of a few representatives from each leet was only a reasonable process of development.

Growth of changes of feeling with regard to citizenship.

Meanwhile, another influence had been gradually working in the same direction. There had grown up a change of idea with regard to citizenship. This is apparent by a comparison of the language used in the three sets of records I am now quoting from.

A citizen in the Leet Rolls a privileged trader.

Although in this respect the Leet Rolls represent the intermediate stage between the other two, I will take them first, for they require little explanation. In the Leet Rolls the "civis" or "concivis" is a privileged trader. A man is presented and fined, "quia emit et vendit tanquam concivis nec est de libertate nec unquam fecit introitum," because he buys and sells as a fellow-citizen, and is not of the freedom, and has never made his entrance, *i.e.*, has never paid his admission fee. The "freedom" here is freedom to make money by trading, to the exclusion of others who are not members of the privileged community. This is the ordinary notion of citizenship, which expressed itself afterwards in the technical term "freeman."

In the "customs" an enfranchised equal.

If now we turn to the chapters of Customs we find some most valuable traces of an earlier stage of thought and feeling. In those customs, besides the words "civis" and "concivis," a citizen is frequently called a "par civitatis." In chapter xxvii. a "par civitatis" is distinguished from a "forinsecus." In chapter xxxix. it is ordered that a servant should not be allowed to trade as partner with his master, until he has made his entrance solemnly and become a "par civitatis." The word occurs in several other chapters, but by far the most important is chapter xxxvi., the title of which is "De Introitibus ad Parem Civitatis," where the word "par" seems to be used for "equality" and to answer to the "libertas" of the Leet Rolls. No one, it says, who has become a resident in the city, is to merchandize in it

unless he is at lot and scot of the city, and contributes to its common aids. And, forasmuch as all who are received "in parem civitatis" are *free, and not the servants of any one*, "non servi alicujus," they are to make their entrance in solemn form in the presence of those who are assigned for that purpose by the whole "communitas," twelve of whom must be present or the admission will not be valid. Inquisition on oath is to be made with respect to the candidate's property. If he has not been an apprentice he is to pay at least twenty shillings; if an apprentice, one mark, and produce a testimonial from his master and his neighbours. The new citizen "ille novus par civitatis" shall give security that he will within a year of his reception "in parem," provide himself with a fixed dwelling-place for himself and his household, if he has not got one already; otherwise, when the year is complete, he is to be reckoned as an "extraneus" as he was before.

The view of citizenship here expressed has something of the same spirit of exclusiveness which appears in the Leet Rolls, but it is not the prominent feature. A citizen is one who takes his common share in the common burdens of freedom. And the "freedom" is distinctly defined as freedom from feudal servitude. This must certainly be the meaning of "liber et non servus alicujus." We may observe in passing, that here is apparent the origin of the qualification of municipal electors given in Henry V.'s charter, "omnes cives habitantes et hospicia per se tenentes." To have a house did not give a man a claim to citizenship, but every citizen was required to have a house as a security that the "communitas" could distrain upon him in case of default.

With respect to the use of this expression "par civitatis," it must, of course, have been of Norman introduction, but I have no doubt it is to be assigned to a date antecedent to that of our existing documents, *i.e.*, to the very earliest times of self-government. It was certainly not in common use at the close of the thirteenth century or later. It is found two or three times in the Ipswich Domesday (*Black Book of the Admiralty*, vol. ii.; Introduction xxiii. and p. 136 n.), and Sir Travers Twiss, the editor, remarks on its use in that town as equivalent to citizen. Its translation in other cases as "peer" has led to the supposition

that it meant a "magnate" of the city, but its use in Norwich as the equivalent of "civis" is even more unquestionable than at Ipswich. It is possible it may have been used in some form of admission to the freedom of the city, and so have lingered on long after it was disused elsewhere. So late as 19th Edward III. it was found by an inquisition that Richard Baa and Henry Stok were "cives et pares," civitatis Norwici through their parents who had been admitted long before (*Old Free Book*, fol. xii).

Thus in the Chapters of Customs and the Leet Rolls we may trace the citizen exchanging his first simple sense of freedom from the burden of feudal service for the trade exclusiveness, which not only then but long afterwards was reckoned the only safe road to prosperity.

In the enrolments of Deeds, there is still another stage of development to be traced. If I am not mistaken the term "civis" is beginning to be exclusively applied to a limited oligarchy, from which the rulers of the city are taken, or, to reverse the proposition, the limited body of substantial citizens into whose hands the public business naturally drifted, are seen falling into the position of an oligarchy and appropriating to themselves exclusively the title of "civis." The evidence for this statement is as follows:—In these enrolments the entries mostly run thus—"Be it observed that on such a day, A. B., merchant, draper, tanner, fishmonger, baker, &c., (as the case might be,) came into the full court of Norwich, and acknowledged that he had granted to C. D. (similarly described as of some trade) a piece of land, or house, or shop, &c." Now, as we have seen in the Customs that none but citizens were allowed to trade, and in the Leet Rolls that persons were fined for trading without being citizens, it seems necessarily to follow that all these traders who passed or received various pieces of property must, according to the language of those documents, have been "citizens." But in the Conveyance Rolls we find the title "Civis Norwici" used in a peculiar manner. Sometimes, both the grantor and grantee will be so described in addition to their occupation, as "merchant, citizen of Norwich," or "tanner, citizen of Norwich," and

In the enrolments a member of the ruling class.

so on. Sometimes one has the addition and the other not ; sometimes neither has it. Moreover, on further investigation, it appears that there are certain persons constantly occurring, who are scarcely ever mentioned without this addition. Again, in a considerable number of cases "citizen of Norwich" stands alone, certain persons being habitually so described without any trade or occupation being given.

After consulting any large number of deeds, an impression is left on the mind that the title is intended to mark some distinction between those to whom it is given and others. This is confirmed by a systematic examination of the cases in which the title is used. An index of several hundred names, occurring in about 900 enrolled deeds between 1285 and 1298, gives the following results on this point. Rather more than 150 persons have this title—"citizen of Norwich"—attached to their names: of these, about one-third are not otherwise described. Of the remainder, numbering about one hundred, no less than thirty-two are described as "merchants," and twenty-four as drapers and lyndrapers. Possibly some of these latter may be included among the "merchants." It is not quite clear what is meant by a "merchant." Probably they were the persons who travelled about to the various fairs, which were the great centres of exchange, and who would naturally be the wealthiest traders in the city. The rest of those called "citizens of Norwich" are distributed among a great variety of occupations, but very few among the lower and unskilled handicrafts. From another point of view a still more suggestive result is obtained. Of forty-nine "merchants," at least thirty-two are described as "citizens of Norwich"; thirteen out of nineteen "lyndrapers"; eleven out of fourteen "drapers." On the other hand, out of fourteen "fabers" not one is so described; out of twenty-eight "pistors" or bakers, only five; out of thirteen butchers, four. Once more: during this period twenty-seven persons held the office of bailiff, and of these, seventeen are found among the number of those described as "citizens."

I think these facts are sufficient to warrant the conclusion that in these Conveyance Rolls a political idea of citizenship as specially belonging to the ruling class is expressed.

In one instance the word seems to be thus applied to the class. In an enrolled deed of 19th Edward I. (1290) license to build a stall is granted by the "Communitas Norwici et Cives ejusdem Civitatis." The explanation of the difference on this point between them and the contemporary Leet Rolls is that the leet was the popular court, and used the popular language; while the enrolments, which were in the hands of the sworn clerk of the bailiffs, were expressed according to the sentiments of that upper social stratum which had appropriated to itself the name of citizen.

IVc.—How the "Commonalty" became "Citizens and Commonalty."

The twenty-four representative citizens.

The *twenty-four citizens*. The social and political development already traced resulted in the course of the fourteenth century in the definite establishment of a small representative body, representing nominally the whole of the citizens, but practically only the upper class. By this further development the term "communitas," which had originally meant the whole body of citizens, and then had come to be restricted—though only informally and in the expression of official acts—to that portion which habitually acted for the rest, assumed a new phase. It became parted into two. Instead of "communitas" it became "cives et communitas." And with this new expression the same process took place as before. For a time it is merely informal, the "cives" being the class from whose ranks the administrators are habitually drawn, the "communitas" the rest of the community of citizens. But as a permanent representative body becomes a definitely realized institution in the city, the term "cives" becomes restricted to the twenty-four elected citizens, who at a not much later period become an entirely distinct estate of the municipality, the court of twenty-four aldermen.

Meanwhile the "communitas," thus cut off from its leading members, rapidly passes through a similar process itself. It evolves out of its own body a second set of representatives, the common council, apparently a some-

what sudden introduction into the city of the practice of London. This second set of representatives, like the first, was officially denoted by the name of the body it represented, the "communitas"; and the official title of the revised municipal organization became "mayor, sheriffs, citizens, and commonalty."

Their probable date of origin.

At what precise time twenty-four citizens were first annually elected to form a council of assessors to the bailiffs by way of representation of the "Communitas" is not easy to determine. Blomefield gives a definite statement on this subject. He says:—"In 1368, at an assembly held in Whitsun-week, it was ordained, by universal consent of the city, that the bailiffs should be yearly chosen at Michaelmas by the borough, or the commons of the city, who shall also then choose twenty-four out of themselves as common council to represent themselves in all assemblies . . . and no common seal shall be set to anything without the twenty-four consenting and the chief of the commons." Unfortunately, the book from which he quotes is the *Customs Book*, and no such book is now in the possession of the corporation. The statement reads like an authoritative one, but it is necessary to reconcile it with other evidence. At the commencement of the *Old Free Book*, fol. 5, at Michaelmas, 18th Edward III. (1344), after the names of the four bailiffs come the "names of the twenty-four in the same year elected and ordained by the whole communitas, in the presence of whom, or of the greater part of them if all cannot be present, the business of the city touching the communitas "deducerentur in actis." I think this last expression means "might be enrolled," for in the first Conveyance Roll each deed is said to be "inactitata," for which is afterwards substituted "irrotulata," enrolled. These twenty-four are made up of six from each leet of the city, Conesford, Mancroft, Wymer, and Ultra Aquam. In the following year (fol. 12) the twenty-four are said to be elected "de civitate Norwici, pro communitate et negotiis eiusdem ordinandis et custodiendis per idem tempus." These entries certainly seem to refer to a representative body elected for a whole year.

This would agree with references to the "twenty-four" in two of the chapters of *Customs*. In chapter xlv. it is ordained that for the prevention of fraud in trades there

should be chosen from each trade two, three, or four supervisors, according to the importance of the trade. These supervisors are to be chosen "per ballivos et viginti quatuor de civitate communiter electos," and they are sworn to make a visitation of each trade four times a year, and report every case of fraud to the twenty-four. If the supervisors failed in their duty it was the business of the twenty-four to depose them as consentients to the fraud. I may remark that this sitting to receive reports of fraud is exactly what the court of twenty four aldermen were doing in 1492, as recorded in a book rather miscalled the *First Book of Worstead Weavers*; and I suspect that this was one of the ways in which the "twenty-four," at first naturally and afterwards intentionally, absorbed by degrees the judicial authority of the earlier and popular "Leet" Courts. The following chapter (xlvii.) relates to the just assessment and collection of tallages and other costs as between rich and poor, and orders that the collectors and receivers and the chamberlain of the city should render an account annually on the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary and at other times if thought requisite "in the presence of the twenty-four, or the greater part of them who should be in the city." Here again we have the "twenty-four" as an organized body, and perhaps at even an earlier date than the entries in the *Old Free Book*.

On the other hand there is also evidence which seems to point to a later origin. The earliest "Assembly Roll" is of 39th Edward III. (1365) and there are several others of a few years later. They contain minutes of proceedings at Assemblies. Most of the meetings are called "Communis Congregatio," but that held in September for the election of bailiffs is called "Magna Congregatio." Instead of the commons electing the bailiffs, and then also choosing twenty-four to represent themselves in all assemblies, as in the statement quoted by Blomefield, all these early Assembly Rolls agree in recording the first business of this great assembly as being the election by the "communitas" of twenty-four persons (six from each leet) for the special purpose of choosing bailiffs. The six of each leet appear to have chosen a bailiff for their own leet. The names of the twenty-four are always given, but there is no record of their acting for any other pur-

pose. In 2nd Richard II. (1378) the citizens of Norwich petitioned parliament, that, by reason of "many defaults and mischief," and because "of late many of the commonalty had been very contrarious," they might have a charter, granting to the bailiffs and twenty-four citizens to be elected yearly by the commonalty "power to make or amend ordinances for the common profit of the people." A charter to that effect was granted the same year.

First appointed towards the middle of the fourteenth century. The conclusion I should arrive at from all this evidence is that the annual election of a representative body of twenty-four citizens came into existence by an informal practice of the city before the middle of the fourteenth century; that in 1368, as quoted by Blomefield, it was more formally recognised as an established institution, and finally on the accession of Richard II. it was confirmed by royal charter, the confirmation evidently at that time being sought for by the "Cives" or upper class of citizens, as against the "Communitas" or lower class.

From that time the style of the municipal body became "Ballivi, Cives, et Communitas," by which style it is described as we have seen in the charter of Henry IV. in 1403, the "cives" being the twenty-four and the "communitas" the whole body of citizens, who retained rights of election and probably of presence at some of the assemblies, though they had little or no power of government. That this is the right interpretation of "cives" in this expression as used in the Charter I take to be proved by the consideration that, however much the upper class might have appropriated to themselves the name of "citizen," and however true it may be that the "twenty-four" practically represented only the substantial citizens or "probi homines," such a distinction between one class of citizens and another was unknown to the royal authority which granted charters. In the official language of a charter the "cives" represented the "communitas," and the only distinction the royal authority or parliament would recognize was that "twenty-four citizens" were set apart from the rest and added to the bailiffs as a part of the executive. The "ballivi et cives" theoretically administered the affairs of the city in the name of the "communitas."

Subsequent
development
already
described.

How the "twenty-four" became under the charters of Henry IV. and V. the "twenty-four of the mayor's council" and then the "twenty-four aldermen"; and how the "communitas" obtained a more direct share in the government of the city by the annual election of sixty common councillors, I have already related in speaking of the revision which the municipal constitution underwent at the commencement of the fifteenth century, when it assumed substantially the same form which it held until the Reform Act, and I have thus completed the line of my historical investigation.

V.—*Was the development influenced by a Merchant-Guild?
or by Craft-Guilds?*

No Merchant
Guild in
Norwich.

Such an investigation would, however, be incomplete without some inquiry into an important question,—Was the early municipal development of the City of Norwich influenced by any mercantile guild organization, such as existed in some other places, and which some writers have thought to be the foundation of all municipal organization? If by a Merchant Guild is meant an organization of traders for the control of trade, independent of what is more strictly called municipal organization for the management of the general business of a community, the answer must be,—it was not. What may have been the case before municipal self-government and written records begin, we do not know. No doubt many of the "liberties and privileges" confirmed by Henry II had reference to trade and commerce and imply some internal organization. But so far back as recorded evidence goes, there is no trace of any divided jurisdiction. All the evidence points in the other direction. From first to last the whole control of trade in all its details has in Norwich been in the hands of the civic rulers of the city, the executive of the municipal constitution whose history I have endeavoured to trace.

Trade under the control of the city authorities.

Some of the evidence bearing on this point has already come before us. We have seen how, in the fourteenth century, the supervision of each trade was placed in the hands of certain persons chosen by the bailiffs and twenty-four elected citizens, to whom all cases of fraudulent work were to be reported. In the thirteenth century violations of trade regulations were among the presentments made at the leets, at which courts the bailiffs acted as the presidents, and the amercements were made by "affecters" chosen by the capital pledges. Perhaps the most important piece of evidence is a document entered in the *City Domesday*, fol. 77. It is a commission, in the name of the bailiffs and citizens of Norwich, dated 13th Edward I. (1285), appointing Adam de Toftes Alderman of the Hanse. It recites that, among the liberties and customs granted to the ancestors of the Citizens of Norwich and confirmed to them by the king then reigning was one which had been in use for a long time, viz., "that the Citizens of Norwich should elect one of themselves Alderman of their Hanse, to execute that office in the fairs of St. Botolph, Lenn, and Jernemuth and in other divers fairs and markets established in divers places." The former Alderman Symon called Palmer having become incapacitated, they have removed him, "et dilectum concivem nostrum Adam de Toftes Aldermannum hansie predicte fecimus et loco nostro constituimus." They therefore pray those whom it concerns that when the said Adam should come into their parts to execute his office they would receive him favourably. To this writing they set their common seal. The importance of this document consists in the fact that, so far as I know, it is the only one till far down into the fourteenth century in which any word implying the existence of a merchant guild is used, and it here has reference solely to dealings with other communities in fairs and markets. In the second volume of the Selden Society's publications, already referred to, are some pleas held at the Fair of St. Ives, which may illustrate the exercise of Adam's office. In the Introduction, p. 134, Professor Maitland points out how it was the custom to make all the members of the same *comunitas* liable for the debts of anyone. A case in point

So also the "Hanse."

actually occurred there in reference to some Norwich traders. In May, 1275, Robert de Dunwich, Burgess of Norwich, was sued for debt, and it was ordered that he should be attached if he be found, and if not, that the whole "communitas" of Norwich should be distrained. Thereupon, goods were distrained belonging to Walter le Troner, Reginald de Wreningham, and Katerine de Norweye. At a later court Walter and Reginald were sued as "pares et participes et communares (*sic*)," *i.e.*, members of the same communitas with Robert, and it comes out that the debt had been incurred at Boston in 1273, and that the aggrieved creditor had already endeavoured in vain to get his money both at Boston and at Norwich. I suppose the office of Alderman of the Hanse at fairs was to protect the interest of his fellow-citizens and to deal and be dealt with as their recognized leader. The word "hanse" would seem to mean the "communitas" in its foreign mercantile dealings. In any case, its control clearly rested in the hands not of the merchants but of the municipal authorities. The same conclusion is to be drawn from one other mention of the "hanse." It is of much later date—42nd Edward III. (1369)—in an early Assembly Roll. At a congregation held in the Tolhouse on the feast of St. Matthew it was discussed "that the bailiffs should follow out the business touching the hanse ('le hans') at the cost of the communitas." The subsequent connection of the Guild of St. George with the corporation has no bearing upon this question, for it was a religious and not a mercantile guild.

Early craft
guilds pro-
hibited.

Though there was certainly no merchants' guild, there were craft guilds at an early period, and they may eventually have led to the mediæval idea of a "freeman," *viz.*, one whose admission to the freedom of the city is obtained through admission to a certain trade. The early history of these craft guilds, however, only further proves that the whole control of trade was in the hands of the civic authorities. They were, in fact, prohibited as contrary to the well-being of the city. This meant that they tended to deprive the city chest of some of its fees and dues. At the Leet of Wymer in 16th Edward I, the jurors "say that the tanners have a guild among themselves, so

that if any of the "confratres" forfeits to another he should complain to the alderman, by which the bailiffs, &c. (*i.e.*, amittunt customam)." Again at the Leet of Wymer and Westwyk, 19th Edward I. a large number of tanners are amerced, the first entry running thus:—"of Richard de Stalham, because he does fraudulently in his work in tanning his hides with bark of ash, and it is called stalsitelether, and because they have a guild hurtful to our lord the king in buying hides; and because they correct transgressions which ought to be pleaded before the bailiffs, one mark." Two years later, in the Leet of Conesford, the sutors (coblers) are fined twenty shillings, because "they have a guild contrary to the prohibition of our lord the king, so that they take of their apprentices two shillings, and of those who exercise their business by themselves, they give (*sic*) ten shillings to the aforesaid guild." The saddlers are also fined one mark, "because they likewise have a guild hurtful to our lord the king"; and the fullers, half a mark "for the same." The last

By Charter. entry on this leet roll is the amercement of forty tanners (two shillings each) for the same offence. The "prohibition of our lord the king" can only, I think, refer to a clause in a charter of 40th Henry III. (1256), which grants "that no guild shall for the future be held in the aforesaid city to the detriment of the said city." On this clause Merewether in his *English Boroughs*, p. 437, remarks "an irresistible proof that guilds [meaning merchant guilds] were separate from the citizens." The quotations from the leet rolls show that it was private guilds of separate trades which were prohibited as being to the damage of the common interests of the citizens.

Continued in spite of discouragement. In spite of this, however, these trade-guilds must have continued to exist, for in chapter xlvii. of *Ancient Customs* it is ordained that "tallages and costs should only be imposed by the more discreet of each trade practised in the city, specially elected by common consent and sworn, and not by others except in default of them." This implies some organization and later on, when the great changes took place in the time of Henry IV. and Henry V., we find them fully organized. Still they were never chartered like those of London, and their influence on the municipal constitution

And were the origin of "freemen." solely consists in their being, as I suppose, the origin of the class of "freemen" in its technical sense. I have already expressed an opinion that the earliest sense of the word "liber," as applied to the condition of a citizen, meant freedom from feudal servitude. A citizen, however, was never described as "liber" or "liber homo." At a later time, at the close of the thirteenth century and onwards, a citizen was described as being "de libertate," of the freedom,—the freedom referring to the trade privileges and to the freedom from restraints by which others were bound. There was as yet, however, no distinction of trades in this matter. There is nothing to shew that a man need have been a trader at all in order to be admitted into citizenship, even in the fourteenth century. The earliest lists of citizens beginning in the reign of Edward II. in the *Old Free Book* are not entered with trades. The order to do this is first mentioned in the Composition between the two dissentient portions of the community made in 1415, and seems to be part of the movement of the commons against the twenty-four citizens. It runs thus—"It is accorded . . . that all manner of men now citizens of the city shall be enrolled of what craft he be of, within a twelvemonth and a day, upon pain of forfeiture of his franchise, paying a penny for the entry: and that all manner of men that shall be enfranchised from this time forth shall be enrolled under a craft and by assent of a craft, that is for to say the masters of the same craft that he shall be enrolled of shall come to the chamber and witness that it is their will that he shall be made freeman of their craft, paying to the craft there that he shall be enrolled under *xld.*, and paying to the chamber at least *xxs.* and more after the quantity of his goods, as he may accorde with the chamberlain; and six men shall be chosen for to be of counsel with the chamberlains in receiving of burgesses." The earlier practice had been that half the admission fee should go to the bailiffs and half to the commonalty.

From 1415, every name of a newly admitted citizen is followed by a trade or craft. It was not however till the mayoralty of Thomas Aleyn in 1450, that the trades were separated and all of one trade entered together. It was

some time later than this before a citizen thus duly qualified and admitted was called a "freeman."

VI.—*Concluding Summary.*

I have thus endeavoured to trace with as much accuracy as possible, the municipal history of the City of Norwich in its earliest stages of development.

The story begins at just the time to which legal memory is said to extend. Before that period the burgesses of Norwich were no doubt in the enjoyment of those liberties and customs (whatever they were) which they possessed in the time of Henry I., and probably long before, and which were confirmed to them by Henry II., but they were after all only feudal servants of the king, who appointed their governors, took the profits of their court, and looked upon the city as a private possession of his own.

From Richard I., as I have shown reason to think, they received their first charter of independence. Their first step in self-government was to have the free control of their old borough court, under the presidency of a provost of their own choosing.

The next step was a still more important one, when Henry III. gave them bailiffs and with them, as I have suggested, the control of their Hundred Court independently of his sheriff, the two jurisdictions when combined together including nearly all social, commercial, and criminal affairs. This change was accompanied by the formation of those divisions and sub-divisions of the city which formed the basis of its administration almost to the present day.

Perhaps this form of municipal organization, a simple executive of four persons presiding over the deliberations and carrying out the resolutions of a community of free and equal citizens, was at its best at the close of the thirteenth century, when our records for a time are unusually voluminous. But it could not withstand the tendency of various influences. Aided by a combination of several causes,—the leading position naturally assumed by the fittest, the working of the Law of Frankpledge, the selfishness of successful trade,—there was gradually

formed during the fourteenth century an oligarchical party, which aimed at monopolizing the administration of municipal affairs, and probably brought about the civic revolution of the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the older constitution was remodelled after the fashion of London.

At first they appeared likely to succeed altogether. The twenty-four "probi homines" were by Henry IV.'s charter to be the practical rulers of the city, with the mayor and the two sheriffs as their nominees. A sharp struggle between the two parties ended in a compromise. The commonalty obtained the choice of one sheriff and what was much more important a representative body of their own, the sixty common councillors. On the other hand, the oligarchical party secured no slight advantage in the formation of the Court of Aldermen, who not only inherited such administrative authority as had belonged to their predecessors, the twenty-four elected citizens or "probi homines," but received in addition a permanent judicial power, being appointed for life, and when once they had served the office of mayor being invested with all the extensive powers which belonged in former time to a city magistrate.

The changes which took place after the time of Henry V. were rather matters of detail than of principle, and cannot be said to belong to the subject of early development. My desire has been to throw light, where it is most wanted, upon the origin and influencing causes of the municipal development of this one city of Norwich, and to confine myself strictly to it, without attempting to compare it with other municipalities. My hope is that I may have added a small contribution to the stock of materials accumulating in various quarters for the use of some future historian of the municipal institutions of our country.

ROMAN NORFOLK.¹

By G. E. FOX, F.S.A.

Nowhere in Britain is the task of discovering the traces of the Roman occupation and colonisation of our Island more difficult than in East Anglia, and especially in its northern portion, and nowhere is that task one of such peculiar interest.

The method by which the conquest of the native Celts was achieved is made plain by the disposition of the camps posted here and there throughout the district, and the means by which, after some two centuries and a half of occupation, the conquered and colonised territory was defended against a restless and savage race of incoming barbarians, are clearly enough to be seen in the ruins of the walled stations which looked out over the Northern Sea, or closed all access to the fertile districts watered by the larger rivers. But where the difficulties of the task become apparent is when we turn from the works of war to those of peace, and endeavour to make out the signs of habitation and civilised life. Certainly no Roman town is known to have existed within the limits of the county, not even a village, and I can point to only three or four indications of dwellings whose very ruins have now disappeared.

That the homesteads of the Roman colonists and Romanised Celts were spread, though thinly, over the more fertile portion of the county, we can have little doubt. The reason for the paucity of their remains must be looked for perhaps in the methods of construction adopted. Norfolk produces but little good building stone, and in some parts of the county, to this day, cottages and

¹ Read in the Antiquarian Section at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, at Norwich, August 6th, 1889.

barns are built with walls composed of blocks of sun-dried clay on a low foundation of flint rubble masonry. Wood, however, must have been plentiful enough, and traces have been found in Essex, like Norfolk a stoneless district, of buildings of half timbered construction of Roman date, we may safely assume that such was the method of building in Norfolk also. The better houses, therefore, were probably half-timbered erections, easily destructible and likely to leave but little trace, with foundations of flint and mortar and with floors of cement, for no mosaic pavements have yet been discovered. The thorough cultivation of the soil which has made Norfolk famous, has had its influence also in destroying the traces of the dwellings of the earlier race of farmers, who tilled the soil and reaped the harvest here, 1700 years ago. Many a mass of old flint and mortar foundation, it may be, has been rooted up and carried away by the cartload, and nothing has been recorded of the matter. It is scarcely likely that the farmer on whose lands the hindrance to cultivation was found, would feel much interest in the discovery, and so the last trace of the homestead of his Romano-British predecessor went the way of all things and utterly disappeared.

Perhaps a faint indication of one of these homesteads may have been found in the parish of Fring, near the Peddars Way. "On the west side of this road" I quote from Gough's Camden, "some labourers in ditching broke up the remains of a pavement apparently Roman, which the country-people, the discovery happening during the time of a fair in the village, broke up, and carried away great part of it. The owner of the ground, Mr. Goodwin, as soon as he received information of it, ordered the spot to be carefully covered up for the future inspection of antiquaries." Evidently the owner was a man in advance of his age! This happened late in the last century.

Of another discovery we have a fuller account. This was made in the year 1882 in the parish of Methwold, on a spot rising four feet only above the level of the marshes, for Methwold lies on the border of the fenland.

The Rev. C. Denny Gedge, vicar of Methwold, communicated the following details respecting the site and its

remains to the British Archæological Association.¹ He says, "the actual locality is one of the Holmes, (called little Holme) of which a string extends down either side of a small natural stream called the String Dyke"—"For years large numbers of tiles have been turned up on the mound of which this little Holm is composed, the level of the pavement of the house being within reach of the plough-share. The tenant had supposed that some brick kiln must have existed here, till the turning up of certain pieces of fine grained Northamptonshire sandstone induced him to search further. The foundations which are placed immediately on the subsoil of sand, are so far as we traced them of great hardness and solidity and built in alternate bands of flint rubble and the grey flagstone before mentioned." So far Mr. Gedge. An examination of the plan which accompanied his communication shows three small chambers each from seven to eight feet square. The first had a flooring of cement, a portion of which flooring remained, lined diagonally as if to represent tiles. The next to this appears to have been a little yard having in its eastern wall the furnace opening to a channelled hypocaust which warmed the third chamber. Fragments of flue and roof tiles were found in this latter chamber. We have here a small fragment of what was perhaps only a small house. Whether continued exploration would have brought its entire plan to light is conjectural. Nothing further was attempted.

Travelling in an eastward direction from Methwold, we find in the parish of Ashill, a singular spot, lying on high ground, called by the name of "Robin Hood's Garden." This is a large field of ten acres, enclosed by a ditch 14 ft. wide by 7 ft. 6 ins. deep. The enclosed area is an almost perfect square, with rounded corners. Within this area is a second one, formed by another ditch 11 ft. wide by 7 ft. deep, also with rounded corners. The inner square is not placed symmetrically with the outer one; on its east, west, and south sides the space between the inner and outer ditches measures 100 ft. in breadth, whilst on the northern side the two ditches are only 60 or 70 ft. apart. There seems to be no sign of a bank lining

¹ Journ. Brit. Archæol. Ass., Vol. xxxviii, 1882, p. 110, 1 pl. of illustrations.
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the inside of either ditch. At the north-east corner, between the two ditches, the remains of foundations formerly existed. These have long since been rooted up, and in 1870 but scanty vestiges of the dykes remained which formed the above-mentioned enclosures. It is presumed, with some show of reason, that the ditches surrounded land belonging to a Roman house, situated where the foundations in the north-east corner indicated the former existence of buildings. The Roman villa at Hartlip, in Kent, is said to be surrounded by just such a ditch as we find at Ashill, and another at Tracey Park, near Bath, had a boundary in the shape of an earthen rampart forming a parallelogram with rounded angles, the house itself occupying only one of the angles of the enclosed area, as seems to have been the case here.

When the railway from Watton to Swaffham was in course of formation, a cutting was made quite through the middle of the singular enclosures just mentioned, and the picks of the navvies brought to light a strange piece of construction. This was a well or shaft formed of timber framing, 3 ft. 6 ins. square, and 40 ft. deep. The contents made up a perfect museum of Romano-British Antiquities. From the top to a depth of 19 ft. it was filled with a heterogeneous heap of rubbish, amongst which occurred a fragment of Roman wall plaster. From this point (19 ft. down) until the bottom was reached there was an evidence of intention in the deposits, which had not been the case so far. The contents consisted principally of urns of various shapes, placed in regular layers and bedded in leaves of the oak and hazel. The bottom of the shaft was paved with flints, and the woodwork held in its place by four willow stakes.

Another similar shaft, but only 22 ft. deep was also found. This, it is supposed, had been abandoned from some fault of construction. An ordinary rubbish pit of Roman times completed the tale of these discoveries.

What purpose could these singular shafts be intended to serve? It was clear that they were not sepulchral for no deposit of cinerary urns occurred in them, and it was very evident that whatever they were first constructed for, they were used at a much later time as rubbish pits by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood,

whose house or houses must have stood in the near vicinity.¹

It may be considered a matter for regret that so large a collection of objects of the Romano-British period, as this discovered at Ashill, could not have been preserved intact and placed in some museum for purposes of study and reference. The pottery alone, ("one hundred and twenty Roman urns were found, and of these upwards of fifty were exhumed entire" says the late Mr. Barton) would have afforded valuable information as to the state of the potter's art in Norfolk in the Roman period. Some few of these urns presented by the late Mr. Barton are in the Norwich Museum, the rest, together with the many other objects discovered, are scattered in private collections and unavailable for study and comparison.

Some few sites besides those already named show signs that habitations existed near them by the shards of household pottery they produce. In the fields near Threton House fragments of Mortaria and other vessels are occasionally turned up. At Eaton, near Norwich, on the site of the late Mr. Ewing's nursery gardens, fragments of Mortaria and pieces of Samian ware have been found. These are in the Norwich Museum, as are other specimens from Coltishall, from the Woodward collection. At Baconsthorpe, among the ruins of the Manor House there, shards of pottery and fragments of querns are occasionally turned up. Pottery has been discovered, it is said at Great Dunham, and in the parish of Diss, especially on the Gawdy Hall estate, vessels of Samian ware have been dug up.

Occasionally also the presence of Roman tile in the fabric of churches, more especially those of the primitive Romanesque time, indicate that neighbouring constructions of the Roman period served as a quarry at the date of their erection. This fact may perhaps be observed in the church of Great Dunham, in that of Howe certainly, and possibly in those of Melton Magna, Framingham Pigot, Coltishall, and of Bickerston, which is in ruins.

¹ Other similar shafts have been found in different localities notably at Bekesbourne, in Kent, and perhaps also at Felixstow, in Suffolk. Mr. Coote considered them Roman Surveyor's marks.

See his "Romans in Britian," p. 71 and p. 102, *et seq.* For an account of these discoveries at Ashill, see *Norf. Archy.* vol. viii, 1879, p. 224 *et seq.*, four plates and sections in text.

Next in importance to the remains of their dwellings are the spots chosen as the last resting places of the inhabitants of the soil, either where the cinerary urns, grouped in considerable numbers tend to show a settlement of numerous families, or where in smaller numbers, but in greater variety, they point to the private burial ground of some detached country house. Here we are met by another of these difficulties which render a search into the antiquities of the Romano-British period in Norfolk so puzzling. Sepulchral urns have been discovered in great numbers throughout the county, and, until a comparatively late date they have all been classed as Roman. But the development of the study of such remains, has shown that this classification was an erroneous one. The heathen tribes of the Angles, when in the fifth century they possessed themselves of this part of Britain, had the custom of burning their dead and burying the ashes in urns of rude earthenware, in cemeteries whose arrangements were not unlike those of the Romano-Britons. The earlier writers, Spelman, Sir Thomas Browne, and later, Blomefield, and others later still, in their accounts of discoveries, not being aware of this fact, frequently, I may say constantly, confounded Roman with Teutonic interments and the consequence has been a confusion, not easy, often not possible, to clear up.

It may safely be said that as far as we know at present, the traces of the Teutonic invaders, in this respect, far exceed those of the Romanised people they conquered and enslaved.

Very few and far between are the interments I can point to as being, certainly, of the Roman period. Sir T. Browne indicates the probable existence of a cemetery of this time at Buxton near Brampton. An instance of a cinerary urn containing a coin, perhaps of Severus, accompanied by the usual funeral pottery, among which was a small candlestick, taking the place of the accustomed lamp, was discovered in 1844 at Felmingham. On a headland projecting into the valley of the Ant near Wayford bridge the late Mr. Samuel Woodward notes the existence of a cemetery, and as he mentions that the urns found there were turned in a lathe we may be justified, perhaps, in classing them under the Roman period. The tumulus

known as Greenborough Hill near Salthouse contained fragments of Roman Pottery probably sepulchral. At Bessingham there appears to have been a deposit of Roman cinerary urns. At Norwich, urns holding ashes, together with a coin of Diocletian, were found in 1852 under Messrs. Chamberlin's premises in the market place. At Thorpe near Norwich in the grounds of the Rev. W. Frost in 1863 (?) what appeared to be a Roman interment had been much disturbed by a subsequent Anglian one. Some Anglian Warrior in full panoply with spear and shield, had been laid to rest displacing the funeral urn of a former proprietor of the soil, a well-to-do colonist we may judge as he could afford the luxury of a lamp of bronze, found among the debris, to light him to the gloomy passage of the Styx. A single cinerary urn, found on a floor of tiles about 4 ft. square was dug up at Threxton in 1857, in a spot appropriately called "the Dark Lane." It contained a coin of Antoninus among the ashes. Other urns perhaps Roman, have been found at Shadwell, near Thetford. At Hempnall, in an Anglian cemetery discovered in 1854, traces of Romano-British urns were found, the remains of previous interments. A deposit of cinerary urns occurred at Hedenham, and another at Ditchingham, the former discovered in 1858 the latter in 1862. But the most characteristic of all the interments, more so than any I have yet mentioned, was that dug up at Geldeston in 1849. In a spot near the banks of the Waveney a rude cist of oak boards, 31 ins. by 14 ins. had been buried 4 or 5 ft. below the present surface of the soil. Within this cist lay a fine glass vessel of unusual shape, nearly a foot high. It contained the burnt bones of a child and at the bottom of the urn lay a second brass coin of the Empress Sabina wife of the Emperor Hadrian. With the glass vase was an earthenware cup with a cover, two or three potsherds and a fragment of thin bronze plate, gilt, conjectured to have been the upper part of a bulla. All the cases I have cited as yet have been urn burials, but two instances occur in which the bodies were interred entire. In a chalk pit, at a spot called Stone Hills in the parish of Heigham, near Norwich, a plain leaden coffin was discovered in 1861. This had been enclosed in a wooden shell. It contained the bones of a

skeleton presumed to be that of a female, and two torque like bracelets of bronze which are thought to have slipped from the coffin when it was opened, came from the same site. Near the coffin lay the bones of another skeleton with fragments of a sort of cement, possibly lime, in which the body had been enclosed. These burials were probably late ones in the Roman period.

Another indication of the existence of the dwelling-places of the inhabitants, though not so sure a one, is the discovery of hoards of coin. If not plunder buried by a road side or in some solitary place, they are likely to prove that a habitation was not far off. Who does not remember the story told in Pepys' Diary (Pepys was from a neighbouring county, Cambridgeshire), of how his father without due precaution buried a considerable sum in gold in the middle of his garden?

So in like measure, in disturbed times, the Romano-British farmer would do as Mr. Pepys, *seur.* did with his son's money, but perhaps with more discretion; and if by unlucky chance he perished by the hands of robbers, or left his home to take the losing side in some of the internal dissensions of the period, his hoarded wealth remained *perdu*, to be turned up by some hedger and ditcher of the nineteenth century.

Hoards of coin buried in urns have been discovered at Caston, where money deposited in rolls was also found, in 1816 and 1820. At Beachamwell in 1846, fifty silver pieces deposited in a vase of Samian ware, were turned up by the plough. In 1847, at Feltwell, 300 coins of the middle Empire were ploughed up, and at Morley, and at Carlton, treasure has also been brought to light. Other but less important finds have been made at Brandon, East Rudham, and at Ditchlingham. The most curious, however, was that made at Baconsthorpe, where a large pot, containing, it is estimated, not less than 17000 coins was unearthed in 1884. They were of brass and billon, tinned and silvered, and ranged as far as could be ascertained (for many had disappeared before attention was drawn to the find) from Nerva to Aurelian. Such a hoard is scarcely likely to have been a private one, and conjecture is at fault as to the cause of its deposit.

In connection with the subject of hoards must be men-

tioned the most interesting discovery yet made in Norfolk. At Felmingham in 1844, at no great distance from the sepulchral deposit I have previously mentioned as occurring there, was dug up a fine vase of unusual shape with ring handles. It had been covered by another which was destroyed by the labourer's spades, and contained a great number of bronze fragments of all kinds, amongst them a head of Minerva, another of Serapis, and one fine bearded head 6 ins. high, hollow, with the eyes pierced through and the scalp made moveable. But what rendered the find so valuable, was that it contained a beautiful little bronze figure 3 ins. high, of excellent workmanship, representing a youth with short and loosely-girt tunic, with buskined feet, and laurel crowned hair, holding aloft in his right hand a horn from which he poured wine into a patern held in his outstretched left. There could be no mistake in identifying this figure with one of the household gods of the Romans, one of the familiar Lares, the humble and serviceable little deities, whose effigies, not in bronze, but painted, look out from the walls of almost every house in Pompeii, and whose worship formed so intimate a part of Roman life and methods of thought, that for well-nigh a century after the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the State, lights still burned in their honour, and incense was still offered on their altars.¹ An indication of the period of the hiding away of the vase and its contents, which had nothing sepulchral about them, was given by a coin found among the bronzes, of the date of Gallienus, and the probability is that the deposit was buried plunder which the robber had no subsequent chance of carrying away.

Thus far I have noted the principal traces of the inhabitants of this district. Had I time I might speak of the potters and their kilns, from which the settlers were supplied with the earthenware required for their households; of the rude smelting works possibly of the Roman period discovered near the coast at Beeston; of the pigs of lead found in Saham Wood in 1819 and lost at some

¹ These antiquities, together with the pottery from the interment at Felmingham, previously mentioned, are now in the possession of J. Postle, Esq., of Smallburgh Hall, Norfolk. See for etch-

ings of the various objects of the latter find, a Lecture on the Antiquities of Norfolk by the Rev. Richard Hart, 1844, two plates.

early date on their way from the Derbyshire mines. I might dilate upon the fine silver Lanx, or dish, from the Osier Carr at Mileham, or the equally curious pewter one dug up at Welney, in the fenland, in either case part of the table furniture of some well-to-do inhabitant, showing that Norfolk then as now was famous for good cheer; I might describe many a fibula, bracelet, or other object of feminine adornment, but in this slight sketch there is no room to dwell on minor details, however vividly they might bring to one's view the life and manners of the Romano-British population.¹

From the civil I now turn to the military division of my subject and I will attempt to show by what means the territory of the northern Iceni was gained, and when gained, was held in later times against external enemies.

After the great uprising of the Celtic tribes had been suppressed, in which the colony of Claudius perished, the Romans took in hand the task of making an end of all resistance and finally colonising the territory of the Iceni. How they achieved this may be seen by their camps scattered over the face of the district. With their action in the southern portion of the Icenian territory I have nothing here to do. Their advance into the northern part was, in all probability made by way of Bungay, at which town the lines of an entrenchment of some size may still be partially traced, an entrenchment afterwards utilised both by Anglian and Norman conquerors.

From that point, crossing the Waveney, they passed north westward and fixed their principal station among the northern Iceni in the valley of the little river Tas some three miles south of the present city of Norwich. This camp came to be known as the Venta of the Iceni.

Referring to the works of the late Dr. Guest with respect to this name, I find that he takes the word Venta

¹ Potters' kilns have been found at Kirby Cane, Hedenham, Saham Tony, Weybourne, Caister near Norwich, and Caister near Yarmouth, and in the Post-humous Works of Sir T. Browne mention is made of a discovery of some structure at Buxton near Brampton, which can scarcely be anything else but a kiln. The learned Doctor says, "What work this was we must as yet reserve unto

better conjecture." Blomesfield with more confidence considers it a family sepulchre! Heaps of potsherds and mounds of wood ashes formerly to be found at Potter Heigham are supposed to have proved the existence of Potteries at that place in the Roman period. For this see *Archæologia*, Vol. xxiii., p. 373. For the pits for smelting iron ore see *Archæol. Journ.*, Vol. xl., 1853, p. 286.

to be a Latinized form of the Celtic *Gwent*, a champaign, an open district.

I cannot do better than quote his own words. He says, "There seems to have been several of these *Gwents* in Britain; and the Romans obtained their name for the capital towns by turning *Gwent* into a feminine substantive and then adding the name of the race which inhabited the particular district, as *Venta Belgarum*, *Venta Icenorum*, *Venta Silurum*, &c."¹ If therefore this interpretation be accepted, the true meaning of *Venta Icenorum* would be the open land, (the *Gwent*) of the *Iceni*, and I venture to think that anyone acquainted with the district of which the site of Norwich forms part, especially that portion lying near *Caister* would quite understand the applicability of the description, certainly with respect to that line of sweeping upland lying along the valley of the *Yare* from *Harford Bridges* onwards. The Romans made out of the term for a district, as *Dr. Guest* indicates, a place name. Perhaps when they first heard the word they took it for a place name.

Be this as it may, the establishment of the camp at *Caister* had another object besides the subjugation of the Celts inhabiting the open land, the *Gwent* to the north and west of it.

The entrenchments of *Tasburgh*,² four miles south of *Caister* are of too irregular a form to be considered the work of Roman hands, and they lie on elevated ground above the tiny stream of the *Tas*. In them we may see one, possibly the only one now remaining in Norfolk, of the strongholds of the native race. Even if abandoned, such a position would still require watching for a time at least to prevent any attempt at revolt or occupation by hostile bands. And here we have a further motive for the establishment of the station at *Caister*. Some hundreds of years later than the founding of *Venta*, an Anglian chief settled himself and his following within the lines of the Celtic oppidum, and it thus obtained the name it is now known by, *Tasburgh*, the burh by the *Tas*.

¹ *Origines Celticae* by Edwin Guest, LL.D., &c., vol. II, p. 153.

² This camp has been called the "*Ad Taum*" of the *Pentingerian Tables*, a name which might with more propriety be given to the station at *Caister*, as the

latter is close down upon the stream of the *Tas*, which the former is not. Could *Venta Icenorum* have received a second name (*Ad Taum*) during the course of its occupation?

After the establishment of the great station in the shallow river valley, the Romans seem to have pushed their forces westward, and we may probably find a trace of this movement in the entrenchments of Ovington (which, if Roman works, could only have been thrown up for a temporary purpose), in those of Mileham, and certainly in those of Castleacre,¹ a spot one of the most notable in Norfolk for the signs it shows of three conquests, the Roman, the Anglian and the Norman. They may even at this period have extended their line of camps as far as Brancaster, a station having the square form of the earlier Roman entrenchments.

Perhaps another camp, of which only the name remains, Caister by Yarmouth, might be claimed for this early period. The position can be fairly guessed to have been in the near neighbourhood of the church of the above named village, and it was probably intended in the earlier time to keep in check the inhabitants of the marshlands to the north of the Bure. Just as the camps on the western side of the county would secure the settlers in the fertile lands behind them from the attacks of the Celts who had been driven to take refuge in the western fenland, so, a strong garrison at Caister near Yarmouth might keep in order the broken bands who had sought shelter in the eastern swamps of the district of the Broads, for marsh and fen are the natural retreats of a disorganised tribe fighting against successful invaders.

But to return to Venta Icenorum and what is to be found there.

The form of the station which lies low in the watery meadows is that of a paralellogram, (being rather longer than it is broad), of which three of the sides are straight and the fourth slightly curved outwards to the river flowing near by. The space enclosed by the encompassing mounds which hide the remnants of its walls, is according to King, "1320 ft. in length from west to east, and 1108 ft. from north to south," while Wilkins estimates the contents of the area, including the Vallum to be about

¹ The mounds and fosses of North Elmham have been claimed by Woodward as Roman, and the cemetery there also, but with doubtful likelihood.

Blomefield's description of the finds in the latter, would indicate Anglian rather than Roman interments.

35 acres, a space sufficient, King observes, for the encampment of a Legion with half its complement of Allies, amounting to 6480 men.

I believe that originally the station was not walled. Its huge fosses on the east, north, and south sides, the marsh and stream on its west side, together with the mighty palisaded mounds lining the fosses and fronting the stream, sufficed for its protection.

But in course of time its garrison being reduced in strength, the Roman engineers were called upon to supply with brick and mortar the want of soldiers within. I think it will be found that they did not level the mounds of the original camp but built their walls against them, as huge retaining walls, so that on the exterior, the perpendicular face of the wall was seen from its parapet nearly to the bottom of the ditch, whilst in the interior the mounds formed a broad platform lining the internal face of the mighty mass of masonry. This great encircling barrier, in course of ages, has been well nigh destroyed; and the earthworks, no longer upheld by it, have fallen forward and buried in their fall nearly all that time or man have left of its massive fragments.

The Roman cemetery attached to this station has yet to be found, for the discoveries made on the neighbouring hill at Markshall revealed an Anglian burial place and the deposit of urns in the meadows to the north of the camp appears to have belonged to the same people. Near this last deposit were the remains of a kiln containing Roman vessels. From indications afforded by excavations made by the late Sir J. P. Boileau in the garden of Caister Hall, about 200 yards north-east of the camp, it appears most likely that the Roman cemetery lay by the side of a road which, starting from the eastern gate, seemed to point in the direction of Garianonum.¹

It is said that within the entrenchments of the station, foundations of buildings may be traced by the colour of

¹ The subject of the roads which connected the stations, or served as a means of communication throughout the district is too large if not too obscure to be even touched upon in this essay. The same may be said, also with respect to the traces of the Roman embankments, so prominent a feature in the fenlands of the western side of the county.

A list of actual remains of roads may be made out from Woodward's paper on Roman Norfolk in *Archæologia* Vol. xxiii. 1831, p. 358 et seq. In the Map which accompanies his paper that writer indicates a number of Roman roads in Norfolk, which are, however, laid down for the most part as conjectural.

the growing crops. Excavations carefully conducted may lead to important results in relation to the history of the site, but they have never been undertaken and the knowledge which such explorations might afford still lies buried within the ramparts of the greatest of the Roman fortresses of East Anglia.

Passing from the consideration of the means by which the Iceni were brought to subjection, I have now to speak of those by which the conquered territory, in subsequent centuries, was defended against the sea rovers of Teutonic race, who infested the eastern and southern shores of Britain.

We know that towards the end of the third century of our era, if not earlier, a Roman fleet was maintained for the defence of the coasts above mentioned, and we know also from later evidence (from the Notitia) the names of the stations, the second line of defence, along those shores. The two northernmost of these stations, Brancaster and Garianonum have been identified with Brancaster in Norfolk, and Burgh Castle,¹ near Yarmouth, in Suffolk, and the Notitia tells us that both stations were garrisoned by horse, the wide heaths of the north and the flat shores and level lands of the east coast being specially favourable for the use of cavalry.

To understand the reason for the position of these stations and the scheme of defence adopted, it is necessary to consider the character of the coast line of Norfolk and the state of the river valleys, in the Roman period.

A considerable portion of the northern coast line going from west to east consists of far extending sands heaped up in high banks, often held together by the Marram grass. Behind this barrier to the sea, is a belt more or less broad of marsh land and flat meadow occasionally subject to inundation. Where the ground begins to rise, open heaths formerly lined for miles the belt of marsh and sand, though now these heaths have been brought in great measure under cultivation. In the district of the Broads on the eastern side of the county, fens and fresh-

¹ Burgh, or Burgh Castle (Garianonum) at the mouth of the Waveney where it falls into Breydon Water, is actually in Suffolk, but as this station formed so

important a part of the defences of the river valleys of Norfolk it cannot be omitted from any description of those defences.

water pools take the place of the heaths of the more northern region. Such with a certain exception¹ are the characteristics of the Norfolk coast and such they were with little doubt only more strongly marked in Roman times.

It will be clearly understood that such a coast as this offered few facilities for a successful landing to the piratical Angles and Saxons. What they sought for were creeks and rivers giving them a way into the interior of the country. On the north coast these were only to be found at such places as Blakeney, or Wells, or Burnham, or at Brancaster itself, where a long inlet of the sea, between the sand banks of the coast and the rising ground formed, and still forms, a convenient harbour. Here, at the head of this harbour, for the purpose of watching the neighbouring inlets, the Romans established themselves and built a station, and the name they gave their camp, Branodunum, seems to indicate an earlier Celtic occupation of the spot. A force called the Dalmatian Horse, kept guard within its walls, ready to ride out over the heath lands to repel any raiders from the sea who might have effected a landing from the creeks not far away. We may even imagine that some vessels of the Roman fleet stationed in the little harbour would be employed also to prevent a landing, or failing that to intercept the pirate ships as they put to sea with their booty.

Of the station at Brancaster, originally a square of 570 feet, not one stone remains upon another, though its walls were 11 ft. thick and faced with white sandstone and with the ironstone now quarried in the neighbourhood of Snettisham. All the material has been carried away to build barns and cottages, more especially a hugh malt-house, now pulled down, of which Parkin the continuator of Blomefield expresses his admiration.

The relics of earliest date found upon this site are a silver coin showing a head of Janus Bifons on the obverse, on the reverse what seemed a trophy,²—and a coin of

¹The present coast line from Weybourne to Mundesley where the sea comes close to cliffs and high land. But this portion of the coast has been subjected for ages to the encroachments of the sea

and does not represent the coast line of Roman times.

²See Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* Vol. x. 1809, p. 299.

Claudius,—the latest, a gold ring bearing engraved upon it two rude heads with the sentence VIVA (S) IN DEO.¹

But if it was necessary to guard the creeks and inlets of the northern coast with so much care how much more was this the case with the mouths of such rivers as the Yare, the Waveney and the Bura. These rivers, as is well known, join to form the long lake of brackish water called Breydon which is blocked from the sea by the broad sandbank on which the town of Yarmouth stands. The outlet of the united waters is now by a long passage running south from the lagoon of Breydon and parallel with the coast, until at a distance of about two-and-a-half miles from the town, a bend of the stream eastward carries the waters to the sea. In Roman times the outlet of the rivers from Breydon appears to have been north of the present site of Yarmouth, and between it and the Roman station of Caister, still further northward, at a spot known in after times as Grubbs Haven. Whether the present southward passage to the sea was in existence in the early period treated of, is doubtful. We do not hear of it until, in the middle ages, the one at Grubbs Haven becomes blocked with the shifting sands.

To defend this large water way to the inland districts, three posts were deemed necessary, viz. Caister near Yarmouth just mentioned, Reedham, and Burgh (Garianonum).

A theory, arising perhaps in the 17th century and repeated by various writers from that time to this, turns the valleys of the Yare and the Waveney into great arms of the sea, and converts a part of the eastern coast line of Norfolk into an archipelago, on the larger islands of which it places the stations of Burgh (Garianonum), and Caister near Yarmouth. It is difficult to understand, according to this view, how the cavalry garrison of Garianonum, (for that station was held by the Stablesian Horse), placed on an island separated from the mainland by a channel more than a mile wide, could have served for the protection of the neighbouring country. And this same rise in the level of the waters would have flooded the camp at Venta, which stands low in the valley of the Tas.

The finding of sepulchral deposits, at low levels, near

¹ For an illust. of this ring see Journ. Brit. Archæol. Ass. vol. xxxvi, 1880, p. 115.

the banks of the Yare and Waveney, and above all, the proof of the existence of a west wall to the station at Burgh (Garianonum), in the low ground near the Waveney are sufficient to show that the level of the waters in the Roman period differed little from what it is now, and that the aspect of the country, except that the marshes were less drained, and there were fewer signs of cultivation, has not materially altered since Roman times. The tide also, less impeded then, on account of the more direct passage of the rivers to the sea, may have penetrated further up the rivers and its rise and fall been more visible at a greater distance up the country.

Taking this latter view, it will be seen that the station of Caister, near Yarmouth, served for the defence of the line of the Bure, and of the passage from the sea into Breydon water, with the help we may reasonably suppose of some vessels of the fleet,—that the post on the high ground at Reedham, on the north bank of the Yare closed that river,—and that the station at Burgh, (Garianonum) barred all access to the Waveney. The latter station is cut off from the line of the Yare by marshes, and by the Waveney itself, but it is in full sight of Reedham, and communication with this post by signal, as also with Caister, by Yarmouth might easily be carried on. The cavalry from Burgh would scour the coast to the south, and by the scheme here indicated, the sea rovers could be effectually debarred from their favourite plan of operations, viz. ascending the rivers to plunder the inner country.

Of the three stations just mentioned two have utterly disappeared. The very ground which was covered by the earthworks at Reedham has been carted away for gravel, though such earthworks, and perhaps a signal tower once existed there. Of the one at Caister near Yarmouth only the site is known, and that but vaguely. If it was ever walled, its walls were destroyed centuries ago; a part of its site seems to have been known in Sir Thomas Browne's day by the name of "East Bloody Borough Furlong," an indication perhaps of some long forgotten legend of a day of slaughter such as that which befell ill fated Anderida, a sister fortress of the Saxon Shore, or of that disastrous night when Uriconium perished in flames kindled by barbarian hands.

Happily through the patriotic care of the late Sir J. P. Boileau, the third station on the list, Burgh Castle, *Garianonum*, still rears its shattered walls on the edge of the low table land just above the point where the Waveney falls into Breydon water, and overlooks a wide extent of river and marshland beneath it. The lines of its circumvallation enclose a space roughly speaking, of 400ft. in width by 670ft. in length. The towers which flank the gates and support the rounded angles of the walls, are of peculiar shape, having something of a pear shaped section on plan. They are solid, and for a height of 6 or 7ft. from the present level of the ground are not bonded into the wall; above that height they are fully bonded with it. Walls and towers are evidently of the same period and carried up at the same time, which may very well have been about the latter half of the third century, the proportions of the camp indicating a comparatively late date. An internal facing shews that the wall, which is 9ft thick, has not been built against earlier earthworks as at *Venta Icenorum*. The flanking walls found by the late Mr. Harrod on each side of the east gate were not retaining walls to the earthworks as supposed by him, but in all probability the masonry of the guard chambers flanking the gate.

The conjecture seems probable enough that the holes in the top of the towers (2ft. square and 2ft. deep) may have served for the purpose of mounting *balistæ* on their platforms; but the diameter of the towers is only 14ft. 6in. which, if deduction be made for the width of the parapet, would have given no very great space for the working of any machine.

The north and south walls descended the hill, here rather steep, to join the river wall. They no doubt had stepped parapets and the rampart walk was carried down in a broad stairway. Of the river wall nothing remains, but those who would know what has become of its materials, may find a portion of them at least, in the fabric of the church at Reedham, which, there is little room to doubt, was partly built out of its fragments.

Many important details respecting this station, and the discovery of its river wall, may be found in the paper read by Mr. Harrod before the Society of Antiquaries in

1855, and published in the fifth volume of *Norfolk Archæology*, recording the excavations made by him under the auspices of Sir J. P. Boileau. The paper is an important one, and deserves to be more widely known than it appears to be.

The subsequent history of Garianonum is worthy of note. After the withdrawal of the Roman garrison, it does not long remain a "waste chester," for if we are to see in it the Cnobheresburg of Bede, it is soon occupied by a chief of the incoming barbarians. Cnobhere, like the other chief of his race at Pevensey, took up his dwelling within the Roman walls, and from his early possession of the spot, the site is known to this day, not as a Caister, a *præsidium* of the Roman, but as a *Burh*, a camp of the Teuton.

I have thus endeavoured to show, though imperfectly, and with many omissions, first the traces of the Roman colonists or Romanised Celts in this northern portion of Icenia, faint and scanty indeed, and then, by an examination of the positions of their camps, how the conquest of the district was achieved by the Romans, and how in after ages it was defended against the Teutonic invaders. We have in Norfolk but few vestiges of the Roman age; time and wanton destruction have sadly diminished them. Yet, by means of the pick and spade important results might still be obtained, and the thorough exploration of such sites as Burgh Castle near Yarmouth, and above all of Caister near Norwich, would be a service to archæology of great importance and might aid in extending the knowledge of a period, too much neglected, whose remains are gradually but surely vanishing.

NOTES, AND A LIST OF ROMAN DISCOVERIES IN NORFOLK.

The discoveries mentioned by Sir Thomas Browne in his "*Hydriothaphia*," as made at Old Walsingham in his time, will not be found recorded in this list for the following reason. The urns he describes as found there, were probably part of the contents of a large Anglian cemetery, as may have been those dug up at South Oreake. The illustrations given at the head of his "*Discourse*" show Anglian urns.

Again, in the fields lying between Brampton and Buxton, there seems, in the account afforded by his *Posthumous Works*, to be a

mingling of Romano-British and Anglian interments. The cinerary urn, engraved in this account, is also Anglian. The kiln near the site, if it was a kiln, which he so minutely describes, could only be Roman work.

The learned Doctor exemplifies his uncertainty as to the age of some of the objects discovered by him in the following words:—"Some men, considering the contents of these urns . . . might somewhat doubt whether all these urns found among us are properly Roman relics, or some not belonging unto our British, Saxon, or Danish forefathers."

With Blomefield, every urn is either Roman or British. He describes in some detail the large cemetery found in the Broom Close, near North Elmham, the contents of which, from his report, appear to be Anglian, with no admixture of Roman remains. Woodward, following Blomefield, makes North Elmham a Roman site, and ascribes the earthworks there to the Roman period. These, however, have far more the character of an Anglian burh than of a Roman camp. Some Roman coins have been found at North Elmham, which will be noted in the following list.

The urns said by Blomefield to have been dug up at Lindford, were, in all probability, Anglian, and this may have been the case with the urns and other objects found at Narford, mentioned in Gough's edition of Camden's "Britannia." The armour and skeletons found at Narborough, mentioned by Gough, may probably date from a period later than the Roman.

The cemetery on the hill at Markshall, north of the Roman camp at Caister, near Norwich, which is marked in the Ordnance Survey as Roman, can scarcely be considered so, for though a stone cist, which is said to have been found there, would probably be of that period, the urns dug up on Markshall hill are unquestionably Anglian in date and character. Some specimens of these are in the Norwich Museum. The urns, ranged in lines, found near the Roman kiln, about a quarter of a mile from the north-west corner of this camp at Caister, are, perhaps, of the same period as those from Markshall.

At the end of the following list are given notes on the Roman station at Burgh, in Suffolk, but which, by its situation, belongs more to Norfolk, than to the former county, and is therefore added to this list. Ives, in his "Garianonum," speaks of the field outside the east gate of this station, as the site of the Roman cemetery, but the only illustrations he gives, show Anglian urns. He also speaks of urns and ashes discovered in great abundance in the rising ground within the walls of the camp, towards its south-west corner, which could not be Roman interments.

Harrod considered the earthworks at Castle Rising to be British, modified by the Romans, and held the same opinion with respect to the irregular mounds of Castleacre and Mileham, on which the Norman lords built their castles. The quadrangular enclosure at old Buckenham, he calls a small Roman camp, and the mounds and enclosures of New Buckenham, British. He also looked on the earthworks at Norwich as British. Since the production of his book, however, ("The Castles and Convents of Norfolk"), the able and long continued researches of Mr. G. T. Clark into the military architecture of the Middle Ages have shown, that all earthworks, similar in character to those above cited, must be ascribed rather to a Teutonic, than to a Celtic origin.

The sheets of the Ordnance Survey will be found useful in determining the spots at which various relics have been discovered, but many omissions occur in them, and the periods ascribed to sites, and to objects, are not always to be depended upon.

No references will be found in the following list to the various theories respecting the site of Venta Icenorum, or to those concerning the Roman roads in Norfolk. As far as possible it is restricted to the task of pointing out actual discoveries. Nor can it pretend to be absolutely complete; the uncertain accounts of early writers, and the unrecorded, or but partially recorded, discoveries of more recent times, rendering such completeness impossible.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

Camd., ed. by Gough.—*Britannia*, by William Camden, edited by Rich^d. Gough, 3 vols., 1789.

Spel., Ioenia.—“*Icenia*.” In the English works of Sir Henry Spelman, ed. 1723.

Browne, *Hydriotaphia*.—“*Hydriotaphia*.” In the works of Sir Thomas Browne, ed. 1686.

Browne, *Post. Works*.—On urns found in Brampton field, Norfolk. In *Posthumous works of Sir Thomas Browne*, ed. 1712.

Dugdale, *Hist. of Imbank*.—*The History of Imbanking and Draining, &c.*, by Sir William Dugdale, ed. 1772.

Bl. Norf.—*Blomefield's History of Norfolk*, 11 vols., 1810.

Ives. *Garian*.—*Ives Garianonum of the Romans*, 1803.

King, *Mun. Ant.*—*Munimenta Antiqua*, by Edw^d. King, 3 vols., 1800.

Watson, *Wisbech*.—*An Historical Account of Wisbech, &c.*, by Will. Watson.

Hart, *Ants. of Norf.*—*The Antiquities of Norfolk*. A lecture by the Rev^d. Rich^d. Hart, 1844.

Harrod, *Castles, &c.*—*Gleanings among the Castles and Convents of Norfolk*, by Henry Harrod, F.S.A., 1857.

Carthew, *Hund. of Launditch*.—*The Hundred of Launditch, &c.*, by G. A. Carthew, F.S.A., 1877.

The *Fenland, Skertchly*.—*The Fenland past and present*, by S. H. Miller and S. B. J. Skertchly, 1878.

East An.—*East Anglian. Notes and Queries, &c.*

Gent. Mag.—*Gentleman's Magazine*.

Archæ.—*The Archæologia of the Society of Antiquaries*.

Proceed. Soc. of Ants.—*Proceedings. Society of Antiquaries*.

Archæol. Journ.—*Journal of the Archæological Institute*.

Journ. Brit. Archæol. Ass.—*Journal of the British Archæol. Association*.

Norf. Archy.—*Norfolk Archæology*. Original papers of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæol. Society.

Kerrich MSS.—*Drawings and plans*, by the Rev^d. Thomas Kerrich. *British Museum Add. MSS.*

D. T. coll. B. M.—*Drawings, &c.*, collected by Dawson Turner to illustrate *Blomefield's Hist. of Norfolk*. *British Museum Add. MSS.* 23,024 to 23,062.

Ord. Sur.—*Sheets of the Ordnance Survey to scale of 6 in. to a mile*, unless otherwise mentioned.

ASHILL.—Square enclosure of ten acres with rounded angles, formed by a ditch, having within it a second enclosure also formed by a ditch. Between the first and second enclosure on the east, west, and south sides, is a space 100ft. wide; on the north side the space is between sixty and seventy feet wide. In the north-east corner, between the two ditches, formerly existed traces of foundations. Within the inner enclosure were found in 1870 during the construction of the Watton and Swaffham railway, a boarded shaft 3ft. 6in. square and 40ft. deep, a second, 22ft. deep, which appeared to have been abandoned from having bulged in construction and a rubbish pit about 5ft. deep. The planking of the shafts had been puddled round outside.

Contents of first shaft. From top of woodwork, 6ft. under the surface, to depth of 19ft., very miscellaneous. Near surface, a harp shaped fibula. At 4ft., pottery, pieces of charcoal, bones of ox and deer, basket of wicker work. At 8ft., fragments of pottery and Samian ware, bones of ox, deer, and swine, part of earthen colander. At 10ft., more Samian ware with the following potter's marks—*REGHVS F.—M. IVBILVS.—VIBETHVS.—OP. MOGAC.—OP. I . . . NIB.—VRELLIS.*, a piece of stamped wall plaster, an iron knife with socketed handle, a whetstone. At 15ft., broken pottery, staves of an oak bucket, bones of swine and deer, oyster and mussel shells, four worn sandals. At 19ft., urns placed in a symmetrical manner and continuing to be thus placed down to the bottom, bronze bow-shaped fibula, iron implement, probably key to unfasten the bolt of a large door. At 24 and 26ft., urns symmetrically placed as before, the lower layers bedded in oak and hazel leaves. At 30ft., urns as before, a boar's tusk, pieces of sawn deer's horn. At 32ft., another layer of urns with leaves and large stones over them. At 33ft., Samian ware, a bucket ten inches high, with iron handle and cleats, neck of an amphora, part of a quern stone, small stone pounder, part of a leather girdle. At 34ft., urns; over them stones, which showed traces of fire. Some of the urns had bands of sedge round them as if to lower them by, some were cased in basket work, and others had string with slip knots. At 40ft., the haunch bone of a deer was found, and the bottom of the shaft was reached. It consisted of flints. The woodwork of the shaft here, was maintained in place by four willow stakes. The second shaft, 22ft. deep, was lined with wood like the first, but only for a few feet. It contained a bottle, two urns, two smooth stones, a skull of *bos longifrons*, and some antlers of red deer. The bottom was formed like the first, of flints. The rubbish hole, 5ft. deep, contained only fragments of pottery, skull of a goat, bones of swine, ox, pig, and deer.

In the railway cutting not far south of the pits, was found a shallow bronze patella five inches in diameter, with a flat handle. It is in the possession of Mr. James Wyatt, of Bedford. No human remains were found anywhere nor any cinerary urns. The number of earthenware vessels amounted to 120, and upwards of fifty were recovered entire.

Some of the urns are preserved in the collection of the late T. Barton, Esq., of Threxton House. Also the large iron key, a small saw with long round handle (not mentioned in the above list) and the knife and fibula mentioned above.

Many fragments of urns and some perfect ones from this site, are in the possession of the Rev. T. Jones, F.S.A., of Sporle. Digitized by Google

In the Norwich Museum are seven urns from this site, presented by the late T. Barton, Esq. For record of discoveries see *Norf. Archy.*, viii, 1879, 224 *et seq.* four plates and section in text. *Archæol. Journ.*, xxxii, 1875, 108-9, *Journ. Brit. Archæol. Ass.*, xxxi, 1875, 469-70.

Ord. Surv. Sheets lx, s.w. and lxxii, n.w.,

BACONSTHORPE.—Hoard of coins found in large earthen pot. The list of them ranges from Nerva to Tetricus, and the find contained many thousands of coins.

Roman bricks, shards, and fragments of querns found on site of Manor House here, and about Baconsthorpe generally. *Norf. Archy.* ix., 1884, 25 *et seq.* *Archæol. Journ.*, xxxviii., 1881, 433-34. Ord. Surv., Sheet xviii, n.e.

BEACHAMWELL.—A plain Samian-ware cup (covered by another), containing a hoard of fifty or more silver coins; found 1846. Amongst them, one of the Antonia family. The rest ranged from Vespasian to Commodus. The covering cup, also Samian ware, had a potter's mark on the bottom, soasmm. *Norf. Archy.* vii. 1872, 128 *et seq.*, pl. of vase, 129. *Journ. Brit. Archæol. Ass.*, ii, 1847, 88.

BEESTON.—On hill top south of Beeston church. Pits for smelting iron ore found on the neighbouring beach. Fragments of coarse pottery, and some Roman pottery found among the cinders and slag. Stone querns, mostly of Roman type, found in the neighbourhood. *Archæol. Journ.* xl, 1883, 286, plan 282.

BESSINGHAM.—Roman pottery, and some human bones found 1870. (Roman interment?). In the neighbourhood, half of a quern found. *Proceed. Soc. of Ants.* V. 2nd ser. 1873, 32, 33. *Norf. Archy.* vii. 1872, 372.

BICKERSTONE or Bixton.—Roman bricks in south-east angle of ruined church, near Barnham bridge. *East. An.* 1, 1864, 239.

BRAMPTON.—Two fragments of Roman pottery, one, of a vase with ribbed and indented sides, the other a portion of the upright side of a Samian patera, showing a mask, the mouth of which is perforated to serve as a spout. D. T. coll. B. M. Add. MSS. 23,026. f. 99.

Fragments of Samian ware. *Archæol. Journ.*, Norwich Vol. 1847. p. xxviii, cat. of temp. mus.

Roman lamp of bronze found, 1849, in field on the boundary of Brampton and Buxton, commonly called "the Roman field." Given to Norwich Museum, 1852. D. T. coll. B. M. Add. MSS. 23,053, f. 193.

Small bronze figures of Minerva and Jupiter found in a field commonly called "Sir Thomas' field." *Idem* 23,053 f. 195.

BRANCASTER.—Walled station. For descriptions see *Camd. ed.* by Gough, ii, 97, 114.—*Spel. Icenia*, p. 147 *et seq.*—*Bl. Norf.*, x, 1809, 298-9.—*Archæol.*, xii, 1809, note m., p. 134.—*Idem*, xxiii, 1831, 361.—*Archæol. Journ.*, Norwich vol., 1847, p. 9, *et seq.*, 4 plans and sections in text.

Two little bronze vases and some coins recorded to have been found, by Sir H. Spelman.—A silver coin, on the obverse, head of James Bifrons, on the reverse possibly a trophy.—A bronze coin of Claudius.—*Bl. Norf.*, x, 1809, 298-99.

Youthful nude male figure, 3 in. high. Mercury (?) Three coins—Antoninus Pius, Carausius and Constantius—D. T. coll. B. M. Add. MSS. 23,026, f. 104.

Gold ring with two heads facing, and legend *VIVA(S) IN DEO*, found 1829 (in possession of R. Fitch, Esq., F.S.A.)—*Archæol.*, xxiii, 1831, 361.—*Journ. Brit. Archæol. Ass.*, xxxvi, 1880, 116, illust. in text.

Rude silver ring, a knife, pins of Ivory and bronze, fragments of glass, stags horns, oyster shells, masses of mortar with tiles of semi-cylindrical form, grouted floor, and foundations of square chamber against inner north-east angle of wall of station, a grouted road passing through east gate and traceable for 120 yds. in a westerly direction. *Archæol. Journ.*, Norwich vol., 1847, p. 9, *et seq.*

Objects from this station in Norwich Museum.

Fragments of urns and Samian ware, pres. by E. H. St. Quintin, Esq.

Bone pins, fragments of glass, iron ring, &c., pres. by the Rev. James Lee Warner.

For site see Ord. Surv. Sheets, ii, s.w. and vii, n.w., 6 in. to a mile; and Sheets ii, 13 and vii, 1 25 in. to a mile.

BRANDON.—*Præfuriolum* of Bronze. *Brit. Mus.*, Romano-British room.

BRETENHAM.—Coin of Vespasian and urns, one of red earth. *Bl. Norf.*, i, 441.

Coins of Nerva, Trajan, S. Severus, Carausius, Alectus, family of Constantine, fibulae, &c. *Archæol. Journ.*, iv, 1847, 252.

Coins of Hadrian and Aurelius, and collection of coins from this site. *Archæol. Journ.*, Norwich vol. 1847, p. liii, cat. of temp. mus. A Ford here of the Peddars Way.—Keys, fibulae, rings, found.—*Archæol. Journ.*, xxvi, 1869, 401. Temp. mus. at Bury St. Edmunds.

BRUNDALL.—Behind the Brundall Station of the railway from Norwich to Yarmouth, on the side of the slope called the upper and lower Chapel fields, where formerly stood a Chapel, some urns containing ashes, were discovered in 1820. The site was levelled at that date and a graveyard, apparently attached to the chapel, was discovered. The urns (Roman?) were dug up in or near this graveyard. Some were preserved in the garden of Simon Peter Routh, Esq., in the neighbourhood, but are not now to be found. *East. An.*, i, 1864, 134.

In the grounds of Michael Beverley, Esq., M.D., near the same station, was found, in a depression of the hill side, at about 20 ft. above the level of the marshland, a basin-shaped sinking. It was about 100 ft. long (its breadth was not ascertained), and its greatest depth 5ft. It was completely filled with irregular lumps of clay, such fragments as have been preserved ranging from the size of the fist to pieces 12 in. long and as many broad. These lumps seem kneaded, or mixed with fragments of charcoal, some large enough to show the fibre of the wood. Amongst them, towards the upper end of the hollow, were found three or four pieces of wood, perhaps oak, completely carbonised, and from 6 to 8 ft. long, and 9 in. square, having the remains of iron nails in them. Both wood and nails fell to pieces on being moved. The only objects found among the clay lumps were, an iron knife 3½ in. long, with a socketted handle, and a blade of iron 5½ in. long. The hollow containing the mass of clay was not lined in any way, but simply dug out of the natural ground. Running down to this hollow from the side of the hill, to the North-north-west, were two drains, about 12 yards apart, formed of roof and other tiles, and the quantity of material removed, filled a tumbril. These drains were not followed up, but the length of each carted away, amounted to 40 ft.

At a distance of 200 yds. due west, on the hill above this excavation, were found a small heap of unburnt clay bricks, with a quantity of chips of pottery, together with two fragments of small vases, distorted in the baking. One of the bricks, which has been preserved, measures 8 in. in length, is roughly $3\frac{1}{2}$ square at the base, and tapers towards a bluntly pointed end. On the hill, near the road bounding the grounds, and about 30 yds. east of the excavation, large flat building tiles were turned up, together with a fragment of a flue tile, a piece of the upper stone of a quern of conglomerate, 11 in. in diameter, and part of the rim of a mortarium of buff-coloured ware, with the potter's stamp on each side the spout. It reads RECAR = L. The quern lay 2 ft. 10 in. beneath the surface of the ground.

Some fragments of Samian ware, all plain, one, the base of a vessel with the potter's stamp on it, reading TINI . . . OM, were in the same place.

Scattered shards of pottery continue to be found in these grounds, especially towards the west end. Many pieces, both of coarse and fine grey earthenware, mostly rims of vessels, have been preserved, some slightly ornamented with lines and geometric patterns. Amongst them are fragments of buff-coloured ware, a mortarium of grey ware, and part of a large funnel, and amongst the pieces of Samian is a portion of a mortarium, and of a flanged bowl.

A perfect roof tile, with the nail hole in it, and the piece of flue tile mentioned above, are amongst the objects preserved. The above discoveries were made at intervals between 1882 and 1887. (Notes from information obtained on the spot. G. E. F.)

BURGH (near *Aylsham*).—Small vessel $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches high with wide mouth, buff-coloured ware, dug up in a field in this parish. D. T. Coll. B. M. Add. MSS. 23,026, f. 151.

BUXTON.—Cinerary urns found in great variety. Samian ware and apparently the rims of Mortaria. On one piece of Samian, the letters CRAOVNA. F. On the rims of some of the mortaria NVON. From one urn came a silver coin of Faustina, and coins of Posthumus and Tetricus were found; also pieces of bronze of different shapes, and in one urn a nail two inches long.

Near this site was discovered what, from the description given of it, appears to have been a potter's kiln. Brown, *Poet. Works*, p. 2 to 15. Neck and mouth of a vase of coarse buff-coloured earthenware, with slight annulets round the neck, and the broad lip at top, of a pinched and indented pattern. Found October 31st, 1845. D. T. Coll. B. M. Add. MSS. 23,026, f. 219.

CAISTER (near *Norwich*).—Walled station. For descriptions and plans see *Camd.* edited by Gough, ii, 94, 105-106. *Bl. Norf.* v, 422 *et seq.* *King. Mun. Ant.* ii-49, 50, 51, 146-147, pl. xxviii and pl. $\frac{xxviii}{2}$.—*Archa.* xii, 1809, 135, *et seq.* pl. xxi.—*Idem* xxiii, 1831, 365, 366.—*Ord. Surv.* Sheets lxxv n.e. and lxxv s.e. six inches to a mile.—*Idem* Sheets 7 and 11, lxxv, 25 inches to a mile.

Bronze lamp in form of a Satyr.—Bronze lamp in form of a sandalled foot.—*Camd.* ed. by Gough, ii, 105-6.

Pottery kiln in meadow about a quarter of a mile north-west of the camp, containing vessels, found 1822. *Archa.* xxii, 1829, 412 *et seq.*, 1 pl. to scale pl. xxxvi.

Foundations of a small building about 200 yards from north-east corner of camp, apparently floored with one inch brick tesserae, and the walls plastered inside; (perhaps enclosure of a tomb). One fragment of Samian ware found near it, with the potter's stamp F PRIML and a rude silver ring which had lost the stone with which it had been set. A trace of a road running in the direction of Garianonum. Human bones with those of animals found about this spot, September, 1846. *Archæol. Journ.*, iv, 1847, 72, 73, pl. of foundations of building, in text.

Two fragments of Samian ware with potter's stamps, DVPRVA. F. and SVONKED OF (f), *Archæol. Journ. Norwich Vol.*, 1847, p. xxviii, cat. of temp. mus.

Gold ring set with an onyx, with an intaglio of a Victory. In possession of the Rev. S. Blois Turner. *Archæol. Journ.*, Norwich Vol., 1847, p. xxix, cat. of temp. mus.

Fragment of terra-cotta, small head in relief, of Diana, found near the foundations of the building named above. In possession of R. Fitch, Esq., F.S.A. *Archæol. Journ.* vi, 1849, 180. *Norf. Arch.* iv, 1855, 233, pl. II. same page.

Roman lamp with figure of a gladiator upon it. In possession of Mr. C. Elliott. *Journ. Brit. Archæol. Ass.*, x, 1855, 106.

Small bronze bust, youthful head crowned with laurel, found in field near the Rectory (Fitch Coll.). *Norf. Archy.* iv, 1855, 232, pl. I. same page. *Archæol. Journ.* x, 1853, pl., p. 378.

Small relief in bronze $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. high, a genius holding a bunch of grapes. *Norf. Archy.* v. 1859, 199 *et. seq.*, illust. in text, 200.

An iron key $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. in leng.h, a bead of green glass, an amulet, a small figure of a cock, portions of a bow shaped fibula, and a harp-shaped one, two tags, ends of a belt, model of a hatchet, all seven objects in bronze, the cock and the hatchet probably children's toys. Fibula of bronze with, perhaps, inlaid lines of white metal, representing two animals fighting, found in the camp. *Idem* p. 201 illust. in text, and *Archæol. Journ.* xiv, 1857, 176 (Fitch coll.)

Bronze speculum f. 1857. *Archæol. Journ.* xiv., 1857, 287-8. *Norf. Archy.* v, 1859, 271, pl. p. 271 (Fitch coll.)

Small bronze figure. *Norf. Archy.* vii, 1872, 873 (Fitch coll.)

Chain, fibula, eagle, pierced roundel of lead (Roman f). *Norf. Archy.* ix., 1884, 363 (Fitch coll.)

Objects from this station in the possession of Sir Francis G. M. Boileau, Bart., F.S.A.

Fragments of figured Samian ware, one showing engine turned ornament. Others plain. Under the foot of one patera a potter's mark. *BUXNION*. Small vase, 2 in. high, black ware with diagonal scorings, and bases of vases with copper coloured glaze, perhaps Castor ware. Fragments of coarse pottery. One fragment of pale buff ware, showing a head in relief (about 1 in. high), of a youthful genius or cupid. Found Aug. 17th, 1846 (f) Plain silver ring, originally set with a stone. Found 1835. Portion of roof tile found 1864.

The following objects from this site are in the Norwich Museum:—

Small urn of bluish grey earth, presented by the Rev. H. Dashwood. Small urn, red earth, containing a quantity of burnt wheat. Woodward coll.

Three diminutive bronze cups, joined together, presented by G. Johnson, Esq.

Bronze statera, presented by J. Gooding, Esq.

Part of a flue tile, presented by H. Harrod, Esq.

Two pieces of tessellated pavement from building named above, near the camp.

Fragment of a Mortarium, presented by Capt. H. W. Fieldon.

For lists of coins found in and about this camp, see Bl. Norf., v, 425-6.—Norf. Archy, iv, 1856, 234, *et seq.*—Idem, v, 1859, 203, *et seq.* The earliest coin recorded to have been found on this site is one of Augustus, the latest, Valentinian. For gold coin of Nero found on the site see Archæol. Journ. Norwich Vol., 1847, p. 16.

CAISTER (*near Yarmouth*).—Roman station. For descriptions and plans, &c., see Camd. ed. by Gough, ii, 95, 96.—Spel. Icenia, p. 155.—Ivea. Garian, pp. 3-4.—For supposed site, see Ord. Surv. Sheet, lxvi, N.E.

Silver and copper coins found in a field called East Bloody Borough Furlong. Browne. Hydriotaphia, chap. ii, note to p. 5.

In a field, a few hundred yards north-west of the parish church (Holy Trinity), by the side of the Norwich road, was found, in 1837, a bricked pit, 11 ft. by 7 ft. at bottom, 12 ft. by 8 ft. at top, the depth may have been 4 ft. at least. There were no traces of a paved floor, and the sides were constructed of roof tiles, the width of the tile making the thickness of the wall. At the same time, a small vase of black earthenware, bones of ox and pig, oyster shells, stones, and fragments of Roman pottery were turned up, and many skeletons were discovered, lying in various directions, and most of them buried only 2 ft. deep. Coins of Constantine were found all over the field. At a spot a quarter-of-a-mile eastward from this pit, two cinerary urns, each covered with a tile, were disinterred, one from a depth of 2 ft., the other from a depth of 6 or 7 ft., the latter being bedded in wood ashes.

In sinking a well beside the Yarmouth road, at a depth of 20 ft. below the present surface of the marsh, a piece of plank was found apparently the plank of a ship.

About sixteen years previous to the discoveries here recorded, some Roman urns were dug up in another part of this parish, in a south-west direction from the pit above mentioned, in a spot bordering upon the marshes. Gent. Mag., 1837. Pt. II, p. 518-521.

In the field before spoken of, north-west of the church, foundations of buildings are said to have been observed.

An urn covered with a tile, containing calcined bones, together with burnt wood, and fragments of wood with iron nails, and unburnt human bones, were found in a clay pit near the mill north-east of the church; also a fragment of Samian ware showing a hare hunt. Archæol. Journ., iii, 1846, 251.—Journ. Brit. Archæol. Ass. xxxvi, 1890, 206. For urn see D. T. Coll. B. M. Add. MSS. 23,027, f. 132.

Small bottle-shaped earthen vase with very large lip on which are three male heads in slight relief found 1851. D. T. Coll. B. M. Add. MSS. 23,054, f. 42.

Kiln, with urns and an iron stand found in it, discovered in a sand pit, in 1851, on Mr. Daniel's farm, south side of parish church and between it and the marshes, a few hundred yards from the church. Norf.

Archy., iv, 1855, 352—Journ. Brit. Archæol. Ass., xxxvi, 1880, 206 *et seq.*

On the site of the reservoir of the Yarmouth Waterworks constructed in 1855, were found quantities of broken pottery, some of common, some of Samian ware, a small bronze head of a faun, a bronze pin, numerous coins, and oyster shells and bones. The spot probably the site of a rubbish pit. A bronze wolf was also said to have been found in making the reservoir above named. *Norf. Archy.* vii, 1872, 356 (Fitch Coll.). For an illust. of it see *D. T. Coll. B. M. Add. MSS.* 23, 048, f. 86, where it is stated to have been found at Wheatcre Burgh, in 1843 (?)

The list of coins found shows a range from about A.D. 80 to A.D. 370, and many of the class called *Minimi* are turned up. List of coins. From Antoninus Pius to Gratian, *Norf. Archy.*, vii, 1872, 11, *et seq.*

In the garden of the rectory were found traces of a rubble floor, 3in. thick, beneath it, undisturbed sand. Also a fragment of pottery with representation of a duck; and a rubbish pit. The coins found here ranged from the Second to the Fifth Century. *Journ. Brit. Archæol. Ass.* xxxvi, 1880, 89.

Objects from this station preserved in the Norwich Museum:—

Iron stand found in potter's kiln, fragments of another kiln, and fragments of urns distorted in the baking, found in the kiln. Presented by J. Gunn, Esq.

Portions of urns of a blue clay found near the above kiln. Presented by the Rev. E. S. Taylor.

CARLETON—Urn of dark ware, with wavy lines of white, containing four gold, and ten silver coins, found in 1807. The gold, of Gratian, Maximus, and Honorius; the silver, of Julian, Valentinian, Gratian, Maximus, Arcadius and Honorius. *Archæol. Journ.*, Norwich Vol. 1817, pp. xxvii, and liii, cat. of temp. mus. *Norf. Archy.* iv, 1855, 315. For site of discovery, see *Ord. Surv. Sheet*, lxxvi, s.e.

CASTLEACRE.—Unwalled camp. For descriptions and plans see *Camd.* ed. by Gough ii, 117. *Kerrich MSS. B. M. Add. MSS.* 6735, 72 and 6753, ff. 97, 100. *Bl. Norf.* viii, 376-7. *Archæol.* xxiii, 1831, 371. *Harrod Castles, &c.*, p. 103 *et seq.*, plan to scale in text p. 100. *Journ. Brit. Archæol. Ass.* xiv, 1858, 205 *et seq.*, plan p. 205. *Ord. Surv. Sheets* xlvii, n.w., and xlvii s.w., 6 in. to a mile, and *Idem* sheets 6 and 10, xlvii, 25 in. to a mile.

For the Peddar's Way, which runs through or near this camp, see all the authorities cited above, and the sheets of the *Ord. Surv.* 50, 65, 66, 69. 1 in. to a mile.

Coins of Vespasian and Constantine. A cornelian ring with radiated head, found in Arundel Close. *Bl. Norf.* viii, 377.

Roman pottery discovered in making excavations in circular work, north and west of keep. *Harrod, Castles &c.*, p. 105.

One perfect and some broken fibulæ, bronze, harp-shaped, and coins. One, third brass Tetricus; six, second brass Diocletian; eight, second brass Maximianus, Hercules; one, third brass Allectus; four, Constantius Chlorus. All in possession of the Rev. T. Jones, F.S.A., of Sporle.

CASTLE RISING.—Some Roman coins found here, one of Constantine seen by Sir H. Spelman. *Bl. Norf.* ix, 49.

CASTON.—Hoard of 300 silver and bronze coins deposited in rolls. Some as early as Marc Antony, some later than Marcus Aurelius. With

them, a plain silver ring, found 1820. In same village, a plain urn containing coins of Theodosius I., Arcadius, and Honorius, found 1816. *Archæa*, xx, 1824, 577-8.

CAWTON.—Bronze coin of Faustina found in 1728. *Norf. Archy.* vi, 268.

COCKLEY CLEY.—A third brass coin of Constantine. *Norf. Archy.* iii, 1852, 421.

COLTISHALL.—Fibula, one bronze, one silver plated, pottery, coin of Constantine, &c., skull and other bones (Roman interment?) *Archæa*, xxii, 1829, 422.

Many fragments of pottery, fibulae, and coins, vase of red unglazed earth and upper part of large amphora. *Archæa*, xxiii, 1831, 364-5. Quoins and herring bone work of Roman shaped brick in windows of church. Urns supposed to be Roman. *Archæol. Journ.*, vi, 1849, note p. 363.

Objects from this site in the Norwich Museum. Small urn of red earth, flanged patera of black ware, two bronze fibulae. Woodward Coll.

CROWNTHORPE.—Roman thumb ring set with an onyx, with small figure in intaglio. *Journ. Brit. Archæol. Ass.*, viii, 1853, 159, and *idem*, *idem*, xi, 1855, 79, fig. on plate 6.

DENVER.—Roman road running in the direction of Peterborough, cut through at one mile from Salter's Lode sluice, parish of Denver. *Norf. Archy.*, iii, 1852, 425.—Dugdale, *Hist. of Imbank*, p. 174.

Small rude bronze figure of Mars. *Brit. Mus. Romano-British room*.

DISS.—Urn of black ware found north of railway station, and coins, on the glebe. *Norf. Archy.*, iv, 1855, note to p. 313.

DITCHINGHAM.—Small urn filled with *minimi*. *Norf. Archy.*, iv, 1855, 313.

Urns found (a funeral deposit?) *Norf. Archy.*, vi, 1864, 186, *et seq.*, pl. of urns p. 187.—*Archæol. Journ.*, xx, 1863, 179.

Ord. Surv. Sheet xxviii, N.E. Norfolk and viii N.E. Suffolk.

DOWNHAM.—In Museum at Norwich from this site. Coin of Constantine and two small glass beads. Found on Downham Heath. Pres. by W. Squire, Esq.

DUNHAM (Great).—Pottery (Roman?) and Roman coins found in the parish. *Norf. Archy.*, i, 1847, 360.

In the walls of the church tower are to be seen fragments of Roman brick (1869).

DUNHAM (Little).—Circular enamelled bronze fibula. *Archæol. Journ.*, Norwich vol., 1847, p. xlii. *Cat. of temp. mus. illust.*, pl. p. xxvii.

EATON (near Norwich).—Fragments of Amphoræ and Mortaria, fragments of a Samian patera and other Roman pottery. Eaton Nursery. *Norf. Archy.*, iv, 1855, 352.

Objects from site in Norwich Museum.

Small urn of dark blue clay,—fragments of Mortarium of coarse grey earth,—*idem* of Amphoræ, Mortaria, &c.—*idem*, bottom of a patera of Samian ware, with potter's stamp FAVILL. All presented by W. C. Ewing, Esq.

ECCLES.—Roman coins. *Archæol. Journ.*, iii, 1846, 250.

EDINGTHORPE.—Two urns containing ashes (Roman?) found in 1826, on hill between Bacton and Edingthorpe heath. *Norf. Archy.*, iii, 1852, 427.

ELMHAM (North).—Coins found “in piece of ground about two furlongs south of village, in the road to East Dereham, where old wells and foundations of houses are to be seen.” The following, of silver were found :—Vespasian, Domitian; Faustina, Lucilla, Constantius. Also a silver ring; on it an eagle and thunderbolt. *Bl. Norf.*, ix, 491-2.

FELMINGHAM.—A large vase of yellowish buff earthenware, with rude lines in brown painted on it, and with ring handles. It rested on two tiles. It was 8½ in. deep and 10½ in. diameter inside, at the top, its greatest diameter. It had been covered by another, which was broken in getting it out, and contained many objects in bronze, of which the following list gives the principal :—Two bowls placed one on the other, each 1½ in. deep and 4½ in. in diameter, each pierced in the centre with a small hole. They resembled the scales of a balance.—Handle of a mirror—a disc-like wheel, with an iron axle—two bases, for statuettes—three fibulae, or buckles, ornamented with bearded heads—some bands of bronze, perhaps part of a circular casket—a poorly modelled head of Minerva, 5 in. high, part of a statuette—a head of Serapis, 2 in. high—a fine bearded head, 6 in. high, hollow, the eyes pierced through, but originally filled with bone or glass, and the scalp moveable. From a hole in the neck, it would appear to have been attached to some object. It has, perhaps, been gilt—A statuette of good workmanship, 3¼ in. high, a youthful male figure, dressed in a short loose tunic, and with buskined feet, and hair crowned with laurel, holding in his left hand a patera, and in his upraised right, a horn. It belongs to the class of figures called *Lares*. All the objects mentioned above are of bronze. The urn contained besides, a coin of bronze, on the obverse of which was a youthful head, with radiated crown, and inscription *VALERIANVS CAES*. on the reverse, the infant Jupiter on the goat *Amalthea*, with the inscription *IOVI CRESCENTI*. Near this find, which was made in 1844, a coin of Vespasian was turned up, but did not appear to belong to it.—For illustrations of the above objects see *Hart. Anta. of Norf.*, 1844, 2 plates not to scale.—*Archæol. Journ.*, Norwich vol., 1847, pl. p. xxvii, *Cat. of temp. mus.*—*Archæol. Journ.*, i, 1845, 381-2, for account of discovery.

Near the same spot seventeen vessels of various forms, all earthenware, were found, amongst them, a cinerary urn, containing a coin, possibly of Severus, but the inscription was much rubbed. Amongst the pottery, an earthenware candlestick. Nails also found. *Archæol. Journ.* iii, 1846, 246-7. Illustrations of this find at head of paper, and pl. showing the vessels, p. 248. *Ord Surv. Sheet*, xxviii, s.e. for site of both discoveries.

The whole of the objects from both sites, are in the possession of *J. Postle, Esq.*, Smallburgh Hall.

FELTWELL.—300 Roman Denarii of early middle period, turned up in ploughing. *Journ. Brit. Archæol. Ass.*, xxxvi, 1880, 104.

FINGHAM.—Roman coins, *Norf. Archy.* vii, 1872, 359.

FRAMINGHAM PIGOT.—Quoins of double splayed windows in church, of Roman-shaped tiles. *Archæol. Journ.*, vi, 1849, 363.

FRETENHAM.—Traces of a road on Frettenham Common, running to Burgh, and so across the Bure at Oxnead bridge, through the parish of Tuttington and along Stow Heath. *Archæol.*, xxiii, 1831, 372.

FRING.—Roman pavement (?) *Camd.*, ed. by Gough, ii, 117. *Archæol.*, xxiii, 1831, 370.

GELDESTON.—Wooden cist, containing a glass vase of peculiar shape, earthen vessels, and a fragment of bronze, perhaps part of a bulla. A second brass coin of Sabina was with the ashes in the vase. *Archæol. Journ.* vi, 1849, 109 *et seq.*, plan of deposit in text p. 109, pl. of vase p. 110, and bulla in text p. 112. *Norf. Archy.* iv, 1855, 314. The vase, now in the Norwich Museum.

Fragment of urn (supposed Roman) from walls of church, found when church was rebuilt. *Archæol. Journ.*, xxiv, 1867, 72-73, illust. in text p. 78. *Proceed. Soc. of Anta.*, iv, second ser. 1870, 180. *Ord. Surv. Sheet*, xcix, n.w., Norfolk and Sheet lx, n.w. Suffolk.

GILLINGHAM.—A denarius of Alex. Severus. *Norf. Archy.* iv, 1855, 314.

HAYNFORD.—Small bronze figure, a Cupid. *Norf. Archy.* i, 1847, 366. *Journ. Brit. Archæol. Ass.* ii, 1867, 346, illust. in text. *Archæol. Journ. Norwich* vol., 1847, p. xxvii, cat. of temp. mus. *Archæol. Journ.*, xi, 1854, 28. Now in the Brit. Museum. Romano-British room.

HEDENHAM.—Roman kiln, and cinerary urns. *Proceed. Soc. of Anta.*, iv, 1859, 201. *Archæol. Journ.*, xviii, 1861, 374. *Norf. Archy.*, vi, 1864, 149, *et seq.*, pl. of kiln 149, pl. of urn, illust. in text, 156. *Ord. Surv. Sheet*, xcvi, n.w.

HEIGHAM (near Norwich).—Diminutive urn found at Stonehills, Dereham Road, 1858. In Museum, Norwich. Pres. by Mr. C. Harpley. Plain leaden coffin, and two bronze rings, torque fashioned, perhaps deposited in coffin, which contained a female skeleton,—and a skeleton was found near it, with fragments of a kind of cement. Found 1861, in a chalk pit, Stonehills, parish of Heigham. *Norf. Archy.*, vi, 1864, 213, *et seq.*, two illust. in text, of bronze rings, 215. *Archæol. Journ.*, xix, 1862, 88.

Second brass coin of Faustina the elder from same spot. *Norf. Archy.*, vi, 1864, 386.

HEMPNALL.—Anglian cemetery (†) with traces of previous Roman interments (cinerary urns). *Norf. Archy.*, v, 1859, 49, *et seq.*, pl. to scale.

Traces of Roman road in parish. *Archæol.*, xxiii, 1831, 368. *Ord. Surv. Sheet*, lxxvii, s.e.

HETHERSETT.—Trace of Roman road on a farm called Plainards, *Archæol.*, xxiii, 1831, 369. Traces of this road are still to be found (September, 1889), in the quantity of stones picked from the line of it, where it passes through the fields.

Bronze figure, 7 ins. high, youthful Hercules, nude, the left arm extended with the lion's skin hanging over it. The left hand appears to have held some object. Found in the parish of Hethersett, in the spring of 1889. (Note from personal inspection, August, 1889, G.E.F.)

HORNINGTOFT.—Part of a causeway, which appears to have been regularly paved, and is 15 ft. wide by 4 or 5 ft. high. It can be traced certainly a quarter-of-a-mile, and appears to proceed much further, running past the earthworks here, and beside the road for 70 yds., and then, going off in an easterly direction towards North Elmham. *Carthew. Hund. of Launditch*, Pt. iii, p. 241. Roman (†) urn, found 1870, in a gravel pit near village, three-quarters-of-a-mile from the earthworks. *Ord. Surv. Sheet*, xxxvi, n.e.

HORSEY.—Small urn, and near it a second brass coin of Vespasian,

2 Querns. *Norf. Archy*, iv, 1855, 355, illust. of urn, pl. p. 354.—*Ord. Surv. Sheet*, xlii, a.w.

HOWE.—Church of Howe. Numerous fragments, apparently of Roman brick, some with flanges remaining, worked into the walls. A gold coin of Nero, found in the parish. *Archæol. Journ.*, x, 1853, 62.

ICKBURGH.—“On the road towards Bury was a large milliære, lately to be seen.”—*Bl. Norf.*, ii, 233.

Roman urns (†) found in plantation south-east of “Bush Pightle,” in 1859.—*Ord. Survey Sheet*, lxxxiii, a.w.

INGOLDTHORPE.—Roman coins. A silver one of Nero. *Bl. Norf.*, x, 889.

KIMBERLEY.—Bronze fibula. Harp shaped, 2½ in. long. In *Norwich Mus.*, presented by J. H. Bernard, Esq.

KIRBY CANE.—Potter's kiln (†) and fragments of pottery. *Norf. Archy*, iv, 1855, 314.

LYNG.—Roman pottery and large bronze coin, possibly of Trajan. *Norf. Archy*, vi, 1864, 381.

MARSHAM.—Cup found in garden adjoining Rippon Hall. Others similar found at Marsham.

Roman road crossing the Aylesham turnpike at Marsham, and running towards Brampton. Urns (Roman †) found on each side of it. *Norf. Archy.*, iii, 1852, 418.

In *Norwich Museum*. Small urn of bluish grey earth, with indented pattern, found at Marsham, near Aylsham. Woodward coll.

MELTON MAGNA.—Quoins of double-splayed windows of ruined church, of Roman shaped tiles.—*Archæol. Journ.*, vi, 1849, 363. For doorway of same church see D. T. coll., B. M. Add. MSS., 23,056, f. 170. Pot containing coins, all silver, of which nineteen were preserved, ranging from Titus to Marcus Aurelius, found on the estate of the Rev. H. Evans Lombe, of Melton Hall, in 1887.—(Notes of discovery from Ed. Evans Lombe, Esq.)

METHWOLD.—Foundations of a house, a channelled hypocaust and cement floors. Fragment of an Amphora.—*Journal. Brit. Archæol. Ass.*, xxxviii, 1882, 110, 111, 1 pl. of illust.—*Norf. Archy.*, ix, 1884, 366.—*Ord. Surv. Sheet*, lxxxii, n.w.

MILEHAM.—Unwalled camp. For description and plan see *Norf. Archy.*, viii, 1878, 10 *et seq.* plan. *Ord. Surv. Sheet*, xxxvi, a.w., 6 in. to mile, and *idem*, sheet 14, xxxvi, 25 in. to a mile.

Square silver dish, found in 1839 in field called the Second Alder Carr. *Archa.* xxix, 1842, 389, *et seq.*, pl. xlii of dish. *Proceed. Soc. of Ants.*, iv, 1859, 295. Now in *Brit. Museum*, Romano-British room.

MORLEY (*St. Botolph*).—Roman coins, brass, mostly of Constantine. Found in very black earth, (a hoard †), in parish of Morley. *Norf. Archy.* ii, 1869, 397.

NORWICH.—Lamp of bronze, in shape of a frog, found in digging in a Close, near St. Augustine's Gates. *Camd. ed.* by Gough, ii, 106.

Roman cinerary urns, and coin of Diocletian, from Messrs. Chamberlin's premises, Market Place, found 1852. *Norf. Archy.* iv, 1855, 360.

Two vases (apparently Roman) found in digging foundations of house in London street, belonging to Messrs. Caley. *Norf. Archy.*, vi, 1864, 384.

Objects from site in *Norwich Museum*.

Sepulchral urn found, in 1852, under Messrs. Chamberlin's warehouse, Market Place, with some Roman coins, one of Diocletian, see above, presented by Robert Chamberlin, Esq.

Small sepulchral urn found same time, *idem*.

OVINGTON.—Unwalled camp (Roman?), quadrangular enclosure. The ditch remains only on the north-west and part of the north-east sides, the vallum has been levelled everywhere. Its existence is mentioned in *Archæ.*, xxiii, 1831, 369, and its partial destruction in 1868 is noted in *Norf. Archy.* ii, 1849, 404, see also *Journ. Brit. Archæol. Ass.*, xiv, 1858, 208, plan p. 205, pl. 11. For site see *Ord. Surv. Sheet*, lxxii, n.w., 6 in. to a mile, and *idem* sheet 6, lxxii. 25 in. to a mile. Roman urns found in the parish. *Norf. Archy.*, vii, 1872, 859.

OXBURGH.—Coins found. *Camd.*, ed. by Gough, ii, 116. Two coins of Constantine found. *Bl. Norf.*, vi, 168.

OXNEAD.—In Oxnead Park, near Brampton Field, fragments of pots, one having "the figure of a well-made face" upon it. Also sheep's bones, some oyster shells, and a coin of the Emperor Volusianus. *Browne, Post. Works.* On urns found in Brampton field, Norfolk, p. 10 to 16.

PORINGLAND.—Gold thumb ring ins. *CONSTANI FIDES* found 1820 near the stone street, Poringland heath, two miles from the Roman station of Caister near Norwich. In Norwich Museum. *Pres.* by H. Bolingbroke, Esq.—*Archæ.*, xxi, 1827, 547, illust. in text.

POTTER HEIGHAM.—Great quantities of pottery and mounds of wood ashes formerly found in this parish. *Archæ.*, xxiii, 1831, 378.

PUDDING NORTON.—Small bronze figure (Roman?). *Proceed. Soc. of Ants.* iv, 1859, 292.

QUIDENHAM.—Bronze coin of Antoninus found in lime pit 1723. *Bl. Norf.*, 1, 337.

REDENHALL.—In this parish, on the Gawdy Hall estate, Roman pottery found, especially some bowls and pateræ of Samian ware. *Norf. Archy.*, iv, 1855, 318.

REEDHAM.—Foundations of tower on high ground a little east of the "Low street." Coins found on this spot mostly of Marcus Aurelius, Trajan, &c. A bronze lion's head and fragments of pottery. *Archæ.*, xxiii, 1831, 364.

Earthworks on hill now carried away for the sake of the earth and clay. Coins of Vespasian, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Faustina the younger, and Gordianus. *Norf. Archy.*, iv, 1855, 314-15.

Much Roman material in walls of Church (1889).

SAHAM TONY.—Three pigs of lead found in removing Saham wood in 1819. Traces of a Roman road in this parish. *Archæ.*, xxiii, 1831, 369. *Archæol. Journ.*, xvi, 1859, 87. Romano-British urn. *Norf. Archy.*, ii, 1849, 403. *Archæol. Journ.*, Norwich vol., 1847, p. xxix. *Cat. of temp. mus.*

"Roman flue," *Norf. Archy.*, vii, 1872, 349. (From information given by Mr. Barton, of Threxton, this appears to have been a potter's kiln. (G.E.F., 1889.)

Objects from this site in the Norwich Museum:—

Small urn of dark brown clay above mentioned. Presented by the Rev. W. Grigson.

Fragments of Samian ware, one piece with the potter's stamp SILVANI

idem. idem. see for illust. of these D. T. coll., B. M. Add. MSS., 23,043, ff. 76, 79.

SALTHOUSE.—Quantities of fragments of Roman pottery on site of Salthouse Broad.

Tumulus, called Greenborough Hill, when excavated in 1855, was found to contain Roman pottery and bricks, and considerable traces of fire. *Norf. Archy.*, iv, 1855, 355.—*Ord. Surv. Sheet*, x, n.w.

SOOLE.—Roman coins. *Norf. Archy.*, iv, 1855, note to p. 313.

SOULTHORPE.—A Roman kitchen midden containing broken pieces of pottery of various qualities, and the head of an urn similar to one fig^d. in *Norf. Archy.*, iii. 416. A few fragments of Samian ware, one with the potter's stamp *IANVARIVA*. Bones: and teeth of the horse, pig, sheep or goat, and ox (*Bos taurus*). This midden was found 250 yds. north-east of Cranmer Hall in 1881.—(Note from Sir Lawrence Jones, Bart., of Cranmer Hall, Sept. 1889.)

SHADWELL.—Cinerary urns found near encampment, supposed Roman.—Coins found in ploughed land, near Shadwell Park. They are frequently found in the neighbourhood. *Archæol. Journ.*, Norwich vol., 1847, pp. xviii and lii. *Cat. of temp. mus.*

Black urn of fine earth, 5½ in. high, in possession of the Rev. J. Grenville Chester.—D. T. coll., B. M. Add. MSS., 23,060, f. 68.

STALHAM.—Vessels of earthenware, of different shapes and colours, all small, found in a field at Stalham, in 1830. (In possession of J. Webb, Esq., Stalham, in 1839).—D. T. coll., B. M. Add. MSS., 23,060, ff. 152-3-4.—Two small earthen vessels, found 1854, in a field traditionally called "the bloody field."—*Idem, idem*, 23,060, f. 155.

STRATTON (Long).—Roman urns (?), found in 1773. *Ord Surv. Sheet*, xcvi, n.w. Roman road running northwards from Scole through the Strattons, and past Caister, near Norwich. See *Ord Surv. Sheets*, 50, 66, 1 inch to a mile.

SWAFFHAM.—Oval jewelled fibula. *Norf. Archy.*, v, 1859, 354, *et seq.*, pl. same page. Bronze fibula. *Journ. Brit. Archæol. Ass.*, ii, 1847, 346. *Archæol. Journ.*, iv, 1857, 287.

Harp-shaped fibula of bronze, found on Swaffham heath. *Coll. of Mr. W. C. Plowright, Swaffham.*

Bronze handle of vase. *Brit. Museum, Romano-British room.*

TASBURGH.—A coin of one of the Antonines, found some years ago in the garden of the Vicarage, within the limits of the camp. Information received from the Rev. T. Preston, of Tasburgh. *Ord. Surv. Sheet*, lxxxvii, s.w., 6 in. to a mile and *idem* 9 and 10, lxxxvii, 25 in. to a mile.

THETFORD.—Coins ranging from Hadrian to Valens found here. *Brown, Hydriotaphia*, chap. ii, p. 5.

Four coins, brass, out of a number found here, cited by Blomefield, of Claudius, Trajan, and the Antonines. *Bl. Norf.* ii, 11-13.

Roman lamp of earthenware, discovered in 1827 in a mound called "the Red Mound," deposited in *Norwich Mus.* D. T. coll. B. M. Add. MSS. 23, 061, f. 24.

THORPE (near Norwich).—Large urns (fragments of), pieces of an amphora, iron spear heads, bronze edge of shield (?), ring-shaped fibulae, second brass coins of Nero, Roman bronze lamp, and iron bit. Found in

garden of the Rev. W. Frost (site, the top of a hill) in Thorpe hamlet, 1863 (?). *Norf. Archy.*, vi, 1864, 385.—Amphora (broken) found on same site as above in 1863 (?), and near the spot of previous discovery. The amphora, empty and clean. In the surrounding ground much charcoal and calcined flints. *Norf. Archy.* vii, 1872, 349. For site see *Ord. Surv. Sheet*, lxiii, s.e.—Gourd-shaped bottle, cup, and fragments of large pottery, found in grounds of F. Ranson, Esq., Mousehold. *Norf. Archy.* viii, 1879, 334.

THREXTON.—Roman coins, a cornelian with intaglio of head of Minerva, and a small onyx, the subject on it indistinct. *Archæol. Journ.*, iv, 1847, 252. D. T. coll. B. M. Add. M.SS. 23,061, f. 44.—Two fibulæ, bronze, one harp-shaped, the other in the form of a fish.—*Idem*, *idem* 23,061, f. 41.—Rims of Mortaria with potter's stamps, ^{TOTATIC} _{CVA FE} and ^{MOAB} (?). *Journ. Brit. Archæol. Ass.*, iv, 1849, 382.—Uncut gem, found in a barrow. *Norf. Archy.*, iii, 1852, 422.

The following objects are in the collection at Threxton House, formed by the late T. Barton, Esq.

Small urn of plain grey earth. It contained burnt bones and a coin of Antoninus, and was found standing on a pavement of red tiles, 4 ft. square. It was dug up, in 1857, in a lane called "the Dark lane," on the borders of Threxton and Saham Tony parishes. Piece of Samian ware, with group of Hercules slaying the Hydra, and another, showing dogs and scrolls. A large bowl, embossed, much worn, and mended with lead rivets in the Roman period. Fragments of Mortaria with potter's stamps; these are not uncommonly found in the fields near the river Wissey, on this estate. Heads of amphora, all in buff-coloured ware. Bronze key of late type and unusual form. For this latter see *illust. in Proceed. Soc. of Ants.*, 2nd ser, xii, 1889, 406. Some of the vessels found at Ashill are in this collection.

THURTON.—Coins of Gallienus, Victorinus, Tetricus, and Quintillus, found 1707. *Camd.*, ed. by Gough, ii, 105. *Bl. Norfolk*, x, 181. *Norf. Archy.*, iv, 1855, 315. For site of discovery see *Ord. Surv. Sheet*, lxxvi, s.e.

WALPOLE.—Roman bricks and aquaduct of earthen pipes, 26 in all, close to the sea bank. *Camd.*, ed. by Gough, ii, 116. For the Roman banks (so called), in Marshland, see *Sheets of Ord. Surv.*, 65, 69, 1 in. to a mile.

WANGFORD.—Roman pottery, found near Wangford mills on the Waveney. *Norf. Archy.*, v, 1859, 362.

WAYFORD.—A little south of Wayford bridge in field called "Chapel field" great number of urns found, of blue clay, turned in a lathe. "The spot is a headland projecting into the valley." *Archæol.*, xxiii, 1831, 373.

WELNEY.—Many Roman coins dug up about 1718. *Watson, Wisbech*, 553.

Three pewter or leaden vessels, bowl shaped, 11 ins. in diameter across top, dug up in a field in the parish in 1843, one in possession of the Rev. G. T. Huddleston of Outwell. Three, *idem*, of the same material, but smaller, and with wide flat rims (diameter across top 6 ins.) dug up at same time. One, in possession of the gentleman above named. (Roman ?) *D. T. Coll. Add MSS.* 23,046, ff. 186-7.

Roman Lanx of pewter found in the fen. *Archæol. Journ.*, xxvii, 1870, 98, *et seq.* *Proceed. Soc. of Ants.*, iv, 2nd ser., 1870, 425. The Fenland, Skerthley, p. 474, with plate.

WELLS.—A great number of Roman coins (many of Maximianus, some of Constantine), found on the sea shore. *Norf. Archy.*, iii, 1852, 421.

WESTON.—Urn containing 800 British and two Roman coins of the Antonia and Cassia families. *Norf. Archy.*, iv, 1855, p. 357. For site of discovery see *Ord. Surv. Sheet*, l, n.w.

WEYBOURNE.—Potter's kiln in parish of Weybourne. *Norf. Archy.*, v, 1859, 254, view and plans to scale. *Ord. Surv. Sheet*, x, n.e. Pottery found at Weybourne Hope in 1855. *Ord. Surv. Sheet*, x, n.w.

WIGHTON.—Roman coins found in entrenchment towards Walsingham. (Entrenchment not Roman.) *Bl. Norf.*, ix, 206, *Ord. Surv. Sheet*, viii, s.e.

WOOD DALLING.—On a farm, in occupation of Mr. Palmer, at bottom of a pit in one of the fields, human remains were found in a coffin formed of oak planks. With the coffin, fragments of urns of coarse earthenware, a patera of Samian ware with potter's stamp SAILVA, (?) and a Quern of breccia. Around and above this interment were a great quantity of bones of oxen and sheep, and some of goats, the shank bones of the sheep and goats being arranged in bundles. *Gent. Mag. New ser.* 14, 1840, 2nd pt., p. 643.—A drawing of the patera is given in *D. T. coll.*, B. M. Add. MSS., 23,049, f. 26, where the potter's name is given as SATIVS. The patera is 7½ in. in diam.

BUBON CASTLE (*Suffolk*).—Walled station. For descriptions and plans, &c., see *Camd. ed.* by Gough, ii, 95, 96.—*Spel. Icenia*, p. 155, Ives Garian.—*King. Mun. Ant.*, ii, 52 to 55, 116, *et seq.*, pl. xxviii, fig. 2 and ^{xxxviii} fig. 5.—*Archæ.* xxiii, 1831, 363-4. *Proceed. Soc. of Ants.*, iii, 1856, 227, *et seq.*, plan to scale and sect. of west wall.—*Norf. Archy.*, v., 1859, 146 *et seq.*, 3 plates of views, plan to scale, and 7 elevations, and sections in text. (The foundations of the lost west wall, the river wall, are shown in these).

Peculiar section and plan of the Towers, and details of construction of walls, &c., shown in paper on *Hist. and Architecture of Porchester Castle*, by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne in *Archæol. Journ.*, Winchester vol., 1845, 10 *et seq.*, plan and sect. in text, 11, 12.

For site see *Ord. Surv. Sheet*, ii, n.w., Suffolk, 6 in. to mile, and 5 and 9, lxxviii, Norfolk, 25 in. to mile.

Silver spoon, found in mount within south-west angle of station.—A fibula, bronze, found in field outside east gate. Ives. Garian, 36, and for fibula pl., p. 34.—Coins found in station not earlier than Domitian, *idem*, p. 30.

Small vase of Castor ware, found 1851, between the station and the church, and small plain urn found near the station. *Norf. Archy.*, iii, 1852, 415-6, illust. of vase same page. *Proceed. Soc. of Ants.*, ii, 1853, 171. For illust. of vase of Castor ware see also *D. T. coll.* B. M. Add. MSS. 28,062, f. 95.

Objects from this station in the Norwich Museum:—

Fragments of a vase found at Burgh Castle, 1852. Presented by G. J. Chester, Esq.

Fragments of bronze buckles and other small objects. A bone hairpin. Presented by W. Squire, Esq.

In *Brit. Mus. Romano-British room*.—Bronze bell, and small hollow cylinder of same metal.

In the possession of Sir Francis G. M. Boileau, Bart., F.S.A., 1839:—

Fragments of iron nails, one showing a flat square head with 4 in. of the shank remaining, together with pieces of flat iron bands. Found within the east gate, 1847. Small flat square of bronze, with male head upon it in low relief, within a circle (ornament of a casket?). Harp-shaped fibula of bronze, 1½ in. long, with remains of blue enamel about the head, and on the head and end a sinking for the setting of stones, found 1847. Very small fragment of thin glass vessel, found by the late Sir J. P. Boileau, Bart. Samian ware; one fragment with white painted ornament on it, found 1850, other pieces, all plain, including one showing a flanged rim. Small globular bottle of buff-coloured ware, 2 in. high, with very small neck. One perfect urn and fragments of another, of coarse grey ware, found 1848. Pan of the same coarse ware. Pieces of flue and roof tiles. Horns of deer with portions sawn off. The coins in this collection range from Gallienus to Arcadius, of whom there is one in silver. The rest are of bronze.

On position of station, and coins found in it, see *Proceed. Bury and West Suffolk Archæol. Inst.*, 6, 1888, 345, *et seq.*, 1 plan.

**SOME ACCOUNT OF THE REMAINS OF THE GALLIC-
ROMAN TEMPLE DISCOVERED ON THE SUMMIT OF
THE PUY DE DÔME (AUVERGNE,) IN 1873.¹**

By THE REV. PREBENDARY SCARTH, M.A.

Many have been led by geological researches to visit the very interesting country of Auvergne, so well-known for its volcanic craters, and for the remains of irruptions from them, that have now wholly ceased. These have long attracted geological investigation—also the isolation of the Puy de Dôme, and the height of its summit 4842 feet above the sea level—have led to barometrical observations, and these have now caused the placing an observatory on the very summit.² The building of this observatory led to the examination of a vast pile of ruins just below the summit, which had long invited investigation. This had been suggested and written about as early as the commencement of the present century, but no effort had been made to examine what was under the coating of coarse turf and brush wood which covered the ruins. Attention had been drawn to them by M. Vimont, librarian of the town of Cleremont, distant about eight miles from the mountain, and by M. Mathieu, a member of the Academy of Cleremont, in 1867, who had indicated that this was probably the site of the Temple of the Gallic Mercury mentioned by Pliny; and further attention was afterwards called to the remains in 1869. It was not, however, until later that the work of excavation was taken up seriously.

¹ Read in the Architectural Section at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, at Norwich, August 8th, 1889.

² On the Puy de Dôme the experiments on the weight of the atmosphere by Torricelli were successfully tried by Pascal, whose sister Madame Périer resided at Cleremont. Her husband made the experiments by carrying a tube of mercury, hermetically sealed, to the top of the mountain. The experiment was repeated five or six times under different changes of the atmosphere, and on

different parts of the summit in September, 1648.

The observatory on the Puy de Dôme was opened in August 1876.

Lower down on the South side are the ruins of the chapel dedicated to St. Barnabas, to which pilgrimages were made once a year, in mediæval times. Here also in the 16th century "Witches' Sabbaths," were held, and a woman named Jeanne Bordeaux was burned for sorcery in 1514, after confessing the crime.

This had been stimulated by an address from M. Alluard before the Commission appointed for the construction of the observatory, who spoke of the "débris of a Roman Temple of large size very near to the observatory, which, if the site could be explored, would offer to antiquaries some curious documents."

The construction of the observatory had brought some facts to light, and the matter was at length taken in hand by the Academy of Cleremont-Ferrand appointing a Commission in 1873, when researches were begun in the month of July.

It was not long before the work of uncovering revealed the upper portion of a large edifice which had been overthrown with much violence, and large blocks of black basalt, cut into cubical forms, and some having ornamental work upon them, were found heaped in confusion on the floors of the first platform over which the Temple stood. The great stair leading to this was uncovered, and the façade laid open. The size of the blocks of basalt, and the careful way in which these are cut and moulded, and the junction of the worked blocks by means of iron clamps, shew the time and labour that must have been bestowed upon the work.

Excavations were resumed in 1874, and continued until the autumn. These laid open still further details. The great staircase of the façade made it evident that it led to a further building; a lateral stair was also found, and a series of stairs mounting upwards. Upright pillars and doorways were also uncovered, and the back and side walls of a large hall or chamber. The walls are built in the Roman masonry, called "*opus quadratum*," and remain as perfect as when first erected.

Fragments of varieties of marble which had once covered the walls were found, and specimens of these (amounting to fifty-two) of different varieties, are now placed in the cases of the Museum of Antiquities at Cleremont.

The lower portion of the Temple contains a crypt or undercroft, adapted to the slope of the hill.

The hall is six French mètres and twenty centimètres (twenty English feet) in length, by five mètres eighty

centimètres in breadth (seventeen English feet) ; the walls are the *opus quadratum*, in good preservation. Fragments of capitals and portions of bas reliefs were found in this hall, also different Roman coins, and medals of bronze, and a votive inscription, hereafter to be described.

Encouraged by these discoveries the work of uncovering was continued with energy. A stair had apparently been carried along the wall of the hall, and led to the level of the entrance of the upper portion of the Temple, which had been totally demolished, and the débris of which had filled the lower portions.

The entrance to the upper building was through a doorway by which a hall of similar construction to the lower one was entered.

The condition of the ruins, as seen at present, make it very difficult to realize the exact arrangements of the whole, and more architectural knowledge than I can claim, to re-arrange the principal parts. The space of ground covered is very considerable. It seemed to me nearly an acre or more, and that the Temple was in stages suited to the form of the hill. Passages and water-courses have been found, and what may have been a cistern to supply water to the Temple,—which must have been stored for use, as there is no spring,—(see Report of Excavations).

On the summit of the mountain, or it may be on the apex of the building itself, stood the famous Statue of the Gallic Mercury, recorded by Pliny,¹ and stated by him to have been the work of Zenodorus, who afterwards made the colossal Statue of the Emperor Nero, for his Golden House at Rome.

How and when this Temple was destroyed remains a mystery—it can only have been by great force, and with mechanical appliances. It is not the work of time and gradual decay, but of violence of no ordinary kind.

¹ Pliny Lib ; xxxiv. cap. vii.

Verum omnem amplitudinem Statuarum ejus generis vicitestate nostra Zenodorus, Mercurio facto in Civitate Gallicæ Arvernæ per annos decem H.S. CCCC Manipretio.

Postquam satis sibi artem approbaverat, Romam accitus est Nerone ubi destinatum illius principis Simulacrum Colossum fecit CX pedum longitudine, quidquid Solis venerationi est, damna-

tis Sceleribus illius Principis.

Statuam Arvernorum cum faceret, Provincie Vibio Avito presidente, duo pocula Calamidis manu cœlata, quos Cassio Syllano avunculo ejus preceptoris suo Germanicus Cæsar adamata donaverat simulatus est ut vix ulla differentia esset artis quantumque major in Zenodoro præstantia fuit tanto magis deprehendens obliteratio potest.

Only remnants of inscribed stones have been found among the ruins, which have been most carefully searched. Only one perfect inscription exists and this is the small bronze tablet already mentioned, not above 3 inches long, by an inch and a half in breadth. It is a votive dedication to the Divinity of the Emperor, and the Gallic Mercury.

NVM AVG.
ET DEO MERCURI
DUMIATI
MATVTINIVS
VICTORINVS
D D

“To the Divinity of the Augustus (or of the Emperors) (as the word is contracted), and to the god Mercury Dumiatius, Matutinius Victorinus dedicates this,” or has dedicated this.

We learn from this Tablet happily preserved, the title of Mercury, viz., “Dumiatius,” that is, the local divinity or “Mercury of the Dome,” as it is now called.

The title of Mercury “Dumiatius” seems to be taken from the *thicket* or forest which must have belted the mountain in former ages, and which still remains to a considerable extent, and through which you pass in ascending the lower portion of the mountain.

The finding of this “plaque” or tablet, helps us to interpret the only other inscription which has been found, a few letters or endings of words only remaining. It is as follows:—

NO.
CIVES.
TIATOR or NEGOTIATORES

which has been thus conjecturally supplied

[MERCVRIO AVER]NO
CIVES
[NEGOTIA]TOR[ES]

To the Auvernian Mercury, Citizens, Merchants.

Cæsar in the 6th Book of the Commentaries speaking of the Gauls, says:—

Deum Maxime Mercurium colunt, hujus sunt plurima simulacra, hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt, hunc Viarum atque Itinerum ducem, hunc ad quæstus pucuniæ mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitranter.”

It is very probable therefore that this was a dedication to Mercury, and that the two letters of the first line are the ending of his Title *Avernus*.

The letters of the last line form no doubt part of the word **NEGOTIATORES**, and seem to shew that the merchants on their way to Cleremont, the ancient Augustonemetum, stopped to make their offerings to the god under whose supervision their calling was especially placed. Ovid in the 5th Book of the *Fasti* says:—

“Te quicumque suas profituntur vendere merces
Thure dato, tribuas ut sibi lucra rogant,

Huc tenit incinctus tunicam mercator, et urna
Purus suffita, quam ferat, haurit aquam,
Uda fit hinc laurus, lauro spargentur ab uda
Omnia, quæ dominos sunt habitura novos.”

The same custom which prevailed in Rome, no doubt prevailed in a province which had become completely Romanized, and adopted Roman manners and customs. Many articles of manufacture in bronze and iron have been found, which are carefully preserved at Cleremont, as the heads of lances or javelins, the iron head of a pic-axe, portions of an iron chain, fragments of wall-plaster, and of mosaic patterns in red and green porphyry of Numidia. Six medals, more or less injured, have been found, one a large bronze of Marcus Aurelius, another large bronze, enclosed in a vessel of green malachite, a Consular denarius of the Porcian family, and some others. That of Marcus Aurelius seems to be the latest date.

Fragments of pottery for daily use have been found, and also of vases of the red lustrous ware, and fragments of a votive metallic vase, the cover of which has upon it graffiti, in which can be traced the letters R and N.

Fragments of *leaden sheets*, with which the Temple seems to have been covered, have also been found, which serve to verify the statement of Gregory of Tours.

It would be tedious to attempt to describe the articles which are now to be seen in the cases of the Museum of Cleremont, but a small fragment of white Carara marble, having on it part of the word **M...CVRIO**, must not be passed over. The complete destruction of nearly every lettered fragment leads to the idea that this was *intentional*, and the name of the Temple and its presiding Divinity intended to be blotted out. When did this come to pass, and by whom was it effected?

The history of the Franks by Gregory of Tours, is, as far as I know, our only available source for information, but before entering upon this subject, something ought to be said about the statue of the Gallic Mercury made by Zenodorus for "City of the Arvernian Gauls." This was in the reign of the Emperor Nero, who having heard of the fame of this celebrated statue, sent for Zenodorus to Rome, who there executed the colossal statue of that prince, which was placed in his Golden House. This statue was after the death of Nero dedicated to the Sun, and in Pliny's time was an object of worship. The height was 110 feet.

The one executed by the sculptor Zenodorus for the Auvernian Temple of Mercury, is stated to have cost 400,000 sesterces, or 85,000 French francs, or about £3,400 English, and is said to have occupied him ten years in completion. (See Pliny's N.H.) Zenodorus must have been in Rome sometime between A.D. 54 and 68, and therefore the Gallic Mercury was executed previous to A.D. 54. As an artist Zenodorus is declared by Pliny not to have been inferior to the best Greek sculptors.

From Gregory of Tours we learn that *Wasso* or *Vasso*, was the name of the Gaulish Mercury, and worshipped by the Gauls under that name, and, he tells us that the destruction of his temple was the work of Chrocus, King of the Vandals, about the reign of Valerian and Gallienus.

"At that time (he says) or about that epoch the King of the Allemanni over-ran Gaul at the head of an army. He was a man of extreme daring, and influenced by the

¹ Extract from S. Gregor : *Epis : Turo-nensis Historia Francorum, Lib : 1 ; xxx.*
[Printed at Lutetie Parisiorum

MDCCLXX

by Franciscus Maguet]

"Vigesimo Sept^o loco, Valerianus et Gallienus Rom. Imperium sunt adepti, qui gravem contra Christianos persecutionem suo tempore commoverunt. Tunc Roman Cornelius, Cyprianus Carthaginem felici Sanguine illustrarunt. Horum tempore" et Chrocus ille Alamannorum rex commoto exercitu Gallias pervagavit. Hic autem Chrocus multæ adrogantiæ ferter fuisse, qui cum nonnulla inique gemisset, per consilium, ut aiunt, matris

* Chroci irruptionem alii Sæculi quinti initio consignant.

iniquæ, collectam, (ut diximus) Alamannorum gentem universas Gallias pervagatur Cunctasque Ædes quæ antiquitus fabricatæ fuerunt a fundamentis subvertit.

Veniens vero Avernos, delubrum illud, quod Gallica lingua 'Vasso,' Galatæ vocant, incendit, diruit, atque subvertit. Miro cum opere factum fuit atque firmatum, cujus paries duplex erat, ab intus enim de minuto lapide, à foris vero quadris sculptis fabricatum fuit. Habuit enim paries ille crassitudinem pedes triginta. Intrinsicus vero marmore ac mivivo variatum erat. Pavimentum quoque Ædis marmore stratum, desuper vero plumbo tectum."

counselors of his mother, who was of a fierce and cruel nature. He over-ran Gaul and destroyed every-where, even to their foundations, the noble buildings which had been the work of preceding ages. Cleremont did not escape, being burned by him and the Temple of the Gauls dedicated to Wasso, a monument of wonderful solidity was overthrown." Gregory says the walls were of two kinds of masonry, the interior being constructed of small stones, and the exterior of blocks of large size, squared and well cut. This is what is now found in the ruins that remain. Also marbles and mosaics—Gregory tells us—covered the interior walls. Plenty of fragments of these are found. The pavement was of marble, and the roof was covered with lead.¹ (See Gregory of Tours Sec. 1, chap iii).

¹ Report of Commission to the Council General of the Puy de Dôme.

"In July, 1873, at the first excavations they found that all the upper part of the edifice had been thrown over, the ruins of which covered the ground. The grand staircase of the principle façade, appeared under the rubbish.

"They immediately applied themselves to reconnoitre and to determine the extent of the edifice, they cleared the façade composed of beautiful cut stone carefully worked, with masonry intervening.

This extended over 40 metres, (131·24 Engl. ft.) in length, but at that distance it inclined slightly towards the north-west; and they found in the middle of the irregular substructions, which they followed over a length of nearly 20 metres (65·618 English feet)—forming probably part of the dependencies of the building—and three sarcophagi, one of which was in place. Some beautiful hollowed or scooped out freestone, indicated they were on the conduit of the great cistern, a necessary adjunct of an edifice like this constructed on a mountain completely deprived of spring water; but time failed to discover the site, and the arrival of the bad season caused the researches to be broken off.

In 1874, the committee decided to concentrate their researches on the point where they could penetrate, following the best conditions, into the interior of the edifice.

The indication of a staircase found at the foot of the lateral façade, showed moreover, that an access was to be found on that side. These marks were followed

and they found under the clearings, a series of stairs, of ornamental construction, with intermediate landings, and slabs of large stones, ranged in order along the lateral façade.

These steps they found led to a window, the right hand staples of which were in place, and very well preserved.

They began at once to penetrate into the room to which this window must have belonged. The rubbish rose to a height of 5 or 6 metres (16 to 19 Engl. ft.) and when cleared away showed that this hall had been a sort of crypt, or "hypogæa," like many edifices built upon a sloping ground. The hall was 6 m. 20 c. in length, (about 20 Engl. ft.) by 5 m. 80 c. in width, (about 16 ft.) the partition walls being covered with an "opus quadratum" beautifully preserved in many parts; and they found in the clearings numerous pieces of fine marbles, fragments of capitals, and bas reliefs.

"They found besides some medals, and fragments of bronze, amongst which a singular votive inscription, a beautiful epigraph of which we will presently speak.

"These discoveries were a great encouragement for the continuation of the work, which was pursued so actively that the clearings were carried off, and precautions were taken to avoid accidents, and insure the preservation of precious objects.

"A staircase had been carried to all appearance along the partition wall of the hall which should lead to the level of the porch of the upper temple, demolished by the barbarians, the ruins of which covered the lower side. The same par-

I have looked in vain to English writers for any account of this interesting Temple, on its discovery in 1873. Murray's handbook for travellers in France, part II. (1876) makes only this slight mention of it, viz., that in preparing the foundations of the observatory, "the massive remains of a large Gallo-Roman Temple dedicated to Mercury, were discovered" Mr. Freeman in his paper, (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xlv, p. 311.) on "Valentia Segellaunorum," making mention of the *taurobolium* observes that, "it has not the same kind of interest as the Celtic deity whose name, or the name of whose temple Gregory of Tours has preserved on the top of the Puy de Dôme." These are the only notices I have found, but the subject has had ample attention paid to it by the French savans of Cleremont, and a most interesting account, to which I have been much indebted, has been published by M. Tillion, who has brought together matter of much interest in a popular form. It would not be well to quit this subject without some mention of the observatory, very near the ruin, the building of which gave rise to the discovery. It is well suited for barometrical observations, and it was here that Mons. Paschal, the philosopher and experimentalist, a native of Cleremont, made his experiments, which have produced very important results.

The walk round the parapet of the circular building, gives a wonderful prospect of all the volcanic region of the Auvergne, and by the aid of a telescope placed on the battlement, you can bring distant objects close to the eye. From hence you not only overlook Cleremont and its surroundings, but you can see the hill on which stood the Gaulish City of Gergovia which was besieged by Julius Cæsar, and so nobly defended by Vercingetorix, and you can almost trace the position of Cæsar's forces, while besieging the town.

The geographer Strabo tells us of the Averni, that their capital was Nemossus, which has been supposed to

vise or porch of this hall had another door by which access was given into another room adjoining the preceding one, and where they found a particular arrangement consisting of many semi-circular apses constructed in worked stone called in the French Domite.

A gallery projected over the lower wall similarly covered with the "opus quad-

ratum," the circulation there was easy and commanded the seats. A fourth hemicycle was found 10th October, and they discovered three days after a seat belonging to a fifth exedra. This hall of such curious arrangement extended without doubt to the foundation or bottom of the building.

be represented by the town of Cleremont, about eight miles from the summit of the Puy de Dôme, and mentions the great power of this people, and their frequent wars with the Romans, when they could bring as many as 200,000 men, and even larger numbers into the field. They had brought an army of 200,000 men against Maximus Æmilianus, and the same number against Domitius Ænobarbus. Their battles with Cæsar took place, one at Gergovia, about six miles from Cleremont, situated on a lofty hill, and the birth place of their Chief Vercingetorix, the other, near to Alesia, a city of the Mandubii, who border on the Arverni. The Arverni extended their dominion as far as Narbonne, and the borders of Marseilles. When Gaul became a Roman province, and the inhabitants adopted Roman manners and customs, and the resources of the country were increased under Roman management, the population could hardly have been less than in its semi-barbarous state. It was evidently under Roman tuition that the Temple of the Gallic Mercury was built, and the ruins of this temple and the remains found there, seem to show that the "Galli" were no inapt pupils under Roman tuition. The Romans had remained masters of Gaul for 538 years, and the language of the Galli had been entirely modified, and changed by the introduction of Latin, which remains to this day a very large ingredient in the modern French. The introduction of Christianity toward the end of the third century, eventually led to the destruction of Paganism. St. Austremonne is said to have been the apostle of Auvergne, and converted a senator named Cassius, of the town of the Arverni, and afterwards also the Chief Priest of the Temple of Wasso, called Victorinus, which must have been before the destruction of the Temple itself. These are the legendary stories contained in the history of the Saints of Auvergne. It is not easy at this remote date to test their accuracy, but a grand and lasting monument of their work remains not only in the noble Lombardic Church of Notre Dame du Port, at Cleremont, where Peter the hermit preached the first crusade, but in the Grand Cathedral which crowns so majestically the City of Cleremont.

**THE PERPENDICULAR STYLE IN EAST ANGLIA, CHIEFLY
ILLUSTRATED BY EXAMPLES IN NORTH NORFOLK.¹**

BY J. L. ANDRÉ.

Those of my hearers who are old enough to remember the earlier days of the revival of Gothic Architecture in England, will recollect that the Perpendicular style was regarded with but little favour, and that almost invariably when a church was restored, the Third Pointed features were sacrificed with unsparing hand, in order to emphasise any earlier details remaining. In justification of this course, it may be advanced that the latest phase of our Gothic art is often presented to us in a form which has little to recommend it when compared with preceding styles; the squareness of outline and detail, the coarseness and inelegancy of the mouldings, together with the stiff and inartistic treatment of carved work, both in figures and foliage, often producing a disagreeable effect on the whole. But the characteristics of Perpendicular work, which made the earlier disciples of the Gothic revival despise that style, are greatly modified in most of the churches of East Anglia erected or altered during the fifteenth century, some of those finished at the earlier part of that era being almost as truly Decorated as Perpendicular in their general style and many of their details. The church of St. Nicholas, Lynn, completed in 1416, is a good example of the mixture of Second and Third Pointed features, some of the doorways being of pure Decorated conception, as is also the tracery of the clerestory windows, whilst the latter features, as seen at each end of the building, have tracery of a thoroughly rectilinear character. This combination of the two phases of art is a leading trait in

¹Read in the Architectural Section at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, at Norwich, August 7th, 1889.

many of the edifices proposed to be visited during the present meeting, and I will not therefore cite further examples of it, but merely observe that it naturally led to a free use of the mouldings of the Decorated style; in capitals and bases of columns, for instance, they are often introduced in preference to the mis-shapen and bulbous-formed members so frequently met with elsewhere; and in other cases the various groups of mouldings follow the old arrangements, and are not so often separated by the broad shallow cavetto, or hollow; the members composing the combinations are less weak and wiry in effect than is commonly seen in Third Pointed work, and the details generally show much less monotony, and present a more pleasing mixture of angular and curved lines than is usually found in the Perpendicular style. In early work of that date a great preference was shown for two centred arches, and those of pointed segmental form, also for openings struck from three points, and I do not think that the four-centred arch (so characteristic of the style) was ever much of a favourite in East Anglia till nearly the close of the Perpendicular period of art.¹ Many features occasionally met with in Second Pointed examples became leading ones in the succeeding style;—thus at North Walsham, the aisles are continued to the extreme east end, and the chancel arch is omitted, whilst at Beeston S. Lawrence, the late Second Pointed chancel is covered by a roof of very slight pitch.

What development the Pointed style would have assumed had it not being supplanted by the revived Classic, it is perhaps difficult to say, but in all probability, a return to earlier forms would have ensued under certain modifications, as in many Perpendicular examples we find traces of such a desire to resume features of the earlier styles, a longing which is to be seen in some East Anglian church work of the closing period of Gothic art. Thus at S. Nicholas, Lynn the arch of the western entrance

¹ The mediæval architects divided the widths of their pointed arches into equal parts, and struck the arcs from two of these divisions; they likewise formed their four centred openings by first fixing upon the centres for the springing or side arcs, and then finding the centres

for the inner or upper segments on points placed upon vertical lines drawn from the centres of the outer arcs. Many modern four-centred arches have been constructed in complete ignorance of the proper method.

embraces two doorways with a niched tympanum above them; a design often found in earlier buildings, but almost unique at the Perpendicular period, and in the same church there is also a circular headed doorway. At Cromer the belfry windows are composed of couplets of lancets, whilst at Salthouse the effect of lanciform openings is produced by the two long narrow windows inserted in each bay of the aisles of that remarkable edifice. Elsewhere we perceive the same tendency to revert to earlier forms exhibited in planning, and so we find apsidal ends to the chapel of Henry VII at Westminster, and to two smaller ones for private use at Cowdray, and Hurstmonceaux in Sussex, in which county there is also a sixteenth century church at Twineham whose windows are confined to debased, but lancet shaped openings.

Having made these preliminary remarks I will now proceed to discuss the leading characteristics of the various parts of an East Anglian Perpendicular church *seriatim* and then conclude this address with a few observations on the interior fittings of the edifice.

Beginning at the west end, I must observe that nearly every church in Norfolk possesses a tower, and this is almost invariably placed at the west end of the building at the termination of the nave. I allude of course to Perpendicular examples only, as earlier ones were often differently situated, as may be noted in the two great churches at Lynn, also at Dunham, Gillingham and Castle Rising. At Sloley the tower stands west of the end of the north aisle, and at Harpley similarly as to the south aisle. At Terrington S. Clements, the detached campanile is north of the western bay of the north aisle, whilst at Beccles, Suffolk, the bell tower which, like the three preceding examples, is of Third Pointed work, is situated nearly at the end of the chancel, south of the building and at some distance from it, a position chosen from the nature of the ground upon which the edifice is erected, there being a rapid slope immediately west of the nave.¹ Occasionally

¹ The little church at Metton has a tower the west wall of which forms part of the enclosure of the churchyard, so that it being impossible to have a western doorway, there are north and south arches and the entrance is formed in the east wall of the nave; this is of great thickness, and has a staircase worked within

it leading to a gallery also constructed in the wall, and arched over. At East Bergholt, Suffolk, the stump of the west tower is similarly placed upon the boundary wall and like Metton, exhibits north and south arches as does also the tower at Dedham, Essex.

very unimportant churches had no towers, Blundal has only a mean double bell-cote, and East and West Beckham are entirely destitute of any provision for bells, as they appear at present.

Frequently the towers rose high above the nave roofs before the belfry stages were commenced, and this is found even in comparatively humble structures, as at S. Margaret's, Ormesby, and at Sutton. The walls were also sometimes carried up some height above the belfry windows before the parapet began, as at Cromer, and at Lavenham, Suffolk. In the last mentioned church the tower is exactly three times the height of the nave and clerestory combined.

The best towers comprise at least four stages, and occasionally five, in their composition; in the lowest or each is an elaborately ornamented but bold basemould, traceried or flint panelled, a wide arch usually under a square label forming the western entrance; above this being the west window in the second stage, then a division bearing square traceried sound windows; and lastly the belfry, with not more than two openings on each face, the whole structure being finished with a plain parapet or with a rich band of flint tracery and battlements. Some of the towers are remarkable for their massive proportions, such as those at Felmingham and Ludham in Norfolk, or at Kessingland in Suffolk; the heights of others are noteworthy, that of Winterton, now a small fishing village, reaches 132 feet, whilst it is nearly 160 at Cromer. Especially beautiful base-mouldings are found at Barton Turf, Cromer, Hickling, Hindolvestone, and South Repps, and the space over this feature is frequently covered with long cusp-headed flint panels as at Ingham. The base mouldings so often exhibit the inlaid flint work that it may be best to say a few words here on that striking peculiarity in the ornamental work of East Anglian edifices, both ecclesiastical and secular. This so-called flint panelling, or flush work, is more properly to be described as a flint inlay, the stone being sunk out to the form of the pattern, and of a sufficient depth to receive the dressed flints. In many Norfolk churches its use is confined to the embellishment of the bases and parapets of the towers, whilst in others,

especially in larger edifices, it is freely employed throughout the fabrics. At Stratford S. Mary, Suffolk, inscriptions are worked in it round the base mouldings, and the porch and clerestory at Melford, Suffolk, are similarly inscribed. An early example may be seen in some arcaded work under the east window of the Second Pointed chancel at Beeston S. Lawrence. So fond were our ancestors in the Eastern Counties of this inlaid work that they employed an imitation of it on some church fittings. In this manner the panels of the font at Trunch and of the pinnacles of the sedilia at Barningham-Northwood, are filled in with black cement; whilst at Knapton the font stands on steps faced with split flints.

The west doorway has often continuous mouldings without side shafts, a label following the outline of the arch, besides which there is a second one forming a square head and joining the inner dripstone at its apex and side terminations, a peculiarity in East Anglian work; elsewhere the square enclosing label, or a pointed one is alone used to one opening. The spandrils are filled with oak foliage at Hickling; bear shields with the fetterlock badge of the Felbrigg family, at Felbrigg; have the lamb and eagle, emblems of the two S. Johns at Coltishall; and the martyrdoms of S. Lawrence and S. Sebastian, at S. Lawrence, Norwich. In the doorhead panels of the Eastern counties I think that more variety is found than in other parts, and less of the monotonous circle and quatrefoil filling in, so usual elsewhere. Frequently there is no western entrance, as at Burlingham S. Edmund, Caistor (Yarmouth) Catfield, Hempstead (Eccles), Hemsby, Kelling and Strumpshaw; even the grand towers at Ludham and Winterton, do not possess it; on the other hand Wiggenhall S. Peter has three entrances to its campanile: north, west, and south.

The west window and the doorway beneath it form one conception at Hickling and Ingham, a single arch including both in the latter example; at South Repps the opening is of six transomed lights, and is of large size, and a curious late window of five lights is noticeable in the parochial tower at Wymondham. Over most west windows in other parts of England we generally find a lancet, two-light opening, or niche; but in many places in

Norfolk and the adjacent borders of that county, there is very frequently a square window filled with tracery and capped by a horizontal label. This is quite a localism, and these round windows as they are termed, offer a great variety of elegant designs; large ones occur in the ruined tower at North Walsham, but in humbler bell towers they are often merely small quartefoiled openings. The most elegant ones are probably those at Worstead, others of nearly equal merit are met with at Coltishall; in the beautiful but ruined edifice at Overstrand, they take the form of traceried oblongs, as at Carlton Colville, Suffolk, where there are two conjoined quartrefoils, each enclosing a shield; a fine example at S. George's Norwich, has the cross of that saint in its centre, and at West Winch, a shield with armorial bearings is introduced in a clever and original manner.

Belfry windows are of three or a less number of lights and there is usually only one on each face of the belfry;¹ at South Repps, the three-light openings are of great length, and transomed, and the coupled two-light windows at Wymondham, appear to be a Third Pointed adaptation of a similar design in Second Pointed work at Hawton, Notts; in both cases the couplets are enclosed under ogee canopied heads. Flowing tracery is elsewhere considered unusual in the uppermost stage of a tower, but does not appear to be uncommon in Norfolk, as examples may be met with at Coltishall, Harpley, Hemsby, and Ingham. The newel stairs are frequently placed in the south west angle. The stepped battlements which are a leading characteristic of Norfolk towers, are of a very remote origin, and formed a prominent feature in the architecture of ancient Assyria. The faces of these battlemented parapets are often panelled with arcades following the contour of the merlons and embrasures; good examples are at Filby, Ingham, Ormesby S. Margaret, and South Repps. Many towers have only plain cornices and are devoid of pinnacles, and where the later occur they are but small and short, seldom more

¹ I know of none with three windows as we find in Somerset, at Axbridge, Cheddar, and Wincombe. The detached or flying pinnacles so conspicuous in some western belfries, are absent in Norfolk ones, though there is something

analogous in the double pinnacles at the corners of the tower at Ingham. The pierced stone cornice of trefoils or quatrefoils set in diagonal squares, is also a west of England feature unfamiliar in the east.

than four in number; but at Strumpshaw there are eight, and at Winterton twelve. Instead of the usual pyramidal terminations they often end with seated animals or statuettes, as at Filby, Barton Turf, and Ormesby S. Margaret. At Wiggenhall S. Peter the emblems of the four Evangelists finished the angles of the tower. The floors of belfries were often groined as at North Walsham, and there are preparations for vaulting at the small church at Runton; whilst an excellent wooden floor remains at Hickling, with moulded girders and curved braces. East Anglian tower arches are remarkable for their altitude, that at Cromer has a clear height of fifty feet, and in most cases the greatest possible dignity has been imparted to this feature; the fine one at Felmingham now reaches high above the miserable body that has been tacked on to it; another beautiful arch exists at Kessingland, Suffolk.¹

A few words must be said respecting the noted round towers of the East of England and for this reason—that frequently they had a belfry stage added to them and tower arches pierced through their eastern walling in Perpendicular times. In their original state these circular erections had no western doors as is the case with the three existing examples in Sussex.² The western entrance at Mutford, Suffolk is the only instance that I have met with where a doorway has been cut through a circular tower in mediæval times, and there it was done for the purpose of building a porch in front of it. When the small edifices to which these belfries were originally attached gave place to others of increased dimensions, it became necessary to make the towers larger to corres-

¹ There are aumbries within the towers at Belaugh, Coltishall, and Felbrigg.

² These circular towers were doubtless designed of round form, as best suited for strength, for places of refuge and stores for valuables during rebellions and riots; the arrangements in some square towers point to the same uses, thus at Filby the late Second Pointed one has an internal door to the stairs turret strongly banded with iron and secured by seven padlocks; at Warbleton, in Sussex, there is a similar iron bound door with complicated lock-work, evidently for making the belfry a place of security, though popularly supposed to form part of an engine for torturing heretics confined in the chamber

above. That circular towers were so formed in preference to square ones from an alleged difficulty in procuring stone appears to me absurd, and the three Sussex examples help to disprove this theory, for they are all situated on the river Ouse, and have an excellent navigable water-way from the sea, which, whilst it would enable stone to be easily supplied from Caen, would on the other hand, expose these places to piratical attacks from the French, an eventuality, which in after times frequently took place along the southern coast.

These towers are sometimes elliptical, as at Rollesly, which is wider from north to south, than from east to west.

pond with the enlarged buildings, and this was effected by raising another stage upon them—generally, but not invariably, of an octagonal shape ; where this was done windows were placed in each face of the octagon opposite the cardinal points as at Potter Heigham, and at Mutford Suffolk, in both which examples the other sides were filled with blank windows of similar pattern to the “practical” ones. The parapets of these additional stages are generally battlemented and have had small angle pinnacles which have usually perished, instances of which occur at both the last-named churches.

In East Anglia, as in other parts of England, the larger churches have their naves divided into five bays ; but at Terrington there are no less than seven, Ludham has six, and Beccles, in Suffolk, a corresponding number. In moderately-sized edifices naves of four bays are of very frequent occurrence, about one-fourth of the churches in the north-eastern part of Norfolk having them.

The arcades between the body of a church and its aisles are very commonly supported on simple octagonal shafts even in such an extensive and noble structure as Terrington S. Clement's, and the dignified but smaller churches of Hickling, Ludham, and Upton. When clustered and moulded pillars occur they are either formed upon a square plan placed diagonally, or within a lozenge-shaped outline whose greatest diameter is from north to south ; examples of the first system may be found at Cromer, Ingham, Salthouse, and Upton, and of the second at S. Nicholas, Lynn, and Lavenham, Suffolk. The shafts at Cromer are composed of four half rounds separated by a broad wave moulding ; at Salthouse and Upton there are four semi-circular shafts divided by a hollow between each ; at Tunstead the half rounds are separated by the favourite double ogee moulding, and at Ingham by filleted rolls.

In some cases the arch-mouldings are partly continuous and partly borne by the columns as at S. Nicholas, Lynn. At Tunstead, the arches spring from imposts above the capitals which is unusual in Third Pointed work. Plain double chamfered arcades are common, flat as at Barton Turf, or hollow as at Ludham. At Wiggenhall S. Mary Magdalen, great appearance of richness is given by

elaborately moulded and bold labels being placed above the doubly chamfered arches.

Chancel arches are frequently omitted, early instances of which are at North Walsham, and S. Nicholas, Lynn, they are absent also in the smaller churches at Blundal, Caistor (Yarmouth), and Strumpshaw. Often the rood screen formed the only division between the nave and chancel as may be seen at Hemsby. In many cases the outer doorways of porches, chancel and tower arches, and occasionally the responds of nave arcading, are formed with a central shaft (either round or half octagonal with cap and base) flanked by the same continuous mouldings on either side, a method found elsewhere, but I fancy less frequently than in the east of England. The porches at Felbriggs, Hempstead, Harpley and North Repps have this feature as many others; it occurs in the tower arches at Acle, Felmingham, and Hickling, and the responds at Upton, and Burgh S. Margaret.

The noble clerestories of the more important structures are so well known that it is unnecessary to say that they are a marked feature in the Perpendicular style of East Anglia. Nearly every important church had one, and it is found in many smaller buildings as at Potter Heigham and Baconsthorpe, in the latter being continued to the east end of the structure; at Letheringsett the chancel walls are as high as those of the nave clerestory, whilst at Terrington S. Clement a late brick walled clerestory has been added to the somewhat earlier and aisleless chancel. The combination of circular and pointed arched windows, seen in the Second Pointed example at Cley-next-the-Sea, occurs in a Third Pointed one at Sherringham. Tunstead has a blind storey above the nave arcades of its late Decorated or transitional church.¹

¹ Though occasionally the mediæval builders displayed a reckless daring in building construction, at other times they acted with a carefulness which would now be considered superfluous. Thus in the east of England where on the coast the most destructive winds come from the north and east, they made these sides of their churches stronger than those facing the south and west. For this reason at Southwold the clerestory win-

dows on the north side have their tracery brought lower down than the corresponding openings on the south, and at S. Nicholas, Kings Lynn, the east window is of nine lights transomed in the centre of the mullions, whilst the west one is larger, has eleven fenestrations, and is only transomed at the foot of the mullions in order to connect them with the canopy of the western doorway. At Castle Rising the north side of the church has no

The porches in North Norfolk are generally found in the western bay of the nave, especially when the latter has only four, or a less number of compartments; examples of this position may be mentioned at Martham, Marsham, Salle, and Tunstead. In large structures they are very capacious and occasionally of two bays in depth, an early instance of which is seen in the fine Decorated porch at Great Yarmouth; double-bayed Perpendicular ones may be noticed at North Walsham, Harpley, Ingham, and Worstead, the last two have parvises, an addition wanting at Harpley; Cromer possesses a western porch of rich Perpendicular work. Parvises are frequently met with, and occasionally there are two at one church, as at Cromer and Salle; the manner in which the stair turrets of these chambers are in the last named example made to form part of the west elevation, is both ingenious and effective. The floors of these cells are often carried on groining, and the parvise itself is beautifully vaulted at Salle, where it has been used as a chapel. Sometimes the walls rise as a short tower above the aisle roofs, as at Barton-Turf, Ingham, and Sutton. The chief ornamentation of the East Anglian porches is centred in their entrance fronts, the sides being nearly devoid of enrichment, so at S. Nicholas, Lynn, North Walsham, and at Gisleham, Suffolk. Side windows are generally unglazed, as at S. Nicholas, Lynn, and Terrington S. Clement; but at Harpley the rebates for glass remain. At Worstead the openings occur in the outer bay only, leaving the inner one to act as a solid buttress to the aisle walls. The fronts generally show a combination of niches and small narrow-light windows, an arrangement found at Acle, Gresham, Hempstead (Eccles), Ludham, Martham, and Potter Heigham. Instead of pinnacles there are seated figures at Barton-Turf. Gable crosses, on porches, &c., are not unfrequently met with in Norfolk, and many of them are of that peculiar form which has

windows whatever. On the contrary, near the south coast of England, where the wind blows strongest from the west, we often find the south doorway omitted, instances of this occur in Sussex, at Clayton, Framfield, Friston, Horsham,

Ifield, Maresfield, Walberton, and Yapton. Leominster west tower has the peculiarity of a north doorway, and the western entrance is sheltered by porches at Rogate, Rudgewick, Rustington and Yapton.

eight arms, thus combining a cross and saltire. Good crosses remain at Gresham, West Lynn, and Wiggshall S. Peter; and as I am speaking of gable terminations it may be permitted to mention that sancte bell cotes exist at West Lynn, Wiggshall, S. German's, and Wiggshall, S. Mary Magdalen's, and that in the last church the bell itself hung till within the last few years.

Vestries are probably more frequently met with than in other parts of England; they are not always of Third Pointed date, an interesting example in the preceding style is at West Winch, and has a vaulted roof; at Winterton also there is a vestry with very small lancet windows set high up in very thick walls. They are nearly always on the north side of the church, or behind the east wall of the chancel; but at Hindovestone is one of late date entered by a doorway in the south wall of the sanctuary immediately east of the piscina.—northern sacristies are at Salthouse and Worstead, others existed at Felbrigge, Trunch, and Hørpley; in the last case it was vaulted in two bays. At S. Nicholas, Lynn the eastern compartments of the chancel aisles are formed into vestries, the one on the north side being reserved for the clergy, a rich and wide doorway opening from it into the sacrarium. At Worstead and Castle Acre the revestry is two storied, as at Flamstead, Herts, and Horsham, Sussex. The piscinas with which they were furnished remain in the Second Pointed examples at West Winch and Roughton; in the former church there is also one at the high altar. I need hardly observe that none of these chambers possess original external doorways.

So much has been said respecting the rich hammer-beam roofs of Norfolk and Suffolk, that the remarks here shall be as brief as possible. I would first observe that the elaborate cornices which they usually possess, were occasioned by the absence of parapets and gutters, the roofs even in the largest edifices having generally dripping eaves, a peculiarity by which they are conspicuously distinguished from the fine and profusely ornamented churches of Somerset, where the pierced parapets and their attendant pinnacles combine to form such striking features. The spandrils of these East Anglian roofs are cut out of

boarding about an inch in thickness, after the manner of fretwork, and display a marvellous variety in their patterns, as may be seen in the roof at Trunch. Quite humble churches have in some cases rich hammer beam coverings, as at Beeston Regis, and Potter Heigham.¹ Another favourite form of roof in East Anglia, consists of a framing composed of a series of principal and intermediate rafters with wall pieces under them, and to which they are united by curved braces. As there is neither a collar nor a tie beam, the construction is extremely unscientific and weak, and the walls on which such a roof has been placed, would in all probability have been thrust out long ago, had they not been preserved by their great thickness; examples are at Felbrigg and Tunstead, tie beams having been inserted in the latter instance for the purpose of keeping the walls upright.

Many Norfolk roofs were thatched, as may be still seen at Coltishall and Potter Heigham; thatch was not merely applied as a healing to the very smallest churches, but was used in those of respectable size and character, not being considered a mean or despicable material for such a purpose in old times; and as a roof covering it has much to recommend it, being cool in summer, and warm in winter, in these respects being the very reverse of lead. Frequently the roofs were open to the healing of thatch or tiles, without either boarding or plastering between the rafters; the thatch still shows thus at Burlingham S. Edmund, as it did till recently at Pakefield, Suffolk, and the lead is conspicuous between the rough boarding at Felbrigg. Oak was not the only wood used for roofs, that at S. Nicholas, Lynn being the sweet chestnut, a material which lasts well, resists the worm, and is one which spiders avoid.

Before concluding this paper with a few observations on the internal fittings of a Third Pointed church, it is necessary to say somewhat concerning the details common

¹ The number of angelic figures introduced into the ornamentation of these hammer beam roofs is often very remarkable, thus at Grundisburgh Suffolk, each pair of principals has five full length angels attached to it. Probably these representations were intended chiefly to symbolise the heavenly host, whilst the offices of the saints were confined to

niches in the walls to signify the "lively stones" built up into the fabric of the mystic church. This I think was the idea intended at S. Nicholas, Lynn, each intermediate rafter having two full length angels, whilst in the clerestory walls are some forty niches to enshrine saintly personages.

to the entire fabric, and I will first consider doorways and doors. Nearly every church, however small, had north and south entrances, though the western one was frequently omitted, as before noticed. The large edifice of S. Nicholas, Lynn has two doorways on each side of the nave, and there is also a second south entrance at North Walsham. The finest west doorway with which I am acquainted is that opening into the tower of the parish church at Wymondham, where there are no less than five orders of beautifully grouped mouldings. At Tunstead the transitional Second to Third Pointed one has the elaborate arch and jamb mouldings most skilfully connected together. The broad cavetto, or hollow when it occurs, is generally studded with shields, either plain scutcheons, as at Felmingham, or bearing emblems, as at Kessingland, Suffolk, where they are charged with those of the Trinity and Blessed Sacrament; at other places these shallow spaces have foliage or devices, as roses and crowns at Burlingham S. Peter, or the crowned T. for the Trinity, the M.R. and the Ormond (or Wake) knot, at Gisleham, Suffolk.

To the Perpendicular style belong the richly-panelled doors with which so many East of England churches are adorned, and of which the finest example is probably at S. Nicholas, Lynn; this is folding and has also a two-leaved wicket within it; although this fine work of art is not all cut out of the solid, it is built up so ingeniously that the defect is not perceived. Another fine door remains at Harpley, single but also with a central wicket as at Lynn; at the base are a lion and a stag and over these in panels figures of the four Latin Fathers and the four Evangelists. Good panel work is seen on the entrances at Filby, Hempstead (Eccles), Hickling, and Martham. Many doors of Perpendicular work are composed of a framing covered with feathered or moulded boards whose joints are concealed by ornamental fillets; a good one of this kind is at Acle.

In the East of England there is a large number of windows respecting which it would be difficult to say whether Second or Third Pointed ideas predominated in their tracery; thus at Beeston S. Lawrence there are three-light openings, the heads of which have upright

bars enclosing geometrical and flowing traceried figures. In fully developed Perpendicular the transoms are often placed immediately over the heads of the lights, whilst in other cases the continuity of the horizontal line of a transom is broken by adjacent lights having the bar placed across them at different levels; examples of the former occur at Felbrigg and Upton, of the latter at Acle and Wiggenhall S. Mary Magdalen. On transoms the battlement ornamentation is freely used, sometimes both within and without the window, as at the last-named church. This form of decoration is said to be peculiar to English Gothic, and is a marked feature in that of the Perpendicular period. The east window at Lowestoft, Suffolk, is a beautiful example of the capabilities of the style, as the tracery shows a remarkable amount of ingenuity in the combination it presents of rectilinear and curved lines; it is also noteworthy for the manner in which the design is made to fill nearly the whole of the window-way; the east window of the adjacent town church at Beccles is very similar in conception, but of seven lights, whilst that at Lowestoft is of five.

In some edifices the windows are conspicuous for their uniformity of pattern; at Terrington S. Clement's, for instance, the aisle windows exhibit one unvaried design throughout, including that of the openings at the west ends of each; and the great west window of five lights is but an adaptation of the three light aisle ones. In some late work the discharging arches over doors and windows have voussiors composed of flint and red brick alternately as at Barton Turf and the gateway at Castle Acre Priory. The transitional windows at Salthouse, have their sills lowered to form seats, and there being two in each bay closely adjoining one another, the effect of a continuous arcade is produced. At Hickling every window has jamb shafts and at Worstead several of them have large brackets in their splays for statuettes.

Niches bear a conspicuous part in the ornamentation of many churches, there are five under the east window at Beccles, and at S. Margaret's, Lynn are three very large and effective ones in the same position; they frequently flank the west windows, and remarkably fine and delicately

pinnaced ones are so placed at Terrington, smaller at West Winch, and at Kessingland, Suffolk. Niches of large size for the patron saints, Peter and Paul, adorn the western porch at Cromer, the presence of their emblems in panels beneath bearing witness to the fact. At Beccles a doorway has several inserted among the mouldings, and over porch entrances they are found so often that I will only cite one instance,—at S. Nicholas, Lynn. Buttresses, as at Cromer, frequently have niches on their faces.

The interior fittings of Perpendicular date are conspicuous for their beauty and delicacy of treatment; prominent among them appears the font, which in Norfolk is generally placed in the middle passage, and in some cases the benches are so arranged as to allow of this favourite position. The Third Pointed bowls are, I venture to say, invariably octagonal in shape, and the square basins, such as are occasionally to be found in Sussex, and in the west of England, are entirely absent.¹ Of East Anglian font bowls there are certainly fewer in which the commonplace quatrefoiled circle, or cusp headed panel forms the chief decoration, as it does in Perpendicular works elsewhere, and a decided preference is given to figure subjects and emblems. Concerning the representations of the administration of the seven sacraments, I have entered at some length in a previous paper, and will only remark here that the Evangelistic symbols are probably even more frequently met with. At Salthouse they occur alternated with foliated panels; at Aylesham and Burgh S. Margaret, they are associated with the emblems of the Passion; at Acle and Wymondham, and at Bradwell, Suffolk, they are accompanied by demi-angels, whilst at Hindvestone and Ludham, they are placed in four consecutive panels. Angels and lions alternate on the fonts at Corton, Somerleyton, and Pakefield in Suffolk, and Carlton Colville in Norfolk.² Sometimes the font stems are simply pannelled, but occasionally bear the figures or emblems of saints, thus

¹ As at Jevington, Hurstmonceaux and Willingdon.

² Sperling in his *Church Walks in Middlesex*, p 73 n., says of the font at Hillingdon, "A precisely similar one occurs at Happisburgh, Norfolk." It is of

a very common East Anglian pattern, alternate figures of seated lions and wood-houses embellish the stem, whilst the octagonal bowl has demi-angels and the evangelistic symbols.

angels with taper-sticks appear on the shaft at Upton, and similarly at Hindolvestone the eight sides have alternately a crowned G. or M. for S. George the Martyr, and patron of that church.

To the Perpendicular style belong the great majority of our chancel screens, and perhaps without exception, the lofts over them. In the east of England both are remarkable for their beauty as works of joinery and carving, and also for the highly instructive painted work and gilding which many of them still display. The tracery often exhibits extreme delicacy in the cusping, which is frequently double-feathered and occasionally triple-cusped or feathered. The fenestrations sometimes show a plane of tracery on each side of the screen, as at Potter Heigham, and there are even examples of three separate planes of traceried enrichment (as at Barton Turf?). At Ludham the rood-screen, dated 1493, is enriched with little flying buttresses and pinnacles before the dividing mouldings or uprights, and in many cases the work is little suited for rough usage. The lower panels are sometimes placed above a band of tracery as at Tunstead, or of foliage as at Trunch; occasionally an inscription is introduced, recording the donors of the work, as may be met with at the last named church and Ludham. The use of gesso was very common, and is conspicuously so at Aylsham, Burlingham S. Andrew, and Worstead; the substance is of great hardness and always gilded over when applied to screen work, and panel paintings. The lower panels of the screens are invariably solid, and generally painted; when so decorated each was either red and green in alternate couples, or simply alternately. Our ancestors were remarkably fond of green as a colour, and I have only met with one instance of a departure from the above red and green arrangements; it is at Gillingham, where red and blue are the colours used. On these red and green grounds were either angels, saints and prophets, or simply floral patterns or powderings. Occasionally the crowned initial of a saint formed the pattern as at Salthouse, where the mitred N. stands for S. Nicholas, and at Wiggenhall S. Mary Magdalen there is an instance of the Evangelistic emblems being thus employed. A beautiful series of devices from the Norfolk

and Suffolk screens will be found in Pugin's work on Floral Ornament.

The rood-loft was generally approached by stairs at its northern end. These are often contained in turrets cleverly carried on arched masonry as at Aylmerton, Beeston-Regis, and Trimmingham. At North Walsham the loft was approached by stair turrets in both north and south aisles, whilst at Wiggenhall S. Mary Magdalen similar turrets placed north and south of the chancel arch gave access to the loft and to the aisle roofs; the brackets on which this gallery rested exist at Caister (Yarmouth), and at Wickhampton are corbel heads to uphold the rood beam which remains at Potter Heigham, Sutton, and Tunstead; at the first-named church it is borne by demi-figures of angels, in the last by wall pieces with curved braces.

Many East Anglian edifices retain their seating or portions of it, and the old benches composing it display an infinite variety of design; especially noteworthy examples exist at Harpley and Wiggenhall S. German's; these and the generality of Norfolk bench ends are finished and not square-ended as so often elsewhere. Such seating is usually much smaller than we employ now, and at Roughton, for example, the bench ends are only ten inches wide and the entire height two feet and six inches. Richly worked bench ends remain at West Lynn and at Corton, Suffolk. There are fine miserere stalls at S. Margaret's, Lynn, and those formerly at S. Nicholas's, in the same town, are now in the South Kensington Museum; others at Trunch stand upon stone plinths pierced with traceried fronts for ventilation. Perfect sets remain at Ludham and Burlingham S. Edmond's. At Ingham there are eight on either side and four returned against the stone screen. Stall ends of peculiar outline exist at Reedham and S. Nicholas, Lynn, and altar chairs have been formed out of misereres at West Lynn, Norfolk, and Colton, Suffolk.

Many Perpendicular churches in Norfolk have merely a lowered window-sill to form a seat for those ministering at the high altar, and this appears to have been the case even in some large churches, as at Trunch. The splays of the window, in whose sill the sedile is formed, are

often corbelled so as to give the bench an oblong form and which may be considered a localism, it occurs at Rough-ton and Sherringham. Double sedilia are at Bunton and Aylmerton. There have been fine transitional second Pointed sedilia at Felbrigg, and as frequently the case, formed one composition with the piscina.¹

Some piscinas are met with without the usual bowl, the drain of one or two holes being placed within a very slightly sunk surface, this local variation may be seen at Lynn S. Nicholas, Wiggenhall S. Mary Magdalen, and Wiggenhall S. German, all adjacent edifices. At Wiggenhall S. Peter there is a piscina in the south wall of the nave exactly four feet two inches from the east wall of the tower,—a remarkable position. Lastly an extremely pretty carving of the pelican in her piety, which seems original, is appropriately placed above the piscina at Blickling.

In these remarks I have endeavoured to describe the leading characteristics of the Perpendicular style as exhibited in the churches of East Anglia, and more especially those in north-east Norfolk. In doing so I feel conscious that a bare description of doors, screens, windows, &c., must be dry and wearisome to the hearers of a paper on them, however interesting to the compiler of it, who has a personal acquaintance with the objects he describes, but I feel quite certain that in no part of England can there be found a cluster of churches possessing greater interest to the artist, antiquary, or theologian.

F.¹ Yarmouth, S. Nicholas has sedilia in both chancel and south aisle; a similar

instance occurs in the village church at Harpley.



W. 10/10/10. Photo: 11th. Frothingham, S. E.

RUNIC STONE, FROM CHESHIRE.

ON A SCULPTURED STONE WITH A RUNIC INSCRIPTION IN CHESHIRE¹

By PROFESSOR G. F. BROWNE

When the Institute met at Chester I was allowed to describe the Sculptured Stones of Cheshire at one of the evening meetings. On that occasion I remarked upon the entire absence of Runes on Cheshire stones, and upon a specially interesting set of Sculptured Stones at West Kirkby, in the curious district of Cheshire called Wirrall, between the Dee and the Mersey. As I have within the last week or two seen a Runic inscription in this same district, it seems worth while to communicate the facts to the Institute at its present meeting, at which I am unfortunately prevented from being present by archæological engagements in Scotland. A new and considerable Runic inscription is in itself of sufficient importance to claim special mention; and the one which I now bring before the Society has another interest, as shewing how far from a simple truth we may be led by a very small incorrectness in detail.

On June 9, 1889, I received from the Rev. W. Dallow, of Upton, near Birkenhead, a letter describing a sculptured stone with a Runic inscription, and enclosing some account of it, with an illustration, communicated by Mr. Dallow to the periodical called *Research*. This account had been sent to Professor Stephens of Copenhagen, who had corrected some of the readings, and referred his correspondent to me.

The runes, as printed by Mr. Dallow in *Research*, are

FOLKWARARDONREC

.. WIDDOTH FOTEATHEIEU

¹Read in the Historical Section at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, at Norwich, August 8th, 1889.

Professor Stephens altered this, by the light of the photographs sent to him, to

FOLKWARARDONBEC

.. WIDDEATH FOTEATHEAMUN

and suggested the insertion of UN after BEC, about which there can be no doubt, and of IN before WID. He interpreted it as follows :—

Folcwar, the person to whom the memorial was raised.
Ardon, for Arodon, honoured.

Becun, a monument ;

the lost runes in this line giving the names of the persons who thus honoured Folcwar with a monument.

Inwid, guile.

Deathfote, death struck.

Athe, oath.

Amun, for amunan, to call to mind ;

from which he gathered that Folcwar died a violent death.

My own feeling was that the rune cutters studied simplicity and brevity, and that the out-of-the-way character of a good deal of this interpretation was, on the face of it, a serious objection. But no one can feel otherwise than most grateful to Professor Stephens, who, with nothing better than a photograph to guide him, will spend any quantity of time on an inscription sent out to him, and, in his desire to give help, will risk ingenious suggestions when he has really not had the one fair chance which is afforded by seeing the stone itself and placing it in various lights. I am myself under the deepest obligations to Professor Stephens for a personal kindness which seems to have no limits.

One of the Runic inscriptions at Thornhill, near Dewsbury, runs—

Igilsuith araerde aefter Berhtsuitha

Becun at bergi gebiddath thaer saula.

Igilsuith raised in memory of Berhtsuith a
memorial at the mound. Pray for the soul.

It occurred to me at once that the Wirral inscription had many of the elements of this, and that small changes would assimilate the two closely. Mr. Dallow, however, of whose kindness and interest from first to last I cannot speak too strongly, reported—correctly, as it proved—that my

suggested emendations were not borne out by the facts. Still, I felt that at least it came very near to

Folc araerdon becum
Biddath fore Atheamun

the *araerdon* being Dr. Skeat's suggestion, and I went to see the stone on July 14, in company with the Dean of Chester. Mr. Webster of Leasowe Bank, about a mile from the Moreton Station, in whose coach-house it lay, received us with great hospitality.

The fragment is a flat stone 20½ in. long, 5 in. wide at one end and wider at the other, and 9 in. thick. The surface has been ornamented with raised sculpture, almost all of which has been broken off; enough is left to show that the pattern consisted of interlacing work, ending in a serpent's head, running parallel with the longer edge of the stone. The pattern shows that the stone has been considerably longer than it now is, and the analogy of other flat Anglian stones of a sepulchral character, *e.g.*, at Thornhill, suggests that it was at least twice as broad as the present broadest part, having two serpent patterns separated by a raised band down the middle of the stone.

The stone was part of the building materials of an unsightly little church, built at Upton, near Birkenhead, in 1813, out of the materials of the old church of Overchurch, which fell into ruin about that time. This little church was pulled down in 1887, and the materials were purchased by Mr. Webster. Seeing some remains of sculpture on one of the stones, he had it cleaned, and in the process the lime which had filled the runes on the edge of the stone came out, and thus the presence of the inscription was discovered.

On the edge at the narrow end of the stone there is rudely incised a Romanesque arch. This is very fortunate, for it determines the original position of the stone. It was a recumbent, not a standing stone, with interlaced serpents on the surface, a rude arcade cut on the vertical edge at the head, and an inscription in runes cut on the vertical edge at the side. This would be the south side if the body which it covered was laid facing the east. Presumably large stones were laid in the surface of the ground, over the grave, on which this body stone was in

turn laid, so that it should not sink into the earth. Even so, the vertical edge of a flat stone was not a very permanent place for an inscription, and I do not remember any other runic inscription in Great Britain in that position. The Danish inscription in runes on the well-known stone in the Guildhall Library in London is in the same position relatively to the stone, but the stone was meant in that case to be in an upright position, with the inscription running down the edge.

The Upton inscription is in two lines, one above the other, an incised line dividing the two. Both lines are broken off at the right hand, and the two runes at the left hand of the lower line are defaced. The rest is very legible. The rune cutter began with large letters well spaced, but when he came to the second line he had to squeeze his letters, getting nineteen into the space occupied by fifteen in the upper line.

The inscription had been in almost all its letters correctly read. In three cases I came to the conclusion that the marks had been somewhat misinterpreted, and I read the second *a* in *araerdon* as *ae*, making *araerdon*, the proper Anglo-Saxon form for "they reared" or "erected," while on the other hand I read the *ae* in *widdaeth* as *a*, making *widdath*, and this I could not doubt was meant for *biddath*, the proper Anglo-Saxon form for "pray ye," whether with the prefix *ge* (or *gi*, for both occur) or not. In the same way I read the *a* in *athe* as *ae*. One further change I made, of which the effect did not strike me for two or three days. I read the *a* in *amun* as *l*, and this with the correction in the previous syllables gives *Aethelmun*. It can scarcely be doubted that we have here the name of the person for whom prayer was to be made "Aethelmund."

The *fote* is probably a miscut *fore*. There is on one of the Thornhill stones *aefte* for *aefter*, and when *fote* is written in runes the mistake between it and *aefte* is less startling than that between it and *fore*. Dr. Skeat assures me, however, that *biddan aefter*, "to pray for," is unknown as a construction and must be rejected, while *biddan fore* is natural. The only other emendation, *biddath* for *widdath*, means a much smaller change in the appearance of the rune; the mistake is one not at all un-

likely to happen. [It is a satisfaction to find, since this was written, that the cast shews clearly what I tried to persuade myself was to be seen on the stone itself, namely, a part of the lower half of the B. The cast, I think, leaves no doubt that the letter was B and not w, { not {'.]

The two lost runes at the beginning of the second line might be the *un* of *becun* or the *gi* of *gibiddath*.

There only remains one difficulty, the letter after *folk*, apparently redundant. I read it as *ae*, not *w*, but a piece of the stone was flaked off and I think it possible that it is a spoiled rune which the rune-cutter has left standing. What else he was to do, if the stone did chip off as he worked, I do not quite know. On the other hand it may have been cut redundantly without being noticed by the rune-cutter at first as a mistake, and then left. My original view was that *Folcæ* was a plural of *Folc*, but Dr. Skeat informed me no such plural was known. I accept that as conclusive. Professor Stephens, however, urges that there were in old Northern English many vowel terminations for neuters plural, *æ* among them, and I am disposed to believe that we are meant to read the word *Folcæ*, and that we have here a form not hitherto noticed; but it is a matter on which I am not competent to form an opinion. However this may be, the whole thing fits so exactly into the shape we are familiar with that I offer without serious hesitation the reading

Folc(ae) araerdon becuñ
biddath fore Aethelmund (or *munds*)
The people raised a memorial
Pray for Æthelmund.

The name Aethelmund does not appear to have been common. I do not find it in Bede's History. It occurs in the Durham *Liber Vitæ*, in the form Ethilmund, standing fourteenth in the list of deacons, in the original hand, in letters of gold, perhaps of the ninth century. Twenty-six other deacons follow in the original hand, so that Ethilmund is fairly high up in a very early list. It occurs also once among the Presbyters in a later hand and once among the abbots of the third class who were neither Presbyters nor deacons, here again in the later hand.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF TRÈVES AND METZ.

By BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A.

(Continued from page 244.)

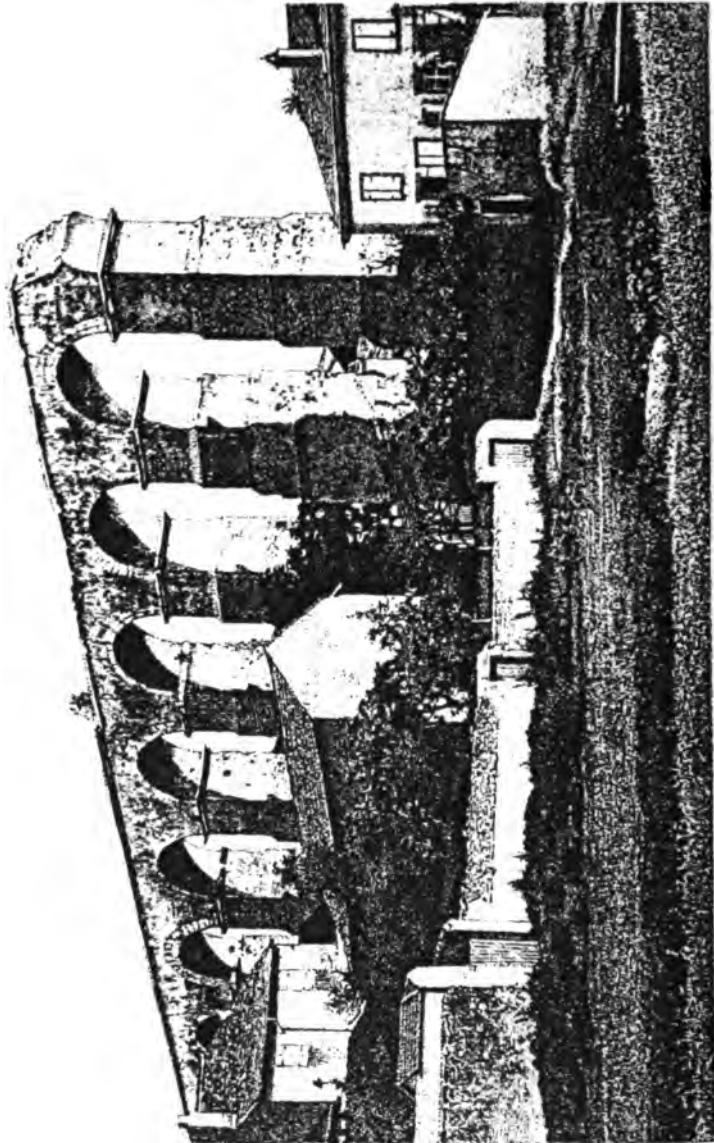
I pass on now to the Antiquities of Metz, the second and less important division of my paper. In the neighbourhood of this city the aqueduct is the only Roman monument that arrests the traveller's attention.¹ If he arrives by railway from Nancy and Thionville, he cannot fail to notice on both sides of the Moselle the lofty arches over which water was conveyed that came from the sources at Gorze, a village about one and a-half mile west of the river. For the rest of the route to Metz subterranean canals were employed, which were constructed of stone, and so spacious that a man stooping slightly could walk through them. Montfaucon's Plate,

¹ We can easily account for the paucity of Roman monuments in this region. L'irruption des Barbares annonce une chute prochaine. Chrocos (sic) et Attila firent à Metz ce qu'Alaric fit à Rome plusieurs années après : Histoire de Metz par des religieux Bénédictins, 1769, tome premier, Préface, p. iv. La ville de Metz saignée par les Allemands vers l'an 264 ; Greg. Turon. Hist. Lib. i, c. 30 et seq., *ibid.* p. 197 ; l'irruption dans le Pays Messin, dont parle Julien dans une Lettre au Sénat d'Athènes, p. 221.

For Crocus (king of the Alemanni) we find another form Erocus, perhaps a corruption of Ertocus, a Latinization of the old Saxon Heritogo (A. S. Heretoga, Germ. Herzog), dux : Dr. Wm. Smith's note in his edition of Gibbon, vol. ii, p. 111, chap. xiv.

Under the Romans Reims (Durocor-torum) was the capital of Belgica Secunda, and Trèves of Belgica Prima in which Metz ranked next to the latter city. The importance of Metz is proved by the num-

ber of roads radiating from this centre, viz. two to Reims—one nearly straight through Verodunum (Verdun), the other circuitous through Scarponna, Tullum (Toul) and Nasium; two to Trèves, one on the right and the other on the left bank of the Moselle, the former through Caranusca and Riocincum, the latter not mentioned by ancient authorities; and one to Strassburg (Argentoratum) through Decem Pagi, Pons Sarvis and Tres Tabernae (cf. Acts of the Apostles, xxviii, 15, *ἑξὼς Ταβερῶν*) hodie Saverne or Zabern. See the Antonine Itinerary, edit. Parthey and Pinder, pp. 111, 173 bis, 177; edit. Wesseling pp. 240, 363, 364 bis, 371 : also the useful map prefixed to the Histoire de Metz, *op. citat.*, Descriptio civitatis Mediomatricorum, including Reims, Trèves and Strassburg, with a section of a Roman road at foot, Scenographia viae militaris a Divoduro Treveros usque; and for details, *ibid.*, pp. 172-192, Chemins remains qui aboutissaient à Metz.



AQUEDUCT AT JOUY-AUX-ARCHES, NEAR METZ.

Antiquité expliquée, No. cxxxii, tome iv, pt. 2, chap. x, occupies two pages, shows all that remains of this magnificent structure, and gives a better idea of it than any later engraving or photograph that I have met with; the spectator is supposed to be looking south, and away from Metz.¹ The dimensions are 18 mètres high and rather more than 1,100 mètres long, so that the height, 58½ ft., is about the same as we often see in our own railway viaducts. Seven arches still exist a little way above Ars on the left bank, and eleven at Jouy on the right; the latter takes its cognomen from the aqueduct—Jouy-aux-Arches. The piers, much larger at the base than at the summit, are built with great solidity, as if they were intended to last for ever; since they taper upwards like buttresses, and are crowned by a projecting cornice, we are not wearied by that impression of uniformity which the repetition of long and unbroken lines would produce. Some fragments of the flood-gate are preserved in the Galerie Archéologique of the Museum at Metz. It was composed of large bricks coated over with a red cement, made of lime and tiles roughly broken up. This stucco, though exposed to the weather for more than fifteen centuries, remains to

¹ I obtained at Metz a good engraving, which however only gives the arches that traverse the high road through the village of Jouy; it is one of the series—*Environs de Metz*, No. 7. Darenberg et Seglio, tome i, Première Partie, p. 342, after noticing the aqueduct at Segovia, the Pont du Gard, Aqua Alexandrina, that of the Anio above Tivoli, and that at Carthage, conclude the paragraph by describing the one now under consideration: *L'Aqueduc de Metz. est en briques, avec des retraits aux piedroits; dans le milieu de la vallée où passe la Moselle, les arcs, plus larges que ceux des extrémités, sont surmontés d'un rang d' arcs plus petits et plus nombreux.* Not one of these smaller arches is now visible, the central part of the aqueduct having been destroyed long ago; and their former existence can only be conjectured. "*La hauteur prodigieuse qu' elles (les arches du milieu) auraient dû avoir, s'il n'y en avait eu qu' un seul rang, et le peu d'espace qu' elles auraient laissé pour le passage des eaux, si elles avaient été dans les mêmes proportions que celles qui restent au bas de Jouy, nous portent à*

croire qu' il y en avait, dans cette partie, au moins deux rangs, posées les unes sur les autres, comme celles du pont du Gard dans le Languedoc. *Hist. de Metz*, vol. i, p. 144: this work contains a very elaborate account of the construction of the aqueduct, and traces all the vestiges of its course from Gorze to Metz, *ibid.*, pp. 130-151; of *La Carte Topographique*, and 16 figures in Plate xviii.

Montfaucon expresses in strong terms his admiration of the lofty bridge that crossed a broad river, and carried the water from one hill to another; he justly remarks that the existing remains here, as well as at Nîmes and Segovia, far surpass anything of the kind in the environs of Rome itself: *loc. citat.*, p. 202. Besides this passage, he devotes in his supplement, tome iv, livre v, the whole of the sixth chapter to a description of this aqueduct, illustrated by a Plate representing the arches on a large scale, No. xiv, facing p. 108, and covering two folio pages. At his request the Prior of St. Arnoul at Metz obtained accurate measurements of the monument and information concerning its details.

our own time unaltered. The aqueduct is said to have been built by Drusus; but on what authority the statement rests I know not; whoever was its builder, it certainly stands very high among similar edifices in France; undoubtedly inferior to the Pont du Gard as to beauty of form and preservation, it may, I think, fairly claim to rank next to it.

These ruins are distant 10 kilomètres from Metz, but the total length of the aqueduct is 24 kilomètres. When the traveller visits them he is usually conducted on his way thither over the battle-field of Gravelotte, studded with monuments of the dead. If you will pardon the reference to my own feelings, I had no wish to see scenes and memorials of slaughter; it would have been enough, and more than enough, for me to observe a fading prosperity, and the traces of a recent defeat still marked legibly on the countenances of a suffering population.¹

The aqueduct calls to mind the ancient name of Metz, Divodurum, because the latter part of the word, which is Celtic, means water. Here it occurs as a suffix, but it is often a prefix, e.g. Durocortorum (Reims), and in our own country Durolipons (Godmanchester), Durobrivæ (Caistor).² We find the same variety of position in *dunum*, the Latinized form of the Celtic *dun*, a hill; e.g. Augustodunum (Autun), Cæsarodunum (Tours),

¹ Novéant, Dornot, Ancy and Ars on the left bank of the Moselle—Jouy, Orly Angny, Frescati, St. Privat and Montigny on the right bank are localities through which the aqueduct passes; they will be found in the following maps—Joanna, Guides Diamant, Vosges, Alsace et Ardenne, edit. 1883, Environs de Metz, p. 276; Baedeker's Rheinlande, edit. 1886, Map 27, Die Schlachtfelder um Metz, p. 301; Die Krieger-Operationen um Metz im Jahre 1870. Massstab: 1 : 50,000, Auflage 1888, (Ruinen der Röm. Wasserleitung).

² Divodurum seems to mean two waters, the former part of the word being equivalent to the Celtic *Da*; comp. Sanscrit *dvan*, Greek *δέ* *δύο*, Anglo-Saxon and Scotch *two*, &c., *Dha* aspirate form of *De*: Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary; see also *ibid.* English Gaelic Part, s.v. *Two*. But it is worthy of notice that in many cases the letter *i* occurs—

Dithis twice, Greek *δύο*, Irish *dis* (Danish *tvæ*), English *twice*, Latin *bis*, *bini*, *biens*, *biens*, *biens*, *biens*, *biens*: Liddell and Scott's Lexicon, s.v. *ΔΥΟ*. The name Divodurum is appropriate, because Metz is situated at the confluence of the Moselle and Sella, the tributary joining the larger river immediately below the city. The latter has been identified with *Salia* mentioned by Venantius Fortunatus, iii, 12, 5: see Smith's Dict. of Ancient Geography, s.v. Divodurum and *Salia*.

Mets evidently comes from *Metia*, *Metis*; we find the former in the *Notitia Dignitatum Occidentis*, cap. v, *Magister Peditum Præsentalis*, p. 28^a [13], *Prima Flavia Metis*; cf. *Annotationes*, p. 256^a, and v. *tabula synoptica* [vi] p. 22^a, edit. Böcking. *Prima Flavia* was perhaps so called from Constantine the Great. Fortunatus praises Metz, the capital of Austrasia in his time, as

Lugdunum (Lyons), but Dunkirk, *i.e.* church of the dunes or sandhills.

I do not remember a single relic of Gallo-Roman times in the streets of Metz or its suburbs; they appear to have been deposited in the Museum, which with the Library occupies a building very near the Cathedral. (Bibliothekstrasse)¹. No. 2., the most remarkable object therein, is a column found at Merten, 10 kilomètres from Saarlouis, in the Spring of 1878; it therefore cannot be mentioned in the Catalogue of the Galérie Archéologique by M. Lorrain, Conservateur, dated 1874. The monument, which is in a very fragmentary state, consisted of a group on the summit

speciosa, coruscans, iii, 14,9; cf. ubi Metticia moenia pollut, x, 10,1. Consult Böcking's elaborate note which supplies many citations from other writers, and the Benedictine History, vol. i, p. 284, notes a-h. *Mettis* appears, some centuries later, on the episcopal coins, about A.D. 1040; a denier presents a rude profile to left, and round it $\Psi\text{KIV}\Psi\text{MEHAR}$, Eucharis (St. Euchaire); and on the reverse a cross with four pellets and a bead in the angles (cantonnés), with the legend around $\text{METTIS CIVITA} \epsilon$: Lelewel, Numismatique du Moyen-Age, Troisième Partie, p. 176, Pl. XIX., 16. Comp. a coin in the Cabinet Marchant— $\Psi\text{ADALBERO PÆSVL}$, tête barbare; Rev. SANTO METTIS : *ibid* p. 200, and references to F. De Sauloy, Monnaies de la ville et des évêques de Metz, avec suppléments. In one case we find the name of the town, replacing that of the Emperor, between the arms of the cross; and in another between asterisks, thus "M"

ETT

ETS., *ibid*.

p. 203 sq., cf. Tab. xxxi, Type épiscopal de Metz.

Some rash conjectures have been offered to explain the etymology of Metia. A chronicler has had the audacity to derive it from Marcus Mettius, mentioned by Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* lib. i, cc. 47, 53; he was sent as ambassador to Ariovistus, imprisoned by the German chieftain, and afterwards rescued. This supposition is not supported by any proof and seems to emanate from that tendency to exaggerate antiquity which I have noticed on some former occasions. Metis is probably contracted from Mediomatrici, the form used by Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xvii, c. 1, §2. The Benedictines compare Mogontiacum, which the French call Mayence, and the Germans Mainz.

¹ On the other hand, the visitor entering the Cathedral will observe near the Western entrance a large bathing-tub (*labrum*) of porphyry, 2 mètr. 58 cent. long, and 1 mètr. 56 cent. broad. It was brought thither from the ancient Thermae, which were in a place South of the city, called La Fosse aux Serpents, between Porte Maselle and Porte St. Thibault (Theobalds-Thor): Baedeker's Rheinlande, Plan No. 18, p. 300, edit. 1886. It is now used as a baptismal font. On one side we see two hands in bas-relief, each holding a ring; the lower part is ornamented with a lion's head. This object reminds me of the grand basin in porphyry, 41 ft. in circumference, found in the Baths of Diocletian: Murray's Handbook for Rome, Sect. i, §26, Vatican Museum, Rotonda or Circular Hall. As the Roman bath stands on the pavement of the Cathedral, so we find in a fresco painting, upon the walls of the thermae of Titus at Rome, one placed upon the floor of an apartment inscribed BALNEVM , and three persons in it, so that the size represented seems to be about the same as at Metz. Smith's Dict. of Classical Antiquities, p. 183, woodcut p. 187, and p. 191 sq.

The Naumachia and the Amphitheatre were near the Thermae; of the former nothing remained when the Benedictines wrote, 1769; and of the latter only a small portion, as it had been used for building materials to construct the Citadel: *Histoire de Metz*, vol. i, pp. 151-153, Pl. XIX, figs. 1, 2, 3. See also Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.*, ciii Pl. à la 182 page, tome iii, "Nous donnons ici une maison et quelques murs de l'ancienne ville de Metz, qui restent encore aujourd'hui." This volume bears date 1722.

representing a rider whose horse tramples on a giant, a capital ornamented with four heads, a cylindrical shaft, an octagonal pedestal with small figures, and beneath it an altar erected in honour of four deities.

To begin at the top, the rider's head is uncovered and bearded, his body is protected by a cuirass; of the horse's fore-feet only the hoofs remain, and one of them stands on the giant's head, in which the expression of pain is rendered very manifestly. According to Dr. E. Wagner, *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, Jahrgang I, Heft I, page 42, at least thirty-four examples of such groups are known; they extend over the south-west of Germany and the north-east of France, are found exclusively in the Roman settlements of this region, and present the same type, with a few unimportant modifications.¹ This author thinks that the rider is Neptune, and refers to a passage in Pausanias, where he says that near the Temple of Demeter at Athens is Poseidon on horseback, hurling a spear at the giant Polybôtes; but adds that the inscription, which belongs to his own time, gives the statue to another, and not to Poseidon.² The plate at the end of Dr. Wagner's article shows two of these monuments discovered at Pforzheim, south-east of Karlsruhe, in 1869 and 1872 respectively: engravings are also appended to support his attribution: one is a coin of Potidæa, where Neptune appears holding a trident and riding on a horse that moves slowly;³ the other is a green paste in the Stosch

¹ In my journey to the Rhine-land, September 1888, I met with two similar columns, one in the Musée Lorrain at Nancy, of which M. Charles Courault is the conservateur; the other at Frankfurt on the Main in a building called the Archivgebäude, opposite the Cathedral. The former is described by Lucien Wiener, *Catalogue des objets d'Art et d'Antiquité*, 6^{me} édition, 1887. 'Epoque Gallo-Romaine, p. 19, No. 147, Figure équestre terrassant un monstre, groupe en grès, trouvé à Hommert (Meurthe). Le monstre a la tête et le buste d'un homme, mais le corps se termine en tête de serpent. . . Cette représentation rare partout ailleurs, mais fréquente en Lorraine. . . Il s'agit ici d'un mythe religieux propre à nos contrées. See Dr. Wagner's Article, loc. citat., pp. 36-49, Neptun im Gigantenkampf auf römischen Monumenten.

² This temple is not far from the entrance to the city: Pausanias, lib. i, Attica, cap. ii, § 4. 'Ἐρεθίζοντες δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν . . . καὶ κλησίον πάλαι ἔστιν Ἀχιλλεύου . . . τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν Ποσειδῶν ἔστιν ἐφ' Ἰσίου, δέρον ἀφ' οὗ ἐπι γίγνεται Παλιβοτήν . . . τὸ δὲ ἐπιγράμμα τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τῆς εἰκότος ἄλλω θύσει καὶ ἐπὶ Ποσειδῶν.

³ We have here probably an allusion to the name of the city, Potidæa. Ποσειδῶν is in Doric Ποσειδῶν, as τὸ is used for σθ, φσθ for φσθ, σφσθ for σφσθ, λέγσθ for λέγσθ (Latin *legunt*): Valpy's Greek Grammar, p. 198, Changes of letters by the dialects; Buttmann's Larger Greek Grammar, English translation, edit. E. H. Barker, § 16, Consonants, 3, Obs. 1, f., p. 31.

Dr. Wagner has taken his illustrations from "Overbeck Griechische Kunstmythologie, ii, 1, 3, Münstafel 17, Nr. 23, auf unserer Taf. 1, 8." The letter Π

Collection, which may figure Neptune on horseback conquering a giant with serpents' tails for his lower extremities, but this is by no means indisputable. On the other hand, Dr. Hettner controverts this opinion, and explains the rider as Jupiter.¹ A very similar column, found at Heddernheim² bears an inscription devoted to Jupiter and Juno, and such dedications are by no means uncommon. Examples occur at Speyer and Mainz. Moreover, the supreme deity of Olympus contending with giants was a favourite subject with the ancient artists, whether they worked on a small or a large scale; we see it on gems and on the great altar at Pergamus, and I think also much nearer Metz, on the triumphal arch at Besançon.³ Some writers have mistaken the serpents'

between the horse's legs should be observed, because it serves to identify the coin. Potidaea was a colony from Corinth, a Dorian state: Thirlwall, *History of Greece*. chap. xix, vol. iii, p. 101, 1st edition. Leake, *Numismata Hellenica*, *European Greece*, p. 94, calls the horseman on the coin Neptune Hippius; *Irwas* is esp. an epithet of Poseidon, Liddell & Scott, s.v. The South-West Promontory of Pallene was named Posidonium, probably from a temple of this deity: comp. Posidonia in Magna Graecia, afterwards Paestum, so famous for its ruins.

The Potidaeans spoke Doric words, just as a more illustrious daughter of Corinth stamped them on her money: B.V. Head, *History of the Coinage of Syracuse*, pp. 37 sq., 53, 64 sq., ΑΡΧΑΓΕΤΑΞ, ΕΠΙ ΙΚΕΤΑ, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΑΞ, ΖΗΚΕΛΙΩΤΑΝ. Rollin et Feuillant, *Collection de Médailles des rois et des villes de l'ancienne Grèce*, s.v. Syracuse. For the Doric Ποσειδά (sic) v. Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, s.v.

Hence Potidaea is only another form of Posidonia, the city of Neptune—An appropriate name because it stood on an isthmus.

¹ Dr. Wagner, loc. citat. p. 48, gives the following references for the paste in the Stosch Collection of gems at Berlin—Tölken *Verz.* S. 92, Nr. 53; abgeb. nach Overbeck II, 1. 3, Gemmentafel III, Nr. 1 auf unserer Taf. i, 4. I think the subject here is Jupiter rather than Neptune. The style of workmanship shows an inferior hand, but the general design resembles the cameo at Naples signed

ΑΘΗΝΙΩΝ. C.O. Müller, *Denkmäler*, pt ii, Taf iii, fig. 34; *ibid.* fig. 35, Zeus Gigantomachos: Maasklyne, *Catalogue of the Marlborough Gems*, p. 3 No. 15, A renaissance, or perhaps modern copy, in intaglio on a sardonyx: Museo Borbonico, tom. i, tav. 53, a fine engraving, pp. 1-6, *Giove che fulmina i Giganti*: Winkelmann, *Monumenti inediti*, parte prima pag. 11, tav. 10.

Dr. Hettner's memoir should be read in connexion with Dr. Wagner's; it is entitled *Juppitermälen (Jovis signum cum columna et ara)*; v. *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, Jahrgang iv, Heft iv, pp. 365—388.

² Heddernheim is a place so insignificant that it will not be found in ordinary maps and gazetteers, but it is often mentioned by the German archaeologists. Nothing remains to reward the trouble of a visit, as all the objects of interest found in the locality have been removed. Heddernheim is distant about 1½ leagues from Homburg vor der Höhe, the well-known watering place near Frankfurt on the Main, which must be distinguished from other towns bearing the same name: Baedeker's *Rheinlande*, Karte 2, Oestlicher Taunus, p. 14/15 (Hettternheim).

³ See my paper on Langres and Besançon, *Archaeol. Journ.*, Sept., 1886, vol. xliii, p. 206, with engraving of Triumphal Arch, and esp. Appendix, pp. 222—224, where Gori's Museum Florentinum, Overbeck's *Atlas der Griechischen Kunstmythologie*, the German Report of the Discoveries at Pergamus and other authorities are cited.

tails for those of fish, which differ, as the late Mr. King pointed out to me, in having fewer convolutions; this error has led to another—the substitution of Neptune for Jupiter.

At Merten, as at Heddernheim and Seltz the capital was ornamented with four human heads, of which two remain; one male, beardless but not young, the other of an old woman and draped. It has been conjectured, though with little foundation, that the four seasons are here represented. Monsieur Auguste Prost, of Metz, who has published an interesting Memoir in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1879, estimates the height of the column between thirteen and fourteen mètres. In the quadrangular base there are niches for four statues $\frac{2}{3}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ life-size; in the octagonal pedestal the seven figures are reliefs and $\frac{1}{2}$ life-size, one side having been left blank for the inscription; the former series cannot be identified, the latter are probably the deities who rule the days of the week.¹

The Museum at Metz contains many other objects of the Gallo-Roman period, which, though less important, are interesting, and should not be altogether passed over. No. 9 is a fragment of a tomb with an inscription in which we read the name *Secundinus*, well known as that of the family to whose honour the Igel column was erected.² No. 35, also sepulchral, has traces of red

¹ M. Auguste Prost wrote in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1873, vol. xxxv, pp. 269 sq. and 397 sq., two notices of the Découverte de Merten; they are illustrated by Plate XII at the end of the same vol., containing a restoration of the column, and a map of the neighbourhood that shows the position of Merten relatively to Metz and Trèves. He also refers to papers on similar monuments by MM. Bretagne and Benoît in the *Mémoires de la Société d'archéologie lorraine*, tome xiii, 1863, and tome xviii, 1868.

M. Prost's preliminary Articles were soon followed by a much more elaborate treatment of the subject, which appeared in the *Revue Archéol.*, 1879, vol. xxxvii, pp. 1-20 and 65-83. His essay is divided into three parts—I Découverte et description du monument, II Rapprochements et inductions archéologiques, III Considérations historiques. Eight figures

are intercalated in the text; two full-page Plates are also appended, i at p. 64 and ii at p. 128. The former represents the column more accurately restored, the group at the top and capital on a larger scale, and a section; the parts shaded are the fragments that remain, the rest has been supplied by conjecture. In the latter we have drawings of six heads; No. 1 is remarkable because a horse's hoof is placed on the top of it.

² I have followed the numeration as given in the Catalogue de la Galerie Archéologique (Musées de la ville de Metz) rédigé par M. Lorrain, Conservateur, précédé d'une Notice historique par M. Abel, 1874.

The name *Secundinus* also occurs in a region far remote from Trèves and Metz: see the Appendix to my paper on Touraine and the Central Pyrenees. s.f., *Archæol. Journ.* vol. xiv, p. 357, 1868, where an inscription is quoted, which

colour still distinctly visible. No. 37, a man and woman stand in a niche: the husband holds a balance with scales like those now used, the wife a purse of great size. These accessories seem to symbolize the form of marriage called by the Romans *coemptio* (purchase).¹ A vine is also added as an emblem of fecundity. Nos. 67-70 are inscriptions devoted to Mercury, the deity specially worshipped by the Gauls, as I have remarked in former papers. No. 67, DEO MERCURIO ET ROSMERTAE, should be compared with No. 79, where we see the god holding a caduceus and the goddess a cornucopiæ. I will only remark that the mythology of the ancients was distinguished by its social character; their deities go in pairs, male and female, presiding over the exercise of a passion or some department of human activity. In No. 79 the letters DN. H. D. D. in honorem domus divinæ, i.e., the Imperial family, occur: they are also found at Trèves, *vide* Leonardy, Panorama von Trier und dessen Umgebungen, page 85. Nos 23 and 27 are small portable altars consecrated to Epona, a Gallic divinity, whose name, akin to ἵππος and equus, sufficiently indicates her character; she appears sitting sideways on a horse. Books on the antiquities of Reims, Trèves, and the römische Grenzwall (Teufelsmauer) between the Danube and Rhine will supply references abundantly.² No. 89 presents a

was found at Gaut, and is now preserved in the Museum of Toulouse; Sacaze, Histoire ancienne de Luchon, Monuments religieux (cippes votifs), p. 29, No. 20.

¹ *Coemptio*, as used with respect to marriage, is thus explained by Forcellini, s.v., *Se uxor et maritus invicem coëmebant per formulas illas: Vinea mihi esse materfamilias! Vinea mihi esse paterfamilias!* He adds a passage from Varro, apud Nonium, xii, 50, which illustrates the group at Metz, *Mulier nubens tres ad virum asses ferre solebat. . . tertium in sacciperio (σακκωρίψα, a bag for a purse) cum condidisset: Adam's Roman Antiquities, edit. Boyd, 1834, p. 400; Smith's Dict. of Antt., p. 741. As in this case, so in many others, the sepulchral stones show a pair of busts or full-length figures. See Hist. de Metz, Plates at the end of vol. i, from viii to xvi; esp. xii, Nos. 4, 5, 7, 8; and xiv, No. 1, 4-7. Some of the Inscriptions are given by Gruter, p. cccxlvi, No. 8, &c., quoted in the marginal notes of the Hist. de Metz, p. 79 seqq.*

² See my Paper on Autun, Archæol. Journ., vol. xi, pp. 35-37, and foot-notes; amongst other authorities I have there referred to Mr. T. Hodgkin's Pfahlgraben; Pl. IV is a full-page engraving of Epona. For the Roman Wall in Germany consult Gibbon, chap. xii, edit. Smith, vol. ii, p. 46 sq., Wall of Probus (so called). "Its scattered ruins, universally ascribed to the power of the Dæmon, now serve only to excite the wonder of the Swabian peasant." Baedeker's Rheinlande, pp. 18, 323.

Steiner, Geschichte und Topographie des Maingebietes und Spessarts unter den Römern, &c., with map, 12^{mo}, Darmstadt, 1834.

Eduard Paulus, Der römische Grenzwall (Limes transrhœnanus) vom Hohenstaufen bis an den Main, with Map (Archäologische Karte), on large scale, 8vo, Stuttgart, 1863.

Ernst Herzog, Die Vermessung des römischen Grenzwall in seinem Lauf durch Württemberg, 8vo, Stuttgart, 1880, Taf. i, ii.

curious scene, three children squatting round a large bowl whose contents they share with a dog, *cum collusore catello*, words of Juvenal which are illustrated even better by No. 103, where a boy playing with this animal is sculptured on an arched pediment.¹ In No. 89 another child enlivens the meal by a musical accompaniment on the double flute, an instrument mentioned in the notices prefixed to Terence's comedies (*didascalise*).² Thus, almost at every turn, the classical tourist, allured and instructed by the light of antiquarian research, reverts with pleasure to the authors who seemed so uninteresting in his school days, and whom, through the fault of his teachers, to use Byron's words, "he hated so."³ No. 99, a tradesman is seated in his shop, and transacting business with a customer. This illustrates a remarkable device at Langres, where boxes, bottles and shoes appear to denote articles for sale.⁴ Lastly, No. 165, is an altar to the *Deæ Matres*, who were venerated in our own country as well as in Gaul. The bas-relief represents them as three women standing and wearing long garments, with a kind of veil on their heads, that is attached behind and leaves the face uncovered. The following inscription is engraved on the triangular tympanum :

The late Mr. James Yates wrote a valuable Paper on the *Limes Rhæticus* and *Limes Transrhenanus* for the Newcastle meeting of the Archaeological Institute (1852). But the most important treatise on this subject is the recent work of Colonel A. von Cohansen, *Der römische Grenzwall in Deutschland*, two vols., the first containing the Text, and the second 52 plates.

¹ hic rusticus infans,
Cum matre et casulis et collusore
catello.

Satire ix, v. 60.

Sure yonder female, with the child she
bred,
The dog their playmate, and their little
shed.

Gifford's Translation, edit. 1817,
vol. ii, p. 374.

V. Heinrich's copious note on vv. 60-62 in his edition of Juvenal, *Erklärung*, pp. 363-366. Comp. Böttiger's *Sabina*, Taf. xii, No. 1 (from Tournefort) facing p. 173, where a dog is seen leaping up to a child, who leans forward to caress the animal; p. 256, *Erklärung der Kupferta-*

felu, Der Knabe zu den Füßen der Mutter mit dem Haushunde spielt.

² *Eg.*, Andria, *TIBIA PARIE DEXTRÆ ET SINISTRÆ*. *Dict. of Ant.*, s.v. *Tibia*; Rich, Companion to the Latin Dict., woodcuts inserted in Articles *Tibia* Nos. 6 and 9, *Tibicen*, *Tibicina*.

³ *Magistrorum culpa penitusignorare*; Bentley, *De Metris Terentianis* *XXEAL-AXMA*.

Then farewell, Horace; whom I hated so,
Not for thy faults, but mine.

Childe Harold, Canto iv, Stanza lxxvii.

⁴ I have here followed M. Brocard's explanation of the bas-relief at Langres in preference to that given by M. Cour-nault: my Paper on Langres and Besançon, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xliiii, p. 106 sq., esp. footnote on p. 107, where there is a reference to a memoir and engraving published in the Proceedings of the local Antiquarian Society, tome iii, p. 231 sq., 1st June, 1885. With the shoes above-mentioned comp. *Montfaucon. Ant. Expl.* tome iii, part i, p. 85; *Pl. XLIX*, No. 3, *Inscription, Magistri vici sandaliaris (rue des Cordonniers)*.

IN
HONORE
DOMVS DIVI
NAE DIS MAIABVS (*sic*)
VICANI VICI PACIS.¹

Nos. 400—650 belong to the Middle Ages; many of them are religious antiquities; others are domestic, such as mantel-pieces ornamented with heraldic emblems. The gallery includes many inscriptions in old French, and in Gothic as well as Roman characters.

Nos. i—lxxxii—Greek vases, lamps, statuettes, &c.—come from the collection formed by the Marquis Campana at Rome, which was purchased by the French Government and distributed among the provincial Museums.²

¹ The inhabitants of the Street of Peace (Rue de la Paix) have consecrated this monument to the Deae Matres, in honour of the Imperial family.

There is some difference between the Inscription, as copied above from M. Lorrain's Catalogue, and that which appears in the Benedictine History, Plate VII, fig. 1. The latter has in HONORĒ (i.e. honorem) and MAIABVA. In ordinary dictionaries the word *vicinus* is translated a villager from *vicus* a village; but this signification is clearly inapplicable here, and the derivative follows the other meaning of *vicus*, viz., a street.

Many opinions have been expressed concerning the origin and functions of the Deae Matres; one writer identifies them with Seia, Segetia and Tutelina, goddesses who presided over the cultivation of corn (*seco, seges*), mentioned by Augustin, *De Civitate Dei*, lib. iv, cap. 8; edit. Tauchnitz, 1825, vol. i, p. 109. Cf. my Paper on Autun, *Archaeol. Journ.*, vol., xl, p. 84 sp., esq. note 2, where several authorities are cited.

The second engraving in Plate VII also shows a group of three females; they are sculptured in bas-relief upon a stone discovered in digging the foundations of a Church at Metz. We have here the *Parcae*—a subject of which ancient art presents but few examples. One occurs on the triangular altar of the twelve Gods, from the Villa Borghese, in the Louvre; there the *Moirae* (*Fates*) appear carrying staves or sceptres, in the lower row of figures: C. O. Müller, *Denkm.* pt. i, Taf. xii, No. 44, *Handbuch d. Archæologia*, § 96 Rem^k No. 22; Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, Planches, tome ii,

No. 174, 13; Text ii, I^{re} Partie, pp. 179-181; Hirt, *Mytholog. Bilderb.* p. 200 sq., Capitoline relief, Tab. xxvii, 7, cf. p. 97 and tab. xii, 9. The central figure is seated, the two others are standing; they have as attributes the distaff, spindle, and urn to hold the lots or tablets on which the names of mortals are inscribed. *Hist. de Metz*, vol. i, pp. 72-76.

It was formerly supposed (so M. Prost informed me) that the three women in fig. 1 were the three *Maries* forming the group that stood by the cross of our Lord. Hence the Deae Matres, as we know them to be, were venerated by the faithful until the mistake was found out, and some bishop put an end to the practice. John xix, 25 *εστραφεωσαν δε προς τῆς σταυρῆ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἡ μητηρ αὐτου, καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτου, Μαρια ἡ τοῦ Κλωπα, καὶ Μαρια ἡ Μαγδαληνη.* The second person here mentioned was probably the wife of Clopas (Alphæus); our authorised version has Cleophas, but this is inaccurate: *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. ii, p. 254 sq.

² M. Abel, in the Introduction to the Catalogue de la Galerie Archéologique, pp. xi-xix, relates the life of Jean-Jacques Boissard (born at Besaçon 1528, died at Metz 1602) "le créateur de l'archéologie messine." He was a Protestant, and seems to have taken refuge at Metz, thinking it was a place where his religion would be tolerated more than in many others. Boissard studied the monuments, copied them, and formed collections. A painting by him, which represents Jupiter distributing good and evil to mortals, forms the frontispiece to the Benedictine History. The deity, with eagle and thunderbolt for attributes, is seated be-

May I be permitted now, before concluding, to express an idea which has often crossed my mind, or rather has been suggested by my usual occupations and surroundings? In our Universities the system of classical teaching has hitherto, for the most part, dealt with words instead of things; it has been verbal not realistic. Philology should on no account be undervalued and cast aside; but Archæology, like a twin sister, should advance hand in hand with it. Such Societies as the one I have the honour to address promote a more comprehensive knowledge of antiquity than is usually acquired by Collegiate Students, and render an important and patriotic service by supplying a deficiency in the higher education of our country.

APPENDIX.

I add some references supplementary to those already given in my Text, with the view of assisting the reader who may wish to investigate Treviran history and antiquities.

Pomponii Melæ De Chorographia, libri tres, edit. Parthey, 1867, iii, 2, p. 66, Aquitanorum clarissimi sunt Ausci, Celtarum Haedui, Belgarum Treveri, urbesque opulentissimæ in Treveris Augusta, in Haeduis Augustodunum, in Auscis Eliumberrum. Among ancient authors Mela is the first to mention Augusta Trevirorum.

In the passage of Strabo quoted above, lib. iv, cap. 3, § 4, for Τρηούροι we have the various readings Τρηούργοι, Τριούργοι, Τρηόταγροι.

Ptolemaei Geographia, edit. Car. Müller, 1883, lib. ii, cap. 9, § 7, Gallia Belgica, Ἀνατολικώτεροι δὲ τῶν Ῥήμων ἀρκτικώτεροι μὲν Τρίβηροι, ἐν πόλει Ἄγροστα Τριβήρων. Here also there is considerable discrepancy, we find in the MSS. Τρίβηβροι, Τριβιββροι, Τριβιροι; and in the editions Τρήβιροι from conjecture: v. Müller's note.

Eumenius, Panegyricus Constantino Augusto dictus (A.D. 310). This speech is No. vii in the Delphine edition, by Jacques de la Baune, of the Panegyrici Veteres; it contains twelve, beginning with

tween two urns bearing the inscriptions ΚΑΛΟΝ and ΚΑΚΟΝ; at his side is an open book, on whose pages we read IVSTI IOVIS ARBITRATV. Montfaucon derived from Boissard's drawings some unedited Antiquities of Metz, notably amongst them a bas-relief of Neptune erected by the *contubernium neutarum* of the Rhine: Ant. Expl. Suppl., tome i, p. 67 sq., Pl. XXIV, No. 1. "A ses connaissances comme antiquaire Boissard joignait encore un talent remarquable pour la poésie latine": v. Nouvelle Biographie Générale,

where his voluminous writings are enumerated.

Boissard is frequently cited as an important authority by later writers, e. g. Böttiger, speaking of the representation of a married pair: Belege hierzu in Menge findet man in den aus Boissard entlehnten Abbildungen alter Sarkophagen in der Grävianischen Ausgabe des Gruterschen Thesaurus. Sabina oder Morgenasenen im Putzzimmer einer reichen Römerin, erster Theil, Anmerkungen, p. 97, cf. text. p. 71, p. 71, 1).

that delivered by the younger Pliny in honour of the Emperor Trajan. From chap. xiii we infer that this oration of Eumenius was pronounced at Trèves; *ubi jam plurimos hausit amnes (Rhenus), quos hic noster ingens fluvius, et barbarus Nicer, et Maenus invexit (i.e. Moselle, Neckar, and Main).* Two of the most remarkable passages for our present purpose are those in which the Panegyrist mentions the slaughter of captives in the amphitheatre and public buildings recently erected. Chap. xii, *Puberes qui in manus venerunt, quorum nec perfidia erat apta militiae, nec ferocia servituti, ad poenas spectaculo dati, saevientes bestias multitudine sua fatigarunt;* chap. xxii, *video hanc fortunatissimam civitatem, cujus natalis dies tua pietate celebratur, ita cunctis moenibus resurgentem, ut se quodammodo gaudeat olim corruisse, auctior tuis facta beneficiis; video circum maximum, aemulum, credo, Romano; video basilicas et forum, opera regia, sedemque justitiae in tantam altitudinem suscitari, ut se sideribus et coelo digna et vicina promittant.*

See Traduction des Discours d'Eumène par M. L'Abbé Land riot et M. L'Abbé Rochet, accompagnée du texte, Précédée d'une notice historique, et suivie de notes critiques et philologiques sur le texte et d'un précis des faits généraux par M. L. Abbé B.-J. Rochet (Publication de la Société 'Eduenne). Autun, 1854.

Decimus Magnus Ausonius Burdigalensis floruit A.D. 350. In the fourth century Trèves ranked very high among the great cities of the Roman empire; accordingly Ausonius gives precedence over it only to Rome, Constantinople, Carthage, Antioch and Alexandria: *Ordo Urbium Nobilium (xviii)*, p. 99, edit. Schenkl; *Clarae Urbes*, edit. Delph., p. 212, §288, vv. 28-34,

*Armipotens dudum celebrari Gallia gessit
Trevericaeque urbis solium, quae proxima Rheno
Pacis ut in mediae gremio segura quiescit,
Imperii vires quod alit, quod vestit et armat.
Lata per extantum procurrunt moenia collem;
Largus tranquillo praelabatur amne Mosella
Longinqua omnigenae vectans commercia Terrae.*

He uses the phrase "throne of the Treviran city," because so many Emperors resided there; and to express its security, though so near the German frontier, he says that it rests on the bosom of peace as if it were in the midst of the Roman dominions.

But from an antiquarian point of view, as illustrating the existing monuments of Trèves, the most important passage in Ausonius is that where he describes the Baths, Mosella, vv. 337 seqq.

*Quid quae fluminea substructa crepidine fumant
Balnea, ferventi cum Mulciber haustus operto
Volvit anhelatas tectoria per cava flammæ,
Inclusum glomerans aestu expirante vaporem?
Vidi ego defessos multo sudore lavacri
Fastidisse lacus et frigora piscinarum,
Ut vivis frueruntur aquis, mox amne refotos
Plaudenti gelidum flumen pepulisse natatu.*

The Baths were built on the river's bank, and when persons were exhausted by the heat and vapour of the thermal chamber, they

refreshed themselves, not in an artificial pool of cold water, but by swimming in the fresh current of the neighbouring stream. In the words *tectoria per casa* the poet refers to the walls fitted with flues—*intra parietes tibi erant cavi undique, per quos ex hypocausto erraret flamma*: note *in loco*, edit. Delph. Rich, Dictionary, s.v. *Balnea*, p. 74 sq., ground-plan and description of the double set of baths at Pompeii, esp. *D caldarium* for men, and *G tepidarium* for women. If the local archaeologists had paid due attention to the clear statement of Ausonius, they never would have placed the Roman Baths at the South-Eastern corner of the city, more than half a mile from the river.

A similar, but more striking, example of the manner in which ancient authorities have been neglected, and of the long-continued ignorance thence resulting, is furnished by the famous Temple of Diana (*Ἀρtemίσιον*) at Ephesus. So late as 1865 Mr. Fergusson remarked in his *History of Architecture*, vol. i, pp. 224, 244, that its site was a matter of dispute, and that not a vestige of it had come down to our days. But since that time the passages relating to the subject in Xenophon, Vitruvius, Strabo, Pliny, Pausanias and Philostratus, have been carefully studied, and excavations made in the localities which these writers indicated. The success attending Mr. Wood's researches is well known, and the British Museum possesses the sculptures and architectural fragments that have been disinterred. No better proof can be required to show the importance of constantly bearing in mind the close connexion that subsists between Art and Literature.

J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, pp. 17-22; Plan of the Ruins with the site of the Temple of Diana to face p. i, and references in the foot-notes of chap. ii. Pausanias, lib. vii, cap. ii, § 6. *Δείκνυνται καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι τὸ μνημα (Ἀνδρόκλου) κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παρὰ τὸ Ὀλυμπεῖον*. Philostratus, *Vit. Sophist*, lib. ii, cap. 23, p. 264, edit. Kaiser, 1844. *Συνήψε δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆ Ἐφέσῃ κατατείνας ἐς αὐτὸ τὴν διὰ τῶν Μαγητικῶν κἀθοδόν. ἔστι δὲ αὐτῆ στοὰ ἐπὶ στάδιον λίθον πᾶσα, τοῖς δὲ τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος μὴ ἀκείνας τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοὺς θεραπεύοντας, ὅποτε ὄσι*. Pliny mentions the marshy ground, and Xenophon the river Selinus. Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, 8vo. edit., 1857, vol. ii, pp. 84-87; Edw^d. Falkener, *Ephesus and the Temple of Diana*, 1862, esp. part ii, with maps. These two books, though antecedent to the discovery of the remains of the Temple, contain much useful information.

An earlier passage in the same work of Ausonius has special attractions for the naturalist, because it enumerates with many details the fish of the Moselle, e.g., trout, salmon, barbel, perch and gudgeon. For the most part, they appear to be the same as those now caught in the stream. Ernest Desjardins, *La Gaule Romaine*, vol. i, p. 457 sq., chap. i, *Géographie physique*.—§ 5. *Productions. Poissons d'eau douce*, where the French equivalents for the Latin names will be found. "Le poëte semble enfin se piquer de n'en oublier aucun . . . depuis le *silurus*, esturgeon ou sterlet, . . . jusqu' au goujon, *gobio*, et à l'ablette, *alburnus*, proie réservée aux hameçons des enfants." This poem may be read with pleasure, for, notwithstanding the faults of a declining age, it still remains the best that has ever been composed on the beautiful river, which is inseparably associated with the fortunes and scenery of Augusta Trevirorum.

Salviani Massiliensis Presbyteri De Gubernatione Dei et de justo praesentique ejus judicio Libri viii. In xenium oblatis indyctae dominorum Sodalitati sub titulo B. B. V. Mariae ab Angelo salutatae in Caesareo et academico Societatis Jesu Collegio Lincii erectae et confirmatae anno a partu Virginis MDCCLXIII. I have copied the title in *extenso*, as a literary curiosity. This edition was printed at Lins in Upper Austria, on the Danube. Brunet, *Supplément au Manuel du Libraire, Dictionnaire de Géographie, Aredata, Aredatum, Gesodum, Lentium, Lincia, Lincium*; hodie Lintz or Lins. *Lentia* occurs in the *Notitia Occidentis*, edit. Böcking, cap. xxxiii, *Dux Pannoniae Primae*. P. 99* *Equites Sagittarii Lentiae*; p. 100* *Praefectus Legionis [Secundae] Italicae Partis Inferioris Lentiae*; p. 718* *Annot. and esp. p. 739.* Lentia* was in Noricum Ripense. We find also the form *Linca*, and Kepler's *Epitome astronomiae Copernicanae* is dated *Lintiis ad Danubium*, 1618.

Salvianus flourished in the latter half of the fifth century, hence he was posterior to Jerome and Augustin. He describes, as an eye-witness, the dreadful sufferings caused by the inroads of the barbarians, and censures in the strongest terms the corruption of manners then prevailing; but the violence of his denunciations makes us less inclined to receive his statements implicitly "Salvien passe pour l'écivain le plus morose et le plus déclamateur de son siècle et, si vertueux qu' il fut lui-même, on peut croire que ses contemporains n'étaient pas les gens abominables qu' il dépeint;" Julien Sacaze, *Histoire ancienne de Luchon*, chap. vii, p. 47. He is said to have been born near Trèves, and speaks as one well acquainted with its inhabitants, who are blamed in his writings, specially for their passionate love of public amusements. Lib. vi, edit. citat., p. 193, *Vidi siquidem ego ipse Treveros domi nobiles, dignitate sublimes, licet jam spoliatos atque vastatos; minus tamen eversos rebus fuisse quam moribus*. P. 194 *Denique expugnata est quater urbs Gallorum Trever opulentissima*. P. 198 *Jacebant siquidem passim, quod ipse vidi atque sustinui, utriusque sexus cadavera nuda, lacera, urbis oculos inconstantia, avibus canibusque laniata. Lues erat viventium, foetor funereus mortuorum, mors de morte exhalabatur*. P. 200 *Ludiora ergo publica Trever petis? ubi quaeso exercenda? an super busta et cineres, super ossa et sanguinem peremptorum? Quae enim urbis pars his malis omnibus vacat? Ubi non cruor fusus, ubi non corpora, ubi non concisorum membra lacerata? Ubique facies captae urbis, ubique horror captivitatis, ubique imago mortis*.

As we read Ausonius and Salvianus, we cannot but be struck with the contrast between the prosperity of Trèves in the fourth century and its fallen condition in the fifth.

A store-house of knowledge concerning this city during the Middle Ages will be found in Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, tom. x, *Scriptorum* tom. viii, 1848. Table of contents, iii.-viii. *Gesta Treverorum*, pp. 111-260; *Praefatio*, p. vii, "*Gesta archiepiscoporum Trevirensium ineditis antea Gestis Alberonis metricis aucta, textum sistunt ope codicum plurimorum integritati et fidei pristinae restitutum*" &c. Introduction to *Gesta Treviror.* by Prof. G. Waitz, pp. 111-129. Index rerum auctore Rog. Wilmans, Ph. D., p. 683 sq., s.v., *Treveris, Treveris ecclesia, Triverica (sic) historia, Trevir. episcopi et archiepiscopi*, beginning with Eucharis, *Trever. populus*.

Ibid. tom. xxiv. (1879), no liii, pp. 368-488, *Gesta Treveror. continuata. Gesta Arnoldi archiep. Henrici archiep. et Theoderici abbatia, Boemundi archiep. etc.*

For the Bishops of Trèves comp. August Potthast, *Bibliotheca Historica Medii Aevi, Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke des Europäischen Mittelalters von 375-1500. Nebst einer Zeitfolge der Römischen Päpste, der Deutschen Kaiser und Könige, sowie sämtlicher Deutschen Bischöfe*, 1868; pp. 425-439, No. lxxxv, *Erbischofe von Trier*, with a preface on the history of the see, and many foot-notes. The series of archbishops is continued down to 1867.

Geschichte der Trevirer unter der Herrschaft der Römer, von J. Steininger, Trier, 1845, extends from the time of Julius Caesar, B.C. 58, to the conquest of the country by the Franks, A.D. 464. Two useful maps are appended, *Treviri cum populis finitimis sub Romanorum imperio, Tabulae Pentingerianae pars exhibens Treviros*. Steininger also wrote *Geschichte der Trevirer unter der Herrschaft der Franken*, 1850.

Geschichte des Trierischen Landes und Volkes, in sieben Büchern, nach den besten Quellen bearbeitet und bis in die neueste Zeit fortgeführt von Johann Leonardy, Trier, 1877; 8vo., pp. 1,024, closely printed. This is the most comprehensive work on the subject, as far as I know; it commences with the earliest notices of the Celts and Germans (Herodotus, ii, 33; iv, 49; *Fasti Capitolini* for the year 222); it ends with the political disturbances that gave an unhappy notoriety to the year 1848.

The Inscriptions at Nennig have produced an acrimonious controversy, in which some distinguished scholars have taken part, and used very strong language. They are rejected as spurious by Brambach, Mommsen and Hübner; but the local antiquaries—Wilmowaky, Leonardy and Hasenmüller—maintain that they are genuine. Cf. *omn. Die nenniger Inschriften keine Fälschung. Fundbericht, Facsimile der Inschriften, und Versuch einer Erklärung* von Jos. Hasenmüller, Dr. phil., mit lithographischen Abbildungen, 1867.

I subjoin two of the Inscriptions—

CÆS. M. V. TRAIANVS
DOMVMEREX. ETSE
CVNDINO SECVRO
PRÆF. TRIV. DON. DED.

Expansion

Cæsar M. Vlpius Traianus domum erexit, et Secundino Securo præfecto Treverorum dono dedit.

Translation

The Emperor Marcus Ulpius Trajanus erected the house, and gave it as a present to Secundinus Securus, governor of the Treveri.

CÆS. TRAI. AMPHITH. F ND
ET COND. ESTAS. MODE
STO S. SEC. PRÆF. C. AVG. I
NPRÆS. C. TRAI. PRM. VEN
AT. DED.

Expansion

Caesare Traiano amphitheatrum fundatum (fondatum?) et conditum est a Saccio Modesto; Secundinus Securus praefectus coloniae Augustae in praesentia Caesaris Traiani primas venationes dedit.

Translation.

In the reign of Trajan the amphitheatre was founded and built by Saccius Modestus; Secundinus Securus, governor of Colonia Augusta, in the presence of the Emperor Trajan, exhibited the first combats of wild beasts.

It will be observed that both these inscriptions contain the name of Secundinus, which we have already noticed on the Igel column; and that the word *venatio* corresponds with the mosaics discovered at Nennig. A summary of the discussion referred to above is given by Leonardy, *Panoramavon Trier und dessen Umgebungen*, pp. 125-129.

Many inscriptions have been found in Trèves itself; v. *Corpus Inscriptionum Rhenanarum*, edit. Guil. Brambach, 1867, Borussia Rhenana—Regierungs-Bezirk Trier, Colonia Augusta Trevirorum, subdivided into 15 sections, Nos. 769-829, pp. 158-167. Sect. 15 consists of *laterculi* (tiles) a, *Legio prima adjutrix*; b, *Vicesima secunda*; c, *Transrhenana*: ADIVTEX—LE XXII PR—III \SRHENANA. Similarly, tiles with a military stamp on them have been found in our own Metropolis: Roach Smith, *Illustrations of Roman London*, p. 31, No. 13 PRB. LON.—P. BRI. LON.—P. PR. LON.—PPBR. LON. &c.; Prima (Cohors) Brittonum Londinii, cf. pp. 112-116.

Brambach's work is severely criticized by Leonardy in a brochure entitled *Die angeblichen Trierischen Inschriften-Fälschungen älterer und neuerer Zeit*, 1867. He says that this Collection was prepared too hastily (auffallende Eile), and recommends all who use the book to bear in mind the apophthegm of Epicharmus, which Brambach himself had applied to the Nennig Inscriptions.

νάφε καὶ μέννασ' ἀπιστοίην.

v. Preface (Vorrede).

I quote the following as an example of correction: Brambach, *Op. cit.*, No. 788 gives

D. SECVNDINVS
TAVENA // CON

For these two lines Leonardy substitutes

D. SECVNDINIAE. M.
TAVENAE. CONIVGI

As the Constantine period was the golden age of Trèves, so its mint during the fourth century displayed the greatest activity, and supplied a large portion of the money that circulated in Western Europe, our country included. The fact is proved by the initial letters TR (Treviris) occurring so frequently in the exergue: my *Paper on Roman Coins found near Woodbridge, Suffolk*, *Archaeol. Journ.*, vol. xxviii, p. 36 sq. Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*, vol. vi, p. 89 sq., *Lettres, nombres et symboles qui se rencontrent sur les médailles de bronze de Constantin I le Grand*; e.g. STR. (sigmata Treviris), STRR, STRC, TR, TRP (Treviris percussa), TRP*, TRS (Treviris signata), TR*^s; *ibid.* p. 212, Constantin II le Jeune.

The coins of Augusta Treverorum are especially interesting, because they illustrate those of the London mint. It should be borne in mind that the British capital was also called Augusta, and hence arises some danger of attributing money incorrectly. Mr. De Salis in the *Archæol. Journ.*, 1867, vol. xxiv, p. 159, remarks that some very rare gold solidi of Magnus Maximus with the legend VICTORIA AVGG and the mint-mark AVGOB (see Plate I, No. 15), usually assigned to Trèves, probably belong to London. This is inferred from the absence of TR which appears on similar coins of the same usurper, where we see both SMTR and TROB. *Ibid.*, p. 151, it is stated that the mint was established in the former city at the time of the monetary reform by Diocletian.

I cannot leave this subject without adverting to the very famous gold coin fully described by Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*, vol. vii, p. 370 sq., No. 3 (Supplément), and v. Catalogue of the Collection D'Amécourt, p. 102, No. 663, F.D.C. i.e., fleur de coin, perfectly preserved. It is well shown in the accompanying *photogravures*, and still better in Mr. Ready's electrotype, an exact facsimile; obv. IMP. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG, Rev. GLORIA AVGG. Comp. similar legends GLORIA. EXERCITVS. GALL., *Imperator eques pacificatoris habitus*; VBIQVE. VICTOR., VICTOR. OMNIVM. GENTIVM., VICTORIBVS. AVGG. NN., Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, s.v. Constantinus Magnus, vol. viii, pp. 84, 90 sq. The principal feature of the Reverse is a gate surrounded by four towers; above it we see the statue of Constantine the Great, standing in military costume and mantle (*paludamentum*). Some have supposed this gate to be the Porta Alba; but, if the medal is genuine, this cannot be the case, because the Porta Alba, called in German *Althor*, did not exist in Roman times, but was constructed at a later period out of fragments of ruins in the Imperial Palace, improperly named Thermae. It is thus described in the *Gesta Treverorum*, Pertz, *Scriptorum*, tom. viii, p. 131. *Secunda deinde porta ad ortum solis cum turribus speciosis est aedificata, ad quam victores de bello revertentes tocius (sic) civitatis occursum excipiebantur et laetitia, et ob hoc Alba porta nominata.* According to the same authority the other three gates were built facing the north, south, and west respectively. Comp. a coin of Ludolf, Archbishop of Trèves, 993-1008, *Il marquis sa monnaie du portail à 3 tours, environné de la légende ALBA PORTA*: Lelewel, *Numismatique du Moyen-Age*, vol. ii, p. 196, planche xix, No. 2.

Below the gate, which can scarcely be identified, we see the Moselle and a bridge over it. German numismatists have remarked that the letters PTRB do not occur on any other gold coin of Trèves, and hence they infer that the piece in question is spurious, but the French connoisseurs do not admit this argument as conclusive. The price marked for this unique medal in Cohen is 2,500 francs, but the Bibliothèque Nationale paid more than 10,000 francs for it at the sale of the Collection d' Amécourt, 1887.

I extract from Lelewel, *Op. citat.*, vol. ii, pp. 193-199, some details concerning the mediaeval coinage of this city. The Archbishops have mitre, crosier and book, probably Gospel, for characteristics; as chiefs of the Teutonic church they appear to have taken the lead in issuing money independently. Thierrî, 965-975, first of the numismatic series, has on the obverse a cross and round it TRÖDE. . . ., on the reverse TRÉV ERIS; Pl. xix, 1. From 1016—1152 we see the episcopal portrait

on the coins, and sometimes *secunda Roma* in the legend, Pl. xix, 3. A hand holding two keys refers to St. Peter, the patron of the town; the device is arranged so as to suggest the occurrence of the letters *TR* both in *Treviris* and *Petrus*, as the wards are formed by *TR* in the apostle's name. The archbishops also had a mint at Confluentia, Coblenz. This was the finest period of the Treviran coinage; afterwards weight and type degenerated. See Lelewel's *Tables Chronologiques*. Les changemens arrivés dans le type des différentes monnaies du moyen-âge, No. xxx. Trèves (964—1400); the successive periods are entitled—Naissance, Saint patron, Profil épiscopal, Passage au nouveau. Varieties in the device are carefully enumerated, and assigned to the prelates who introduced them. Other references will be found in the Index at the end of the work.

Those who wish to investigate further should read Bohl, *Die Trierischen Münzen*, quoted above. The legend *ARCHEPES* occurs frequently; No. 39 has *ARCHEPES*; sometimes we meet with the word in full. Bohl's descriptions do not always correspond with his plates: he says very little about Roman money, but gives the Merovingian and Carolingian series, and the archiepiscopal electors of Trèves down to 1812.

Braun, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, lib. i, No. 36, shows us Trèves in the sixteenth century: *Typus ac situs antiquissimæ et præcipuæ Mediomatricum civitatis Trevirensis*; here there is an error, as the *Mediomatrici* were a Gallic nation distinct from the *Treviri*. In this old plate we see the walls of the town and towers on the bridge; it may be compared with another, and much finer one, in the same work, vol. v, No. 17, *Pourtrait de la vile et cité de Saintes, Chef de la Comté de Saintonge en Guienne, 1560*. The bridge is conspicuous with houses, water-mills, tower and Roman arch on it. These early woodcuts are most valuable as *documents historiques*, representing faithfully so many monuments that have been destroyed by accident and war, or levelled to make way for so-called improvements. A good illustration of this remark is supplied by Braun's first Plate, double-folio size, *Londinum*, which exhibits the tall spire of old St. Paul's, the houses on London bridge, St. Gyles in the *fyelde* (sic) etc. The following sentence in the description, (like that in Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv, 33) is applicable even now; *Lōdras Regni metropolis et sedes habetur, viris, potentia et opibus reliquas urbes antecedit, divitiis quoque et reliqua felicitate omnes urbes occidentem spectantes facile superat*. The engraving of Trèves is accompanied by an historical sketch by no means free from error; it commences with the same legend as the *Gesta Trevirorum*, and gives an absurd date for the foundation of the city. B.C. 1947 "*temporibus Abrahæ*"; it ends with the flight of the archbishop and the reception of a French garrison in A.D. 1682; but this year cannot be correct, because Braun's Preface was written at Cologne in 1572. Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, calls this author *Bruin*.

Concerning the female toilet and modes of wearing the hair we have abundant information derived from sculpture, vases and coins. Panofka, *Bilder Antiken Lebens*, Tafel xix, *Frauenleben*, No. 1. Women with the *σπαθίς* (spatula) and *λήκυθος* (oil-bottle). No. 5. A lady in an arm-chair is painting herself with a pencil, which her right hand raises to her face, while the left holds a mirror. Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*, x, 2, *Ἰδὼν ποτε αὐτῆν, οἷον ὁ Σώκρτης*,

ἐντετριμμένην πολλῶ μὲν ψιμυθίῳ, ὅπως λευκοτέρα ἐπι δοκοῖη εἶναι ἢν ἦν, πολλῇ δὲ ἐγχούσῳ, ὅπως ἐρυθροτέρα φαίνοιτο τῆς ἀληθείας.

Das Leben der Griechen und Römer nach antiken Bildwerken dargestellt von Ernst Guhl und Wilh. Koner, 1864; § 45 Die Tracht.—Die Weibliche Kopfbedeckung und Haartracht, pp. 194-198; p. 195, Fig. 226, a-i, heads of Athenian women in Terra-cotta, and Figs. 232, 235; also p. 206 sq., use of paint for the face, and mirror in shape like a bowl or saucer (*patens*), figs. 231, 234. Comp. the beautiful *Agurines* from the tombs at Tanagra, which have yielded the richest finds of this class; the excavations were begun in 1873: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ninth edition, 1888, has an excellent article on Terra-cottas by Professor J. H. Middleton, vol. xxiii. pp. 190-195; v. esp. p. 191 sq., figs 1-4, and notices of Collections and Literature at the end. "In some cases the lady . . . is looking in a circular mirror." The *photogravures* in the Catalogue of the d'Amecourt Collection (*Monnaies d'or Romaines et Byzantines*) afford numerous and varied examples of the modes in which women dressed their hair, from republican times down to the Eastern Empire: see my Paper on Touraine, &c., *Archaeol. Journ.*, vol. xlv, p. 328, note 1; *ibid.* Appendix, p. 353.

Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum, vol. i, No. 735, Hydria. Female figure seated in a chair, in her right hand an uncertain object perhaps a mirror seen obliquely: No. 738 a female attendant stands before her holding a mirror. Vol. ii, No. 1,355, toilet of Aphrodite(?) . . . on the right a youthful male figure (cf. Ovid, *Art. Amat.* ii, 215 sq. *Nec tibi turpe puta, quamis tibi turpe placebit, Ingenua speculum sustinuisse manu*), Adonis(?) stands behind the seated figure holding in his right hand a mirror. See General Index, Toilet-Scenes.

Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités Egyptiennes, Etrusques, Grecques, Romaines et Gauloises*, vol. iii, p. 331 sq., Pl. LXXXIX, Nos. v and vi, and esp. vol. v, pp. 173-176, Pl. LXII, No. 4. Composition des anciens Miroirs. A Baumeister, *Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums*, vol. iii, p. 1,692 sq., s.v. *Spiegel*, "eines solchen runden Handspiegels bedient sich die Dame, welche in Abbildung 1775 (Terra-cotta-figur) sich ihr Haar ordnet. Murray's Handbook for Algeria and Tunis by Sir R. L. Playfair, ed. 1887, Excursion from Tunis to Carthage, pp. 288-292; *Museum* p. 289, Objects of the Roman period. "Amongst the most curious is a *oippus* containing bas-reliefs of the principal occupations of a Roman lady's day—toilet, work and reading.

Of all the modern authorities for the Roman toilet, Böttiger's *Sabina* still remains far the best, though published more than 80 years ago. It is both entertaining and instructive, and has been justly described as a "charmant opusculc, aussi spirituel qu' érudit." A French translation appeared in 1802, entitled *Sabine ou Matinée d'une dame romaine à la fin du premier siècle de l'ère Chrétienne*. The following parts of the book will be found useful, as illustrating the relief from Neumagen:—vol. i, pp. 111-137, Zweite Szene. Haar- schmückerinnen, Salben, Haarfärberey, Spiegel, Haarnadeln; pp. 138-152, Anmerkungen; pp. 153-173, Beilage zur Zweiten Szene, Verschiedene Arten des Haarputzes und der Schmucknadeln bey den Römerinnen; pp. 283-306, Vierte -Szene. Grausamkeiten gegen Sklavinnen, u.s.w.; pp. 307-326, Anmerkungen. Böttiger translated into German, preserving the original metres Ovid. *Art. Amat.*, iii,

235-243; Id. Amores i, 14, 13-18; Martial, Epigrams, ii, 66: Juvenal. Satires, vi, 485-500; the last two passages have been quoted above, For the use of mirrors see esp. vol. i, p. 134. Sie (die alten Römerinnen) hatten lebendige Spiegelhalter, Sklavinnen, deren einziges Geschäft bloss darin bestand, dass sie, während sie sich von den übrigen Haarschmückerinnen kräuseln und aufsetzen liessen, mit einer kunstmässigen Gewandtheit den Blick ihrer Gebieterin bewachen und ihr den Spiegel bald so, bald so vorhalten mussten, cf. Taf. iii, iv; Toilettenkästchen.

To previous citations I add two more—one from a poet, and the other from a philosopher.

Propertius, Elegies, edit. Frid. Jacob, lib. v, [iv], 7, 75,

Deliciaeque meae Latris, cui nomen ab usu est,
Ne speculum dominae porrigat illa novae.

Seneca ends the first book of his *Naturales Quaestiones* by moralizing on mirrors and denouncing the luxury of his own times; cap. xvii, vol. ii, p. 658 sq., edit. Elzevir. Postea rerum jam potiente luxuria, specula totis paria corporibus auro argenteoque caelata sunt, denique gemmis adornata: et pluris unum ex his feminae constitit, quam antiquarum dos fuit illa, quae publice dabatur imperatorum pauperum filiabus. . . Jam libertinorum virgunculis in unum speculum non sufficit illa dos, quam dedit senatus pro Scipione.

A disproportionately large eye is conspicuous in some coins of Phaselis, a sea-port in *confinio Lyciae et Pamphyliae* (Livy, xxxvii, 23). On the obverse is "the prow of a galley fashioned like the fore-part of a boar" (Herodotus, iii, 59, καὶ τῶν νηῶν καπρίους ἔχουσῶν τὰς πρύμνας ἠκρωτηρίσσαν, and Baehr's note); on the reverse is a stern with aplustre and the legend ΦΑΣ, in an irregular incuse square: B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum, a Manual of Greek Numismatics*, pp. 578—580; Hunter's Catalogue, Pl. XLIII, Nos. 8-12. Mr. Head says that the types are appropriate to a maritime city . . . and confirm the belief of the ancients that swift galleys called *φάσηλοι* took their name from this town; but most authorities explain the derivation by the resemblance to the pod of a kidney-bean, phaselus, *φάσηλος*; see Liddell and Scott s. v. As to the Latin form of the word, v. Professor Key's Dictionary, "faselus, faseolus, better forms of ph." For the position of Phaselis and its surroundings consult Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epp. of St. Paul*, edit. 8vo, vol. i, pp. 193-4, and map at the end—Countries adjacent to the north-eastern corner of the Mediterranean: and for the coins, Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, tom. iii, p. 5 sq.

The open work on the bulwarks of the Neumagen boats may be illustrated by reference to Froehner, *La Colonne Trajane*, p. 67, No. 1, Deux canots . . . appartenant à la flottille danubienne, et destinés à transporter les provisions de l'armée; they are therefore analogous to those described in my text. Le siège du timonier (gubernator) . . . a pour décoration une petite balustrade à jour. Cf. *ibid.* Plate opposite p. 97, No. 23.

In this subject, as in many others, Montfaucon, the greatest of French antiquaries, affords valuable assistance: tome iv, partie ii, livre ii, qui comprend la navigation, la manière de construire les vaisseaux, et leur différente forme, pp. 203-238, Pls. CXXXIII-

OXXXVII folio size, esp. OXXXIII Rostra ou 'Eperons, Aplustre. P. 212, On voit dans cette première proue et dans les deux suivantes un grand oeil, il y en avoit sans doute un autre de l'autre côté: ces deux grands yeux faisoient que toute la proue avoit la figure informe d'une tête d'animal. V. also livres iii and iv, with accompanying Plates.

Among the representations in stone of ancient galleys I should be disposed to give the foremost place to that in the Louvre, with a Victory standing on it. Formerly the figure and the vessel were separate; now they are united, and occupy a commanding position at the head of a stair-case leading to galleries of antiquities. A full account of the monument is given by Baumeister, s.v. Seewesen, vol. iii, pp. 1631—1634; Abbildungen 1693 Prora von Samothrake, 1694 Als Diere erklärt (Assmann). P. 1632 Das lehrreichste und zuverlässigste Schiffsbild des klassischen Altertums. The article contains references to Conze, and A. Cartauld, Sur la trière Athénienne, &c., étude sur les monuments nautiques—Monuments publiés par l'Association des études grecques. A restoration, on a reduced scale, may be seen in the collection of casts belonging to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

The three youths at a table, in the Neumagen relief, wear the *segum*, which was especially a military costume, but also the dress of slaves and poor persons: v. Dictionary of Gr. and Rom. Antt., s.v. They have round their necks the *focale*, the subject of an epigram by Martial xiv, 142,

Si recitaturus dedero tibi forte libellum,
Hoc focale tuas asserat auriculas.

i.e. guard against the hearing of bad verses, Smith's Lat. Dict. Assero.

I have mentioned the use of the ram's head as an artistic ornament; Clarac supplies an example, Musée de Sculpture ancienne et moderne, Pl. 117J, No. 33:E; Text. t.ii, p. 1191, 232, E. Urnes cinéraires de Salonique, the rams' heads at the corners are connected by a festoon. Comp. Engravings from Ancient Marbles in the British Museum, Part x, Plate LVI, fig 2, Sepulchral cippus, of which the front and sides are shown. This is a better illustration than that given by Darenberg and Saglio, s.v. Ara, Tome i, première partie, p. 352, fig. 426 autel d' un héros, cippe rond . . . orné de guirlandes suspendues à des pateras, qui alternent avec des têtes de béliers.

The heads of horned animals—rams and goats—at the upper corners of heathen altars, may remind us of the Scriptural phrase, "horns of the altar": Exodus, xxvii, 2; xxix, 12; Leviticus, iv, 7 sqq.; 1 Kings, i, 50; ii, 28. They were projections of shittim wood overlaid with brass, to them the victim was bound when about to be sacrificed, Psalm cxviii, 27; Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, Articles *Altar* and *Horn*.

Besides the apposite references to Clarac given in the preceding notes, consult the following for a full discussion of the Amazons—their history and representation in art. Planches tome ii, Pl. 112, Achille vainqueur de Penthésilée. Pl. 117, 115A, 117A, Combat d' Amazones—Sarcophage de Salonique. Pl. 117C—J. Bas-Relief de la frise du Temple de Diane Leucophryne à Magnésie sur le Méander, with explanatory text, tome ii, première partie, pp. 638-646; seconde partie, Appendice, pp. 1168—1223.

A passage in Æschylus relating to the Amazons deserves notice. Suppliees, edit. Wecklein, 1885, v. 293 sqq.

καὶ τὰς ἀνάνδρους κρεοβόρους δ' Ἀμαζόνες,
εἰ τοξοτευχεῖς ἦτε, κάρτ' ἀν ἡκαστα
ὕμᾱς.

Dindorf reads *κρεοβόρους*, and Paley † *κρεοβότους* τ'. V. note by the latter editor. The poet here speaks of the Amazons as eating flesh: Linwood in his Lexicon to the author says "cannibal," but this is very doubtful. The lines just quoted favour the derivation from a privative and *μάζα* a cake: (Ἀμαζόνες) ἐκαλοῦντο . . . Σαυροπάτιδες διὰ τὸ σαύρας πάσασθαι, ὅ ἐστι γείσασθαι. Ἀμάζονες ἐκαλοῦντο . . . οἷα μὴ μάζαις ἀλλὰ κρέασι θηρίων ἐπιτρεφόμενα. Eustathius ad Dionysium Periegeten, p. 110 edit. Stephens. Geographi Graeci Minores, edit. Car. Müller (Didot), vol. ii, p. 155, Dionysii Orbis Descriptio, v. 828, ibid. p. 363, Eustath. Commentarii. On the other hand, the name is usually explained as coming from *α* and *μαστός* (*mammas*), because the right breast was cut off "that it might not interfere with the use of the bow;" which, however, seems to have been a later addition to the myth. A third etymology has been proposed: ce nom dérive de *masa*, qui veut dire lune dans la langue tscherkessé (Circassian): E. Vinet, s.v. Amazones in Daremberg et Saglio's Dictionary. For the reference to Æschylus I am indebted to my colleague Professor Ridgeway.

I exhibited a beautiful intaglio, sard, from the Cabinet of the Rev. S. S. Lewis, bearing an Amazon on horseback, astride. This position is very rare, if not unique in gems. Her left hand holds the reins, and her right the *bipennis*; the action of the horse is very spirited, and the style of workmanship indicates a good period of art.

Mr. Edward J. Hopkins, Organist of the Temple Church, London, has contributed an important article Organ to Sir George Grove's Dict. of Music and Musicians, 1880, vol. ii, pp. 573-608. He begins with the use of this instrument by the Jews, Greeks and Romans, and gives illustrations from a monument in the Museum at Arles, and from the obelisk of Theodosius (ob. A.D. 395), which has been photographed, at Constantinople. But I have not found in his essay any notice of the remarkable representation at Nennig. See also a memoir by the same author, The English Medieval Church Organ, Archaeol. Journ., vol. xlv, pp. 120-157, continued *ibid.*, 423-440. Baumeister's elaborate account of the *hydraulic* forms a part of the art. Flöten, vol. i, pp. 563-569, v. figs. 600-602, and esp. 603 Orgel und Posaune beim Cirkus-spiel (Mosaik), Nach Wilmowsky, Bonn, 1865, § 1 Blasebalg und Windkessel, § 2 Die Tastatur.

These recent publications have not superseded the excellent History of Music by Dr. Burney, 1782, v. vol. i, p. 490 sq., Reflections on the construction and use of some particular musical instruments of Antiquity. He relates the invention of the organ by Otesibius in the time of Ptolemy II Euergetes, and cites Claudian, Athenæus and Vitruvius; the fine medallion of Valentinian had not escaped him. *Ibid.* vol. ii, p. 65, he gives at length a Greek epigram attributed to the Emperor Julian the Apostate (cf. Archaeol. Journ. vol. xlv, p. 122 sq.) and at p. 66, a passage from Cassiodorus who flourished under King Vitigas the Goth, and was Consul of Rome A.D. 514. For Vitruvius see edit. Rode, Text and Plates, Lib. x, Tab. x, Forma xv

(cap. 13) *Hydraulica*, *Wasserorgel*; and Wilmowsky, *Die Römische Villa zu Nennig und ihr Mosaik*, p. 11, note 10. Upon this difficult chapter "innumerable commentators" have pastured.

Mr. Cecil Smith has favoured me with the following passages; Seroux d'Agincourt, *Histoire de l' Art par les Monuments*, tome iv, Pl. XI (see *ibid.* tome ii, p. 40). The relief on the Theodosian Column showing the organ is in the lowest row of figures, and above the Latin inscription; two youths are standing on the bellows. [English Translation, vol. ii, *Sculpture*, Tav. x, fig. 5, Eastern side of pedestal. The subject appears to be the Emperor in his tribune with a large assembly of people looking at some dancers: hence the organ is appropriately introduced. The engraving, if compared with the photograph, will be found inaccurate in details]. *Catalogue of Engraved Gems in the British Museum*, No. 1792, Water organ, played by a man, who is seen beyond it; at each side is a figure working the pumps. The latter are absent from the mosaic at Nennig; otherwise, the two designs resemble each other closely. The Rev. O. W. King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, vol. ii, pl. xxxviii, fig. 8 (*Arts-Sciences*); *ibid.*, p. 62, he gives a clear account of the *Hydraulis*, and translates the *locus classicus* in Athenæus, lib. iv, cap. 75; edit. Schweighæuser, Gr. and Lat., vol. ii, p. 176, *Καὶ τὸ ὑδραυλικὸν δὲ ὄργανον δοκεῖ κλειψύδρα εἶναι, κ.τ.λ.* See *Archæologia*, Index to vols. 1-50, S.V. Organ, for mediæval organs.

The inquirer will derive great advantage from studying the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*. Herausgegeben von Dr. F. Hettner und Dr. K. Lamprecht, commenced in 1882.

It contains not only many interesting articles (*e.g.* Jahrgang vi, Heft ii, pp. 119—154, *Römische Münzschatzfunde in den Rheinlanden von Museumsdirektor Hettner*; esp. p. 139, coins probably struck in Londinium.) but also critical notices of recent publications, especially those issued by local Societies, showing great activity in archaeological research: see *Bibliographie* at the end of some numbers, arranged in two divisions—I. Books, A. Roman period, B. Middle Ages, C. Modern, D. Local histories, E. Art, F. General culture; II, Serials that have appeared in Western Germany and adjoining countries. *Museographie* has also been included, and here we have a copious record of new acquisitions, *e.g.*, Jahrgang vi, Heft iii, 1887, pp. 286-317.

An excellent map of Trèves and its environs (*Karte von Trier*) may be obtained from Linz, whose establishment is near the Bibliothek and Trierischer Hof; the scale is 1 : 25,000; roads and even foot-paths, woods, rocks, churches &c. are marked on it, so that the pedestrian will find it very useful in his excursions. A large plan of the city, *Carte topographique*, accompanies the French guide-book for Trèves, also published by Linz. He has an exceptionally good stock of antiquarian works on sale, and will procure others if possible.

I have omitted, or only referred to, the Imperial Palace, Porta Nigra, Basilica and Cathedral, because these buildings are described in the handbooks compiled for the use of travellers, and copious information concerning details is afforded by the authorities cited above. The Roman Court of Justice has been converted into a Protestant church (die Erlöserkirche): v. *Die Basilika in Trier. Deren Geschichte, Wiederherstellung und Einweihung zur evangelischen Kirche am 28 September, 1857*, gr. 4°. It is ill-suited for preaching

by reason of acoustic deficiencies, as I can testify, having twice attended Divine service there. For the Cathedral see *Der Dom zu Trier in seinen drei Hauptperioden: der Römischen, der Fränkischen, der Romanischen beschrieben und durch 26 Tafeln erläutert* von Dr. J. N. von Wilmowsky. The fine coloured Plates are of folio size.

Monsieur Victor Simon wrote some excellent Memoirs on the Antiquities of Metz which appeared in the Transactions of the Académie Royale (afterwards Impériale) of that city: they were specially recommended to me by Monsieur Auguste Prost, and I found them very useful. In one of these publications entitled "Notice sur une Médaille de Valens, etc. (année 1839—1840), he discusses the period when the Aqueduct was built. On account of the style of masonry it has been assigned to the Upper Empire, and Drusus is usually named as its author. For these statements I believe there is no foundation in the works of any ancient writer; they rest only on conclusions drawn from the stones used in building. But such evidence by itself would be insufficient, as the architecture of the Romans, unlike the sculpture, continued for a long time substantially unchanged; some confirmation therefore would be required to support so early a date. In this case the proof of another kind points in the opposite direction. A small copper coin of Valens was discovered September 1839, enclosed in the cement of the floodgate at the East end of the arches: it bore on the obverse the Emperor's head to right, and on the reverse a Victory. This circumstance would lead us to place the construction of the aqueduct after Constantine—an opinion which the history of the time renders probable. "L'intérêt que le gouvernement d' alors avait de s'assurer de la fidélité de toutes les villes menacées de l' irruption des barbares, dut engager à leur procurer des avantages considérables. . . . Il (l' aqueduct) dut être construit ou sous Valentinien I^{er} et Valens, ou sous Gratien, ou sous Valentinien II et Theodose I^{er}, ou sous Arcadius et Honorius.

The following *brochures* by M. Victor Simon will interest the classical antiquary:—

Notices Archéologiques, année 1842, planche.

Notice sur les Sépultures des Anciens, 1843-44, planche.

Notice Archéologique sur Metz et ses Environs, 1856, 2 planches.

Notice sur une statuette trouvée près de Gorze, &c. 1858, planche.

Documents archéologiques sur le Département de la Moselle 1859 (†).

In the last pamphlet the author has given a good summary of the statistics of this region, classified under the headings—Celtic period; Roman period; Middle Ages and subsequent times. M. Simon's remarks are eminently suggestive. *Epoque romaine* is sub-divided as follows: Voies, Bornes milliaires, Murs, Fortifications, Camps, Ponts, Arcs, Aqueducs, Théâtre, Amphithéâtre, Cirque, Temples, Autels, Palais, Tombes, Edifices privés, Statues, Mardelles, Inscriptions, Objets d'art en bronze, Poteries. At page 5 we learn that there were other aqueducts besides the one described above. On a découvert un autre aqueduc qui passait à environ sept kilomètres de Metz, par Longeau et Chazelles. On a trouvé à Metz des aqueducs dans la rue des Bons Enfants et dans la rue de la Tête-d'Or.

To the paragraph on Walls, page 3, I add the words of a very distinguished Archaeologist, M. Robert: "C'est en nombre prodigieux que les inscriptions et autres débris antiques existaient dans les remparts,"

quoted by M. Louis Audiat in his opusculé, "La date des murs Gallo-Romains de Saintes," page 10.

I have referred to the absurd derivation of Metis (Metz) from Marcus Mettius. This name is given in Cohen's Médailles consulaires, Gens Mettia, p. 215 sq., No. 104. The type of Juno Sospita shows that Lanuvium was the *berocus* of the family, and Venus Nicéphore alludes to the divine origin and victories of Julius Cæsar.

In accounts of the monuments of this district the towns Saarburg, Searlouis, and Saarbrücken often occur, and must be carefully distinguished. As the names imply, all three are situated on the river Saar, an affluent which falls into the Moselle at Cons, near Trèves. I have mentioned them in their geographical order, proceeding from north to south.

After all that has been said about Neptune or Jupiter on the Merten column, it is quite possible that we have here some local divinity. It does not follow because groups like the one described above occur only in Roman settlements that they belong to the mythology of that nation, for we know how readily the conquerors admitted the gods of subjugated races into their comprehensive pantheon. It would be easy to multiply examples in ancient sculpture of the rider trampling on a prostrate foe: *vide* Lindenschmit's Tracht und Bewaffnung des Römischen Heeres, während der Kaiserzeit mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Rheinischen Denkmale und Fundstücke, Tafel vii, No. 3: text, p. 23. *Ibid*, Taf. viii, No. 1, p. 24; and Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit, Heft iii, Taf. 7, Nos. 1 and 2; Heft xi, Taf. 6, No. 2. Compare a coin of Trajan careering over Decebalus. On the medals of the Constantine period this type appears often, one might say too often, as it is a very cruel one.

The student of the antiquities of Metz will come across Venantius Fortunatus who mentions the Salia (Seille), a tributary which the Moselle receives immediately below the city. See Migne's Patrologia, tom. lxxxviii, lib. iii, cap. xiv, Ad Villicum episcopum Mettensium. Mettensis urbis situm et ejus amœnitatem describit, &c.

V. 5. Hinc dextra de parte fluit, qua (var. lect. qui) Salia fertur Flumine sed fluctus pauperiore trahit.

Ibid, Lib. vii, cap. iv.

Isara, Sara, Chares, Schaldia, Saba, Somena, Sura,

Seu qui Mettin adit, de Sale nomen habens.

He also praises the productiveness of the neighbouring country.

Certatur varia fertilitate loca.

A visit to the market at Metz, well supplied with fruit and vegetables, will prove that the same encomium is deserved at present.

This writer, who flourished in the sixth century, has received more attention than his intrinsic merits could reasonably claim, perhaps because he was the last of the Latin poets in Gaul. He wrote eleven books of poems, some in the figure of a cross, square, or lozenge, so that in this respect they resemble the Idyl of Porphyrius on the Organ. His relations with Sainte Radegonde are particularly noticed by Augustin Thierry, *Récite des Temps Mérovingiens*, tome ii, 5^{ème} et 6^{ème} Récit. In the Pièces justificatives at the end of the volume, most readers will find their curiosity concerning his style abundantly gratified.

From the title-page of the *Histoire de Metz par des religieux Bene-*

dictine, one would suppose that this publication was anonymous, but the names of the authors Dom Jean François and Dom Nic. Tabouillot appear in the *Privilège* at the end of vol. i.

In addition to the books quoted above consult for the history of Metz, Pertz, *Index* to tome viii, and tome xxiv, pp. 489-549, *Historia Mettensis monumenta varia*; and for the Cathedral, *Histoire et Description Pittoresque de la Cathédrale de Metz*, etc., par Emile Bégin, 2 vols., 1843, with many illustrations.

Hucher, *L' Art Gaulois, ou les Gaulois d' après leurs Médailles*, gives some account of the coinage of the *Mediomatrici* in part i, page 41, but more fully in part ii, page 69 *et seq.* Les peuplades de l' Est, en rapports plus immédiats avec les Grecs et les Romains, ont adopté assez généralement les types monétaires de ces peuples. On page 70 there is a woodcut of a coin, No. 102; legend *MEDIOMA*, M and N being in ligature. Obverse, head, with a *coiffure* apparently of braided hair; Reverse, winged griffin that has a hooked beak, and wings ending in a volute which is the most remarkable part of the device; it is rushing to the right impetuously.

For the mediæval coins of Metz see Lelewel, *Numismatique du Moyen-Age*, iii^{ème} partie, pp. 199-212, Table xxxi (A.D. 960—1360): Barthélemy, *Numismatique du Moyen-Age et Moderne*, pp. 285-288, and Table des Ateliers monétaires; Notice sur une Trouvaille de Monnaies Lorraines des xii^e et xiii^e siècles faite a Saulxures-lès-Vannes par MM. A. Bretagne et E. Briard, pp. 16-21; extrait des Mémoires de la Société d'Archéologie Lorraine pour 1884: F. de Saulcy, *Monnaies de la ville et des évêques de Metz*.

In Archæology, as in many other subjects, Germany has led the way, and is still pre-eminent. So far back as the Session 1826-27, the Programme of the University of Bonn included two courses on Christian antiquities, one by the Protestant, the other by the Roman Catholic Professor. Lectures were also delivered on Greek and Roman Architecture; and Art in the age of Pericles was explained with special reference to the Elgin Marbles.

Amongst the apparatus employed as ancillary to Academical instruction we find *Gypsotheca ad illustrandam historiam artis antiquæ, cum Museo antiquitatum academico*. Any prospectus of the Berlin University, issued during the last decade, will show what advances have been recently made, and to what extent classes for these studies have been sub-divided. As an example of progress I may refer to the magnificent collection of Casts which Professor Michaelis showed me at Strassburg last September, occupying 14,300 square feet.

Though some time must elapse before we can overtake the most learned nation in Europe, it is satisfactory to know that our countrymen are at last endeavouring to remove the reproach of neglect so long and so deservedly cast upon us. At Oxford Mr. Fortnum's collection, rich in bronzes and other relics of classical antiquity, is now added to the Ashmolean Museum. The Rev. Greville Chester has deposited there Oriental remains—Phœnician and Hittite—also Greek and Græco-Roman gems, "perfect examples of Hellenic workmanship." Mr. Flinders Petrie and his coadjutors have exhibited and, in some cases, presented, objects found in recent excavations, and thus the Egyptian series vies in interest with other departments. The Cyprus Exploration

Fund has contributed glass jewellery and vases; Sicily, too, has yielded up treasures by which both the drama and local ceramic art are happily illustrated. All that the University possesses in the shape of Greek and Roman sculptures and inscriptions is now collected in one place; the Galleries also will soon be extended at a cost of £3,000. Lectures on archaeology are delivered by Professor Percy Gardner every term, and are numerously attended. Further details will be found in the *Oxford Magazine* for November 21st and December 5th, 1888; and March 13th, 1889.

At Cambridge general antiquities and those of the neighbourhood are lodged in the same building as the Classical Casts, a very extensive Collection, which is accompanied by an Archaeological library of about 2,500 volumes in juxta-position with it. From the published notices it is evident that the lecturers pay due attention to the connection between art, literature and history, which is specially requisite in a University, and that they also illustrate their subject by communicating to Students the results of the most recent discoveries. For some years the Antiquarian Committee has shown great activity; gathering objects together, preserving and arranging them, and rendering them accessible to the public. Their annual Reports give an account of accessions to the Museum classified under the following heads: I. Prehistoric; II. Roman; III. Saxon; IV. Christian Antiquities; V. Ethnological; VI. Various; VII. Books; VIII. Portraits, Photographs, Drawings, &c. A Catalogue raisonné of the Casts has been edited by Dr. Waldstein.

Nor has the Metropolis lagged behind the old Universities. In 1873 the writer of this Memoir, at the request of the Council, gave a course of Lectures on Classical Archaeology at University College; he believes that an attempt was then made for the first time in London to treat the subject comprehensively. More recently Sir Charles Newton filled the chair endowed by the late Mr. James Yates's bequest. Mr. Stuart Poole has now succeeded to this appointment, and discharges its duties with the aid of distinguished *collaborateurs*. The instruction is supplemented by demonstrations at the British Museum, so that "the best school of Greek art in the world" offers to the class advantages not to be obtained elsewhere. From the Prospectus for the Session 1889-90 I infer that prominence will be given to Mediæval Art, both in the east and in the west, down to the Renaissance. During the current year Mr. Talfourd Ely has also lectured on his Travels in Greece at University Hall.

We cannot now pause to inquire whether the present educational régime is good or bad; but while it lasts, we must deal with actualities. As a rule, undergraduates will study nothing beyond what they are going to be examined upon. Under these circumstances, if we wish them to learn things as well as words, we should not rest satisfied till Archaeology is made a necessary and indispensable part of the higher Classical Examinations in all our Universities.

It only remains for me to express with gratitude my obligations to Dr. Hettner of Trèves and M. Auguste Prost of Metz, from whose writings I have transcribed many details: for information relating to Oxford and Cambridge I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Percy Gardner, and of my Brother, the Rev. S. S. Lewis.

ON SOME FUNERAL WREATHS OF THE GRÆCO-ROMAN PERIOD, DISCOVERED IN THE CEMETERY OF HAWARA.¹

By PERCY E. NEWBERRY.

Through the kindness of Mr. Flinders Petrie I am enabled to exhibit here this afternoon a series of ancient funeral wreaths and plant remains, which were discovered by him last year in the cemetery of Hawara, Egypt. They form but a portion of those which were exhibited last summer at the Egyptian Exhibition, Piccadilly, but as they were not then arranged in glass cases, and as the space at Mr. Petrie's disposal did not permit of their being properly set out and arranged, they attracted but little attention. At the close of that exhibition last July the whole collection was placed in my hands to be botanically examined and divided into sets and arranged for the museums of Kew, South Kensington, and Leyden. The Kew set, which is by far the most complete one, I took (at the request of Mr. Thiselton Dyer, the Director of the Royal Gardens, Kew), down to the Bath meeting of the British Association last September, and read a paper on it before the Biological section, which has since been printed *in extenso* in Mr. Flinders Petrie's *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoë*. In that paper, however, I only dealt with such points as I considered were of peculiar interest from a biologist's point of view, and did not touch upon the archæological value of the collection. Interesting and, indeed, important as this is, I shall only be able to briefly touch upon it in the present paper.

I have lately heard from Mr. Petrie that he has made a further discovery of wreaths and remains of plants

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, June 6th, 1889.

at Hawara. When these arrive in England I shall immediately begin to work them out, and when I have done so I hope to publish a complete monograph of the whole collection, illustrated by photographs or autotypes of the wreaths, and botanical drawings of the plants.

In the present paper therefore, I shall confine myself to giving a description of some of the more interesting objects, and point out the light that they throw upon the writings of classical authors.

It may be well, however, at the outset to mention that they were all found in coffins, which, from the style and manufacture and the decoration of the mummies found in them, Mr. Petrie attributes to the first century, B.C. "It was in this period," he writes, "that the decoration of the Hawara mummies came into the hands of Greek workmen" and that a colony of Greeks settled at Hawara.

This is interesting, for, as I shall endeavour to show, not only did the Greeks assist in making the coffins and in decorating the mummies, but they also clearly had a hand in the manufacture of some of the funeral garlands. Several of the wreaths, such as those of narcissus flowers, roses, and lychnis flowers, are undoubtedly of Greek manufacture. These flowers are not indigenous to Egypt, and, with the exception of the rose they must have been introduced from Greece. The manner in which these wreaths are made, is also quite different from any that have been previously found in Egypt, and coincides more with the pattern of the Greek and Roman examples described by Athenæus and Pliny.

There are, however, several kinds of wreaths in the Hawara collection which have undoubtedly been made by Egyptian hands. This type,¹ for instance, is, I believe, made on a purely Egyptian pattern. It is true that no wreaths like it have ever before been found in the tombs, but a garland made on a very similar pattern is represented in a tomb painting of the eighteenth dynasty at Thebes. Another wreath found at Hawara is made on a pattern which frequently occurs in the ancient Egyptian tombs. I have not the wreath here (it is now in the Natural History Museum at South Kensington), but these fragments, of

¹ A wreath was here shown by the Author

another wreath of the same pattern (which were discovered in a tomb of the Ptolemaic period at Thebes, and which Dr. Pleyte kindly forwarded to me from Leyden), will serve to illustrate the style. Another kind of wreath—the *immortelle*—discovered at Hawara, also appears to be made on an Egyptian pattern, but of this I shall speak more fully further on.

The wreaths discovered by Mr. Petrie may therefore be classed under the two following divisions: those made by the Greeks and those made by the Egyptians. I will first describe those of Egyptian manufacture.

1. The most ancient type is most probably this one,¹ for as I have already remarked, wreaths made in exactly the same manner have been found in tombs of the eighteenth dynasty. It is made of *mimusops* and olive leaves. The *mimusops* leaves are, as may be seen in this fragment, folded length-wise in the middle, then folded again in the contrary direction over a strip about $\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide of a leaf of the date-palm. In the fold of each *mimusop* leaf, olive leaves (which, it is interesting to note, are not leaves of the common olive but of a rare Nubian variety) are inserted in such a manner that they are fixed in the leaf as in a pair of pincers. Then with a finer strip of the leaf of the date palm than the central one, they are stitched through and securely fastened together in long rows side by side and all pointing in the same direction. It is probable that these are the "so-called Egyptian Evergreen Garlands" which are alluded to but not described by Plutarch, Athenæus, and Pliny.

The second garland to which I would call your attention is made on a very complicated pattern. It consists of a number of small nosegays (about eighty go to the foot) bound by strips of pith on to a thick stem about 4 ft. long of the Egyptian papyrus. (Only a portion of the wreath is here exhibited for it has been cut into three pieces.) The nosegays are of two sizes. The smaller ones merely consist of a piece of papyrus stem about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, round one end of which are bound rose petals. The larger ones are more complicated and appear to have been made in the following manner: a piece of pith about two inches long by a quarter of an inch

¹ Specimen exhibited.

in diameter is first taken and round one end of this a rose leaf is so fastened as to cover the end entirely with green. This forms as it were the foundation of each bunch. Around the same end again a thin slice of pith about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide is rolled so as to form an inverted cone. A number of the scarlet berries of the woody nightshade are then taken and threaded on thin strips of the leaves of the date-palm, the ends of which strips are turned down and fastened (thus) so as to secure the berries from slipping off. These little bunches of berries were then placed immediately outside the inverted pith cones, and fastened by another thin band of pith around which again a row of pink lychnis flowers were fixed. These small bunches and the manner in which they are secured on to the papyrus stalk may be well seen in this specimen.¹ These very complicated garlands are, I believe, nowhere mentioned in classical or in native Egyptian literature, but the lychnis flowers, of which some of the small bunches are composed, were among the Greeks favourite garland flowers. They are mentioned as having been used for this purpose by Theophrastus, Athenæus, and several of the old Grecian poets. The nightshade berries, too, it is interesting to note, are mentioned by Pliny as having been used by the chaplet makers of Egypt. "I wish," he writes in his Natural History, "that the garland makers of Egypt would never use this plant in making their chaplets." Why he wished so he does not say.

The third kind of Egyptian wreath, though made on a far simpler pattern than the two former, is no less interesting. It is composed of the flowers of a species of immortelle, and is believed to be one of the immortelle or helichrysos wreaths which are mentioned by Pliny, Plutarch, Athenæus, and several other writers. The flower, or rather the plant which bore the flower, of which these famous wreaths were made, is thus described by Pliny, a description which coincides exactly with the species of gnaphalium. "It has, he writes," "small white branches, with leaves of a whitish colour, and the flowers, which grow in clusters, glisten like gold in the rays of the sun. They are never known to fade" he continues, "hence it is that they make chaplets of it for the gods, a custom

¹ Specimen exhibited.

which is most faithfully observed by Ptolemy, the King of Egypt" (*Hist. Nat.*, xxi, 96). Pliny elsewhere writes respecting these wreaths,—“According to the Magi, the person who crowns himself with an helichrysos chaplet will be sure to secure esteem and glory among his fellow men.” He does not mention, however, that they were used for funeral purposes, but perhaps they were worn by their owners during life and interred with them in their coffins after death. There are one or two other wreaths which are probably of Egyptian make, such as this one¹ composed of flowers of the date palm threaded on strips of twine, and another of date fruit, and this of seeds of some plant which I have not yet succeeded in identifying.

2. Among the wreaths which are probably of Greek origin the narcissus ones are perhaps the most interesting. A strip of papyrus stem forms the foundation around which the flowers are simply bound by very thin strips of papyrus pith. Garlands made of this narcissus, the polyanthus narcissus of our English gardeners, and the “clustered” narcissus of the ancient Greeks, were much prized in ancient times, and are often alluded to in classical literature. Sophocles tells us, in his “*Œdipus Coloneus*,” that it was of this flower that the “ancient coronets of the mighty goddesses” were made. “And ever day by day,” he writes, “the narcissus, with its beauteous clusters, the ancient coronet of the mighty goddesses, bursts into bloom by heaven’s dew.” Another Grecian poet, one quoted by Athenæus, also alludes to the use of the narcissus in the manufacture of garlands. He is writing about the garland makers of Athens, and says—

Nor did they scorn
The dewy cups of that ambrosial flower
Which boasts Narcissus’ name.

Another flower much used by the Greek garland makers was the rose, and two styles of rose garlands have been found in the Hawara cemetery. The first and commonest kind is made on the same pattern as the narcissus garlands; the flowers simply bound round a piece of papyrus stem. The use of the papyrus stem in these rose garlands may, perhaps, explain a passage in Athenæus. That author is discussing a line of one of

Specimens were here shown.

the odes of Anacreon, in which a "Naucratic" garland is mentioned, and quoting all the writers who have spoken on this subject. "Some say," he writes, "that it was a garland made of roses, and of what is called by the Egyptians *biblus* (papyrus), but," he continues, "what pleasure or advantage could there be in having a crown made of *biblus* with rose. One might as well have a garland made of onions and roses." If Athenæus had seen this wreath he perhaps would not have been so hasty in ridiculing it. The second style of rose wreath is composed of rose petals threaded by a needle on to strips of twine. It is chiefly interesting from the fact that it illustrates a passage of Pliny. "Recently," he writes, "in his History of Garlands, the rose chaplet has been adopted, and luxury has now arisen to such a pitch that rose garlands are held in no esteem at all if they do not consist entirely of petals sewn together with the needle" (*Hist. Nat.*, xxi, 8).

There is one more wreath to which I would call your attention. It is made of twigs of the sweet marjoram (the *amaracus* of the Greeks, the *sampsuchion* of the Egyptians) and *lychnis* flowers together with thin coils of copper tinsel. It must have been when fresh one of the most lovely of all the funeral wreaths found at Hawara.

Besides these funeral wreaths a large quantity of seeds, fruits, leaves, and other fragments of plants were discovered last year by Mr. Petrie. Many of these, such as the peach stones, dates and date-stones, walnut shells, currants, pomegranates, plums, figs, chick peas, garden peas, and beans, evidently represent the remains of the old funeral feasts held in the cemetery. Among the other plant remains one which was found in the interior of a mummy crocodile is of special interest for it allows us to determine the species of plant of which the writing pens of the ancient Egyptians were made. A number of writing pens exist in the British Museum and at Leyden, but until now the grass or reed of which they are made has not been identified. I have examined some of these and find that they are undoubtedly made out of the stems of the inflorescence of the Egyptian Sugar Cane, the *Saccharrum Egypticum* of botanists.

THE PASGUARD.

Additional Note, by the Hon. H. A. DILLON, F.S.A. (see p. 129).

In writing of the incorrect use of the word pasguard, for the upright plates on the shoulder-pieces of fifteenth and sixteenth century suits, I omitted what seems to be a stronger argument than any there used against the use of that term. It is pretty certain that in no representation of any kind do we see these upright plates with linings, nor are there any traces on existing specimens of rivet holes for the attachment of the strips of leather to which linings could be fastened. Neither could there be any use in lining or padding such portions of the armour. But we know that linings of padded or quilted materials were used with many pieces of the suit, in order to protect the body and limbs of the wearer from the effect of a blow on the surface of the hard metal. In the list of payments in connection with the jousts held Oct. 20, 1519, there is one for "9 yards of Cheshire cotton at 7d. for lining the king's pasguard, grand garde, great mayn de fer &c." In 1521 there is again a charge for two yards of yellow satin at 7s. 4d., for lining two head-pieces, two pair of tassels, a pasguard and two maynd fers. In March, 1522, four pounds of fine caddis wool were bought for lining three head-pieces, three collars, two pasguards, one main de fer, and three gauntlets, and three yards of crimson satin at 9s. were bought on the same occasion for lining a head-piece, a pasguard, and a main de fer and two gauntlets.

Here we have the materials for the padding of portions of armour, all of which would be in contact with the head or limbs of the king. The wool would require to be quilted in order to keep it evenly distributed over the inside surface of the armour, and we see in the MS. of *Meliadus* in the British Museum instances of this arrangement on the inside of shields, or, at least, that part of them which would press on the arm. The handsome targets and roundels of the sixteenth century are continually described in inventories as lined and fringed, and some still exist with their linings. Of course with the highly ornamented armour of the sixteenth century the lining of some parts, such as the pouldrons, served also as a protection from chafing for the parts of the suit over which the pouldrons would continually rub with every movement of the arm. All this was reasonable and useful, but the upright shoulder plates, the so-called pasguards, could have no such cause for being lined or padded.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

June 6, 1889.

J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, Esq., V.P., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. Hartshorne sent a paper "On the Monumental Effigies in Coberley Church, Gloucestershire," first treating of the extent to which such memorials have suffered through neglect, removal from their original sites, and "restoration," a protest being entered against the continuance of the process, which involves the violent dislocation of the continuity of local history. As to the effigies in question, Mr. Hartshorne gave a general description of the military harness of the time of Edward II., exemplified by the fine knightly figure at Coberly, pointing out more particularly how the bascinet, the surcote and the gauntlet had gradually grown from earlier forms, and, as gradually, lapsed into later ones; the female figure, the civil effigy, with its exuberant hair, and the rare diminutive effigy were also described.

The CHAIRMAN, referring to Mr. Hartshorne's remarks on the practice of moving and altering ancient monuments, called attention to the mischief now going on at Westminster Abbey, and especially to the destruction of the painted glass in the rose window in the north transept, and to the answer which was considered sufficient when a question was asked lately about it in the House of Commons; that glass, he added, was of unusual value and interest as being an almost unique example of glass-painting of the early part of the eighteenth century. It was good in itself, and fitted its place very well; but now it is to be destroyed, only because it will not fit a new window which Mr. Pearson wishes to put in its place; and when some, who valued the glass, object to its destruction, they are told that it is to be adapted to the new window, and are asked to accept the mangled and rearranged pieces as the equivalent of the whole.

Mr. Hartshorne's paper is printed at page 165.

Mr. P. E. NEWBERRY read a paper "On some Funeral Wreaths of the Græco-Roman Period, discovered in the Cemetery of Hawara, Egypt," pointing out the light which these interesting leaf records throw upon the writings of classical authors, and that the Greek colonists at Hawara not only assisted in making the coffins and in decorating the mummies, but also had a hand in the manufacture of some of the garlands.

Mr. Newberry's paper is printed at page 427.

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Hartshorne and Mr. Newberry.

The Rev. Greville I. Chester exhibited a pierced scarabæoid of bright red sard, obtained by him last winter at Damascus. The following description of this fine gem has been kindly contributed by Professor Sayce. "This seal is a very fine specimen of a Phœnician intaglio. The forms of the characters engraved upon it are those of the seventh and sixth centuries, B.C. The face of the stone is mainly occupied by a winged scarabæus with a star over it and what is apparently a crescent moon reversed below. (This may be a lotus flower and stalk).

Below the latter is a line of inscription which reads *לְחַנְנִי* *l'Khanni*, "belonging to Khanân or Hanno, a well-known Phœnician and Hebrew name. Under the form of Hanan it appears in Chron. xi, 43, as the name of one of David's officers, or as Hanun it was the name of a King of Ammon. (2 Sam., x, i.) Khanun or Hanno was King of Gaza in the line of Sargon according to the Assyrian monuments and the Carthaginian Hanno is a familiar figure in history."

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. HARTSHORNE.—Full-sized drawings of portions of the military effigy at Coberley.

By Mr. E. P. NEWBERRY.—Funeral Wreaths.

By the Rev. GREVILLE I. CHESTER.—Phœnician scarabæoid.

By Admiral TREMLETT.—Photograph of a silver patera.

July 4, 1889.

The Earl PERCY, F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

The PRESIDENT spoke of the loss which the Institute had sustained by the death of Mr. J. O. L. Stahlschmidt and proposed a vote of condolence with his family. This was seconded by the Rev. F. Spurrell.

Prof. B. LEWIS read a paper on the Roman antiquities of the Middle Rhine, in the course of which he treated of remains in the following places:—(1) Mayence. The museum here contains a collection of Roman sepulchral monuments which specially illustrate the armour and weapons of that nation, and is most useful to the antiquary on account of its admirable classification, due to the learning and industry of the director, Dr. Lindenschmidt. The Eigelstein, probably erected in honour of Drusus, and the arches of the aqueduct at Zahlbach, near the city, were also described. (2) Wiesbaden. The most remarkable object here appears to be the Mithraic tablet. In this bas-relief the principal group was shown to be the same as that of which we have two examples in the round at the British Museum, viz., Mithras sacrificing a bull. At Wiesbaden, as might be expected from the different mode of representation, there are many accessories, not only the two usual figures of youths, one holding an upright and the other an inverted torch, but also the signs of the zodiac, the sun in an ascending and the moon in a descending car, medallions of the four winds, &c. (3) Homburg. The objects discovered by excavation in the castrum of Saalburg, having been removed hither and arranged in a hall of the Kurhaus by Col. von Cohausen and Herr Jacobi, are now easily accessible. The collection is rich in iron and bronze utensils.

tools of trades, field and garden implements, locks and keys. (4) Darmstadt. Speaking generally, it appeared that the antiquities include few objects of interest for the classical student, but the great mosaic, ten yards long and seven wide, from a Roman bath at Vilbel, forms a striking exception. It was pointed out by Mr. Lewis that the aim of the design was to exhibit in an allegorical form the pleasure that the Romans took in bathing. Creatures of two classes, real and imaginary, are shown with great variety of gesture disporting in the watery element.

Mr. Lewis's paper will appear in a future *Journal*.

Mr. FREDERICK PETRIE briefly described the results of seven months' excavations in the Fayum. The discoveries in chronological order are as follows: Coptic and Coptic letters on papyrus; three large legal deeds, early Byzantine, on papyrus; three wax portraits, and others injured; Græco Roman papyri, a large quantity of Ptolemaic papyri, letters, portions of the ephemerides of Philadelphus, and demotic, all recovered from the cartonnages of mummies; coffins of Ptolemaic age; a splendid set of amulets, many in chased gold, inlaid, and a hundred in hard stones engraved, found on a mummy with gold finger and toe plates, in a sarcophagus with alabaster *cosmops* and 400 *usababils*; twelve other sets of amulets, less rich, all about the twenty-sixth dynasty; sarcophagi and coffins of the twenty-fifth dynasty, unusually fine work; and many other coffins, beads, &c., of the twenty-first and twenty-fifth dynasties. A town of the nineteenth dynasty has supplied a large quantity of tools, pottery, &c. Two large bronze pans, inscribed, were found here, and much archaic Greek and Cypriote pottery, and letters of various alphabets incised on both native and foreign pottery. In the tombs of this age were three wooden statuettes of fine work, necklaces, beads, &c. The coffin of one of the Turaha race, naturalised in Egypt, was also found. Of the twelfth dynasty the pyramid of Hawara was opened, and the funeral vases of Amenemhat III. and his daughter Ptahnefru were found, with a beautiful altar of offerings in alabaster. Tombs of this age yielded many alabs of sculpture. At Illahun two temples of the pyramid of Usertesen II. have been dug over, and innumerable fragments of sculpture found. The foundation deposit has also been cleared. The town of the pyramid builders has been mostly excavated; arches of brick were always used for the doorways. Dozens of papyri of the twelfth dynasty were obtained, and pottery, beads, tools, carpentry work, and many boxes in which infants had been buried in the rooms. The Cypriote alphabet is also found here, letters being incised on the Egyptian pottery. The collection will be exhibited this autumn at the rooms of the Institute. Both for Egyptian and Greek archæology the results are of the greatest value.

Mr. PETRIE said that the objects he had collected in Egypt, filling ninety boxes, had not yet arrived. They would, however, be exhibited later in the year in the rooms of the Institute, and a paper upon them will appear in due course in the *Journal*.

Votes of thanks were passed to Professor Lewis and Mr. Petrie.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Professor LEWIS.—Photographs and coins in illustration of his paper.

By the Rev. GREVILLE I. CHESTER.—The Garter Ring of Bishop

Andrewes. Concerning this relic Mr Chester contributed the following notes:—

THE GARTER RING OF BISHOP ANDREWES.

By the kindness of my nephew Mr. Howard F. Paget, of Elford, Staffordshire, I am able to exhibit to the Institute the Ring of the great Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, as Prelate of the Order of the Garter.

This most learned and saintly Bishop was born in Thames Street, London, September 25th, 1555, consecrated Bishop of Chichester in 1605, translated to Ely in 1609, and again to Winchester in 1618, where he died on his birthday in 1626.

The Ring I now exhibit belongs to the latter period of his life, when, in virtue of his holding the see of Winchester, he was *ex-officio* Prelate of the Garter.

The Ring is of massive gold; it weighs ten dwt. ten grs., and is richly enamelled. The outer surface represents the Garter in deep blue enamel, the buckle being enamelled white, and a small circlet of green enamel is introduced with excellent effect at the end contrary to the buckle. Upon the rich blue surface appear in gold a small rosette and the motto of the illustrious Order, HONY. SOIT. QVI. MAL. Y PE. SE. the place of the missing letter in the last word being occupied by a square gold bezel containing a diamond. Withinside the Ring is a scull in white and black enamel, with the initials of the owner LA for Lancelot Andrewes and the Latin motto *Memorans Nouissima* in black. The plate-mark the letter G within an engrailed border seems to be the same as that recorded by Cripps as occurring on "The Cockayne Cup" of the Skinners' Company with the date 1605. The date of the present example, however, cannot be *before* 1618.

This magnificent example of old English goldsmith's work was the property of the late Bishop Bagot of Bath and Wells, who, when Bishop of Oxford, was Chancellor of the Garter, and who, on his decease, left it to his Chaplain the late Rev. Francis E. Paget, Rector of Elford, the well-known writer, father of the present owner.

By the Rev. E. S. DEWICK.—A MS. *Hours ad usum Sarum* formerly in the possession of Mr. Maskell and Mr. Beresford-Hope. After noticing some points of interest in the contents of this book Mr. Dewick called attention to the birth entries on a fly leaf at the end of the book. The most interesting is as follows:—"My sonne Stephan was borne the xijth day of June betwix ix and x of the cloke in the forenone the wich was the moro aft' saynt barnabes day being: monday in the yeare of our lord god 1559 and in the fyrst yere of the Rayne of Quene Elizabeth his godfathers my brother Stephin, vaughan and M^r. hardyng and M^{rs}. my lady harpar alderwoman god- mother and his unkle Thomas Wisman husshipped hym

"All this was before mydsomer and at mydsomer all latten sarrys was left and Englys brought in to the Chirches"

[In a later handwriting] "written by your mother Elizabeth Keynsam."

Mr. Dewick identified "my lady harpar alderwoman" as the wife of Sir William Harper, Lord Mayor of London in 1561-2, who was also the founder of Bedford Grammar School and is often mentioned in Machyn's diary; but he asked for help to explain the word "husshipped."

ANNUAL MEETING, AT NORWICH.

August 6th to August 14th, 1889.

Tuesday, August 6th.

The Mayor of Norwich (J. Farrer Ranson, Esq.) and the members of the Corporation assembled at noon in St. Andrew's Hall, and received the President of the Meeting, His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, and the following Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Sections, and members of the Council:—The Rev. O. R. Manning (President of the Antiquarian Section), the Rev. W. F. Creany, the Rev. J. J. Raven, the Rev. F. Spurrell, the Rev. A. Jessopp (President of the Historical Section), the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, Mr. J. Willis Clark (President of the Architectural Section), Dr. Bensly, the Rev. H. J. Bigge, Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, the Rev. Precentor Venables, Mr. Chancellor Ferguson, Mr. Justice Pinhey, Professor E. C. Clark, Mr. A. Hartshorne, Mr. T. H. Baylis, Q.C., Mr. E. Green, Mr. H. Jones and Mr. J. Hilton, and a large number of members of the Institute, and Vice-Presidents of the meeting.

On taking the chair the Mayor of Norwich welcomed the Institute on behalf of the city and county. He alluded to the number of churches, the castles, and the houses in the district which were so well worthy of the attention of the Institute, and spoke of the fame of Norwich in bygone days for her textile fabrics. He expressed his regret at the unavoidable absence of the Earl Percy on account of important business, and, similarly, that Sir F. Boileau, the President of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, was prevented by illness from taking part in the meeting. The Mayor concluded by asking Mr. Micklethwaite, as the Senior Vice-President of the Institute present, to take the chair.

In formally accepting this position Mr. Micklethwaite cordially thanked the Mayor, on behalf of the Institute, for his kind words of welcome, and heartily endorsed what had fallen from him as to the high interest of all that they would see, both in city and county, during the meeting. It was a district famed for the splendour of its churches, and they bore witness to the fact that there was plenty of money available at the time they were built, owing to the pursuit of the industries to which the Mayor had referred. The churches of Norfolk and Suffolk could not only compare with those of any other county, but surpassed nearly all. His business, however, now was, not to detain them further, but to introduce the President of the Meeting, and he now had the honour to ask his Grace, the Duke of Norfolk, to take the chair.

In taking his place as President of the Meeting the Duke of Norfolk said: "I feel very keenly the position in which I am placed before so distinguished and critical an audience. It has been announced in print that I have come here to deliver an address, but I can assure you that I intend to do nothing of the kind. Although I have been asked to fulfil the duties of president for the week, I do not feel that that entitles me to put myself in the position of one who understands the topics which will come before us. I am here to learn and not to preach, and it would ill become me to deliver an address upon archæological subjects.

In the first place I desire to return our sincere thanks to the Mayor, for the welcome he has given us to this ancient and interesting city. It is a very great pleasure to feel that the civic chief of Norwich has met us in so friendly and cordial a spirit. The year 1847 was the last occasion on which the city was visited by the Institute. However successful that visit may have been, there is one element connected with this visit that will make it much more interesting. The special charms of the subjects we investigate are their antiquity, and, therefore, it is a matter for congratulation that since the last visit of the society nearly half-a-century has been added to the age of the objects which we are about to view. The lapse of time also shows the vitality of the Institute, and it further illustrates the fact that the Institute was induced to visit Norwich again because the former visit was so full of pleasant memories. I need not impress upon you the pleasure and importance of congresses of this sort. All must feel when travelling about the country very keen regret at seeing how much destruction has taken place among our ancient monuments and records, how decay is continually further impairing them, and how things which ought to be carefully chronicled are slipping into oblivion. This arises very much from the ignorance prevailing in the localities—from a want of knowledge as to what is interesting, and a want of appreciation of local traditions and monuments. It is, therefore, extremely valuable to localities that congresses of this kind should be held in them so that they should be visited by those understanding and interested in such subjects. It must also be an encouragement to local antiquaries, who devote much of their time and attention to such topics, especially as they very often find it difficult to stir up sufficient interest in them amongst those living around them, to be visited by such a body as the Institute. As their work is often made much harder through discouragements of various kinds, they must feel cheered when people from all parts of the country come to hear what they have to say on local monuments. Then it is a greater benefit to visitors to come amongst local antiquaries. Though it is possible to grope among relics of the past and try to learn what there is to be learned, yet it is impossible to know and fully understand their special characteristics unless there is a guide better instructed than themselves. Thanks are, therefore, specially due to those who, on occasions of this kind, bring before us the result of the labours of many years that we may share in their discoveries, and in the interesting observations they have made. Without such aid it is impossible to study with advantage. We might waste our time in looking for things in places where they are not to be found, and miss that which should rivet our attention. It is gratifying that Norwich should have been selected for this meeting, as it is one of the cities rich in ancient records, especially relating to the municipality. It has been only too irksomely impressed upon all our minds how great an interest there is in the question of local government. That being so it is interesting and instructive to search the records of the past relating to that question to see what lessons can be derived from them. Norwich is especially fortunate in this respect, for it has very valuable records, and Mr. Hudson has shown zeal, energy, and ability in elucidating them. I also note with pleasure the inquiries being made into the monastic life of the past, a subject which has been disgracefully neglected. It has been so often approached in a spirit of

prejudice, though it is one which commands, and will repay, careful study. Perhaps the greatest incentive to popular interest in this matter is the very able paper by Dr Jessopp on "Daily Life in a Mediæval Monastery." That paper created great interest and sensation, and no doubt tended very much to direct the minds of people to the subject. Then Mr. St. John Hope has been unearthing the buried remains of many monasteries, that the ground plans may be compared with the statutes. This has been fruitful of happy results in showing what really was the daily life in monasteries. It is right and fitting to take a special interest in the subject, because it is very much owing to the inmates of monasteries handing on the torch of learning that we are able to acquire knowledge. It is a satisfaction to me to have the very high honour of representing this Institute, which has done so much in the past, and which will do a great deal in the future in the furtherance of those most interesting and important topics of archæology which in the bustle of life run a chance of being overlooked."

Mr. MOTTRAM then gave an outline of the history of the Dominican church in which the members were assembled, and Mr. MICKLETHWAITE pointed out the difference, architecturally and in other respects, between a church of friars and one of a Benedictine foundation. The friars, he said, were not mere monks living together for the benefit of their own souls, but were persons who were supposed to benefit other classes of people. Their churches were more or less public, and as the friars gave themselves specially to the duties of preaching, their buildings partook more of the nature of great audience halls. When their services were perfectly private they were held in the choir. Blackfriars'-hall, adjoining St. Andrew's-hall, was not used as a chancel in connection with this nave. It was almost entirely cut off from the nave by the tower which previously existed. With the friars the cloister was not the living place as with the monks, who had no cells, while each friar had his separate chamber.

The choir having been inspected, an adjournment was made to the cloisters which again illustrated the difference between the life of the monks and the friars, the cloister in the latter case having ceased to be the place where the daily life of the convent was carried on and having become a mere covered way from one part of the establishment to the other.

At two p.m. the members assembled in the nave of the cathedral where Mr. J. Willis Clark gave an able lecture on the history of the building, his discourse being, in fact, the opening of the Architectural Section. The speaker was able to illustrate his remarks by the plans and sections made by his uncle the late Professor Willis when he described the cathedral to the Institute at the former meeting in Norwich in 1847. Mr. Clark arranged his lecture in a somewhat different form and was able to add a little to it in consequence of excavations he had made on the site of the Chapter House; and excavations made since Professor Willis's time enabled him to lay before his audience a correct ground plan of the east end of the church. Mr. Clark reserved certain parts of his address for the particular features in the cathedral which successively came under notice in the perambulation which followed; among these may be specially mentioned the remains of the episcopal stone throne¹.

¹ Professor Willis's address appears in the *Journal*, v. xxxij, p. 16, 155. "Notes on Norwich Cathedral, by the Rev. J.

D. Stewart. (From Memoranda by the late Rev. Professor Willis)."

From the Cathedral the members went to the Bishop's Palace and inspected the vaulted substructures. The Grammar School, originally a college of secular priests, was also seen, and a visit was then paid to St. Giles's Hospital under the guidance of Dr. Bensly, who read a paper describing its history and arrangements. At 8 p.m. the Rev. O. R. Manning opened the Antiquarian Section in the hall of the Church of England Young Men's Society. This is printed at p. 245. Mr. G. E. Fox followed with a paper on "Roman Norfolk," which is printed at p. 331. Votes of thanks were passed to the authors of these papers, and the meeting adjourned.

Wednesday, August 7.

At 10.5 a large party went by special train to Swaffham. Carriages were here in readiness to convey the antiquaries to Castle Acre. Proceeding to the castle the members assembled within the Norman-shell keep, upon its eastern side, from whence a complete view of the extensive earthworks could be obtained. Here Mr. Hartshorne read a paper, which will appear in a future number of the *Journal*, dealing successively with the work of three periods and three people, the Roman, the Saxon, and the Norman. In the discussion which followed Professor E. C. CLARK spoke as to the possibility of the earliest earthworks being pre-Roman, and alluded to the Roman pottery that had been found in corroboration of the views he suggested. To this Mr. HARTSHORNE replied that such pottery was very broken and limited in quantity, and he quoted from an unpublished paper by Mr. G. T. Clark¹ in support of the opinions he had advanced in respect of the periods of the earthworks. Mr. F. W. Harmer made some observations regarding the artificial condition of the mound and Mr. Fox spoke of the capacity of the camp and the arrangements which would have been carried out by the Romans for its defence. Mr. Hartshorne then called attention to certain features which deserved closer inspection, including some evidences of the late Norman character of the buildings in the middle of the outer ward, which some slight excavations by Mr. Hope had lately revealed.

After luncheon at the Ostrich Inn, the Perpendicular church, much "restored" in evil days, was looked at, and the members made their way in a heavy rain to the Cluniac priory, where they were taken in hand by Mr. St. John Hope. Here, in preparation for the visit of the Institute, the Earl of Leicester had caused some excavations to be made under Mr. Hope's direction; these works had been carried out so far that he was able to point out a great part of the extensive ground plan of this monastic establishment, and with much clearness of detail to indicate the different parts and uses of the buildings, as the cloister, church, infirmary, chapter house, dorter, lavatory, refectory, &c., came successively under notice.²

Leaving the Priory the members continued their journey in carriages to the well-known pre-Norman church of Great Dunham, from whence Fransham station was reached, and the members returned to Norwich at 6.10.

¹ Printed at p. 282.

² We shall hope on a future occasion to give in the *Journal* a complete account of the remains of this highly interesting

foundation, inasmuch as the work of clearing and examining the ruins has been extensively carried out this autumn under Mr. Hope's direction.

At 8.15 p.m. the Antiquarian Section again met, the Rev. C. R. Manning in the chair. The Rev. J. J. Raven read a paper on the Ninth Iter of Antonine, which brought about an interesting discussion; the paper will appear in a future *Journal*. This was followed by a meeting of the Architectural Section. Mr. J. L. André read a paper on "East Anglican Perpendicular Architecture," which is printed at p. 377. Votes of thanks were passed to Dr. Raven and Mr. André and the meeting adjourned.

Thursday, August 8.

At 9.45 a.m., the General Annual Meeting of Members of the Institute was held in the hall of the Church of England Young Men's Society, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, V.P., in the chair.

Mr. Gosselin read the following report for the past year:—

In bringing before the members of the Institute the Annual Report, the Council desire to say that they look back with satisfaction to the agreeable meeting at Leamington last year, including as it did a visit of much interest to Leicester and its neighbourhood.

During the past year the Council received an invitation from that of the Society of Antiquaries of London to send delegates to a meeting called together for the purpose of considering how best to bring about a unity of action of the different local archaeological societies. Since then several meetings have been held at which the Institute was represented by the President, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, Mr. E. C. Hulme, Mr. J. Hilton, Mr. Justice Pinhey, and Mr. H. Gosselin. The Council have every hope that the result will be to put the study of archaeology in England into a more scientific form than has hitherto been possible.

The Council have to congratulate the Institute on the success of the agitation in which they took part for the preservation of the Church of St. Mary le Strand, but regret that the same success has not attended the opposition to the vandalism which has been perpetrated in the Abbey churches of Westminster and St. Albans. The Council, however, view with satisfaction the continued growth of an improved feeling in respect to the treatment of Ancient Monuments which is due not a little to the Society for Protection of Ancient Buildings.

At the request of the Council Mr. Herbert Jones and Mr. H. Gosselin represented the Institute at the recent Congress of the Société Française d'Archéologie at Evreux (Eure). They were most courteously received by M. le Comte de Marsy, President of the Society and Congress, and by the other members of the French Society. Excursions were made to Louviers Les Andelys, Conches, Bec-Hellouin, Verneuil, Dreux, and other places of interest. The historical connection of some of these is almost as great with England as with France.

The honorary librarian reports that the library consists of about 2,350 bound volumes, and a large quantity of periodicals and other printed matter of archaeological interest, which would make a few hundred more volumes. The manuscript catalogue of the whole is finished, and in constant use. The Council having determined to publish it subscriptions were invited by a circular to the members, for a fund to defray the expenses; this was well responded to and supplemented by a handsome donation of £20 from our president, Earl Percy. Estimates for the printing have been obtained, and the Council

expects to issue the copies subscribed for about the end of the present year. It is satisfactory to notice that our list of Foreign Corresponding Societies for interchange of publications has increased, (as well as that of our home antiquarian societies. The Council would take this opportunity of thanking the Rev. Greville I. Chester for the gift of a valuable series of standard works on archæology and kindred subjects, M. le Comte Maurin de Nahuys and M. le Baron Alfred de Lœe for valuable collections of pamphlets, and also to General Pitt Rivers for a promised collection of his numerous scientific papers on pre-historic archæology. It may be as well to remind members that the books in the library are available for lending out, under usual restrictions and payment of expenses that may be incurred.

The Council in again referring to the voluntary services of our honorary librarian, Mr. E. C. Hulme, acknowledge with cordial thanks his continued labour in preparing the manuscript catalogue and superintending the printing.

The *Journal* continues to be ably conducted by the editor, Mr. Hartshorne, whose antiquarian tastes and knowledge are devoted to the work intrusted to him on behalf of the Institute.

During the months of June and July an interesting exhibition of Icelandic Antiquities, under the superintendence of Mrs. Erike Magnússen, was held in the rooms of the Institute.

The Council have happily not to regret great losses through death of members during the past year, but the early removal of Mr. J. C. L. Stahlschmidt from among us leaves a gap which will not easily be filled.

The members of the governing body to retire by rotation are as follows:—The Right Hon. the Earl Percy, President; Vice-President, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, and the following members of the Council—Mr. W. M. Flinders Petrie, Mr. Somers Clarke, Colonel Pinney, Prof. Middleton, Mr. A. E. Griffiths, and Mr. J. Bain.

The Council would recommend the re-election of the Right Hon. the Earl Percy as President, the appointment of Professor Middleton as an Honorary Vice-President, and that of the Worshipful Chancellor Ferguson as a Vice-President, the election of Mr. W. M. Flinders Petrie, Mr. Somers Clarke, Colonel Pinney, Mr. A. E. Griffiths, Mr. J. Bain, Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, Mr. Herbert Jones, and Mr. E. Green to the vacant places on the Council, and of the Rev. R. M. Blakiston as Junior Honorary Auditor.

With regard to the financial position of the Institute the Honorary Treasurer, after giving a general account of the income of the Society during the last twenty years, stated that the balance sheet now presented compared favourably with that brought forward at the Leamington Meeting, inasmuch as the balance is now on the right side, albeit the revenue of the Institute still remained in need of improvement, so that the number of illustrations in the *Journal*, as was mentioned in the report of last year, may be increased. And, although the Society cannot boast of financial prosperity, its liabilities are no more than the current revenue is able to meet, while it is confidently believed that the Institute's limited income is expended by the Council to the best advantage.

The adoption of the Report was moved by the Rev. C. R. MANNING, seconded by Mr. S. RICHARDS, and carried unanimously. The adoption of the Balance Sheet (printed at p. 457) was proposed by Mr. C. T.

GOSTENHOFER, who spoke of the satisfactory state of the accounts, the expenses being within the receipts; this was seconded by Mr. R. H. WOOD, who kindly took occasion to intimate that inasmuch as he had outlived his composition fee he desired to pay it again. The Balance Sheet was then unanimously passed.

A discussion took place as to the financial position of the Institute in which the Rev. F. Spurrell, the Rev. Sir Talbot Baker, Mr. Hilton, Mr. J. Batten, Mr. T. H. Baylis, the Chairman, Mr. R. S. Fergusson, Mr. W. Rowley, and the Rev. J. Hirst, took part; finally Mr. FERGUSSON proposed, and Mr. ROWLEY seconded, "that the Council be requested to take into consideration the advisability of increasing the life composition and decreasing the entrance fee." This was carried unanimously.

The following new members were elected:—Mr. J. H. Swallow, proposed by Mr. J. N. DICKONS, seconded by Mr. W. ROWLEY; Mrs. Pullan, proposed by Mr. J. HILTON; Miss Prosser, proposed by Mr. J. BROOKING ROWE, seconded by Mr. H. LONGDEN; Mr. P. H. Back, proposed by Mr. J. MOTTRAM, seconded by the Rev. C. R. MANNING.

With regard to the place of meeting in 1890 a general discussion took place in the course of which Edinburgh, Cambridge, Plymouth, Reading, and Gloucester were spoken of. Mr. J. MOTTRAM then proposed, and Mr. E. T. TYSON seconded, a motion that the matter be referred to the consideration of the Council in London.

Mr. ROWLEY called attention to the inconvenience of the annual meeting beginning on the day following a Bank Holiday. The meeting then came to an end.

At 10.45 the Rev. Dr. Jessopp opened the Historical Section and delivered his address to a large audience. This is printed at p. 269.

Mr. WILLIS CLARK then read a paper "On a Sculptured Stone with a Runic Inscription in Cheshire," by the Rev. Professor G. F. Browne. A short discussion ensued in the course of which Professor E. C. CLARK alluded to the paper as a conspicuous triumph of patient and scholarly sagacity. Votes of thanks having been passed to Dr. Jessopp and Professor Browne (whose paper is printed at p. 395) the meeting broke up to re-assemble at mid-day within the dismantled walls of Norwich Castle.

Here the party were taken in hand by Mr. HARTSHORN, who read a paper upon the Castle, illustrating it by large plans. This is printed at p. 260. A considerable discussion arose. Mr. MICKLETHWAITE said he was glad that the intention was not to restore the building by making it a modern Norman Keep, but to preserve it as one specimen in a museum. There were various ways in which that might be done. He gently suggested, from an archaeological point of view, that it might be rather better done by leaving the walls practically untouched. The scheme was to build an arcade in a sort of pseudo-Norman style across the middle, put a gallery round, roof it over, and use the whole place as a Museum. It would be a great pity to put up a gallery. Would it not be better to leave the building as it was, putting over it a nineteenth century iron and glass roof, even if people said it would be like that of a railway station, and to use the ground floor only as a museum? Supposing that could be done without touching the walls, it would enable anyone coming into the Keep to see at a glance what the old building had to say.

Mr. Chancellor FERGUSON said it was not often that the floor of a great Keep was cleared out, and he would therefore move "That this meeting of

the Royal Archæological Institute desires to impress upon the Mayor and Corporation of Norwich and the local Archæological Society the desirability of making systematic excavations in the base of the Keep of Norwich Castle with a view of clearing up questions as to its history." This was seconded by Precentor VENABLES.

Dr. JESSOFF thought that if the mover and seconder had known what had been done they would *suddenly* have moved the resolution. The question on which the members of the Institute were asked to express an opinion had been before a body of experts for several months, and all those matters had been discussed over and over again.

Professor CLARK said there was no intention to dictate the course which ought to be taken, but only to express a strong feeling on the interest and importance of the questions which might be solved by excavation.

Mr. E. BOARDMAN, who exhibited a quantity of drawings, said that plans were prepared exactly in the manner suggested by Mr. Micklethwait. But there was a strong feeling against them. One reason why the present plans were adopted was that there are evidences of the former roof. The arcade running across the Keep would be in terra cotta, so that it could not be misunderstood. The new roof would indicate the height of the side walls, and hide nothing of archæological interest. The gallery, carried round the level of the first floor, would enable visitors to see the chapel and other points of interest that would otherwise be difficult of access.

The Rev. C. R. MANNING, who said that every attention would be given to any suggestion, moved the previous question, which was seconded by the Rev. W. F. GREENY.

Mr. F. W. HARMER stated that after a great deal of discussion certain plans had been approved. The gallery would enable visitors to examine the Castle better than they could do from the ground floor. The plans were approved a month ago, and though it was decided to commence operations at once, yet it was felt to be desirable to delay the work till after the visit of the Institute, that advice might be obtained as to whether it was desirable to clear away all the made soil, which was something like eight feet or ten feet higher than the level of the mound outside, or to adopt the present floor line for museum purposes. If the soil were cleared out there would be more difficulty in getting light. Shafts had been sunk in various parts of the interior of the Keep and nothing had been found. He should be glad if the resolution were not passed, as the committee who had given years of attention to the matter might think it a little unnecessary. But he was sure attention would be given to this expression of opinion.

Mr. Chancellor FERGUSON wished, after what had been said, to withdraw his motion, and Mr. J. BATTEN moved, Mr. T. H. BAYLES, seconded, and it was unanimously resolved, "That the members of the Royal Archæological Institute desire to express to the Mayor and Corporation of Norwich and the archæologists of Norwich their cordial appreciation of their labours with regard to the preservation and excavation of the Keep."

Mr. HARMER exhibited a geological section of the mound and read some extracts from a paper, showing, from the evidence of borings, that the mound was artificial to a depth of thirty-three feet, and he had no doubt

that it was made ground throughout.¹ The large meeting then broke up.

At 2 p.m., under the obliging guidance of the Rev. W. Hudson, the members visited St. Gregory's church, from thence they proceeded to Strangers' Hall, where Mr. M. Knights read a paper, suggesting that it may have been the hall of the Guild of St. George, and that it took its name from the Walloon strangers assembled there in the sixteenth century. At the Guildhall some observations were made by Mr. HUDSON, and the Rev. W. F. BAGGALLAY described the church of St. Peter Mancroft. Mr. Back's beautiful sixteenth-century mansion, known as Curat's House, was finally visited, and the members took carriages at 4.15 for Carrow Priory, where the antiquaries were received with much cordiality at tea by Mr. and Mrs. Colman, in the garden at the back of the lodgings of the prioress.

Assembling later upon the site of the church Precentor VENABLES gave a good description of it, illustrating his remarks by the foundations and remains, which were happily conspicuous, owing to the care with which they have been uncovered by Mr. Colman. Precentor Venables did not fail to allude to the tragic end of Philip Sparrow, and thanked Mr. Colman, on the part of antiquaries generally, for the preservation of the ruins.

An adjournment was now made to the Priory, where, in the beautiful library gathered together by the munificence of Mr. Colman, Mr. Walter Rye read a capital paper on "The unpublished material for a History of the County," which will appear in a future *Journal*. A smart discussion ensued as to whether the clergy did reverently take care of and appreciate their Parish Registers. After some of the visitors had availed themselves of the opportunity of inspecting the charming collection of pictures of the Norwich School, here brought together, Sir TALBOT BAKER offered the thanks of the members to Mr. Colman for his hospitality and courtesy.

At 8 p.m. a brilliant *conversazione* was given by the Mayor in St. Andrew's Hall. This was very largely attended, and the noble building was most tastefully decorated and lighted, forming a scene to be long remembered. A collection of the municipal regalia of Norwich, Yarmouth, Lynn, and Thetford, formed the text of a lengthy address by Mr. St. J. HOPE. At intervals during the evening a selection of instrumental and vocal music of the best kind was given, and the Mayor's hospitality in the Blackfriars Hall was unbounded.

Friday, August 9th.

At 9.55 the members and their friends, forming a very large party, went by rail to Yarmouth. Here they were met by the accomplished Mayor of Yarmouth, Mr. F. Danby Palmer, who took charge of the visitors and presented each member with a copy of "A Yarmouth Ramble," specially prepared for the visit of the Institute by himself. With this concise and useful guide in their hand the members were able to follow with ease the descriptions which Mr. Palmer gave from time to time as the places of interest rapidly succeeded each other.

The great church of St. Nicholas, the largest parish church in England, was first inspected. After a few preliminary remarks by the Vicar, Pre-

¹ It may be stated that since the Castle was visited by the Institute a large portion of the interior has been excavated down

to the original level, but no further light has been at present thrown upon its history.

centor Venables gave a long and interesting description of the building, the account of some of the vicissitudes it had gone through being so extraordinary that the narrative almost sounded occasionally like an oriental tale. It was with a feeling of satisfaction that the members listened to Precentor Venables' admirable *résumé* and of thankfulness that they noticed how this grand church had been saved and gradually brought back, under the chastening influence of a great and melancholy local catastrophe in 1845, from misappropriation and dishonour to its present condition of beauty and fitness: it is certainly a good example, on the whole, of what "restoration" can do when rightly directed.

From the church the members proceeded to the hall of the Benedictine Priory now used as a school; the early wall flanking the Nonconformist cemetery; the "Rows;" the Star Hotel; the Town Hall, where the Charters and a fine Monteith were seen; the Tol House, saved from destruction by the intercession of antiquaries, and to many other places and sites of interest which Mr. Danby Palmer pointed out in the course of the perambulation. After luncheon at the Assembly Rooms the party went in carriages to Burgh Castle. Arrived at the church the members were compelled by stress of weather to take refuge within it, and Dr. Raven well occupied the time by reading a paper on "Gariononum." A short walk subsequently brought the party to Burgh Castle itself where in a limited amount of time Mr. Fox described the fortress. Returning to Yarmouth, Norwich was again reached at 6.45.

At 8.30 p.m. the Architectural Section met, the Rev. C. R. Manning in the chair. The Rev. Prebendary Scarth read a paper on "The Temple of Gallic Mercury in the Puy de Dôme, Auvergne," which is printed at p 368. This was followed by a paper by the Rev. J. J. Raven on "Mediæval Instructions for Bell Founding." Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Scarth and Dr. Raven and the meeting adjourned.

In the Historical Section Dr. Jessopp occupied the chair and the Rev. W. Hudson read a paper of great importance "Traces of the Early Development of Municipal Organization in the City of Norwich." This is printed at p. 293. With a vote of thanks to Mr. Hudson the meeting separated.

Saturday, August 10.

At 10.35 the members went by special train to Holt. Here they were met by carriages, and the large party drove through the beautiful undulating country skirting the Glaven valley. Passing the semi-ruined church of Glandford the grand church of Cley was soon reached. Mr. W. H. St. John Hors here took charge of the party, and gave a careful description, from which it appears that the earliest part of the church is the inside of the tower, which stands at the north-west corner, and upon its eastern side part of the weather moulding of the old nave is visible. The parishioners seem to have resolved to reconstruct their original church. They began, as usual, at the east end and built the chancel. As time went on they got more money, and erected the beautiful nave. Next they took down the old church and added aisles of the same design as the nave. They began transepts, but before these portions and the aisles were completed the Black Death came, in 1349, and more than decimated the population, so that there was no need for so large

a church, even if the money could have been raised to complete it. The mortality among the priesthood in the diocese of Norwich was enormous. Mr. Hope pointed out that in consequence of this fearful mortality the unfinished transepts were abandoned, and windows which had been prepared for a continuation of the aisles were put into the walls which cut them off from the abandoned transepts. The aisles seem to have remained uncompleted till the Perpendicular period. Meanwhile the parts of the church used would be the chancel, nave, and the eastern bay of each aisle, furnished up to serve practically as a little transept. More prosperous times came, as is denoted by the Perpendicular period. Then the aisles were completed, the Decorated work being incorporated with the Perpendicular. But the roofless transepts were left as at the Black Death. Their walls and the beautiful tracery of a never-completed window are in the toils of the ivy. The tower was improved by the addition of a buttress at the north-west corner, and new windows were inserted in the upper storey. Mr. Hope drew especial attention to the richness of the ornamentation of the interior; the clerestory, with cinquefoil windows alternating with small narrow lights; the richness of the west doorway; and of the south porch, with its strange mixture of shields with armorial bearings and sacred and secular symbols.

Blakeney church was the next point reached, and here again Mr. Hope was the efficient guide. The Early English vaulted chancel, with its east end retaining the uncommon seven lancets, were commented upon, as well as the arrangements of the church, which are interesting. In the east wall is a great arch with grooves for shelves, and on either side is an almary. Gaps in the string course along the side walls prove that the reredos and altar stood some distance away from the east wall, a vestry occupying the intervening space: On the north side, by the priest's door, are the remains of an Easter sepulchra. At the north-east corner a stair leads up to a little beacon tower. Whether the staircase originally led to such a tower is uncertain—at any rate, it led to a space over the chancel vault, which was used as a dovecot. In the Perpendicular period the turret was re-built. At the east end of the nave, above the low chancel arch, Mr. Hope pointed out the rood beam still *in situ*.

Mr. MICKLETHWAIT spoke of the eastern end of the church as interesting in illustrating what is a rather obscure point, viz., the growth of the reredos. Altars originally stood free, and continued to do so in some churches until comparatively late times. The reredos, as a fixed ornament seems first to have been applied to minor altars, some of which had it as early as the twelfth century, he was not aware of an instance of a reredos for a high altar of so early a date. But here, he thought, we had evidence that at the time the chancel was built there was the intention to make a reredos, and not to have a mere collection of curtains. The reredos really grew out of the curtains. But at the time this chancel was designed the intention was to make a permanent reredos behind the altar, which stood some feet from the east wall. The window on the south side would throw light on the altar; but eastward of it is a filled up lancet window, the purpose of which, as Mr. Hope suggested, was to light the vestry behind the reredos.

After a plain luncheon at the Oddfellows' Hall the journey was continued to Binham Priory. Mr. Hope described this very striking building as a fragment of a larger church. It was founded by Peter de

Valoines, a nephew of the Conqueror, before 1093-7; but the endowment appears not to have been completed till 1101. In 1107 the church was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and made a cell to the great abbey of St. Alban's, to which it had to pay a mark, besides providing for the reception of the abbot, annually. The foundation charter says there were not to be less than eight monks. In 1821 the number had been increased to thirteen besides the prior. Binham remained a cell to St. Alban's up to the suppression of monasteries in 1540, when it had six monks, and the value of the house was estimated at £150, equal to about £3,000 of our money. At Norwich (the Cathedral) and Wymondham are similar examples of a divided church; the eastern half belonged to the monks, and the western half to the parish. That was the case at Binham. At Norwich the Benedictine convent was replaced at the suppression by a dean and chapter. At Binham as at Wymondham the monastic community were swept away. At Norwich the whole church remained, because there was a community to carry on the continuity; but at Binham the monks' part of the church was destroyed, because there was no community requiring it. The parish was too poor to do what was done at Tewkesbury, St. Alban's, and elsewhere—buy the part of the church which had belonged to the monks and transfer the parochial services into it. Thus the existing western part of the church is simply that which had belonged to the people. The original church was not contracted, as at present. It now consists of seven bays. Structurally the nave had nine bays; but the two easternmost bays belonged to the Benedictines, not to the parish. The lower part of the wall which constitutes the east end is the Norman wall of partition, between the church of the monks and that of the parish. The sedilia are in the usual position on the south side. The floor has been raised about three feet, thus dwarfing the arches and causing the sedilia to have their seats level with the ground. In addition to the nave the parish part of the church had aisles up to a certain point. The south aisle appears to have been destroyed at an early period and some windows transferred to the triforium openings and to the Norman arches. The aisle on the north side was pulled down in the last century, and the windows fitted into the Norman arches. There is considerable variety in the ornamentation of the Norman work all down the church, and the triforium and clerestory beyond a certain point show traces of change. The date of that change Mr. Hope had been fortunate enough to recover from an entry in Matthew Paris, which appears to have escaped the notice of Mr. Harrod, who wrote an excellent account of this priory. Matthew Paris records that prior Richard de Parco (1226-44) "did these honourable things in buildings; he built the front of the church from the foundation to the roof; he covered the cloister with lead; he built the larder anew; he also made the new infirmary, with its chapel; also a new stable; also a stone wall from the gate to the chapel of St. Thomas; also a wall of earth outside the ancient ditch, which he also filled up in the circuit of the *curia* or outer court." In 1244 prior Richard was translated to Tynemouth. Thus we must ascribe to Richard de Parco the beautiful west end and the alterations in the bays adjoining it. The aisles were lighted at the west end by the lower part of a fine transom window; the upper part lighted the vaulted passage over the ^{aisles}. In abbot

Whetehampstead's Register there is a curious account of the appointment as prior of Binham of Henry Halstead, ex-prior of Wymondham. Halstead asked for the appointment, and promised to rebuild and repair the monks' dormitory, which was "*collapseum et ruinosum*," so suitably and honestly that the brethren could once more sleep in it. He was made prior in 1464, and although we have no architectural evidence of the fact we may hope he kept his word. The seal of the abbey—a seal and counter-seal—has on one side the Blessed Virgin seated under a canopy, and on the other a very graphic picture of the martyrdom of St. Alban.

After seeing the remains of the monastic buildings the carriages were regained, and driving on to Melton station the members arrived at Norwich at 5.30.

At 8.0 p.m. the Architectural Section met, Mr. Micklethwaite in the chair. Mr. G. E. Fox read a paper on "Painted Roofs and Screens in Norfolk," illustrated by a series of beautiful drawings. This was followed by a paper by Mr. H. LONGDEN on "English Ironwork of the Thirteenth Century." This produced a good discussion as to whether or not modern workmen can produce as good work as the old. Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Fox, and Mr. Longden, whose papers will appear in due course in the *Journal*. The meeting then broke up and thus concluded the work of the sections.

On Sunday the members of the Institute assembled in the Choristers' School-room, and accompanied the Mayor and Corporation to Service in the Cathedral. The sermon was preached by the Rev. J. J. Raven, D.D., from Psalm lxxviii, 5.

Monday, August 12th.

At 10.35 a special train conveyed a large party to Cawston where the great church was described with much fullness by Mr. MICKLETHWAITE. The members continued the journey in carriages to the fine church of Sall, where Mr. Micklethwaite was again the exponent. These two places are so remarkable, even in Norfolk, for their richness in ancient fittings and ornaments, and for the completeness with which they have preserved their old arrangements, that it is intended to make them the subject of a paper in a future number of the *Journal*. Before leaving Sall Mr. R. H. Wood called special attention to the condition of the roofs of both churches. It cannot have escaped notice, he said, that the rain came through in many places, and inasmuch as such buildings partook of the nature of national monuments he trusted the county would come to the assistance of the parishes in making such repairs as were necessary.

The party went on in the rain to the picturesque village of Heydon, where they were welcomed by General and Mrs. Bulwer. After luncheon in a marquee the church was visited. Mr. MICKLETHWAITE called attention to an example of the "nine-hole" game cut upon the seat of one of the fifteenth-century pews. The font base was described of the thirteenth century; the capacious bowl, which looks like seventeenth century work, may well be of the same period, but is rather puzzling.

General Bulwer produced for inspection the two gilt headed maces that were formerly carried before the Lord of the Manor of Cawston when holding his courts. One is headed with a brazen hand or gauntlet, the rebus of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. The hand grasps a ploughshare of iron to denote that the manor is held in free socage and not in

capite. The top of the other mace represents a feathered arrow, indicating that part of the town is held in free socage of the lord. The present shafts of the maces were fitted up in 1637, and adorned with the arms of Erasmus Earle, Serjeant-at-Law, who possessed the manors of Sall, Cawston and Heydon. He died in 1667, and is here buried under a black marble slab of exceeding thickness.

At Blickling Hall the members were received by the Marchioness of Lothian. The long library, with its beautiful plaster ceiling, and the other state rooms were seen. Among the numerous objects of interest the relics of Anna Boleyn had a special attraction, and not less so the gardens of which the plan and arrangement recalled the descriptions that have been left of those at Kirby and other large Elizabethan houses. Tea was offered to the members in the dining room, and, before leaving, Sir TALBOT BAKER offered to Lady Lothian the thanks of the members for her kindness and hospitality. The church was then seen, and, driving to Aylsham, the party got back to Norwich at 6.45.

The general concluding meeting was held in the Guildhall; the Rev. Sir TALBOT BAKER took the chair and moved "That the members of the Royal Archaeological Institute desire to record their best thanks to His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, K.G., for presiding over the Meeting of the Institute in Norwich." This was seconded by the MAYOR OF NORWICH, and adopted with acclamation.

On the motion of the CHAIRMAN, seconded by Mr. Chancellor FERGUSON, it was resolved "That the best thanks of the members of the Institute be given to the Right Worshipful the Mayor of Norwich, for his gracious reception, for his hospitality accorded to the Institute in St. Andrew's Hall, and for his attention in promoting the interest of the meeting." Sir Talbot Baker spoke of the great number of objects of interest to be seen in Norwich, to which more time was devoted by the members than was usually accorded to a city. But much more remained to be seen. They had seen three Roman camps, and there was still another near, at Caister, they had not seen. Mr. Ferguson said that the brilliant scene of Thursday last in St. Andrew's Hall would long live in their remembrance, as would also the stately pageantry with which the Corporation entered their magnificent cathedral on Sunday. He also thanked the Mayor for his hospitality, and added that though the Mayor could not attend the excursions, members of his family had done so, and he had no doubt they would end by becoming archæologists.

The vote having been carried with acclamation, the MAYOR said that it had given him great pleasure to receive, on behalf of the Corporation and citizens, the members of the Institute, and to do all in his power to facilitate the objects of the members.

Mr. T. H. BAYLES moved, Mr. C. WALFORD seconded, and it was unanimously resolved, "That the warm thanks of the Royal Archaeological Institute be given to F. Danby Palmer, Esq., Mayor of Yarmouth, for the interest he has taken in the Norwich meeting, for guiding the members of the Institute through Yarmouth, and for writing and presenting to the members a pamphlet on the antiquities of that town, and also to J. J. Colman, Esq., M.P., for his hospitable reception of the members of the Institute at Carrow Abbey, and his presentation to them of an illustrated pamphlet on Carrow Priory."

Mr. G. E. Fox, moved "That the Royal Archaeological Institute

desires to place on record its thanks to Dr. Bensly, Mr. F. W. Harmer, the Rev. W. Hudson, Mr. J. Mottram, Mr. R. H. Palgrave, Mr. J. Quinton, and Mr. J. Reeve for the disinterested services rendered to the Institute in connection with the Norwich meeting; also to Mr. H. B. Miller, the Town Clerk, the members of the Norwich Corporation, and the clergy and gentry who have opened their churches and houses for the inspection of the Institute." This was seconded by Mr. A. HARTHORNE and unanimously adopted. Dr. BENSLY, Mr. HUDSON, and Mr. MOTTRAM replied. Mr. Hudson in his remarks spoke of the great work which Mr. Mottram had done in connection with this meeting, and Mr. MOTTRAM said that he had been aided in his work by those who had been mentioned, and by many others.

Professor CLARKE moved, the Rev. J. HIBST seconded, and it was unanimously resolved, that a vote of thanks be given to the presidents of sections, Mr. J. Willis Clark, the Rev. A. Jessopp, D.D., the Rev. C. B. Manning, and to the readers of papers, for their valuable services rendered to the cause of archaeology. Mr. Clarke spoke in high terms of the addresses which had been delivered and the papers which had been read, and mentioned Mr. Hudson's paper as a valuable contribution to history, as well as made Dr. Raven's paper at Burgh and Mr. Fox's description. He also thanked Dr. Raven for his sermon on Sunday. The vote of thanks was acknowledged by Mr. MANNING.

Prebendary SCARTH moved a vote of thanks to the committee of the Norfolk and Norwich Library, for placing their rooms at the disposal of the Institute. This was seconded by Mr. MOTTRAM, and unanimously adopted.

The MAYOR said that before the meeting separated he desired to obtain some information. He accordingly read the annual proclamation at Hardley Cross:—

Oyes! Oyes! Oyes!

If there be any manner of person that will abuse, purfy, implead, or present any action, plaint, or plea for any offence, trespass, or misdemeanour, done or committed upon the Queen's Majesty's river of Wenson, let him repair unto the Right Worshipful Mr. Mayor, and the Worshipful the Sheriff of the City of Norwich, for the redress thereof, and he shall be heard.

God Save the Queen.

His Worship asked the meaning of "abuse" and "purfy." He also pointed out a peculiarity in the oath taken by every Freeman that he will be "buxom" to Mr. Mayor.

Professor CLARKE said that "buxom" meant obedient, obliging. "Purfy" is connected with purview; pour voir. It probably means to look after; to make it one's business. "Abuse" most clearly refers to the old technical word "absumpsit." It meant that the person engaged, or who looked upon himself as engaged, or made it his business, shall bring into Court or prosecute any action.

Mr. J. BATTEN proposed that they all respond to the proclamation, and say "God save the Queen and the Mayor of Norwich." This was received with acclamation and thus this most successful meeting came to an end.

In consequence of the numerous objects of interest in Norfolk it was thought desirable to make arrangements for two further days excursions. How much this was appreciated was sufficiently shown by the large

number who went by rail on Tuesday, August 13th. Carriages here met the party, the first stop being at Barton Turf church. A hundred years ago this was one of the most beautiful churches in the Eastern Counties, with its "gay windows and painted angel roofs." Its nave and chancel were decorated so as to represent the church in glory and the church militant on earth. In 1793, during the absence of the rector, the churchwardens set about making the church "beautiful." What they did destroyed it. The rector returned only in time to prevent the rood screen being painted over. The church is of fourteenth century date, much altered in the fifteenth, as all churches were in prosperous neighbourhoods. It is the screen which is especially worthy of notice. On the north side are figures representing Seraphim, Dominions, Virtues, Powers, St. Zita, and St. Appolonia, and on the south side Cherubim, Principalities, Thrones, Archangels, Angels, and St. Barbara.

Mr. MICKLETHWAITE drew particular attention to the three female saints. St. Zita, who carried some keys, was the saint to whom, according to Sir Thomas More, housekeepers made supplication when they lost their keys. St. Appolonia presided over toothache. She is shown with a pair of pincers with a tooth in them. St. Barbara was also a very favourite saint. The popularity of many saints had to do with various maladies concerning which their intercession was sought. On a side screen in the south aisle are figures of St. Edmund and St. Edward, King Henry VI. and St. Olave. Edmund and Edward nearly always occur together because Westminster and Bury were looked upon as sister abbeys. It is a singular result of the special veneration had for Henry VI. that his body should have completely disappeared. The chancel contains the old choir fittings of a very plain sort. The church needs every improvement from the ecclesiastical point of view and Mr. Micklethwaite hoped that when the work is taken in hand it will be done with care, and that the alterations will be such as not to destroy what remains of antiquity. In many churches the windows have been spoiled with "cathedral glass;" it was better to keep the old white glass than have that dreadful stuff. No archaeologist left the church without seeing the tomb of Anthony Norris, the famous antiquary and collector of Norfolk MSS. Tunstead church was next visited. The windows here, Mr. MANNING said, are remarkable specimens of the change from the Decorated to the Perpendicular. The east window has been blocked up. The most curious feature in the church is a chamber below a platform at the back of the altar. The platform is approached on the north side by a flight of half a dozen stone steps. On the south side is an entrance leading down to the chamber under the platform. The chamber is lighted by a grating in the form of a platform. Was it a sacristy, a place for the depository of the relics of a saint, or used to represent the resurrection in some kind of mystery? Mr. Micklethwaite's opinion is that the platform was the base of a very elaborate reredos and that the steps were for convenience in getting to the reredos to arrange the ornaments. There was not enough light admitted into the chamber for a sacristy. Father Hirst and Dr. Duckett were, we believe rather of opinion that the platform was used for the exposition of the host, as the church is a very large one, and that the chamber below may have been a confessor.

On the way to North Walsham the memorial of the Peasants' Revolt was seen, a cross marking the spot where "The King of the Commons"

fell. After luncheon at the King's Arms, North Walsham, the party visited North Walsham church, which consists of nave and aisles without any special chancel. This, said Mr. MICKLETHWAITE, is a different type of church from any they had hitherto seen. It is a very good example of the tendency of the later churches to develop the plan which was like that of the *basilica*. Architecturally nothing could well be more different from the *basilica*, but it is curious how similar conditions brought about a similar plan with totally different architectural treatment. The early *basilica* arose from the necessity of accommodating large congregations who took a more or less intelligent part in the service. Later on, when the language in which the service was used became hardly understood, the arrangements of churches altered, for there was not the same desire to bring everybody within range of the high or one altar. Later still the people followed the ritual, though they did not understand the words of the service, and there was a desire to come more within the range of the high altar. Here there is no chancel arch, and the nave and aisles run without break from East to West, the chancel and chapel having been formed only by screens. The lower part of the rood screen remains, with paintings on the panels, two of them representing the Annunciation. At the back of the sedilla, in the south wall, is a broad arch that was used as a squint for people sitting on the far side of the south chapel, that they might see the high altar. It was doubtless the intention of those who built the arcades to put up a clerestory, which would have made it a very lofty church.

There is a curious and early wood altar, now disused; upon its rim is the inscription "The body (and blood) of Our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Amen." The words "and blood" have been superadded. Mr. Micklethwaite is of opinion that this table was not originally intended for ecclesiastical use, as there are marks of feet on the rails below. Possibly someone thinking it would serve as a communion table gave it to the church. It ought not to have been removed from its place.

A curious and probably unique historical relic is a board on which on one side the arms of the Commonwealth (England and Ireland) are painted, and on the other those of Charles II. Both are dated 1660. The economical North Walsham folk of those days, having put up the arms of the State, were soon after called upon by the turn of affairs to put up those of Charles II. Instead of obtaining a new board they had the arms painted on the back of the old one. Perhaps they thought the arms of the State might be in requisition again. Mr. Micklethwaite had no doubt that old boards were thus used in many churches, though he has never before seen an example of it.

The next point in the excursion was Trunch church, which has become well known to ecclesiologists from various features in it having been described and illustrated. The principal object of interest here, as Mr. MANNING pointed out, is a very rare and elaborate piece of church furniture, the baptistery, or self-supporting font-cover. It is very richly carved in oak, and was formerly ornamented with colour and gilding, and is, in fact, a cover not resting on the font itself, in the usual way, but supported by slender wooden pillars outside the font so as to form a hexagonal inclosure, beneath which the baptismal service may be administered. This form of font is extremely rare. The cover,

of late Perpendicular date, is almost too minutely ornamented for exact description.

Knapton church, next visited, is famous for the grandeur of its double hammer-beamed nave roof, on every point and angle of which is placed an angel, most of them coloured. The angels number about 120. Mr. Gilbert Scott, in his report on the proposed restoration of the nave, says :—“ This roof is the especial glory of the church, and is a particularly fine example of the double hammer-beam construction, while its interest and its beauty are enhanced by the admirable coloured decorations, of which the greater portion remain intact.” But this roof must be seen ; it can hardly be described in a manner to give an idea of the effect of the numerous angels looking down from equidistant receding points upon the floor of the nave. The font here also is surmounted by a cover, which originally, by the adjustment of a balance weight, descended from a beam to which it is now attached. Leaving Knapton the party proceeded through Paston, and had a glimpse of Bromholm before again reaching North Walsham in time to catch the train to Norwich.

Wednesday, August 13.

On this the final day of the meeting the members went by rail to Wroxham, and from thence, after some delay, by steamer to Ranworth church, which they found in a neglected state, though it contains the great mediæval art treasure which so many had come from all parts of the country to see.

Mr. MICKLETHWAITE said that here are to be seen what were the arrangements of an ancient small parish church. All the old parish churches from the eleventh to the middle of the sixteenth century had at least three altars, and this church, consisting of nave and chancel, shows clearly the situation of the minor altars. The high altar with the reredos occupied its usual position ; the other two altars were worked up in the screen within a parclose. Arrangements for the old worship are here left, as Mr. Micklethwaite pointed out, that are to be seen nowhere else in England. There is still the rood loft and the rood screen, with its covered canopy and panels filled with figures of saints. Projecting from it into the nave several feet from each wall is work in character with the screen that formed the inner side of the little chapel. Behind the screen are the original stalls. Painted on the walls just where the screen is placed are two dedication crosses ; originally there were twelve of them in the church. Attention was also called to an ancient lectern, which has two desks, one above the other. It was originally intended to stand in the chancel. Underneath one side of it is a representation of St. John with the opening words of his Gospel, “ In principio erat verbum.” On the other side is a lower desk, and above it vertically a desk with the Doxology, with the music from the ordinary metrical hymns, so that should the man who was singing forget the words of the Gloria he had them before him. Mr. Micklethwaite hoped that great care will be taken of this curious lectern.

In describing the screen Mr. Fox said it was by far the finest in Norfolk, and nothing could exceed the beauty of its details. He then gave an account of the process by which the figures were painted and

information about the artists who worked in Norwich during the fifteenth century, all of whom were Englishmen. Mr. Fox's remarks are embodied in the paper which he read in the Architectural Section on Saturday evening; this will be duly printed in the *Journal*.

The appearance of day-light through several holes in the roof encouraged the members at the instance of Mr. Gostenhofer to make a collection to remedy this evil. The party then returned to Acle, and Norwich being regained the members dispersed.

The Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER, 1888.

Cr.

Dr.

INCOME.	EXPENDITURE.
To Subscriptions—	By Balance of last Account
280 Annual Subscriptions of £1 ls. each	Less Petty Cash on hand, 1st January, 1888
4 Do. Associate Subscriptions at 10s. 6d.	
Together received during year.	13 14 7
	3 7 9
	10 6 10
9 Subscriptions paid in advance in 1887	
Do. in arrear at 31st December	
	39 19 2
	131 2 2
	90 0 0
	4 0 0
318 Total annual subscribers at 31st December, 1888	211 1
Arrears as under paid in 1888	
for the year 1884, 2 subscriptions	
do. 1885, 5 do.	
do. 1886, 14 do.	
do. 1887, 47 do.	
	118 8 0
	80 0 0
	2 6 6
	6 12 2
	2 3 0
	5 9 0
	4 18 1
	316 17 10
Subscriptions for 1889, paid in advance	
	392 4 0
	45 6 0
	42 0 0
	35 0 8
	16 5 9
	10 10 0
	6 15 0
	9 9
	2 6 8
	20 1 5
	2 8 0
	20 0 0
	22 2 0
	2565 19 10
Entrance Fees	
Life Compositions	
Sale of Publications, &c.	
Balance of Leamington Meeting	
Special Donations—	
Brown, J. O. C.	
Taylor, M. W., M.D., F.S.A.	
Hopkins, E. J., Macc. Doc.	
Lewis, Professor Bunnell	
	108 16 2
	2 0 0
	35 3 9
	16 8 7
	4 2 9
	5 7
	106 16 3
	16 6 1
	1 11 6
	17 17 7
Reals—	
The Society for Preserving Memorials of the Dead, 2 years	
The Society for Exploring the Dead, 2 years	
Explor. Fund	
	108 16 2
	2 0 0
	35 3 9
	16 8 7
	4 2 9
	5 7
	106 16 3
	16 6 1
	1 11 6
	17 17 7
	2565 19 10

Examined and found correct,

HERBERT JONES,
R. WRIGHT TAYLOR. } *Honorary Auditors.*

We hereby certify that we have prepared the above Account for the year 1888, and that the same agrees with the Cash and Bankers' Pass Books of the Institute. Further we have also examined the sundry payments made during the period with the vouchers thereof and find the same to be in order.

KIRBY & BRANFORD,
Chartered Accountants.

8, New Broad Street, E.C., 18th April, 1889.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

A HISTORY OF MOURNING. By RICHARD DAVEY.—JAY'S, Regent Street, London, W. (1889).

When death first laid his icy hand upon man, when Abel's blood cried from the ground and the murderer was cursed from the earth which opened her mouth to receive the deadly stream, there was no mourning, but Abel's place was supplied by Seth. Long after it is recorded that Abraham came to mourn for Sarah, and this is the earliest notice of the custom which forms the subject of the book before us.

It would require a considerable work, almost a library—to comprise the whole history of mourning from the time of Abraham to the present day, and, as the title of his book implies, Mr. Davey has undertaken no such impossible task. What he has done is to give us, upon this most human of all practices, a series of chapters; but they are unfortunately without any headings, and, as we cannot well have the one without the other, we naturally find no table of contents which is what one first looks for after scanning the title page of any book.

In the recorded and depicted history of the mourning of the world as no chapter is so early so none is so complete as the Egyptian, and Mr. Davey shows his appreciation of it by his useful *résumé*. As he truly says, "it would require a volume to give an idea of the singular funeral ceremonials of this people, with whom death was regarded, so to speak, as a speciality; for their religion was mainly devoted to the *cultus* of the departed." The researches of those accomplished students Mr. Loftie and Mr. Flinders Petrie have of late years made this wonderful people, to whom all classical learning must be traced, more directly familiar to us, and we gather that Mr. Davey has striven, and not without success, to work his subject up to the knowledge of the latest date—a matter of no small difficulty, for Egyptology has, within the last ten years, moved with rapid steps. We shall observe, with regard to this chapter, firstly, that we believe the builder of the great Pyramid to be Shoofoo, and not his predecessor Sneferoo, the Suphis of Manetho, to whom our author attributes the great work; and, secondly, that the sole authority for the common attribution of the Third Pyramid to Menkaoo-ra (or Mycerinus) appears to be Herodotus,—as Mr. Loftie has remarked "one of the most untrustworthy authorities in a matter of this kind."

When the sarcophagus was discovered by Vyse the lower part was lost off Carthage on the voyage home. The lid, now in the British Museum, bears indeed the cartouche of Menkaoo-ra, but even this does not settle the question, because the cartouche of this particular king is almost exactly the same as that of Nitocris, a supposed queen of the last monarch of the Sixth Dynasty, usually identified with Men-

kara. It is with this *name* that Mr. Davey connects the building of the third Pyramid, he is very properly cautious not to say "queen" because, as no doubt he is aware, it is not certain if Menkara was a queen, and, further, it is thought by at least one authority that the Pyramid in question has been rebuilt, and contained two sepulchres.

The complications of this one question,—partly owing to the variety in the spelling of the names of the Kings, and somewhat recalling the gropings of the herculean Belzoni in the narrow paths, the dust and darkness of the Egyptian tombs—form a good instance of the difficulties which attend the study of a history of a time so far removed from our own: the names alone, to say nothing of the dates, are enough to scare the humdrum students of an antiquity that had scarce begun ere this primeval nation had passed away.

After a few remarks upon the funeral customs of the Chinese, Japanese, Indian, and other oriental nations, we come to a chapter which we should have liked to have found longer, and we could have borne with some illustrations of Greek sculpture with its surpassing beauty. From this we come next to the Romans and then to the very brief consideration of the early Christians and the catacombs.

With the emergence of the Church from these dreary cells, funeral ceremonies gradually became more elaborate and we may refer to the burial of the Empress Theodolinda in 595 as a renowned example, with its attributes, the well-known relics, the "hen and chickens," and the famous "Iron Crown" of Lombardy; the funeral of the Confessor, of which a representation lives in the "Stitchwork"; his shrine by "Petrus civis Romanus"; the crosses of Eleanor and her striking funeral;—these are familiar to us and conspicuous among the countless funeral pageants, monuments, and memorials of this long and brilliant period. It would be as impossible as it is unnecessary to enumerate a tythe of those that occur to us, yet we may linger a moment longer for the friendly office of correcting two slips of Mr. Davey's pen. 1—The dead body of Queen Eleanor would not have been placed upon the high altar of any of the churches where it rested in its progress from Hardby to Westminster; that were shocking desecration. The words of the Chronicle of Dunstable are, "in medio chori," that is to say, before the high altar. 2—The statue which now occupies the site of Charing Cross is not that of the "merry" monarch with the sardonic countenance, but of his ill-fated father.

Among the many ghastly events of the middle ages few can be more dreadfully dramatic than the murder, in 1355, of the beautiful Inez de Castro, wife of Dom Pedro of Portugal, at the instigation of the Prince's father, Alphonso IV., and against whom the distracted Pedro at once took up arms. He ascended the throne in 1357, and then occurred what the contemporary chronicler Fray Jao' das Reglas truly calls "an event unique in history." He continues "the body of Inez was lifted from the grave, placed on a magnificent throne, and crowned Queen of Portugal. The clergy, the nobility, and the people did homage to her corpse, and kissed the bones of her hands. There sat the dead Queen, with her yellow hair hanging like a veil round her ghastly form. One fleshless hand held the sceptre, and the other the orb of royalty. At night, after the coronation ceremony, a procession was formed of all the clergy and nobility, the religious orders and confraternities, which extended over many miles, each person

holding a flaming torch in his hand, and thus walked from Coimbra to Alcobaca, escorting the crowned corpse to that royal abbey for interment. The dead Queen lay in her rich robes upon a chariot drawn by black mules and lighted up by hundreds of lights." The chronicler speaks of the procession as led by the grief-stricken king and as seeming "rather a phantasmagoria than a reality." What a sight for the romantic and swarthy sons of the country of Camoens!

The corpse was now laid to rest in a tomb with an effigy which is said still to exist, and is here depicted. The costume should interest us, not only because we know very little of special Portuguese dress of this period, but also because it has in its decoration something in common with the civil habits of persons of distinction in this country, such as are shown, for instance, on the effigy of William of Hatfield at York, and in those valuable contemporary illuminations in the Deposition of



Richard II. so well reproduced in vol. xx of the *Archaeologia*. It appears that in this country "cut work," to call it by one of its numerous names, was almost confined to the habits of men. The effigy of Inez would be an early example of the use of this decoration by a lady, if the figure is really of her time; but we are rather disposed to think that it is somewhat later than the period of her death. Garments so decorated were worn by ladies in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Italy, Germany and Holland.

We should have liked to see an illustration of the effigy of Inez's husband which is also said to exist: it might perhaps have helped to clear up a further difficulty which has arisen in our mind, namely that, in Planché's *History of Costume*, at p. 120, he gives, as an example of the practice of "dagging" mens' garments in Spain, an illustration from "Icon Española" of this very effigy of Inez which he calls "Sancho de Roxas, 1437." Lacroix, in his "Vie Militaire," p. 206, gives this actual woodcut before us under the name of "Sancha de Roxas, Morte en 1437, portant l'Echarpe, ensigne de l'ordre militaire de ce nom," and he gives an account of this, the only military order for women. The character of the costume, the string of beads, the

arrangement of the hands, and, more particularly, the head dress, lead us to the conclusion that a lady is here represented. The same figure cannot have served for a Portuguese Queen who was murdered in 1355, a Spanish hidalgo who died eighty years later, as well as a Spanish lady, and we do not understand by what particular archaeological process Mr. Davey has—with Lacroix before him—been enabled to re-name this effigy: under such perplexing circumstances we gladly present the illustration to our readers and leave it to their judgement.



Katherine of Valois.



Lying in State of Elizabeth of York.
(From Lacroix, *Vie militaire et religieuse*, p. 547.)

It remains to add that Alcobaca was sacked by the French in 1810, the tomb of Inez opened and her skeleton found in a state of preservation, with hair exceeding long and glossy, and on the head a crown of gold set with jewels,—it sounds like a story of Soheherazada—which, in ignorance of its value, was kicked about by the soldiers. It was afterwards replaced and the remains once more reverently entombed, with military honours, by order of the Duke of Wellington.

To the ceremonies observed at funerals of great personages in the Middle Ages Mr. Davey devotes a chapter which he somewhat mars by an ill-imagined illustration, which we rather think we have seen before, of the funeral procession of Henry V. What a man in armour which, if it is of any period at all, is late Tudor—has to do with this procession, and struggling with a tilting lance, of the time, say, of the Wardour MS., we are quite at a loss to conceive. And in this illustration we do not clearly recognize the helmet which John Daunt made for the funeral pageant, not that personal relic now in the Abbey, “that very casque that did affright the air at Agincourt,” whose outline is so familiar to Westminster boys. But we get some information, though not exactly in chronological order, of the details of a practice that have been so often touched upon in the *Archaeological Journal* that we need not dwell at length upon them now. The author omits to mention that splendid funeral services were celebrated for Henry V., when the body rested at Rouen, Canterbury and St. Paul’s, as well as those at Paris and Westminster, to which he alludes, just as there were services and elaborate hurses at four churches when the corpse of Anne of Bohemia passed from Wandsworth to Westminster. We should have liked to have seen some notice of these particular hurses in the book before us. The documents concerning them are printed without comment at the end of vol. i, of Gough’s *Sepulchral Monuments*, but their explanation forms a valuable part of Willis’s *Architectural Nomenclature of the Middle Ages*, a volume of the highest interest, the work of an antiquary who, like Way and Petrie, published but a small tythe of what he knew.

We give an illustration of Katherine of Valois, said to be, upon the authority of a MS. of the period, in her widow’s dress. Surely the *barbe* was already in use in 1422? Philippa duchess of York, who died in 1433, wears something very like it in her effigy in the Abbey. Her first husband Edward Plantagenet fell at Agincourt in 1415, and we believe the second survived her. The funeral of Elizabeth of York, which Mr. Davey shortly describes, was, as he says, of great magnificence, and we give an illustration of her lying-in-state; but we are apt to think that the obsequies of Katherine of Arragon, not only equalled but surpassed it in splendour. Mr. Davey draws his information on this point from two Spanish sources which, as might be expected, go no further than to imply or say respectively that it was fairly handsome, or mean and shabby. Now, we know exactly what took place from our own Public Records and from these it is quite clear that “that monster Henry VIII.,”—who, by the by, seems to be becoming less of a monster every day,—may certainly be vindicated from any neglect or illiberality on this account. See *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xi, pp. 353—366. Upon the funerals of the other queens of Henry VIII. Mr. Davey does not dwell, though there has been much interesting information preserved concerning

them. The ceremonies followed each other somewhat rapidly, for Henry, as we are all aware, had no object so much in view as the glory of God, the welfare of the realm, and the triumph of truth. But two of them at least were scant and painful pageants, and to one the innocence of the victim added, to use her own memorable words "a crown of martyrdom."

Soon the king in his turn "laid cold in his clay," but our author barely mentions his obsequies. The whole ceremony is described in *Strype's Memorials*. Henry's youthful successor, at the age of ten, thus timidly records the event in his *Journal*:—"Also in this time the late King was buried at Windsor with much Solemnite, and th' officers broke their staves hurling them into the grave"—and, like a child, he adds, "but thei have restored to them when thei come to the Towers."

We cannot help contrasting the simplicity of this account of a funeral with the queer premature wisdom on quite a different occasion of a still more youthful monarch, James VI. of Scotland. When this juvenile oddity, at the age of four, was carried into the great hall of Stirling castle to open his parliament, after gravely reciting his speech the little creature, who had espied a hole in the roof, added, with the same seriousness, and to the consternation of all present, "there is ane hole in this parliament." See Strickland's *Queens of England*, vol. vij., p. 314.

Mr. Davey does not mention the funeral of Edward VI.; it appears not to have been very splendid perhaps on account of the difference in his sister's religion. The body was borne to the Abbey in a car covered with cloth of gold, surmounted by the usual wax effigy, and laid in Henry VII chapel with the service of the reformed church, then for the first time used for the sovereign. "The greatest moan was made for him as ever was heard or seen; so the lamentations must indeed have been considerable. With "Calais on her heart" the body of Mary came five years later to the tomb. The funeral was not, as Mr. Davey says, a simple one, but most gorgeous, the wax effigy lay upon a pall of black cloth of gold which covered the coffin, and nothing seems to have been omitted at this the last state funeral of the Roman church in England. The strange ending of the ceremony was that when the officers broke their staves and flung them into the grave, the people took this action as a signal for a general scramble for the armorial bearings and hangings in the Abbey, "and every one tore him a piece as large as he could catch it."

Mr. Davey gives an interesting illustration of the funeral of Elizabeth and we learn from Stowe, whom he quotes, that when the populace beheld her statue on the coffin, "there was such a general sighing, groaning and weeping as the like hath not been seen or known in the memory of man." But it is not that inspiring figure, as our author imagines, which is now preserved in the Abbey. In 1708 the effigy of Elizabeth was dressed in "the remnants of an old dirty ruff, and nothing else to cover her." What now exists is the figure that was made in 1760, the effigy of Charles II. being the earliest original one among those preserved in the Abbey.

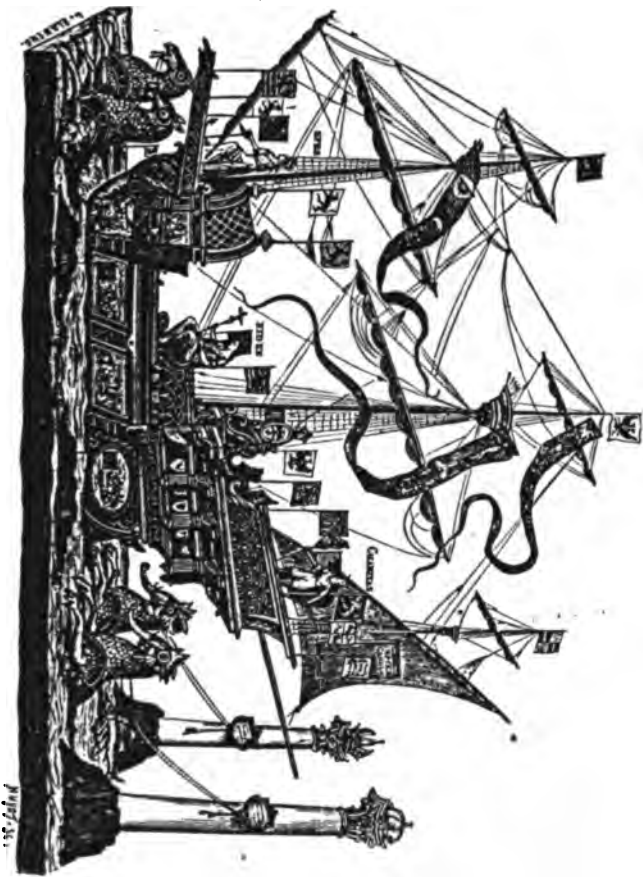
It is to the honour of James I. that he moved the bones of his mother from Peterborough to Westminster, and caused her stately tomb to be erected. Mr. Davey gives a notice of the solemn funeral at Peterborough. The minute and curious account in the Harleian MSS. is set forth at length in Gunton's, *Peterborough*, and again in Bonney's, *Fotheringhay*. The funeral sermon was preached by Wickham, Bishop of Lincoln, who



Death Watch of Mary Queen of Scots.



French Lady of the xvith century in widow's dress.



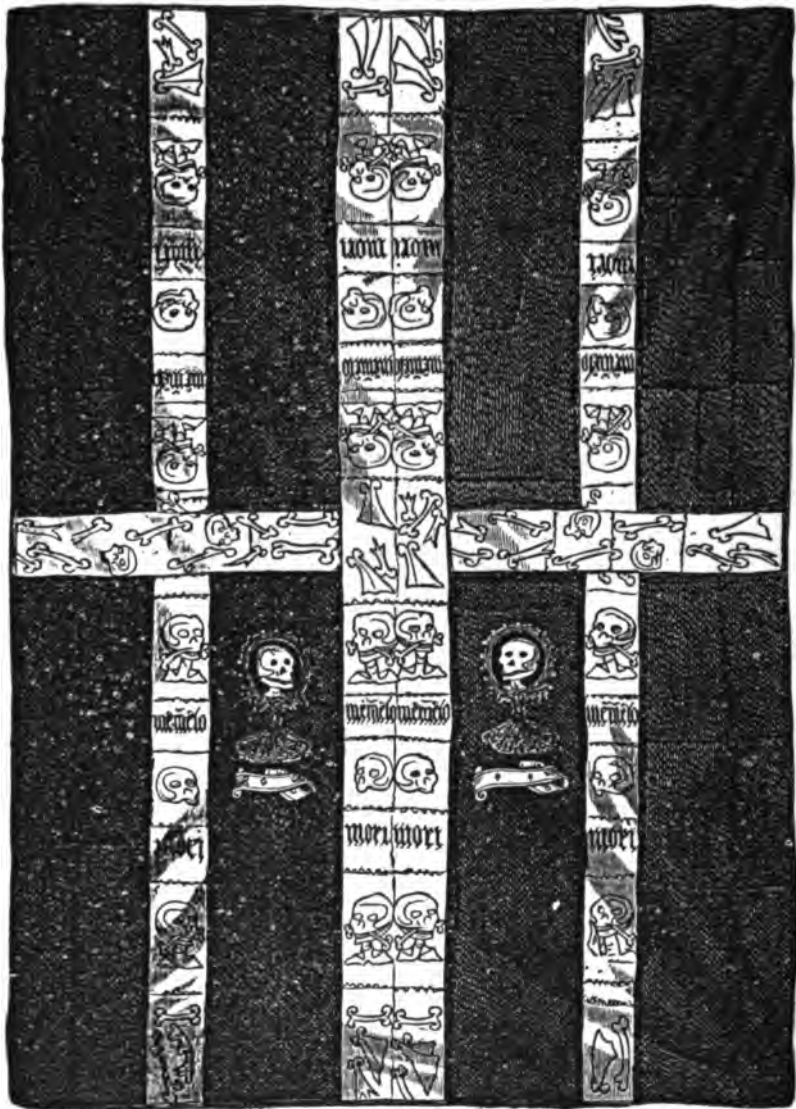
Ship from the Funeral Procession of the Emperor Charles V.
From Tacetti, *Die militaire et religieuse*, p. 344.)



Philip II at the Funeral of Charles V.
 (From Lacroix, *Vie militaire et religieuse*, p. 345.)



French Death Crier of the xvijth century.



Funeral Pall, in the Museum at Amiens.
(From Lacroix, *Vie militaire et religieuse*, p. 543.)

probably having an eye to the security of the temporalities of his see, prudently confined himself to generalities upon the vanity of all flesh, and only mentioned the queen in these discreet words—"Let us give thanks for the happy dissolution (she was executed nearly six months before) of the high and mighty Princess, Mary, late Queen of Scotland, and Dowager of France, of whose life and death, at this time, I have not much to say because I was not acquainted with the one, neither was I present at the other." We give an illustration of the queen's well-known "death watch."

Mr. Davey has something to say about funeral customs and mourning habits in France, and gives an illustration from *Vecellio*, here reproduced, of a lady of the sixteenth century in the graceful dress of a widow. The character of this costume is said to be identical with the white mourning dress of Mary Tudor, when she married the Duke of Suffolk in 1517. It will be remembered that Mary Queen of Scots wore white as widow of Francis II. as is shown in the drawing by Janet which has been well reproduced as a frontispiece to this book. We also have an account of the magnificent funeral of the Emperor Charles V., December 29th 1558. It is estimated that eighty thousand persons walked in the procession, and that it took six hours to pass any one point. The accompanying illustration of a ship, intended to typify the maritime progress made in the reign of the monarch, has a special interest, as showing the form of a vessel of the period, recalling that of the "Mary Rose" and the "Great Harry" of our own Navy at the time, and of which drawings are preserved in the Pepesian Library. The example under our notice was dragged along by six black horses, and followed by representatives of the navies of Belgium and Spain. Not less interesting, but more sombre and appropriate for the occasion, is that part of the pageant which represents Philip II. walking with measured tread "in inky cloak and solemn black," and much gravity and decorum, as chief mourner.

To turn to another part of the book we get a little information—just enough to make us want more—about the guilds and brotherhoods, the death criers, and other officials who concerned themselves with burials,—

"The knell, the shroud, the mattock, and the grave,
The deep damp vault, the darkness, and the worm."

The seventeenth century death watch would cry *obits* about the town or parish and ask for prayers for the soul of the deceased. The pall which we illustrate is a very late example, reminding us, perhaps a little too rudely, of our kindred with corruption, and adding rather to the terror than the edification of the vulgar christian; for what can be in worse taste than a pall, for such a use, ornamented with a series of grinning skulls, gnawing human bones? Thus "man makes a death which nature never made."

There is much more in *A History of Mourning* which belongs rather to the present than the past, and many illustrations up to our own time, including one of the superb funeral procession of the Great Napoleon as it descended the Champs Elysées on December 15th, 1840, and the lying-in-state of Victor Hugo under the Arc de Triomphe which has a fine French dramatic dash.

We take it as a good sign that a firm like that of Messrs. Jay has published this book, and the author may, upon the whole, be congratulated upon the way in which he has done his work in a field in which

he is perhaps not quite at home. We have alluded already to a certain deficiency at the beginning, and now at the end of the book we find another much more serious. There is absolutely no Index. We trust that a second Edition will soon appear, if only to remedy this fatal defect. We are aware that the making of an Index is not an exalting labour, but in this case it is imperative, and we trust Mr. Davey will lose no time in bending himself to it.

And when the new Edition does appear no doubt Mr. Davey, advised by us, will add a list of the numerous illustrations with which the book is adorned, and not omit the acknowledgment due to the authors, whose works have provided so many valuable auxiliaries to the text. The most important and reliable of the woodcuts are from the same blocks as those used in Lacroix's excellent volumes, and it is not captious criticism to take this opportunity of alluding to the inconvenience that arises from authors failing to give, wherever possible, in works of this kind, the sources of their pictorial information. This done, the book, in a new edition, might take its place among useful ones of the same nature. We of the present day do not feel compelled—speaking, of course, in an archaeological sense—to take anyone at his word; we want to follow up and verify every question of armour, costume, or customs, and if, owing to the omissions to which we have referred, this cannot be done, a book may become rather a hindrance than a help to the free course of intelligent enquiry, and, the world might, in many cases, be better without it.

DIOCESE OF SALISBURY: THE CHURCH PLATE OF THE COUNTY OF DORSET. By J. E. NIGHTINGALE, F.S.A. (Salisbury: printed by Bennett Brothers, Journal Office, 1889.)—By parcel post 6s. 6d.

The Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society started a very great snowball rolling, when they launched upon the world their catalogue of all the Church Plate in the diocese of Carlisle. The example is being followed in all parts of England, and the contagion has extended to Scotland; but the results are too often buried in the obscurity of local transactions; thus Canon Scott Robertson's papers on Church Plate in Kent are concealed in the sixteenth and seventeenth volumes of *Archæologia Cantiana*; the Church Plate of the dioceses of Durham and Newcastle is slowly, but carefully, being dribbled (we mean nothing disrespectful) through the pages of *The Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*; and much good work by the Rev. C. R. Manning must exist embalmed in the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society's Transactions. One or two independent volumes have also appeared, and a list of the English counties that have published, or are about to publish, accounts of their Church Plate was printed in April last in *The Reliquary*, Vol. III., N.S. p. iii, by Mr. R. C. Hope. Mr. Hope does not mention anything about Scotland, but the Old Scottish Communion Plate exhibited in the Edinburgh International Exhibition of 1886 was described and illustrated by the Rev. Thomas Barnes in some papers in a periodical called *Life and Work*, a parish magazine issued at the publication offices, in Edinburgh, of the Church of Scotland. These papers have been expanded into a volume—*Historical and Antiquarian Records of Old Scottish Communion Plates*—with 50 full-page illustrations, published by R. and R. Clark of Edinburgh.



Cuombe Keynes (nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ full size).

The volume now before us is the first instalment of a systematic attempt, undertaken at the instigation of the Bishop of Salisbury, to obtain authentic returns of the Church Plate belonging to every parish in the diocese: it deals with the Church Plate of the county of Dorset, which is conterminous with the Archdeaconry of that name, and when we mention that it is edited by Mr. J. E. Nightingale, all experts in silver plate will know that the would-be fault-finding critic will find his self-imposed task a fruitless one: to all who know Mr. Nightingale's work, his name is a guarantee of accuracy and excellence.

In his preface Mr. Nightingale gives one valuable piece of advice.

And here it may be mentioned, for the guidance of any future explorers in the same field, that too much must not be expected from general "returns" of Church Plate where the object is archaeological. When possible the shortest and most satisfactory way is to visit each parish, Cripps in hand, and note the details on the spot.

This agrees with our experience; we do not believe in the sending out of circulars, and we should like to know how many clergymen answered at all, or answered accurately, the elaborate and searching circulars about Church Plate, sent round the dioceses of Canterbury and Lincoln! Very few we fancy!


Let us proceed to the consideration of Mr. Nightingale's finds. First of all—the number of mediæval pieces of Church Plate now remaining in Dorset, which were in use before the Reformation, and are still devoted to the same purpose, amounts to only three, viz., two chalices and a paten. This last belongs to the parish of Buckhorn Weston; on the rim is a mark which Mr. Nightingale describes as "a circle, in which is a cross with a pellet between each limb, but without any border or shield"; his engraver makes it a cross *moline* voided. In the text Mr. Nightingale suggests that this is either a maker's mark or a town mark but in his preface he says:—

Mr. Cripps informs me that, "a single mark is always a maker's mark. If there is any local machinery for assaying plate and controlling its quality, it makes a second mark, because an essential part of hall marking is that the maker shall mark it first and the hall countermark it.

In this case the solitary mark is undoubtedly a maker's, and the chalice to which the paten belonged, would have in all probability a complete set of London hall marks, as the London assay office was frequently content to only assay and mark the chalice; thus S. Mary's Church, Carlisle, possesses chalice and paten each with maker's mark of an escallop, but the chalice alone has the other marks, showing it to be London of the year 1635-6. Mr. Nightingale assigns the Buckhorn Weston paten to between 1510 and 1520. The depression thereon is sexfoil with engraved spandrels: device the sacred monogram in small black letters within a cable moulding.

The second piece of pre-Reformation plate in Dorset is a chalice belonging to Coombe Keynes. It is a beautiful example, quite perfect, and exceedingly well preserved, as will be seen by the illustration, which we here reproduce. It is thus described by Mr. Nightingale.


The dimensions are: Height, 6½ in.; diameter of bowl, 4 in.; depth, 2 in.; narrowest part of the mullet-shaped base, 3½ in.; widest part to the points of the knobs [*sic.*], 5½ in. The bowl is broad and conical; the somewhat slender stem is hexagonal and quite plain, with ogee-moulded bands at the junctions. The knot [*sic.*]

is full-sized, having six lobes spirally twisted with traceried openings, terminating in angels' heads crowned. It has a mullet-shaped foot with plain broad-spread and a vertically reeding moulding. The points terminate with an elegant knop [*sic.*] in the shape of a floriated Lombardic . In the front compartment of the base is the aural crucifix between two flowering branches on a hatched ground.

It is much to be regretted that Mr. Nightingale has abandoned his earlier usage and followed Messrs. Hope and Fallow in their new practice of calling the projection on the stem of a chalice the "knop," instead of the "knop," and of transferring the latter name to the toes of the foot. The late Mr. Octavius Morgan long ago wrote :—

A chalice consists of three parts : the cup, or bowl ; the stem, which is its middle swelled into a bulb, called the knop ; and the foot. *Archæologia*, vol. 42, p. 412.

In this sense the word "knop" has been used in papers in the *Archæologia*, which have become classical authorities on the subject, and the needless change is a mistake, which we hope will be speedily abandoned.

The Coombe Keynes chalice has no hall marks, but may be assigned to the year 1500 or thereabouts. The other piece of mediæval Church Plate in Dorset is a chalice at Sturminster Marshall ; it is not in its original condition, as the original hexagonal stem has been replaced by a plain circular one, which fits but badly into the old cresting round the upper part of the foot. It is remarkable that both the bowl and foot of this chalice carry three hall-marks, *viz.*, a Lombardic  for 1536, the leopard's head crowned, and the maker's mark, T. W., in a shield, noticeable as the earliest example of a maker using two letters of the alphabet for his mark, instead of a device. The chalice in its original condition, probably much resembled, though plainer, the well-known one at Wylye, Wilts. Our author thinks it must have been intentionally defaced during the religious troubles of the sixteenth century, but it is difficult to see what there could have been on the knop or stem more offensive to Protestant zealots than the Crucifixion, with figures of Mary and John, still remaining on the foot. The double set of hall-marks would seem to indicate that bowl and foot were assayed as separate pieces, and put together after assay.

The special feature of the Dorset Church Plate is the large number of chalices or rather communion cups of the well known Elizabethan type, no less than one hundred and four, being a full third of the whole number of parishes in the county : most of these retain their original paten covers. Of these, seventy-four examples bear either hall-marked dates or inscribed dates : the earliest is a single cup marked 1562, the latest two of 1591, while by far the larger number are of 1570 to 1574. About thirty of these communion cups (twenty-eight cups and two patens without cups) bear the unknown provincial mark, of which an illustration is here given. The majority of these have inscribed dates varying from 1573 to



1578, but about half are of the year 1574. This must mark a period of activity on the part of some Puritan bishop of Bristol, in whose diocese Dorset was then included. The minute size of the cross to the sinister of this mark is curious, and suggests that it may be a workshop mark, the mark of the actual craftsman, who made the cups, while the monogram is the maker's mark or initials and the six-pointed star is the mark of some provincial touch. Is there any town in Dorset or Wilts with a six-



Sturminster Marshall.



Shipton Gorge ($\frac{2}{3}$ full size).



Peten. Whitchurch Canonicorum ($\frac{1}{2}$ size).



Paten. Whichurch Canonicorum ($\frac{3}{4}$ size)

pointed star in its shield of arms, or that used such a mark to verify its weights and measures? Carlisle used the rose from its arms as a universal stamp for silver and anything else. Enquiry at Dorchester might have results. Church Plate with this mark is distributed nearly all over the county with a slight preponderance in the south. The

other provincial mark found in Dorset is one of which the annexed illustration is given. Fourteen cups are found with it, and four others unmarked are clearly from the same *atelier*: it consists of seven pellets or perhaps roundels, with an enclosing circle of pellets and must be a maker's mark whose wares circulated



in the north of the county in the left bank of the Stour. Two only of these cups have inscribed dates, viz., 1574 and 1607, but all of the undated ones are probably of the first date. In type they revert to a pattern in vogue under Edward VI., in which the stem has a flange instead of a knop, as will be seen by the illustration of the dated cup and paten cover, those of Gillingham.

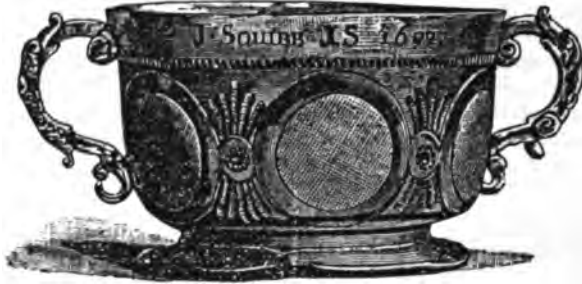


GILLINGHAM.

In his Appendix ii Mr. Nightingale prints the Return of Church Goods made by the Dorset Commissioners of Edward VI, 1552. From this return we gather that each parish was then, in 1552, left with one mediæval chalice; the "worst chalice" in all cases where a parish had two or more. Speaking roughly, out of about three hundred parishes in the county of Dorset over one hundred retain their Elizabethan chalices; in the present reign some fifty parishes have made away with their old plate and got new, probably discarding many Elizabethan and seventeenth century cups. Everything points to some Elizabethan bishop of Bristol, in whose diocese Dorset then was, having taken very stringent measures to get rid of the massing chalices and substitute communion cups.

It is impossible here to go through all the Church Plate in Dorset; the county possesses some examples of unusual design. We give an illustration of one at Skipton Gorge, of undoubtable provincial work of Elizabethan character, date probably the end of sixteenth century. Mr. Nightingale says this has been formed out of sheet metal. Whitchurch Canonorum possesses another provincial piece, hammer worked, out of thick plate silver, probably by an artist who had qualified as a "blacksmith, whitesmith, goldsmith, and silversmith," as did the members of the guild of smiths at Carlisle. Winterborne Whitchurch uses as

chalice a very handsome porringer of the year 1653; it was probably not given to the church until long after that date, as it is clearly a



WINTERBORNE WHITCHURCH, 1653.

piece intended originally for secular use. Lytton Cheney has among its plate one of the small shallow circular bowls with a flat handle, called "tasters;" it is used for private communion. Mapperton has a "bleeding bason," which is used as an alms dish. We must own we do not quite know how to discriminate between a "taster" and a "bleeding basin." Is the size the criterion? Cripps is not very clear on the point.

Sturminster Marshall possess a second chalice, the work of William Gamble, with a coat of arms on it, which was probably engraved by his apprentice, Hogarth. Two parishes have massive services of silver-gilt, viz., chalice, two patens, and flagon by Paul Lamerie, given by Mrs. Strangways Horner between 1737 and 1748; later, she also gave each parish a steel bread cutter with silver-gilt haft and sheath. One parish alone possesses a silver-spoon. No pains has been spared to make the book perfect; it is full of heraldic and genealogical information that must be most interesting to Dorset people. We hope Mr. Nightingale, to whom we are indebted for the loan of the wood blocks used in this notice will speedily complete a similar volume for Wilts.

We will conclude by reproducing Paul Lamerie's receipt for cleansing gilt plate, a copy of which Mr. Nightingale found with plate of his make at Stainsford.

Clean it now and then with only warm water and soap, with a sponge, and then wash it with clean water, and dry it very well with a soft Linnen cloth, and keep it in a dry place, for the damp will spoyle it.

Here is another receipt from the records of the dean and chapter of Carlisle, written at the foot of a list of the plate given to that body in 1680 by Dean Smith.

Directions for cleansing the said plate: Be careful to wipe it with a clean soft linnen cloth, and, if there chance be any stains or spots that will not easily come off with a little water (the cloth being dipped therein), and so rubb the flagons and chalices from the top to the Bottome, not crosswise, but the Bason and patens are to be rubb'd roundwise not across, and by noe means use either chalk, sand or salt.

These directions should be rubbed into the back of every parish clerk and butler in the British Kingdom; hundreds of pieces of plate are daily being spoiled by having the delicate chasing and engraving of artists like Lamerie ground away by plate powder in the endeavour to produce a high polish; the most shocking sight we ever saw was the vast and high-polished collection of plate in the plate room of a certain castle.

We are of opinion that it is a convenience to have the price of a particular book, such as this is, mentioned in a notice of it. And we have had the less scruple in adding this information to the heading because the author has generously been at the entire cost and charge. Perhaps the best way for antiquaries to show their appreciation of his efforts would be to take steps to place so careful and moderate a work on their shelves without delay.

THE DARK AGES; ESSAYS ILLUSTRATING THE STATE OF RELIGION AND LITERATURE IN THE NINTH, TENTH, ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES. By S. R. MAITLAND, D.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., sometime Librarian and Keeper of the MSS. at Lambeth. New Edition. With an Introduction by Frederick Stokes, M.A. London: John Hodges, Henrietta-street, Covent Garden, 1839.

These essays were originally published in the *British Magazine*, the first in March, 1835 (Vol. III.), and the last in February, 1838 (Vol. X.) At which time the periodical alluded to was edited, as it had been from its commencement, by the late well-known Rev. Hugh James Rose, who, in the first of these cited volumes, called the attention of the readers of the magazine to the great value of this series of essays. They were reprinted in one volume by Doctor (then Mr.) Maitland, in 1844, and since one or two other editions have passed through the press. These have all for some years been out of print—and a new edition has long been desired—and the public ought to feel greatly obliged to the publisher, Mr. Hodges, for this improved and handsome volume.

It will be well that the reader should bear clearly in mind the period of history embraced in the author's era of the Dark Ages. It extended from A.D. 800 to A.D. 1200 inclusive. When, therefore, the Dark Ages began the Heptarchy in England still existed and when it closed the Conquest of Ireland had been accomplished, and, although we possess but scanty records of the social condition of the country at this period, we all know that very great changes had been wrought, so that the Ages were not quite so dark as some people suppose and as some prejudiced writers have represented.

Contemporary secular works in the earlier centuries of this era are almost nonexistent and consequently it is upon Ecclesiastical records and religious treatises that we must chiefly rely for information. The Church in England at that period held the doctrines of the Papacy, and in these later days popular writers on history, so-called, blinded by their bigotry and intolerance, could see only evil and ignorance in the most holy, most self-denying, and most learned men—men whose literary attainments would cause these shallow writers to blush with shame—if they could blush. By vague general charges, misquoting the authorities they cite, or carelessness in not verifying their references, they have abused the public mind, and if not perpetrated have perpetuated the grossest libels. These scandalous misrepresentations, not only of individuals but of whole classes, Dr. Maitland has taken upon himself to counteract by a careful, unbiassed and impartial examination of authorities and by shewing what really were the doctrines and the life and conversation of the age and persons so shamelessly defamed.

In the space at our disposal it would be impossible for us to follow Dr. Maitland through his examination. His course has been to extract from the works under his notice the allegations made by their authors

of the low intellectual condition of the country during the Dark Ages, the illiterate character of the clergy, especially their ignorance of the Holy Scriptures, and, contrasting their statements with the actual text of the works which they cite as their authorities, pointing out how the extracts have been garbled, or the plain sense of the writers distorted, for the evident purpose of misleading the reader. Dr. Maitland's treatment of the subject is terse, witty, powerful in reasoning, pious in spirit, and profoundly learned; and his selection of topics enables every reader to judge for himself of the gross misrepresentations which have been promulgated by those popular writers, who, in Professor Smyth's words, have hitherto given the tone and the law to the public mind.

Dr. Maitland says the purpose he has in view is to furnish some materials towards forming a right judgment of the real state of learning, knowledge, and literature during the Dark Ages, in other words to shed some light on the darkness of the period in question, and in this object he has been eminently successful.

The authors whose works are chiefly commented upon are Robertson, Jortin, Mosheim, Maclaine, and White, but there are others who are equally untrustworthy, among them Hume and others of equal popularity and greater name; and historical students, after reading Dr. Maitland's work, will, it is hoped, be very cautious how they place any reliance upon the statement of such writers, and will verify their references.

Archaeological Intelligence.

THE RIGHT TO A PARISH REGISTER.—It is not often that the proceedings of the metropolitan police courts have any archaeological interest, but the following report from the daily papers of Jan. 9th, 1890, may with advantage be enshrined in the *Archaeological Journal*.

“Mr. HENRY GRAY, a bookseller of Leicester Square, was summoned at the Marlborough Street Police court yesterday, by the Rev. J. M. Rees, Cwm, Flintshire, for detaining a ‘certain manuscript, on vellum, consisting of a true note and terrier of the glebe land and tithes, signed by the minister and principal inhabitants of the village of Cwm, in the year 1781, and the baptismal and burial register of the years 1791 to 1812.’—Mr. Arthur Gill appeared on behalf of the Treasury to support the summons. The Rev. Thomas Major Rees said that he produced registers which were continuous up to 1820, except for the years 1791 to 1812. They bore the signatures of the Rev. Peter Whately, who was then vicar of Cwm. About three years ago a man called upon him and asked to be allowed to see the record of the burial of a person who died in the year 1810. On going through the registers the one containing the records of that year could not be found. Three or four weeks ago extracts from the catalogue of a sale at the defendant's premises, were forwarded to him by some friends, and in consequence of their containing a description of the missing book, he communicated with Archdeacon Williams.—Adolphus Emery, clerk to Messrs. Dalziel and Beresford, Solicitors, of the Strand, said that on the 13th of November he went to the defendant's place of business and served upon him a

demand for the relinquishing of the book.—Mr. Gray, electing to be sworn, said that he purchased the book in the year 1888, from a bookseller carrying on business in the Goswell Road. He had put the price £5 5s. upon it in his catalogue, but had offered to accept £2 10s.—Mr. Hannay: You see what is urged is that in 'market overt' you cannot become possessed of a register belonging to a parish.—Mr. Gill: Churches in remote parts of the country are unprotected, and it may frequently happen that old registers would be removed without the knowledge of the parishioners. If a person could sell them as he chose there would be no recovering them.—Mr. Hannay (to Mr. Gray): I think I must hold that Mr. Gill is right, and order the delivery up of the book.—After some further protest, the book was handed over."

The thanks of antiquaries are due to Mr. Rees for his public spirit in bringing forward the matter, and it is an additional proof, if any were needed, that the clergy of the present day take something more than "an intelligent interest" in the registers of their parishes, whatever they may be supposed to have done in the past. We can, in imagination, draw a picture of the amount of officialism and red tape that would have intervened if such a case as the above had arisen and the proposal to remove all the parish registers of the kingdom to one central depository in London had been carried out. The matter of the missing Cwm registers was just a case where prompt action, like that of Mr. Rees, was absolutely necessary, because, at any moment, they might have been sold to a stray nameless purchaser, and carried off to a distant region of Greater Britain, or absorbed into some collection in America—that grave of the Old World's antiquities—never again to return to the parish of whose human record they formed a part.

THE REGISTERS OF WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD.—The Rev. E. B. Gardiner, F.S.A., has undertaken this work, with the approval and assistance of the Warden and Fellows. It will present the record of all persons who have belonged to Wadham since its foundation. Part I. 1613 to 1719 will shortly be published, price £1 1s., to Subscribers 12s. We need hardly refer to Mr. Gardiner's well-known "Admission Registers of St. Paul's School," in evidence of his capabilities for the labour he has set his hand to. The period contained in this volume is full of interest, including not only the Foundation of the College, but the important University Epochs of the Civil War, the Parliamentary Visitation, and the Revolution of 1688; for the explanation of which a Table of Dates will be prefixed.

Names should be sent to the Author, 3, Gliddon Road, West Kensington, London, W.

INDEX TO THE PREROGATIVE WILLS OF IRELAND, 1536-1810.—Edited, with a Preface, by Mr. Arthur Vicars, F.S.A.—It is proposed, if 150 Subscribers be forthcoming, to publish a complete Index to the Prerogative Wills of Ireland from 1536 (in which year the first is recorded) to 1810, alphabetically arranged, giving the residence and description of each testator and date of will. It is unnecessary to draw attention to the great importance of such an Index to Genealogists, Historians, and Archæologists at large, who find in Wills one of the most fruitful sources of information, and if the Author meets with the encouragement he so well deserves, we hope he will continue the series as he contemplates. Names of Subscribers (the price is £1 1s.), should be sent at once to the Author, care of Mr. E. Ponsonby, 116, Grafton Street, Dublin. by Google

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KIRKSTALL ABBEY.—It is good news to hear that the Leeds Corporation have obtained the advice and assistance of Mr. St. John Hope respecting the preservation and reparation of this Abbey. It is cheering to know that the Chairman of the sub-committee appointed to superintend the work has given orders that the whole of the Ivy is to be cut down. This good work already begun, it may be hoped will have many imitators throughout the country.

YARMOUTH NOTES.—Mr. F. Danby Palmer, whose archaeological labours in his native town are well known, has collated from the file of the Norwich Mercury, from 1830 to 1872, these useful items of interest. It will be remembered how much of antiquarian interest has perished in Yarmouth during this period, and how many buildings of a like kind have been happily saved from destruction by local antiquaries. We may add that the "Notes" in question can be obtained at Mr. J. Buckle's, 36, King Street, Great Yarmouth, price 3s. 6d.

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