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* The map which accompanies this memoir has been liberally presented to the Institute by the Author.

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* One of these cuts is kindly contributed by the Rev. J. Lee Warner.

† The entire expense of engraving and printing this valuable map has been most kindly defrayed by Dr. Guest.

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* For these illustrations the Institute is indebted to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle.

† These three wood-cuts are kindly contributed by Mark Napier, Esq.

ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 24, line 16, for Signore Giuseppe, read Sacerdote.

Page 46, note. The Title of the work cited should read—*Architectura Curiosa*.

Page 54. The woodcut of the seal of Joan, Queen of Scotland, here figured from an impression, does not show some traces of ornamental work in the field, faintly perceptible on the matrix. These lines appear in the representation recently published in the *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. iv. p. 420. The weight of the gold matrix, as there stated, is 15 dwts.

Page 76. The photographs with which the collections of the Institute were enriched, as here enumerated, were kindly presented by Captain Oakes, to whose liberality the Society has on several occasions been indebted, by the presentation of the results of his skill in the art of photography. Through an inadvertent error, the name of another obliging friend, Mr. Laing, was here substituted for that of the donor.

Page 82, line 21, for Bedford, read Brentford.

Page 90, line 19, for who, read also; and *infra*, line 45, for his death, read her death.

Page 91, line 4, for Mr. Milton, read Mrs. Milton; and *infra*, line 12, for Nor, read So that.

Page 92, line 4, for Embleton, Northumberland, read Embleton, Cumberland.

Page 132, line 31, for Hampole, read Hamper.

Page 216. Add the following note to Mr. Winston's memoir on the North Rose Window of Lincoln Cathedral: "Since the remarks on ruby glass were written, Mr. Clarke has ascertained that iron in its metallic state will, under certain conditions, impart a deep transparent blood-red colour to ordinary white glass. The surface of the glass so coloured, when the light is allowed to fall upon it, appears clouded, and in hue somewhat resembles polished mahogany-wood. It would seem from this that the iron used as a precipitate in making ordinary ruby glass sometimes imparts a colour of its own to the glass. Specimens of old ruby glass, of very early as well as of late date, occasionally exhibit a similar peculiarity of surface. These specimens may be said to be invariably of a deep blood-red colour.

Page 334, line 13 from the foot of the page, after sunk under, *dele* to.

Page 385, line 11, for Henry, read Edward.



The Archaeological Journal.

MARCH, 1857.

THE PRACTICAL ADVANTAGES ACCRUING FROM THE STUDY OF ARCHAEOLOGY.¹

BY THE REV. JOHN COLLINGWOOD BRUCE, LL.D., F.S.A.
Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

THIS age boasts of being a practical one. Before a scheme is adopted, the question is constantly heard—"What is the use of it?" Every study, every enterprise, which does not tend more or less directly to increase our wealth, our power, or our personal comforts, is discountenanced. Within certain limits the principle is a good one. Life is too short to spend any part of it in idle speculation. But it may be pushed to too great an extent. If we are not to pursue any course of investigation until we can ascertain what the result will be, an end is put at once to all discovery. The question—"What is the use of it," may have been put to Galileo by the utilitarians of his day, when they observed him watching, with intense earnestness, the swinging of the lamp in the Duòmo of Pisa, and he would, in the first instance at least, be compelled to say, "I do not know." How uselessly, to all appearance, was Galvani employed when he made dead frogs kick, and Newton when he blew soap bubbles, and Watt when he boiled water in apothecaries' phials. And yet how stupendous have been the results of these unpretending inquiries. The students of antiquity are peculiarly exposed to the ridicule of the "quick-returns" school. These utilitarians tell us that they have too much to do with the stern realities of life to dream over the events of the past. Men of leisure, they say, may luxuriate in contemplating the graceful form of a Grecian vase, or exercise their imaginations

¹ This Discourse was delivered at the Opening Meeting, at the Meeting of the Institute in Edinburgh, July 22, 1856.

in deciphering a Roman inscription ; but men of business have something more important to attend to.

Let us see, however, if the study of antiquities has not some solid, tangible, commercial advantages. In the attempt to show that it has, I shall confine myself to one branch of the subject. I shall not point to the temples of ancient Greece, or to the ecclesiastical structures of the Middle Ages in our own island—buildings which the ablest architects of the present day do not think it beneath them to imitate—but will direct attention to the Roman division of the great field cultivated by the Archaeological Institute and other kindred societies.

If any one had said to the Prime Minister of England when he declared war against Russia, “ My Lord, let me advise you, before you take a single step in the prosecution of this momentous enterprise, to spend at least one week in the study of Roman antiquities,”—what would have been thought of him ? And what would have been thought of the Minister who, in time of such pressing emergency, should forsake the Cabinet Council, and neglect his despatches, while he took a journey to the north to examine walls of Hadrian and Antoninus ? What would have been thought of him ? And yet, if we look into it, the suggestion is not so ridiculous as at first sight it appears. Supposing the Minister had come into Northumberland, and had placed himself under the guidance of our local society, what could we have shown him there that would have aided him in directing the warlike energies of this great nation ? The first thing probably that we would have done would have been to have shown him the Watling Street, and some other lines of Roman road which there exist in a state of considerable perfection. After we had “ walked ” his Lordship for some miles over the stones that were laid in their present bed nearly eighteen hundred years ago, we would have said to him, “ You see here the practice of the Romans. In advancing upon an enemy they uniformly made the construction of a road keep pace with the progress of the army. This they did, not from cowardly motives, but in order to keep up the communication with their reserves in the rear, that their supplies might be duly forwarded ; and that, in the case of sudden disaster, they might make good their retreat. Here you see how Agricola acted, when, in the year 80, he marched against the Cale-

donians. He made roads. Be sure that in directing the energies of the modern Caledonians amongst others, against the Russians, you impress upon them the necessity of making roads. Let this be one of the first things to be attended to." Unfortunately, however, the Prime Minister of that day was too busy to study antiquities. It was not until after our army had suffered the severest calamities, that a road was made from Balaklava to the camp. Again, we should probably after this have taken him to some of our Roman stations on the wall, and shown him the care with which a Roman army was entrenched when it rested even for a night. At Boreovicus we would have furnished him with proofs for believing that, when the army sat down there to build the wall, the first thing they did was to erect the thick stone walls of their own camp, and to rear the stone barracks which were to form their own habitations. We should have confirmed this opinion by referring him to the sculptures on Trajan's column, which represent the soldiers employed in the Dacian campaign as being very extensively employed in building stone dwellings. We should then have pressed upon his Lordship the necessity of securing strong and warm habitations for the army, the moment they had reached the ground which they were to occupy even for a moderate length of time. But what is the use of studying antiquities? what is the use of profiting by the experience of past ages? So at least some have thought, for though the frames of our soldiery are not more hardy than were those of the Romans, they were exposed on the heights of Sebastopol in a way that a Roman army never would have been. Further, we would probably have drawn his attention very particularly to the Roman method of heating their apartments by hypocausts; and we would have suggested to him the adoption of a similar method of enabling the army to endure the rigours of a Crimean winter. When fuel is scarce, what more effectual or economical way can be employed than by making the heated air to pass beneath the floors of the rooms?—one small fire will, in this way, heat whole suites of apartments. But there was not time to study antiquities, and our army was left to bear up against the extreme rigours of winter as best they could. As to the commissariat of the Roman army, our stations on the lines of Hadrian and Antoninus do not teach us much, but the instructive coil

around the column of Trajan makes up for the deficiency. We would have called attention to the important fact that foremost in the preparations which Trajan is there represented as making for his campaign in Dacia, is the laying in of a store of hay for his horses. There the hay-stacks stand to this day. Doubtless, if the horses were cared for, the men would not be neglected. We would have said to him, "My Lord, let your commissariat be complete to the most unimportant article—be sure that you have hay for your horses." But no; our rulers had no time to throw away upon the study of antiquities, and our noble horses were left on the heights above Sebastopol at a temperature not much above zero, to eat one another's manes and tails. Perhaps by this time it will appear that the idea of even a Prime Minister paying a little attention to antiquities is not very absurd. If the evils to which I have referred had been avoided by the adoption of the experience of the Romans, as taught us by the monuments which they have left us, half-a-year's income-tax would have been saved to this country, and this surely even utilitarians will consider is a thing of real importance.

But to turn to the lessons which antiquity gives us for our improvement in the arts of peace. The Romans were great builders. Many of the works which have come down to our day, are remarkable for their magnitude and their durability. How vast a structure is the Coliseum at Rome—how very remarkably do the lofty walls of Richborough and Pevensey hang together. One cause of the durability of their erections is the excellence of the mortar which they employed. If we had studied their method of making and using it, our buildings would not have the tendency to fall to pieces which they have. I have been informed that, when the Durham County Prisons had been built at very great expense, a gentleman requested to be locked up in one of the cells, and to be furnished with a piece of an iron hoop. In the course of an hour he liberated himself, and joined his friends as they were sitting down to dinner. This he could not have done if the mortar had possessed a proper degree of tenacity. The necessities of our present railway system have compelled our engineers to pay attention to the subject of mortar, and in all our great works a material is now used as good as that which was prepared by the Romans; but a study of antiquities would probably have caused the revival of this

important part of the craft of a builder to have been earlier effected.

When the station of Humum on the wall of Hadrian was being pulled to pieces some years ago, an eminent architect in Newcastle, Mr. Dobson, carefully examined the buildings which it contained. He noticed with considerable interest the mode in which the flues were brought up the sides of the walls from the hypocausts below. The hint was not lost upon him. He was at the time engaged in building a house in a damp situation, and he was anxious to devise some means of preventing the wet forcing itself through the walls. He at once resolved to substitute a thin brick wall instead of the ordinary wooden stoothing on the inside of the main stone wall, leaving a small space between them, but tying them together at intervals. The plan answered admirably, and he has adopted it ever since. He named it to Mr. Smirke, who also adopted it. Some people cannot understand what is the use of studying antiquities, but if their bones creak with rheumatic pains, they will perhaps comprehend the usefulness of any means that can be devised of preventing the incursion of the malady.

After this country had suffered two or three times from that dreadful scourge the Asiatic cholera, our rulers were taught the necessity of attending to the sewerage of towns, and of prohibiting intramural interments. If they had studied antiquities, and had profited by the experience of the Romans, that dreadful infliction, so far as it is dependent upon second causes, might, in a great measure, have been avoided. The Roman station, the interior arrangements of which I have had the best opportunity of examining, is Bremenium, the modern High Rochester. It is situated in a bleak and desolate region of Northumberland, which even now fills the heart of a townsman with horror. It is the most advanced post in England, and must necessarily have been one of great danger. Notwithstanding the necessity of constructing the fortress as hastily as possible, a complete system of drainage was adopted before the foundation of a single dwelling had been laid. Extensive excavations have lately been made here; first, by the Duke of Northumberland, and afterwards by the Newcastle Society under his Grace's generous encouragement. We found that the station had been rebuilt on two or three different occa-

sions ; but below the lowest foundation were carefully-constructed channels, some, as we supposed, for carrying off the waste water, others for introducing the pure stream. I need not refer to the Cloaca Maxima at Rome.

With reference to extramural interments, we have abundant evidence in the stations in the north of England to show that the law of the twelve tables upon this subject were strictly observed in barbarous Britain in the second century, whatever may have been the case in more enlightened times.

I come now to minor matters. In forming a brick arch with bricks of the usual form, the workman must be careful to put a larger proportion of mortar on the outer rim of the circle than the inner, and the wooden framework used in its construction must be retained in its place until the mortar solidifies. If bricks be made with sides radiating from a centre, as the ordinary stone voussoirs of a bridge do, they can be laid in their bed quickly, and without claiming any extraordinary care, and the work will stand any amount of pressure as soon as the arch is turned. Only a year or two have passed since it occurred to our builders to have bricks made of this construction. If they had studied antiquities, they would have observed barrel drains in our Roman stations, formed of wedge-shaped bricks, and we might long ago have had the benefit of the contrivance.

Once more ;—no one asks, what is the use of the culinary art. Some articles of interest taken from the ruins of Pompeii have lately been added to the Duke of Northumberland's collection at Alnwick Castle. I am informed that when the master cook was introduced into the museum, he was struck with the admirable practical form of some cooking utensils. I have here a sketch of a sort of gravy strainer, which he pronounced better than any he had. The peculiarity of it consists in its rim being turned slightly inwards, so that it can be slightly shaken over the joint, without the risk of any of the unstrained gravy coming over the edge.

I have now done.—I have selected a few facts for the satisfaction of a very numerous class of persons, who make too indiscriminate a use of the question, *cui bono* ? Perhaps I ought to apologise to the instructed antiquary for the low ground I have taken,—for having attempted to view his exalted science from so homely a position. I am well

aware that I might have taken a very different stand. Archaeology is the handmaid of history. It supplies many of the facts with which the historian deals. The documentary materials available for the compilation of the early history of Britain are exceedingly scanty. When we have exhausted the brief narratives of Cæsar and Tacitus, we have little on which we can rely. For a knowledge of some of the mighty movements that occurred during the long period that elapsed between the arrival of Cæsar and the departure of the Romans, we are entirely dependent upon the spade and the pickaxe. Again, as confirmatory of documentary history, how invaluable are the researches of the archaeologist. We have had a most striking illustration of this recently in the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon.

But, still to confine myself to Romano-British ground, let me give you one example. Tacitus tells us that at the battle of the Grampians Agricola ordered three Batavian cohorts and two Tungrian to close with the enemy, and bring them to a hand-to-hand engagement. At Falkirk, I lately saw an altar dedicated to Hercules by a body of Tungrians. In a broken stone, also, found on the line of Graham's Dyke, I think I recognise a dedication by a cohort of Batavians. At all events, upon the line of Hadrian's Wall we have several slabs and altars bearing the name of Batavian and Tungrian troops. Now, who can fail to perceive the vitality with which such discoveries invest the pages of the chronicler? But archaeology is not simply valuable as a purveyor of facts and evidences for the use of the historian. It elevates the mind of man; it enlarges his soul; it divests us of a part of our selfishness; it lifts us out of the rut of our every-day life; it makes our hearts beat in sympathy with those who cannot repay us even the "tribute of a sigh;" it educes affections which bless us and tend to make us blessings to all around, but which are apt to be dried up by too long and too intimate an acquaintance with the market-place and the exchange. I trust that these few homely statements may serve to show that a due investigation of the creditor and debtor side of the account will give a considerable balance in favour of Archaeology.

NOTICES OF THE PRECIOUS OBJECTS PRESENTED BY QUEEN
THEODELINDA TO THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST,
AT MONZA.

FEW travellers visit Milan without proceeding to pay a visit to the "Noble and Royal Basilica" of St. John the Baptist, in the city of Monza, situated about twelve miles from the capital. Famous in the eyes of the Italians as the depository of the celebrated Iron Crown, it is more so with the Lombards as possessing remarkable examples of goldsmiths' work in its treasury—gifts made by their kings and queens at the shrine of the Baptist, when they were an independent nation, and possessed the greater part of Italy. The names of Autharick, Agilulf, and above all of Flavia Theodelinda, are mentioned by a Lombard at the present day much in the same manner as that of King Arthur was with us in the middle ages, when England was a second-rate kingdom, and the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth was believed to be pure and true history.

We all know how often it falls to the lot of the antiquary, after reading a particular account in his guide-book of the objects of antiquity in some museum or treasury, to find that he has been greatly deceived, and that his journey might have been spared. This is not the case at Monza: here, at least, tradition has been a faithful guide, and when the traveller enters the small domed octagonal treasury, and the custode has unlocked the various doors contained in the side walls, a mass of goldsmith's work is presented to his view, sufficient to illustrate the progress of the art from the end of the VIth century to the present times. The nucleus of this was the gift of Queen Theodelinda, the foundress of the church; here we may give a short notice of her life, before entering into the description of her gifts. For this purpose we must have recourse to the history of Paulus Diaconus, availing ourselves at the same time of the dates assigned by his learned editor (Muratori, *Ital. Script.*

vol. i.). We must premise, that Autharick, King of the Lombards, had, in 588, been promised the sister of Childebert, King of the Franks, in marriage, but the lady had been given instead to Reccared, King of the Spanish Goths, the reason alleged being that the latter king and his nation had abjured Arianism, whereas the Lombards were still in error. Zanetti supposes that the real cause was in the intrigues of the Roman Pontiffs, who viewed with displeasure an alliance likely to compromise the feuds between the Franks and their natural enemies, the Lombards.

In the third book, and chapter xxix., Paulus Diaconus has given the following interesting narrative:—

“After these things, King Authari (*sic*) sent ambassadors to Bavaria, who might demand the daughter of Garibald their King in marriage for him. He, receiving them kindly, promised that he would give his daughter Theudelinda¹ to Authari. The ambassadors, on their return, related these things to Authari, who desiring to see his bride, chose one of his most faithful followers, a little older than himself, and without delay set out with him for Bavaria.² And when, after the custom of ambassadors, they had been introduced, and he who was the elder had made his salutation, Authari, perceiving he was known by none of the people present, approached nearer the King Garibaldus, and said, ‘My lord the King Authari has sent me here especially for this purpose that I should behold your daughter, his bride, who is about to be our Lady.’ And when the King, hearing these things, had commanded his daughter to appear, and Authari had seen that she was sufficiently handsome, and that she pleased him well in all things, he said to the King, ‘Forasmuch as we behold the person of your daughter to be such that rightly we may hope to have her for our Queen, if it may please your Majesty, we would wish to take a cup of wine from her hand, as we shall do hereafter.’ And when the King, consenting, had commanded it thus to be done, she having received the cup of wine, offered it to him who was the elder. Then she offered it to Authari, being ignorant that he was about to be her husband. He, after that he had

¹ The name of the queen is thus written by Paulus Diaconus throughout his narrative; and the king’s name is written “Authari.”

² St. Æthelbert did the same thing, but with a very unfortunate issue. See Roger of Wendover, under date 792; also the Saxon Chronicle.

drunk, returned the cup, and touched her hand, no one being aware, with his finger, and drew his right hand from his forehead to his lips (*dextram suam sibi a fronte per nasum ac faciem produxit*). She, blushing greatly, related these things to her nurse, who replied, unless this man had been the king himself, and your future husband, he would not have dared to touch you at all. But he received a guard from the King, and having arrived on his return near to the borders of Italy, raised himself as much as he could upon his horse, and struck the nearest tree with his axe, using his whole force, and added, moreover, these words: ‘Such are the strokes of Authari.’ And when he had said these things, then the Bavarians understood that their companion was King Authari himself. After some time, Garibaldus, being troubled by the invasion of the Franks, Theudelinda his daughter, with Gundoald her brother, fled to Italy, and sent news of her arrival to Authari, her husband, who immediately met her with great pomp, and married her on the Ides of May, A.D. 589, in Campo Sardis, which is situated above Verona; and there was there, among other of the Lombard Dukes, Agilulf, Duke of Turin, to whom a certain boy, a soothsayer, who foretold the future by diabolical art, thus said (when a log which was placed in the royal barriers had been struck by lightning), ‘this woman, who lately has married our King, will be your wife after no very long time.’ Which he hearing, threatened that he would cut off his head if he mentioned anything more about it; to whom the latter replied, ‘You indeed may kill me, but you cannot alter the fates.’ * * * *

“In 590, King Authari died at Pavia from poison, as it was reported, after he had reigned six years. The Queen Theudelinda, who much pleased the Lombards, was permitted to remain in the Royal dignity, they agreeing that whomsoever she should choose from the Lombards for a husband, should be their king. She, indeed, having held council with the most prudent, chose Agilulf, Duke of Turin, whom immediately she commanded to come to her; and she herself hastened to the town of Lomello, and when he had met her, she commanded him to be seated, and after some talk, ordered wine to be brought, of which, when she herself had first tasted, she offered the remainder to Agilulf. He receiving the cup, kissed her hand reverently, and the Queen,

laughing, but at the same time blushing, said, it does not behove him to kiss the hand who ought to kiss the mouth. Why should I relate more? The nuptials were celebrated with great joy, and Agilulf, who was a relation of the King Authari, received the royal dignity in the month of November." (Ibid. chap. xxxiv.)

"593. In these days the most wise and holy Pope Gregory, Bishop of the city of Rome, wrote four books concerning the lives of the saints, which book is called the 'Dialogue,' because he represents himself as talking with his deacon Peter. The aforesaid pope dedicated these books to Theodelinda, because he knew that she was attached to the faith of Christ, and given to good works." (Lib. iv., chap. v.)

"By means of this Queen much good was effected for the Church of God; for the Lombards, while they held the errors of the Gentiles, had seized on nearly all the substance of the Church. But the King being moved by the supplication of the Queen, both held the Catholic faith, and enriched the Church with many possessions; and the bishops, who had been depressed and abject, were restored to their accustomed dignity."³ (Chap. vi.)

The next event recorded is that the exarch of Ravenna caused several cities of Lombardy to be betrayed to him, and how Agilulf, after various successes, besieged Rome. But by means of Theodelinda, St. Gregory concluded a peace with the Lombards, and the letters are given, written by him to Theodelinda and Agilulf. The historian subsequently relates that,—“About this time Theodelinda, the Queen, dedicated the Royal Basilica of St. John Baptist, which she had constructed at Monza, and enriched it with many ornaments of gold and silver, and with estates.” (Chap. xxii.)

“In which place, also, Theodoric, formerly King of the Goths, had constructed a palace, because the place, on account of its vicinity to the Alps, was temperate and wholesome in time of summer. There, also, the same Queen built her palace, in which, also, she caused certain deeds of the Lombards to be painted: in which paintings it is clearly

³ Arianism, it would appear, was but partially destroyed in Lombardy, for during the reign of Rotharis, who ascended the throne twenty-two years after the

death of Agilulf, we are told, that not only was the King infected with heresy, but that in almost every city there were two bishops, one Catholic and one Arian.

shown how the Lombards of that time shaved the hair of the head, and what their costume was like ; for, indeed, they shaved the back of the head, having long hair which hung down to the chin, divided by a parting in the middle of the forehead. Their garments were loose, and chiefly of linen, such as the Anglo-Saxons are accustomed to wear, adorned with broad borders woven of different colours ; their shoes were open down to the toe, retained by crossed bands of leather. Afterwards, they took to wear hosen, over which, when riding, they had drawers of a red colour ;⁴ but this custom they adopted from the Romans." (Chap. xxiii.)

In the 26th chapter, the historian relates that in the year 603, "a son was born to Agilulf the King, and Theodelinda the Queen, in the palace at Monza, who was called Adaloaldus. The year afterwards Adaloaldus was baptised in St. John at Monza." There is extant a letter from Gregory to Theodelinda, congratulating her on the birth of her son, of which the following is the most important passage for our purpose : "To our most excellent son Adaloald we have sent a reliquary, that is, a cross with the wood of the holy cross of our Lord, and a lectionary of the Gospels, enclosed in a Persian case ; and to my daughter, his sister, I have sent three rings, two with hyacinths, and one with an *albula*." This cross still remains in the treasury.

In 605, Adaloald was crowned in his father's lifetime.

In 615, Agilulf, who also was called Ago, died after he had reigned twenty-five years, leaving in the kingdom his son Adaloaldus, a boy, together with his mother Theodelinda. Under their government the churches were restored, and many gifts presented to the holy places, But when Adaloaldus went mad, after he had reigned ten years with his mother, he was ejected from the kingdom, and Arioaldus was put into his place by the Lombards.⁵

Thus much for the history of Theodelinda. There is, unfortunately, very little to be added to it⁶ beyond the date of

⁴ Tubrugos birreos. See Ducange.

⁵ Arioaldus is supposed to have been the first husband of Gundiberga, the daughter of Theodelinda.

⁶ Boccaccio, indeed, in the second novel of the third day of the Decameron, relates a story concerning Theodelinda, Agilulf and a groom ; but as it occurs in no other writer with these names attached to it, we shall probably not be very wrong in sup-

posing that Boccaccio, having got hold of the story (which to a certain degree resembles that told of Gyges and Candaules by Herodotus), added the names to give it more interest ; he has done the same thing in the second novel of the seventh day, and the sixth novel of the ninth day —both of which are taken from the Golden Ass of Apuleius.

her death, which Zanetti thinks occurred previously to the deposition of her son in 625. There is no document on the subject, and we only know that her obit was celebrated on a particular day.

Tradition has added two circumstances, which are recorded in the "Chronicon Modoetiense"⁷ of Bonincontro, written in the middle of the XIVth century. The first is that the Queen wishing to build her Basilica, it was revealed to her in a dream that the new building should be erected on the spot where the Holy Ghost should appear in the form of a dove. This did not take place until many years afterwards, when the Queen saw a dove alight on a large vine. The dove said "Modo," and the Queen replied, "Etiam;" thence the name Modoetia. The altar of the church was erected on the spot where the vine stood, and the tree itself was employed in the construction of the west door, which in the time of the author of the Chronicle had been placed in a doorway in one of the aisles, and was called the "porta vitæ."

The other tradition affirms that all the gold, silver, and jewels given by the Queen were made from an idol which her husband was in the habit of worshipping. The Arians of the VIth century were become idolators in the eyes of the XIVth.

Let us now consider what objects Theodelinda did present to the church, and how many have come down to our own day. Frisi enumerates the following as existing in his time.

The first is the cross of gold sent to Adaloaldus by Pope Gregory; it is $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide by 3 long, of pure gold; in front, underneath a very thick crystal, is a Greek Crucifixion, engraved and filled with niello. Our Lord is dressed in the tunic, but without the crown of thorns. The Blessed Virgin and St. John are at the sides, and the letters and inscription are Greek. Behind this and the back of the cross is a cavity, sufficient to contain a relique: most probably, it even now contains the wood of the true cross. The back itself has simply a raised pattern on it. The cross is used on certain occasions at the present time.

The next thing is the papyrus, containing an inventory of the oils from lamps burning at Rome before the tombs of

⁷ Muratori, vol. xii. p. 1072.

the Martyrs, sent by the Pope Gregory to the Queen. In the middle of the XVIIth century this papyrus was removed from the church into the Museo Settaliano, and was not brought back until 1777. It was conveyed with the other treasures to France in 1790, and was restored with them in 1813. The oils were discovered at the end of last century, concealed in the great altar; they are enclosed in leaden ampullæ, enriched with subject from the Scriptures. There were six varieties, all of which have been engraved by Frisi, in vol. i., pp. 4 and 5, edit. 1794. The workmanship and inscriptions are Greek.

The third is the crown of Theodelinda, a plain circlet, enriched with a vast quantity of gems of more or less value, among which are conspicuous a great many pieces of mother-of-pearl.⁸

The treasury, as we learn from inventories, as well as from the celebrated bas-relief over the door (generally considered to be about two or three centuries posterior to Theodelinda, but which, I apprehend, is very much later), anciently possessed three other crowns, the first of which is the iron crown, now shown in a chapel dedicated to it. In point of art, it is very remarkable for the beauty of its cloissonné enamels, and in point of antiquarianism for the small thin rim of iron attached to the inside. Although composed of the metal most subject to oxidation, this betrays no signs of rust, while the original file-marks tell us that cleaning has had nothing to do with this fact. It is scarcely necessary to mention that tradition asserts this rim to have been formed from a nail used in our Lord's Passion. The second crown was that of Theodelinda's husband,⁹ Agilulf; it was divided into fifteen divisions, containing our Lord seated between two angels and the Twelve Apostles. The divisions were formed by twisted columns, from the top of which sprouted branches of laurel. These, and even the columns, have a very suspicious appearance, as far as one can judge from the plates of Muratori and Frisi. The inscription ran thus, in uncial letters: "Agilulfus gratia Dei vir gloriosus Rex totius Italiæ offert Sancto Johanni Baptistæ in Ecclesia

⁸ Theophilus, lib. iii. cap. 95, alludes to the practice of using mother-of-pearl in goldsmith's work: — "Secantur etiam chonchæ marinæ per partes et inde limantur margarite, in auro satis utiles, polium-

turque ut supra."

⁹ Agilulf's crown was stolen, and melted at Paris in 1804. All the three crowns are engraved in Muratori, and in the various editions of Frisi.

Modicia." Of the third crown we have no notice : it was probably that of Berengarius. It appears, from various quotations given by Frisi, that it was a common custom for monarchs to give their crowns to the churches. In our own country King Canute did the same.¹

The tympanum of the west door also shows us a great vase or chalice, with handles ; this, being one of the most precious objects of the treasury, was of course one of the first to be pawned on any emergency.

There was also a cup of oriental agate, enriched with silver gilt, forty-six precious stones and ninety-five pearls.

Both of these, as well as a corporal, embroidered in gold and gems by Theodelinda herself, have disappeared.

The cup of sapphire, also shown on the tympanum (the sculpture in Muratori's time still retaining traces of the colour with which it was anciently painted), is to be found in the sacristy at the present day, but the original mounting has long since disappeared. However, it has been supplied by a very beautiful work of the XVth century, and if we may believe a document quoted by Frisi, 1490 was the date of the alteration.

At the present day the sapphire, which is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter, is believed to be simply one of those precious glass fabrics of antiquity which, like the Santo Catino of Genoa, were in the middle ages so often mistaken for gems.²

The next object is the *Evangelarium* of Theodelinda, bound in gold, and ornamented with eight cameos, four on either side. In the middle is a cross, surrounded by a border, running round the margin ; the cross is partly composed of precious stones, and partly by a pattern formed by red glass set in gold ; the border is wholly of the latter material. In two parallel lines, running quite across the field, are these words in Roman capitals : "De donis dei offerit Theodelinda regina gloriosissima Sancto Johanni Bapt. in Basilica quam ipsa fundavit in Modicia prope pal. suum."³

¹ Roger of Wendover, under the year 1035.

² Theophilus gives directions to make light purple glass, lib. II. chap. viii. ; and in chap. x. of the same book, he also tells us how to make glass vases.

³ Theophilus does not mention the red glass mosaic. On the other hand, none of the objects which can be traced to Theo-

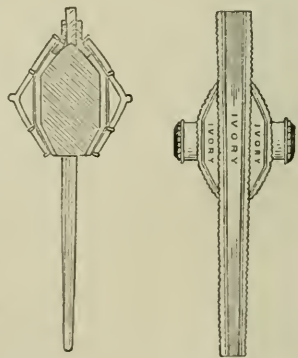
delinda or Berengarius present us with enamel, properly so called. The only exception is the iron crown, which some writers assert to have been a gift from the Emperor Phocas to Agilulf, but we have no proof of this, except tradition,—not a very safe guide when unsupported by other evidence.

Another gift was a golden cross (probably processional), with a silver handle. On one side there was represented in relief the life of Christ, and on the other that of the Precursor. In the centre was a circle representing the Blessed Virgin attended by four angels, with the Queen at her feet. This, from the costume of the angels, was evidently a restoration of the XVth or XVIth century, but the attitude of Theodelinda is so like that of Suger in the stained glass at St. Denis, that it is difficult not to believe that an original was followed in this instance at least. Frisi has engraved this part of the cross, but as the original was melted for the expenses of the war during the consulate of Napoleon, it is impossible to decide on its authenticity.

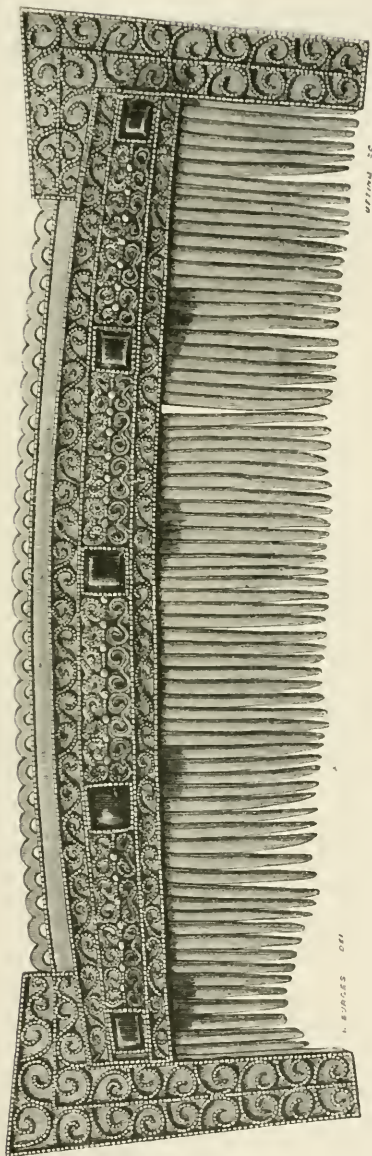
The hen and chickens, of which I have presented a drawing to the Institute, although represented on the tympanum along with the other things, and mentioned in the inventory, has, to say the least, a very artistic appearance, when we consider the period at which it is supposed to have been executed. It is just probable that when the jewels were stolen at Avignon, this may have been among those broken up and afterwards restored by Antellotto Bracchioforte in the middle of the XIVth century. As it is, only the golden birds can claim any antiquity, the bottom, or plateau, being of copper gilt, the original, probably, having found its way to the mint at Milan, at the end of the last century. Much has been written concerning the symbolical meaning of this ornament: the most probable explanation is, that it was simply a plateau to ornament a banquet-table.

Besides a rich paten of gold, enriched with many pearls and jewels, which has disappeared, there remain to be noticed only two more of the gifts of Theodelinda; these, of the least intrinsic value of all her donations, are at the same time almost unique examples of the comb and flabellum.

As to the comb, it is met with in the various inventories which have been taken at Monza in the XIIIth and XIVth centuries, being in most



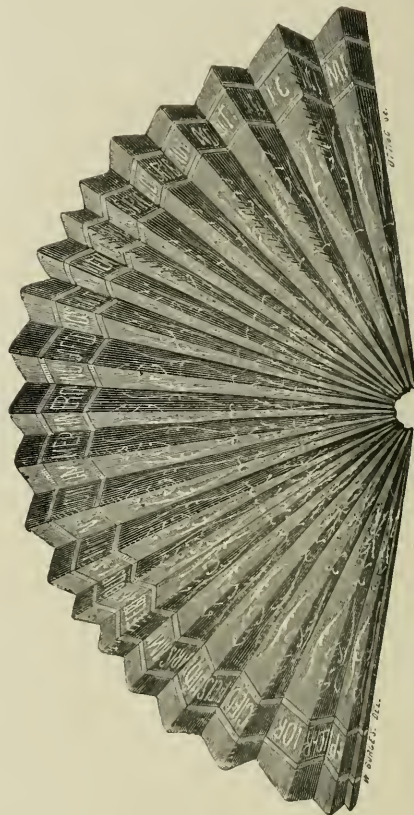
Section and end. Comb of Theodelinda.



The ivory comb, ornamented with filigree and jewels, preserved in the Treasury at the Basilica of St. John Baptist, at Monza, as one of the gifts of the Foundress, Theodelinda, Queen of the Lombards, (Circa A.D. 560.)

Length of the original 9 inches and one-eighth; breadth, 2½ inches.





The Fan or Flabellum preserved in the Treasury at the Basilica of St. John Baptist, at Monza, as having been given by the Foundress, Theodelinda, Queen of the Lombards, at the close of the VIth century. The case is of wood cased with silver: the fan of purple vellum illuminated with gold and silver.

Length of the case with its handle $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter of the fan expanded, 10 inches.

cases called the Queen's comb—"Pecten Reginae." The engraving will give a better idea of it than any description. It is formed of ivory, enclosed in a filagree setting of silver gilt. The accompanying section shows the construction and adjustment of the various parts, ivory and metal; as also the open-work and jewels, and the teeth of the comb, still in fair preservation. The woodcuts (section and end view) are on a scale of two-thirds of the original size. A comb of precisely similar form, but without the setting, is figured in Mr. J. Y. Akerman's *Remains of Saxon Pagandom*, Plate xxxi. Fig. 1. This latter was found in 1771 on Barham Downs, about five miles from Canterbury, in the grave, evidently, of a female. The remark of Paulus Diaconus is thus confirmed in the resemblance of the costume of the Lombards with that of the Anglo-Saxons.

A comb appears anciently to have formed part of the regular furniture of a sacristy. Miræus, cap. 21, gives us in full the will of S. Everard, the father of the Emperor Berengarius: the rich vessels of the chapel are distributed among his sons. Among other things, Unroch, the eldest, has "Pecten auro paratum unum." Everard dates his will in 837. The next entry to the comb is "Flavellum (Flabellum) argenteum unum." A jewelled comb, said to be that of St. Loup, is preserved in the *trésor* of the Cathedral of Sens. M. Didron, "*Manuel d'Iconographie chrétienne*," p. 72, mentions a silver fan, with raised figures and ornaments, which he saw in use in the convent of Megaspikæon in Achaia.

The fan of Theodelinda is formed of the beautiful purple vellum which we admire in contemporary manuscripts; it is decorated with gold and silver ornaments, and round the upper edge we find the following inscriptions, for the deciphering of which I am indebted to my friend, Il Rev. Signore Cæsare Aguilhou, professor at Monza, assisted by the Canon, Signore Robbiati, of the Ambrosian Library at Milan. From their examination it results that each side had originally contained four hexameter lines. The inscription on one side may be read thus:—

" Ut sis conspectu præclara et cara venusta,
 Hac rogo defendens solem requiesce sub umbra,
 Has soror obtutu depictas arte figuras
 Prælegeris flavido ut decoreris casta colore."

And on the other, now much obliterated—

“ Pulchrior et facie dulcis videaris amica
 . . . fervores solis
 Me retinere manu Ulfeda (?) poscente memento
 . . . splendoris.”

I must at the same time observe that the name Ulfeda is by no means the most legible part of the inscription. I have been able to discover no one of that name, who lived at the period; the nearest approach is the name of Ulfaris



Two divisions of the purple vellum, forming the fan of Theodelinda, showing the ornaments of gold and silver alternately. Scale, two-thirds original size.

Duke of Treviso, who rebelling against Agilulf at the beginning of his reign, was taken and imprisoned.

Again, the word *soror* might imply that the donor was Gundoald, who fled with his sister into Lombardy, and afterwards becoming Duke of Turin, was shot by an arrow at the end of the reign of Agilulf, at the instigation, it is said, of Agilulf and Theodelinda, because he was becoming too popular. The donor might even be St. Gregory. However

that may be, if we compare the form of the letters, which are Roman with some slight Rustic variations, with the forms of those in the first few leaves of St. Augustine's Psalter, Cotton MS., Vesp. A. 1., which Mr. Westwood considers may have been brought by St. Augustine from Italy, in 596, we find quite a sufficient similarity to warrant our believing the inscriptions on the fan to be of the same date.

Again, the colour of the purple dye perfectly corresponds with another of St. Augustine's books, Royal MS. E.1., which Mr. Westwood also considers to be of his age; it is true the writing and ornaments may have been executed in this country, but from the rarity of the purple leaves these may probably have been imported from Rome.

Theophilus does not mention purple or rose-coloured vellum;⁴ but he gives us, Lib. iii, cap. 93, a receipt for reddening ivory, by means of a decoction of madder and vinegar. I have tried the receipt with vellum, and have succeeded very fairly. The method of writing in gold contained in cap. 96, is copied from Eraclius, well-known to be an earlier writer than Theophilus. See also Lib. i., cap. 30, where the process is given at greater length.

The Case of the Fan presents by no means such clear marks of authenticity; but it agrees perfectly in shape with that formerly in the Abbey of Tournus, and figured by Du Sommerard in his atlas and album.⁵ Upon the whole, I am inclined to believe that the wooden part is modern, made according to the old shape, such parts of the old silver covering as remained, being used again. The outside flap was anciently fastened to the fan itself, which was placed in the box in a reversed position; the bottom of the fan formed the top of the case when shut, and was strengthened by a small piece of leather to which it was sewn. When occasion occurred to open the fan, the outside flap was raised and turned round until it met the opposite side; the whole fan then presented the appearance of a circle.

I must refer to the paper by Mr. Way, published in the fifth volume of this Journal, for information concerning the use of the Flabellum, merely adding that in a Greek Psalter among the Additional MSS. in the British Museum,⁶

⁴ MS. Titus, C. XV. is an example of the rose-colour stain, although now nearly faded. Afterwards, we find MSS. with

the leaves painted instead of stained.

⁵ Atlas, P. IV. Album IX. serie, P. XVII.

⁶ Additional MS. Brit. Mus. 19,352.

is a representation of an angel fanning David, who is asleep, with a flabellum similar to that attributed to Queen Theodelinda, the only difference being that the handle is much longer.

Such are the various objects with which Theodelinda enriched the church at Monza. The next benefactor was Berengarius, who presented the whole of the furniture of his private chapel. Space will not allow me to enter into the details of his gifts; suffice it to say, that the rich pectoral cross, called in the inventories "*crux regni*," enriched with reliques and gems, as well as the diptychs, published by the Arundel Society, remain to the present day to testify to his liberality.

The cross forms together with the iron crown the two principal insignia in the coronations of the Kings of Italy. A purple amethyst engraved with a figure of Diana is attached to it by a chain, the mounting of the gem belonging probably to the XVIIth. century. Few objects of antiquity have such vouchers as the diptychs, they are first mentioned in the will of S. Everard, published by Miræus. Berengarius received as many as six books, bound in ivory, besides a psalter written in gold. At the end of the Sacramentarium, written in a hand which Frisi considers coeval with Berengarius, are two inventories, thus headed: "*Capitulatio ecclesiasticæ rei de capella serenissimi regis Berengarii quando Adelberto subdiacono commendavit: Ego Adelbertus cum distinctione numeri expono.*" And, "*De capella Domini Berengarii regis quando ego Adelbertus magistro meo Egilolfo presentavi.*" In the first of these inventories we find the following: "*Tabulas Eburneas II. in unam conjunctas.*" And in the second:

"*Tabulæ II. inscriptæ de*"

"*Et alteræ II. eburneæ inscriptæ de evangelio*"

"*Et alteræ ligneæ inscriptæ de libro sacramentorum.*"

One of the diptychs at present contains a gradual of St. Gregory, in gold and silver letters on purple vellum; the ivory leaves are supposed to have had the figures of the consuls altered into King David and St. Gregory. Frisi thinks the writing to be of the latter half of the IXth century. I took no note of it, and can therefore offer no opinion.

Another of the diptychs has a warrior on one side, and a

lady and boy on the other. These have been respectively connected with the Regent Galla Placidia, her son Valentinian III., and Theodosius the younger. Mr. Oldfield has suggested Valentinian II. and his mother Justina.

The last diptych has on one side a seated figure of a philosopher or poet, and on the other a Muse with a lyre. Claudian, Ausonius, and Boethius have been by some identified with the seated figure ; but on no sufficient grounds. We may sum up the whole controversy when we say, that nothing at all certain is known concerning the identification of two out of the three diptychs ; and it is still doubtful whether the remaining one is a palimpsest, or a copy of an earlier production. The reader will find a full description, as well as a résumé of the different opinions, in the Essay by M. Pulszky, prefixed to the catalogue of the "Fejérváry Ivories." Casts of all three have also been published by the Arundel Society.

The Sacramentarium given by Berengarius to the church, and preserved in the treasury, is remarkable as containing a prayer for the king and queen, the inventories above referred to, prayers on the occasions of the ordeal by means of bread and cheese and by boiling water ; and, lastly, for its binding, composed of perforated ivory with a plate of gold underneath, affording another illustration of the *Schedula* of Theophilus, who describes the process, although applied to a different article, in lib. iii. cap. 92.

The treasury also contains two mitres, in shape not unlike that in the museum at Beauvais, published in vol. xiii. of this Journal ; the material is a tissue of gold and red silk, the pattern being very small, and somewhat difficult to make out, as the mitres are kept in a glazed frame, which, however, has not been successful in preventing the entry of dust : both of them preserve their *infulæ* or labels.

There are, besides, two statuettes of silver, representing St. John the Baptist. One of them, probably of the XVIth. century ; the other is much earlier, perhaps of the XIIIth. or XIVth. The figure, which is very spirited, stands on an enamelled pedestal, ornamented with *champlevé* enamels ; these, if I remember rightly, have only once been through the fire, in this respect resembling the Oriental specimens. Tradition asserts that this figure was received from the Venetians in commutation of some yearly payment.

The last thing I shall notice, as remaining in the treasury, is a most superb chalice, rivalling in richness that preserved in the sacristy at Mayence; it is covered with figures and architectural ornaments, and was the donation of Giovanni Visconti in 1345.

The high altar of the Cathedral at Monza is remarkable as possessing one of the very few remaining precious frontals. It consists of a number of square compartments in silver-gilt repoussé, representing scenes from the life of St. John the Baptist; in the middle is a vesica piscis, containing the Baptism of our Lord by St. John; at the four cardinal points of this vesica are the evangelistic symbols, with angels, and four of the prophets. The compartments are separated by means of a narrow border composed of translucent enamels and gems, alternately. The enamels are very well executed. The gems are believed to have been taken from several of the jewelled vestments, corporals, &c., of the treasury. But the execution of the repoussé groups is most rude and inartistic; they have exactly the same barbarous appearance as the illuminations in the "Catalogus Benefactorum" of St. Albans, Brit. Mus., Nero D. VII.⁷ The following inscription in silver letters, relieved by blue champlevé enamel, is to be found at the bottom of all, close to the ground. The words in the original are arranged in twenty-four small rectangular compartments, each containing about three words, in two lines. The inscription is here given as it would read, written continuously. A few contractions, such as are of ordinary occurrence, are printed *in extenso*.—"M.CCCL. HOC OPUS FUIT INCEPTUM ET FINITUM EST M.CCCLVII. ET IN PRESENTI ALTARI COLLOCATUM EXTITIT DIE XXVIII. MENSIS AUGUSTI DICTI ANNI SCILICET IN FESTO DECOLLATIONIS BAPTISTE

⁷ The following are some of the principal precious frontals and dossels which have escaped the crucible:—

S. Ambrogio, Milan.—The whole of the four sides of the altar are cased with goldsmith's work and cloisonné enamels. The little folding-doors on the east side, are covered inside with most curious fragments of an Eastern textile fabric, representing warriors on horseback attacking wild beasts.

S. Mark's, Venice.—possesses an altar frontal of a decidedly Gothic design, perhaps of the XIIIth century; also the celebrated Pala d'oro, rich in cloisonné enamels and Byzantine workmanship; it

is divided into two distinct pieces, now united; they have done duty anciently, I think, as superaltar and dossel.

Pistoia.—has an altar front with translucent enamels; also a dossel disfigured by additions.

Florence.—preserves in the Guardaroba of the Cathedral the enamelled dossel of the altar of the Baptism.

Bale.—anciently possessed the dossel or frontal (it is rather difficult to decide which) now in the Musée de Cluny at Paris.

In the work of Du Sommerard will be found a representation of the dossel at Sens, melted down in the reign of Louis XV. to defray the expenses of the war.

JOHANNIS PER DISCRETUM VIRUM MAGISTRUM BORGINUM DE PUTEO CIVITATIS M̄LI (Mediolani ?) AURIFICEM PROPRIA MANU SUA, CUJUS ANIMA IN BEATITUDINE REQUIESCAT. DICATUR VERO (?) PRO EJUS REMEDIO AVE MARIA TPR (tempore ?) VICARIATUS VEN VIRI DOMINI GRATIANI DE ARONA (?) CANONICI ET VICARII HUIJUS ECCLESIE DE MONOA (Monoetia ?) ET ALIORUM CANONICORUM SUORUM TUNC IN DICTA ECCLESIA RESIDENTIUM.”

Such was the treasury of Monza. It continued for many years the pride of the city, but at length troubles came fast and heavily upon Lombardy, and during the XIIIth and XIVth centuries we continually find the more valuable of these jewels pawned—at one time by the Milanese, to defend themselves against Frederick Barbarossa ; at another by the Torriani and Visconti ; at last, they were hidden by the Chapter, but discovered by the papal legate, and carried off to Avignon. There a thief stole them, and broke up several of the vases, &c. Recovered by the intercession of St. John Baptist, and the caution of a Florentine goldsmith, they were placed in a strong chest, and affixed to the vault of the Cathedral at Avignon, so that they should be in the sight of all. They did not return to Monza until 1345, when Giovanni Visconti offered the beautiful chalice noticed above. In the following year they were repaired by Antelotto Bracchioforte, and remained there until 1796, when two-thirds of the gold and half the silver were sent to Milan, and shortly after all the rest were taken to Paris, where the crown of Agilulf was stolen and melted in 1804. In 1816, all, with that exception, was restored.

Frisi has published no less than three inventories of the treasury at Monza, taken respectively in the years 1275, 1345, and 1353 ; of these that of 1275 is by far the fullest and most interesting, two of the items are particularly deserving of notice :—

“ Item piscis (*piscis*) una de auro cum pede argenteo in qua portatur corpus X'ti.”

“ Item Gausape contextum ab utroque capite de perlis in magna quantitudine cum campanellis deauratis quinquagiuta tres, et deficiunt decem, et de illis sunt novem in saculo uno.”

There was also a pallium, adorned with 223 tintinnabula. With regard to the tintinnabula and campanellæ, I may remark that I have been shown a cope by the Sacristan of

the Cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle, the lower part of which had a number of small bells, of a sugarloaf shape, attached all round it.

Queen Theodelinda is said to have been anciently buried in the Capella del Santo Rosario, within a sarcophagus which is now deposited at the side of the greater sacristy. The chapel was painted in 1444 by Troso Monzese, with scenes from the life of Theodelinda. It has been conjectured, although without any sufficient grounds, that these were copies of the paintings in the old Lombard palace, mentioned by Paulus Diaconus. At present they have become exceedingly dirty and dark, so much so indeed, as to be scarcely intelligible. However, the Library of the Cathedral possesses a series of sketches made from them, in pen and ink, by Il Signore Gio. Battista Fossati, in the year 1722, and it is to his namesake, Il Signore Giuseppe Antonio Fossati, the present courteous *custode* of the treasury, that I must offer here in conclusion, not only my own best thanks, but also those of the Archaeological Institute, for his kindness in giving every possible facility in making the drawings of the comb, fan, the hen and chickens, and the remarkable inscribed *Flabellum*, the reliques of the royal foundress of the Basilica of Monza, to which I have desired to invite the attention of archaeologists.

W. BURGES.

ON THE OSSIANIC CONTROVERSY.

BY THE HON. LORD NEAVES.

READ AT THE MEETING OF THE HISTORICAL SECTION, MEETING OF THE
INSTITUTE IN EDINBURGH, JULY 24, 1856.

I HAVE been requested to prepare a memoir on the Ossianic question, and I have agreed to do so, though with considerable diffidence, as I feel that I possess few qualifications for the task, except a desire to treat it impartially. I cannot boast of any knowledge of the Celtic languages; but possibly some may think that a knowledge of Celtic, and an absence of partiality, are incompatible things.

The principal considerations to which I propose to call attention arise out of a Highland MS., which, although known for many years, has only lately been examined in a satisfactory manner. In order to understand the bearings of this evidence, it will be necessary to resume, in a general way, the history and nature of the controversy. Some of my hearers will remember when it raged in full fury, while to the younger part of them it will sound like some of the songs to which it relates, telling

“Of old unhappy far off things,
And battles long ago.”

In 1760 James Macpherson published his “Fragments of Ancient Poetry collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Gaelic or Erse Language,” a work of small bulk, consisting only of seventy pages of diminutive quarto, but destined to exert a powerful and permanent influence upon British and European literature. The nature of this announcement implied that the contents of the book were not to be found in any perfect state in an original form. They were merely “fragments collected in the Highlands;” but the poems of Fingal and Temora, which soon followed, were given as proper epics, and other compositions were added to the collection of very suspicious regularity.

The pretensions put forward on behalf of these poems were

of the most ambitious kind. They were represented as the genuine compositions of a poet living in the third century of the Christian era, and narrating personal or contemporary events. The poet was Ossian, the son of Fin or Fingal, and father of Oscar, and these heroes were depicted as natives or inhabitants of Scotland, where they reigned or ruled as prosperous princes, waging war with the Romans and with other nations in their neighbourhood.

It must be confessed that, at least to superficial readers, the compositions presented a plausible and consistent picture of the scenes and persons introduced, though these were not in all respects in accordance with received history. It was not the universal opinion previously that Scotland in the third century was peopled by inhabitants of Gaelic blood; nor could it be affirmed that Fin, or Fingal, and his friends, so far as hitherto known, had been uniformly reputed to be Scotchmen. These points, however, if Macpherson's Ossian was genuine, were thereby set at rest, and the Highlands of Scotland, at that early period, were shown to be the seat of arts as well as of arms, and to be adorned by the diversified accomplishments of exalted heroes and brilliant poets, whose deeds and songs were worthy of each other, and the records of whose valour and genius had been transmitted for a space of 1500 years, without their merits having transpired beyond the districts where they were found.

It was Macpherson's statement that the originals of his "Fragments" were obtained partly from MSS. and partly from oral recitation. But it is certain that in his lifetime no ancient MS. of any part of the poems was exhibited or seen. What he collected from recitation could only be known to himself, and can now only be conjectured by ascertaining what has been found by trustworthy persons travelling over the same ground.

The diversity of opinions which arose upon the publication of Macpherson's Ossian is too well known to require notice, and it would be tedious to go over its details. Dr. Hugh Blair, a popular Scotch preacher, but a credulous critic, wrote a dissertation which, in the opinion of his friends, demonstrated "with the acuteness of Aristotle and the elegance of Longinus," that Macpherson's Ossian was as genuine as Homer and as full of genius. Dr. Samuel Johnson, who was readily deceived by Lauder's forgeries

against Milton, but who would not have believed anything good of Scotland though one had risen from the dead, denounced the publication of Macpherson as an impudent imposture. The controversy, as was natural, extended speedily to Ireland, where the same feelings of nationality which on this side of the channel had raised up defenders of the authenticity of the poems, were roused and arrayed in the strongest manner in opposition to them. Irish antiquaries maintained that Fin and Ossian and Oscar were historically known, and had always been traditionally treated as natives of Ireland, and they regarded the attempt to settle them in Scotland as downright robbery or man-stealing. Another foe of Macpherson's, of no ordinary abilities, arose in the historian Malcolm Laing, who, in "Lord Cockburn's Memorials," is ludicrously and rather unfortunately described as having "a hard peremptory Celtic manner and accent." Mr. Laing was an Orkney proprietor, with strong antipathies to everything Celtic, and as a Norseman he had a natural jealousy of the attempt to represent the Celts as rivalling or excelling the ancient poets of Scandinavia.

In the course of the discussion many volunteer communications of Highland poetry were furnished, some of them not more free from question than Macpherson's own; while assertions were made, and affidavits sworn, more remarkable for their energy and confidence than for their accuracy and precision. The Highland Society of Scotland then took up the inquiry. But their Report, in 1805, did not throw much light on the matter, and was about as unsatisfactory as Reports in general are found to be. Neither was the question settled by the posthumous publication of the Gaelic Ossian from Macpherson's repositories, no ancient MS. having yet been forthcoming, and his opponents alleging confidently that Macpherson's Gaelic was translated from the English wherever it was not stolen or borrowed from Irish poems.

After much waste of ink, anger, and acrimony, the agitation gradually subsided. The out-and-out defenders of Macpherson's Ossian became few in number, and, strange to say, were more easily found among the critics of the Continent than among those at home. The claims of the Irish, which were ably put forward, were not satisfactorily answered, and, by a general feeling everywhere, bystanders

came to adopt a sort of compromise between the extreme views of the original disputants.

I propose now to state what appears to me to be the result of a fair review of the evidence brought down to the present time, and, in so doing, I am led more particularly to notice the MS. to which I adverted in the outset of this memoir.

In the course of the investigations which took place under the auspices of the Highland Society, reference was made to several Gaelic MSS. as existing in the Highlands or in the possession of parties connected with Scotland. It is very probable, if not quite certain, that such MSS. existed, though it is difficult to place implicit confidence in the loose accounts given of their contents. But the most important MS. actually seen by impartial persons, is that to which I have already alluded, and which is referred to in the Report of the Highland Society. It was got by them from Mr. John Mackenzie, Secretary to the Highland Society of London, and one of Mr. Macpherson's executors. It is a collection of poems which appears to have belonged to James M'Gregor, Dean of Lismore: an account of it is given by Dr. Donald Smith in the Appendix to the Highland Society's Report. I cannot help saying, however, that that account is extremely imperfect, and does not appear to have been very ingenuous, as it keeps out of view several matters that would not have advanced the opinions which Dr. Smith entertained on the question in dispute. The MS. is now the property of the Faculty of Advocates, and has been carefully examined by a gentleman of high attainments as a Celtic scholar—the Rev. Thomas M'Lauchlan, of the Free Gaelic Church in Edinburgh—and who, I am certain, has given the result of his examination with a strict regard to truth and fairness; but I ought to add that Mr. M'Lauchlan is not responsible for any of the conclusions which I have deduced from the MS. in this paper. The MS. has also been carefully inspected by Mr. David Laing.

I shall now notice some of the points brought out by the examination and analysis of this MS. Its date may be assigned to the first half of the XVIth century—not, certainly an ancient date, but a date old enough to have an important bearing on the question at issue. The Gaelic is not written according to the rules of etymological spelling,

but according to what appears to have been the vulgar or prevailing pronunciation of the day. Whether this circumstance is the result of ignorance, as the Irish antiquaries allege, or proceeds, as Mr. M'Lauchlan thinks, from a systematic plan of adopting a proper phonetic orthography, I am unable to determine; nor is it of much consequence to the question. The MS. contains a miscellaneous collection of Gaelic poems, some of them undoubtedly Irish, and some of them undoubtedly Scotch. The poems of Irish and Scotch origin, to which I now refer, are independent altogether of those Ossianic poems which it also contains, and which form the debateable land between the two countries. The poems of unequivocal nationality are ascribed in the MS. to well-known bards or composers of both nations, such as O'Daly in Ireland and M'Vurrich in Scotland, and relate respectively to Irish and Scottish themes.

Of the Ossianic poems, the poems ascribed to Ossian, or in his style, it is important to notice that there are several in which Ossian is personally introduced, but in a manner quite at variance with the Scottish theory, or the version of Macpherson.

"In the fragments contained in this MS.," Mr. M'Lauchlan observes in his remarks upon it, furnished to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, "we have unquestionably the names which appear in Macpherson's publication — Fingal, Gaul the son of Morni, Oscar the son of Ossian, Garve the son of Starno, the Danes, Cuchullin, &c. Without doubt, if Macpherson's Ossian be an imposture, he has made use of persons and names familiar for centuries to every native Highlander. The only peculiarity in the case of the fragments in the MS. under consideration is the frequent introduction of St. Patrick. There are numerous dialogues between the Saint and Ossian, and many of the poems are addressed by the latter to the former. This may be the consequence of later monkish interpolations, Ossian being represented as a convert of St. Patrick's. The Christianity of the poet, however, is of a somewhat questionable order. If these passages belong to the original composition, *they would fix the era of Ossian as being that of St. Patrick, and would also indicate that his country was not Scotland, but Ireland.*"

This is the candid testimony of a modern Celtic scholar of Scotland, forming, I think, a singular and very favourable contrast to the course pursued by some of his predecessors. Mr. M'Lauchlan observes—"We do not find the name of St. Patrick in any part of Macpherson's Ossian." That is quite true, and quite intelligible in connection with Macpherson's views and objects. But what shall we say of the candour or care of the Highland Society of 1805? or rather of Dr. Donald Smith, their adviser and interpreter? Dr. Smith in the Appendix to the Society's Report, describes the MS. we are now considering as "the most valuable of the ancient MSS. procured by the Society." It was to be expected, therefore, that the evidence of this most valuable MS. on such an occasion would be brought forward fairly and fully, whether for or against the particular side which the doctor espoused. But, except what may be concealed under a general reference to a resemblance with another collection, that of Kennedy, which had been taken from recitation, I have been unable to find anything in Dr. Smith's account of it, that could explicitly indicate, nor is it possible that anybody could from that source discover, what is now certain, that the Ossianic poems, as they stand in this MS., show that they were composed at least after the time of St. Patrick, and that according to them Fingal and his friends were Irish and not Scotch.

I shall read as a specimen of these poems in the MS. the following extract given by Mr. M'Lauchlan:—

"Ossian the son of Fingal said—

Tell me, Patriek, the honour which belongs to us,
 Do the Fingalians of Ireland enjoy the happy heaven?
 I tell thee assuredly, Ossian of bold deeds,
 That neither thy father, nor Gaul, nor Osear, are in heaven.
 Sad is thy tale to me, O Priest,
 I worshipping God, and that the Fingalians of Ireland should be
 excluded from heaven.
 Is it not well for thee to be blessed thyself,
 Although Caoilt, and Osear, and thy father should not share thy
 blessedness?
 I care little for any blessedness above
 Unless shared with Caoilt, and Osear, and my father!
 Better for thee to see the countenance of the Son of Heaven
 Than that thou shouldst possess all the gold in the world."

There can be no doubt that some such lines as those we

have now quoted were traditionally current in the Highlands. The Prayers of Ossian, orally collected by Mr. Hill and others, are of a similar character. But here the lines are found in a MS.—the “most valuable” MS. which the Highland Society possessed—the only Scotch MS. that had any bearing on the question. The poem or dialogue between Ossian and St. Patrick here given from the Scotch MS., or some similar one, has long been well-known in Ireland. A translation, nearly corresponding with it, was given in Lady Morgan’s “Wild Irish Girl” in 1806; and a similar poem is to be found in a volume lately published by the Ossianic Society of Dublin. Miss Brooke’s collection also contains similar colloquies, and the subject seems to have been a favourite one. Such conversations, indeed, between Christian missionaries and converts from Paganism are of common occurrence in early chronicles. A well-known example is to be found in the story of Radbod King of Friesland, who presented himself to Bishop Wulfram for baptism, but desired an answer to one question, whether on arriving at Heaven he should find his forefathers there. Being assured that their locality lay in the opposite direction, he withdrew from the font, declaring that he preferred being in hell with those illustrious men to being in heaven with a few miserable Christians and their clergy.

Mr. M’Lauchlan also points out that several of the Ossianic poems in the Dean of Lismore’s MS. relate to events considered historical, and of which the scene occurs in Ireland. It is a singular, but, I believe, undoubted fact, that poems on the Battle of Gabhra, which must be considered as of Irish origin, have been current in the Highlands until a very late period. They have probably been handed down partly by oral tradition, but possibly also by occasional recurrence to written copies.

In the MS. now noticed, Mr. M’Lauchlan points out several historical incidents which agree with those in Macpherson’s Ossian. “We have the death of Oscar in p. 230 of the MS., and in the first book of Macpherson’s ‘Temora.’ We have the story of Faincasolis, the Maid of Craca of Macpherson’s ‘Fingal,’ in p. 220 of the MS., and several other similar instances.” But the most remarkable instance of agreement between Macpherson and the MS. is found in the well-known story of Cuchullin and his son

Conlaoch, which is known in the Highlands, and is to be found in Irish MSS., and which Macpherson has paraphrased under his poem of "Carthon." It is singular, however, that many of the passages, which must have been taken from poems like those in the MS., are in Macpherson's Gaelic left blank, so as not to admit of accurate comparison.

It would be an interesting task to examine minutely Macpherson's work, and to compare it with the present MS., and with well-known Irish poems, and ascertain how much can be traced to those sources. My impression is, that a considerable portion of Macpherson's book would be accounted for in this manner, though possibly not in long continuous passages.

The earliest poems of the Irish themselves indicate a close intercourse and alliance with some of the inhabitants of Scotland; and the Finian heroes, in so far as their existence and character can be considered historical—as to which I give no opinion—seem not to have been confined to Ireland, but to have been diffused over Scotland, and even Scandinavia and its dependencies. How far Fin and the Finians are to be held as merely mythical, is a question which I am unable to discuss. There is probably much to be done before these subjects can be fully matured. There seems also room for considerable inquiry into the effect of Christianity on the poetry of the Gaelic tribes, and how far any remains of Pagan composition are imbedded in their poems as they now stand. In some cases the operation of Christianity has been to destroy, in others to preserve, the Pagan poetry. Charlemagne delighted to collect the ancient songs of his race. Lewis, his successor, seems to have tried to extirpate them. The Pagan poetry of the Anglo-Saxons has been very partially preserved, and was in a great degree superseded by Christian compositions, while the Icelandic Edda was the compilation of a Christian priest eager to collect the traditions of the heathen times before they should wholly disappear. It might deserve attention how far the oldest dialogues between Ossian and St. Patrick, or any similar poems, show indications of different strata of thought or language. But this is a task fit only for the most delicate and judicious exercise of high philological skill.

I may here observe, that because poems exist in which Ossian and St. Patrick are introduced as conversing together,

it does not, therefore, follow that Ossian and St. Patrick were contemporaries, or that the songs were written in St. Patrick's age. All that is proved is that, in their present shape, they were not written before that date, but they may, and probably were, written several centuries afterwards, and the apparent anachronism may be the result either of error or of legendary belief.

Neither must it be supposed that if I comment on the want of evidence in support of the claims of the Highland traditions to a high antiquity, I am prepared to acknowledge the pretensions of the Irish in all respects. I think a great deal of absurdity has been spoken on the subject on both sides of the Channel, such as might lead us to suspect that both countries were partially peopled from a portion of the south-west of France, rather celebrated for its exaggerations. The Irish have very good claims to antiquity, but by adding fable to fact they have, I think, endangered their true position in the estimation of sober-minded men. But the time for critical inquiry is come, and it ought now to be the object of all to distinguish certainty from conjecture, and probable inference from wild imagination.

It is extremely difficult, and perhaps impossible, to tell from what quarter the Gaelic population of these islands first came, or on what shore they first settled. I believe that most of the traditions that assign fixed dates to ancient immigration are inaccurate. The invasion of Hengist and Horsa is probably a myth. There appear to have been for many centuries a series of arrivals of Teutons on the east of England as well as of Scotland; and in like manner the west coast of Scotland and the east coast of Ireland may have been peopled by the same inhabitants at an indefinite period before those events of which we have positive historical evidence.

Reviewing now the whole subject, I think that the following propositions may be considered to contain correct results in reference to the subject of this controversy. 1st, The Celtic language of Ireland and that of the Scottish Highlands is one and the same, and there is the strongest probability that, with various degrees of Scandinavian, Teutonic, or other foreign admixture, the two races are identical. 2nd, Whatever may have been the early state of the Scottish Highlands, it is certain that, at least from the

introduction of Christianity, Ireland possessed a high degree of learning and civilisation. 3rd, The Irish language from the same early period was carefully cultivated, and continued to be preserved in purity ; and elaborate forms of poetry or versification were invented and extensively practised by Irish writers. 4th, Mythical persons and legends, as well as historical characters and events, became from time to time the subjects of Irish poems, which were widely diffused and preserved, partly by tradition and partly also in a written form. 5th, While it is probable that from the earliest time much intercommunication passed between the adjoining coasts of the two countries, it is certain that at later periods within the range of history, migrations took place from Ireland to Scotland, by which the learning and enlightenment of the sister island were conveyed to the Scottish shores, and in progress of time the poetry also of Ireland became current in Scotland, and was diffused in the Scottish Highlands by recitation, but latterly also was preserved in manuscript, as in the case of the Lismore MS. already noticed. 6th, At an early period, within the records of history, whether from native character or from Irish instruction, the resident ecclesiastics of Scotland attained to eminence in learning and piety, and in all probability a considerable degree both of genius and of taste pervaded the Scottish Celts, though the evidence of any Scottish compositions of an ancient date is extremely defective, nor does any body of ancient Celtic manuscripts exist in Scotland, while those which have been preserved in Ireland are numerous, and reach at least to the XIIth century. 7th, The poems published by Macpherson as the compositions of Ossian, whether in their English or their Gaelic form, are not genuine compositions as they stand, and are not entitled to any weight or authority in themselves, being partly fictitious, but partly at the same time and to a considerable extent, copies or adaptations of Ossianic poetry current in the Highlands, and which also for the most part is well known in Ireland, and is preserved there in ancient manuscripts. 8th, Upon fairly weighing the evidence, I feel bound to express my opinion that the Ossianic poems, so far as original, ought to be considered generally as Irish compositions relating to Irish personages, real or imaginary, and to Irish events, historical or legendary ; but they indicate, also, a free communication between the two

countries, and may be legitimately regarded by the Scottish Celts as a literature in which they have a direct interest, written in their ancient tongue, recording traditions common to the Gaelic tribes, and having been long preserved and diffused in the Scottish Highlands, while if the date, or first commencement of any of these compositions, is of great antiquity, they belong as much to the ancestors of the Scottish as of the Irish Celts. 9th, There is still room for inquiry whether in the Scottish manuscript already adverted to, or in other trustworthy sources, poetry of an Ossianic character cannot be pointed out which may be peculiar to Scotland, and of which no trace may be found either in Irish manuscripts or Irish tradition. Even in the later history of the Highlands there has been no want of poetical genius, and it would be wonderful if at former and happier periods the flame did not burn with yet a brighter lustre.

I shall conclude these imperfect remarks by two special considerations, that seem to me to deserve attention.—1. I think that, with all his errors, we owe to James Macpherson a large debt of national and literary gratitude. It is difficult now to estimate precisely the degree of blame imputable to his conduct. Literary forgery and literary embellishment was then so frequent as to be almost fashionable. A faithful editor was scarcely to be found. While Chatterton fabricated literary antiquities wholesale, Percy also brushed up his ballads that he might suit them to the public taste; and even the excellent Lord Hailes was found clipping the coin which he should have uttered in its original integrity. Celtic antiquities were little understood, and antiquarian or historical criticism was only in its infancy. Macpherson obviously admired the compositions which he actually met with in the Highlands: he saw their capabilities, and he put them forward in a captivating dress. If he varied, garbled, or interpolated them, so as to exalt the country in which he found them, and to which he himself belonged, some indulgence is due to a feeling of patriotism and a desire to raise the Scottish Highlands from the depressed condition to which they had been then reduced. Perhaps he believed that Ossian was a Scottish hero and bard, that the Irish people were a mere Scottish colony, and that anything to the contrary was a modern corruption; and if his subsequent conduct was more seriously culpable,

it may be traced as much to pride and pertinacity as to want of principle. Certain it is that Macpherson was the first who saw and showed us the merits of Gaelic poetry. Assuming these poems, so far as genuine, to be Irish compositions, they had been neglected by the Irish, and allowed to remain unpublished and unknown, until Macpherson brought them to light from Scottish sources. Then, no doubt, a variety of Irish writers came forward and asserted their claims. Miss Brooke, Walker, Hardiman, Drummond, O'Reilly, and other more recent writers, have done justice to their subject and to the genius of Ireland : but it should not be forgotten that it was the Scottish Ossian that drew them forth ; and, indeed, the Irish of the present day are not slow to acknowledge the superior zeal with which the Albanian Celts have brought out and disseminated the compositions of the common language.

2. I take the occasion of connecting with this subject an earnest exhortation, which I address to myself as well as to others, to give a prominent place to the Celtic languages in the study of philology. Of all countries in the world, Britain is the one which is under the strongest call and obligation to extend philological science. Our possessions are to be found in all of the four quarters of the globe, and in that fifth division of it, which is presented by the Southern seas. Our commerce is still more extended than our colonies, and the noble character of our missionary enterprises rivals or even excels the far-famed Propaganda of Rome herself. "The Bible of every land" shows what Britain has already done in this field, and gives good promise of what she may yet do. Nor are we deficient practically in philological talent. We have produced some of the greatest scholars that ever distinguished themselves in classical learning. We are now successfully studying what we too long neglected, the science of our own vernacular tongue, of which the composite elements connect us with half the languages in Europe. Next to the classical languages, the most important and the most marvellous among the monuments of human speech, the sacred language of India, had its ancient seat and still preserves its memory and its remains within dominions which are now the property of an English mercantile company. Why, then, should we neglect those other venerable languages, the two divisions of Celtic speech which are still to be found living among us, and which have such strong and natural

claims upon our attention? They are not barbarous or illiterate forms of utterance: yet, strange to say, the Irish and the Welsh have hitherto been almost entirely neglected by English philologers. The study of them has been left exclusively to Welsh and to Irish scholars, or to Scottish Highlanders possessing often little acquaintance with general philology, a state of things which could hardly be satisfactory. It is certain that no man ever understands his own language who does not also understand others. It is only by comparison that scientific principle is evolved. The mere Celtic student will never know the principles or analogies of his own tongue, which have been derived and drawn from distant and hidden sources. Better times, however, are before us. Some of our Celtic scholars of the present day are deeply versed in the whole range of the science, while philologers who are not Celts are lending their useful aid. Accordingly, the Celtic languages have found their proper place as branches of the great stock, which has spread its shoots in such wonderful variety, and yet with such remarkable features of resemblance, over the whole range of Asia and Europe, from Himalaya to Hecla. The Celtic languages, there can be no doubt, will richly repay the attention of the most fastidious linguist, and will give and receive important illustrations when studied in connection with the other members of that mighty family. It may be one of the best uses of meetings like those annually held by the Archaeological Institute, to break down the partitions that shut up men within the limited bounds of special pursuits, and to encourage them to cultivate in this, as in other departments, a more comprehensive and catholic field of inquiry.

ON THE ANALOGY BETWEEN THE ARCHITECTURE OF FRANCE
AND THAT OF SCOTLAND.¹

BY JOHN HILL BURTON.

I FEEL it necessary to offer a word in explanation of the character and tendency of the casual notices which I have the honour to lay before the Institute. They do not profess to accomplish the rigid investigation and exhaustive analysis of results, necessary for making an addition, however small, to the materials of archaeological science. They are mere suggestions, the force of which the knowledge of the members of the Institute will enable them to estimate for themselves. I shall be content if what I am able to say may suggest to archaeological inquirers some new instances in which conquests, migrations, and revolutions may be traced or illustrated through the features of the architectural deposits which have survived them.

No Englishman can take a general survey of the baronial residences he meets in Scotland, without being forcibly struck by some national peculiarities which broadly distinguish them from the corresponding class of buildings in England. The peculiarities are varied, but their predominating characteristic is the spiral or rocket-shaped turret. I shall not say that this is a feature of which English architecture is totally divested. The luxuriant beauties of the English mansions are the spoils of every school, and where the Scots took their examples, English architects would study. The turret is a prolific architectural device, susceptible of infinite variety. The Gothic turret or pinnacle is common both in ecclesiastical and baronial edifices, but it is distinguished from our turrets by its angularity and its crocketed decorations. Some buildings in England show a nearer approach to the Scottish turret. For instance, at Knebworth, in Hertfordshire, the ancestral mansion of Sir Bulwer Lytton's family, there are narrow polygonal towers terminating in circular spiral roofs with that ogee curve which sometimes, but not frequently, is seen on the Scottish turret.

¹ Communicated to the Architectural Section, at the Meeting of the Institute in Edinburgh, July 25, 1856.

At Wollaton House, in Nottinghamshire, the angular buttresses swell into circular abutments with curved spiral roofs, which give them a strong general resemblance to some of the turrets in Scotland—for instance, to those of Pinkie. Perhaps there may be examples, either old or modern, in which there is a still closer incidental similarity to Scottish peculiarities. But it may safely be said that there does not exist on the English side of the Border even one of those Oriental-looking clustered masses, of tall chimneys, narrow crow-stepped gables, and numerous conical turrets, which are found strewn over Scotland from the Border to Inverness. While he notices these characteristics of the baronial residences of a comparatively late age—many of them still habitable—the stranger will find that the deserted and ruinous castle of the preceding period is often a simple, rude, square block, which will remind him of the Norman keep or donjon. On inquiry, however, he will find that the two are separated from each other by centuries, and by radical differences both in the external conditions in which they arose, and the internal character of their architecture. To account in some measure for these two phenomena—for the bare, square towers of the older period; for the fantastical, turretted mansions of later times—is the object of these notices.

I must throw myself upon the charity of archaeologists if, in my method of exposition, I go back to generalities of a very simple and trite character. It is necessary to keep in view the historical character of European castles generally—of feudal castles, as they have aptly enough been called. Other times and other nations have had their fortresses, but the *castle* belongs to the feudal age alone. It is not a work of refuge, but a work of aggression, or perhaps it would be less open to misconstruction to say, that it was raised, not by the people of the country for their protection against invaders, but by strangers who came among them, and, whether to their advantage or their detriment, held rule over them. In this way the castle is as distinct in its social as in its structural character, from the class of fortresses of an earlier age of which there are still abundant specimens scattered over Britain. These hill forts, and other very ancient strongholds, were places to which the people fled for refuge from an enemy; but the feudal castle was built by a conquering enemy to keep down the subdued people. True, there have been conquests before

those of the Normans, and means of all kinds taken to keep the subdued people in awe ; but the conquests of Cyrus, of Alexander, of Cæsar, of Mahomet, and of Tamerlane, were all made for the monarch himself, who kept the people down by means of his own garrisons and his own fortresses. That peculiarity of the feudal conquests whence arose the feudal castle was, that many chiefs besides the highest had their territorial interest in the conquest, which they resolved to keep with their own hand ; and hence the feudal lord, who had acquired a district, built for himself what was alike a dwelling-house and a fortress. This is the peculiarity of the feudal castle. It is a private dwelling-house, with all the amenities which a dwelling-house had in its age, and, at the same time, it is a fortress for containing a garrison. It is important to keep this peculiarity in view, because each tide of conquest deposited its own kind of castles, marking its epoch, just as different diluvial deposits may mark the stages in the rising or the receding of a flood. The spread of the Normans over Europe was that great inundation which first covered her with castles, and hence it is that their progress over England is marked by one baronial type, and their expansion over Scotland, two centuries later, is marked by another and totally different type, indicative distinctly of changes created in the development of baronial architecture by the lapse of time.

The most natural primitive shape of a built fortress is a square block. We find it in the Roman Wall in Northumberland, in the Wall of China, in Arabia, and among the earliest forms used in mediæval Europe. The Normans were by no means bigoted to this form ; in their eager scramble for places of strength, they occupied the ponderous tombs left by the Romans, and they would have occupied the Egyptian Pyramids and the Eastern mosques for the same purpose, had these fallen in their way. The French antiquaries seem to think that many of the castles of their own country were begun by the Romans, and that the square Norman tower was hence the legitimate descendant of the Roman *arx* or citadel. Their evidence that some of these were built in the Roman cities at a moment of extreme emergency for defence against the invasions of the barbarians—evidence resting on their use of statuary, tombs, and whatever stones were available, to strengthen the walls,—is exceedingly curious and interesting. It is enough here, however, to know that Rome

stamped her architecture on the details, if not on the structural character, of the earliest feudal castles, in those characteristics which are called Norman or Romanesque work.

Such were the earliest castles of England. But the fact already alluded to in the learned paper by Mr. Robertson is, I think, extremely striking and suggestive—the fact, namely, that there is not one known specimen of the kind of work called Norman or Romanesque—I mean early round arched work—in any baronial remain in Scotland.² We have, throughout the part of Scotland southward of the Grampians, very abundant remains of ecclesiastical buildings erected in the style immediately preceding the pointed Gothic. That a form of Christian architecture should have left vestiges in affluence, while none appear to be left in the corresponding type of baronial architecture, may suggest to some inquirer the examination of an instance where the influence of the Church preceded that of feudality, and may afford an interesting illustration of the difference between the conquests of the Cross and those of the sword. But for my present purpose the existence of these numerous ecclesiastical vestiges, only makes the absence of the Norman baronial features the more remarkable. That there is no existing vestige of a Norman castle in Scotland it would of course be hardy to assert; I can only say that I have searched for one in vain, and that none of the several friends acquainted with architecture, to whom I have mentioned the matter, have been able to point to a single instance. That because no vestige of the style can be found just now, there never were in Scotland any Norman castles, it would be preposterous to maintain. But it is surely fair to infer that buildings of that class must have been rare, and on the whole the tendency of the negative evidence is to show that, as the earliest castles of England were planted there by the Normans, so the earliest feudal castles in Scotland were likewise those that were planted there by the Normans in a later age, and consequently a later style. It is remarkable, indeed, that when one castle—the Goblin Hall of Haddingtonshire—was built, just a little before the event which it is convenient for me to call the Scoto-Norman

² See the "Sketch of the History of Architecture in Scotland," communicated at the Meeting of the Institute in Edin-

burgh, by Mr. Joseph Robertson, and printed in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xiii. p. 228.

conquest, the building of such an edifice was deemed an incident important enough to be commemorated in history. On the other hand, I am not prepared to say that there was not one castle in England before the Conquest—that Coningsburgh, and one or two others, have no claim whatever to Saxon origin. But I believe that, generally speaking, the residence of the Saxon gentleman, as that of the Scottish landowner of a much later period, was the fossed and palisaded arena, with its numerous wooden buildings, so well described by Scott, in *Rotherwold* the abode of Cedric the Saxon.

The castles which started up all over England immediately after the Conquest, were, generally speaking, the simple square tower, without any flanking-work. In some instances—such as Newcastle, Rochester, and Bamburgh—there were angular projections, more like buttresses than flanking-towers, since they were not deep enough to be pierced with side-windows or loop-holes for the purpose of lateral defence. In the next stage we find ancillary towers, sometimes square, but generally round, erected at the corners. This is the commencement of the flanking system—the most important step in modern fortification. Vauban owned that the towers at the angles of the early castles were the rudiments of his system. The first object of an attacking enemy is to get at the face of the fortress that he may demolish it. The object of the besieged is to keep him away from that critical point, or to attack him when he is there. Thus, both before and since the invention of gunpowder, the immediate aim in adjusting the details of a fortification, has been to create sufficient flanking-works, and the corner-towers of the Normans did it as effectually against the battering-ram and the mangonel as bastions and ravelins accomplish it towards artillery. In what is sometimes called the Edwardian period of castellated architecture, we have the flanking arrangement brought to what I think must be considered perfection, for fortresses not attacked by artillery. The general outline of the castle has now come to be a screen with round towers at intervals—say, for the sake of simplicity, a square work with a round tower at each angle. There was usually a gate with a round tower on either side, but there is no occasion for going into the variations of a feature far too strongly marked to admit of any misunderstanding about it.

So far as any existing remains show, it was when castelated architecture reached this phase that it entered Scotland. Among the castles of the Edwardian type are Dirleton, Bothwell, Caerlavrock in Galloway, Kildrummy in Aberdeenshire, and Lochindorb. Perhaps there may be some others, but these are at once noticeable because they were very important fortresses in the War of Independence. Until I shall hear of evidence to the contrary, I shall believe that these fortresses were built by the English, or I should rather say the Normans, when the Edwards for a time had Scotland in subjection. Dirleton Castle, perhaps the finest specimen, was, as we know, long defended by the coadjutors of Wallace against Edward I. and his Archimedes, the warlike Bishop Beck ; but I cannot help believing that the older part of Dirleton, as it at present exists, was built by the English after the capture of the castle, such as it had been. The same type of castle is to be seen all along the margin of the Edwardian conquests in Wales and Ireland. As the simple square tower with round arches is the deposit of the Norman conquests of the XIth century, so the screen with round towers at intervals, and pointed arches, is the deposit of the Norman conquests of the XIIIth century. Thus, our oldest castles in Scotland are undoubtedly of the later style of Norman-English.

The prostration of Scotland after the War of Independence, is a matter pretty well known in history. There was no rearing of costly edifices, whether ecclesiastical or baronial, until long after that struggle was over. When lairds or chiefs in Scotland were again rich enough to build, they had to fall back upon the primitive square tower ; hence it is that, as I have already said, there are many of them throughout Scotland which have a general external resemblance to the Norman keep, but are entirely distinct from it both in historical connection and architectural detail. In such fine instances as Borthwick, Clackmanan, Edzell, Doune, and a few others, the English traveller can only be convinced by an examination of the architectural details, that he does not see before him a Norman keep. Generally, however, the Scottish tower is much smaller and ruder than the Norman ; and it is, of course, destitute of those peculiar features which form the connecting link between Gothic and Roman architecture. It was still of consequence to the Scottish laird to have flanking

defences to his keep. He could not afford the princely round towers of the Edwardian baronial period, but he found an economical substitute creditable to his ingenuity. The projecting parapet was, of course, an available means of attack from above. At the angle, it was enlarged into a sort of machicolation or bastion. This is a common feature in many kinds of defensive architecture, but nowhere is it so confirmed and systematic as in the Scottish square towers of the XVth and XVIth centuries.

To see how Scottish architecture again emerged from this humble condition, it is necessary briefly to describe historical conditions which would be familiar to every one if our history, instead of being a mere parochial register, were written in the catholic spirit of denoting Scotland's condition among the European States. After the War of Independence—which it is more just to consider the struggle of the Saxons in Scotland against Norman aggression, than a national contest—Scotland arose, a separate nation, hating England. That metropolitan influence, which it would naturally have received from the centre of British advancement in London, was drawn from Paris. The Civil Law and French feudality were introduced. The Church, the Parliament, and the Courts of justice were French. The Universities were French to the nicest peculiarity, and in the remote colleges of Aberdeen, the fresh students were called *béjeants*, just as they were in the University of Paris. Everything in Scotland might be said to have become French, except the language and the national character, and at last the countries were deemed so closely united, that it was discussed in Paris, as a matter of business, whether Scotland should be attached to the Crown of France, or become an appanage for a cadet of the House of Valois. It is now necessary to cast a glance at the progress of baronial building in France. The style which in this country is generally called Edwardian—consisting of screens and round towers—was there very prevalent. But a feature was superadded to it, not known in England, by the mounting of cones or obtuse spires, sometimes on the round towers, sometimes on the central building. There are instances of large separate round towers, on which such cones were subsequently mounted, as, for instance, the donjons of Guise and Semur. Sometimes the cone springs flush from the wall—sometimes

it was raised behind the rampart. A good example of the latter may be found in Holyrood—our latest adaptation from the French. In its completion by Sir William Bruce, it was almost a direct copy from Chantilly, the abode of the Condés. In Paris, there were two fortresses of awful notoriety—the Temple, built by Hubert, the treasurer of the Order, who died in 1222, and the more recent Bastille. The latter—an excellent specimen of the Edwardian form as it continued for a long period in France—retained its original simplicity and gloom; but the Temple was decorated with a central spire, and a cone on each of its four flanking round towers. The conical form thus became an inveterate feature in the baronial architecture of France. When flanking works of a smaller and less costly character than towers were thrown out from the corners of buildings, they naturally assumed the conical shape, which had become an architectural peculiarity in France and the countries in which her national habits held sway. Hence the French château of the XVIth century was encrusted with quantities of the rocket-shaped turrets already referred to. The architecture of our ancient allies when it reached this form was accurately copied in Scotland, and it is impossible for buildings to be more like each other than the French château of the middle of the XVIth century, and the Scottish mansion of about eighty years later. There are, of course, some differences. Many of the French buildings were larger and more costly than the Scottish. The French had some peculiarities of a rather earlier age, in a mixture of their own rich Gothic with the decorations. In Scotland there are but few and faint touches of Gothic in the conical architecture. It seems to have prevailed to any considerable extent only in the beautiful castle of Inverary, which has unfortunately disappeared. In many instances additions were made in the French conical style to the original square tower, and thus an edifice presenting in its lower storeys the rudest simplicity, would expand into a picturesque coronet of many-figured turrets and grotesque chimneys. The use of the small bastion, to which I have already referred, was in itself an incidental step towards the adaptation of the style. The stone work of the turret was indeed just an enlargement of the bastion, often occupying the same position as a flanker. In one instance—that of Castle Huntly—the old bastions

have recently had turret tops placed on them, as if to complete their original design, but the result is by no means happy, since they are thus evidently unfitted to serve as bastions, while they are not large enough to contain turret chambers.

I shall conclude with a remark, applicable to one adaptation of this style which has attracted much attention—Heriot's Hospital. The block plan has evidently been adapted from the palace of Aschaffenburg on the Main, built in the year 1611.¹ But in the decorations, and especially the turrets, the architect appears to have been ambitious of reducing the elements of the Scottish conical architecture into something like order and symmetry. A rich confusion generally reigns in the turretted mansions, as if they had grown in luxurious wildness, without any controlling design, but Heriot's Hospital is all symmetry. The turrets are light and small—too small for turrets, and liable to the objection of being palpably useless; their proportions are nicely adjusted, and their tops, instead of the hard conic outline, have the ogee curve. The rough crow-step—a common and peculiar feature in Scottish baronial architecture,—is converted into richly-decorated scroll-work, and the gaunt storm windows of our old houses resolve themselves into small decorated tympanums. It was a bold and ingenious attempt to bring the scattered elements of our Scottish architecture into order and system; and I am inclined to believe that the architect who made the attempt was William Aytoun, an ancestor of my distinguished friend the author of "Bothwell" and the "Lays of the Cavaliers," who inherits his name.

The French origin of our street architecture is very obvious. The older parts of our towns are full of the tall irregular moulded gables, truncated turrets, and abutments of all kinds, which give so much picturesqueness to the towns of the north of France. In Aberdeen there are several edifices with their turrets abutting on the streets, more like the country châteaux than the city hotels of the French. There is there a large building, generally called the Bishop's Palace, with the conical-topped round towers and intervening screens,

¹ See the representation and account of this remarkable building in the "Architectura Curisa Nova," of the celebrated

hydraulic engineer Boëcklern, translated by the still more celebrated John Christopher Sturm.

an imitation of a French castle of that earlier period when the conical tops were first mounted on the flanking round towers. There are many such instances in Scotland, both in town and country, but the common stair—the house above house—at once attests the severance from England and the connection with France. The modern street house, I believe to be the invention of that sagacious people the Dutch, but the English were not far behind them, if we may judge from the houses of the XVIIth century near St. James's park—all regularly and symmetrically planned, with the dining-room flat below and the drawing-room flat above. These were inhabited by the English gentry, while those of Edinburgh and Paris were perched several floors above the street.

EXAMPLES OF MEDÆVAL SEALS.

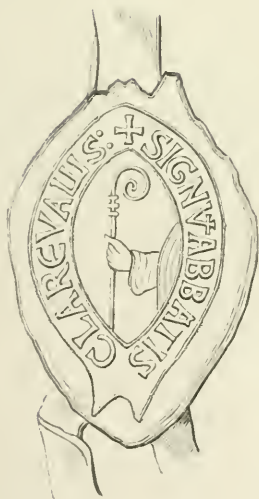
1. PERSONAL SEAL OF THOR LONGUS, or Thor the Long : which can hardly be later than 1118, and may be as early as the end of the previous century. We are indebted to the truthful pencil of Mr. Blore for the drawing from which the wood-cut has been executed. Thor was, in all probability, an Anglo-Saxon. If not living at the Conquest, that event could not have preceded his birth more than a few years. The name Tor, no doubt the same, occurs in Domesday several times, as that of persons holding lands in different counties, especially in Yorkshire, before the Survey; and most likely in some cases they held them before the Conquest. And there are localities near the border that bear names of which the word forms part. No one of those persons has been identified with Thor Longus; yet it is not improbable that he was one of them: nor has any connection between him and any of those localities been discovered, though antiquaries on both sides of the Tweed have been inquisitive about him. Little indeed is known of him, but that little is well authenticated, since it has been furnished by himself in two of his charters, both of which were formerly in the archives of the Dean and Chapter of Durham; but one of them only now remains, and from the seal appended to it Mr. Blore made his drawing.

We would remind our readers that on the death of Malcolm Canmore, King of Scotland, he was succeeded by Donald Banc, his brother, though he left at least three sons, namely, Edgar, Alexander, and David surviving him, and also two daughters; all by his wife, Margaret, grand-daughter of Edmund Ironside, King of England, and sister of Edgar Atheling. But in 1098 Edgar was, by means of an English force under Edgar Atheling, his uncle, established on the throne of his father; and in 1100 King Henry I. of England married his sister Matilda. During Edgar's reign, and by his encouragement, many English passed over into Scotland and settled there. Thor Longus is supposed to have been one of these; for we learn from his charters, that King Edgar gave him Ednam (now Edenham, or Ednam on the Eden, near Kelso), which was then unoccupied (desertam); and with the assistance of the king, and his own means, such as cattle and the like (pecunia), he had settled there, and had built and endowed a church, that was dedicated to St. Cuthbert. This church was the subject of the two charters: by the former he granted it to St. Cuthbert and his monks (at Coldingham, a cell of Durham), for the souls of King Edgar and his father and mother, and for the health of his (the king's) brothers and sisters, and for the redemption of his own brother Lefwin, and for the health of his own body and soul. Though we learn from this, that he had a brother named Lefwin, of him nothing more has been discovered. It appears that having made this grant, he was desirous of having it confirmed by the

EXAMPLES OF MEDIEVAL SEALS.



Seal of Thor Longus. Date about 1100. From a drawing by Edward Blore, Esq.



First Seal of St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, A.D. 1115.



Second Seal used by St. Bernard, subsequently to A.D. 1153.



king's brother, David, who was then Earl of Huntingdon, and under whom, as his lord, we are led to think he held the land. For by the other charter, which is in the form of a letter to the Earl, and is, at the commencement, thus addressed to him,—“*Domino suo karissimo David Comiti Thor omnimodo suus salutem.*” he proceeds to mention again the gift by King Edgar, and his settling at Edenham, and building and endowing a church, and also the grant of the church, which he explains to have been made for the souls of King Edgar, and the Earl's father and mother, and for the health of the Earl himself, and of King Alexander and Queen Matilda, and then he requests the Earl, as his dearest lord, to confirm the grant to St. Cuthbert and his monks for ever. This is the charter which, with its seal, still exists; copies of both will be found in Anderson's *Diplomata Scotiæ*, pl. 66; Smith's *Beda*, Appendix, No. 20.; and Raine's *N. Durham*, Appendix 38. Earl David complied with the request, and confirmed the grant by a charter addressed to John, the Bishop (of Glasgow), which is also printed in Raine's *N. Durham*, Appendix 23. From these two charters of Thor, seeing the difference in the language applied to the living and the dead, we learn that when the latter was made, Alexander was King of Scotland, and Queen Matilda was living: who was, no doubt, his sister, Matilda, Queen of Henry I. of England; for Alexander's Queen was not named Matilda. We thus ascertain that the charter, to which this seal is appended, was made between the accession of Alexander in 1107, and the death of Matilda in 1118; while the matrix of the seal may have been executed some few years earlier. The seal has been engraved by Anderson; but, beside that justice is hardly done to its archaic character, the *Diplomata Scotiæ* is not found in many private libraries, and therefore we have thought a wood-cut of so remarkable an example, from Mr. Blore's excellent drawing of it, would not be unacceptable to our readers. It is a rare and choice specimen of its kind at that early period, being the personal seal of a subject, who does not appear to have been of baronial or official rank, but was probably an English settler of no higher condition than that of a vassal under a prince of the blood royal of Scotland; possessed of a subordinate manor or lordship on which he resided. The size, as well as the form of it, is shown in the cut. It represents Thor himself, we may assume, without armour of any sort, habited in a tunic and a mantle fastened on the right shoulder; he is seated, and holding a sword (apparently in its scabbard) in his right hand, and supporting it near the point with his left. The head is uncovered, and the hair long, and parted after the Anglo-Saxon fashion. The singular legend, *THOR ME MITTIT AMICO*, would seem to import that the primary purpose of the seal was for letters, conformably with the usage of the Anglo-Saxons, who rarely sealed their deeds. It will be observed, the seal is of the pointed oval form, which is often supposed to have been confined to ecclesiastics and ladies. Importance has been sometimes attached to a seated effigy on a seal, and also to a sword, as indicating rank and authority; and the mantle fastened on the right shoulder would very well agree with that supposition; yet, seeing the silence of the charters and the legend on the subject, no reliance can be placed upon such an interpretation of the device; and the authority which he probably had in his own domain may sufficiently account for the display of the sword by him while seated and in civil costume.

2. SEALS OF ST. BERNARD, Abbot of Clairvaux, A. D. 1115—1153.

Amongst personal reliques of the class under consideration, at so early a period as the twelfth century, there are few probably, with the exception of seals of sovereign princes, so deserving of consideration as those to which we here invite the attention of our readers. The seals successively used by St. Bernard have been noticed separately in two foreign periodical publications, produced in Belgium and Normandy; but the two examples, interesting in no slight degree as associated with the memory of one of the most distinguished men of his age, one who took so influential a part in its political and religious movements, have not hitherto, as we believe, been published together, nor have they been given amongst the notices of Mediæval seals produced in our own country. Examples of so early a date, and more especially original matrices, are of considerable rarity; the facts connected with the occurrence of two seals used by the great Abbot and founder of Clairvaux, and the actual existence of the matrix of one of them, may suffice also to give to the following examples more than ordinary interest.

It is unnecessary here to advert to the history of the eminent man, the last of the Fathers, as he has been styled, the powerful spell of whose influence, through the force of his personal character, sufficed to arouse a Crusade or to establish the legitimacy even of the Holy Pontiff, as in the case of Innocent II., whose acknowledgment as head of the Church by Louis Le Gros in France, and by Henry I. in England, has been attributed to the arguments of St. Bernard. In 1113, at the age of twenty-three, he had joined the ascetic fraternity of Cîteaux, accompanied by thirty relatives and young men of condition; two years later, it is stated, he received the pastoral staff from St. Stephen, and set forth with a chosen band to found, in the forests of Champagne, the remarkable monastic colony at the spot subsequently so renowned as the *Clara Vallis*.

It is now impracticable to ascertain at what precise period subsequently to the establishment of the monastery in 1115, the first seal used by Bernard was in use: it may have been provided on the occasion of his visit to Paris in 1122, or at some other memorable period in his subsequent career. An impression of this seal has been preserved in Belgium amongst the documents relating to the abbey of Ninove, in the depository of the archives of Eastern Flanders. It is appended to an instrument by which St. Bernard determined a question at issue between the Abbot of Ninove and the Abbot of Jette, near Brussels, about the year 1150.¹ The accompanying wood-cut has been prepared from the engraving by the talented Charles Oughena, of Ghent, compared with a sulphur cast from another impression, preserved at Paris amongst the archives of the Empire. The device is a dexter arm issuing from a sleeve and grasping a pastoral staff with a simple spiral head, turned inwards, or towards the person by whom it was carried, as frequently seen on seals of the heads of monastic houses, whilst on seals of bishops the volute is more commonly turned outwards, significant, as some suppose, of their more extended jurisdiction, whilst the authority of the abbot was limited within the monastery subjected to his control. Around the margin of the seal is inscribed,—✠SIGNVM ABBATIS

¹ See the "Notice sur les Archives de la Province de la Flandre Orientale," by the learned *Archiviste*, J. de Saint-Genois, in the "Messager des Sciences

Historiques de Belgique," 1841, p. 181. This memoir is accompanied by an interesting plate of seals, including that of St. Bernard.

CLAREVALLIS :²—The matrix, of pointed-oval form, appears to have been provided with a loop for suspension, at the lower part, instead of the *apex* of the seal, the more usual arrangement. The indent left on the wax by this loop or handle is distinctly marked on the engraved representation, as also on the sulphur cast from the impression above mentioned.

Shortly after the period to which the document preserved in Belgium has been assigned, it appears that St. Bernard had been under the necessity of changing his seal, on account of certain false writings issued under the deceptive authority of a forgery of the seal in question. In a letter to Pope Eugenius III., dated 1151, St. Bernard gives him information of this substitution of a new seal bearing his effigy and his name :—“*Multæ litteræ falsatæ sub falsato sigillo nostro in manus multorum exierunt, et, quod cernitis, de novo utimur continente et imaginem nostram et nomen.*” (Lit. 284, edit. Mabillon.) This device, it will be observed, appears on the second seal here given, and the statement is in perfect accordance with the fact, that on this seal previously in use, St. Bernard had neither displayed his portraiture, more commonly found on the seals of eminent dignitaries, nor expressed his name. It will be remembered that the founder of Clairvaux earnestly sought to repress the ostentation of the heads of monasteries in his times, and especially their ambitious desire for certain episcopal insignia. St. Bernard would never assume the mitre, in accordance with the innovation prevalent amongst his contemporaries. (See his treatise “*De Moribus et Officio Episcoporum,*” cap. ix.)

The matrix of the second seal is preserved in the Museum of Antiquities at Rouen ; an instructive collection, for which archæologists are indebted to the intelligence of an eminent antiquary of Normandy, Achille Deville, by whom a notice and engraving of this highly curious relique was given, in 1838, in the “*Bulletin de la Société libre d’Emulation de Rouen.*” M. Deville, who had fortunately obtained the matrix from an officer at Issoudun, communicated his discovery to the “*Académie des Inscriptions,*” in a letter dated Aug. 16, 1837. It had been purchased from a dealer, who had bought up, during the troublous times in 1790, the old metal obtained from the collegiate foundation of St. Cyr, at Issoudun, affiliated to Clairvaux. The accompanying woodcut is of the same size as the matrix, which is of brass, and flat, measuring in thickness about one-fifth of an inch, without handle or loop for suspension. It is a production of rather rude and unartistic character, in which we may perhaps recognise a certain consistency with the ascetic humility of the founder of Clairvaux, and in low relief. The head is almost grotesque in its deficiency of expression ; the abbot is represented enthroned on a faldistory or folding-seat, the sides of which terminate in heads of animals, such as may be seen on other seals of ecclesiastical dignitaries and of the heads of religious houses. St. Bernard, bareheaded and tonsured, holds his pastoral staff with his left hand, the volute of the staff, of the same simple type as that on his earlier seal, being turned towards him, whilst in the right he holds an object of singular aspect, which has given rise to various conjectures. By the learned Benedictine, Mabillon, it was supposed to be a book ; the hand, however, grasps a handle, expressed with sufficient distinctness to prove that we must seek some symbol of a

² It must be observed that in the plate given in the “*Messenger*” the transverse stroke across the *v* in the word *Signum*, has been inadvertently omitted.

different description. M. Deville remarks that M. Pays, of Issoudun, the "*officier en retraite*" from whom he obtained the matrix, had regarded this object, with greater probability, to be an hour-glass. M. Deville, taking exception to both these conjectures, proposes to regard it as the door of a church:—"Je crois y reconnaître (he observes) une porte d'église, divisée en deux vantaux par une colonette qui est surmontée de son chapiteau."³ With all deference to the opinion of the eminent Norman archæologist, we would suggest the supposition that this object may be intended to represent the *tabula pacis*, or pax-board; and, whilst it must be admitted, that no other example has been found of the occurrence of such a symbol thus introduced on any mediæval seal, it seems no unreasonable conjecture that the symbol of Christian union and goodwill may have been introduced by St. Bernard with some peculiar feeling and significance. Around the figure is the legend—✠ SIGILLVM : BERNARDI : ABBATIS : CLAREVALL'. It will be noticed that, in three instances, there occur letters conjoined, such as are found not uncommonly in inscriptions of the period.

M. Deville, by whom this little matrix was generously presented to the Museum at Rouen, observes that no surprise can be felt that the monks of Clairvaux should have suffered so precious a relique of their great founder to have passed away from their custody. On some trifling emergency they had even sold the shrine in which he was entombed. (*Thesaurus Novus Anecd.*, tom. ii. col. 1420.)

3. Seal of HENRY LE CHAMBERLAYN, a personal seal with heraldry. This curious little example was found by Mr. Ready, appended to a document preserved amongst the muniments of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and bearing the date 16 Edward II. (1322-23). It bears no name or inscription, but it appears to have been the seal of Henry le Chamberlayn. In the same collegiate treasury another document exists, bearing the seal of Henry le Chamberlayn, possibly the same person, described as of Landbeach, Cambridgeshire, and dated 11 Edward II. (1317-18). On this seal an escutcheon is introduced, charged with this coat,—on a bend three lions passant. The escutcheon is suspended to a branch or stem of a tree, and the space on each side is occupied by a wyvern, in the same manner as on the seal here figured.

The manor of "Chamberleynes," in the parish of Landbeach, Cambridgeshire, had anciently been the property of the De Beche family. In 1359 the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College purchased it from Sir Thomas Chamberlayn, whose grandfather, Sir Walter, had purchased it from Helen de Beche. (*Masters' Hist. of Corpus Christi College.*)

The coat which occurs on this seal is not found in any of the printed Rolls, as borne by the name of Le Chamberlayn. We must, however, leave to the Cambridgeshire antiquary the task of tracing the history of a family, which appears to have been of some note in the county. The value of the seal under consideration, as an example of the well-finished designs of the XIVth century, consists in the very peculiar mode in which the heraldry

³ Bulletin de la Société d'Émulation de Rouen, 1838. From the rude workmanship of this seal, and its small dimensions, a careful examination of an impression can alone give any correct notion of the details above mentioned. It may be

acceptable to some of our readers to be informed that fac-similes of both the seals of St. Bernard, as likewise of the other seals here noticed, may be obtained from Mr. Ready, 1, Princes Street, Shrewsbury.

is introduced. The object represented is undoubtedly a military helm or head-piece, of a form not unusual during the times of the second and third Edwards. Whether it was intended to portray the helm of iron plate,—the *chapel de fer*, or possibly that of *cuir bouilli*, some fashion of the palet, we have no evidence to determine. The occurrence of any form of head-piece on a seal, at so early a period, as the principal device, is, perhaps, unique; and scarcely less unusual, amongst the capricious conventionalities of mediæval art, is the introduction of heraldry upon the helm, in any of its varied forms. In a former volume of this Journal, Vol. II. p. 383, we noticed the very rare occurrence of any such feature in military costume, the only examples which had fallen under our observation being the sepulchral effigy of John le Botiler, at St. Bride's, Glamorganshire, of which a representation was given, and the enamelled tablet portraying Geoffrey Plantagenet, who died in 1149. On the front of the basin-shaped scull-cap seen on the incised slab at St. Bride's, a fleur-de-lys between two covered cups is introduced, and the shield which hangs over the left arm is charged with three similar cups, the bearing of Botiler. The well-known figure of Geoffrey le Bel, figured by Charles Stothard, presents a golden lion on the side of his head-piece, similar in form to the Phrygian bonnet. Mr. Hewitt, in his instructive manual of "Ancient Armour and Weapons," p. 286, gives some observations on such heraldic decorations, with a remarkable illustration from the seal of Louis of Savoy, circa 1294, figured by Cibrario (Sigilli de' Principi di Savoia), on which the crested helm presents the heraldic eagle displayed, forming the visor. Other examples doubtless exist, which have not fallen under our observation.

The peculiar head-piece which appears on the seal of Henry le Chamberlayn, is probably that designated the kettle-hat, from its resemblance to a caldron.⁴ Amongst the best illustrations of this curious fashion may be cited the little figure of Lord St. Amand, amongst the accompaniments of the sepulchral brass of Sir Hugh Hastings, at Elsing, date about 1347 (Cotman's Norfolk Brasses, pl. 1. Boutell's Monumental Brasses, p. 47). In this example the brim is wider, and projects with a more marked contour than the gently curved outline of the *chapel* on the seal of Le Chamberlayn. The peculiar ridge occurs in both over the crown of the head. The helm of this fashion appears to have been used throughout Europe. An example of iron plate, with a wide brim and slight ridge over the head, closely resembling the heraldic helm on our seal, is preserved in the Copenhagen Museum, and is figured by Worsaae in his admirable "Afbildninger fra det Kongelige Museum;" &c., fig. 432. It is described as a "*Stormhue*." The kettle-hat may be seen in great variety in the drawings in Rous' Life of the Earl of Warwick, Cott. MS., Julius, E. IV., and Strutt's Horda, vol. ii. The most remarkable specimen, however, of this kind of helm, is undoubtedly the kettle-hat found in Southwark, in forming the terminus of the London and Greenwich Railway, and presented to Mr. Roach Smith's Museum of London Antiquities, by Mr. J. Y. Akerman. It is almost identical in form with that seen on the seal; and it has the ridge, or comb,

⁴ See Promptorium Parvulorum, p. 273, and note. "Ketylle Hat, *Pelliris, Galerus*." Both these Latin terms seem to have been used to designate the leathern helm or palet. The Inventory of armour of Sir Simon Burley, beheaded 1388, comprises

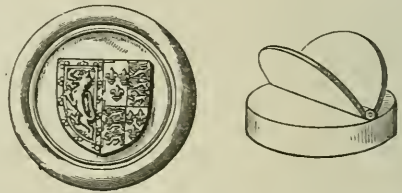
—"j. Palet de quierboyll' coveré de stakes (stags, or piles, Lat. *stacha* ?) blanc et vert. j. Ketilhate peunte de stakes." Kettle hats and palets occur together in the Inventory of Sir Edward de Appelby, 1374, Sloane Charter, xxxi. 2.

over the crown. Originally a kettle-hat of war, as proved by rivet holes for attaching the lining and the chin-band, it had been subsequently converted into a camp-kettle, and fitted with an iron handle, chain and hook, for suspension over the fire. See the Catalogue of Mr. Roach Smith's Collection, now deposited in the British Museum, p. 149.

We cannot close this notice without adverting to the gratifying liberality shown by the heads of houses and the fellows of several colleges in the University of Cambridge, in granting to Mr. Ready the permission to copy the valuable seals preserved in their treasuries, and thus placing within our reach a most extensive accession to the materials of this description, which often throw an important light upon history, the descent of families, as also upon heraldry, costume, and the general history of mediæval art.

4. PRIVY SEAL OF JOAN BEAUFORT, Queen of Scotland, A.D. 1424.—The matrix, of fine gold, was exhibited in the Museum of the Institute, at the Edinburgh Meeting, in 1856. Through the request of Mr. Cosmo Innes this precious relique was kindly sent for that purpose by Mr. John W. Williamson, banker, of Kiross. It had been found, in 1829, at West

Green, near that town, in excavating the foundations for a house built by that gentleman. This highly interesting "Treasure Trove" remains in his possession, by authority of a Treasury letter, "remitting the right of the Crown." The matrix is formed, as shown by the woodcut



(of the same size as the original), with two semicircular plates affixed to the reverse of the seal by a hinge. These plates, here represented as when partly raised, fall flat upon the upper surface of the matrix; and they serve, when raised and brought together, to supply the place of a handle, an ingenious adjustment noticed in several ancient matrices which have come under our notice. The matrix measures in thickness, including these plates, nearly two-fifths of an inch.⁵

This seal, it may be observed, had at one time been erroneously ascribed to Margaret Tudor, the Queen of James IV., King of Scotland, and daughter of Henry VII., King of England. The arms, however, here seen impaled, are evidently those borne by John Beaufort, son of John of Gaunt by his second marriage, created Earl of Somerset, 20 Rich. II. Joan Beaufort, his eldest daughter by Margaret Holland, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Kent, was married in February, 1423, in the Priory of St. Mary Overy, Southwark, to James I., King of Scots. This king was murdered, 21 February, 1436, by the faction of the Duke of Athol, his uncle, and left issue, James, who succeeded as James II. Queen Joan married, secondly, James Stewart, called the Black Knight of Lorne; she died in 1446.

This seal bears a simple escutcheon of the arms of Scotland, impaling those of Beaufort—France and England, quarterly, with a bordure gobony as borne by the Earl of Somerset, John Beaufort, subsequently to

⁵ This seal is described in Mr. H. Laing's "Catalogue of Impressions from Ancient Scottish Seals," No. 44, p. 11.

EXAMPLES OF MEDIEVAL SEALS.



Seal of Henry le Chamberlayn, 16 Edw. II. (1322-23.) From the Treasury of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.



Official Seal of Edward IV. for his Chancery of Monmouth. From the Matrix found in the river Monnow, Monmouth.

his legitimation, 20 Richard II., and displayed upon his stall-plate at Windsor. The bordure, owing to the minute design of the seal, is slightly indistinct, but on careful examination it appears to be unquestionably as above described. There exists a fragment of another seal, used by Queen Joan after the death of her husband, and of which a cast, obtained by the late General Hutton, is now preserved in his extensive collections of Scottish Seals, deposited in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The cast bore the reference—"From Pannure." The seal, in its perfect state, measured about 2 inches in diameter; it is of circular form, and displays the same arms as have been above described, on a lozenge, supported by two animals. The dexter supporter alone remains; this as well as the other details of this interesting seal, is in a very defaced condition. It is not noticed in Mr. Henry Laing's valuable "Descriptive Catalogue of Impressions from Scottish Seals;" published in 1850; its existence not having been ascertained at that time.⁶ Casts in sulphur from both the seals of Queen Joan, as also from the numerous valuable examples supplied by the Scottish Royal Series, may be obtained from Mr. Laing, 3, Elder Street, Edinburgh.

5. OFFICIAL SEAL OF KING EDWARD IV. for his Chancery of Monmouth; the obverse only: the reverse is unknown. The castle and honor of Monmouth were acquired by the crown for Prince Edward, afterwards King Edward I., by an arrangement with John de Monmouth in 40 Henry III. (1255). In 1267 (52 Henry III.), on the surrender of them by that prince, they were granted by the Crown to his brother Edmund Earl of Lancaster; which grant was confirmed by Edward I., in the ninth year of his reign. They continued to form part of the possessions of the earls and dukes of Lancaster. The county of Lancaster was erected into a county palatine by Edward III., in favour of his son John of Ghent, Duke of Lancaster, for his life. The previous earl and duke had enjoyed some royal privileges within it. Henry IV., the son and heir of John of Ghent, made it a county palatine in perpetuity to him and his heirs as Dukes of Lancaster, distinct from the Crown, which he held by a less satisfactory title. The possessions, however, of the Dukes of Lancaster out of the county were not within the palatine jurisdiction; and, therefore, the chancery of Monmouth is not to be regarded as in anywise part of or dependent upon that jurisdiction. This chancery was not a court, but what we should now call an office, with an establishment of clerks under a chancellor or steward or his deputy, for preparing and sealing grants, leases, and other deeds, the preservation of documents, and the transacting of other business incident to the management of a considerable estate. Occasionally a deed of some great lord or lady is found, which purports to have been given or dated at his or her chancery in some place, which, like Monmouth, was an honor comprising several subordinate manors dependent on it. If we mistake not, there was in the possession of the late John Ruggles Brice, Esq., of Clare, Suffolk, and

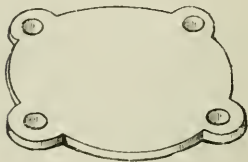
⁶ This seal, as far it has been practicable to ascertain the fact, is appended to indentures between the Queen and Sir Alexander Livingstone (with others) Sept. 1439, by which she surrendered to him the guardianship of her youthful son, James II. Tytler, *Hist. Scot.* vol. iv. p.

18. This remarkable document, of which a duplicate may have been found by General Hutton, amongst the Pannure evidences, has been printed in the Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 54, from the original now in the General Register House.

Spains Hall, Essex, a deed of Elizabeth de Burgh, Countess of Ulster, one of the coheirresses of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, dated at her chancery at Clare; which was an honor with several dependent manors. "Cancellarius" or chancellor was not always a judge, even in this country; he originally more resembled a secretary having charge of the royal seal. Deeds so dated are rare: we have not been able to find one example in Madox's Form. Angl. Edward IV., on his accession, prevailed on the parliament to attain Henry VI.; and the duchy and its dependencies being thus forfeited, he annexed them to the Crown. The seal of this king for his Earldom of March, which is engraved in Sandford, was not exactly of the same kind as the present; not being restricted to any particular honor, but intended for the whole earldom. It was intrusted to an officer called the chancellor of that earldom.

The woodcut of this seal is of the size of the original, and has been taken from an impression fresh from the matrix, which is of brass. It was found some years ago in the river Monnow, near Monmouth, and lately discovered in a cottage, attached to the line of a clock to supply the deficiency of the weight. We are indebted for the impression, and for the opportunity of examining the matrix, to the kindness of the historian of Cheshire, Dr. Ormerod.

It is evident the matrix consisted of two pieces, one to impress this obverse, the other a reverse: these were detached, and, when used for sealing, were made to come together correctly by means of four pins in the other piece, which passed through four corresponding holes in this; one of which holes only remains, the others having been broken away. The form of this part of the matrix, as it originally existed, is given in the margin on a reduced scale.



This seal, as shown by the woodcut of it, is circular, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. The device is a figure of the king, as Duke of Lancaster, in plate armour, without any crown,

coronet, or crest; but there is a torse or wreath with a scanty mantling on the helmet. In the right hand is a sword, and on the left arm a shield, charged with three lions passant guardant in pale, and a label of three points, on each of which are as many fleurs-de-lis; being the arms of the county and duchy of Lancaster. The same arms are on the ample housings of the horse, both before and behind; and the head is protected by a chanfrein and testières. The field is diapered with suns and roses in lozenges. The legend is,—S : EDWARDI : DEI : GRA : REG' ANGL' : ET : FRANCIE : CANCELLARIE : SVE : DE : MONEMOUTH, in black letter, with a line over the final H. A remarkable circumstance in regard to this legend is, that, though the matrix is, with this exception, of brass, some of the letters are on white metal; showing that an alteration had been made in it, by cutting out a portion, and beating in white metal, and then engraving it anew. It is not easy to determine the extent of the alteration; but of the words "*cancellarie sue de Monemouth,*" the letters in Italics are on the white metal. However, after this metal was beaten in, some of the new letters may have been engraved on parts of the original surface which were before without letters. We see nothing improbable in supposing that the seal was made for some other chancery

within the duchy, and that the legend then ran "pro" (contracted) "cancellaria sua," instead of "cancellarie sue."

The alteration of matrices in mediæval times was not very unfrequent, as professor Willis has shown in his valuable paper on some of the Great Seals, published in the second volume of this Journal; but it is a rare occurrence to meet with a matrix that has been altered. Though in this instance a white metal was substituted for the brass removed, probably that was not the only one so employed. It is remarkable how little appearance of any alteration can be detected in an impression; the junction of the two metals is not there perceptible.

WESTON S. WALFORD AND ALBERT WAY.

NOTE ON THE SEALS OF EADGAR AND OFFA;

Described in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xiii. p. 355.

On a more minute inspection of the charters granted to the Abbey of St. Denis, than it had been in the power of Sir Frederic Madden to bestow, it has been ascertained that the seals had been affixed *en plaecard*, in the form explained in his valuable memoir on the seal of Eudes, king of France, in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xi. p. 268. The peculiar envelope or *chemise* of parchment, described in his observations on the seals of Eadgar and Offa, *ibid.*, vol. xiii. p. 367, appeared to have been added as a protection to the wax at a comparatively recent date. These remarkable charters are preserved at the "Hôtel des Archives Imperiales," at Paris, formerly the Palace of the Princes de Soubise, an establishment where prompt facilities of access have not always been conceded, and where the historical enquirer may now hopefully anticipate some relaxation of official formalities and restrictions, through the recent appointment of so enlightened and courteous a Director as the Count de Laborde. At the period, however, of Sir Frederic's visit several years since, the only charters submitted to his inspection, were that of Offa and one of Edward the Confessor. The croneous impression in regard to the originality of the *envelopes* above mentioned, was due to the deceptive evidence of drawings made with great care at his request after leaving Paris, confirmed also by the report of the late Mr. Doubleday, who was permitted to mould the seals in question. Having lately been enabled, through the obliging permission of the Director, to examine the charter of Eadgar, which Sir Frederic Madden had not seen, it became evident that the parchment wrapper had not been applied when the seal was affixed, but possibly after the documents were brought from St. Denis, and that it was formed of a waste fragment of written parchment, the writing being probably as late as the sixteenth century. The *chemises* had doubtless been added in both instances at the same time, and must be regarded as a modern precaution.

A. W.

Original Documents.

ANGLO-SAXON DOCUMENT RELATING TO LANDS AT SEND AND SUNBURY, IN MIDDLESEX, IN THE TIME OF EÁDGÁR: AND THE WRIT OF CNUT, ON THE ACCESSION OF ARCHBISHOP ÆTHELNOTH TO THE SEE OF CANTERBURY, A.D. 1020.

THE very remarkable document which I here print with a translation, is one of the title deeds of Westminster. It relates how certain lands at Send and Sunbury, in Middlesex, came into the hands of Archbishop Dúnstán, and by what series of events their ancient owners became divested of their property. The light which it incidentally throws upon the Anglo-Saxon forms of law, and the state of society, is very great; and it may be considered one of the most instructive monuments which we possess. As it is written in a rather barbarous way, though not by any means a confused one, our readers may possibly like to see a compendious account of the transactions described. It appears that a female serf, named Thurwif, was stolen from Ælfsige: he detected his property in the hands of Wulfsige, who teamed it over to Æðelstán, in Sunbury, i.e., vouched him as the person from whom he acquired it. It was now Æðelstán's business to produce his voucher, which he undertook to do; but when the term came, he did not hold it, and consequently admitted the wrongful possession. Ælfsige now claimed, and got back his property, and two pounds damages. But there was a public consideration besides the private one; the sheriff in the king's name demanded Æðelstán's wergýld, which he had forfeited to the king by not vouching his warranty as he undertook to do. Æðelstán having no means, his brother, Eáðweard, who possessed the charter of Sunbury, although Æðelstán held the land, proposed to pay the fine for him, if he would give up the land to him. This Æðelstán refused, and consequently both lost it. The sberiff turned Æðelstán out of it, and seized it no doubt to the king's hand, the old proprietor taking refuge as a tenant upon Wulfgár's land. But Eadred dying, Æðelstán took advantage, probably of a change of sheriff, to return to his land, "*ungebétra þinga,*" *without having mended matters*,—without having made amends. But Eáðwig learning this, granted the land to Beornric, who turned Æðelstán out and took possession. In the mean while the revolution in Mercia took place, and Eáðgar was elected king in the countries north of the Thames. Æðelstán now seems to have had some hope that he might find some favour with the new king, and brought his case before him. But the law was clear enough; Eáðgar's witan decided as Eáðwig's had done, and Æðelstán was condemned to pay his wergýld for the Teámbyrste, or forfeit his land. On this occasion, as before, he had not wherewithal to pay, and obstinately refused to let his brother do it, and consequently again *both* lost it. The king now granted it to Æðelstán, one of his ealdormen, and gave him a book or charter, on which occasion it is certain that the old charter, in Eáðweard's possession, was annulled. From this time, the old

owners, Æðelstán and Eádweard, vanish altogether, the property is in Æðelstán the ealdorman, and his devisees. It now appears that one Eegferð bought the land of him in full and entire property, and enjoyed it till his death. He made it over in trust to Archbishop Dúnstán, as it appears, to the use of his widow and child. This act he is described to have executed "háltre tungan," with a whole tongue, i.e. with a sound, unimpeached right to bequeath; but after this he appears to have died under circumstances of suspicion, and the witan believing him to have been *felo de se*, confiscated all his property, and delivered it as an escheat to the king. He gave it now to Ælfheáh, the ealdorman. And when Dúnstán, on behalf of the widow and child, claimed the land of Eáðgar, he received for answer, that the man was a suicide, and that the estates were escheated. Dúnstán now offered to redeem the escheat by payment of Eegferð's wergýld; but the king rejoined, that if he paid that, Eegferð might perhaps be allowed to lie in a clean grave, i.e., in consecrated ground, but, for the rest, that the whole matter was handed over to Ælfheáh. Under these circumstances, the Archbishop made up his mind to pay a large sum for the two estates, amounting in all to thirty hides, or nearly 1000 acres, and Ælfheáh made him a clear title, upon the warranty of the king's grant, and the authorisation of the witan thereto. I may mention, that in addition to several interesting examples of what may be called the *symbolism* of the Anglo-Saxon law, this charter contains the only evidence we have of escheat for suicide, in the Anglo-Saxon period.¹

EADGAR (AFTER A.D. 962).

SE fruma waes ðæt mon
forstælc ænne wíman æt
Icceslea Ælfsige Byrhtsiges suna:
Ðurwíf hatte se wíman. Ðá
befeng Ælfsige ðone mann æt
Wulfstáne Wulfgáres fader. Ðá
týmde Wulfstán hine tó Æðel-
stáne æt Sunnanbyrg. Ðá
cende he tém. let ðone forber-
stan. forbéh ðone andagen. Æfter
ðám bæd Ælfsige ægíftes his
mannes. and he hine ágíft and
forgeald him mid twám pundum.
Ðá bæd Byrhtferð ealdorman
Æpelstán hys wer for ðám tém-
byrste. Ðá cwæð Æpelstán
ðæt he næfde him tó syllane.
Ðá cleopode Eádweard Æpel-

THE beginning was that some one
stole away a woman at Icceslea
from Ælfsig, Byrhtsige's son: the
woman's name was Thurwif. Then
Ælfsige detected the person in the
possession of Wulfstán, Wulfgár's
father. And Wulfstán *teamed* her
to Æðelstán at Sunbury. Then he
gave notice of *Teám*, but let it go
by default, and did not appear
at the term. After that Ælfsige
claimed his property, and he gave
it up, and paid him damages with
two pounds. Then Byrhtferð the
ealdorman sued Æðelstán for his
wergýld, for making default of *teám*.
Then said Æðelstán that he had no
means to pay with. Then called out
Eádweard, Æðelstán's brother, and

¹ I will also take this opportunity of announcing that I propose, D. V. to publish a new edition of the Codex Diplomaticus, which is no longer to be obtained except at an extravagant price, with very material improvements, and a great addition

of important matter. The principal features of the new edition will be, the translation into English of all the Saxon passages in the work, and a complete series of the Regal and Episcopal Fasti.

stánes bróðor, and cwæð, ic hæbbe Sunnanburges bōc ðe uncre yldran me læfdon, læt me ðæt land tō handa ic āgife þinne wer ðām cynge. Ðá cwæð Æðelstán ðæt him leofre wære ðæt hit tō fyre oððe flōde gewurde. Ðonne he hit æfre gebide: Ðá cwæð Eádweard hit is wyrse ðæt uncer náðor hit næbbe: Ðá wæs Ðá swá. and forbeád Byrhferð ðæt land Æðelstáne. and he offerde and gebéh under Wulfgáre æt Norð healum. Binnan ðām wéndun gewyrda. and gewát Eádred cyng: and feng Eádwig tō rice. and wende Æðelstán hine eft intō Sunnanbyrg. ungebetra þinga. Ðá geáhsode ðæt Eádwig cyng and gesealde ðæt land Byrnrice. and he feng tō and wearf Æðelstán ut. gemang ðām getídde ðæt Myrce gecuran Eádgar tō cynge. and him ánweald gesealdan ealra cynerihta. Ðá gesóhte Æðelstán Eádgar cyng and bæd dōmes. Ðá ætdémdon him Myrena witan land buton he his wer agulde ðām cynge swá he óðrum ár sceólde. Ðá næfde he hwanon. ne he hit Eádwearde his bréðer geðafian nólde. Ðá gesealde se cyng. and gebécte ðæt land Æðelstáne ealdormenn. tō hæb-
 benne. and tō syllanne for life and for legere ðām him leofost wére. æfter ðām getídde ðæt Ecgferð gebóhte bōc and land æt Æðelstáne ealdormenn. on cynes gewitnesse and his wítana swá his gemedo wæron. hæfde and breác oð his ende. Ðá betíchte Ecgferð on hálre tungan. land and bōc on cynes gewitnesse Dúnstáne archebiseope tō mundgenne his láfe and his

said: "I have the charter of Sunbury, which my ancestors left me; give me the possession of the land into my hand, and I will pay the king your wergýld." Then said Æðelstán that he would rather it should all sink in fire or flood, than that he should ever abide that. Then said Eádweard, "It would be worse, that neither of us should have it." Then was it so, and Byrhferð forbade Æðelstán the land, and he decamped, and took service under Wulfgár at Northhale. Meanwhile fortune changed, and king Eádred died, and Eádwig succeeded to his kingdom, and Æðelstán returned to Sunbury, without having mended the matter. Then Eádwig the king discovered that, and gave the land to Beornric, and he took possession and cast Æðelstán out. Meanwhile it happened that the Mercians elected Eádgar king, and gave him the power to exercise all the rights of royalty. Then Æðelstán sought king Eádgar, and demanded judgment: and the witan of Mercia condemned him to forfeit the land, unless he paid his wergýld to the king, as he should have done to the other, before. Then had he no means, nor would he allow his brother Eádweard to do it. Then the king gave and booked the land to Æðelstán the ealdorman, to have and to give, in life and in death, to whom he best pleased. After that it befell that Ecgferð bought the charter and land from Æðelstán the ealdorman, by witness of the king and his witan, as his covenants were, he had and enjoyed it to his end. Then did Ecgferð *with a whole tongue* bequeath land and book to Archbishop Dúnstán, by witness of the king, in trust for his widow and

bearne. Ðá he geendod wæs ðá rád se biseop tó ðám cyng. myngude ðære munde and his gewitnesse. Ðá cwæð se cyng him tó andsware. míne witan habbað ætreeð Ecgferðe ealle his áre. þurh ðæt swyrd ðe him on hype hangode ða he ádranc. nam ðá se cyng ða áre ðe he áhte. xx. hýða æt Sendan. x. æt Sunnanbyrg. and forgef Ælfhége ealdormenn. Ðá beáð se biseop his wer ðám cyng. Ðá cwæð se cyng. ðæt milte beón geboden him wið clénum legere. ac ic hæbbe ealle ða spæce tó Ælfhége læten. Ðæs on syxtan gere gebóhte se arcebisceop æt Ælfhége ealdormenn. ðæt land æt Sendan. mid xc. pundum. and æt Sunnanbyrg mid cc. mancussan goldes. unbecwedene. and unforbodene. wið ælcne mann tó ðære ðægtíde and he him swá ða land geágnian derr. swá him se scalde ðe tó syllene áhte. and hí ðám se cyng scalde. swá hé him his witan gerehton.

child. And when he was dead, the bishop rode to the king and put him in mind of the trust and of his testimony; then did the king give him this answer, "My witan have deprived Ecgferð of all his estate, by the sword that hung on his hip when he was drowned." Then the king took all the estate he had, twenty hides at Send, ten at Sunbury, and gave them to Ælfheah the ealdorman. Then did the bishop tender his wergyld to the king; then said the king, that that might be offered him, in consideration of a grave in consecrated ground: but he had given over the whole discussion to Ælfheah. In the sixth year after this, the archbishop bought the land at Send of Ælfheah the ealdorman, for ninety pounds, and that at Sunbury for two hundred mancusses of gold, unclaimed and unforbid, against every man soever up to that date, and he warranted him the land as his property, even as he had given it him that had it to give, and as the king had granted them to him, even as his witan had adjudged.

We are indebted to Mr. J. O. Westwood for bringing the following document under our notice. It was found by him in the MS. Evangelary of Mac Durnan, in the library at Lambeth; and he observes that it is written in the same hand as the two grants preserved in the Cotton MS. Tiberius, B. iv. He has given a facsimile of it in his "Palæographia Sacra."²

CNUT (A.D. 1020).

✠ Cnut cynig gret ealle mine biseopas, and mine eorlas, and mine gerefau on ælcere scire, þe Æpelnoð arcebisceop and se hired æt Cristes cyrcean land inne habbað, freondlice. And ic cyðe eow þat ic hæbbe ge

✠ I, Canute the king, greet all my bishops, and my eorls, and my reeves, in each shire, in which Archbishop Æthelnoth and the brotherhood at Christchurch have land, friendly. And I do you to know that I have granted him his

² Five other grants of the time of Cnut are found, as Mr. Westwood informs us, in the Mac Durnan Gospels at Lambeth. These have been printed from transcripts

in Add. MS. in Mus. Brit. No. 14907, and may be found in the "Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonicæ," Nos. 314, 1321, 1323, 1336, and 1363.

unnen him þat he beo his saca and soene wyrðe, and griðbryces, and ham soene, and forstealles, and infangenes þeofes, and flymena fyrmðe, ofer his agene menn binuan byrig and butan, and ofer Cristes cyrcean, and ofer swa feala þegna swa ic him toletan hæbbe. And ic nelle þat ænig mann aht þær on teo, buton he and his wicneras: for þam ic hæbbe Criste þas gerihta forgyfen, minre sawle to ecere alysendnesse; and ic nelle þat æfre ænig mann þis abrece, be minum freondscipe.

privilege of Sac and Sócn, and Grithbryce and Hámsócn, and Forstall, and Infangthief, and Flymena-firmth, in town and out of town, and over Christchurch, and as many thanes as I have allowed him. And I will not that any man shall meddle in aught therein, save himself and his stewards: seeing that I have granted these rights unto Christ, for the eternal salvation of my soul; and it is my will that no man break this,—on my friendship: (i.e., on pain of losing it).

The foregoing writ of Cnut is probably the earliest we possess, of this form. It is possible that they were in use at all periods of the Anglo-Saxon rule, but till the time of Cnut, we have no instance of them. Under Eádwæard the Confessor they became common. I look upon these instruments as the natural consequence of, and as the public announcement of the investiture in the temporalities of the see. Upon the election of a prelate and confirmation by the crown, he no doubt made suit for all the seignorial and other privileges attached to his barony, and this I presume is the *patent* by which his jurisdictions, &c., are secured to him. It is addressed to the usual administrative officers, and it removes their jurisdiction from all the bishop's lands and tenements. He is to have his own Sac and Sócn, i.e., right to hold plea, and his infangenne þeóf, or thief taken on his manors, i.e., the criminal jurisdiction. As Æðelnoð became Archbishop in A.D. 1020, and these letters patent must have been issued very shortly after the event, we have a tolerable certainty as to the date of the document. The formulary continued to be repeated in the charters of the Norman kings long after its meaning was entirely forgotten.

J. M. KEMBLE.

Whilst this,—the last communication of our lamented friend, was in the printer's hands, and the proof had not even received his final revision, the sad intelligence reached us of his decease, at the very moment when he had well-nigh realised that great project in connexion with the Manchester Exhibition, to which all his energies had for some weeks been devoted. The announcement made, for the first time, in the note on the foregoing observations (p. 59), will be read with painful interest and regret. It is left as he had written it: the deep sense of the uncertainty of life seems to have been present to his thoughts amidst the earnestness of purpose with which he contemplated so many intellectual achievements, now alas! so suddenly frustrated.

Proceedings at the Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

December 5, 1856.

JOHN MITCHELL KEMBLE, Esq., M.A. in the Chair.

THE HON. RICHARD NEVILLE communicated the following narrative of his recent exploration of Roman vestiges in Essex, and produced for examination some of the reliques which he had disinterred:—

“The account of a fourth Roman cemetery at Great Chesterford, Essex, recently excavated, though in itself an unimportant one, will not be devoid of interest, because it presents a feature remarkable as having occurred twice before, in my experience, on similar sites in this part of the country. The character of this will be more clearly shown, and a comparison between its various features facilitated by the details of the preceding two discoveries referred to, with which therefore I shall preface the present notice. In March, 1852, I was sent for by Captain Byng, of Quendon Hall, Quendon, Essex, then residing in the adjoining parish of Rickling, to see some ancient remains which had just been dug up in a field not far from his house, on the property of Mrs. Judd, of Maces’ Place, Rickling Green. I found at his residence the *débris* of several vessels of good Roman pottery, red, black, and white, but I do not remember any Samian ware; there were parts of bottles, pateræ, and urns, which had been broken by the labourers who had come upon them unexpectedly whilst land-ditching; the contents of these vessels were calcined human bones, of which I saw abundance; the only relic found amongst them was the small bronze duck, now exhibited, apparently a portion of a fibula or some other personal ornament. Another, apparently identical, and affixed to a small plate of bronze, found at the Roman station at Aldborough, Yorkshire, is figured in Mr. Eeroyd Smith’s “*Reliquiæ Isurianæ*,” pl. 25, fig. 14. An object very similar is figured also in Tab. xvii., No. 3, B. of Dorow’s “*Römische Alterthümer*,” and is described in the index to the plates as the lid of an ancient brass pan. On proceeding to the field the labourers showed me a wall resembling a foundation, composed of large stones and rubble laid together without any mortar, about 10 or 12 feet long by 18 inches wide. They informed me that the vessels had been placed close along the sides and the ends of this. With Mrs. Judd’s leave I sent some of my own workmen to trench the ground about the spot, but without any further success. In October of the same year I made some excavations in an enclosure next on the north-east to Sunken Church field, Hadstock, the site of the Roman villas, on land belonging to Mr. Smoothey of Linton, and in the parish of Linton. Two skeletons were very shortly found; they were those of adults, and lay at full length, side by side, close along a short wall of very similar dimensions to that noticed at Rickling, but of rather different construction, for it was faced with large square Roman flanged tiles, with the flanges turned inwards, so as to present a smooth sloping surface to any object laid along it, as the two bodies had been placed. Several other skeletons were discovered in the ground around, but only one which calls for any remark: this appeared to have been thrown carelessly into the

grave with the face downwards, and immediately behind the head a small square Roman tile, such as occur forming the piers of hypocausts, had been inserted: one of the legs, the left, had been forced up behind the back, so that the end of the foot protruded above the right shoulder, and passed over the tile. The only relics found in these graves were a number of long iron nails with small heads, and the end apparently of a thick iron spear-head, with occasional fragments of Roman pottery, but no coins.

In both the above instances the walls seem to have been intended as a sort of protection to the interments, but possibly only to individual ones, for although at Rickling *all* the vessels found were ranged along and about the stones, at Linton only two graves were made close to the line of wall; and the same remark applies to my recent excavation at Chesterford, in the course of which two more of these barriers have been found. On the 27th of last October I commenced trenching in the long meadow which intervenes on the north-west side, between the old Borough walls at Great Chesterford and the river Cam, as I considered it a likely site for a Roman cemetery; and my expectations were justified by the result, for the very first excavation was opened upon a grave containing the skeleton of an adult lying with the head to the west, rather more than two feet below the surface; a small brass coin of the Constantine family lay close to the skull, but there were no personal ornaments or vessels of any kind, although numerous fragments of black and red Roman earthenware were scattered in the surrounding soil. This was the only grave containing any deposit close to the body, although so many as eighty-three coins of small brass, principally of Constantine and Valentinian, three bronze armlets, two bronze pins, a finger ring of the same metal, the springs of an iron lock, and an iron knife were taken out among the sepulchres opened. These contained the bodies of seventeen adults, and the relics above enumerated had no doubt originally belonged to the interments, but had been displaced from their shallow tombs by agricultural operations, for I have recently ascertained that this portion of the meadow was formerly arable land. On the eighth day of the excavation the first short wall was discovered. It consisted of large flint stones set together without any mortar, and measured from 10 to 15 feet long, and 15 inches wide. Close to one end of this wall the body of a small child had been interred, and along the sides the remains of two more of similar size were found deposited. On the thirteenth day's digging the second wall was laid bare, and proved to be made of the same materials, and of nearly the same dimensions as the first, being 8 feet long by 18 inches wide. Close to it the skeletons of two adults were discovered; so close indeed had they been buried that one of the skulls lay absolutely beneath a portion of the wall. This would seem to indicate that the stones had been put in subsequently to the interments, but the bodies were in no way disturbed, and it should also be observed here, that there were no traces of foundations or any other *débris* of buildings on this, or either of the two preceding sites, at Rickling and Linton. Nearly all the skeletons recently found were lying at full length, with their heads to the west. On account of the peculiar formation of the cranium belonging to one of them, it has been preserved by the Rev. J. L. Oldham for the purpose of submitting it to the inspection of Professor Owen.

“ In reviewing the objects of interest brought to light in this excavation, the recurrence of the remains of infants deposited in juxta-position to walls, as if they had been interred, according to Roman usages, under the caves,

or *suggrundaria*, must not be overlooked; nor should it be forgotten that fifteen skeletons of young children were found a few years since at Chesterford in a similar situation, with a number of small vessels placed near them, in the very next field to the scene of the recent discoveries. That discovery is noticed in this Journal, vol. x. p. 21, where a representation of the diminutive vases may be seen. After a fortnight's trenching with three labourers, I suspended the work, on account of the paucity of relics exhumed, though I have no doubt that the cemetery extends farther."

Dr. DUNCAN M'PHERSON, of the Madras Army, late Inspector-General of Hospitals to the Turkish Contingent in the Crimean campaign, then delivered the following narrative of his researches in the neighbourhood of Kertch, carried out amidst the arduous responsibilities of the charge entrusted to him. He had found means, whilst engaged in organising an effective medical staff for the auxiliary force placed at the disposal of the allies by the Porte, to prosecute, with the aid of the Armenian camp-followers as labourers, the investigation of remains of various periods, which throw light upon the history of the capital of the kings of the Bosphorus.

"A few days after my return from the seat of war, in July last, I had the pleasure to communicate to the Institute, at the annual meeting in Edinburgh, a brief account of some researches I had conducted at Kertch. At that time I had only few specimens of the relics discovered, to exhibit. The whole are now placed in the British Museum; and in submitting to the Institute accurate drawings of some of them, I will offer a few remarks on the circumstances connected with their discovery. The drawings are from the pencil of a young and talented artist, Mr. Kell, who is now occupied in lithographing them, to accompany the work on my researches at Kertch, which I am preparing for publication.

"Shortly after our occupation of Kertch, a communication was received from the late Sir Richard Westmacott, so long known as a valued and active supporter of the Institute, calling our attention to the classic nature of the country we held, and urging research.

"Mr. Vaux, of the British Museum, one of our most indefatigable archæologists, transmitted to a friend attached to the army, concise and admirable instructions regarding the best mode of carrying out researches, in a country so full of historical and archæological interest.

"To the heads that planned the work, therefore, and not to the hands that carried it out, the chief merit is due.

"It having been brought to the notice of Lord Panmure by General Vivian, in command at Kertch, that a few marbles and bas-reliefs had escaped destruction on the investment of this city by the allies, his lordship issued instructions to secure such as had any value, and he placed a vessel at the same time at the disposal of the General, in order to transport them to England.

"Major Westmacott and Major Crease were officially associated with myself in this work: about fifty specimens were selected and placed on board ship. On this being completed, our duties as a public body ceased.

"There are few spots so replete with interest as the Cimmerian Bosphorus, once one of the most flourishing settlements of the ancient Greeks, and almost the extreme limit, in those parts, of the colonisation of that wonderful race. As our knowledge has increased, the statements of the Greek historian Herodotus have been more and more confirmed. He tells us that

the Scythians dwelt on the eastern side of the Caspian Sea, and migrating westward, they arrived in the neighbourhood of the Palus Mæotis, and that they expelled the Cimmerians, who held this and the surrounding countries.

“ He further informs us, that the Milesian Greeks, a family of Ionians, displaced the Scythians, about 600 years before Christ, and planted colonies at Panticapæum and other places.

“ The characteristic features around Kertch are the innumerable tumuli, or Kourgans, that abound in this locality. Removed from Kertch four miles, a vallum composed of earth, with a fosse in front, may be traced from sea to sea. Beyond this, at a further distance of six miles, a second vallum is seen; while a third runs across from Theodosia to Arabat. Within the space inclosed by the first vallum these tumuli are most numerous; they become reduced in numbers as you approach the second; and disappear altogether before the third vallum is reached.

“ Herodotus informs us, that the Scythians adopted this mode of perpetuating the memory of their deceased princes. This people did not appear to the discriminating Greek historian as a barbarian nation; on the contrary, he commends them as an upright and civilised race. The Greeks, who usually respected the religion of the countries they had conquered, appear to have adopted this mode of burial. The height and grandeur of these sepulchres of the ancients excite astounding ideas of the wealth and power of the people who formed them. In circumference they sometimes exceed 400 feet, and in altitude 150 feet, and they are formed from surface soil, heaps of stone confusedly thrown together with *débris* of every sort, each successive layer being distinctly traced, either by a difference of colour in the subsoil, or by a layer of seaweed or rushes, which had been laid on the surface, probably with the view of preventing the moisture of the fresh earth pressing into, and displacing that immediately under it. The successive tribes who followed the Greeks in the possession of this country, soon discovered that valuable ornaments, vases, and utensils formed of the precious metals, had been placed in these tombs. To the Genoese, while they held the country, they proved a mine of wealth. It has only been during the last thirty years, that any endeavour has been made to preserve these rare treasures of art, which show in a striking degree the former greatness of the settlement.

“ All original articles were transmitted to the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, duplicates, models, and copies being preserved in the Museum at Kertch.

“ It would occupy too much time, were I to enter into a detailed account of my researches, which extended over a period of four months. I will only offer a few remarks in explanation of the drawings and specimens submitted to you. Amongst these I will first notice the representation of a cluster of these wonderful mounds, denominated by the people of the country the ‘Five Brothers;’ the local tradition is, that the earth was heaped upon each mound annually, on the anniversary of the decease of the Prince, over whose remains it was erected, and that this was repeated annually for a period of years corresponding to the number he had ruled.

“ I drove tunnels into the centre of seven of these huge mounds, and of these, only two proved to have been left unexplored. One had a stone tomb in the centre, in which a fine bronze hydria was discovered, some carved ivory, a terra-cotta lacrymatory, and some beads were also found. The tomb was found in the upper part of the tumulus, which was quite a

mountain, and indeed nothing more than a coral-rag peak covered over with earth. I had attempted to effect an entrance at the base and at other spots of the hill; but the rock prevented this, and it was when finally descending from above that the stone chamber was attained. The sides were formed of beautifully cut sandstone, accurately put together without mortar. The roof had been constructed of wood, and had fallen in.

In the other, there was no stone tomb. After a most tedious and unsatisfactory search, a space in which the earth was somewhat loose was found. Here we could distinctly trace the remains of large upright beams and side boards occupying a space of about five feet long and four broad, and the same in height. At the bottom of this, for the roof had sunk in, were fragments of a cinerary urn of a cream colour, with dark figures: there had been ashes in the urn, in the midst of which were discovered the broken portions of a pair of gold bracelets, having beautifully worked filigree ends tipped with grapes. With this was deposited a small bust of Diana, of pure gold; the features were of marked Grecian character, and altogether it was exquisitely moulded. The temple of the Tauric Diana was placed where the Monastery of St. George now stands, on the opposite side of the Crimea, and the worship of the goddess was very prevalent.

“The other five tumuli had been previously examined; but each of them presented peculiarities in the forms of tombs and other points of interest.

“On an elevated plateau of undulating ground, above, and to the west of the modern town of Kertch, the city of Panticapæum, the capital of the Bosphorian Empire, was placed Mons Mithridatis, so denominated from its being the place on which the Acropolis of that great monarch stood; it is the highest portion of the range. Over the whole extent of this ground, which occupies a space of about four miles, there is still a vast field for research. A careful examination of this spot would amply reward the explorer. Here are to be found handles of amphoræ stamped with inscriptions, beautiful specimens of pottery, coins, and other objects of interest. I found some fragments of Samian ware, and numerous pyramidal-shaped objects of baked clay, each perforated with a hole, which may either have been used as weights or for some purpose connected with weaving. There are no remains of the city on the surface, but I found vestiges of the walls at a depth of from 6 to 10 feet. It cannot fail to excite surprise, that here, without any convulsion of nature, the remains of this great city have become covered to such an extent.

“At two spots about a quarter of a mile apart, I made the interesting discovery of an aqueduct, which probably conveyed water towards the Acropolis. It was formed of two concave tiles, firmly fixed together by cement. These tiles are stamped with a Greek name, which may serve to establish the date of the aqueduct. Mr. Franks has been kind enough to decipher for me the names and designs upon the numerous handles of amphoræ discovered. There are usually two names on each handle: one being that of the chief magistrate; the other, possibly, that of the maker.

“Some idea will be formed of the extent to which explorations have been carried on in this locality, when I state that there is barely a square yard, extending over a space of three miles, in which pits have not been sunk at some remote or recent date. The greater number of these pits exposed a stone tomb, on reaching which the searcher, considering his chances of success on that spot at an end, proceeded to another part.

“ While excavating by the side of a rocky mountain, I arrived at two chambers hewn out of the solid rock. One contained human remains, the other was empty ; and the general appearance of both marked them as the abode of the living prior to their having been turned into sepulchres. These crypts were probably the dwellings of the Tauri, a people of a most savage character, who, on their expulsion from the low country of the Seythians, preserved their nationality for a long period amongst the mountains, where they formed numberless dwellings in the solid rock.

“ Selecting a smooth portion of ground by the side of an extensive artificial mound, I came to masonry which appeared to have been previously disturbed. Removing this, I discovered a doorway opening into a vestibule, which led to a chamber. There were two figures of griffins rudely painted over the passage leading into this chamber ; and on the wall opposite the passage, two figures on horseback. Both chamber and vestibule were beautifully arched, and the floor was flagged with sandstone ; a passage appeared to have passed to the right and left ; both were now closed with firm masonry. I removed this with much trouble. Immediately beyond the masonry, to the right, the perfect skeleton of a horse was found ; and, placed across in the same position, on the left side, that of a man.

“ I then cut a tunnel to the left, descending gently as I worked on, and came upon a stratum of rock. After I had reached a distance of about 30 feet from the entrance of the tunnel, the rock suddenly terminated. The excavation being continued for 12 feet, the rock again appeared, the intermediate space being filled with loose sand. I worked down this shaft until it became dangerous to proceed further, from the loose state of the roof and of one side. It was a work of enormous labour to empty this pit, and I should have failed had not Captain Commerell come to my assistance. This officer, who was an entire stranger to me, with that ready tact and obliging disposition which distinguish so many of his brother officers of the Royal Navy, bridged the opening above, and fixing block and sheers, the pit was speedily cleared out.

“ In passing down, it was impossible not to be struck with the description given by Herodotus of the mode in which the Seythian kings were entombed. About 25 feet from the mouth of the shaft we met with human remains. The first was a female skeleton, and on her finger was a copper key-ring. There were found fifty skeletons, deposited alternately in contrary directions, head and feet, with about a foot of sand intervening between each layer. Beyond these were the bones of a horse ; then were found six more skeletons ; and finally, 52 feet exactly from the mouth of the shaft, were two adult skeletons, male and female, enveloped in a white substance resembling asphalt, which appeared, however, to me to be dried seaweed ; and in an amphora, crushed by the superincumbent earth, were the remains of a child. The absence of all ornaments of the precious metals surprised me greatly. My impression of this wonderful shaft is that it is altogether Seythian, and Professor Owen, to whom I submitted the only cranium that has arrived in England safe, namely, that found at the bottom, states that it is not Greek.

“ In prosecuting my excavations, several glass vessels, bronze fibulæ, and ornaments were found, presenting a striking resemblance to those discovered in this country with Anglo-Saxon remains. The tombs were about 20 feet under the surface ; the descent to them was by a shaft 3 feet broad and from 12 to 16 feet long ; a large flag closed the entrance, and the area

within the tombs varied in size: they were of a semicircular form; some had the remains placed on niches cut out of the calcareous stratum in which the tomb was formed. The bodies here had been placed in coffins; but there was rarely even a trace of bone, all had turned into dust. Sometimes there were remains of two or more interments on the ground without any ornaments near; but those on the niches or shelves always had glass bottles, usually also a lamp of red clay, fibulæ, beads of vitreous paste, and always there had been walnuts placed in the hand of the corpse. A small quantity of wine, which had a distinctly vinous taste, was found in one of the glass bottles.

“The presence of these remains of so distinctly a Saxon character, can only be explained by the supposition that they may be vestiges of some of the Varangian guards of the Byzantine Emperors, that faithful guard of whom Gibbon thus speaks:—‘They preserved till the last age of the Empire the inheritance of spotless loyalty, and the use of the Danish or English tongue. With their broad and double-edged battle-axes on their shoulders they attended the great Emperor to the temple, the senate, and the Hippodrome; he slept and feasted under their trusty guard; and the keys of the palace, the treasury, and the capital, were held by the firm and faithful hands of the Varangians.’

“I have thus endeavoured to give a sketch of the operations which I was enabled to carry out, in the intervals of service during the late campaign. A full account with representations of all the objects of interest will be given in my forthcoming publication.² The originals I have had the satisfaction to deposit in the British Museum. Mr. Kemble’s practical experience would have been invaluable in so interesting a field. And I often regretted that Mr. Vaux had not been the exponent of his own admirable instructions, which contributed so essentially to the success of the investigation.”

In returning thanks to Dr. M’Pherson, Mr. Kemble observed, that the discovery of walnuts deposited in the hands of the corpse in the tombs supposed to be of Varangian heroes, is a fact deserving of notice. Mr. Kemble had noticed a similar usage in several interments which had fallen under his observation, as stated in his discourse at a previous meeting (noticed in this Journal, vol. xiii. p. 291). The pyramidal objects of terra-cotta, of which several were laid before the meeting, Mr. Kemble supposed to be weights for fishing-nets. Similar objects had been found in the North of Europe, but of much larger size. The bronze fibulæ and ornaments, resembling those of the Anglo-Saxon period in this country, Mr. Kemble considered to be unquestionably Teutonic, but they bear a more close analogy to ornaments of the same class found in Germany. The layer of seaweed in the tomb is a remarkable fact; a similar usage had been noticed in interments on the shores of the Baltic, and it might have originated in some tradition of water-worship, of which traces occur in the superstitions of Scandinavia. Mr. Kemble expressed his sense of the services rendered by Dr. M’Pherson in prosecuting so difficult an enterprise, amidst the duties of his responsible position in the late campaign, as also of the spirit and taste with which he had engaged in preparing for publication a record of

² “Antiquities of Kertch and Researches in the Cimmerian Bosphorus.” This volume, recently issued by Messrs. Smith and Elder, comprises much information. The plates, printed in colours from the

drawings by Mr. Kell, present examples of ornaments of gold, bronze, and ivory, vases of bronze, glass, and terra cotta, coins, and Greek or Byzantine antiquities.

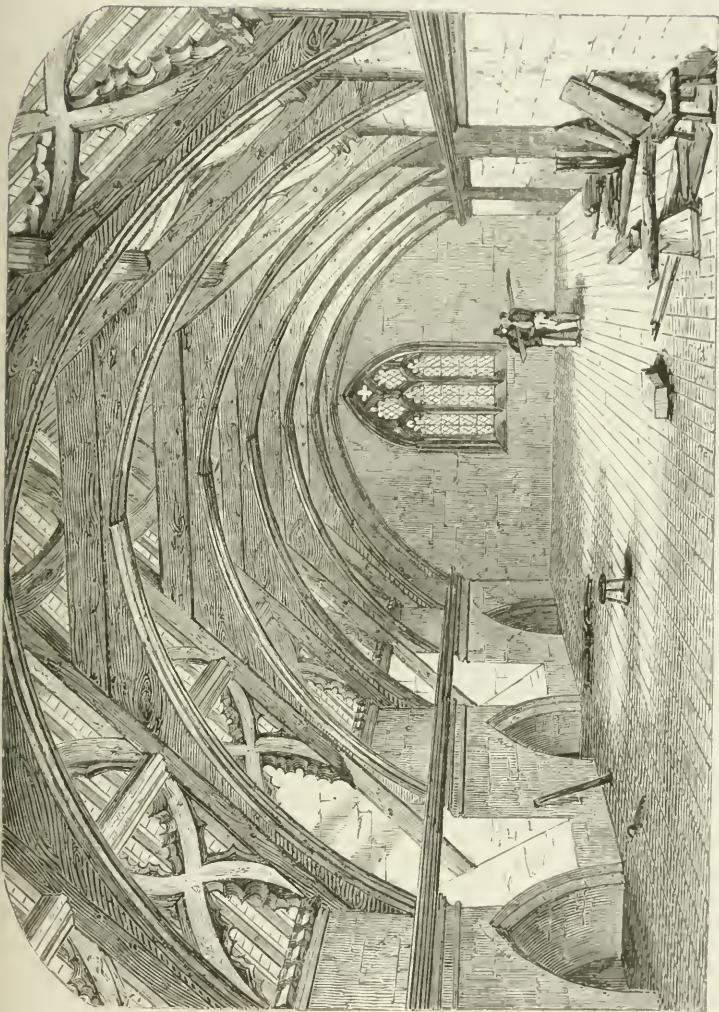
his discoveries. He had been fortunate in securing the services of so skilful an artist as Mr. Kell, whose drawings had now been laid before the Institute.

In regard to the bronze finger-ring, with a key attached, as in an example found at Chesterford by Mr. Neville, it was remarked by Mr. Franks that it is of a Roman type; several other specimens have occurred in England. (*Arch. Journal*, vol. xiii, p. 423; compare also Wagener, figs. 303, 304). The pyramidal objects of clay, of which representations have since been published in Dr. M'Pherson's "*Antiquities of Kertch*," p. 103, have occurred in juxtaposition with the remains of amphoræ, and sometimes bear the same stamps which are found on those reliques.

Mr. E. G. SQUIER, the author of various Researches into South American Antiquities, gave an account of certain ornaments formed of a peculiar precious stone, found amongst the ruined cities of Central South America. He brought for examination a number of specimens which he had fortunately obtained, some of them sculptured with sacred symbols or hieroglyphics: every specimen is perforated so as to be attached to the dress, being probably worn by the priests or the ancient Indian princes. The stone of which they are formed, is of great rarity; it is translucent, beautifully flaked with apple-green colour, and appears to be nearly allied to the "Euphotide" of mineralogists, although not identical with it. These precious objects are mentioned by certain old writers. Bernal Diaz del Castillo, Mr. Squier remarked, speaking of the skill of the Mexicans in working metals, commends their great proficiency in polishing precious stones and the *Calchihuis*, which resemble the emerald. (Lockhart's translation, vol. i. p. 233.) They occur also amongst the presents sent by Montezuma to the king of Spain, and given to Cortez; the emperor is reported to have said, "I will add a few *Chalchihuis* of such enormous value, that I would not consent to give them to any one save such a powerful emperor as yours. Each of these stones is worth ten loads of gold." (*Ibid.* p. 378.) Fuentes, in his MSS., relates that the Indians of Quichi wore head-dresses of rich feathers, with brilliant stones, "*chalchiquites*," which were very large and of incredible weight. Humboldt, in his *Travels in America*, has given many curious particulars regarding these curious objects, known by the name of "*Amazon stones*," and of the traditions respecting the places where they are discovered, their physical virtues against fevers and as amulets. He considered the material to be a feldspar. The history of these stones, Humboldt observes, is intimately connected with that of the warlike women whom the travellers of the XVIth. century named the Amazons of the New World. Raleigh speaks of their great wealth, and of the famous green stones, or *pedras hijadas*. (See "*Humboldt's Travels*," Bohn's edition, vol. ii., pp. 395, 400.)

Mr. Squier brought also for examination a series of very curious drawings of South American antiquities, consisting of gold ornaments from New Granada; the head of an idol, of remarkable workmanship, from Yulpates; a marble vase, elaborately sculptured, from Comayagua; fictile vases, partly painted and partly carved in low relief, from the ruined cities of Tenampua and Las Piedras; plans and views of the ruins of Calamulla, the temple of Tenampua, the inscribed rocks near Aramasina, &c.

Mr. J. H. LE KEUX gave an account of recent discoveries at Sherborne Abbey Church, the interesting architectural features of which have been admirably illustrated by Mr. Petit, in his *Memoir* given in the

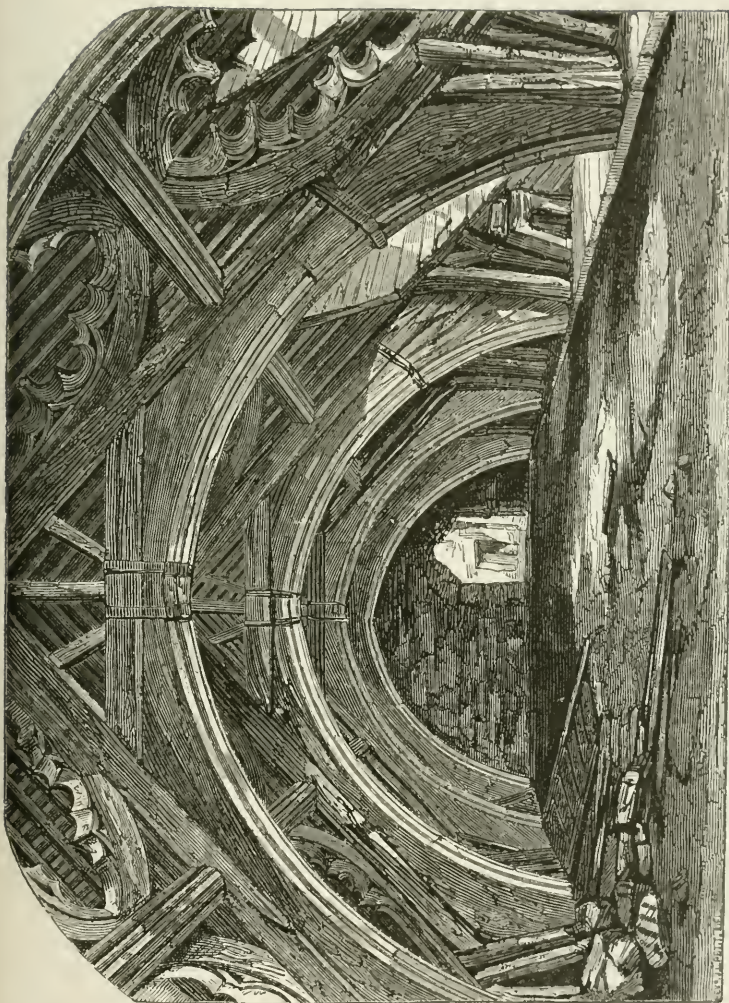


SHERBORNE ABBEY, DORSET.

Wooden Roof of the Refectory, now part of the Buildings attached to the King's School.

Transactions of the Institute at the Bristol Meeting, p. 185. Mr. Petit notices the remains of the Lady Chapel, of early English date, existing in the School House built by Edward VI.; the western arch of the chapel was to be seen in the aisle east of the choir. In the course of the "Restorations" now in progress, through the munificent donation by Mr. Wingfield, the present possessor of Sherborne Castle, the remains of the Lady Chapel have been brought to light. It appears to have been a structure beautiful in proportions and details; the arched entrance, of fine character, of which Mr. Le Keux produced a drawing, had been blocked up, and the chapel converted to secular uses. At the present time it forms part of the residence of the head master of the King's School, the lower part being wainscoted, so that all remains of the original arrangement were concealed; but fortunately in the upper chambers, used as sleeping rooms for the servants, the groining, the Purbeck marble shafts, capitals, and other elaborate decorations, remained visible. Some of the delicately sculptured foliage had been cut away to allow the bedsteads to fit more closely. Mr. Le Keux traced vestiges of polychrome decorations, and the capitals appeared to have been gilded, remains of red colour also occurred in the groining ribs. Part of the chapel had been destroyed; the foundations, however, have been traced, and Mr. Le Keux produced a ground-plan of the whole, with a restored view, sections, &c. of this interesting structure. Mr. Le Keux described also the beautiful remains of the Refectory, situated on the west side of the cloisters, a lofty structure, now divided into floors; the fine wooden roof still exists in fair preservation; it is of Perpendicular date. He exhibited a drawing of this example, as also of a still more elaborate wooden roof, of finer character, in another part of the building which formed part of the monastery. The accompanying woodcuts, from drawings by Mr. Delamotte, will show the design of these interesting remains. Mr. Le Keux produced numerous fragments of painted glass and pavement tiles, discovered during the examination of the desecrated Lady Chapel; also a series of photographs, executed by Mr. Bergman, of Sherborne, illustrative of the architectural features of the church and adjacent buildings, the castle, the fragment of the sculptured effigy of Abbot Clement (figured in this Journal, vol. xiii. p. 288), and the Royal Charters on the foundation of the schools by Edward VI., with the great seal appended. Mr. Le Keux read a letter from the Rev. E. Harston, Vicar of Sherborne, stating that a stone coffin, supposed to have contained the remains of Ethelbald, brother of Alfred, had been found behind the high altar, where Leland describes his tomb to have been. It appeared to have been opened at some previous time, and the bones only remain; no fragments of garments or any other object were found.

In reference to the cast from an inscribed stone found about March last, in Shrewsbury, presented to the Institute by Mr. J. L. RANDAL, of that town (Arch. Journal, vol. xiii. p. 296), the following particulars may be acceptable:—The stone, which was discovered at a depth of about eight feet below the level of the present street, has been fixed near where it was found, on the premises of Mr. Morley, wine-merchant, Castle Street; it may be hoped that it will be secure from injury, although a more suitable place of deposit might have been found in the local museum of the Shropshire Antiquarian Society, established through the spirited exertions of Dr. Henry Johnson and other members of that institution, in the ancient



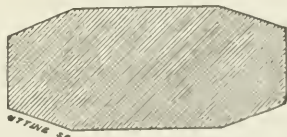
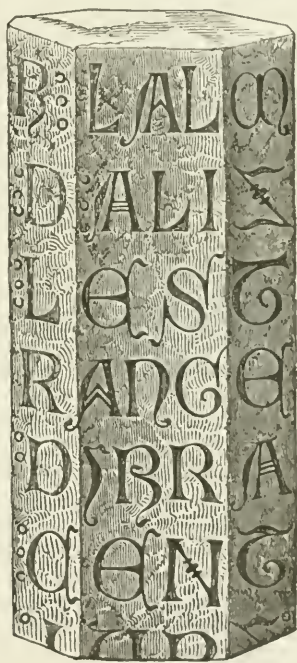
SHERBORNE ABBEY, DORSET.

Wooden Roof of a Chamber, part of the Ancient Conventual Buildings.



mansion known as "Vaughan's Place." The proportions of the fragment, which is of octagonal form, and stated to be of Purbeck marble, and the manner in which the inscription is incised upon three sides of it, will appear by the annexed woodcut. A representation with some account of the discovery was communicated by Mr. E. Edwards, the well-known local antiquary, in the *Shrewsbury Chronicle* of April 25th, 1856, and subsequently given, with some corrections, by Mr. J. Gough Nichols, in *Gent. Mag.*, June, 1856, p. 606. It will be seen that the inscription is imperfect below, and it is probable that the upper portion of it is also wanting. Various suggestions have been offered as to the reading of the inscription; it seems to us most probable that, with the missing portions, it originally ran as follows:—KI: PATER: NOSTER: ET: AVE: PVR: LALM: D: ALIZ: LESTRANGE: DIRRA: CENT: IURZ: DE: PARDVN: AVERA. It may be remarked that the proposed addition above will divide into four lines of five letters each, and that below into three, of which one of five letters and two of four; an arrangement, it will be observed, in accordance with the portion of the inscription which exists. As to the lady mentioned in it, an Avice or Hawise, daughter of Sir John Lestrangle, of Knokyn, married Sir Griffin De La Pole, a person of much note and influence in Shrewsbury in the time of Edward I. She survived him, and died in 4th Edward II. It has been conjectured, not without some degree of probability, that the Aliz named in the inscription was the Hawise just mentioned; but it would seem to us with more probability that she was some relative, possibly an unmarried sister who died before her; and to her may be ascribed this commemorative inscription. We learn from the Rev. R. W. Eyton, the historian of Shropshire, by a document in Glover's Collections, *Heralds' Coll.*, A. fo. 111 b., the date of which he considers to be between 1269 and 1275, that John le Strange, son of the before mentioned Sir John, confirmed to Alice *his sister*, ten solidates in Totynton, Norfolk, and that the deed was witnessed by, among others, Sir Griffin son of Wenhunwin, who is the Griffin De la Pole before mentioned. Hence it may be inferred that Alice was not his wife, but his wife's sister.

This inscribed fragment is stated to be of Purbeck marble: it measures $26\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, the breadth is $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the thickness $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The accompanying woodcut shows the form of the stone, which bears greater resemblance to part of the mullion of a window than of the shaft of a cross, the purpose which some persons have assigned to it. Some of the letters are very indistinct, but we have been enabled by close examination of the cast, which was kindly presented by Mr. Randal, to ascertain their



outline with sufficient accuracy. Although the proportions of the stone may appear ill-suited to an erect shaft, such as a wayside or churchyard cross, it may deserve consideration, that a stone apparently of the same date and of very similar form, and retaining parts of the transverse limbs of the cross, was found near Islington, in Norfolk, and formerly existed in Lord Harley's Museum at Wimpole. It is figured in *Gent. Mag.* xcii. part i. p. 65. This fragment bore this inscription in similar letters to those on the Shrewsbury fragment,—ANVRE : SEYENT : TVZ : ICEVS.; KE : LA : CROYS : AOVRYNT : AMEN : thus explained by Wanley,—Honorati sunt omnes illi qui istam crucem adorant. Amen.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. ALBERT WAY.—A second brass coin of Faustina the Elder, with the reverse AETERNITAS, a female figure standing, holding up her drapery with her left hand, as represented on the coins of Faustina, with the phoenix in the right hand. It was found recently with fragments of Roman pottery, of light ash-coloured ware, portions of the rims of several *ollæ* of small dimension, on Horley Land Farm, in the occupation of Mr. John Robinson, in the parish of Horley, Surrey, and adjacent to the Brighton Railway. Faustina was born A.D. 105; she married Antoninus before that prince was adopted by Hadrian, and died A.D. 141. The coin is in very decayed condition, and is interesting only as a fresh vestige of Roman occupation in Surrey, no remains of that period having previously occurred in that precise locality. During the autumn of 1854, a Gaulish or British gold coin was found in the same parts of Surrey, on Harrison's, or Hathresham, Farm, in the occupation of Mr. W. Brown. It is a coin of very rare type, presenting on one side a horse, with the symbol of a hand above it: the obverse is plain or very nearly so, and slightly convex.

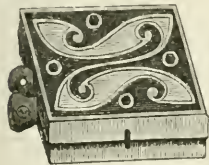
By the Hon. R. C. NEVILLE.—The diminutive figure of a duck, above-mentioned, as found in a Roman urn with burned bones, at Rickling, Essex; length, about one inch and a tenth. It may have formed the handle of some small vessel, the head of an *acus* or some other personal ornament. Compare a bronze pin in Mr. C. R. Smith's collection; figured, *Catalogue*, no. 286. A pair of bronze armlets, and a bronze finger-ring, found in a cemetery at Chesterford, November, 1856. The iron springs of a Roman padlock, of similar construction to those found at Chesterford, with the large deposit of iron implements, as described by Mr. Neville in this *Journal*, vol. xiii, p. 7. See plate 2, figs. 21-27.—Also a flat perforated disc, like a button, formed of Roman ware, of the peculiar pottery sprinkled with minute particles of quartz or some opaque hard substance, as occasionally found in *mortaria*. These perforated discs often occur amongst Roman remains; they may have served as *latrunculi*, or pieces for the game of tables, resembling draughts. Mr. Neville brought also a drawing of the ornaments engraved on the pewter alms-dish in Heydon Church, Essex, kept with the Communion plate. On the upper surface are engraved foliage, flowers, and a bird flying: on the reverse are two stamps, each about the size of a shilling, one of them being the rose crowned; the other indistinct, with IONX TVB, probably the pewterer's name. Also the initials R. H., within a necklace or rosary of ten beads to which a cross is appended.

By Mr. J. HEWITT.—Anglo-Saxon ornaments of bronze, brooches, tweezers, and toilet-implements, with beads of amber, crystal, and vitreous

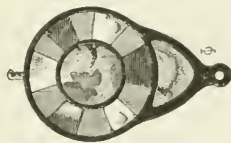
paste, found in the graves in the Isle of Wight, examined in 1856. One of the bronze brooches is of the scyphate type, of which examples have been found by Mr. Neville in Cambridgeshire, as also by Mr. Wylie at Fairford, and other localities.

By Mr. W. BURGESS.—A drawing of an ivory tablet, about $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, engraved with curious representations of Morris-dancers, in six compartments. Amongst the number figure the Queen of May, called in this country Maid Marian, a young man with pipe and tabor, another with a bauble and fool's coif with ears, and three male dancers. A curious dissertation on the ancient English Morris-dance was given by the late Mr. Douce, in his Appendix to the Illustrations of Shakspeare. The tablet, a work of the XVth. century, was found by Mr. Burgess at Vercelli; it may have ornamented the lid of a casket; the figures had been partly coloured.

By the Rev. EDWARD TROLLOPE.—A drawing of a very beautiful little bronze perfume-box, gilded and enamelled (see woodcut, of the size of the original). The peculiar ornament on the lid is inlaid with yellow enamel, the field being of deep blue, and the four small circles filled with green. There are five holes perforated in the bottom, and two in the sides, for the emission of the scent. This little relique, found at Little Humby, Lincolnshire, is probably Roman, and belongs to a class of small ornaments, frequently enriched with enamel, often found on Roman sites. Compare

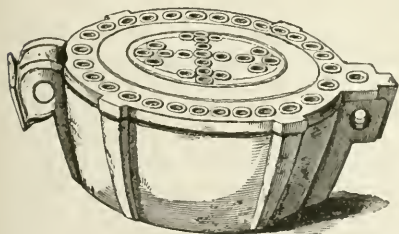


one of square form, enamelled with blue and red, found at Aldborough, figured in Mr. Ecroyd Smith's "Reliquiæ Isurianæ," pl. 25, and one found near Flint, Pennant's Wales, vol. i. pl. ix. Another more common form is shown by a specimen found at Kirkby Thore, Westmoreland. Also a drawing of another small bronze box, in form resembling a little tub, the lid attached by a hinge, and stoutly clamped. It is of gilt bronze, diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch, and was also found at Little Humby.



Kirkby Thore,
Orig. size.

The little object, last mentioned, appears to be of a class of which the age and intention has remained unexplained. There are several in the British Museum, and they have been regarded as mediæval, and intended possibly to contain nests of brazen weights. The more usual fashion is shown by the accompanying woodcut, representing a specimen exhibited in the Museum at the meeting of the Institute in Lincoln, by the late Mr. P. N. Brockedon. It had been found, with Samian ware and other Roman remains, in railway excavations at that city. In the details and the ornamentation it is wholly different from that found at Little Humby, especially in the small concentric circles, which form a cruciform ornament



Bronze Box, found at Lincoln.

on the lid ; but the intention, as also the date, may probably be the same in both instances.

By Mr. A. W. FRANKS.—Drawing of a sepulchral slab in Southwell Minster, near the entrance to the Chapter House. The dimensions are about two feet square. There is a cross incised at each angle of the slab, and on a scroll in the centre is the following inscription, in black letter :—

*Hic jacet Willms Talbot miser et indignus Sacerdos expectans
resurrectionem mortuorum s' b signo thau.*

The expression, *sub signo thau*, thus used, has not occurred elsewhere. Frequent instances have, however, been noticed in mediæval works of art, of similar allusions to the "Thau," regarded, doubtless, as typical of the symbol of salvation, in Ezekiel's vision (chap. ix. v. 4). In the Vulgate the passage is thus rendered—"Signa Thau super frontes virorum gementium et dolentium super cunctis abominationibus," &c. A curious sepulchral slab, with an incised cross of the "Thau" form, at Hulne Abbey, Northumberland, has been figured in this Journal, vol. x. p. 171.

By Mr. W. R. CRABBE.—Representation of a sepulchral brass, of unusual design, in Braunton church, Devon. The plate, a small female figure kneeling at a low desk, and turning towards the dexter side, is introduced at the foot of a gradated cross of uncommon form, the extremities of the shaft and of the limbs being cut off diagonally. The height of the figure is 14 inches. An inscribed plate beneath the cross records that this is the memorial of lady Elizabeth Bowrer, daughter of John, Earl of Bath, and sometime wife of Edward Chichester, Esq. She died August 24, 1548. This interesting little brass will be included in the collection published by Mr. Crabbe, in the Transactions of the Exeter Architectural Society.

By the Rev. J. M. TRAHERNE.—Lithograph of the monument of Sir Edward Carne, knight, of Llandough Castle, Glamorganshire, in the Atrium of the church of San Gregorio in Monte Celi, Rome. He was twice sent to the Holy See as an Envoy from the Court of London, as appears by the following inscription :—"Edvardo Carno Britanno, equiti aurato, jurisconsulto, oratori summis de rebus Britannix regum ad imperatorem, ad reges, bisque ad Romanam et Apostolicam sedem, quarum in altera legatione a Philippo Mariaque piis regibus missus, oborto dein post mortem Mariæ in Britannia schismate, sponte patriæ carens ob Catholicam fidem, cum magna integritatis veræque pietatis existimatione decessit, hoc monumentum Galfridus Vachanus et Thomas Fremannus amici ex testamento posuerunt. Obiit anno Salutis MDLXI. XIII. Kal. Febr."

By Mr. J. T. LAING.—Photographs of the following remarkable architectural examples :—West front, Peterborough Cathedral ; the Abbey Gate, Ely ; south side of Brigstock church, Northamptonshire, showing the round tower at the West end of the church ; Brixworth church, in the same county, showing the herring-bone work of wall-tiles, and other curious details of construction ; the Tower of Earl's Barton church, an example of "long and short work ;" there appears to have been a circular vertical dial on the south side ; Barton Segrave church ; Queen Eleanor's Cross, near Northampton, subsequently to the "restorations ;" and Sawston Church, Cambridgeshire. These photographs, taken by Mr. LAING, were kindly presented to the Institute, forming a valuable addition to the

collection of similar illustrations of Ecclesiastical Architecture, to which he has been a liberal contributor.

By Mr. E. RICHARDSON. — Photographs, taken by Mr. T. Greenish, illustrative of the Architectural features and of the sculptures at Wells Cathedral, and Glastonbury Abbey.

IMPRESSIONS OF MEDIEVAL SEALS. By Mr. R. READY. — Impressions from two fine matrices, preserved in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, one of them being the seal of Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who succeeded in 1401, and died in 1439; the other the seal of Wellow, or Grimesby Abbey, Lincolnshire. On the reverse is inscribed—*D'ns : Joh'es : de : Utterby : riiiij : Abbas :* doubtless showing that the seal was made in the time of John de Utterby, abbot in 1369. It is a fine example, in remarkable preservation: the form is pointed oval; two figures of saints appear in niches, with elaborate tabernacle work; one of them is a mitred ecclesiastic, holding a cross staff, probably St. Augustine, the other a regal personage with an axe, who may be St. Olaus. On the dexter side of the seal there is an escutcheon, England and France quarterly; and on the sinister side, England alone. Under the figures there is a third escutcheon, with the following coat:—A chevron, charged with three fleurs-de-lys, between a crown and a lion passant, in chief, and a crosier in base. The inscription is as follows: *S : CO'E : ABB'T' : ET : CONVENT' : MO'AST'II : S'CI : AVGVSTINI : DE : GRIMESBY.*³

By Mr. F. SPALDING, of Bungay.—Impression from a brass matrix, found on the beach at Dunwich, Suffolk, after the recent high tide. It is of circular form, diameter about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch; the device is a bird, retroguardant, probably an eagle, ✠ CREDE (M)ICHI. Date, XIVth. century. The frequent discovery of matrices in that locality deserves notice: Gardner, in his History of Dunwich, gives a list of sixty-five seals in his possession, “found hereabouts;” of these great part passed into the Tyssen collection, and are in the possession of Mr. Hankinson.

JANUARY 2, 1857.

JOHN MITCHELL KEMBLE, Esq., M.A., in the Chair.

A communication was received from the Executive Committee of the Exhibition of Art-treasures, at Manchester, regarding the proposed formation of an extensive series of examples, ancient and mediæval, illustrative of the manners and arts of bygone times. Mr. J. B. Waring, to whom the direction of this undertaking had been entrusted, gave a statement of the general scope of the object contemplated by the Committee, the extensive space allotted to the museum, the scheme of its arrangement, and the encouragement received from numerous distinguished collectors. The Executive Committee expressed the desire that such a project, calculated to prove not less attractive to the archaeologist than of practical advantage to arts and manufactures, might receive the cordial co-operation of the Institute and of antiquaries in general. Mr. Kemble, in tendering the assurance of the hearty sympathy with which all archaeologists and archaeological societies must view so important a purpose, stated that the

³ Casts from these and the other seals in the Fitzwilliam Museum are supplied to collectors by Mr. Ready, 1, Princes Street, Shrewsbury.

Central Committee had, with the special concurrence of the noble President, sought every means of giving furtherance to the design; and that a sub-committee of friendly co-operation had been formed. Mr. Kemble had undertaken the arrangement of the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon portion of the collections; and he could not too strongly urge upon the attention of the members of the Institute the importance of such an opportunity for the illustration of the History of Art, through the progressive examples of every age, commencing with the earliest vestiges of civilisation.

The Rev. J. G. CUMMING, of Lichfield, read a memoir on the Sculptured Crosses in the Isle of Man, and the Runic inscriptions which they bear, adverting especially to an example lately found built up in the tower of the church at Kirk-Braddan.

Mr. KEMBLE delivered a discourse on Notices of Heathen Interment occurring in Anglo-Saxon Charters.

The Rev. W. H. GUNNER gave an account of the MSS. in the library of Winchester College, especially of a volume which contains, amongst various matters of local interest, a contemporary Life of Wykeham. Bishop Lowth had regarded this book as having been in the possession of that prelate, but Mr. Gunner considered that the supposition was not grounded on any sufficient evidence. The MS. appears to have been written in the time of Adam de Orilton, bishop of Winchester, 1334-45; it contains the *Fasti* of the sees of Canterbury and of Winchester, the value of benefices in the patronage of the latter, as also of the whole of the diocese; with a summary of the *Taxatio* of the dioceses of the province of Canterbury, written about 1333. With these had been bound up a short life of Wykeham, but evidence is wanting to show that the volume had actually been in his possession.

Mr. M. AISLABIE DENHAM, of Piersebridge, communicated some further details in regard to ancient vestiges brought to light during the progress of railway operations at Carlebury, co. Durham (See Arch. Journal, vol. xiii. pp. 96, 101). Numerous interments, probably of the Roman period, had been found; in one instance five skeletons lay together as if they had been interred in one continuous trench; three urns of Roman ware were found with them. At another spot several teeth of a horse were found near some human remains, a broken *olla*, and a third brass coin of Antoninus Pius. Several other examples of pottery have occurred, and amongst the coins discovered in recent excavations may be mentioned two silver coins of Trajan, and two of Geta; one of the latter lay close to a human skull, and had probably been deposited as a *Naulum* in the mouth of the corpse. The head had been covered by a roughly dressed flat sandstone, placed horizontally, to protect it from the pressure of superincumbent earth, or rather stones, in which it lay inhumed. This mode of protecting the head, Mr. Denham observes, is very usual in Roman graves at Piersebridge, and it may serve to show that the body had been interred in a shroud only, without any cist.

The vestiges of Roman times recently found have wholly occurred within a narrow limit, extending about 200 paces to the East, and about 120 West, of the turnpike road to Bishop Auckland, which occupies the track of the Watling Street. Piersebridge is situate immediately within the bounds of a Roman station, the area of which is nearly nine acres, supposed to be the *MAGIS* of the itineraries. Mr. Denham described a rude cist, placed North and South, formed of unwrought blocks of sandstone, to be seen projecting from the broken face of earth in the North-East

angle of the "Kiln Garth," about 20 feet West from the Watling Street. It had been examined during the railway operations; but nothing, with the exception of bones, was found. Carlebury, a village placed on the higher ground, to the North-East of Piersebridge, is supposed to have been occupied in Saxon times: local tradition affirms that an army of soldiers were interred under a large mound in this township, called "Smuther Law." Mr. Denham had recently obtained a flint arrow-head found at Cliffe, on the opposite bank of the Tees, the first relique of the kind found in that neighbourhood. The remarkable entrenchments at Stanwick, and other early remains in this locality, have been described in the Memoir by Mr. M'Lauchlan in this Journal, vol. vi. p. 217, where a plan of the Roman camp at Piersebridge is given, as also in his Survey of the Watling Street, executed by direction of the Duke of Northumberland, and published through the liberal permission of His Grace, by the Archæological Institute.

The Rev. EDWIN JERVIS communicated three documents which relate to Lincolnshire, and are preserved amongst the evidences at Doddington Park, in that county. We are indebted to Mr. W. S. Walford for the following abstracts:—

1. Undated. Grant, whereby Alan, son of Robert "delehanedye" of Sutton,¹ gave to his son, John, and his heirs and assigns all the land which he (Alan) had in a place called "Goderye places," lying in the territory of Sutton, between land of Robert, his (Alan's) brother, on the south, and land of John Temper on the north, and half an oxgang outside the sea-ditch (fossat' maris), lying in a place called "Fenkocmerske,"² of the fee of Scotenay, with free ingress and egress; to hold of him (Alan) and his heirs to him (Thomas), his heirs, and assigns, rendering therefore yearly to Alan and his heirs one farthing of silver only, at the feast of the Nativity of our Lord, for all secular services, customs, &c. Warranty by Alan against all men and women. In testimony whereof he affixed his seal thereto: "Hiis testibus Domino Alano de Sutton capellano, Alano de Godesfeld de eadem, Johanne temper de eadem, Roberto burdun, Waltero ad gutturam, Eudone ad gutturam,³ Roberto filio ketelberti, Roberto clerico, et multis aliis."

On a label a pointed oval seal, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches in length, of green wax; device, a fleur-de-lis; legend—* S' ALANI E'.

Though without date, this deed is probably of the XIIIth century.

2. 46 Edw. III. (1372).—Release by Hugh, son of Robert Payntour of Lincoln, to Thomas de Banham of Lincoln of all right and claim in the lands, tenements, and rents, which were the aforesaid Robert's, in the parishes of St. Peter ad placita, and St. Peter at the skin-market (ad forum pellium) in Lincoln; to hold the same to the said Thomas, his heirs, and assigns, of the chief Lords, by the services therefore due, and of right accustomed. Warranty by Hugh against all persons. In testimony whereof he affixed his seal thereto: "Hiis testibus Johanne Toke tunc majore Civitatis Lincoln', Johanne de Farlesthorpe tunc ballivo ejusdem, Johanne de Blythe, Johanne de Wykford, Roberto de Carleton et aliis."

¹ Probably Sutton, a parish on the Lincolnshire coast, about five miles north-east of Alford.

² Or possibly, Fenkotmerske.

³ At the Gowt? Trasthorpe Gout

occurs about two miles north of Sutton. In regard to the frequent occurrence of this term in names of places in Lincolnshire, see Transactions of the Institute, Lincoln meeting, p. 58.

Dated at Lincoln on Thursday next after the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel in the forty-sixth year of King Edw. III.

On a label a circular seal, $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch in diameter, of dingy brown wax ; device, a lion rampant ; legend—* s' : IVLIANE : DE : SEIN : ION : in the capitals called Lombardic. This seal is well designed and cut ; and though the deed purports to bear Hugh's seal, this could hardly have been made for him. He may have found or purchased it, and appropriated it ; or though a lady's is less likely to have been so employed, it may have been the seal of some other person, used for the occasion ; a practice very prevalent at a later period when there was no signature, and perhaps not uncommon even at the date of this deed. There were several churches in Lincoln dedicated to St. Peter, beside those now existing (see Ecton's Thesaurus) ; but neither of the above appears among either the present or the destroyed churches. The "Ecclesia B. Petri ad placita" occurs however amongst the churches in Lincoln, Taxat. Eccl. p. 76. "Ad placita," seems to refer to some court. Was a court ever held at, or near, St. Peter at the arches ? Indorsed, in a later hand, is "Carte tei ad plita [a dash through the l] sci Petri ad plita [as before] & sci Petri ad forum pellium."

3. 9 Hen. IV. (1408).—Grant of pension by Walter, Prior of Sixhille, of the Order of St. Gilbert, and the convent of the same place ; whereby, after reciting that their venerable Lord, Thomas, Lord la Warre, had given them a meadow and pasture called Caldecote, in Tirryngtone, next Sixhille, in the county of Lincoln, to hold to them and their successors, for maintaining certain divine services and works of piety within their priory, and also to pay yearly to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of the B. Mary, Lincoln, to the use of the Vicars there, five marcs sterling, for the performance of certain divine services by the said Vicars in the Cathedral Church aforesaid for ever, as more fully appeared by a certain charter of feoffment made by the said Thomas, Lord la Warre, to them thereof,—the said Prior and Convent granted to the said Dean and Chapter a certain yearly pension of five marcs, to hold of them, the Prior and Convent, to the said Dean and Chapter and their successors, to the use of the said Vicars and their successors, to be paid at Lincoln to the provost, for the time being, of the said Vicars at the terms (i.e. feasts) of SS. Peter and Paul, and of St. Martin in the winter, as therein expressed, for the perpetual support of certain divine services in the Cathedral Church aforesaid, by the said Vicars, according to the ordinance of the said Thomas, Lord la Warre, to be made thereof. Which grant was made subject to a condition for determining the said pension in case the Prior and Convent were lawfully evicted from the said meadow and pasture under a previous title, without any fraud, deceit, or covin of theirs ; but so that if they recovered the same, then the pension was to be paid as before mentioned ; and for payment of the pension as aforesaid, they bound themselves by the present deed. In testimony whereof to one part of it, remaining in the possession of the said Vicars, the Prior and Convent set the common seal of their House, and to the other part, remaining in their possession, the Vicars had set their common seal. Dated at Sixhille the 20th day of January in the ninth year of the reign of King Hen. IV.

On a label is a pointed oval seal (broken), $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, of red wax in green : device, half-figure of the Virgin with the Infant Saviour at the breast, and below, half-figure of an ecclesiastic in attitude of prayer ;

legend imperfect—* LACTANS PROTEGE SCA REY, in so called Lombardic capitals. The last word is probably Reum, for a line may be traced over the v. It has been suggested by Mr. A. W. Franks, that the missing words were VIRGO DEVM. If so, the whole reads "Lactans Virgo Deum protege sancta reum." This has little of the character of a common seal, though from the deed such appears to be the fact.

NOTE.—Little is to be found of the Priory of Sixhille, or Sixle. According to Dugdale's *Monasticon*, last edit., vi., p. 964, it was a Gilbertine Priory of Nuns and Canons, dedicated to the B. Virgin, and is said to have been founded by a person named Grelle or Gresle. The common seal is there described as it was found attached to the Surrender of the Priory, dated 27th September, 30 Hen. VIII., in the Augmentation Office, with little of the legend remaining. The device seems to correspond with the above; it is probably from the same matrix. In the *Monasticon* mention is made of an Indenture between Thomas de la Warre, clerk, and the Canons of Sixhille; the property is not named. That was probably the same person who is called in the above deed our venerable lord Thomas, Lord la Warre. The term "venerabilis dominus," applied to him, agrees with the supposition of his being an ecclesiastic, though the designation "dominus la Warre," is suggestive of a layman. But it appears that the Thomas, Lord la Warre, who succeeded his brother in 22 Rich. II., was a priest and rector of Manchester, and had summons to Parliament till 4 Hen. VI. as "Magistro Thomæ de la Warre," in which year he died; and in him terminated the male succession of la Warre to that barony, which thereupon passed through a female to the family of West.

The Rev. F. DYSON communicated a notice of the discovery of a considerable deposit of bars of metal, stated to be of steel, recently found at the top of one of the Dingles near the Wyche Rocks, about half a mile distant from the present pass from Great Malvern into Herefordshire. Three of the bars were sent for examination, being specimens of the hoard, which consisted of about 150 pieces of steel much decayed by rust; they lay at a depth of three feet under the turf, covered by pieces of rock, and forming a mass encrusted together by the decay of the metal. Some of the bars were so deeply rusted that they crumbled to fragments on being removed. Those which were sent by Mr. Dyson for exhibition to the meeting measured 22 inches in length, three quarters of an inch in breadth, and about one-fifth of an inch in thickness. One end is blunt, as if cut off at right angles, the other appears to have been formed to receive a handle of some description, the sides of the bar being hammered out and turned over, so as to form a kind of open socket. The exact fashion, however, of this part cannot be distinctly ascertained, owing to the thick incrustation of rust. The bars are of equal thickness and breadth throughout the whole length. It had been conjectured, Mr. Dyson stated, that these objects might have been mining tools; and it may deserve notice that, about 70 or 80 years since, the occurrence of yellow mica in the sienite, of which the rocks at the Wyche are composed, led to mining operations near the spot where these bars of metal have been discovered, in the vain expectation of obtaining gold. A notice of these workings, which proved wholly fruitless, has been given by Mr. Horner in the "Geological Transactions." The bars appear too short to have been used in boring for such purposes, to which also their blunt extremities seem ill

adapted, and it had been suggested that they may have been merely "gads," or pieces of steel, usually imported from foreign countries in *garbæ*, or sheaves, of 30 bars.⁴ The number found at the Wyche would accordingly have formed five such sheaves, and they may have been concealed near the mountain-pass in troublous times, or possibly by some travelling trader, whose pack-horse failed on the heights in traversing the Malvern range. In 1824 a similar discovery occurred in the neighbouring county of Gloucester. In the centre of the camp on Meon Hill, a deposit of 393 bars, almost identical with those found near Malvern, was brought to light; they lay in a heap, and by the specimen preserved in the Goodrich Court Armory, figured in Skelton's Illustrations, vol. i. pl. 45, it appears that each bar measured 30 inches in length, slightly tapering towards the blunt extremity, the other end being formed, as above described, with a rudely fashioned open socket. The late Sir S. Meyrick considered these bars to have been the flexible javelins of the *Velites*, of which mention is made by Livy.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. POLLARD.—A stone celt, or axe-head, of the most simple form, found on Hounslow Heath in digging the foundation for a building, about 100 yards North of the 12 mile stone from London, between Hounslow and Bedford. Several similar celts found there are in Lord Londesborough's collection. Also, an object of the same class, found in co. Middlesex, in Jamaica; it is shaped and polished with much care, and the smaller extremity very pointed. Mr. Kemble observed that this type closely resembles that frequently found in Norway, and of which examples have occurred occasionally in Normandy. In the West Indies these objects of stone were in use for the purpose of cooling water.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—A fragment of stag's horn, about 5 inches in length, 2 inches in diameter, with a perforation apparently adapted to receive a haft, and supposed to have been intended as the mounting for an implement of stone in times of remote antiquity. It was found in Wychwood Forest, Oxfordshire, with human remains and pottery of early character. Professor Quekett had determined that it is a portion of the horn of the red deer of the extinct species. Mr. Kemble observed that this object is the only example, to his knowledge, hitherto noticed in this country; similar reliques have frequently been found on the Continent, and three, found near Amiens, are preserved in the British Museum. Other examples, precisely resembling that exhibited, are figured in the "Antiquités Celtiques," by M. Boucher de Perthes, pl. 1 and 2. Mr. Kemble produced a series of drawings of objects of this class which had fallen under his observation in museums in Germany and other localities; they were intended to illustrate the use of the horn of the elk and the deer in

⁴ According to Fleta, lib. ii. c. 12, the garba of steel consisted of 30 pieces. In the tables of dues on merchandise, Boys' Hist. of Sandwich, p. 437, mention occurs of the "garbe de fer de Cologne," and in Arnold's Chron. Appendix, p. 75, the item "Faget yerne," occurs. Iron and steel were imported in such bundles or garbæ from Normandy and Spain, as well

as Cologne. Harrison, in his Description of Britain, written about 1579, and prefixed to Holinshed's Chronicle, observes,—"as for our steele, it is not so good for edge-tooles as that of Colaine, and yet the one is often sold for the other, and like'tale used in both, that is to saie, thirtie gads to the sheffe, and twelve sheffes to the burden." Book iii. ch. 11.

primitive times. Amongst these were a coultter of red deer's horn, preserved at Mecklenberg; portions of horn, forming knives by means of small laminæ of silex inserted on their edges; an axe-head of polished elk's horn, with other reliques, from the Berlin Museum. However rare such objects may be in this country, Mr. Kemble expressed the belief that more close investigation would bring to light many examples, hitherto unnoticed.

By the Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER.—Two disks of flint, of irregularly rounded shape, measuring about an inch in diameter, one side convex, and chipped with considerable care, the other comparatively flat, and roughly fashioned. Their thickness is about half an inch. One of the specimens produced was found near Malton, Yorkshire, the other near Pickering, and they occur in those districts in great numbers. When fields are ploughed up on the high moors near the place last named, a locality full of remains of very early age, these flints appear in abundance on the surface of the soil; they are also sometimes found in barrows. Precisely similar implements of stone are figured by M. Boucher de Perthes in his "*Antiquités Celtiques.*"

By Miss MARY WALKER.—A collection of Roman reliques found at Kenchester, Herefordshire, on the site of the Roman station *MAGNA CASTRA*, about half a mile from Credenhill, and about 5 miles West of the city of Hereford. They comprised twenty-seven coins of various reigns, bronze fibulæ and fragments of ornaments chiefly of personal use, a finger-ring, a bronze spur, the iron point of which had perished with rust, &c., portions of metallic scorix, part of an ornament of jet, fragments of mosaic pavements, Samian and other Roman wares, specimens of glass, of which one may have served for glazing a window, also a small bead of coloured glass, and a pin and needle or bodkin of bone. Mr. John Hardwick, of Credenhill, on whose estates the interesting remains of the Roman station are situated, stated that the coins and antiquities sent by him to Miss Walker had been found during the last 10 or 15 years, on various occasions. The situation of Kenchester (Mr. Hardwick observed) is most beautiful, and the station was strongly fortified by a stone wall, 6 or 7 feet in thickness, with entrance gates, enclosing 21 acres. The soil is of very dark colour, almost black, showing evidence, as it has been supposed, of the destruction of the city by fire, when deserted by the inhabitants themselves, or by the enemy, as quantities of charred wood, molten iron, and glass, with many other things, amply testify. About forty years ago the site was a complete wilderness of decaying walls and débris; at that time it was converted into tillage at an enormous expense, and nothing but the high price of corn could have at all compensated for the great outlay in clearing it. Since that time it has been under the plough, and the stones having been removed as deep as the plough penetrates, it produces very fine crops of corn. The land is loose and friable, and fine as a garden; in the drought of summer the streets and foundations of the houses are quite perceptible, as the crops do not grow so high or luxuriant as in other parts. There is no doubt many of the buildings were of timber, for along the lines of streets, at regular distances, the plinths in which the timbers were inserted, have been taken up, the holes being cut about 4 inches square; the plinths measured 2 feet in each direction, and they lay 2 feet under the present surface. About 12 or 14 years ago a tessellated pavement was laid open, 15 feet square, but being exposed to the air it soon crumbled to pieces: a portion

of it was removed to the Museum at Hereford, where it still remains. In the excavations made at that time, a number of hand-mills were found, some of them in perfect condition. The stones measured about 18 inches in diameter. The station occupied a rising ground commanding most extensive views, yet still must be considered in a valley. The principal street was a direct line through the town, from east to west, 12 or 15 feet wide, with a gutter along the centre, to carry off refuse water, as is traceable by the difference in the growth of crops. The streets appear to have been gravelled. The old Roman road remains perfect at either end of the town for some miles. The coins are generally found on the surface after ploughing, more especially when the ground has been washed by heavy rains.

A memoir by Mr. C. ROACH SMITH on some curious Roman antiquities found at *Magna*, including an Oculist's stamp, may be found in the Journal of the Archaeological Association, vol. iv, p. 280. Some notices of Kenchester, and of the Roman ways leading to it, are given by Mr. Davies, in his "Herefordshire under the Britons, Romans, and Anglo-Saxons," *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. v. N. S. p. 96; and Mr. T. Wright gave a more detailed notice of the station, *Gent. Mag.*, vol. xxxvii. p. 124, with representations of several diminutive bronze figures found there, possibly votive offerings.

By Mr. WESTWOOD.—A series of examples of the types of Celtic and ancient Irish Ornamentation, prepared for publication in the "Grammar of Ornament," produced under the direction of Mr. Owen Jones. Also drawings of the architectural peculiarities of the church of St. Wollos, at Newport, Monmouthshire.

By Mr. LE KEUX.—Drawings of various churches in Berkshire, by Mr. J. C. Buckler, including the churches of Englefield, Ruscombe, Pangbourn, Bucklebury, Compton, Sunning Hill, Hampstead Norris, &c., and the ancient mansion of Upton Court. Also plans of the vestiges at Caersws, Montgomeryshire, supposed to be the *Mediolanum* of the Roman age, and a map of the Roman Roads in the neighbourhood, by the Rev. David Davies, accompanied by numerous reliques of the Roman period, discovered there in excavations carried out under his direction in 1847. A full account of these investigations, accompanied by a map of the Roman roads, and the plan of an extensive villa, has been given by Mr. Davies in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. iii. Third Series, p. 151. Mr. Le Keux brought also a collection of illuminated initial letters, forming a complete alphabet, from a MS. of the XVth century, they are of very elaborate design, and probably of German art.

By Mr. DODD.—A small miniature portrait of Sir Francis Drake, painted in oil on copper.

February 6, 1857.

The Hon. R. C. NEVILLE, Vice President, in the Chair.

Mr. A. HENRY RHIND communicated a report, addressed from Goormch, in Upper Egypt, giving an account of his recent exploration in the vast necropolis near Thebes, and in the Valley of the Tombs of the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty. Mr. Rhind, through the friendly mediation of the consul general, Mr. Bruce, had been favoured by the viceroy with a firman,

authorising him to pursue his researches and make excavations in any parts of Egypt; and the facilities thus conceded promised to ensure certain very satisfactory results. Mr. Rhind stated, also, that he had originated excavations in the island of Elephantine, of which Lord Henry Scott and Mr. Stobart had undertaken the direction; and he promised to make known to the Institute hereafter, the results of these investigations, on which a numerous body of labourers had already been actively engaged.

Mr. NEVILLE related the following remarkable discovery of Roman reliques in Essex, of very rare description; they have formed a valuable accession to his extensive museum at Audley End.

"In the beginning of last December, some labourers cutting land drains in a field called Bramble Shot, the property of Mr. Green at Great Chesterford, discovered the following ancient remains. The two men employed were working in parallel ditches, about twenty feet asunder. A large black earthenware urn stood close beside one ditch, when discovered it was perfect, but it fell to pieces on being moved; it contained burnt bones of animals.

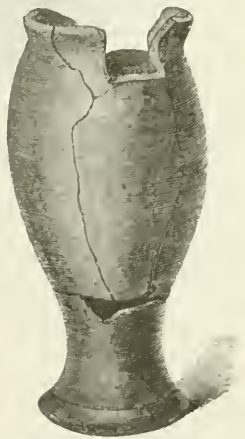
"Near the other drain, exactly opposite, the two curious bowls now exhibited, were found deposited in black soil, two feet from the surface. With them lay the fragments of two vases of dark Roman pottery and elegant form. One of them has been restored and measures 10 inches in height, $4\frac{1}{2}$ across the mouth, $3\frac{1}{2}$ across the foot, greatest circumference 16 inches (see woodcut).

"The accurate drawing by Lady Charlotte Neville must suffice to give a correct idea of its shape, since the vessel is too shattered to bear removal for exhibition. Two pairs of bow-shaped silver fibulæ were next found lying in the soil. Both pairs have been connected by a silver safety chain, or cord of wire very skilfully plaited; this remains perfect in one pair, and portions are still attached to the brooches of the other: only one brooch is entire, the remaining three having been broken in separating them from the clay in which they were found. Two hafts of iron knives were the only other objects discovered, although I sent a workman to examine carefully the remaining space between the two drains.

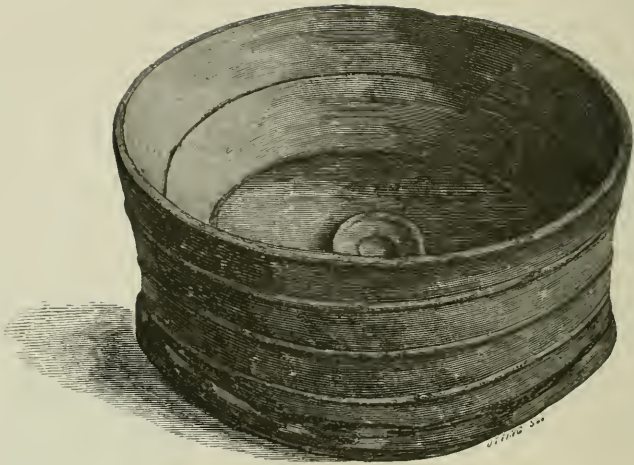
"There were several bronze fibulæ found at Chesterford of similar form to those above noticed; these are now in my museum, and some specimens have links of bronze chain fastened to them. Amongst the numerous fictile vessels discovered near that village, I have never seen a shape exactly the same as the example found on this occasion, and here represented.

"I may also remark, that I possess two bowls of black earthenware of the same form as those exhibited, but they are raised upon a foot or stand, instead of being flat at the bottom. The site of the discovery now described is east of Chesterford, upon the brow of a steep hill, sloping towards the north-west.

"A tumulus may possibly have once covered this deposit and been obliterated by agriculture, but there is no record of any such mound having existed there."



Roman Urn found with two vessels formed of Kimmeridge coal, at Great Chesterford, Essex. Height, 10 in.



Vessel formed of Kimmeridge coal, found in Dec. 1856, at Great Chesterford,
Essex, with Roman remains.

Height of the original, 3 inches; diameter at the brim $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, at the base $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

PRESERVED IN THE HON. RICHARD C. NEVILLE'S MUSEUM AT AUDLEY END.

The remarkable vessels here described were in a state of remarkable preservation when found, and were considered to be of wood, black with age and the moisture of the clay in which they had been embedded. After a short exposure, however, to the air, the material began to crack and flake, assuming precisely the appearance of the dark brown shale of the coast of Dorset, of which the "Kimmeridge coal-money" is formed. The identity of the material is so evident in the present condition of the vessels, that there can be no hesitation in regarding them as examples of the manufacture supposed to have been extensively carried on in Roman times in the neighbourhood of Kimmeridge, in the isle of Purbeck. In this point of view, the curious vessels in Mr. Neville's museum are highly interesting, as connected with a remarkable branch of ancient industry, the chief evidence of which has hitherto been supplied by the disks, now generally regarded as having been the waste pieces thrown aside in turning ornaments on the lathe. This explanation was first suggested by Mr. Sydenham, whose memoir read at the Canterbury meeting in 1844, was published in this Journal, vol. i. p. 347. The objects found at Chesterford unquestionably belong to the Roman period. The dimensions of the vessels, which may possibly be designated as *canistra*, are, height 3 inches, diameter at the base $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches, at the rim $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches. In the centre, inside the vessel, there is a flat boss, which presents a remarkable resemblance to the common forms of the "Kimmeridge coal-money," and was probably left to give additional strength to the bottom of the vessel, for which purpose also, it may be supposed, several concentric rings in considerable relief were formed on the under side of the bottom, in the same manner as on the bronze *trullæ* or skillets, of which numerous examples have been found in this country. The *Canistrum* was usually of basket-work, serving to contain bread, fruits, or vegetables, but there were also silver *canistra* amongst the appliances of the table in Roman times, designated as *canistra siccaria*, and it is not improbable that they were occasionally of other less precious materials. With the exception of armlets, objects formed of the Kimmeridge shale are of very rare occurrence. The pair of vases found at Warden, Bedfordshire, described and figured in Professor Henslow's Memoir in the Transactions of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, in 1846, are the most remarkable examples hitherto on record. These measure about 14 inches in height, and are composed of several portions, rabbeted together: one of the pair is now in the Museum of the Cambridge Society; the other (imperfect) is in the British Museum. Professor Henslow notices a portion of a large *patera* of this kind of shale, found near Colchester. A curious specimen of a material, apparently identical with the "Kimmeridge shale," may be seen amongst Roman remains in the museum at Boulogne, chiefly found near that locality rich in Roman vestiges. It is a round covered box or *capsella*, measuring about 5 inches in diameter, in very perfect state, the lid is ornamented with concentric raised rings, turned with the lathe. In the same collection may be seen two armlets of the same material, and several armlets of jet or cannel coal. The subject of the Kimmeridge manufactures has been carefully investigated by the Rev. John Austen, of Ensbury, who has prepared a memoir on the subject for publication in the "Papers read before the Purbeck Society."

Mr. WESTWOOD offered some observations on the remarkable sculptured monuments of a certain district in Scotland, and the peculiar symbols occurring upon them, with especial reference to the recently published work

produced by Mr. Stuart, under the auspices of the Spalding Club, and entitled "The Sculptured Stones of Scotland." See the notice of that work in this volume. Mr. Westwood alluded also to the existence of numerous sculptured crosses and sepulchral slabs, of different character and age, in various parts of Scotland, especially in the western counties, well deserving of attention, and expressed the hope that the admirable works produced by the late Mr. Chalmers, of Aldbar, and by Mr. Stuart, might stimulate other antiquaries to prosecute the illustration of this interesting class of antiquities.

In regard to the sculptured slabs in Scotland, Mr. ALBERT WAY remarked that they exist in great numbers in the ancient cemeteries, some of them being very elaborately ornamented, and well deserving to be carefully drawn and published. The numerous memorials at Iona have been figured by Mr. Graham, in his work on the ancient remains in that island.⁵ During a recent visit to Argyllshire, Mr. Way had been informed that numerous sculptured slabs brought from Iona, exist in various grave-yards on the western coasts, and especially at Strachur, on the shores of Loch Fine. According to tradition, a boat laden with such spoils from Icolmkill had been chased by the islanders, and the plunderers had thrown their cargo of slabs overboard near the shore, where the fishermen stated that they still lay in five fathom water. In the churchyard of Strachur, anciently Kilmaglass, Mr. Way had found three richly carved slabs in low relief, bearing considerable resemblance to those still to be seen at Iona, as figured in Mr. Graham's volume, the device being a large sword, with two lions combatant at the top of the slab, and trailing foliage of elegant design filling the vacant spaces. On obtaining tools and removing a layer of rank and decaying vegetation, he brought to light several other slabs, thirteen in all, mostly ornamented with the sword and foliage; on one only there is a miniature effigy of an armed man standing with a spear in his hand. Two of the slabs presented the symbol of the shears, doubtless indicating the interment of a female; on another was seen a chalice and paten. According to the local tradition, these venerable reliques had been brought by the Fergusons, a family resident in the parish, to garnish their graves, whilst some of the slabs were pointed out as covering the resting-places of Camerons and other inhabitants. The church, it may be observed, is a modern building; the ancient church of Kilmaglass stood at a considerable distance, and it is probable that the interments in the present burial-ground are comparatively of recent date. Mr. Way observed that the use of sepulchral symbols appeared to have been retained in Scotland to a very late time. At Strachur he saw a head stone with a pair of scissors, marking the grave of the village tailor, as late as 1772. In the cemetery surrounding Dunblane cathedral, there are many head-stones and slabs bearing incised representations of the bows, or yoke for oxen, the coulter or plough-share, indicating that the deceased were farmers. One of them bore the date 1759. On another stone appear the barber's bason, razor and comb; on another a pair of scales, sugar-loaf, and yard measure, the symbols of a grocer who had followed also the calling of a draper; on another a shoemaker's stick and cutting-knife, &c. In reference to the

⁵ This interesting volume is entitled, "Antiquities of Iona," by H. D. Graham, London, Day and Son, 1850, 4to. Fifty-

two lithographs, views of the architectural remains, tombs, sculptured crosses, and several very curious effigies, &c.

comb and mirror so frequently seen on the early stones figured in Mr. Stuart's valuable work, it may deserve notice that the like symbols are seen on the tomb at Iona, with the effigy of the Prioress Anna, who died in 1513. It is figured by Mr. Graham, plate 45.

Mr. HAWKINS stated that a proposal had recently been forwarded to him from Shropshire, for carrying out an extensive work of "Restoration" at Battlefield church, near Shrewsbury. The remains of that structure, which is supposed to have been erected after the battle of Shrewsbury in 1403, and still displays an effigy of Henry IV. placed over the great east window, are actually in very dilapidated condition. They had been viewed with much interest by the members of the Institute on the occasion of their meeting in Shrewsbury, when they were so hospitably welcomed at Sundorne Castle and Haughmond Abbey, by the late Mr. Corbet, who took great interest in the preservation of the venerable church situated on his estate. Mr. Hawkins expressed the earnest hope that the ancient features of the structure might not be mutilated and disguised, as too frequently had proved to be the result of the inconsiderate prosecution of so-called "restorations;" and he proposed a Resolution to that effect, which was unanimously adopted by the meeting.

Mr. HUNTER gave the following particulars regarding a Knife and Fork, now in the possession of Mr. Thomas Wyndham Jones, of Nantwich, and exhibited by him on this occasion. They are said to have formed a portion of the effects of Mrs. Elizabeth Milton, the third wife of the Poet, and his widow for between fifty and sixty years.

"That Mrs. Milton, who was by birth a member of the family of Minshul of Wistaston, in the neighbourhood of Nantwich, did retire to Nantwich, and died there, is a point established by abundance of evidence, which it is unnecessary now to repeat. Mr. Wyndham Jones has placed in my hands an authenticated copy of her will from the register at Chester, and an authenticated copy of the inventory of her effects from the same register. The will is dated 27th August, 1727, and it was proved on the 10th of October following before the rural dean of Nantwich. So that the exact period of her death may be safely placed in the interval between those two dates.

"The inventory contains beside various articles of ordinary household use, a few which were plainly relics of the Poet, brought by his widow fifty years before to Nantwich and preserved by her there. Among these may be reckoned—'Two Books of Paradise' [Lost] valued at ten shillings; 'Some old Books, and a few old Pictures,' twelve shillings; 'Mr. Milton's picture and coat-of-arms,' ten guineas. On her death these things were dispersed. A copy of the *Natura Brevium*, with a very interesting autograph of Milton, came into the hands of Mr. Eddowes, a bookseller of Shrewsbury, and was presented by him to the Rev. Mr. Stedman, a clergyman of the town, with whose descendants it long remained. In this inventory also occurs the following entry—'A Totershell Knife and Fork, with other odd ones,' value one shilling; and though the handles of the pair now exhibited are agate, not tortoiseshell, it is presumed that this is the identical pair thus described in the inventory.

"But whether we admit that the person who drew out the inventory has inadvertently, or possibly through ignorance, substituted the "Totershell" for Agate, there seems to be proof quite sufficient that the pair of Knives and Forks now exhibited did form part of the effects of this Mrs. Milton,

and was preserved in a family who resided at Nantwich at the time of her death and long after.

“Mr. Wyndham Jones has also sent an affidavit declared on oath before Thomas Brooke, rector of Wistaston, and a justice for the county of Chester, on September 29, 1854, by Thomas Hassall, the elder, of Beam Street, in Nantwich, joiner, aged seventy-five years, and Thomas Hassall, the younger, attorney’s clerk, his son, aged forty-one years, to the effect, that the knife and fork were the property of Anne Hassall, daughter of the elder Thomas, who died in 1832 aged thirty, and on her death came into the possession of her father. They further affirm that the said Anne Hassall lived many years in the service of Miss Elizabeth Webb, a wealthy maiden lady, who resided in Castle Street in Nantwich, and as they believe, died there in the month of March, 1828, at the age of eighty-three years and upwards; and that the said Elizabeth Webb, some years before her death, gave to the said Ann Hassall, as she frequently told them, the said knife and fork, as great curiosities, and informed the said Anne Hassall that they had belonged to Mrs. Elizabeth Milton, who lived in the town of Nantwich, and was the widow of the Poet: and the said Elizabeth Webb, who told the said Ann Hassall (as she informed them), that her grandfather owned the said knife and fork, and was on very intimate terms with the said Elizabeth Milton and her family. The younger Thomas declares that when a boy he used to visit his sister at the house of Mrs. Webb, and often read to her, and had heard her say that she had given the said knife and fork to his sister, as valuable relics. And he, the younger Thomas Hassall, further declares that the Rev. John Latham, late of Nantwich, clerk, deceased, was particularly intimate with the said Elizabeth Webb, and managed her affairs, and that he had often heard him speak of the said knife and fork having belonged to the said Mrs. Milton.

“The above declaration is authenticated by the signatures of the two Hassalls.

“Mrs. Elizabeth Webb is distinctly remembered by many persons now living at Nantwich, and there is independent evidence of the residence with her of Ann Hassall, as her servant, and a person who was much esteemed by Mrs. Webb, and intended to have been benefitted by a will, which by some accident was never executed.

“The knife and fork were given by the Hassalls to Mr. T. W. Jones, in 1852.”⁶

In regard to the exact period of the death of the third wife of Milton, which appears by the will and probate of which a copy was produced, to have taken place between August 27, and October 10, 1727; Mr. Hunter offered the following observations:—

“This point is of some importance, as it serves to correct what appears to be a mistake in some recent lives of Milton and the Philipses, in which a sermon is referred to, said to have been preached on occasion of his death, by Isaac Kimber, one of two ministers of the congregation of Anabaptists at Nantwich, Samuel Acton whom she named one of her executors, being the other. Now certain it is that in a volume of ‘Sermons on the most

⁶ These reliques were exhibited at a meeting of the Historic Society of Lancashire, and are noticed in their Transactions, vol. viii. p. 244. The inventory

of Mrs. Milton’s effects was also communicated to that Society by Mr. Marsh, and is printed in the Transactions, vol. vii. pp. 27.*

Interesting, Religious, Moral, and Practical Subjects,' by the late reverend and learned Mr. Isaac Kimber, printed from his own manuscripts, 8vo., London 1756, edited by his son, Edward Kimber, there is a sermon which is said to have been preached on the death of Mr. Milton, on March 10, 1726, which whether we regard the date as 1726 or 1727, is plainly at variance with the time of Mrs. Milton's death, as that time is to be collected from the will and probate. The Sermon itself is very unlike a discourse which would be delivered on the death of a person who had so far outlived the ordinary period of human life, consisting of 'Reflections on the Vanity and Uncertainty of Human Life,' and it is without any kind of allusion to the character or history of the somewhat remarkable person on whose death it is said to have been delivered. Nor we can hardly doubt that it was wrongly assigned to the occasion by the posthumous editor, and that we are without what may have been a memorial sermon of the Poet's widow. The loss is to be regretted, as it might have placed her character in the true light, and explained perhaps some points of difficulty in the history of the Milton family; at least, it would have been of some interest to the inquirers into the minute particulars in the life of so great a man, especially, since both the Kimbers, Isaac and Edward, were genealogical and historical writers of some celebrity in their day.

"It is the general tradition at Nantwich that Mrs. Milton was interred in the ground adjoining the chapel of the Anabaptists, (as a congregation long ago extinct) in Barker Street."

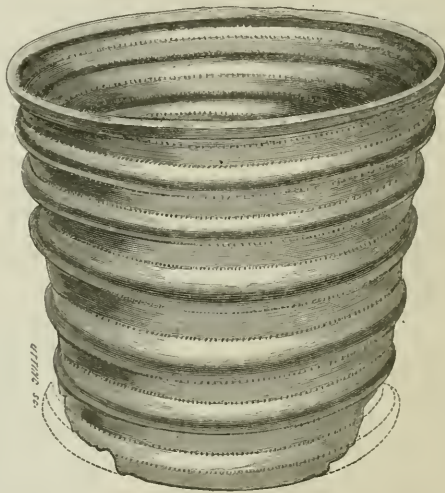
Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. A. W. FRANKS.—A bronze socketed celt with a loop at each side, found in a Tartar hut at the Salt Lakes, fifteen miles N. W. of Kertch, near the Sea of Azof. It has since been presented to the British Museum, by the commissary-in-chief, L. G. Bake, Field Train. This relique deserves special notice, not only on account of the locality whence it was obtained, but as an example of an almost unique type. We are not aware that any bronze socketed celt with two loops has been found in this country; the moiety, however, of a stone mould for casting celts of this kind, found at Chidbury Hill, near Everly, Wilts, and exhibited by the late Rev. E. Duke, in the Museum of the Institute at the Salisbury Meeting, was formed with a matrix for celts with two loops. It is figured in "The Barrow Diggers," pl. 5, p. 78. A similar peculiarity may be noticed in the mould found in Anglesea, figured in this Journal, vol. iii. p. 257, and vol. vi. p. 358. Bronze palstaves with two loops have been found, but they are very rare. Mr. Franks brought also part of the bronze scabbard of a sword, and the hilt, likewise of bronze, the blade having been of iron: they were found in a cairn at Worton, near Lancaster, and may be assigned to the same period as the sword and portions of



bronze arms and armour found at Stanwick, Yorkshire, and presented by the Duke of Northumberland to the British Museum. No example of the hilt however had been noticed, with the exception of the remarkable enamelled sword found at Embleton, Northumberland, and now in the Keswick Museum; (figured in Mr. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol iv. p. 153).

By the Rev. EDWARD TROLLOPE.—A dagger, with its hilt and scabbard of bronze, the blade of iron, the hilt terminates in a little seated figure, a diminutive imp of almost Etruscan or Mexican aspect, with large hollow sockets for the eyes, originally perhaps filled in with enamel. The sheath was ornamented with studs, which may have originally been enamelled, and with patterns in delicately engraved lines, the character of the ornament being very similar to that seen on the bronze coating of a shield, found in the Witham in 1827, and now preserved in the Goodrich Court Armory; as also on the bronze mounting of the scabbard of an iron sword from the same locality, now in the Museum at Alnwick Castle. The shield is



Gold armlet found at Cuxwold.

(Two-thirds original size.)

figured in the *Archaeologia*, vol. xxiii. p. 97, and in Skelton's *Illustrations of the Goodrich Court Armory*. Mr. Trollope exhibited also a gold armlet of a type as far as we are aware, unique. (See woodcut). It measures, in height, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, diameter at the wider end, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The weight is 10 oz. 5 dr. 1 scr. It was found some years ago in the parish of Cuxwold, near Caistor, Lincolnshire, on the estate of Henry Thorold, Esq., by whose permission this object and the dagger were exhibited. It bears some resemblance to the bronze cylindrical armlets found at Coldingham in Jutland, and formerly in the "*Museum Wormianum*." They are figured in the work bearing that title, p. 353, and by Bartholinus, in his *Treatise "De Armillis,"* p. 49. Those armlets, however, open at one side, so as to be more readily adjusted to the arm. The specimen in

Mr. Thorold's possession has been considered to belong to the same period as the gold corslet found near Mold in Flintshire (figured, *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi. p. 422), formed of thin plate, ornamented by ribs and bosses hammered up. The lines of finely stippled punctures on the armlet are peculiar to that remarkable relique.

By Mr. J. E. NIGHTINGALE.—A bowl of bright yellow metal, with the surface so bright as to present the appearance of gilding. It was recently found near Kingsbury, Wilts, in the neighbourhood of Wilton Abbey. There is no foot or base, but a small central boss, hammered up, appears within the bowl. Four stout rings, as if for suspension, are attached to the brim. Diameter of the bowl internally, 10 inches and five-eighths, and including a projecting rim, 11 inches; height, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Vessels of this description have been repeatedly found with interments of the Anglo-Saxon age: compare those found in barrows at Chatham, Douglas' Nenia, pl. ii. and xii., those found in barrows in Kent by Dr. Faussett, figured in the "Inventorium Sepulchrale," by Mr. Roach Smith, pl. xvi., figs. 6, 8, pp. 55, 78. In one of these interments the skeleton, probably of a female, lay in an iron-clamped coffin, with numerous ornaments, and a small brass trivet, which had served as a stand for the bowl. Mr. Nightingale brought also a silver ring of the time of Henry VI., found at Ugford, near Wilton. The wreathed hoop had been ornamented with flowers enamelled.

By the Rev. Dr. ROCK.—Two drawings of monuments at Rome, with the effigies of English dignitaries. One of them placed in the church of St. Cecilia, is the memorial of Adam de Eston, who was created Cardinal by Gregory XI., he died at Rome 15th August, 1398. The inscription styles him bishop of London, and some writers have stated that Richard II. preferred him to the see of Hereford, but there is no evidence that he held either of those preferments. (See Godwin de Pres. p. 793; Pits. Script. Angl. p. 548.) The effigy, of white marble, is a beautiful example of mediæval sculpture; it is placed on an altar tomb, at the side of which are the royal arms, France and England quarterly, and an escutcheon, over which is placed a cardinal's hat; the bearing being a cross with an eagle displayed in the centre point. The other monument is also a remarkable work of art; it is the effigy of Christopher Bainbridge, Archbishop of York, elevated to the dignity of cardinal by Pope Julius II, in 1511. He died by poison at Rome, in 1514. An interesting relic of this dignitary, a pair of silver snuffers bearing his arms, is figured in this Journal, vol. x. p. 172.

By Mr. CARRINGTON.—A rubbing from a sepulchral brass in the chancel of the church of St. Michael, Penkevil, three miles south-east from Truro. It commemorates "Maister John Trembras, master of arts, late parson of this church," who died Sep. 13, 1515. The figure measures $19\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height.

By the Rev. J. LEE WARNER.—Rubblings from Sepulchral brasses in Walsingham church, Norfolk, representing a man in the dress of a civilian at the earlier part of the sixteenth century. Under the figures, which are good examples of the costume of their age, there was originally a narrow plate, which doubtless bore the inscription, and immediately below is an escutcheon shaped indent, which may have contained a coat of arms or a merchant's mark. The dress of the female figure is either open at her right side, or more probably, drawn up on the right hip, and the furred lining exposed to view. This peculiar fashion may be seen in Cotman's



Sepulchral brasses in Walsingham Church, Norfolk.

Length of the male figure, 19½ inches. Date, about 1525.

Sepulchral Brasses of Norfolk, plates 57, 58, 59, 61, ranging from 1520 to 1528, but in all these examples the skirt of the lady's dress is raised up on the *left* side.⁷ In two of them from churches in Norwich, the broad girdle occurs fastened low in front by the triple roses, with a string of beads appended, which in the figure at Walsingham is composed of eleven large beads, terminating with a knop or tassell. The furred cuffs, with which in this instance small ruffles are worn, unusual in the dress of the period, the kerchief thrown over the head-dress of pedimental form, so much in vogue at that time, and other details, will be noticed by those who take interest in costume. We are indebted to the kindness of Mr. Lee Warner, who has presented one of the accompanying woodcuts to the Institute. He sent also a drawing of a small half-figure of a lady, date about 1460, which he had found in the church chest; it precisely fits an indent on a slab in the middle aisle of the church, which bears an inscribed plate with the name of Margarete Stoke. Also, a small figure of a civilian, in a long furred robe with beads and purse appended to his girdle; the head lost. Date about 1480.

By Mr. CUMMING.—A small painting on panel, representing our Lord in profile turned towards the left; painted on a gold ground, with the following inscription.—“This present figure is the symlytude of the lorde iesus our Saviour inprinted for Herald by the predecessours of the great turke, and sent to pope inoent the eight at the cost of the great turke as a token for this cause, to redeem his brother that was taken prysner.” Several similar paintings have been noticed, all of them apparently of the sixteenth century; the inscription varies slightly, thus on one in the possession of Mr. T. Hart, of Reigate, described in this Journal, vol. viii. p. 320, it runs thus.—“This similitude of ovr Saviour Iesus was found in Amarat,” &c.; on another, described in 1793, in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. lxxiii. p. 1177—“imprinted in Amiralld,” &c, the latter closely corresponding with the inscription on another copy of this portraiture, in the possession of Henry Howard, Esq., at Greystoke Castle. An engraving from one of these paintings was published by Mr. M'Lean, in the Haymarket, as “the only true likeness of our Saviour, taken from one cut in an emerald by command of Tiberius Cæsar, and which was given from the treasury of Constantinople by the Emperor of the Turks to Pope Innocent VIII., for the redemption of his brother, then a captive of the Christians.” Innocent VIII. was Pope from 1484 to 1492. Zem, the ambitious brother of Bajazet II., called Zizim by the Christians, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and after various reverses took refuge in Rhodes, whence he was sent to France by the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John. In 1489, Zizim was given up to the envoys of Pope Benedict VIII. and taken to Rome. In 1495, Pope Alexander VI. delivered him up to the king of France, and he died suddenly a few days after leaving Rome, as it was alleged by poison, administered, according to the Turkish historians, by the emissaries of Bajazet, whilst certain European writers

⁷ The brass of Constance, wife of John Wodehows, who died 1465 (Cotman, plate 29), is probably of a later time than the date assigned to it. This figure, likewise, has the drapery raised on the left side. The figure of a lady of the Andrewe family, one of the sepulchral brasses at

Charwelton, Northamptonshire, supplies an illustration of an approach to the peculiar fashion above mentioned; in this instance, the drapery is drawn up on the left side. Baker's Hist. Northamptonshire.

attribute his death to the Pope. No historical evidence has been found to show that Bajazet made any overtures for the redemption of his brother, whose intrigues were adverse to him, nor does it appear that any such present was sent on the occasion to the Pope. (*Art de Vérifier les Dates.*)

By Mr. W. BURGESS.—A drawing of an iron arm, intended to supply the loss of a right hand. The original is preserved in the Museo Correi, at Venice. A similar piece of mechanism, in the Hon. Robert Curzon's Armory, has been figured in this Journal, vol. x. p. 84, where references to other examples are given. Also a cast from a beautiful mirror-case of ivory, preserved in Italy, representing the assault of the Castle of Love.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—Two astrolabes, one of them made in 1550; the other, of brass, made at Brunswick, by Tobias Wolkenker, in 1594, measures 7 inches in diameter. It was constructed for lat. 48°. Also a massive silver ring set with a large crystal, *en cabochon*, and several reliquaries or pendant ornaments of the same material.

By Mr. DODD.—A miniature portrait of a young man, in the costume of the close of the sixteenth century. On the reverse are the following arms quarterly:—*Arg.* an eagle displayed *Sa.* crowned *gu.*, and, party per pale *Arg.* and *Sa.*, a castle.

By Mr. JOHN ROGERS.—A Cornish hurling ball of wood, plated with silver, bearing the following inscription:—THIS BALL GIVEN TO GULVALL BY COLONEL ONSLOW LORD OF THE MANNOR OF LANISLY. Diameter of the ball $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches. The favourite provincial game of hurling, as practised in Cornwall at the commencement of the seventeenth century, is described by Carew, in his Survey, published in 1602, book i. p. 73. He says, that in the method called "hurling to goales," which was in vogue in the east part of the county, certain bounds or goals were set up, and the party who got possession of the ball did his best to carry it through his adversary's goal, whilst the opponent kept him back, "butting" at his breast with his fist. In the west country game, termed "to the country," matches were made, usually by gentlemen, between several parishes, the goals being their own houses or some villages three or four miles asunder, and a silver ball being cast up, the company which could catch it and carry it by force or sleight to the place assigned, gained the ball and the victory. The struggle of the hurlers across country through bush and briar, over hills or rivers, is graphically described by Carew. The game is still in vogue in some parts of Cornwall. The parish of Gulvail is situated about a mile from Penzance. The manor of Lanisley was the property of Sir Nicholas Hals, about 1620, and was subsequently purchased by the Onslow family.

By the Rev. C. R. MANNING.—Impression from a small brass matrix of the fourteenth century. The handle terminates in a trefoiled loop for suspension. The impress is of circular form, the device is a bow and arrow in a quatrefoiled panel, *SIGILLUM. ROBERTI. ARCHER. The seal, recently obtained by Mr. Manning, had been for many years in the possession of a blacksmith at Diss, in Norfolk, and the place where it was found is not known.

By Mr. EDWARD RICHARDSON.—A collection of casts from seals appended to documents in the muniment chamber of the Ormonde family, at Kilkenny Castle, including the seals of Gilbert de Clare, William de Braous, James le Botiller, Margaret Tyvetot, and several other good examples which will be more fully noticed hereafter.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

WORCESTER IN OLDEN TIMES. By JOHN NOAKE. 12mo. London, 1849, pp. 205. With an exact Ground Plot of the City as it stood fortified, Sept. 3, 1651.
NOTES AND QUERIES FOR WORCESTERSHIRE. By JOHN NOAKE. 1856, pp. 329. Longman and Co.

THESE volumes contain, in a portable and very cheap form, a mass of highly interesting information respecting the city of Worcester and the county of Worcester, and the manners, customs, and habits of the people, from the reign of Queen Elizabeth to the reign of George the Second. The information contained in these works has been obtained by the examination of local records and other original MS. evidence, and from local traditions; and it has, therefore, not been at all forestalled by the histories of either the county or the city of Worcester, which, good as they are, have in many instances been compiled without actual reference to original documents, and hence many errors have crept in.

Mr. Noake has for the first of these works had access to the corporation books, the books of the trading companies, and to several MS. collections, as well as other local sources of information; and from these he has extracted a great body of original information, which throws light on the local history, customs, and habits of the ancient inhabitants of Worcester and Worcestershire.

Mr. Noake has also given a considerable number of entries respecting the siege of Worcester and the Civil Wars. Under the date of 1643 is an item,—“For wooden horse for the Soldiers ————— 9s.”

Riding the wooden horse was a military punishment for soldiers, and Mr. Noake has given an illustration of a wooden horse with his rider upon him, from an old print (see woodcut).

Of this rider the costume appears to be of the reign of King George the Second, a period to which the wooden horse continued, as Captain Grose says¹ that he saw the remains of a wooden horse on the parade at Portsmouth, as late as the year 1760, and the woodcut reminds us of the passage in Sir Walter Scott's *Old Mortality*² where Halliday says:—

“We'll have him to the Guard House, and teach him to ride the colt foaled of an acorn, with a brace of earbines at each foot to keep him steady.”

This grotesque punishment may probably be traced to the days of chivalry. A German MS. of the XVth century in Mr. Boone's possession displays the degradation of a knight



¹ Milit. Antiq., vol. ii. p. 199.

² Chap. iv.

who is seated astride on the barriers of the lists. See *Journal Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xii. p. 214.

The other work, "Notes and Queries for Worcestershire," contains the result of researches in the churchwardens' accounts and parish registers of the city and county, and also the county sessions' records, from the reign of Queen Elizabeth to the present time, together with a great quantity of information both MS. and traditional, relating to manners, customs, superstitions, and folk-lore in this part of England. In this work will be found a list of the Worcestershire gentlemen who had to pay fines to King Charles the First for not taking the honour of knighthood; and a list of his adherents who had to pay compositions to the parliament to redeem their estates from forfeiture. A statement is also given from the returns of the commissioners of colleges and chantries, 2 Edw. VI., of the number of communicants receiving the holy sacrament in 1548, in thirty-five of the principal parishes in the city and county, with the number of their population in 1851. This work also contains a great variety of information which has never been collected, and which was inaccessible to the historian and the antiquary, who now by the aid of the indexes to these works can readily avail themselves of the information contained in both of them, which will be found not only to be interesting in itself, but very useful in illustrating and explaining many things which would be otherwise obscure or unintelligible in connexion with bygone times.

Archaeological Intelligence.

His Royal Highness PRINCE ALBERT, whose favour and encouragement has been shown towards the Institute on former occasions, more especially by the honour of his presence at the Annual Meeting, held in the University of Cambridge, in 1835, has recently signified to our noble President, Lord Talbot, his gracious pleasure to become the Patron of the Institute. This announcement will be hailed with gratification as a distinguished mark of the favourable consideration of the Prince, in promoting the investigation of National Antiquities, of the History of the Arts, and the varied subjects of inquiry which have been brought within the range of Archaeological science.

The ANNUAL MEETING of the Institute, to be held in Chester, will commence on Tuesday, July 21, terminating Tuesday, July 28.

Mr. EDWARD FALKENER, well known to archaeologists as the editor of the "Museum of Classical Antiquities," has announced a work of the highest interest—"Ephesus and the Temple of Diana," accompanied by carefully measured plans of the city and its remarkable monuments. The price to subscribers will be Two Guineas. The Publishers are Trubner and Co., Paternoster Row.

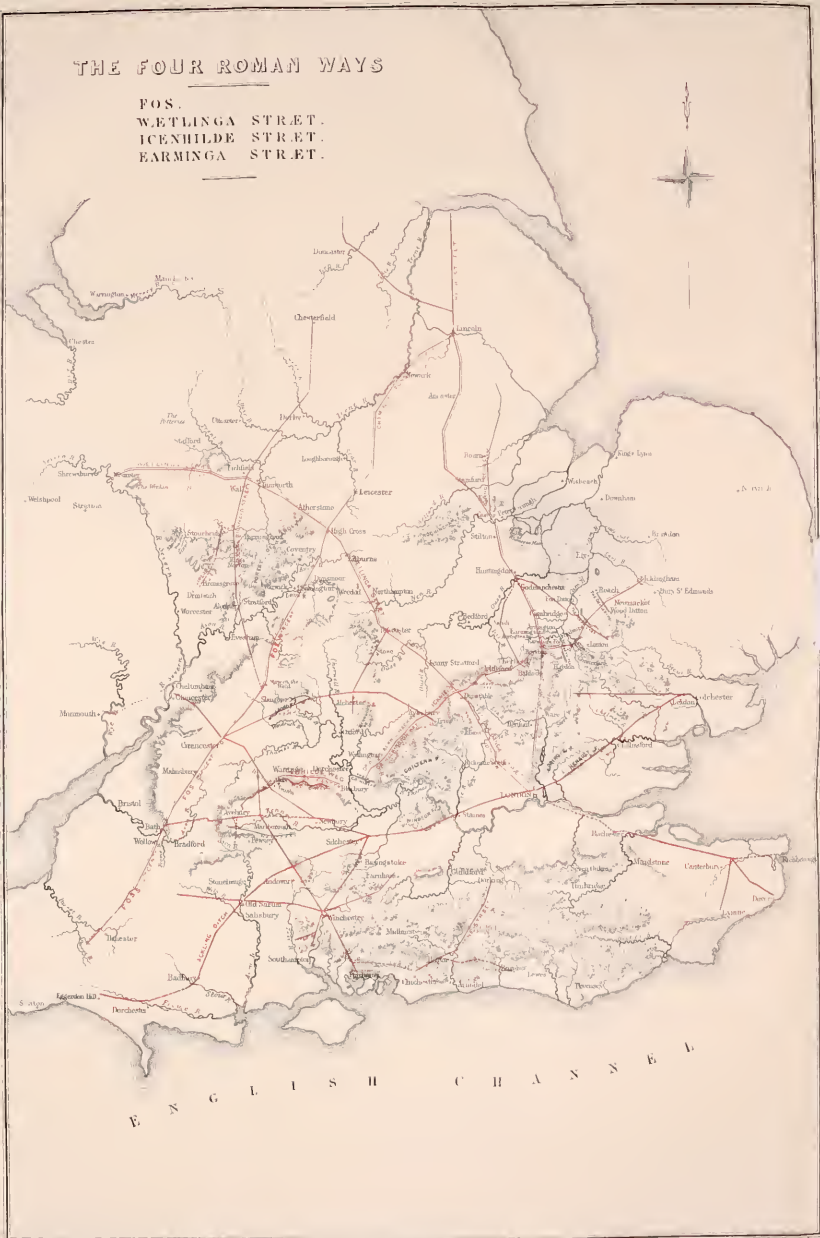
The SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY have announced the project of an interesting pilgrimage to Rouen, Caen and Bayeux, with other objects of antiquarian attraction in Normandy, during the week commencing June 22. The Annual Meeting will be held at Bignor and Arundel, under the Presidency of his Grace the Duke of Norfolk, on August 6.

The Annual Meeting of the CAMBRIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION will take place at Monmouth, commencing on August 17, under the Presidency of Octavius Morgan, Esq., M.P.



THE FOUR ROMAN WAYS

POS.
WETLINGA STRET.
ICENHILDE STRET.
EARMINGA STRET.



The Archaeological Journal.

JUNE, 1857.

THE FOUR ROMAN WAYS.

BY EDWIN GUEST, D.C.L.,
Master of Caius and Gonville College.

IN the fifth year after the Conquest, inquisition was made throughout the kingdom into the ancient laws and customs of England. The results of the enquiry are commonly known as the Laws of the Confessor, though we are told that the laws were really made by Edgar, and merely revived by the Confessor after the interregnum of the Danes. From this source we learn, that there were at that time in England four great roads protected by the King's Peace, of which two ran lengthways through the island, and two crossed it, and that the names of the four were respectively, Watlinge-strete, Fosse, Hikenilde-strete, and Erming-strete. These are the roads which are popularly but incorrectly known as "the four Roman ways," and whose course it is proposed to investigate in the present paper.

The King's Peace was a high privilege. Any offence committed on these highways was tried, not in the local court where local influence might interfere with the administration of justice, but before the king's own officers; and we may therefore feel surprise when we find that the identity of two of the roads thus privileged, viz., the Icknield Street and the Erming Street, was the subject of differences of opinion, or at least of statement, within some seventy or eighty years after the Conquest. But though the privileges of the Four Roads were confirmed by William, and continued by his successor, yet as we have reason to believe, that in the first half of the XIIth century, the King's Peace was

extended to *all* the highways¹ in the kingdom, the question which were the lines of traffic that once exclusively enjoyed this protection, became one of merely antiquarian interest, and therefore the less likely to attract attention. The inquiry, however, is of considerable historical importance, and the conflicting opinions which have been lately published on the subject show, that modern criticism has not yet led to any satisfactory settlement of its difficulties.

There are antiquaries who tell us, that the Erming Street was the Roman road that led from St. David's (Menevia) through Gloucester to Winchester and Southampton, and the Icknield Street, the ancient road that led from Derbyshire southward by the West of Arden. There are others who tell us, that the Icknield Street was the trackway which ran along the chalk downs from Norfolk and Suffolk eastward, and the Erming Street the highway which went northward from London in a line nearly coincident with that of the present North Road.

The first of these two parties ground their opinions on the authority of Higden, the monk of Chester, who wrote about the middle of the XIVth century; but they carefully avoid all mention of Jeffrey of Monmouth, whose story that writer at least partially followed. According to Jeffrey, King Belinus son of King Molmutius constructed the Four Roads some four centuries before Christ. One of them "he ordered to be made of stone and mortar, the length of the island, from the sea of Cornwall to the shore of Caithness, so as to lead in a straight course to the intermediate cities. Another road he ordered to be made the breadth of the island, from the city of Menevia on the Sea of Demetia to the port of Hamton (Southampton), in order to afford access to the cities between these places. Two others he also made which crossed the island obliquely," &c.²

It will be seen that Jeffrey does not give any names to his Four Roads, and except in the case of his second road does not mention any locality which fixes their identity beyond dispute. His first road, in all probability, was intended to represent the Foss: the second, there can be no doubt, was meant for the Roman road which passed from South Wales through Monmouthshire to Gloucester, and thence to Winchester and Southampton. I cannot find the

¹ In the Laws ascribed to Henry the First, I find the statement "*omnes herestrete omnino regis suut.*"

² Galf. Mon., 3, 5.

slightest corroborative evidence to show that this was one of the four great Roads, and I believe it was selected by this unscrupulous writer, merely because it was an ancient highway, and passed through his native county.

Higden repeats the story of King Molmutius and his son Belinus. The latter he tells us, "caused four royal roads to be made through the island, and protected them with extraordinary privileges. Of these the first and greatest is called Fosse, and stretches from south to north, from its commencement in Cornwall at Totenese, to the extreme point of Scotland at Catenese. To speak more accurately, however, according to others it begins in Cornwall and stretching through Devon and Somerset runs by Tetbury on Cotswold, and by Coventry to Leicester, and thence over the open wolds, ending at Lincoln. The second highway is called Watling Strete, stretching across the former road, viz., from south-west to north-east, for it begins at Dover, and passes through the midst of Kent, and over the Thames nigh London, and west of Westminster. Thence it passes near to, and to the west of St. Alban's, through Dunstaple, Stratford, Towcester, Weedon, south of Lilbourn, through Atherston (per Atherscotiam) to Gilbert's Mount, which is now called the Wrekine. Thence it passes the Severn by Wrokcester, and running to Stretton and through the midst of Wales to Cardigan, is terminated on the Irish Sea. The third highway is called Erninge Strete, and stretches from west to east. It begins at Mavonia (Menevia?), in West-Wales, and goes to Hamo's Port,³ which is now called Southampton. The fourth highway is called Rykeneld Strete, and stretches from the south to the north-east, beginning at Mavonia aforesaid, and running through Worcester, through Wich, through Birmingham, Lechefeld, Derby, Chesterfield, York, to the mouth of the River Tine which is called Tinemouth."⁴

Higden's account of the course of the two roads, the Watling Street and the Foss, is, with the exceptions hereafter to be noticed, accurate and important. He is said to have been a great traveller, and probably spoke from his own observation. At any rate, these two great thoroughfares were so much frequented, that they must have been

³ Jeffrey fables, that Southampton took its name from Hamo, a Roman who was slain there.

⁴ Polychronicon, lib. i.

familiarly known to most of the strangers who visited his monastery, and the minute details into which he has entered, more particularly with respect to the Watling Street, are extremely valuable.

His account of Erming Street Higden evidently took from Jeffrey, and he seems to have thought that as this highway and the Watling Street crossed the island, and the Foss was the only road that ran lengthways through it, the remaining highway must also run in that direction. Now in travelling along the Watling Street from Chester to London, the first road which Higden came to that fulfilled this condition was the Rykeneld Street, and as its name bore some resemblance to Ickniel Street he seems to have been led by a false critical inference to adopt it as one of the four great roads. The popularity of Higden's work gave currency to the notion, and the Rykeneld Street seems gradually to have attached to itself the name of Ickniel Street. It must have borne this name early in the XVIIth century, for Dugdale, in his History of Warwickshire, tells us that through a great part of its course it was called "Ickle Street," which is merely a corruption of Ickniel Street; and at the present day the many "Ickniel Houses" and "Ickniel Terraces" which are met with along this road, more particularly where it skirts the great iron district of Staffordshire, is evidence that no doubt is entertained in that neighbourhood of its identity with the more ancient and more celebrated thoroughfare.

The Editor of "The Ancient Laws and Institutes of England" adopts the whole of Higden's views with respect to the Four Roads, and suggests that his Rykeneld Street may be merely a clerical blunder for Hikenilde Strete. But Mr. Thorpe forgot that Hikenilde Strete itself is obviously an instance of that blundering spelling which so often disfigures our names of places in writings posterior to the Conquest, and that the more correct Anglo-Saxon orthography Icenhilde stræt, of which we shall speak shortly, lends but little countenance to his hypothesis. He forgot also that Selden considered the name of Rykeneld Street "justifiable by a very ancient deed of lands bounded near Birmingham in Warwickshire by Recneld;"⁵ that the Eulogium,⁶ which as regards this matter seems to be some-

⁵ Notes on the Polyolbion, Song 16.

⁶ Cotton MSS., Gall. E. 7.

thing more than a mere copy of Higden's work, has the name of Rykneld; and that Pegge found "in an old survey or map of the country about Tupton Moor (in Derbyshire), where this road goes, &c., which was made in the beginning of the last century (i. e. soon after the year 1600), it was called Rignall Street."⁷ It would seem then that the name of Rykneld Street does not depend solely on the integrity of Higden's text, but has independent grounds⁸ to rest upon, and consequently that the difficulty which arises from the discrepancy of the name remains in its full force. It is matter of regret that in a work published under official sanction opinions open to such grave objections should have been adopted so lightly.

We have now to examine the views of those antiquaries who transfer the Icknield and the Erming Streets to the eastern parts of the island—that district, where traces of an early civilisation are most obvious, and whose relative importance becomes the more striking the deeper we penetrate into the antiquities of British History.

Henry of Huntingdon flourished in the first half of the XIIth century, and consequently was a contemporary of Jeffrey of Monmouth. In his History we read, "In such estimation was Britain held by its inhabitants that they made in it four roads from end to end, which were placed under the King's protection, to the intent that no one should dare to make an attack upon his enemy on these roads. The first passes from East to West and is called Ichenild (in some MSS. *Ikenild*), the second runs from South to North and is called Erminge Strete, the third crosswise from Dover

⁷ Bibliotheca topographica, Vol. 4.

⁸ One of the authorities, which Gale quotes in support of his conclusion, that the road in question was called Rykneld Street, must be given up. He tells us that the name of Rykneld Street may be found in a charter (t. H. 3), granting lands to Hilton Abbey, in Staffordshire. The name, as I find it written in the Monasticon, is Richmilde Streete. The difference in the orthography might not, perhaps, be decisive against his inference; but I have discovered the locality of the estate granted by the charter, and I find it lying in the heart of the Potteries. The road referred to in the charter as Richmilde Street, must have been more than twenty miles distant from any portion of the Rykneld Street.

There is an ancient highway, leading to South Shields, at the mouth of the Tyne, which is known as the *Wraken-dyke*. It was called by this name in a charter of the XIIIth century (Vid. Arch. Æliana, 2, 129), and in a charter of the XIth century, a place in its immediate neighbourhood was named *Wrachennd-berge*, (ib.) This highway was certainly considered by Higden to be a portion of the *Rickneld Street*, and possibly the two names may be connected in their etymology. A writer in the *Genl. Mag.* (April, 1836) suggests that *Rackenhill*, in the parish of Aycliffe, Durham, may be a connected word, but I am not aware that any traces either of the Rykneld Street or of the *Wrakin-dyke* have been found in its neighbourhood.

(Dorobernia) to Chester, *i. e.* from South-East to North-West, and is called Watlinge Strete; the fourth, the greatest of all, begins at Totenes and ends in Catnes, in other words runs from the commencement of Cornwall to the limits of Scotland, and this road passes across the island from the South-West to the North-East. It is called Fossa, and passes through Lincoln. These are the four great Roads of England, spacious in their dimensions, and admirable for their construction, protected alike by the edicts of our Kings and the written laws of the land.”⁹

The courses which Huntingdon assigns to the four Roads are wholly irreconcilable with Jeffrey’s Road from St. David’s to Southampton, and also with Higden’s Rykeneld Street, but as regards the Foss and the Watling Street there is only a partial disagreement between his account and the accounts of these two writers. Huntingdon carries the Watling Street from Dover to Chester, while Higden carries it from Dover to Wroxeter and thence to Cardigan. As Welsh Princes were reigning over Cardigan during the Xth and XIth centuries, the King of England’s peace could not have run into that district at the time when “the Confessor’s Laws” were compiled, and consequently the Watling Street which those Laws refer to could not possibly have taken the course which Higden assigns to it. But as the whole line of road from Dover to Chester was under the control both of Edgar and of the Confessor, there is nothing in Huntingdon’s account which is inconsistent with the known facts of our History, and thus far at least we have grounds on which to rest a presumption in its favour.

The earliest mention of the Watling Street that I have met with occurs in the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum, which was probably made in the year 879. According to this treaty, the boundary line which separated the territories of the two Kings ran up the Lea to its source, then straight to Bedford, and thence up the Ouse to Watling Street.¹ Among the charters of the Xth century are five² which mention Watling Street, and I believe I can point out the situation of all the estates these charters refer to. One of

⁹ Hist. Angl. l.

¹ Vid. “Ælfrides and Guthrumes Frith” in “The Ancient Laws and Institutes of England.”

² Cod. Dipl., Nos. 399, 449, 590, 1099, 1275. The last-quoted Charter may be a forgery, but if so, it must be one of great antiquity.

them was situated in the neighbourhood of Wroxeter, another in the neighbourhood of London, and the other three in the counties of Bedford, Buckingham, and Northampton. We may conclude therefore with tolerable certainty that in the Xth century the whole line of road from London to Wroxeter was known as the Watling Street, and according to the tenor of the Confessor's Laws must have enjoyed the privilege of the King's Peace. Whether the privilege extended beyond these limits may be open to dispute. The street in Canterbury through which the road from London to Dover passes has been known from an early date as the Watling Street. This, however, is by no means decisive as to the point in question. The street in London which bears the name of Watling Street could have formed no part of the highway, at least if we give any credit to Higden's statement, which makes the highway pass the river west of Westminster. The London street may have taken its name from the circumstance that travellers by the highway passed along it on entering the city; and in like manner persons travelling from the North-West to Dover may have given the name of Watling Street to the highway South of the Thames, on the supposition that it was merely a continuation of the road along which they had been travelling. The ancient road which runs from Wroxeter through South Wales probably received its name of Watling Street for a similar reason, viz., because the traveller from London to South-Wales passed first along the real Watling Street, and then along this road to his destination.

Still, however, Huntingdon may not have been mistaken in making Dover and Chester the termini of the Watling Street. It certainly was a prevalent notion in the beginning of the XIIth century that each of the Four Roads reached from sea to sea. The phrase used in the Laws of the Confessor "*duo in longitudinem regni, alii vero in latitudinem distenduntur*" may in some measure have countenanced the notion; but I am inclined to think that it had something better than a mere phrase of doubtful interpretation to rest upon, and that the Watling Street at the least did really fulfil this condition.

The Foss is mentioned in several of our Anglo-Saxon charters,³ some of which date as early as the VIIIth century.

³ Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.*, Nos. 126, 426, 566, 620, 643, 817.

I think I may venture to say that all the estates described in these charters can still be pointed out. With one exception all the properties lay along the Foss, north of Bath and within some 50 or 60 miles of that city. The exceptional charter refers to an estate at Wellow, 3 miles south of Bath. It is no doubt a forgery, but could not have been fabricated later than the XIIth century, and, therefore, is good authority for our present purpose. To the same century belongs the charter which is quoted by Gale, and by which Henry I. granted permission to Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, to divert the "Chimum Fosse" so as to make it pass through his town of Newark. We may then reasonably conclude, that the whole of the Roman Road between Ilchester and Lincoln was known as the Foss during the XIIth century, and probably at a much earlier period, and, therefore, that in all likelihood the whole of the road between these termini was protected by the King's Peace during the reign of the Confessor. If the King's Peace ran beyond Lincoln, it may have followed the "High Street," which stretches north from Lincoln to the Humber. South of Ilchester the Roman Road has been very imperfectly traced. It seems to point to Seaton, which is generally taken to be the Roman *Maridunum*, but it may have turned westward and gone to Exeter—a course which would better agree with the accounts left us by Huntingdon and Higden. We must not, however, lay too much stress on the phrase used by these writers, "from Totness to Caithness." It was merely a proverbial expression to denote the entire length of the island, and may be found even in Nennius.

The *Icenhilde weg* is mentioned in several charters⁴ of the Xth century, which appear to refer to six different estates, five of which may, I think, be still pointed out very satisfactorily. They lie in Berkshire, between Blewbury and Welands Smithy; and so minute is the description of the boundaries as almost to enable us to furnish a map of the district, such as it existed at that early period. The earliest mention of the Icknield Way *north* of Thames which I have met with is furnished by "the ancient parchment" belonging to the Heralds' College, from which Dugdale took his account of the founding of Dunstable

⁴ Cod. Dipl. Nos. 578, 1080, 1129, 1151, 1172. The estate referred to in No. 1053, which, by the bye, Mr. Keuble marks as subject to suspicion, I have not been able to identify.

Priory,—“locus autem ille prope Houghton, ubi Watling et Ickneld duæ strætæ regiæ conveniunt, extitit undique nemorosus et latronibus sic repletus, ut vix possit ibi legalis pertransire quin per eosdem necaretur, aut membra vel catalla perderet; dictus autem dominus rex (Hen. I.), ad hujusmodi malitiam refrænandam locum illum circumquaque jusserat assartari &c.”⁵ Dugdale has not given us the date of his “ancient parchment,” but he would hardly have so designated it, if it had been of later date than the XIVth century, and to this century in all probability it belonged. In the year 1476 was written a certain “letter testimonial,” in which the inhabitants of several Bedfordshire parishes “witnessed that there is one cross standing in the field of Toternho, the which cross standeth in Ickneld Strete to the which cross the way ledyng from Spilmanstoste directly stretcheth,” &c.⁶ In the XVth century, therefore, the trackway we are treating of must have been generally known as the Ickneld Street by the people who lived immediately to the north of Dunstable. In the time of Charles II. the same trackway was known in Oxfordshire by the names of Icknil, Acknil, Hackney, or Hackington Way.⁷ Icknil and Acknil Way are evidently corruptions of Ickneld Way, and Hackney Way appears to be a mere modification of Acknil Way, arising from an attempt to give significance to a word otherwise unmeaning. The term “Hackington Way” does not admit of so easy an explanation, and the investigation of its meaning will require at our hands very careful consideration.

The name of the highway is written in our Anglo-Saxon charters, Icenhilde weg, or Icenilde weg; but the latter mode of spelling the word is found only in late or ill-written charters. The meaning of Icenhilde weg is tolerably obvious. *Hild*, war, battle, forms in its genitive case *hilde*, and this genitive case enters freely into composition; thus *rinc* is a man, *hilde-rinc*, a warrior, *leoth*, a song, *hilde-leoth*, a war-song, *bil*, a bill, *hilde-bil*, a battle-axe, &c. According to the analogy of these compounds, we obtain from *weg*, a way, *hilde-weg*, a way fitted for military expeditions—a highway; and *Icen hilde-weg* would be the Highway of the Icen, or Icenii, the people into whose country this trackway directly

⁵ Monasticon, 6, 239.

⁶ Chron. de Dunstable, vol. 2, p. 702.

⁷ Platt's Oxfordshire, 10, 22.

led. I have written the words *Icen hilde-weg* so as to suit the requirements of our modern orthography, but in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript I should expect to find the orthography *Icenhilde weg*, precisely as the words are written in our charters. I have elsewhere called the attention of scholars to this peculiarity in the orthography of our Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.

The Icknield Street proceeds from Icklingham, in Suffolk, to Ickleton, and then crossing "the Branditch" between Haydon and Foulmire, proceeds to Ickleford. These names, Icklingham, Ickleton, and Ickleford, are in all probability corruptions of Iceningham, Icenton, and Icenford—Icening being formed from Icen, by the addition of the gentile termination *ing*. Icenford may indicate a ford which was merely used by the Icen in their journeys westwards; but Icenton, the town or homestead of the Icen, must indicate a place where that people *dwelt*, and we may infer that it lay near the borders of some other tribe, for the name would otherwise be wanting in significance. There is good reason to believe, that the Branditch was the western *limes* of the Icen, and Ickleton the first inhabited place within their borders, which was reached by the traveller in his progress eastward along the Icknield Street. Icening-ham, the ham or dwelling of the Icenings, was beyond any reasonable doubt the capital of that people. Traces of its importance as a British station are still sufficiently obvious.

Hence we may understand how it came to pass that the name of Icenton or Ickleton so often occurs along the course of the Icknield Street. This village was to the traveller along the Icknield Street what Berwick was to the Scotchman in his visit to England before railways were invented; and we need not feel surprise when we find the Icknield Street called the Hackington-way in Oxfordshire, the Ickleton-way, or the Ickleton-meer⁸ in Berkshire, or the Aggleton Road in Dorset.⁹ We must not suppose that the antiquaries who handed down to us the information, or the peasants from whom they derived it, were aware of the real meaning or origin of these terms. The names were no doubt kept afloat in local tradition ages after the obscure Cambridgeshire village, that gave rise to them, was forgotten.

⁸ Wise's Ant. of Berkshire, p. 43.

⁹ Gale's Essay, p. 139.

A curious, but extremely rude map, which professes to represent the courses of the Four Roads, is referred to by Gale. It is found in one of the Cotton Manuscripts¹ which my friend Mr. Watts² informs me is of the XIIIth century, and it carries the Icknield Street from Bury St. Edmunds to Salisbury. As Bury lies on the same river as Icklingham, and in some sense may be considered as the modern representative of the British town, there was no very great mistake in making it one of the two termini. If Salisbury, that is Old Sarum, were the other terminus, the Icknield way most probably ran into the Ridgeway before the latter reached Avebury, and then proceeded with it across the Avon-valley to its destination, in the track which has been described by Sir R. C. Hoare, in his *Descr. of North Wiltshire*, p. 45.

It is, however, a matter of the greatest difficulty to define the portion of this old trackway which in the XIth century was protected by the King's Peace. The Roman Road running from Old Sarum to Badbury, is called Aekling Ditch, and west of the Stour are the remains of an old thoroughfare which the peasantry still point out as a continuation of the Icknield Street, and whose name of Aggleton Road occasioned Gale so much perplexity. Stukeley again describes the Icknield way as bifurcating south of Thames—one of the branches running towards Avebury, and the other in a direction towards Silchester; and I am told by my friend Mr. Gunner, that he has seen a charter (t. H. 6) which describes an estate near Andover as bounded on the north by the Icknield Way.³ No one can suppose that in the Laws of the Confessor *two* lines of road were referred to under the name of Hikenilde Strete, and as it is certain that in the Xth and XIth centuries the name of Icenhilde Stræt was given to the road which led to Avebury, we must conclude it was applied to the road leading towards Silchester *by mistake*, when in a later age such road became the ordinary thoroughfare from the East

¹ Nero, B. 1.

² He also informs me that the account which Gale gives of the blunders in the manuscript has no foundation in fact. The blunders are really due to Gale himself, or the person he employed to copy, and not to the writer of the manuscript.

³ It was probably one of the deeds referred to by Richard Willis in his very unsatisfactory paper on the Icknield Way. "In old deeds of lands in Andover bordering on this street, it is called the Hiecknel or Heeknal Way." *Arch.* 3, p. 91.

to Salisbury. We have already noticed similar misapplications of the name of Watling Street.

Traces of an ancient causeway may still be found alongside the turnpike-road which leads from London to Royston. On reaching the chalk-downs above the latter place, the traveller sees the straight white road descending into the Fens, which stretch away to the North as far as the eye can reach. Some two or three miles from the foot of the Downs the road crosses a branch of the Cam at a place called Arrington Bridge. This bridge is generally supposed to be built on the old ford, which gave name to the Hundred—Ermingford Hundred. The village lies about a mile from the bridge, and a circle round it of three or four miles radius would include some of the richest pastures in the county. In Domesday Book Arrington is written Erningtune, and Ermingford Hundred Erningford Hundred, just as we have seen that Huntingdon and Higden wrote Erning Street for Erming Street. It is obvious, that less action of the organs is required⁴ in pronouncing Erning than Erming, and the greater facility of pronunciation, no doubt, gave rise to the corruption. Facility would be still further promoted by dropping the *n*, and hence at a later period Ernington was changed into Arrington. There can be little doubt that Arrington represents the Earningtone which Bishop Theodred mentions in his will,⁵ together with other estates in Cambridgeshire and the adjoining counties. Some place, also, in the neighbourhood of this village must represent the Earningaford which Edgar gave,⁶ and the Erningford which the Confessor confirmed⁷ to the monks of Ely. The names of the villages which accompany the mention of these places in the two charters, such as Shelford, Triplog, Melbourne, &c., leave us little room for doubt either as to the identity of the places, or as to their locality.

In his account of Huntingdonshire, Camden tells us that the present North road near Stilton was called Erming Street in an ancient Saxon charter; and in his account of Cambridgeshire he quotes the "Hist. Eliensis" as his authority for giving that name to a part of the same road in the latter county. Other writers, and among them Bentham in his history of Ely Cathedral, quote the "Hist. Eliensis" to

⁴ This is seen most clearly when the *r* is pronounced *distinctly*.

⁵ C. D., No. 957.

⁶ C. D., No. 97.

⁷ C. D., No. 907.

the same effect. I have, however, glanced through this work without finding the passage referred to; and consequently the earliest authority I can cite for giving the name of Erming Street to this particular line of road is the passage from Huntingdon, which has been already quoted.⁵

The name of Earningaford, which has come down to us in its Anglo-Saxon integrity, suggests that the earliest name of the Street was Earninga Stræt, the street of the Earnings—Earninga being the genitive case plural of Earning.⁶ The question then naturally arises, who were these Earnings?

Jacob Grimm¹ has speculated on the etymology of Erming Street. He speaks doubtfully of its connexion with Arminius and the Irmen-sul, and seems to prefer the derivation *Earninga stræt*, the street of the poor men, on the perfectly gratuitous supposition, that it was much frequented by pilgrims. It cannot surely require much ingenuity to suggest a more plausible hypothesis.

Bede calls the men of Cambridgeshire the Southern Girvii.² Girvii is clearly connected with the Anglo-Saxon *Gyrwe*, a fen, which is represented in the Icelandic by *eörfi*, mire, fen. Haldorsen, in noticing this latter word, informs us that the Norwegians call bog-earth *eörme*, “per notissimam metathesin *m* pro *f*.” Now Cambridgeshire was the very centre of the Danish settlements in this part of England during the IXth century. At the close of that century the Northmen had burghs at Cambridge, at Huntingdon, and at Bedford; and the whole of Norfolk and Suffolk was in their hands. We can understand, therefore, how the Norse phrase *eörme* came to be naturalised in Cambridgeshire, and the men of that shire to be called Earnings, *i.e.*, the men of the *Earm*, or fen-land. We find this word in other parts of the island, and sometimes in close proximity with the

⁵ Salmon in his “New Survey,” &c., tells us that “in the buttings and boundings of lands in Therfield (near Royston) some are said to be near the Ermine Street;” and also that “a Roman way near Stamford is in the writings of the Monks called Ermine Street,” &c. I presume these “writings of the monks” are the same as “the writings of Peterborough Abbey,” which, according to Horsley, “mention Hermen Street.” It were to be wished these writers had been more particular in citing their authorities.

⁶ The full significance of *Erminga Stræt*

would no doubt be conveyed by the compound Earning-Stræt, but not with the same degree of precision; just as Aldermanbury, though synonymous with, yet expresses its meaning less clearly than, Aldermansbury. It is probable, however, that Watling Street and Erning Street are not the representatives of such Anglo-Saxon compounds, but corruptions of the Anglo-Saxon phrases Wætlinga Stræt and Earninga Stræt.

¹ Deutsche Mythologie, 213.

² Hist. Eccl., c. 19.

corresponding Anglo-Saxon word. Jarrow, the monastery where Bede lived, is called by Simeon of Durham “æt Gyrum”—at the fens; and it evidently took its name from “the Slake,” a low marshy tract which is overflowed by the Tyne at high-water, and on the borders of which it stands. Now, close to the southern boundary of Bede’s county, in a low peninsula almost surrounded by the Téés, stands the town of Yarm, which has more than once been nearly swept away by the river during floods. There cannot be much doubt that the name of Yarm is the Norwegian term *cörme*. Such places were often selected by the Northmen for their burghs, and Yarm may probably have been the site of one of these fortresses.

The name of Earminga stræt, the street of the Earnings or fenmen, must have been first given to that portion of the road which bordered on the fens, and then gradually applied to the whole line of road which was protected by the King’s Peace; we may conclude with tolerable confidence that this protection extended from London to Lincoln. If the Erming Street passed beyond Lincoln, it probably crossed the Foss³ and ran into Yorkshire.

In noticing the Erming Street, Grimm also gives us his notions on the etymology of Watling Street. As in the XIVth and XVth centuries the Milky Way was called Watling Street,⁴ he seems inclined to look upon the Wætlings as one of “the Mythical Races.” He afterwards suggests *waðol* “wandering” as the root of the word, and that the Watling Street was called the Wanderer’s Way, as the Erming Street the Poor man’s Way, because it was much used by pilgrims. There is, however, no reason for believing that the Erming and the Watling Streets were more frequented by pilgrims than any other highway in the island—than the Foss and the Ickniel way, for example.

These vague and misty speculations seem to have met with but little favour at the hands of our countrymen.⁵ I believe

³ The Ordnance Maps assign the name of Erming Street both to the road that leads from Lincoln to the Humber, and also to that which crosses the Trent; and they recognise a third Erming Street in Jeffrey’s Road from Gloucester to Winchester. They have also no fewer than three Ickniel Streets. Two or three Fosses, or two or three Watling Streets, might have admitted of explanation; but

as Erming Street and Ickniel Street are not generic, but distinctive names, these triplicities are peculiarly unfortunate.

⁴ The well-frequented thoroughfare which crossed the island, would present an obvious analogy with the great arch crowded with stars that stretched across the heavens.

⁵ Mr. Thorpe refers to them, but only as “conjectures,” (Laws and I. of Engl.

the great body of English antiquaries still entertain the opinion of Stukeley, according to which Watling Street meant the Irishmen's road—a meaning which everyone will admit to be at least an appropriate one. Stukeley knew nothing of Anglo-Saxon, and if he had been asked to support his etymology on philological grounds, would no doubt have been at fault. But it must, in candour, be admitted that there is no real philological objection to his hypothesis. The Welsh call the Irishmen *Gwyddel*; and this term, supposing it to have been adopted by our ancestors, might well have taken the form of *wætel* in Anglo-Saxon. Adding the gentile termination *ing*, we get the derivative *wætling*, and Wætlinga Stræt, the term which is met with in our Anglo-Saxon charters, would be the street of the Wætlings or Irishmen—Wætlinga being the genitive case plural of Wætling.

But the objections to this derivation on other grounds appear to be unanswerable. There are several Watling Streets in Britain. One of them runs through Delamere Forest in Cheshire; another through the woodland districts of the West-Riding, the Elmet Forest of Bede; a third through Northumberland and Roxburghshire towards Ettrick Forest; and lastly the Erming Street in the neighbourhood of Rockingham Forest has been called Watling Street both by Leland⁶ and by others.⁷ No one, it is presumed, will maintain that all these roads took their name from the Irishmen that travelled along them. Again, Verulam, through which the Watling Street passes, is called by Bede,⁸ and also in a certain Anglo-Saxon charter,⁹ Wætlinga ceaster, the city of the Wætlings; whence it appears that the people who gave this name to the road also gave it to the Roman city, and it is equally clear this people were not Irishmen. Who then were these mysterious Wætlings?

The answer, I believe, lies on the surface. The Welsh term *Gwyddel* was applied not only to the Irish but also to

Gloss. *Erming Street*). Mr. T. Wright, however, adopts them without hesitation and without acknowledgment. "Of these four roads one only, the Wætlinga Stræt, is mentioned in purely Anglo-Saxon writings, and on the name of that there can be no doubt, or of its mythic character. The name of another is equally mythic, which is written in the printed text *Erminga Strete*, and has been corrupted in more modern times into Erming Street."

Inventorium Sepulchrale, l. i. c. vii.

⁶ "Aneaster standeth in Wateling Street," &c. *Lel.* i. 30. Elsewhere he calls this road Hermen Street. *Lel. Itin.* i. 82.

⁷ "The continuation of the street from Stilton is there named Forty-foot Road, from its breadth, and in some maps Watling Street, which must be a great error," &c. *Gale's Essay*, p. 124.

⁸ *Hist. Eccl.* c. vii.

⁹ *Cod. Dipl.* No. 696.

the wild men who lived in the Weald, as contradistinguished from the husbandmen who cultivated the plain.¹ Now the woodlands through which the Watling Street ran for some 30 or 40 miles after leaving London were during the middle ages notorious for the banditti that infested them. Mathew Paris tells us that Leofstan Abbot of St. Albans in the XIth century cut down all the trees within a certain distance of the highway to enable the traveller the better to provide against the robbers that lay in wait for him ; and we have seen that Henry the First founded the town and priory of Dunstable as a further protection against their outrages. These broken and desperate men must have been the Watlings that gave their name to the Watling Street ; and it was no doubt to their harbouring themselves in the vaults and amid the ruins of the old Roman town² that the latter obtained its name of Watling-chester. It is well known that many other forest-tracts were infested with bands of outlaws, and we need feel little surprise when we find Watling Streets in the neighbourhood of the several forests of Delamere, Elmet, Ettrick, and Rockingham. Gale charged those, who converted a portion of the Erming Street into a Watling Street,³ with committing "a great error ;" but the error really lay at the door of the critic, and not of the topographer.

The name of *Foss* has given rise to some very strange hypotheses. It has been supposed that the road was so called, because it was one of the hollow ways which marked out the lines of ancient British traffic ; but, in truth, the Roman character of the Foss is perhaps more decided than that of any other highway in the island. It has been conjectured by others, that the road was left incomplete by the Romans, and certain portions of it in the north of Warwickshire have been pointed out as exhibiting a *fossa* merely, without any *dorsum* or ridge. But every one who has travelled along a Roman road knows that it often exhibits the appearance of a ditch—and sometimes for very long distances—owing to the abstraction of the gravel, &c., for the purposes of the neighbourhood. I suspect the origin of the name does not lie quite so near the surface as these antiquaries have imagined.

¹ Owen Pugh's Dict. *Gwyddel*.

² In like manner, during the XIVth and XVth centuries, the deserted stations

along the Wall afforded harbourage to the border-thieves of Northumberland.

³ Vid. p. 113, n. 7.

Roman writers upon agriculture give the name of *fossa* not merely to the open, but also to the covered drain. One was called the *fossa caeca*, and the other the *fossa patens*. Now in making a causey, the first thing the Romans did was to remove the surface soil, or, in other words, to make a *fossa* to receive the gravel, and other hard materials—

alto

Egestu penitus cavare terras
Mox haustas aliter replere fossas.

As the *fossa*, which served for a covered drain, retained the name when filled with stones and brushwood and covered in with soil, so I believe the road-maker's *fossa* kept its name, even when it appeared as a finished causey. I cannot quote any ancient authority which distinctly favours this conclusion; but *fossatum*, which by the later Latinists was used as a synonym of *fossa*, was commonly employed in our charters to denote a causey, from the XIth to the XVth century. The great Roman road which we call the Foss, appears to have been termed the *fossa κατ' ἐξοχήν*—the Causey.

It may be said, that if the British provincials used the term *fossa* as a general name for a causey, we might expect to find more than one instance of the word in our English topography. In fact, the county of Dorset does furnish us with a second instance of its use. We read in Gale's Essay, "Speed places Dorchester on the Fosse, and upon inquiry, I find that there is a large raised causeway which runs directly from that town, ten miles together, to a place called Egerton Hill, where the remains of a Roman camp are to be seen, called by that name." The accuracy of Gale's information on this subject has been sometimes questioned, but it has been confirmed from other sources, and is sufficient warrant for our giving the name of foss to the road in question. The scepticism, however, of those who doubted on this matter, was not altogether unreasonable. The Dorsetshire foss was most certainly no part of the highway, to which we have hitherto given the name, and of which certain antiquaries considered it to be the continuation.

Before I conclude this paper, I would add a few words with respect to the time when, and the circumstances under

which the Four Roads were constructed. The Watling Street and the Foss were no doubt throughout their whole course Roman causeys, and there can be little doubt that in the XIIth century these magnificent works existed in nearly their original state. I know not from whence Huntingdon and Jeffrey could have taken their description of these roads, unless it was from personal observation. They have now almost disappeared from the surface of the island. The work of destruction has no doubt been going on for centuries, but it is the road-contractors of the last century to whom the state of dilapidation, in which we now find these monuments, is chiefly owing.

That portion of the Erming Street which lies between London and Huntingdon was not, I believe, of Roman construction. A great Roman road leaves unmistakable evidence behind it that it once existed, in the remains of Roman stations, of Roman villas, and of Roman burial-grounds; and none of these remains have yet been found along that portion of the Erming Street which lies south of the Fens. But a still stronger argument against the Roman origin of the Erming Street south of Huntingdon, is furnished by the Iters of Antoninus. Three of the Iters pass from London to Lincoln; and of these, two run down the Watling Street to the Foss, and then up the Foss to Lincoln, while the third Iter proceeds to Colchester and then to Lincoln by way of Cambridge and Huntingdon. I cannot believe we should have had any one of these three iters, if a paved road had then existed leading directly from London to Lincoln.

The Erming Street, however, must certainly date from a very remote antiquity. It must have existed in the days of Edgar, and perhaps as early as the times of Offa. We have ample proof that, in the Anglo-Saxon period, Hertfordshire was a well-peopled district, and consequently that its woodlands, which appear to have been the great impediment to Roman road-making, must in great measure have disappeared before the labours of the husbandman.

The Icknield Street has been generally, and I believe rightly, considered as a mere British trackway. I have looked for traces of an artificial road along its course, but have not found them. The word *street* must not mislead us, for it was certainly used, at least in the south of England,

with great laxity of meaning. In our charters the road is generally styled a way—*Icenhilde weg*,—though in one charter it is called a street.⁴ It may possibly have been gravelled and paved for short distances, to meet the requirements of particular localities.

The Bishop of Cloyne's description of the Icknield Street some fifty years ago, will give the reader on the whole a not unfair notion of its general appearance even at the present day. He tells us it enters Cambridgeshire "near Newmarket, and keeping by the hilly grounds to the east of the present turnpike-road, bears directly for Ickleton, &c. It goes through Ickleton and by Ickleton Grange over Fulmere field to Royston, where it crosses the Ermine Street, and keeps straight by the chalky hills to Baldock and Dunstaple. In some parts of the line here described, especially over Fulmere field, from frequent ploughings and the confusion occasioned by numerous field roads it is not easy to follow it, but in much of its way over the heath near Newmarket, on the hill south-west of Ickleton and on the downs to the east and west of Royston, the marks of its course are so evident as to leave no doubt that a road of considerable antiquity and importance must have proceeded in that direction."⁵

I know no part of England—and I am well-acquainted with its bye-ways—where so much of genuine legend still lingers among the peasantry as along the course of the Icknield Street. Plott represents the road as almost deserted even in his day, yet your guide will talk of the long-lines of pack-horses that once frequented the "Ickley way," as if they were things of yesterday; and a farmer in the Vale of

⁴ C. D., No. 1129.

⁵ Lyson's Cambridgeshire, p. 44. I quote Bishop Bennett's testimony to the course of the Icknield Street in this particular district, as an answer to some novel views which have been lately published on the subject, though I believe no difference of opinion exists, or ever did exist, among well-informed antiquaries as to the matter in question.

In his recent work, entitled the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, Mr. Roach Smith has inserted an essay written by his friend Mr. Thomas Wright, which treats *inter alia* of the Four Roads. In the map prefixed to the Essay, Mr. Wright carries

the Icknield Street to Cambridge. Not a single argument is adduced to justify this departure from received opinion; and when we find Mr. Wright carrying the Erming Street also to Cambridge, and the Watling Street to Shrewsbury; when we find him asserting that this name of *Watling Street* was the only one of the four known to the Anglo-Saxon, and that the term *Fosse* is "undoubtedly" of Anglo-Norman origin, the reader will probably agree with me in the conclusion, that any further notice of Mr. Wright's speculations on these subjects is uncalled for.

Aylesbury told me, as he was pointing out the course of the Icknield Street along the sides of the Chiltern, that in the popish times they used to go on pilgrimage along it from Oxford to Cambridge. The story admits of an easy explanation. The Icknield way was no doubt the great road for pilgrimages from the west of England to the "Martyr's shrine" at Bury, and as it passed some ten miles south of Oxford, and about the same distance south of Cambridge, these familiar names were seized upon in order to give shape and locality to the story.

There is something in the deserted aspect of this old trackway which is very fascinating to the antiquary; while the boundless views which, throughout its whole course, open to the west and north, and its long stretches of springy turf-land, which even the agricultural changes of the last ten years have not wholly obliterated, are accompaniments that will no doubt be more generally appreciated. The absence of ancient towns along its course has been often noticed. At three points, indeed, where it is crossed by ancient roads, we find Royston, Baldock, and Dunstaple, but of these the first and last date only from the twelfth century. The want of Roman remains, however, is amply compensated for by the many objects, mostly of British antiquity, which crowd upon us as we journey westward—by the tumuli and the "camps," which show themselves on our right hand and on our left—by the six gigantic earthworks which, in the interval of eighty miles, between the borders of Suffolk and the Thames, were raised at widely distant periods to bar progress along this now deserted thoroughfare—by the White Cross which rises over the Vale of Aylesbury, and the still more ancient White Horse that looks down upon the Vale of Wantage. When it is remembered that in its probable course westward, the Icknield Street passes by "Wayland's Smithy," and the mysterious Avebury, and that it crosses the Wansdyke in its progress towards Stonehenge and Old Sarum, it will be conceded, that no line of country of the same extent in Britain, can show objects of greater interest to the antiquary and—why may we not add the more dignified name?—to the historian.

NOTICES OF HEATHEN INTERMENT IN THE CODEx
DIPLOMATICUS.

It is well known to the readers of the *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, with what an extraordinary richness of detail, the boundaries of the estates conveyed are defined and recorded. It is this peculiarity of the Anglo-Saxon custom which renders the collection of such general interest and value, for we look in vain for anything at all resembling it, in the Charters of the other Teutonic populations. It is no exaggeration to say, that we have derived from the boundaries of the Anglo-Saxon Charters, more important information respecting the relations of the various classes, the modes of culture, the political and municipal divisions of the country, than from all other sources of information combined ; or that, without them, we should have remained in entire ignorance of many of the most remarkable characteristics of Anglo-Saxon social life.

It is probable that when an estate was granted in the Anglo-Saxon times, it was designated in the grant itself merely by its name and extent, that is, the number of hides of land which it contained. The document duly attested was then delivered to the grantee, whose business it was to have the boundaries of his property legally ascertained upon the spot ; at early periods, there can be no doubt whatever, that both the grantor divested himself of his ownership, and transferred this to his grantee, by certain ceremonies and symbolical acts, which may have formed part of a primæval ritual. Traces of this custom long survived all over Europe in the various forms of what we technically term *Livery of Seisin*, *Liberatio Saisinæ*, *Legalis Traditio*, and *Investitura*, or by whatever other name legists may have chosen to denote the solemn act of alienating and acquiring. But beyond the mere act of the transfer, there still lay something to be done. It was necessary to ascertain exactly what the estate was which had changed hands, and what precise amount of land was intended in the conveyance. This was

done by a regular perambulation of the boundaries, which, in times when writing had become common, were duly written down, and often, though not always, appended to the body of the grant itself, or inserted in a blank space left purposely to receive them. It is clear, however, that till the art of writing did become general, the depositaries of the knowledge where the boundaries ran could only be the voisnetum or neighbourhood, upon whose verdict, in case of dispute, the ultimate decision must depend. And it is equally clear that the marks by which their decision was to be guided must be such as from their own nature offered the greatest conditions and chances of permanence. The natural divisions of the country are therefore those which most frequently served this purpose. The hills and forests, the watercourses, marshes, springs and moors, were the true and proper boundary-marks : and as the language of a simple people, living upon the land, is always extremely rich in fine distinctions of names for all the natural features of a district, there was not the slightest fear of confusion arising in a limitation or boundary defined by such features.

We have no record at what period the divisions of estates were first settled, but it must have been a very early one, and dates in all probability from the very first occupation of the country, at all events from a time anterior to the introduction of Christianity. But once settled, they remained unchanged. I cannot imagine the dismemberment of an estate ; it must have been granted entire, with all its boundaries, or not at all. The only possible exception which I can believe this rule to have had, was where a change had taken place in the quality of the land ; where, for example, a land-owner, being a better farmer than his neighbours, had essarted some of his own forest, and turned barren land into arable, a case, which from the want of markets for produce, was probably of rare occurrence. Under such circumstances, he may possibly have had the power of separating such portions of reclaimed land from his estate. And this we should naturally expect, because the Hide, really consisting of arable land alone, the new arable would be over and above the proper legal measure of the original estate : so that, in truth, the exception is rather apparent than real. At the same time, it is to be remembered that the rights in the Forest were for the most part public and general, and that any opportunity

of essarting or reclaiming land must have been extremely rare. The estates themselves did therefore not vary, and their boundaries remained the same, through successive generations of possessors, being throughout all periods under the guarantee of the public law, and the conscience of the neighbourhood. It is no rare thing to find an estate or manor in the XIth century described by the selfsame boundaries as occur in a grant of the VIIIth or IXth. Permanence is indeed pre-eminently the character of our landed estate: the holders change, as from age to age the will of God and the accidents of social life may determine, but the land divisions are themselves almost as permanent as the natural features by which they are defined. Many a manor may even at this day be described with the utmost accuracy, by means of the boundaries given in a grant of Aelfred or Eádgár. And very striking is the way in which the names originally given to little hills and brooks, yet survive; often unknown to the owners of estates themselves, but sacred in the memory of the surrounding peasantry, or the labourer that tills the soil. I have more than once walked, ridden, or rowed, as land and stream required, round the bounds of Anglo-Saxon estates, and have learnt with astonishment that the names recorded in my charter were those still used by the woodcutter, or the shepherd, of the neighbourhood.

But even into this general prevalence of a conservative system, the element of change will intrude itself. It is a necessary corollary of man's own nature, and it would be as little desirable as possible to exclude it. By the side of the permanent marks, there will be found accidental and transitory ones also: by the side of God's work, the works also of man. The hills and springs, the rocks and forests still are there, and will remain; but to them have come the path or stile, the bridge, the quarry, the hedge, the dwelling-place of the settler and his family. These do not alter the ancient boundary, but they may serve to render it more distinct and definite. Still they convey no assurance of perpetuity: the path may be diverted, the quarry filled up, the bridge carried away by the stream, the dwelling or the hedge burnt down or rooted up: and then we must return to the hill and the moor again.

There is a third class, however, of memorials which an early age affectionately invests with the character of per-

manence—its graves. The work of man indeed, but intended to be his eternal home, when, after his long days of work, he folds his hands and betakes himself to his rest. To disturb this abode is sacrilege, against which his criminal jurisprudence directs its severest censures. He casts out from all human intercourse the unfeeling and irreverent spoiler that would disturb the ashes of the departed ; little dreaming that a day will come when the daring hand of science—more ruthless than even avarice or hatred—will lay bare the most secret recesses of his tomb, and the eye of curious gazers will feed on all his cherished mysteries. And having thus, as he fondly hoped, provided for the sanctity of his last resting-place, by the severest enactments of his criminal code, and the most earnest sanctions of religion, he believed his tumulus also invested with a character of inviolability, which gave to it the permanence of the eternal hills themselves. Accustomed to a free life among the beautiful features of nature, he would not be separated from them in death. It was his wish that his bones should lie by the side of the stream, or on the summit of the rocks that overlooked the ocean which he had traversed ; or he loved to lie in the shade of the deep forests, or on the glorious uplands that commanded the level country ; nor was it till long after Christianity had made him acquainted with other motives and higher hopes, till the exigences of increasing population made new modes of disposing of the dead necessary, and till the clergy discovered a source of power and profit in taking possession of the ceremonies of interment, that regular churchyards attached to the consecrated building became possible. And even then it was long before they became common, and the people learnt to heap their dead in an indiscriminate place of sepulture. It is probable that this great change, which marks so marvellous an alteration in the moral being of a race, did not take place in this country much before the end of the IXth century : among the Franks, deeply influenced by the traditions of Roman civilisation, there are traces of it as early as the close of the VIIIth century ; but the best authorities have decided that even among them the custom of burying after our present fashion was not universal till the Xth. At earlier periods than these nothing was more common than solitary burial under a mound or tumulus upon the uncultivated ground

which separated the possessions of different communities or even individual settlers, and consequently nothing is more common than to find such funeral tumuli referred to as memorial marks in the boundaries of Anglo-Saxon estates. Considerably more than one hundred and fifty instances of this custom may be found in the published volumes of the "Codex Diplomaticus."

In continuing the systematic observations upon primæval interments, which I commenced last session, I think it well worth while to direct your attention to several of these instances. They will be found to lead to many conclusions of importance, and to some very interesting and unexpected results.

Let us begin with the most general expression, in other words, with that which merely mentions the mound or burial place, without any special definition of the person to whom it belonged. In this case we are usually told that the boundary runs *oð ðone hæðenan byrigels*, to the heathen burial-place; or *oð ða hæðenan byrigelsas*, in the plural, to the heathen burial-places; where, there can be little doubt, that a mound or mounds are intended, inasmuch as the primæval stone structures, which we call cromlechs, dolmens, or stone kists, are obviously alluded to under a totally different name. It is evident that this denomination could only have been introduced after Christianity had become generally established, as, indeed, writing itself could not have been in common use, if used at all, before that period. The instances in which this form occurs are Nos. 123, 209, 263, 354, 399, 402, 441, 467, 479, 482, 487, 522, 526, 571, 595, 632, 736, 783, 1038, 1053, 1056, 1094, 1096, 1103, 1110, 1115, 1122, 1148, 1151, 1154, 1156, 1178, 1183, 1184, 1202, 1214, 1221, 1229, 1230, 1299, 1357, 1358, 1368.

A perfectly similar expression is *ða hæðene byrgenne*, or in the plural *byrgenna*, where the feminine substantive, *byrgen*, is used instead of the masculine *byrigels*. I have only to observe on these words, that the Anglo-Saxon verb *byrgan* is not restricted in its sense to what we call burial, in respect to the dead, but has the more extended meaning of *covering*, as we can say, to *bury* money, to *bury* in oblivion. It does not in the least exclude the idea of cremation, but only assumes that whatever is deposited is covered up or hidden. In this it answers strictly to the Latin *sepelire*,

which is applied to the urn containing ashes, quite as well as to the deposit of the unburnt body. *Byrgen* is also, perhaps, a dialectical variation, and occurs comparatively seldom.

More interesting, perhaps, is the expression *berrh* or *barrow*, which occurs coupled with the same adjective. A boundary runs on *ða hæðen beorgas*, and thence again, at a further point of the line, on *ða hæðenan byrgena*, i. e. *on the heathen barrows on the heathen burial-places*, Cod. Dip., No. 1299. Again, on *hæðene beorge*, Cod. Dip., No. 1358. *Beorh(m)* itself is etymologically connected with *beorgan*, to *cover*, and denotes any rising ground or hill, natural or artificial. The adjective with which it is united in these passages shows, however, what description of mound or hill was intended. They were emphatically funeral barrows, and funeral barrows of the heathen.

Although the word *hléw(m)*, still called *low* in some parts of England, may have a more general sense of *hill*, or a slight rise in the surface of the soil, yet its usual and proper meaning is also that of a barrow for sepulchral purposes. In the boundary of *Linchlade*, in Buckinghamshire, the line is drawn of *ðám treówe andlang stráete on ðone midlestan hléwe*; of *ðám hléwe andlang stráete tó seofon hléwan*; of *seofon hléwan tó ðám ánum hléwe*, i. e., *from the tree to the midmost low, along the street; from the low along the street to the seven lows; from the seven lows to the solitary low*. Cod. Dip., No. 1257. It is very evident that this is a group of barrows, not by any means a set of natural hills, especially as they lie upon the side of a road or way. And it is further to be observed, that, as in Anglo-Saxon *stræt* mostly denotes a paved or Roman road, it is quite possible that these may have been Roman barrows, the Romans generally raising their tombs beside their causeways. However, it is also to be observed, that we are not distinctly told whether these lows or barrows were heathen or not. However, it appears to me that by far the most important cases are those where the burial-place, barrow, or low is identified as that of a particular person; and these are by no means rare. The following is a list of them:—

Ælfstánes byrigels. Cod. Dip. 1368. Here also the line runs on to heathen burial-place.

Beáhhilde byrgels. Cod. Dip. 1056, further on to heathen burial-place.

Byrnheardes byrigels. Cod. Dip. (unpub. A.D. 693.)

Ealhstánes byrigels, and then andlang stráete, along the street or paved road. Cod. Dip. 289.

Ealhheres byrigels. Cod. Dip. 1184. This is described as being upon the Hriegweg or Ridgeway, consequently a path or road running along the top of a line of hills.

Hóecs byrigels. Cod. Dip. 1266.

Seottan burgels. Cod. Dip. 673.

Strenges byrigels. Cod. Dip. 263, and then to the heathen burial.

Tátemannes byrigels. Cod. Dip. 1250.

Wures byrigels. Cod. Dip. 592.

One more instance, which I have intentionally reserved for the last, and I shall leave this question of words compounded with byrigels. It is, I assure you, a most remarkable one, on many accounts. A charter of the year 976 (Cod. Dip. 595), has this entry in its boundary: “ðonon forð on ða mearce ó Beonotlege gemære: swá on ðone háðenan byrigels: ðonan west on ða mearce ðár Ælfstán lið on háðenan byrigels: i.e., *thenceforth on the mark to the bounds of Bentley; and so to the heathen burial place; thence to the west on the mark, where Ælfstán lieth, on the heathen burial place.* In reviewing this short list, we are struck with several circumstances. It appears to me that where the name of a person occurs, as for example, Beáhhilde byrigels, followed by the notice of a heathen burial-place, that the first must be taken distinctively not to be a heathen burial-place—i.e., that the lady named was a Christian. This occurs in four of the eleven cases I have cited; and it is most particularly instanced in the case of Ælfstán, who was buried in the heathen burial-place itself. The very way in which this is mentioned obviously implies that Ælfstán himself was not a heathen; and it seems also to show, that, in 976, this, which was once a common case enough, was becoming a matter of special observation. The earliest Christians buried, beyond a doubt, where the earliest Pagans had deposited the burnt remains of their dead. They still desired to rest among those whom they had loved, or from whom they were sprung; but in the Xth century, very new notions had become prevalent, and new habits were becoming established.

Another point which seems worthy of notice is, that with one, or perhaps two exceptions, the names of the persons themselves are of a very common and every-day character, and have no trace of the archaic or mythic about them. Beáhhild, Byrnheard, and Ælfstán, are spoken of as if they

were persons whom every one had known familiarly. Hóce, it is true, is the name of a really mythical personage, probably the *heros eponymus* of the Frisian tribe, the founder of the Hocings, and a progenitor of the imperial race of Charlemagne. He figures in Beówulf, and the account of his cremation and exequies is one of the most valuable, as well as picturesque and poetical passages in that fine poem. But it does not at all follow that the Hóce whose burial-place is here mentioned, is the mythical hero: the name might very possibly have been borne by a man, and one of no very transcendent antiquity. The genitive Hóces does not leave us without difficulties; in short, the nominative may have been Hóc, quite as well as Hóce, and even to this day our Mr. Hooks and Hookeys exist, without any suspicion of their being the progenitors and "representative men" of the Chauci. Nevertheless, I am bound to admit that the well-known episode of Hóces burial in Beówulf, as well as the occurrence of the name, hereafter to be further noticed, are strong justifications for any one who inclines to the other view of the case, and sees in Hóces byrgels a record of the mythical hero. I am myself quite as willing to accept the one as the other alternative. What I lose on the one hand, I gain on the other, for the mythology. All I regret is, that I cannot show one view to be decidedly *true*. With Táteman the case is also far from clear: it is unquestionably true that Herteitr is a name of the supreme god Wóden (O'þinn); that Itrmon is so also: that the additions Táta (m) and Táte (f), denote gentleness, kindness, and tenderness of disposition, and hence stand in near relation to Itr, which enters into the composition of one name of the supreme being; but we have the strongest historical evidence that, even on this very account, Táte was not an unusual by-name of young ladies; and I am obliged, therefore, to conclude that Tátemannes byrgels is not the burial-place of a god, but of some Anglo-Saxon Ælfrie or Eádwine, whose kindness of disposition had won from his comrades that endearing substitute for his baptismal name.

A last philological remark may be allowed me. Where the name of a person is mentioned, the burial place, byrgels, is invariably in the singular. Where no name of a person is mentioned, the burial-places are mostly in the plural: there are several of them. Byrgelsas are *many graves*, not *one*

grave; if you please so to call it, a *churchyard*: byrgels is not a *churchyard*, but a *grave*; and as graves, to be boundary marks, must be something apart from, and distinguished from other graves, it does not seem at all unreasonable to suppose that the persons mentioned in this connection were buried under conspicuous barrows, and such as from their size and form were qualified to serve as landmarks to their own or a future generation. Nor let it be argued that the erection of a mound of this nature was inconsistent with the practices of Christians. We have positive evidence to the contrary, for Gregory of Tours informs us, that in 673, Ebroin, Mayor of the Palace, wishing to have it believed that Bishop Leódegar, the head of the Opposition, was dead, seized, and confined him in a secret place, spread a report that he was drowned, and raised a tumulus over his supposed grave, so that all who had ears to hear, or eyes to see, as the author observes, believed the report to be true. Indeed, any one who desires the same sort of evidence, has only to visit the barrows of Gorm the elder, and Thyra Dannebad, at Gilja, which Haralldr Blátand, their son, raised in their honour, in the Xth century. If he stands on Thyra's mound, and looks over in a direct line to Gorms, only a few hundred yards distant from it, he will not see the spire of the little church which lies between them. The mounds of this christian king are higher than the steeple! In short, I suspect that great tumuli continued to distinguish the rich and powerful, till the fashion of stone monuments in the churches themselves rendered it *baroque* and *rococo*. The Devil, we know, might visit a mound, which, to say the least of it, savoured of heathendom; but he has a proverbial aversion to holy water, and that he was sure to find within the walls of a church. Let us be grateful that this antipathy may have had something to do with giving us those exquisite specimens of mediæval art, the altar tombs and brasses. In those days, however, as in ours, I presume the "Canaille chrétienne" were compelled by circumstances to conform to the more christian, though less artistic doctrine of the equality of all men in death.

The occurrence of a proper name in connection with Beorh, is much more frequent than with Byrgels. I find the following recorded:—

Ælfredes beorh. Cod. Dip. 1276,
1277.

Æðelwoldes beorh. Cod. Dip. 1121.

Bennan beorh. Cod. Dip. 1159.
 Cartes beorh. App.
 Ceardices beorh. Cod. Dip. 1077.
 Cissan beorh. Cod. Dip. 1094.
 Eeles beorh. Cod. Dip. 1129,
 1168, 1178.
 Fippel beorgas. Cod. Dip. 1135.
 Hægging beorgas. Cod. Dip. 1149.
 Hlndes beorh. Cod. Dip. 377.
 Hringwoldes beorh. Cod. Dip.
 1140.

Lidgeardes beorh. Cod. Dip.
 1250.
 Loddera beorh. Cod. Dip. 1194.
 Luhhan beorh. Cod. Dip. 1211.
 Lulles beorh. Cod. Dip. 1186.
 Nybban beorh. Cod. Dip. 1137.
 Oswaldes beorh. Cod. Dip. 353.
 Peadan beorh. Cod. Dip. 299.
 Piples beorh. Cod. Dip. 774.
 Ræling beorgas. Cod. Dip. 780.
 Weardes beorh. Cod. Dip. 1148.

It is very possible that in one or two of these instances, where the word occurs in the plural, beorgas, not beorh, it may denote the barrows belonging to the person named, either as lying upon his estate, or as being the ancient resting-places of his family, seeing that a man could not occupy more than one himself. Several of the names are here, as I before observed with regard to Byrgels, of a very familiar and every-day character; but there are others of a very different class. I have omitted to notice the occurrence twice of Wódnnes beorh, Cod. Dip. 1035, 1070, to which I will add Wóncumb, Cod. Dipl. 1070, which is equivalent to Wódnnes cumb, and means just the same thing as Wódnnes beorh. Now the loss of almost all record of our own pagandom forbids me from asserting that the Saxon, like the Northman, believed Wóden to have died, been burned, and no doubt deposited in a barrow. It is probable that he shared this belief, but the only evidence for it would be the occurrence of these very names, which, however, are susceptible of another interpretation. Beorh, it must be remembered, may be a natural, as well as an artificial, rise in the ground, a mountain or hill, as well as a barrow; and Wódnnes beorh may very possibly be only a hill dedicated to Wóden, or called after him, from some peculiarity in his cultus which is yet unknown to us. But leaving this point unsettled, I proceed to some other names in this list, which are hardly less interesting and remarkable.

Ceardices beorh, Cod. Dip. 1077, occurs in a charter granted by Eádward of Wessex to the Church at Winchester. The lands granted lie in his own territory of Hampshire, at Hussebourne. Now I must recal to your memory that the founder of the kingdom of the Gewissas, or West Saxons, was Cerdic, and that it is a name which, to the

best of our knowledge, does not occur elsewhere. Is it then unreasonable to believe that the people gave traditionally the name of this king to some conspicuous barrow? Or further, is it quite impossible that the tradition may have been the genuine record of a fact, and that Cerdic's barrow did in truth cover the bones of that successful pirate? I am not familiar with that neighbourhood, but perhaps Cerdic's barrow may not yet be so entirely levelled with the surrounding soil, but what an experienced eye might detect it.

In the charter No. 1094 we have Cissan beorh, or Cissa's barrow, in the neighbourhood of Overton in Wiltshire. As far as I know, this name was only borne by one person, namely, the son of Ælli, the founder of the kingdom of Sussex, and it is possible that this was his burial place, if, as is very likely, he fell in a fray against the British; and indeed it is not impossible that the Overton mentioned is in Hampshire, not Wiltshire. And then we may assume that Cissa perished in a battle with his West-Saxon neighbours, for although he landed in England eighteen years before Cerdic came to Wessex, he was probably young, being mentioned only as the third son of Ælli of Sussex, whom, according to Henry of Huntingdon, he succeeded on the throne, about A.D. 514, long after Cerdic and Cyneric had established their rule.

In No. 299 we have also an interesting memorial. It is the barrow of Peada. This name may possibly have been borne by more than one person; but the only one known to us is the King of the Middle Angles, the son of the Mercian Penda, and his successor, in 655, upon the throne of Mercia, which he held only for one year, being cut off in a domestic sedition. Peada was the first King of Mercia who embraced the Christian faith, and it would be interesting in every way if we could succeed in identifying his barrow.

These are the only names with which I shall trouble you at present; but before I leave the compounds with Beorh, let me call your attention to the very common expression, to *ðam broccnan beorge*, which occur Cod. Dip. No. 763, 1186, 1362. I take this, as well as the phrase in No. 1033, to be *westan ðam beorge ðe ádolfen was*, *to the west of the barrow that was dug into*, as clear evidence of *τεμβωρύχεια*, that violation of the graves of the dead, which has been far more general than is usually imagined, and which no legislation

prevailed entirely to prevent. Let me also observe that Stánbeorgas, or stone barrows, also occur, Cod. Dip. 131, 770, 774, 1159. We might suppose these to be cairns or barrows composed of stone, a rendering which is equally compatible with the customs of the race, and with the genius of the language. But there is another version of the word, justifiable on both grounds, viz., the barrow with the stone upon it: and I presume this to have been the proper meaning, from finding this sentence in a rate boundary, in unum tumulum in cujus summitate lapis infixus est, et ideo Stanbeorh dicitur. (Cod. Dip. App. A.D. 794.) This, it is clear, is a barrow surmounted by a memorial stone, which in Germany is by no means an unusual occurrence, and in Scandinavia was in all probability the common rule.

We will now proceed to the cases where Hlæw, or Low, occurs in connexion with a proper name, and here also we shall find some matter of interest. The following are the instances I have to adduce:

Æswoldes hlæw. Cod. Dip. 364.

Beáces hlæw. Cod. Dip. 436.

Byrhtferðes hlæw. Cod. Dip. 428.

Cardan hlæw. Cod. Dip. 427,
1198.

Ceapan hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1215.

Ceawan hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1158.

Ceorles hlæw. Cod. Dip. 698,
798, 985, 997, 1036, 1108.

Codan hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1223.

Cwichelmes hlæw. Cod. Dip. 751.

Deneburge hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1159.

Doddan hlæw. Cod. Dip. 751.

Eádbyrhtes hlæw. Cod. Dip. App.

Ealferhðes hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1114.

Eánferhðes hlæw. Cod. Dip. 437.

Eángiðe hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1209.

Enta hlæw. Cod. Dip. 758, 1156.

Haðeburge hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1159,
1250.

Hildan hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1006,
1095, 1170, 1226, 1235.

Hildes hlæw. Cod. Dip. 621,
1172.

Hóces hlæw. Cod. Dip. 775.

Hodan hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1168,
1247.

Hodes hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1129.

Hwittuces hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1172.

Hyðwaldan hlæw. Cod. Dip. 180.

Lillan hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1194,
1221.

Lortan hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1110.

Múles hlæw. Cod. Dip. 963.

Oslafes hlæw. Cod. Dip.

O'swoldes hlæw. Cod. Dip.

Posses hlæw. Cod. Dip. 387.

Prentsan hlæw. Cod. Dip. 364.

Rypelme hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1253.

Seucean hlæw. Cod. Dip.

Upicenes hlæw. Cod. Dip. 783.

Wulfinges hlæw. Cod. Dip. 460.

Yttinges hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1141.

You will observe that we have here again Hóces hlæw, as we before had Hóces byrgels. The majority of the names are those of men and women, which require no particular notice; but this is not the case with all. I would especially

direct your attention to Cwichelmes Hlæw, now Cuckamsley, or more properly Cuckamslow hill, on which the Ordnance map has placed the name Scutchamfly barrow. It is probably the most commanding barrow in England, and we know that in the XIth century it was the seat of a shire-court, one of whose extremely important acts is on record. Now it is true that Cwichelm is not a very rare Anglo-Saxon name; still, taking into consideration the circumstances I have just mentioned, I feel myself justified in referring this Hlæw to one of those Cwichelms who figure in the early history of the West-Saxons, within whose territories the barrow lay before the victories of Mercia extended the rule of that power southward. The earliest of these is mentioned as dying in the year 593; the Saxon chronicle says Her Ceawlin and Cwichelm and Crida forwurdon; i. e., *In this year Ceawlin, Cwichelm, and Crida perished.* Now Crida was King of Mercia, and it is therefore not at all improbable that Cwichelm died in battle against the Mercians, and was buried on that conspicuous spot, which at that time was probably on the frontier of Wessex and Mercia. In 614, however, we have another Cwichelm reigning together with his father Cynegils in Wessex; and I think that he may possibly have a better claim. For he was baptised by St. Birinus in 636 at Dorchester, and died the same year. But this Dorchester was the seat of Birinus's bishopric, not Dorchester in Dorsetshire, but what is now a very small place in Oxfordshire. It is therefore not at all unlikely that Cwichelmes Hlæw is the resting-place of this, the first Christian King of Wessex.

O'swoldes hlæw is also a name of moment. The hundred of O'swold's Law, as it is called, was the peculiar province of the Hwiccian Bishopric, or Worcester. This was founded in 680, by O'shere, and following the common rule of Anglo-Saxon proper names, I am inclined to think that among the progenitors of this O'shere must have been some celebrated King O'swold, whose memory was retained in this hlæw or low, and who gave his name to the whole district. The very fact that the district was so called, renders this more probable, than the supposition that the low was named after some other and later O'swold, of the same Mercian family, although several of them did succeed to the little Hwiccian kingdom.

Enta hlæw, which occurs twice in the list, can only

denote the *Law of Giants*: Scuccan hláew, that of the *demon or devil*. We can hardly doubt that we have here records of early pagandom, especially as everything very old in Anglo-Saxon, was supposed to be the work of the Éntas or Giants, their Titans.

I must now request your attention to some other important notices in the boundaries of the Codex Diplomaticus. I think when we bear in mind how very numerous and widely spread over all England were the Stone-beds, Circles, Dolmens, and the like, that the very rare notice of them in these documents is strange and unintelligible. Although it does occur, and more frequently than is generally supposed, it yet bears no proportion at all to the number of references, which as you have seen, was made to barrows. I must confess that this appears to me to prove that the Saxons attached no special importance to these stone structures, and did not look upon them as anything peculiarly sacred or extraordinary; not more, in short, than they did any single stone, or set of stones of great size, and venerable antiquity. To these, we well know, they in common with all Teutonic populations, did devote a civil and religious observance: but I can find very few indications that the Saxons saw any difference between the cromlechs and any other stones, nothing at any rate to show that they considered them with any peculiar reverence. But I am nevertheless perfectly satisfied that they do refer to them here and there under the well-known title of se hára stán, ða háran stánas, the *hoary*, or *gray*, on *ancient* stones, for which we do also find ða grágeau, or *grey* stones. It is totally erroneous to derive this name from ὄπος, as Mr. Hampole did, or to imagine that the adjective means anything whatever but what lies in the every day sense of *hoar*, *hoary*, a hoarfrost, a hoary-head, and so forth. But though this was a very common epithet of stán, and was indeed the proper epic one, it was never applied to any stone that had been fashioned by man. It denotes invariably one of those old rude blocks, which are so common in all the countries of Northern Europe, and which do unquestionably produce a striking effect upon the imagination, when we see them lying in solitary grandeur upon the great moors and heaths, whence no mountain range is visible. Science tells us of vast icefloats which

carried these erratic blocks from the granite rocks of Sweden, to dash against the mountain barriers of the Hartz ; but the Anglo-Saxon knew nothing of the glacier theory ; he, probably, like the Northman, connected the worship of Thunor (or Thórr) with the rude shapeless masses, for which he assuredly must have been as much at a loss to account as we ourselves were only a few years ago, and which to him must have seemed endowed with a supernatural character. The Anglo-Saxon boundaries then, do very frequently run to the old grey stone, or hoary stone, or stones, and among these it is reasonable to believe that sometimes cromlechs or stone-rings were intended. There is one case of considerable interest, and I will request your particular attention to it, because it contains the clearest possible allusion to the great stones at Avebury, and besides furnishes a singularly interesting example of the accuracy with which the lines of boundaries may even to this day be followed. It occurs in Cod. Dip. 1120, and is the limitation of the territory of Overton, a little village in Wiltshire, near the Kennet. The Saxon estate comprises very nearly what is now known as Overton town. The words are as follows :—

“These are the bounds of Overton. From Kennet to the Eldertree ; thence to Wódens den ; thence to the wood on the main road ; thence upon Horseley up to Wansdyke, upon Tytferð's road ; thence upon the hedge of Willow mere (or Withy mere) eastward by south round about to Æðelferð's dwelling on the stony road ; thence to the narrow meadow ; then through Shothanger along the road to the rising ground, or link ; thence to the west head ; then northward over the down to the right boundary ; then to the town or enclosure ; thence to Kennet at the Saltham ; from the Saltham up between the two barrows ; from them to the furlong's west head ; thence to Scrows pit ; thence to the Paneroundel, in the middle ; then by Coltas barrow as far as the broad road to Hackpen ; then along the road on the dike to the south of Æðelfreðes stone ; then south along the Ridgeway to the dun stone ; then south-west over the ploughed land to Piggie dean ; then up to Lambpath, southward up to the link, to the hollow way ; then back again to Kennet. Now this is the boundary of the pastures and the down land at Mapplederlea, westward. Thence northward up along the stone row, thence to the burial places ; then south along the road ; from the road along the link to the south-head ; thence down upon the slade ; thence up along the road, back again to Mapplederlea.”

I do not know whether there is any place called *Maple Durlley* in the neighbourhood, but nothing can be more accurate than the boundary which takes in nearly the whole of Overton town, extending, however, at first southward from the

river Kennet, at East Kennet, to the Wansdyke ; re-ascending on the east by a road still very remarkable for the great stone blocks which lie about it, till crossing the river again it runs northward up towards Hackpen Hill, then turns westward and southward in the direction of Avebury, and declining again to the south, crosses the little spot then called Pyttelden, now Piggledean, and returns to where it commenced at the corner of East Kennet. The *stone row* here is no doubt the great avenue. Hackpen, or Haca's pen enclosure, &c., is the well known stone ring ; what the byrgelsas are, it is of course now impossible to identify ; it may have been some particular set of barrows, but it may, I think, very possibly have been Avebury circle itself. I think you will agree with me, that these structures, which excite our archæological interest so warmly, were looked upon as very common-place things by the makers of this boundary, as far, at least, as their language allows us to judge. The avenue you see, which my friends the Ophites consider so mysterious, was only a common stone row, and the "temple" itself of the snake, the sun, the Helio-Arkite cult, the mystic zodiac, and a number of other very fine things—so fine that one cannot understand them—is very probably, in the eyes of this dull dog of a surveyor, only a burial-place. As for the stone ring it was only Haca's pen or enclosure, though I dare say Haca himself was some mythical personage whom I have not been able to identify here, any more than I have in Devonshire (Cod. Dip. 373), and whose Pund-fald or Pound, something very like a pen, existed also in Hampshire (Cod. Dip. 1235) ; while his brook, Hacan bróc in Berkshire, is named, Cod. Dip. 1069, 1151, 1258. The Anglo-Saxon did not know that Hac in Hebrew meant a *serpent*, and Pen in Welsh a *head* ; and would hardly have been ingenious enough to fancy that one word could be made up of two parts derived from two different languages ! though he raved about snakes, he does not seem to have raised his mind to the contemplation of *Dracontia*. And he was quite right. Would that some of his successors had been as little led away by their fancy !

There is, as far as I know, only one very definite allusion to a cromlech, or rather to a stone kist, which, as it stands in a boundary, was of course above ground, and probably resembled the magnificent structure at Coldburn in Kent.

which is planted upon a hill overlooking the country far and wide. The allusion occurs in the boundary of C̄oselden (Chiselden), in Wiltshire; of *ḡám ḡorne on ḡa stāncysten* on Holancumbe; of *ḡám stāncysten* on Blācmanna beorh (Cod. Dip. 730), i. e., *from the thorn to the stone kist on Holcombe; from the stone kist to the Blackmen's barrow*. I may observe here also that Holan beorh, Holancumbe, Holan hyl now generally transformed into Hollyborough, Holborough, Holcomb, and Holly Hill, usually denote a sepulchral barrow, and mean literally the *hollow hill*, the hill with a cavity or chamber in it. The name must never be confounded with Hālig beorh, *the holy hill*, a title which I do not believe to have existed, unless indeed it is to be found in some of the many Gallows and Gally hills, which we meet with here and there, and which experience shows to be very frequently the sites of heathen burials.

There is but one subject more on which I wish to touch, and that is the evidence afforded by the boundaries, of cremation in many parts of England. You are aware of the importance of the question, and that very ill-founded doubts still continue to exist in the minds of some archaeologists, whether this custom was universal in Pagan England, especially whether it prevailed in Kent. On a former occasion I stated to you my own conviction that this county made no exception to the general rule, and improved experience and continued study of the subject, have only confirmed my conviction. The names to which I have now to refer you are these:—

1st. Those compounded with A'd, *the funeral pile, strues rogi*, the actual burning place of the dead.

A'des hām, now Adisham in Kent. Cod. Dip. 983.

Ædes wyrð in Worecest. Cod. Dip. 1062.

2nd. Those compounded with Bāel, which is nearly equivalent in meaning to A'd.

Bāeles beorh. in Gloucest. Cod. Dip. 90.

Bāele. Cod. Dip. 765.

3rd. Those compounded with Bryne, *the combustion, burning*: or Brand, which is nearly equivalent to it.

Brandesbeorh. Cod. Dip. 1335.

Brynes eumb. Cod. Dip. 457.

Brynes hām. Cod. Dip. 675.

Brynes hyl. Cod. Dip. 1094.

Brynes sól.	Cod. Dip. 1149.
Brynes stede.	Cod. Dip. 204.
Brynenja tún.	Cod. Dip. 1152.

4th. Those compounded with Fin, which, like A'd, denotes the *pile itself, strues rogi*.

Finbeorh.	Cod. Dip. 468.
Fines tún.	Cod. Dip. 520.

With regard to A'd, I have to observe that the word itself occurs uncompounded in the boundary of a Hampshire charter, Cod. Dip. 1155, of *ðám stangedelfe on ðone caldan ád*, i. e. *From the stone quarry to the old burning place*; and it occurs a second time in composition with Finig, which denotes literally the heap or material; *ád finig is the heap of the ád*. The boundary of Clere, also in Hampshire (Cod. Dip. 1602) runs to *ðám caldan ádfinie*, i. e. *to the old heap of the ád*, and again to *Cleran finie*, i. e. *to the heap at Clere*. I do not think we shall be assuming too much if we explain this old ád heap to have been an ancient stone structure, of which the blocks still remained in situ, and were sufficiently conspicuous to be properly used as a boundary mark.

In fact, if we push our enquiry a little further into the mode adopted of consigning the body to the flames, I think we shall find sufficient ground for believing that it was very generally burnt in or upon such a stone structure. Not only is it evident that convenience would be consulted by such a course, that it would be much easier to consume the corpse if stones were used, than if it were only laid upon a heap of wood. And there is good reason to believe that something of this sort was really sometimes done; that is, that a heap of stones was built, leaving a hollow for the body; that the materials for a fire were laid in this and the stones made red hot, and then the corpse placed in the trough and covered over with combustible materials till all was consumed. The hollow was then filled up with more stones, and the whole surmounted with earth to form the barrow. Where wood was at all scarce, it is obvious that this would be a very natural mode of performing the necessary rite. I was first led to this conclusion by the not unfrequent discovery of burnt bones, unaccompanied by an urn, under and among heaped-up stones. One striking case of the kind occurred at Molzen. On the floor of a moderate sized barrow which

was paved with stones, there lay a stratum of calcined human bones and ashes, nearly five feet in length; over it were heaped three or four courses of similar stones, all of which were strongly calcined; about the region of the breast was placed a small urn about 6 inches high, and of unusual form, but it contained, as far as we could judge, nothing but fine sand which had silted in. In another very large barrow upon the same field, we found a heap of human and animal bones packed together in a heavy stone heap; the stones themselves had all been subject to the action of fire; and above, below, and around them, on every side, were abundant evidences of cremation. In this case there was no urn at all. A similar case occurred to me at a burial place in another part of North Germany. Here we found a long heap of stones with a hollow at the top; it was nearly seven feet in length, and bore unmistakeable signs of fire. In a small spot at one end of the heap were collected all that remained of the calcined bones, and the whole was covered with one or two courses of stones. I also remember that in a very large barrow at Molzen, we discovered a well or circular enclosure of stone of about seven feet diameter, and from three to four feet in height, the whole interior of which was filled with charcoal and other evidences of very fierce fire. We did not indeed find any human remains in this, but it is very probable that they were deposited either in some other part of the barrow, which was of very great size, or in the level ground at its base, the necessity of investigating which I at that time had not learnt. The Mecklenburg archieve for 1839, records an interesting case of the kind. In a barrow there were found two stone structures, one in the north 32 feet long, one in the south 34 feet long, each was about 16 feet wide, and reached nearly to the surface of the mound, the apex of which was 9 feet high. In the middle of each stone heap was a kind of well sunk down to the level of the natural soil, and filled with earth. Under each heap lay a golden finger ring, respectively suited for the finger of a man and a woman, and with the latter there lay a number of bluish green glass beads, which probably had formed a bracelet. There was no trace of fire upon any part of the basis of this barrow, except at the stones which were much blackened and calcined, and all about them the earth showed strong signs of cremation, especially charcoal of some hard wood and calcined

acorns. I observed that a similar thing occurred at Bomhöved, in Holstein: a stone kist ran from north to south of the barrow, 12 feet in length, 4 feet deep, 6 feet wide at the south, and 5 feet at the north end. In this lay the bones of an arm and leg, and a flat stone about 2 feet in diameter. The south end contained various antiquities of stone spread about. The bottom of the whole was paved, and showed everywhere strong traces of fire. It was moreover covered with a thick layer of calcined flints. This occurs, it appears, in other graves in Holstein, and has been taken to be conclusive evidence that the corpse was reduced to ashes in the kist.¹ Now, in illustration of this, I beg to call attention to an important passage from the Icelandic Saga of Orvar Oddr, or Odd, of the arrows. Finding his end approach, he gave directions for his funeral; his words are, *En áðrir 40 skulu gjöra mér steinðro ok draga þar at við, þar skal liggja í elld, ok brenna úpp allt saman, þá ek em dauðr: i. e. but the other forty, of my men, shall make for me a stone trough, and take it to the wood, there shall fire be placed in it and all be burnt up together when I am dead;*² Again he says, *Nú mun ik liggjast niðr í steinðróna ok deyja þar; síðan skuluð þér slá at útan eledi, ok brenna úpp allt saman . . . Eptir þatta deyr Oddr; slá þeir þa eldi í, ok brenna úpp allt saman, ok ganga eigi fyrri frá, enn þat er allt brennit;*³ i. e. *Now I will be laid down in the stone trough and die there; afterwards ye shall put fire about it, and burn up all together. . . . After that Oddr died; then did they put fire into it, and burnt up all together, nor did they go far away till all was burnt.* I think you will agree with me that it is an extremely valuable passage, and the more so, because Orvar Oddr was a convert to Christianity, although as we see he had not entirely given up all his heathen aspirations.

The application which I am led to make of these data, is that the Anglo-Saxons used the stone kists which they found erected by elder races, or which perhaps they erected themselves, for this purpose. It is probable that they heated the stones with light burning wood, especially thorn, and that they placed the body in the kist, and so reduced it to ashes. Now all this answers very well to what I observed at one of our

¹ Schlesw. Holst. Report for 1836, vol. i., p. 24.

² Orv. Od. Sag: cap. xxxi. Forwald. Sög. ii., 301.

³ *Ibid.*, cap. xxxii. Forwald. Sög. ii., 321.

meetings on the subject of the "Coldrum Stone Kist, in Kent." I reminded you that the earliest name of this cromlech is the Adscumb Stones, in other words, the hill of the *ád* or funeral fire; and such a structure as it is would be admirably adapted to the purpose. I also told you that in spite of the disturbance which has evidently taken place at some remote period in its contents, I still found traces of cremation in it, of which indeed the name itself is ample evidence. And I presume that a similar burning place existed at A'deshám or Adisham in the same county, and at A'dingatún or Addington, near Adcombe, where there are still the remains of what must have been a noble cromlech. The same reasoning applies to Addiscombe and Addington in the neighbouring county of Surrey, to Addington in Northamptonshire, and to Addingham, near Penrith in Cumberland, where there is, or was, also a large stone circle.⁴

Bæles beorh and Brynes cumb are strictly equivalent to A'descumb. And as we have Bæles beorh, so have we Brandes beorh, Fin beorh, and Brynes hyl. Bæle standing alone, as it does in one instance, is equivalent to A'd, in the same condition.

By the side of A'deshám we have Bryneshám, and we may infer a name Bæleshám from the places called Balshám and Belsham.

And lastly, even as we have A'dingatún, Addington, and A'dingahám, Addingham, we find Bryningatún, and we may infer a similar name from Briningham in Norfolk. Brinnington in Cheshire. It is even possible than Finningham in Suffolk, Finningly in Notts, and Vennington in Salop, may stand to Fin in the same relation as Addington does to A'd. Perhaps it would be going too far, to suggest that Colingas in Wiltshire bears a similar one to Col, *carbo*.

When we reflect how very many of the Anglo-Saxon charters contained in the "Codex Diplomaticus" have no boundaries at all; and especially, how infinitely small a proportion the fourteen hundred documents yet extant bear to those which have perished, we shall readily admit that the information to be derived from that source is extraordinarily ample and striking, with regard to this subject of interment. In this, as on many other points, the boundaries of the Anglo-Saxon charters contain an amount of instruction totally unparalleled by any similar collection in any other European country.

JOHN M. KEMBLE.

⁴ King, Mun. Ant. i., 196.

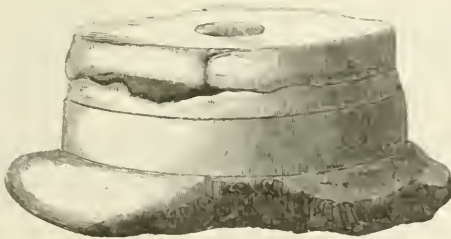
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES FOUND AT CAYTHORPE,
LINCOLNSHIRE, 1855.

THE Ermin Street in its passage throughout the county of Lincoln was carried along the summit of a ridge of high heathy ground, sloping more or less abruptly towards the west, and running nearly due north and south from one extremity of its limits to the other. Such a line was very judiciously selected, first, because it was the most direct one from the south to "Lindum," and eventually to "Ad Abum" (Winteringham) on the Humber; secondly, because the oolite below this district everywhere presented a ready means for the formation and after reparation of this great work, as well as for the building of stations and detached dwellings required by its guardians in its vicinity; and thirdly, because the Roman forces, for whose especial use it was doubtless at first constructed, would on their marches from its generally commanding elevation, be able to guard the better against any sudden surprise on the part of the natives, who were ever impatient of the heavy, and often grinding yoke to which they had been forced to submit. But though this ridge and *via* both pursue their way towards the north in the same general direction, nature has given to the former a waving boundary, whilst the Romans marked out the latter rigidly by line, so that occasionally the edge of the declivity is found at some distance from the road for a considerable space together. Such an instance occurs a little to the north of *Causennæ* (Ancaster), where the *via* runs about two miles to the east of the ridge, until gradually again approaching each other at Navenby, they once more advance together. Along the western edge of this space, however, another very ancient road exists, commanding a panoramic view of the extensive plains of Nottinghamshire below, whence arises many a tapering spire of exquisite beauty, including that of Newark visible in the distance, and finally breaking the line of the horizon with the stately pile of Belvoir Castle on the one hand, and the massive

towers of Lincoln Minster on the other. This ancient road, although connected at both its extremities with the great northern military *via*, clearly did not *originally* form any portion of that design; but as its sinuous line passes by some of the most desirable sites for private residences situated within an easy distance of a great guarded highway, it probably formed a "Via Vicinalis" for the accommodation of a group of settlers who had established themselves at this point. It is called the "Pottergate road," a term not derived I believe from *Porta*, or *Portus*, as some have been anxious to maintain, but one simply acquired from its frequent use by Potters on their way from the great potteries of Lincoln, in which city the same term is also still retained, being applied to the south-eastern approach, and the archway leading into the Minster-yard.

Many Roman coins have from time to time been discovered in the immediate vicinity of this road (now little more than a grass riding), chiefly small and late brass specimens, whilst the discovery of the objects found on its immediate border, and which I am about to describe, seem to confirm the belief ever entertained, that it was originally of Roman construction.

Pursuing the Ermin Street, or "High Dyke" as it is now commonly called, to a point three miles north of Ancaster

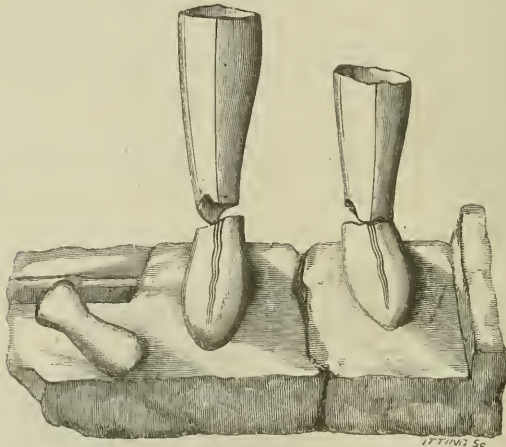


Diam. of the base 2ft. Caythorpe.

a road there branches off to Caythorpe, situated the same distance to the west of the Roman *via*, and crossing the Pottergate road about midway between that village and the *via*. And here, in the south-western angle made by their conjunction, at a distance of 120 yards from the former and 40 from the latter, in a field belonging to the Rev. C. D. Crofts, owing to the grating of a plough against a large stone, some Roman remains deserving of notice have lately

been brought to light. These consist of the base of a pillar formed of Ancaster stone, two feet in diameter below, and one foot five above (see woodcut), upon which was placed another circular stone corresponding with the one below, and having a perforation in its centre between three and four inches wide. This, on raising the upper stone, was found to contain a small olla of black earthenware filled with copper coins, about sixteen in number. The jar fell to pieces immediately on its exposure to the air, and most of the coins are illegible, but amongst them there is one large brass of Faustina, junior, reverse, Juno ; one small brass of Constantius, another with Urbs Roma, reverse, the Wolf and Twins ; a third brass of Magnentius ; also coins in defaced condition, apparently of Gratianus and of Honorius or Arcadius.

Within three yards of the above, at the same time, the



Fragments of a statue, life size, found with Roman remains, Caythorpe, Lincolnshire.

base of a statue, broken in two, was also discovered about two feet in length, having a ledge on one side, and some signs of a similar feature on the other. Upon this are worked the feet of a figure of life size, the whole being of Ancaster stone (see woodcut). Near the base were found portions of the corresponding legs, and one wrist, retaining a small portion of the hand, here represented on the left of the feet. No portion of a pavement was discovered, nor any other articles serving to throw any light upon these

objects, and as the shoes are simply represented by slits down their centres, and the edges of the leather gathered together without any characteristic ligatures, there is only the testimony of the adjacent hoard of coins remaining to show the Roman date of these remains, which, however, from their general appearance, might have been attributed to a late period. The statue appears to have stood in a niche, judging from the return of the base, but who it represented it is impossible at present to decide. Possibly, however, some further fragments may be discovered on the spot where it was found, or other objects which may assist in explaining more fully the character of this discovery, an event for which I shall anxiously watch.

EDWARD TROLLOPE.

EFFIGY IN ALDWORTH CHURCH, BERKS, WITH SOME NOTICE OF
THE DE LA BECHE FAMILY OF THAT COUNTY.

ALDWORTH is a small village in Berkshire, about four miles south-east of East Ilsley. The church is of the Decorated period, but without any architectural pretensions. It consists of a nave and chancel, with a south aisle to the former; at the west end of the nave is a dwarf tower, covered with a modern gable roof. The tracery of the windows is simple. The arches between the nave and aisle are moulded, and rest on octagonal piers with moulded capitals and bases. Little attractive as is this church, it is by no means devoid of interest; for it contains no less than nine effigies of a peculiar character and superior execution. Though all of them are more or less time-worn, defaced, and mutilated, and some almost destroyed, the taste and feeling, as well as the skill, of the sculptor are still evident. Seven of them represent knights, and are remarkable, not only for artistic treatment, but also for some rare details of military costume: the others are ladies in ample drapery. They are all of stone, on raised tombs, and apparently referable to about the same period, the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Three of them occupy as many arched recesses in the north wall of the nave, and three more the same number of recesses in the south wall of the aisle, of which two are arched like those in the north wall, but above the third is a window: the other effigies are under two of the arches dividing the aisle from the nave, a knight and a lady being on one tomb. The arched recesses in the north and south walls have richly ornamented canopies in the Decorated style, and are, it is believed, coeval with the church itself, as if originally designed to receive such monuments; as was also probably the recess under the south window.

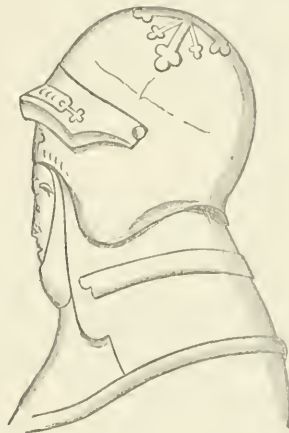
The effigy, of which a woodcut is given on the opposite page, from a drawing, for which we are indebted to the faithful pencil of Mr. Blore, who kindly placed it at our



Effigy at Aldworth, Berks.



disposal, lies in the most easterly recess in the north wall. As will be seen on reference to the cut, it reclines on its right side with the head on a block of stone, evidently not originally there. The right arm, which is said to have supported the head, is wholly gone, and also the fore-arm and hand of the left. It represents a knight habited in a loose surcote, girded at the waist, and reaching a little below the knees; immediately under which is either a hauberk or haketon (there being no appearance of either mail or quilting), divided a short distance in front on a level with the hips; while under the legs is seen the inner side of a quilted garment, apparently somewhat longer than the hauberk or haketon as shown in front. The defences of the head and neck are so remarkable that we are glad to be able to give another view of them in the margin, from a drawing, also obligingly contributed by Mr. Blore. On comparing the two cuts it will be seen that the head is covered by a round-topped helm, having a small vizor attached, which might be brought down so as to protect the eyes and nose. Under this is another defence, probably a semi-globular bascinet, with a small camail, showing no trace of mail; and over the latter falls, from under the helm, a very unusual addition, which may be a mantling,



though a kind of bar running horizontally gives it a rigid appearance; for on referring to the cut of the effigy it will be seen to be of a yielding material on the right side. The part of the left arm that remains is protected by a richly ornamented rerebracc, the thighs by a quilted defence, the knees by enriched genouillères, and the fronts of the legs by demi-jambes. The last two, as well as the rerebracc, may not have been of plate, but of cuir bouilli, which the amount of ornament makes rather the more probable. The left foot was supported by a human figure that has lost its head. Besides the belt at the waist, which confines the surcote, there is a barred sword-belt, the end of which is returned

over the left thigh ; the end of the waist belt is seen on the right thigh, a portion being gone. Though no mail now appears on any part of this effigy, it by no means follows that such was originally the case ; for the mail of the hauberk, camail, and back parts of the legs may have been expressed by colour that has wholly disappeared ; such a mode of representing it on stone having been at that time in practice. This figure is above life-size, being, according to Lysons, 7 feet 2 inches in length.

Regarding the effigy just described as the *first* in order, reckoning from the east, of those in the north wall, the others there are as follows :—

2. A knight also cross-legged, and reposing rather on the right side, the head resting on a double cushion ; a shield is on the left arm, the hand being on the pomel of the sword ; the right hand is on the breast. The feet are sharply pointed and elongated. The right arm and left leg are broken ; at the feet is a lion. This may also be above life-size, for, according to Lysons, it is 6 feet 4 inches in length.

3. Another knight, once also cross-legged, and inclining to the right, the head resting on a single cushion ; on the left arm is a shield ; the right hand rests on the pomel of the sword ; the arm is gone, and also both legs, and the animal that was at the feet.

The effigies in the south wall, commencing from the east, are as follows :—

1. A knight, the head resting on a double cushion ; the bascinet is pointed, with a vizor raised ; the right hand is drawing the sword ; on the left arm was a shield, which is gone. The body is slightly inclined to the left ; both legs are gone, and it is otherwise much mutilated. At the feet is a lion. A rude drawing, made by Ashmole, represents the legs crossed.

2. A lady, gracefully draped in ample folds, with a veil and wimple, and the remains of angels by the head ; the left hand rests on the breast, having long delicate fingers ; the right is gone. The body inclines slightly to the left.

3. A knight, so much defaced as to render the details scarcely intelligible. The head and arms, and also the legs, which appear not to have been crossed, are gone ; a fragment of a lion at the feet remains.

On the two altar tombs between the nave and aisle are as follows :—

1. On that to the east are the effigies of a knight and a lady. His head, which is much mutilated, rests on a helm. The quilting, or more probably folds, of a garment commence from below the sword belt, descend to the knees, and are represented under the legs. There is a lion at the feet, and a dog couchant under each of the legs. There was a sword on the left side ; the hands are in an attitude of prayer ; both arms, and the lower part of the legs are gone. The body of the lady reposes gracefully on one side, and the drapery is so arranged as to show the figure to advantage ; the left hand holds the cordon of a mantle, the right rests on the body. The head is gone. At the feet is a fragment of a dog.

2. A knight, the head resting on a helm. The lacing of the cyclas, or jupon, is beautifully shown ; also the joints of the armour on the arms ; the hands are in an attitude of prayer ; there was a sword on the left side. The legs and the animal at the feet are gone.

All the above-mentioned tombs are plain, and so are the shields. There is neither heraldry nor inscription of any kind. The head-pieces that remain of the several knights, except that given in the wood-cuts, are pointed ; and there is no indication of mail remaining on any of the effigies ; but, as before-mentioned, that may have been represented in colour that has disappeared.¹

In addition to the effigies already noticed, some church notes of a Mr. Sheldon of Berkshire, dated 1678, state, that “on the outside of this church, under an arch of very ancient work, against the south wall, lies the statue of a man in armour, cross-legged, at this present almost even with the ground.”² This effigy has been either removed or concealed by masonry.

It is worthy of remark that four of these knights were cross-legged. It is not likely that they were all crusaders, or had even made vows to assist in an endeavour to recover the Holy Places, seeing the period to which the sculpture is referable ; and when we observe the manner in which the

¹ For most of the particulars respecting the church and the above-mentioned effigies we are indebted to

some notes obligingly furnished by Mr. Blore.

² *Bibl. Top. Brit.*, No. 16, p. 152.

legs of the knight that is engraved are crossed, and some of the others are not very dissimilar, it may admit of question, whether such a disposition of the legs had any significance. It may have been only a matter of artistic arrangement. Nor is it to be overlooked, that when an effigy reclines on one side, a crossing of the legs is a natural, though not a necessary, consequence. The reason for inclining these figures a little to one side was, in all probability, to present a better view to the spectator.

In the total absence of inscriptions and heraldry, nothing positive can be confidently affirmed as to whom these effigies represent. The tradition in the village has long been, that they all represent members of the De la Beche family, who had a residence in the parish, the site of which is now occupied by a farm-house and homestead, called Beche Farm. One of them is said to have built the church; an act that has been generally ascribed to Sir Nicholas de la Beche, who was the most distinguished among them; and the two effigies on one tomb are reputed to represent him and his wife. When Captain Richard Symonds, or Simons, visited the church in 1644, he was told by Mr. Grace, the vicar, that "in the east end of the south aisle did hang a table, fairly written on parchment, of all the names of this family of De la Beche; but the Earl of Leicester, coming with Queen Elizabeth in progress, took it down to show it her, and (it) was never brought againe."³ This pedigree must have confirmed and continued the tradition; and there may be some truth in it; for the state of the family at the period referred to would account for the number of knights and ladies represented within the church, even if none of the tombs be cenotaphs, as has been sometimes suggested. This branch of the De la Beche family seems to have risen into notice at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and was extinct in the male line about 1364, the last having been a priest. As its history has been involved in considerable obscurity, some account of it here may not be out of place.

Sir Philip de la Beche, whose parentage is unknown, but possibly Robert de la Beche was his father, held estates in the counties of Berks and Wilts, and could hardly have been born later than 1270. In 9th Edward II., he was certified

³ See Lysons' Berks, 233.

as one of the lords in the township of Compton, Berks.⁴ He was Sheriff of Wilts 14 Edward II., and was sheriff again, and also knight of the shire for the same county the next year.⁵ He was in arms with Thomas Earl of Lancaster against the King at Boroughbridge, 16th March, 1322; and having been taken prisoner, was committed to Scarborough Castle,⁶ and his estates were forfeited for treason. He was, however, soon at liberty again, as we shall see when we come to speak of his son John. In 1 Edward III. he was pardoned, and his estates restored to him; at which time he was again Sheriff for Wilts; ⁷ and in 4 Edward III. for Berks.⁸ He was living in 9 Edward III.; for we then find him associated with Nicholas de la Beche, no doubt his son presently mentioned, in a grant of free warren over their lands in Aldworth and other parishes in Berks; and also in a licence to impark certain woods at "La Beche" and Yat-tendon, in the same county; but he probably died shortly after. He had five sons, namely, Philip, John, Nicholas, Robert, and Edmund. Nothing is known for certain of his wife.

Philip, who was either the eldest or second son, was also in some manner implicated in the insurrection under the Earl of Lancaster, and imprisoned in Pontefract Castle.⁹ We hear little more of him; and with the exception of a few acres of meadow in Wandsworth, Surrey, which he had of the grant of his brother John, we find no mention of his having had any estates. What he had was most likely forfeited for treason; but his name does not occur in the extensive enumeration of the followers of the Earl of Lancaster, whose estates were restored to them on the accession of Edward III.¹ He died in the lifetime of his father and brothers, and probably before that act of restoration, leaving his brother John his heir, as appears by the Inquisition taken in Surrey after the death of John.² He therefore left no issue, and nothing appears of a wife.

John, if he were not the eldest, was the second son of Philip the father. In 6 Edward II. (1312) he was about to attend the King abroad; when he must have been a very

⁴ Parl. Writs, ii. pt. 2, p. 357.

⁵ Id., pt. 1, pp. 228, 242, 243.

⁶ Id., pt. 2, pp. 200, 213.

⁷ Rot. Parl., ii. p. 422 a.

⁸ Id., p. 43 a.

⁹ Parl. Writs, ii. pt. 2, pp. 172, 214.

¹ Rot. Parl., ii. p. 422.

² 2 Edw. III., No. 51.

young man.³ In 9 Edward II. he was Knight of the shire for Hants ;⁴ and in the same year he was certified as lord of the township of Yattendon,⁵ and obtained a grant of free warren over his lands in Basildon, Ashampsted, and Aldworth, Berks, and in 11 Edward II., a grant of the like in Yattendon, Everington, Hampsted, Bodenhamsted, and Compton in the same county, and also a grant of a market and a fair at Yattendon.⁶ As early as 1318 (12 Edward II.) he probably was one of the adherents of the Earl of Lancaster, and in that year, though called John Beek', knight, (a form in which the name is sometimes found) obtained, with the consent of Parliament, a pardon for all felonies, &c. committed up to the 7th August preceding,⁷ they having been in arms against the King. In 13 Edward II. he and three others were sent abroad before the King to provide accommodation for him.⁸ He was opposed to the King at Boroughbridge, and being made prisoner was committed to the Tower.⁹ Yet he was soon at liberty ; for we learn that, after his estates were forfeited by that act of rebellion, in the 15 or 16 Edward II., most likely in the latter year, he, assisted by his father and others, with considerable violence dispossessed Aubyn Clinton of divers valuables at Yattendon, estimated by him at 200*l*.¹ It seems probable that this person had obtained possession of John's residence there, and that an attempt was made to oust him. He was pardoned, and his estates were restored to him in 1 Edward III.² His wife's christian name was Isabella, but neither her parentage nor her maiden surname has been discovered. He died in 2 Edward III. (1328), seised of an estate at Compton, Berks, which he held of his father, and of estates at Basildon, Yattendon, and Bodenhamsted also in Berks ; but Aldworth is not mentioned, for the estate in that parish, and also estates in Ashampsted, Colrugge, and Compton, had been settled on Philip the father for life, with remainders to Nicholas, Edmund, and Robert successively in tail male.³ Sir John left two sons, Thomas and John, and three daughters ; and his wife Isabella, who was jointly seised with him of some of those estates,

³ Rymer, ii. p. 212.

⁴ Parl. Writs, ii. pt. 1, p. 158.

⁵ Id., pt. 2, p. 356.

⁶ Dugd. Bar., ii. p. 127.

⁷ Parl. Writs, ii. pt. 2, p. 126.

⁸ Rymer, ii. p. 417.

⁹ Parl. Writs, ii. pt. 2, pp. 200, 239.

¹ Rot. Parl., i. p. 409 b.

² Id., ii. pp. 421 b, 422, 423.

³ Inq. p. m. Edmundi de la Beche
38 Edw. III., No. 9.

survived him.⁴ Thomas was his heir, then aged fifteen years; he died without issue in 5 Edward III., leaving his brother John his heir, then sixteen years of age. Though Thomas was not more than eighteen years of age, he is called "miles" in one of the Inquisitions taken after his death, implying that he had been knighted.⁵ His brother John did not long survive him, but died without issue in 10 Edward III., leaving the three sisters his co-heirs, namely, Joan aged twenty-eight years, wife of Andrew Sakeville, Isabella, aged twenty-four years, wife of William Fitz Ellys, and Alice, aged twenty-two years, wife of Robert Danvers.⁶ But it should seem that the estates of which John died seised had been settled in the male line; for they did not descend to the sisters, but passed to Sir Nicholas de la Beche their uncle. The position, which John the father occupied in the life-time of his father Philip, suggests that he may have been advanced by his marriage.

Nicholas, the third son of Philip, was the most eminent of the family. The earliest notice, that has been met with of him, is in 5 Edward II. (1311), when he appears to have been in the service of the King, young as he must have been, and was commanded to repair, with several others, to Peter de Gavaston, Earl of Cornwall, to assist him in transacting some affairs.⁷ In 9 Edward II., he had a grant of free warren in divers lordships in East Sussex.⁸ How these came to him does not appear; they are not likely to have been derived from his father, or, at that early period of his career, from the crown. In 15 Edward II. he was governor of Montgomery Castle, and about the same time of Plessy in Essex;⁹ but being, at least, suspected of having favoured the partisans of the Earl of Lancaster, he was ordered to be arrested.¹ His estates were forfeited, but he had them restored to him on the accession of Edward III.;² by whom he was soon after taken into favour. In 9 Edward III. (1335), he was constable of the Tower, an appointment that he held for several years;³ and he obtained, with his father, licence to impark their woods of La Beche and Yattendon,⁴ and a grant of free warren at La Beche, Aldworth, Colrugge,

⁴ Inq., p. m. 2 Edw. III., No. 51.

⁵ Inq., p. m. 5 Edw. III., No. 49.

⁶ Inq. p. m., 13 Edw. III., No. 17.

⁷ Parl. Writs, ii. pt. 2, p. 49.

⁸ Dugd. Bar., ii. p. 127.

⁹ Parl. Writs, ii. pt. 1, p. 554; Dugd.

¹ Parl. Writs., ii. pt. ii. p. 224.

² Rot. Parl., ii. pp. 420 b, 422 a.

³ Patent Rolls, 9 Edw. III., pt. 2 m. 18; Rymer, ii. pp. 958, 1102.

⁴ Patent Rolls, 9 Edw. III., pt. 2,

m. 5.

Bar., ii. p. 127.

Ashampsted, Compton, Bodenhamsted, Basildon, Yattendon, and Beaumys in Berks.⁵ In 11 Edward III. he was sent on business to the King of France,⁶ and in the ensuing year he had licence to embattle his houses at La Beche, Beaumys, and Watlington;⁷ and about the same time received several grants of estates from the crown.⁸ For some time, according to Holinshed (iii. p. 360,) he had the care of the Black Prince in his boyhood. In 13 Edward III., the King, on his return from Flanders, being displeased with him and some others whom he had left in charge, committed them to the Tower.⁹ Nicholas, however, soon found himself restored both to liberty and favour. In 14 Edward III., he purchased the Manor of Bradfield, Berks,¹ and the next year he served in Britany,² and the following year he was summoned to Parliament as a Baron, but only on that one occasion.³ Shortly after, in 17 Edward III., he was appointed Seneschal of Gascony; and was one of the Commissioners to treat with Alfonso, King of Castile, for the settlement of some disputes which had arisen between some subjects of Alfonso, chiefly seamen, and the citizens of Bayonne.⁴ Though commonly stated to have been a Commissioner, in 18 Edward III., to treat with the same King on the subject of a marriage of his eldest son with a daughter of Edward III., he is not named in the commission for the purpose which is given in Rymer's *Fœdera* under that year. In the following year, 19 Edward III. (1345), he died without issue, seised, jointly with Margery his wife, of estates in Bradfield, Basildon, Ashampsted, Benfield, Herewell, Lechampsted, Yattendon, and Bodenhamsted in Berks; and seised in tail male of a capital messuage and a carucate of land in Aldworth, in a certain place called La Beche, which were held by the service of 10s.⁵ of the abbet of Dorchester; and the jury, who made the Inquisition, found the house to be worth nothing above the reprises (outgoings).⁶ From which it would seem, that he had changed his residence, and this had been neglected, and

⁵ Dugd. Bar., ii. p. 127.

⁶ Rymer, ii. pp. 966-7.

⁷ Patent Rolls, 12 Edw. III., m. 25.

⁸ Dugd. Bar., ii. p. 127; Cal. Rot. Pat., pp. 121 b, 125 b, 131 b, 137 b.

⁹ Dugd. Bar., ii. p. 127; Holinshed, iii. 360.

¹ Rot. Parl., ii. p. 176.

² Dugd. Bar., ii. p. 127.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Rymer, ii. pp. 1229, 1241.

⁵ Some words may be accidentally omitted in the Inquisition after *servicium*, for in the Inquisition after the death of Edmund, this messuage and land are stated to be held by the 20th part of a knight and (10?) shillings.

⁶ Inq. p. m., 19 Edw. III., No. 32.

probably little had been done to it under the licence he obtained to embattle it and two other houses. He and his wife were also jointly seised of estates in Wilts and Sussex. His heirs general were found to be his three nieces, the before-mentioned daughters of his brother John, and his heir male his brother Robert.⁷ Neither the parentage nor the maiden surname of Margery, the wife of Nicholas, has been discovered. She was the widow of Edmund Bacon, who had estates at Hatfield Peverel and elsewhere in Essex; by whom she had a daughter Margery, who was her heir;⁸ or, according to Morant, two daughters, Margaret and Margery;⁹ but if so, it should seem Margaret had died without issue in her mother's life-time. She was left amply provided for; which may have led to her being, on Good Friday, 1347, forcibly carried away before daybreak from her manor at Beaumys near Reading with many valuables, and married to Sir John de Dalton. The abduction was attended with so much violence, that several persons were wounded, and two, Michael de Ponnynges and Thomas le Clerk, were killed.¹ She is said, by Dugdale, to have married Sir Thomas de Arderne, but in the writ in Rymer, requiring Dalton to produce her before the council, she is described as married (*matrimonio copulatam*) to Gerard del Isle; and in the warrant to the constable of the Tower, directing him to receive the offender and his accomplices, we find "*Thomam Dardern Chivaler*" named as one of them.² Though not mentioned in either of the writs given in the *Fœdera*, Thomas de Litherland, Prior of Burscogh (Lancashire), is found to have been another accomplice in the abduction and homicide.³ She died on the 2nd or 3rd of October, 23 Edward III. (1349), as is proved by the Inquisitions taken after her death.⁴

Robert does not appear to have been one of the fortunate members of the family. Of him we know but little. He obtained, in 12 Edward II., a pardon as one of the adherents of the Earl of Lancaster;⁵ and was, like his father and brothers, a participator in the subsequent insurrection under that Earl, and its consequences, so far as regarded the for-

⁷ Inq., *ubi suprâ*.

⁸ Inq. p. m., 23 Edw. III., No. 89.

⁹ Vol. ii. p. 129. See also Kennett's

Par. Antiq., 461.

¹ Rymer, iii. pp. 114-15; Rot. Parl., ii. pp. 176, 208.

² Rymer, iii. p. 119.

³ Patent Rolls, 21 Edw. III., pt. 3, m. 13.

⁴ 23 Edw. III., No. 89.

⁵ Parl. Writs, ii. pt. 2, p. 127.

feiture and restoration of his estates.⁶ Of what these consisted is not known; but from the writ for their restoration having been addressed to the Sheriff of Berks, they may be assumed to have been in that county. In 17 Edward II. (1324), he was returned by the Sheriff of Berks as a man at arms that had been summoned by general proclamation to attend the Great Council at Westminster on Wednesday after Ascension-day.⁷ At a later period he should seem to have been knighted; for we find him called “dominum Robertum de la Beche,” in the memorandum as to the delivery of a new great seal to John Archbishop of Canterbury in 14 Edward III. (1340); where he is mentioned as having been sent with that seal to the Archbishop.⁸ He died without issue male, in the life-time of his brother Edmund, as we learn from the Inquisition taken on the death of the latter, and most likely without issue of either kind. Nothing is said of any wife.

Edmund, the youngest of these brothers, was an ecclesiastic; yet his employments were sometimes such as might have been quite as consistently undertaken by a layman. Even he was in some way implicated in the Lancastrian insurrection, for which he was fined 200 marks, and required to give sureties.⁹ He also had occasion for a pardon in consequence of the part taken by him against the Despencers,¹ and was committed to Pontefract Castle for being concerned in the escape of Lord Berkley and Lord Audley from Wallingford.² He was taken into favour by Edward III.; in the 8th year of whose reign we find him keeper of the King's great wardrobe.³ In the 12th year of that king he was appointed to arrest the Lombards and some other foreign merchants, and to seize their goods.⁴ He became Archdeacon of Berks, and, having survived his brothers, he succeeded to the family estates in Berks for his life or in tail; for from the Inquisitions taken after his decease,⁵ it appears that nearly all of them had been settled in the male line, and on failure of issue male of him and his brothers above named, the estates in Ashampsted, Colrugge, Aldworth,

⁶ Parl. Writs, ii. pt. 2, pp. 165, 172;
Rot. Parl. ii. p. 422 a.

⁷ Parl. Writs, ii. pt. 1, p. 657.

⁸ Rymer, ii. p. 1129.

⁹ Parl. Writs, ii. pt. 2, p. 204.

¹ Parl. Writs, ii. pt. 2, p. 165.

² Holinshed, iii. p. 333.

³ Patent Rolls, 8 Edw. III., m. 1.

⁴ Id., 12 Edw. III., pt. 2, m. 5.

⁵ 38 Edw. III., No. 9; 44 Edw. III., No. 7.

and Compton were limited to William, son of William de la Beche in tail male, and then to Edmund, son of John de Langford⁶ in tail male, and then to Robert, another son of John de Langford, in tail male, and then to his (Robert's) right heirs: while the Bradfield estate, on failure of issue male of Edmund and his brothers, was limited to a John de la Beche in tail male, and then to William de la Beche in tail male, and then to Thomas de Langford in tail male, and then to the right heirs of Sir Nicholas de la Beche, who, we have seen, purchased this estate in 14 Edward III., several years after the deaths of his brother John and his sons. The relationship of the John and Williams, mentioned in these settlements, to Sir Nicholas does not clearly appear; possibly the elder William was the father of John as well as of the younger William, and a cousin of Sir Nicholas. There was a William de la Beche of Essex, Herts, and Suffolk, who died in 7 Edward III. leaving a son John, aged ten years, by his wife Euphemia, and on her death in 35 Edward III., her heir was a daughter, implying a failure of male issue;⁷ but we are not able to connect this William with the Aldworth family. We learn also from the Inquisition on the death of Edmund, that John and William the younger, named in the above limitations, died without issue male, and that on the death of Edmund without issue, which took place on the 4th November, 38 Edward III. (1364), Thomas de Langford succeeded to the Bradfield estate under the limitation to himself, and to the other settled estates under the last limitation as brother and heir of Robert. That document does not show how the manor of Yattendon and some other Berkshire estates were settled after the death of Edmund de la Beche who held them for life, but it states that they ought to remain to the right heirs of Sir Nicholas. These were no doubt the same as the heirs of Edmund, who were found to be Andrew Sakeville junior, aged 24 years and upwards, son of Joan, daughter and one of the heirs of John de la Beche, Knight, brother of Edmund; Edmund Danvers junior, aged 22 years and upwards, son of Alice, daughter and another of the heirs of the said John; and John Duyn, aged three years on St. Valentine's day then last, son of

⁶ This John de Langford was, in all probability, the husband of Joan de la Beche, sister to the archdeacon and his

brothers. See Harleian Charters, 52, l. 19.

⁷ Inq., p. m. 7 Edw. III., No. 34; 35 Edw. III., No. 43.

Margery, daughter of Isabella, daughter and another of the heirs of John, the elder brother of Edmund and Nicholas.⁸

Having taken a view of the state of the Aldworth family of De la Beche, let us now advert again to the church and effigies. The church, we have seen, is such as might have been and probably was built in the reign of Edward II., and it really has the appearance of having been designed for a family burying-place. It may very likely have been erected by Philip the father and his sons John and Nicholas for such a purpose. The effigies within it are seven of males in knightly costume, and two of ladies in a costume that would well accord with their having been widows. All are nearly of the same date, about the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Within that space died Philip the father and all his sons and grandsons, except his son Edmund; and possibly Robert may have died a little later than 1350, the exact date of his death not being known. As there is no ecclesiastic among the effigies, Edmund is not represented by any of them. He may have provided for his interment in some holier spot. Philip and his sons, Philip, John, Nicholas, and Robert, and John's two sons, most probably all knights, would furnish the exact number of males required, and are, exclusive of Edmund, all the known males of the family; sons of daughters being usually regarded as males of their father's family only. Of the two ladies one would represent Margery, widow of Nicholas, and the other not improbably Isabella, the widow of his brother John; for she seems to have been a more important person than their mother. If the male represented by the figure under the external arch were a De la Beche, he, we may presume, was less nearly related to the founders. It would be in vain to attempt to assign the respective effigies to the several individuals, but if one of them represent Isabella, most likely it is the female figure in the middle recess in the south wall; and if so, probably she lies between her husband and one of her sons; and the other son, and Philip the father and Philip the son, occupy the three recesses in the north wall. The beautiful effigy of which we have given a wood-cut can hardly represent one of the least important of the

⁸ As to the arms of this family of De la Beche there is considerable discrepancy. Comp. Roll t. Edw. II., p. 27,

Roll t. Edw. III., p. 39, and the Borough-bridge Roll, Parl. Writs, ii. pt. 2, p. 198.

family, and may therefore commemorate Philip the elder. Nicholas and Margery his wife we may reasonably suppose to be represented on the altar tomb under the most easterly arch between the nave and aisle, and Robert, the last survivor, under the arch next adjoining towards the west.⁹

In September 1845, when the area of the church was cleared for the purpose of its being re-pewed, some one having suggested that the bodies were buried in front of their respective effigies, the ground was opened in front of the female in the south wall, at about five feet from it. A few fragments of a coffin were dug up, also a rough ill-shaped handle, and some large nails. Bones were found, all of very large size, a great under jaw full of fine teeth, and a skull to which a quantity of box leaves adhered. There were other masses of such leaves, but none in equally good preservation. It was thought by those who witnessed the opening, that the body had been laid in them. No other graves were disturbed, and it was concluded from the size of the bones, which were considered to have belonged to a skeleton 6 feet 4 inches in length, that these were not the remains of the lady. It is more probable that they were to be found in some coffin or grave under the effigy. Other persons may have been buried in the aisle at a later date, who were commemorated by slabs or brasses that have long disappeared. The practice of placing evergreens in graves or coffins will be found noticed in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*; and it is mentioned by Durandus, who says, "*hedera quoque, vel laurus, et hujusmodi, quæ semper servant vigorem, in sarcophago corpori substernuntur; ad significandum quod qui moriuntur in Christo, vivere non desinent.*"¹ But the custom is traceable to Roman times.

It is remarkable that there should exist at Chew Magna,

⁹ As might be expected a group of effigies, so numerous and excellent as these, has not been wholly overlooked in time past, mutilated even as they are. They are noticed in *Gent. Mag.*, vol. xxx. p. 458, and briefly described in vol. lxxviii. p. 1095, with a view of the interior of the church, and again in vol. lxxix. p. 274, with a plan of the church; this communication expresses great admiration of them. There is also a short account of them, with engravings of five from rude drawings by Ashmole, in *Bibl. Top.*

Brit., No. 16, p. 149, but the engravings so little resemble the effigies that it is not easy to recognise them. They are also described in *Lysons' Berks.*, and again, with some rough prints, in a *History of Newbury and its environs, Speenhamland*, 1839. But in all these there are great inaccuracies, and much discrepancy among themselves. Without a good representation of at least one of the effigies, no description can do anything like justice to them.

¹ *Rationale*, lib. vii. de off. mort.

Somersetshire, an effigy in several respects so similar in treatment and costume to that at Aldworth, which we have engraved, as to lead to the supposition that it may have been by the same artist. Since it serves to explain some points in the costume and posture of that, and affords another example of a rare style of effigy, we give on the opposite page a woodcut of it from a drawing which we also owe to the kindness of Mr. Blore. It will be seen to recline on one side, with the legs crossed in a singular manner, the left foot raised and resting against a lion in an unusual attitude. The position of the arms, with the head on one hand, exemplifies, in all probability, how the missing arms of the Aldworth effigy were disposed of, so that the head was supported by the right arm instead of a cushion. The defences of the head and neck in this effigy closely resemble those of the other; and there is a similar full surcote girded, with rich folds above and below, and open in front, so as to show the hauberk or haketon (most likely the former though no mail appears on it) falling between the legs, and forming graceful folds under the left knee, over a portion of the surcote; a very unusual feature in the arrangement of military costume. There is a guige passing over the right shoulder, that was continued to the shield on which the body rests. The sword belt is plain and not of needless length. The legs would seem to be more completely armed than those of the Aldworth effigy. The spurs have probably disappeared.

This effigy is of wood, and may be ascribed to the early part of the reign of Edw. III. It lies in a window in the south aisle, evidently not its original place: from the compressed form of the lion at the feet the effigy should seem to have been designed for a recess. It is said to have been brought from a destroyed church at Norton Hauteville, and is generally supposed to represent one of the Hautevilles, a family from which Norton Hauteville, a township in Chew Magna, derives part of its name. Collinson¹ mentions a Sir John Hauteville (temp. Henry III.) who took the cross to accompany Prince Edward to the Holy Land, and that Sir Geoffrey was his successor, and was 25 Edw. I. summoned to attend the King abroad; to whom succeeded William, and

¹ Somersetshire, ii. p. 107.



Lūṅgī at Chew Magna, Somerset.



to him another Geoffrey, but he adds, "the name seems to have ended about the commencement (*sic*) of the reign of Edw. II., or the beginning of that of Edw. III." As he gives no authority for these descents, the statement is very unsatisfactory. The name is found in the various forms of Hauteville, Hauuill, and Hauvill, and is often misprinted Hannill and Hanvill. There was a Sir Geoffrey who was summoned to a Council, 9th May 1324, for the counties of *Somerset*, *Wilts*, and *Berks*:² he may have had some acquaintance with the De la Beches of the last named county; but we have not been able to connect him with Chew Magna. There was a John, hardly the one mentioned by Collinson, who was lord of the township of Norton Hauteville in 9. Edw. II. (1316):³ it does not appear when he died, or who was his father. A Geoffrey died 34 Edw. I., seized of estates in Rutland and Northampton, leaving a son John his heir;⁴ still it has not been found practicable to identify either of these with any of those before mentioned. About that time, and for some years earlier, the name of Hauteville not unfrequently occurs, though not in any way connected with this village, except in the case of John in 9 Edw. II. The effigy may represent him or the Geoffrey of Somersetshire and Berks, whose connexion with the latter county may account for its similarity to the Aldworth effigy, and even for the employment of the same sculptor.

W. S. W.

² Parl. Writs, ii. pt. 1, pp. 653, 656.

⁴ Inq., p. m. 34 Edw. I., No. 19.

³ Id., pt. 2, p. 376.

Original Documents.

THE STATUTES ORDAINED BY RICHARD DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, FOR
THE COLLEGE OF MIDDLEHAM. DATED JULY 4, 18 EDW. IV., (1478).¹

COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. JAMES RAINE, JUN., M.A.

R. GLOUCESTRE.

RICHARD, DUC OF GLOUCESTRE, grete Chamberleyn, Constable and Admirall of England, Lord of Glomorgan, Morgannok, Bergevenny, Richemond and Middelham, to all Christen people to whome thes presents shall come, greting in our Lord everlasting.—KNOW ye y^t where it haith pleasid Almighty God, Creatour and Redemer of all mankynd, of His most bounteuouse and manyfold graces to enhabile, enhaunce and exalte me His most simple creature, nakidly borne into yis wretched world, destitute of possessions, goods and enheretaments, to the grete astate, honor and dignite yat He haith called me now unto, to be named, knowed, reputed and called Richard Duc of Gloucestre, and of His infynyte goodnesse not onoly to endewe me with grete possessions and of giftys of His divyne grace, bot also to preserve, kep and deliver me of many grete jeoperd', parrells and hurts, for the which and other the manyfold benyfits of His bounteuouse grace and goodnesse to me, without any my desert or cause in sundry behalves shewed and geven, I, daily and ourly according to my deuty remembring the premisses, and in recognicion y^t all such goodnes cometh of Hyme, am finally determyned, into ye loyng and thankng of His Deite, and in ye honour of His Blisshed moder our Lady Seint Marie, socour and refuge of all synners repentant, and in the honor of the holy virgyn Saint Alkyld,—of part of such goods as He haith sent me, to stablisse, make and founde a Collage within my Town of Middelham at the parrishe church y^r, in the which shall be a deane, sex prests, foure clerks, sex queresters, and a clerk sacristan, to do divyne service y^r daily, to pray for ye good astates of ye King our Soverayn Lord and ye Quene, and for ye gude astates of my lady and moder Duchesse of York, and of me, my wiff, my son of Salesbury, and such oy' issue as shal pleas God to send me, whiles I liffe; and for the soules of my said soverayn lord ye King, ye Quene, and of me, my wiff, and myn issue after our deceases, and specially for ye soules of my Lord and fader Richard Duc of York, of my bretheren and susters, and oyer my progenitours and successors, and all Christen soules, in part of satisfacion of suche things as at ye dredfull day of dome I shal answeere for. The same my Collage to be called and named for ever ye Collage of Richard Duc of Gloucestre, of Middelham, and to be ordained, stablissed, and made followingly,—Cum

¹ In printing this document the use of *y* as found in the original, for the Saxon character representing *th* (or equivalent to *th*) has been retained, e. g.—*ye* for *the*;

yat or *yt* for *that*, &c., *y'* for *there*, contracted, *oy'* for *other*, &c.; *yabbits*, the *habits*; *yeffect*, the *effect*, &c.

metuendissimus dominus noster et Christianissimus princeps Edwardus, Dei gratia Rex Angliæ et Franciæ, et dominus Hiberniæ, vicesimo primo die Februarii, anno regni sui decimo septimo, per literas suas patentes de gracia sua speciali concesserit, et licentiam dederit pro se et heredibus suis, quantum in ipso fuit, michi prefato duci, quod ego, heredes, vel executores mei, in honore Domini nostri Ihesu Christi et Beatissime Virginis Mariæ, et Sanctæ Alkildæ, quoddam collegium apud Middelham de decano et sex capellanis et quatuor clericis, &c.

[The document, of which the above is the beginning, then proceeds to recite the licence of Edward IV., and after making William Beverley, first dean; Laurence Squier, William Symson, Richard Cutler, William Buntynge, Hugh Leverhede and John Bell, the first chaplains; Thomas Patrik, Alexander Bank, William Brown, and Richard Walker, the first clerks; John Part, Thomas Sexten, William Sturton, William Griffith, Henry Farefax, and John Essam, the first choristers; and William Nanson, the first clerk; and giving to them half an acre of land, and one messuage in Middleham "pro mansione eorumdem, quæ quidem dimidia acra jacet infra unum clausum voc. *Burton close*, ex parte boreali cimiterii ecclesiæ, —et unam acram terræ in Middleham jac. inter aquam de Quenhill . . . ex parte boreali, et semitam quæ ducit de Middelham usque Wendeslawe, ex parte australi, cum advocacione ecclesiæ de Middleham,"—proceeds as follows.]

I the said Duc statute, make, and ordeyne by thauetoritie forsaid, that hereafter no maner persone by me or myne heirez, have or shal have graunt to be deane of my said Collage y'unto admitted affore he be prest, nor any of ye saide sex prests be admitted as chapleyn or chapleyns of my said Collage afore that he or they have taken thordure of presthode, and yat ye said deane and prests be always named by me and myn heires for ever, and have y' letters of our collacion, and the deane to be admitted by the said sex prests, the eldest of yeme to yeve hyme his othe at high altare to be true deane and master y', and observe and kep all ordinaunces and statutez and laudable custumes, and ye right and libertees y'of defend at his power, and y'after to say *De profundis* affore ye high altare, w^t this collect *Deus cui proprium*,—following the antetem *fundatoris mei*, etc., and y'upon bring hyme to his stall and put hyme in possession of the same; and the said prests by ye deane to be admitted after the forme and othe among oy's hereafter folowing.

Also, yat the saide Sir William Beverley, dean, and his successours, have ye principall place and stall of the right side of the high quere of my said Collage, which stall I wilbe called oure Lady stall; and Sir Laurence Squier forsaide, the first prest y^t shalbe admitted therto, occupie the principall place and stall on the left side of the saide quere, and yat stall to be called Saint George stall; and the said Sir William Symson, secund prest, in the next stall to the deane on ye said right side, and y^t stall to be named Seynt Kateryn stall; and the forsaide Sir Richard Cutler, therd prest, the secund stall on the saide left side, that stall to be called Saint Ninian stall; and Sir William Buntynge to for rehersid, the fourt prest, the thirde stall on the ye said right side, the same to be called Seint Cuthbert stall; and Sir Hugh Leverhede above writen, ye fift prest, the thirde stall on the said left side, the saide stall to be called Seint Antony stall; and Sir John Bell above writyn, the sext prest, the fourt stall on saide right side, and yat to be called Seint Barbara stall; and two of the

saide clerks on the saide right side, and ye oy' two clerks and the clerke sacristane beneth yeme on the left side, at the assignacion of ye saide deane ; and the sex queresters yere places accordingly as ye saide deane shal assigne yeme ; and, whensoever any of the said prests deceesse or resigne his stall, he yat in his rowme by me and myne heires thereafter shalbe presented be always admytte by the deane to ye stall of hyme beyng voide, which I will, statute and ordeyne to be perpetuall, and in likewise the clerks to be admitted by hyme to such place as he woll assigne theireunto.

Also, that no deane of my saide College, yat for ye tyme shalbe after the saide Sir William Beverley now deane of ye same, in any wise be by me and myne heirez named, or by our collacion constituted and ordenyd to be deane y', enlesse he be one of the said sex prests, if eny of theme in litteral connyng, gude disposicion, and in worldely pollicie may be fondon able ; and in defect of such among theme I wol y^t oon of the foure prests of my foundation in the Quene College of Cambrige, abil in connyng, disposicion, and pollicie, as is affore rehersid, be, and for lak of such, y^t a graduate, at the lest Master of Arte or Bachelor of Law, of the Universite of Cambrige forsaide, be named, constituted, and ordened to be deane of the same ; and also yat none of the saide sex prests and fowre clerks so to be named prests or clerks y' by our collacion, as is afforsaide, in eny wisse be by the saide deane and prests admitted, affore yt they by yeme be foundon suffieiently lierned, not only in understanding and literature, bot also in singing playne song, priked song, faburdeñ, and descant of two, mynymes at the lest, or yat one of the saide foure clerks be a player upon the organes, and daily to play as oft as it shalbe requisite and appoynted ; and in case y^t by the deane and prests y' for the tyme beyng any prest or clerk, so by me and myne heires named and to yeme presented, be founde insufficient in lernyng, as is aforsaide, that yen I will, yt upon that certificate of the same, yat I and my heires within twenty days then next folowing to name and present unto yeme an oy' able persone, plenaryly instruct in the said sciences, and elles I woll y^t it shalbe lefull to the saide deane and prests after the saide twenty dayes to admytte to be prest or clerk y', in the place and rowme beyng vacant, such one as they will answer fore and undertake unto me and myne heires, withoute coloure, fraude, or male engyne, to be in those behalves sufficient ; which ther admission I will shalbe by me and my heires ratified and confermed, for the suertye of hyme so by theme admitted.

Also, I statute, make, and ordeyne yt the dean for the tyme being of ye said Collage shal perceyve yerely for his exhibicion all the provents, frutes, oblacions, and deutees as appertenyd to the church of Middelham, in eny wise, before it was Collegiate, w^t other things by me to be gevene to hyme, as hereafter shalbe expressed ; and yt eny of the saide sex prestes for the tyme being shal yerely perceyve by the hands of the deane of my saide College, for ye tyme beyng, of the revenues of such landes, cherches, and possessions as I have geven, amortised, and now graunted to my seid Collage, and hereafter shal geve, amortise, and graunt y'unto, for ther exhibicion, x.li. ; and every of the saide foure clerks of the saide revenues x. marks ; and the clerke secristane yerely of the same x. marks ; and the sade foure clerks and the clerke sacristane always to be named and presented by me and myne heires, and admitted frome tyme to tyme by the deane of my saide Collage, for the tyme being ; and yat the sex querestors

be always chosen, elect and admitted by the saide dean and more part of ye said prests, and by theme to be examyned of their abilitie in singing and brest, and that they by ye said deane shalbe founden of all maner necessities theme belonging, as of mete, drinke, clothing, and other, for ye which the saide deane shall perceyve of the revenues aflowsaide yerely xx.li.

Also, yt one of the said foure clerks yt shalbe elete by me and myne heires, in forme aflowsaide admitted, be a man sufficiently lerned in praectise of singing, aswel in playne song, priked song, faburdon, countr', descant of all mesures used in any Cathedrall church or Collage, the same to teche the said sex queresters his connyng, and he to be named the maister and techer of yeme, for the which teching, labor, besynesse and attendance abowto the same, I wol that he have of ye said revenues by ye hands of the said deane, for tyme being, over the said ten marks of his wages of oon of clerks, yerely five marks; and if he be licenced for any reasonable cause, according to my statutes under writyn, to be absent for a season, that yan he to find a sufficient persone plenaryly instructe in ye said connyng duryng his said absence, to lerne, tech and instructe the saide queresters; and yat none of yeme longer abide as queresters yan ther brests serve theme to sing in childes voce, over ye space of half a yere at most.

Also, I do statute, make, and ordeyne that eny deane, yat for the tyme hereafter shalbe of my said Collage, shalbe resident and continually abiding upon the same, and kep continuall houshold y', and yt the said sex prests shal bord theme with hyme, and pay everich of yeme wekely for y' boord sextene pennez; and also the said foure clerks and ye clerk sacristane in like wise, and everich of theme to pay wekely twolf pennes, during the tyme yat yei be not married; and if eny of theme happen to be married and dwel within my towne y', then he to be at his libertee and chose in yat behalve, and ellys always y' at boord payng wekely as is aflowsaid. And yt nouthr the deane of my saide Collage, for the tyme beyng, nor the saide prests and clerks, in eny wise be absent frome my said College, over the spaces under written, that is to say, the deane over twenty and foure dayes in the yere, and everich of ye said sex prests sexteyn dayes in ye yere, and everich of ye said clerks over fiveteyn dayes in ye yere; so always yat ye said deane, prests, and clerks, for the tyme being, in eny wise be not absent frome yens high principall fest, nor the saide deane to be absent frome thens, or any oy' season at one tyme over the space of the saide twenty and foure daies, enlesse it be for the defense and well of of my saide Collage, or sêkenes or dissese, and yat notorily so knowne by the saide prests, withoute speciall licence of me and myne heyres, w^t thassent of the saide prests; nor in like wise any of the saide prests be absent frome yens any oy' season, at one tyme, over the space of sextene daies, nor eny of ye said clerks over the space of fiveteyne daies, at one tyme, w^toute speciall licence of me and myn heires, w^t thassent of the deane y' of, for tyme beyng; and over yis I wol yt my saide heires have auctoritee to graunt att y' pleasur to the said deane, for the tyme beyng, with th'assent of the said prests, twenty daies in the yere; and to every of the said prests and clerks for the tyme beyng, w^t thassent of the deane, twolf daies in ye yere; so always yt the said deane be not absent high principall fest and oy' seasons over the space of twenty and foure daies above saide at one tyme, enlesse it be for the defence and wele of my saide Collage, or sêkenes, or disease, and so notorily by ye said prests

known, w^tout special licence of me and myne heires w^t thassent of the said prests ; nor any of the said prests and clerks in like wise be absent frome then high principall fest or oy' seasons over the space of sexteyne dayes one tyme, withoute like licence of me or myne heirez, with thassent of ye said deane, or yat sekenesse or disease cause it : which yen I wil yat he or yey so beyng seke or diseasid be holde excused for the tyme of his or ther said sekenesse or disease : provided alwey yat over two personnes of the saide deane, prests or clerks I woll in noo wise shalbe absent frome yens at one tyme, nor none oder licensed to be absent ūnto their comyng home ; and yat the saide prests geve licence to the deane at such tyme as he woll depart and have his daies, as is afforesaide, and yat in like wisse the deane geve licence to ye saide prests and clerks at such tyme as eny of theme woll depart and have y' daies ; and over this yat none of ye said prests or clerks bring any straunger to dyne or soupe w^t yeme within my said College, withoute ye licence of the deane ; and, if eny such licence be to any of theme so graunted, yat yan he so asking licence pay for his straunger every mele two pennes : provided always yat if eny of yem bring ony of y' frends, alies, kynnesmen, or oy' straunger to see the church or Collage, or make hyme or yeme chere, that than I woll yat the said straunger so comyng be curtesly welcomed and served with brede and ale, so yat it be not ofte nor daly used.

Also, I statute, and ordeyne yat the said deane, prests, and clerks shal distinctly, nother to hastely ne to tariyngly, bot mesurable and devoutely, kep divine service daly in my saide Collage, be note after the use of Salesbury, y^t is to say, matyns, messe, èvensong, and complyn, and oy' observances as herafter shalbe specified ; and yat matyns begyn daly, frome the fest of ye Annunciaion of our Blisshed Lady unto Michaelmesse, at sex of ye klok in ye mornyng, and frome Michael messe unto ye saide fest of Annunciaion, to begyn matyns at sevene of ye klok in ye mornyng, which done I woll yat prime and houres incontynent y' after daly be saide in the highe quere by the prest, yat for ye woke shalbe Ebdomadarie, and the prest the woke yan next folowing shalbe Ebdomadarie ; and yat ye saide prest Ebdomadarie kepe the charge for his woke of begynyng and ending of matyns, prime, houres, high messe, evenesong, complyn, and oy' observances, enlesse y' fall principall fest or festis or the day of the obytte of me or my said wiff in yat woke ; which if eny such fall I woll yat it be begon and ended by ye saide deane, if he be present, and by none oder, withoute sekenesse or oy' cause lawfull lett hyme ; and yat daly after matyns be saide ye anthem of *Libera nos* be songen descant, or fabourden, with a versicle and collect accustumed, and furthwith ye anthem of Saint Ninian Confessor, vel—*Euge serve bone*, with the versicle *Amavit eum Dominus*, etc., and ye colet—*Deus qui populos Pictorum et Britonum*, and y' after by all the whole quere—*De profundis*, etc., with the colet—*Fidelium*, etc., and after the decesse of me and my wiffe ye colet of *Deus cui proprium est misere[re]*, etc.,—*Propiciare animæ famuli tui Ricardi ducis Gloucestri, fundatoris nostri, vel animæ famule tuæ Annæ consortis suæ, eorum et liberorum, etc.* And assone as prime and houres is saide, ye messe of our Lady to be song dayly, w^t priked song and organes, w^t ye maister, clerkes and queresters, except by there ordinal they sey of our Lady, and except ye Friday wokely, which day I woll yat ye saide master, clerks, and queresters ye messe of Jhesu after prime and hours saide be song, and yat the prest yat wokely by course shall sing our

Lady messe, ye messe of Jhesu, and high messe, during the liff of me and my wiffe, say yis colet.—*Deus qui caritatis dona per gratiam, etc. da famulo tuo Ricardo duci Gloucestr' fundatori nostro, famule tue Annæ consorti suæ, famulo tuo Edwardo, eorumque liberis, etc.* And after our deceesse they to say yis colet—*Deus cui proprium*, affore rehersed. And after yat the messe of Jhesu be saide ye anthem of *per signum Tau*, furthwith be songen, and ye colet of *Visita nos quesimus, Domine*, w^t y^e colet of *Deus caritatis*, during my liff, and after my deceesse—*Deus cui proprium* be said by the prest yat sang messe of Jhesu at the high altare or he put of his vestiment, and yat done, high messe to begyn by all the hole quere, and after high messe be said the antheme of *Stella celi*, to be song priked song, with the versicle—*Ora pro nobis Sancta Dei genetricis*, and ye colet—*Deus misericordie, Deus pietatis, Deus indulgentie, etc.*, w^t *de profundis*, etc., and yat evensong daily begyn in the fest of thammunciacion of our Lady unto Michaelmesse, at foure of the klok at after none or before; and also I wol yat assone as evensong is said, y^t the memory of the Trinite *libera nos*, a memory of Saint Niniane, and a memory of Saint George, with ther versicles and coletts accustomed, be songen priked song nyghtly, and also y'after an antheme of our Lady in ye myddys of the quere at the letterne be song, enlesse yat it be principall fests, and if it be principall fest but onely an antheme of our Lady to be song at the lettern by all the hole quere, and yen *de profundis*; and yat every Friday nyght betwix five and sex of ye klok the antheme of Jhesu be songen, with the maister and clerks and queresters, and yat doone the suffrages appertenyng to the said Antheme be song and said by the said queresters, and yan furthwith ye antheme of *Stella Celi* be songen in like forme as before is saide, with the versicle and coletts—*Dominus misericordie*, and *Deus qui caritatis*, duryng our liff, and after our deceesse,—*Deus cui proprium est miserere*—with—*de profundis*, in maner affore expressid. And over this yat every Wedynsday, if it be not principall fest, yt a messe of requiem by one of ye saide sex prests, at the assignement of ye said deane, be said after our Lady messe be saide; and yat the prest so saying that messe say ye collet of *Inclina, Domine, aurem tuam*, etc., w^t these words—*ut animas famuli tui Ricardi ducis Ebor., famule tue Cecilie consortis suæ*, after her deceesse, *et animas eorum liberorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum*, and after oure deceesse to say this colet—*Deus cui proprium*, etc., with the colet of *Inclina* aforsaid, in maner aforsaide. And, when so ever it shal please God to call me or my wiffe to His mercy, I wol yat the saide deane, prests and clerks kepe a solempne obite the day of our deceeses, if they have y'of knowlage, and els ye next day after yat they here first y'of, with *Placebo, Dirige*, and Commendacion ye nyght before to be song, enlesse it fall upon principall fests, which yan I wol yat it be deferred to the morn next y'after, and ye *Dirige* to be song after ye latter evensong of the said principall fest, and Commendacion to be saide after complyn, in the saide quere, and in like wise and order o^r moneth mynds, and twolf moneth mynds, and so yerely our obits to be kept the day of the moneth of our saide deceeses for ever.

ALSO, I statute, make, and ordeyne that, in the admission of eny prest and clerk of the saide College, the prest and clerk so to be admitted by my collacion or myne heires shal make oth upon the holy Evangeliste to the deane, for the tyme being, yat he shal observe and kep al statutes and

ordenances, with all other libertes and laudable custumes of the same Colledge, in such as shal to hyme appertigne, or such oder lauffull oth as shalbe thoght necessary by the saide deane in y^t partie to be maide, for weele of the saide Colledge.

ALSO, I statute, make, and ordeyne yat in my saide Colledge shalbe a chest surely maide, lokid with thre looks of diverse keys, wherof one shal remayne in y^e keping of the deane, an other in the keping of the prest keping the stall of Saint Kateryn, and the third in the keping of y^e prest for the tyme occupying the stall of Saint Ninian, within the saide Colledge, in the which chest I statute, make, and ordeyne yat the comon seal and principall jowelles and evidencez of the same Colledge shalbe surely kepid.

ALSO, I statute, make, and ordeyne yat ichon of y^e saide prests and clerks shalbe within the qwere by the third peal be rongen, and yar continually abide unto thending of divyne service, y' to be done, for the tyme, every day, except such as be before rehersed in this myne ordinance, under payne of forfotor of one peny, als oft as eny shal offend in this party, to be convertid into the necessarie reparacion of the saide Colledge; and if y' be eny yat shal oftyn tymes use to absent hyme self frome divyne service agenst yis myne ordinance, yen I wol yat ye deane punysh hyme so customable absent at his resonable plesor.

ALSO, I statute, make, and ordeyn yet evere Friday in ye yere the deane, if he be present, or in his resonable absence his depute shal cause assemble of the saide prests, clerks, and oy' ministers of ye saide Colledge to be maide in the chapitor house, and yen, after *preciosa* and other suffrages, according to the ordinall of Salisbery said y', the said deane or his forsaide depute shal inquire of all maner of defaults and excessez of the prestes, clerks, and other mynysters forsaide, committed and done in eny maner or forme in the woke preceding; and with payns in this myne ordinance comprised wher eny such payn is expressid, and els at his resonable wol and plesor, w^t avise of one of the saide prests, corret and punyshsh ye same defaults and excessez: provided alway yt if eny of the saide prests or clerks oftyn tymes committing or doying eny trespasse, default or excesse, ayenst yis myne ordinance, or opynly ayenst ye helth of his owne soule, after thre monicions contenyng resonable space unto hyme made by the forsaide dean at his arbitrement, wol not amend hyme self, y^t yen the saide deane shal expulse hyme oute of the said Colledge for ever, w^t oute hope of restitucion, and y^t in every wharter of the yere ons the deane forsaide or his depute shal cause the statutes and ordinance of the same Colledge to be opynly red in the same chapitor house.

ALSO, I statute, make, and ordeyn yat evere prest, clerk and other ministers of the saide Colledge in commyng to the qwere and goyng fro the same incline unto the deane, beyng in his stall, and ayenst hym commyng into the qwere or chapitor house reverently rias, and yat none of yeme presume to begyn matyns, masse or evenesong afor the commyng of the same deane, if he be present in the Colledge and wol come to the same.

ALSO, I statute, make, and ordeyn yt none of the forsaide ministers hawnt tavern or oder unhoneest place or persone at eny tyme, or lye out of the Colledge eny nyght, withoute especiall licence of ye saide deane, except such personnes and tymes as be to for except.

ALSO, I statute, make, and ordeyne yat one day betwix the festis of

Estre and Witsunday yerey the deane shal rede, or cause to be red, unto the sex prests ane inventorie of all the jowelles and ornaments apperteynyng unto the said Colledge, for the tyme; and if the saide sex prests or thre of yeme think it expedient, really shew unto yeme the said jowells and ornaments, which I wil shalbe surely kepud in chests or oder c and places within the saide Colledge, in such maner and forme as shalbe thought behovefull by the saide dean and two of ye eldest of ye saide prests: providid alwey yat the comon seal and principall jowells and evidence of the saide Colledge be kepud in a chest lokked with thre lokks of diverse keys, as is to fore rehersid.

Also, I statute, make, and ordeyne yat noo corrodie, annuitic or fee for terme of liff or yeres shalbe yeven or seld oute of the saide Colledge, or isshewes y'of comyng, nor other thing alieynd to ye saide Colledge pertigynng, by the deane and felowes of the same Colledge, or eny of yeme, w'out expresse consent of me or myne heires patrones of the same.

Also, I statute, make, and ordeyne yat if eny prest, clerk; or oder ministre of the same Colledge use at eny tyme in ire eny inhonest or slaunderous words ayenst his felow, his superior or inferior, of the same Colledge, he shal pay of his wayys at evere tyme two pennez. If he draw violently a knyff, he shal pay of his saide wage at evere tyme so doing four penyys, and if he draw blode he shal pay of his saide wage as moch as the deane, w^t one of the saide sex prests, shal resonable demie hyme to pay to be convectid in, to ye reparacion of the saide Colledge.

Also, I statute, make, and ordeyne yat the deane of the saide Colledge have rewle and administracion of all possessions spiritual and temporall, with all oy' provents comyng of ye same, for the perfyte excecucion of thies myne ordinaunces.

Also, I statute, make, and ordeyne yt the clerk sacristano have rewle and keping, under the deane, of book, chalesses, vestments, and all oder ornaments, which most be usid in the church of the said Collage, which ornaments I wilbe delivered unto hyme by tripartite indentor, wherof oon part shal remayne w^t ye deane, an oy^r with the saide clerk, and the third w^t the prest occupiying the stall of Saint Kateryn; and at two tymes in ye yere, to be limited by the saide dean, the saide clerk shall yeld his accompt concernyng thornaments forsaide, and at all tymes according to yeffect of thies my statutes, and plesor of the saide deane, shal ring to matyns, messe and evenesong, and oder devine service, and over this shet and oppyn the church dures, at such convenient tyme as shalbe commaunde unto hyme by the saide deane.

Also, I statute, make, and ordeyne that the prestes, clerks, and ministers forsaide, at all tymes and place behave yemeself reverently unto the deane, and hyme in all things lefull concernyng the profet, weele, and worship of the saide Colledge, or eny of ye ministers of ye same, obey.

Also, I statute, make, and ordeyne that ye clerk sacristane shal obey the commaundments of the deane, aswel in serving and attendance in the church, as in other places pertigynng to ye cure of eny of ye parisschyns for the tyme within the parich of Middelham abiding.

Also, I statute, make, and ordeyne yt I and myne heires shal at al tymes bere thexpence and cost of evere messynger, which by the commaundment of ye deane or eny of the saide sex prests shal bring unto us certane knowlege of the vacacion of eny stall being within my saide Colledge.

ALSO, I statute, make, and ordeyne yt the deane forsaide have al maner tethes and offeryngs within my castell of Middelham, as of all oder place within the parisshe of ye church of Middelham, in eny wise appertynnyng, w^toute let or interrupcion of ye deane of ye chapell of my saide Castell, or eny other minstre of the same.

ALSO, I statute, make, and ordeyne yat the deane of my saide College, at all tymes shal kep his stall and prioritee, as most principall of ye same, geving noo rowme or place to the deane of the chapell within my saide castell, or other comyng at eny tyme into the saide College, church, to minstre divine service, under the dignitee of a prior by privilege using a miter.

ALSO, I statute, make, and ordeyne yat the deane at his pleasour shal see all things appertynnyng unto the College in whos rewle or governaunce it shal fortune yeme to be, and yat all servants necessarily to be had for attendaunce and serving in ye saide College, or at eny other place y^unto belonging, shalbe namyd and takyn at ye plesor of the saide deane, and at his saide plesor shalbe expulsed and put away.

ALSO, I statute, make, and ordeyn yat the deane for the tyme being, shall mow use and were in ye saide College and other place, as wel in presence of reverend faders bisshoppes, as other inferior unto theme, a grey amyse.

ALSO, I statute, make, and ordeyne that ye sex prests, clerks, and queresters shal mow use and were in the forsaide College at all tymes of divine service habites, accordyngly to yabbitts used by such personnez in other honorable College churchys of the diocese of the church of Sarum.

ALSO, I statute, make, and ordeyne yat if it shal fortune the deane for the tyme being at eny season to be lawfully lett, as by sakenes or oderwise, to minstre divine service in ye church of ye saide College, after thaffect of myne ordinance to fore rehersid, yen I wol y^t it shal be lefull to the saide deane to name and depute at his plesor one of ye saide sex prests to minstre the same in his absence, and to execute at the expresse and speciall commaundement of ye saide deane al other things which he shuld do or exercise if he wer ther personally present; and in defalt of such commaundement, I wol the preste occupieng the stall of Saint Kateryn, in such absence of the saide deane, shal execute the premisses.

ALSO, I wol that the deane or suche of the prests of ye College as it list the deane to appoynt yerely, declare and show to all the parisshe and people aboute in such good forme as it list hym of his charitee to declare in the pulpite such statutes of this my first fundacion of the College, as the saide deane shal thinke expedient: that so redde and declared, I wol yat the deane or prest yat so declarith it desire all the people about of y^r charitee to pray for my soule, thos yt can say *de profundis*, evere man of his charitee to say it secretly by hymselfe, or with his felowe, wheder it pleas yeme, and to begyn hyme self to say *de profundis*, and all the qwere to say and answer him; and when he commith to the colett, then to say the colett, *Deus cui proprium est miserere*, etc., in maner and forme afforsaide, for me and my wiff; this to be done and declared at the evyne before yat y^e yere day come of my deth always, as sone as y^t evinsong is done; than incontinyt to begyn before complyne first to declare and specifie, as is rehersid in this forsaide article, and incontinent y^rafter *Placebo*, *Dirige*, and yan complyn.

ALSO, I wol yat suche saints as yat I have devocion unto, be servid in the church throughtly as double fest, aswel thos that be not by the

ordinal of Sarum as thos yt be, that is to say, Seint John Baptiste and Seint John the Evangeliste, Seint Peter and Seint Pall, Seint Simon and Jude, Seint Mihael, Seinte Anne, Seint Elizabeth, Seint Fubian and Seint Sebastian, Seint Antony, Seint Christofer, Seint Dyonyse, Seint Blaise, Seint Thomas, Seint Albane, Seint Gyls, Seint Eustace, and Seint Erasmus, Seint Loy, Seynt Leonard, and Seint Martyn, Seint William of York, Seint Wulfrey of Rippon, Seint Kateryn, Seint Margarete, Seinte Barbara, Seint Martha, Seint Venefride, Seint Ursula, Seint Dorathe, Seint Radagunde, Seint Agnes, Seint Agathe, Seint Apolync, Seint Cithc, Seint Clare, Seint Marie Magdalene : provided neverlesse yat if eny fest of the forsaide Saints have noo fest or day in the kalender, or of yeme self be double fest, yt then the deane for the tyme being during my liffe shal take in this partie with myne adviace such good direccion as shalbe thoght most according to yeffect of this myne ordinance, which direccion so to be take, I wol be observid after my deceese for ever.

ALSO, I wol that Seint George and Seint Nynyan be served as principal festis, whenso y^t ther daies fallys, and also Seint Cuthbert day in Lent, and Seint Antony day y^t fallys in Janiver', be served as principall in like wise.

ALSO, I statute, make, and ordeyne that al maner of spiritual correccion and punysshon of excesses and defaults commyt and doon by eny of the sex prestes, foure clerks, sex queresters, the clerk sacristane of the saide College, or eny other y' servants or tennants, for the tyme being, shal onely belong and perteigne unto ye deane of ye same.

ALSO, I statute, make, and ordeyne that ye constable of my castell of Middelham forsaide, the baliffe, nor other offiere of the same castell or towne of Middelham, hereafter for eny trespasse, default, or excesso done w^{thin} my saide College arrest, attach, or in eny behalf vex or trouble eny ministre of the same. And if eny of theme make default or trespasse withoute the saide College within my lordship y', ayenst the Kings peax or oy'wiace, to the hurt of me or myne heires, servants or tennants, yt then I and myne heires, or in myne or y' absence, the constable of my saide castell, or baliffe of my saide towne of Middelham, and the deane junctly, shal provide for ye punysshon and correction of the same. And if the deane be remyse or wol not see effectuously for punysshment of the same, yen I woll yat I and myne heires, or the constable of my saide castell, or baliffe of my saide towne, in myne or ther absence onely, punyssh and correct the same trespasse, as shal apperteigne to the temporall correccion, and none other wiace.

ALSO, I statute, make, and ordeyne that power be reservyd to me duryng my liffe naturall to add, mynyssh, and exchaunge in every part of thies my statutes and ordinance to fore rehersed; and over yat I woll yat power be reservid unto me during my liffe naturall att my mynde, will, and pleasour, at all tymes to discusse, determyn and interpretate all maner of doubts supposid to be fondon in eny part of the same myne ordinance.

ALSO, I statute, make, and ordeyne y^t the deane of my saide College for ye tyme being shal yerely perceve to his proper use and exhibicion, and sustentacion of his persone, ov' isshewes, fructes, emolumentes and profettes commyng for ye tyme of ye saide church in eny wias to hyme affore in this myne ordinance assigned, the sowme of ten marks to be takyn of ye revenoux of the saide College.

ALSO, I statute, make, and ordeyne yat the dean of my saide College for

the tyme being shal susteyne and beyrre all maner of charges of brede, wyne and wax at eny tyme to be hadde in the church of ye saide Colledge; and also of all maner of reparacion of and wthin the saide church and churchyerd, and of all other things wthin the siete of the same Colledge, for the which charges so to be sustenyd and borre by the saide deane he shal yerely perceve of the revennoux of ye Colledge forsaide, after it shalbe by me and the same deane thocht to be fully finished, over al such parcels as ar to hyme in eny part of yis myne ordinaunce assigned, the sowme of twenty pounds; providid always that thenhabitance of my saide towne of Middleham for the tyme being be contributores unto the same charges, in as ample maner and forme as they have bene in tyme past, unto such tyme as I, myne heires or myne assignes have made and accomplished such things both in enlargeyng or new makyng the church and churchyerd and mansions for and in the saide Colledge: which so maide and accomplishide other by me, myne heires or assignes, I woll that ye saide inhabitance shal be discharged of ye same contribucion, and yen the saide deane so being to receve of the revenneux forsaide the sowme of twenty pownd afforsaide, and in no wise affore. IN WITNESSH wherof unto thies presentes I have sett my seal. YEVENE ye fourt day of the moneth of July, in the yere of our soverayne Lord King Edward fourt after the Conquest of Yngland eghteynd.

[No Seal.]

For the statutes of the Collegiate church of Middleham, the Archaeological Institute is indebted to the courtesy of J. Bailey Langhorne, Esq., of Richmond in Yorkshire. They came into his possession with many other documents relating to the Colledge, in an official capacity, and he kindly allowed the copy to be made, which is now, for the first time, printed.

The statutes are written in a bold hand upon two large sheets of parchment. At the beginning is the signature of the illustrious founder of the Colledge, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, indicating, no doubt, that they had met with his approbation. It is extremely probable that they were made under his very eye, and the introductory paragraph may, perhaps, be of his own composing.

It does not appear that the benevolent design of the founder was ever fully completed. The Colledge was indeed established, but it was never properly endowed, and these statutes, therefore, to a great extent, became inapplicable. It was the intention of Richard III., to have made an ample provision for the maintenance of his Colledge, but he was prevented from doing so by the troubles which brought his reign to a premature conclusion. The shadow of the establishment which he contemplated continued to exist until a very recent period. There is now no Dean of Middleham, and the documents from which these statutes have been extracted have passed away into other hands.

The preceding valuable document has not been noticed by the Rev. William Atthill, who edited, in 1847, for the Camden Society, the "Documents relating to the Foundation and Antiquities of the Collegiate Church of Middleham," with an Historical Introduction comprising many notices of the former history of the establishment.

JAMES RAINE, JUN.

Proceedings at the Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

March 6, 1857.

The Hon. RICHARD C. NEVILLE, F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

THE recent fabrication of imitations of ancient reliques of flint, arrow-heads, axes and mauls, spear-heads, and other objects, produced in the East Riding of Yorkshire, to the prejudice of the unwary collector, was again brought under the notice of the society by Mr. Wardell, of Leeds, in the following communication, accompanied by a considerable number of the fictitious antiquities in question :—

“ I have much pleasure in communicating what information I possess, in relation to the fabrication of relics of an early period, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, and in so doing, I shall strictly confine myself to such facts as have come under my own personal observation.

“ Before advertng to the articles of flint, I may state, that some four years ago a person came to this town, and offered for sale a few varieties of jet seals ; one was alleged to have been found in Sherburn church yard, a Saxon ecclesiastical site, but I forget what localities were assigned to the others, and he succeeded in passing off two of them. I have had a seal of this description shown to me, which had been purchased in Scarborough ; it was similar to the one in the Whitby Museum. Attention was subsequently called to these forgeries of seals of jet in the Archaeological Journal.

“ As to forgeries of the ‘ Stone Period,’ I beg to state that I have seen a great many, consisting of stone hammers, flint arrow-heads of all sizes and forms, some of the rudest type, others very fine specimens, and a few of large size, serrated on the edges. Those articles, I have reasons for believing, were manufactured by a person residing on the Moors, in the neighbourhood of Whitby or Robin Hood’s Bay. About three years ago, I purchased forty-two in one lot, alleged to have been found in that part of the county, and obtained from the farmers and others residing there ; they were well coated with clay, and I, being anxious to secure such a prize, having no idea whatever of forgery, gladly purchased them ; and it was only when I had washed them, that I made the discovery, afterwards confirmed by inquiry, that I had been imposed upon. The person of whom I purchased them is a respectable man, and I should say had himself been subjected to imposition. I have since given several of them away, but have still a few left, which I enclose for your inspection. You will perceive that the workmanship, although very good, is yet much inferior to the genuine articles, the chipping at the edges is rougher, irregular, and broken off in larger flakes, and they have altogether a clumsy appearance. In addition to arrow-heads, I have seen rings, fish-hooks, knives, saws, and some articles like the ancient caltrops for annoying cavalry, all of flint, all forgeries, and all made in the before mentioned district. I have seen two

forged stone hammers, very neatly made, but they had a new appearance, the perforation was very rough and jagged at the sides, as if made by a small iron chisel, and one of them was covered with a coat of dark coloured varnish, while the other was plentifully plastered with clay. Both these specimens came from the neighbourhood of Scarborough. I have not seen any of the recent imitations of British urns, but I have heard of them, and have no doubt of the fact. I may remark, that I have seen in a dealer's shop in Scarborough two forged bronze spear-heads, but they were of that description, that I think no antiquary would ever be imposed upon by them. I could refer to numerous other cases, but, as I have stated, I wish to confine myself solely to those which have come within my own observation.

"It is to be exceedingly regretted that such disreputable practices as those I have enumerated should prevail; but that they do so is an undoubted fact, and I do not see how, or in what manner, they can be put down. I am afraid that, so long as the present keen research after antiquities continues, and so many collectors are in the field, so long will such a state of things exist. This keenness of research is of course a necessary consequence of the spread of archaeological knowledge; but antiquaries should be on their guard, and use both discretion and prudence in making purchases from unknown individuals; it is the great eagerness shewn by collectors which has led to the results we now experience.

"I shall be very glad if these remarks be of interest to the society, and any further information which it may be in my power to give, I shall at all times be most happy to afford."

The Rev. H. M. SCARTH communicated the following observations addressed to him by the Rev. Dr. McCaul, President of University College, Toronto, in reference to the inscription discovered at Bath. (See vol. xii., p. 90, of this Journal.)

"In the number of the *Archaeological Journal* for March, 1855, which has within the last few days been placed in our library, I have read with much interest the explanations which have been given of the inscription on the slab found in December, 1854, on Coombe Down, Bath. I have little doubt that Dr. Bruce has read and interpreted it correctly; but I have reason to believe that he, Mr. Franks, and Mr. Hunter, are mistaken as to the emperor who is named in it. Mr. Hunter is disposed to refer it to the well-known M. Aurelius, whilst Dr. Bruce inclines to Mr. Franks' opinion, that Heliogabalus is the person intended. The principal ground for the latter opinion is the want of an example of the application of *Invictus* to Caracalla. As I have found two of these desired examples, I beg to communicate them, believing that they supply satisfactory evidence that the emperor named in the inscription was Caracalla.

"From Eekhel (v. vii. p. 179, edit. Vindob. 1828), it appears that the epithet *Invictus* was applied to both Severus and Caracalla; whilst a remarkable inscription on the seventy-first milestone on the Appian Way, given by Gudius, Muratori, and Notarjanni, contains all the titles in your inscription, as applied to Caracalla. As we have no copies of the authors I have named, I am unable to verify this reference. The inscription, however, is given (as here subjoined) in Mommsen's *Inscript. Regni Neapolitani*, Lips. 1852, p. 334. The date of your inscription is, I think, not earlier than 213 A.D., when the epithet *Felix* first appeared on the coins of Caracalla, and of course not later than 217 A.D.

III.

IMP · CAESAR

M · AVRELIVS · ANTONINVS ·
 INVICTVS · PIVS · FELIX · AVG ·
 PART · MAX · BRIT · MAX · GERM ·
 MAX · PONT · MAX · TRIB · POTES[T] ·
 XVIII · IMP · III · COS · III · PROCOS ·
 VIAM · ANTE · HAC · LAPIDE · [I]AM ·
 INVITILITER · STRATAM · ET ·
 CORRYP TAM · SILICE · NOVO ·
 QVO · FIRMIOR · COMMEANTIBVS ·
 ESSET · PER · MILIA [PAS]
 SVM · XXI · SVA · PECVNIA · FECIT.

LXXI.

“The date of the inscription above given may be ascertained by the year *Trib. Potest.* 19, which was A.D. 216.”

Mr. W. BURGESS read a Memoir on the precious objects preserved in the Treasury at Monza. (Printed in this volume, p. 8.)

The Rev. W. HASTINGS KELKE sent a memoir on “Creslow Pastures,” Bucks, the royal feeding-ground for cattle, from the reign of Elizabeth to that of Charles II., with notices of the descent of the manor, and of the ancient manor-house, which still presents some architectural features of interest. Creslow, now containing a single dwelling-house, is a distinct parish, situated about six miles from Aylesbury. As early as the Domesday Survey the lands appear to have been chiefly pasturage; and in later times they were held in such high estimation as to be reserved as feeding-grounds for the supply of the royal household. Browne Willis, and other topographers, have stated on no sufficient authority, that the manor and advowson had formed part of the possessions of the Templars from a very early period; and had subsequently been held by the Hospitallers, in whose hands they were, at the Dissolution of the Monasteries. They passed to the crown at that period, and the “Creslow Pastures” were appropriated for feeding cattle for the use of the court, as before stated. They were committed to the custody of a steward or keeper, for a term of years, with certain privileges and appointments. In 1596, James Quarles, Esq., chief clerk of the royal kitchen, was keeper, and he was succeeded by Bennett Mayne, who enjoyed the manor-house and a considerable portion of the lands in recompense for his trouble. In 1634 the appointment was given by Charles I. to Cornelius Holland, originally a page in the service of Sir Henry Vane, and who had risen to notice about the court, and received several lucrative appointments. A curious relation of the career of Holland, by a contemporary writer, has been given by Mr. Banks, in his history of Corfe Castle. Holland allowed the buildings to fall into decay, but he had the good fortune to obtain a large grant from Parliament for their repair. He became a member of the Commons, and a Commissioner of the Revenue. He signed the death-warrant of Charles I. The desecration of the churches of Creslow and Hogshaw, Bucks, and of the chancels of three other churches, was perpetrated, as it has been stated, by Holland, whose memory as an enemy to church and king has been accounted infamous in the county. At the Restoration he was attainted as guilty of high treason, and the

Pastures were granted by Charles II. to Edward Backwell, Esq., for a term of twenty-one years. The estate was afterwards granted in fee to Thomas, Lord Clifford. The advowson of Creslow, Mr. Kelke observed, had belonged to the Hospitallers; but in the times of Queen Elizabeth the rectorial income appears to have become merged in the temporalities of the manor. The church had been long since desecrated; it was converted into a stable and dove-house by Cornelius Holland. The existing fabric consists of the nave, probably of Norman date, with a richly sculptured north door. The ancient manor-house, a spacious and picturesque building, traditionally regarded as a Commandery of the Hospitallers, has a square tower and numerous gables, a large hall, and a remarkable crypt excavated in the limestone rock, with a good vaulted roof. Mr. Parker, in the "Manual of Domestic Architecture," has classed this building amongst the examples of the reign of Edward III. Mr. Kelke exhibited drawings of the house, and of the adjacent desecrated church; and he intimated the intention of publishing a detailed memoir on Creslow, in the Transactions of the Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society, to which we may refer our readers for a more full account of the locality.

The Rev. HIPPLISLEY MACLEAN communicated a notice of the recent discovery of Saxon remains in the parish of Caistor, Lincolnshire, about halfway between that town and the adjoining village of Nettleton. A human skeleton was brought to light, at the feet of which was a bronze bowl, and at the head some fragments of iron, apparently the boss of a shield. Nothing else was found on this occasion, but some years ago several skeletons, as Mr. Maclean stated, were discovered near the same spot, with beads of baked clay, a lance-head, and the boss, as supposed, of a shield. These are in the possession of the Rector of Nettleton, on whose lands they were found. It had been conjectured that these remains were vestiges of a great conflict which occurred in the north of Lincolnshire about the year 827, between Egbert and the Mercians.¹ Mr. Maclean subsequently sent the bronze vessel for examination. It is of very thin plate, diameter $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with three ornamented loops and rings, for suspension, near the margin; it belongs to the same class of metal vessels which have repeatedly been discovered with interments of the Anglo-Saxon period, as stated in this Journal (see p. 93, *ante*). The fragments of the iron *umbo* appeared to indicate that it had been of a form often found with the vestiges of that age.

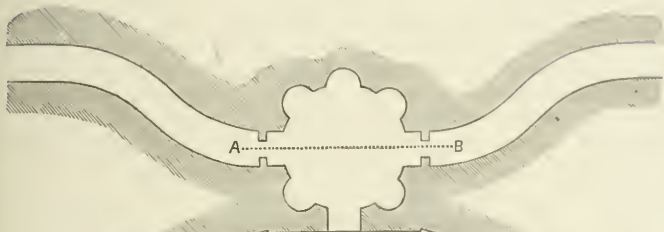
The Very Rev. Dr. ROCK remarked, that the curious Saxon bowls of metal) of which a beautiful example, found near Wilton, had been exhibited at the previous meeting by Mr. Nightingale, and another, displaying remarkable skill and elegance in its manufacture), which had been thus brought under the notice of the Institute by Mr. Maclean, might with considerable probability be specimens of the Anglo-Saxon *Gabatae*, or vessels suspended in churches, often mentioned amongst rare and precious gifts to the churches in Rome and elsewhere, in early times, as may be noticed in the writings of Anastatius. Ducange gives the following explanation of the term:—"Sunt autem *Gabatae* lances seu disci in Ecclesiis, a laquearibus pendentes, cereis vel lampadibus instructi."

Mr. T. H. WYATT communicated a notice, accompanied by a ground-plan and sections, of a singular construction recently destroyed in the

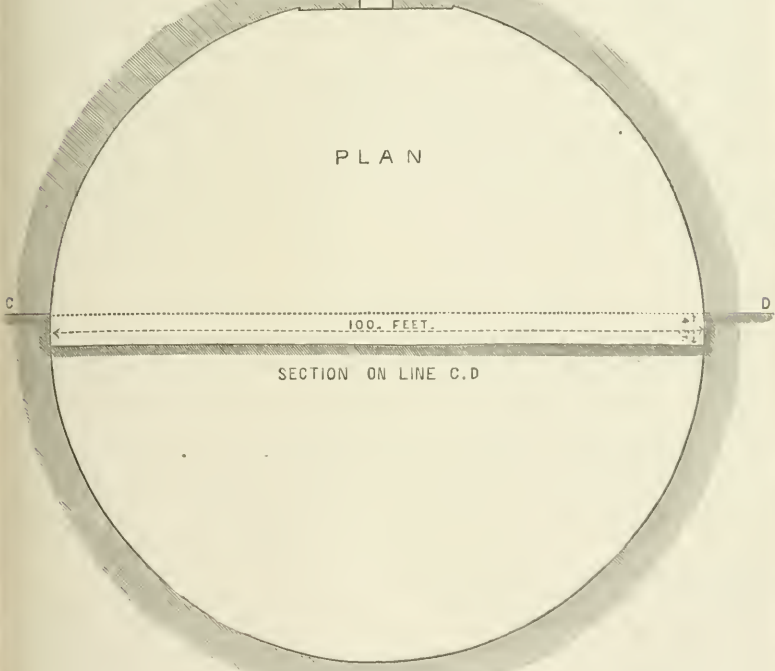
¹ See Dr. Oliver's communication to *Gent. Mag.*, Sept. 1829, p. 221.



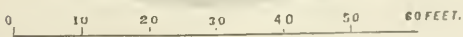
SECTION ON LINE A. B.



PLAN



SECTION ON LINE C. D.



Ground Plan and Section of the circular basin and adjacent building recently to be seen in the late Mr. Berger's grounds at Hackney.

gardens of an old mansion at Hackney, on the grounds of Mr. Berger, adjacent to an ancient thoroughfare, known as Homerton Row. Some attention had been drawn to this site, Mr. Wyatt observed, in consequence of the notion that the place had anciently been used as a bear-pit. It does not appear, however, that such supposition rests on any local tradition deserving of notice; and an examination of the plan, for which we are indebted to Mr. Wyatt, and which he directed to be taken with accurate detail, seems to show that the supposed *arena* had been a circular fish-pond, 100 feet in diameter, surrounded by a brick wall. On one side of this basin there was a singular octagonal domed building, which had been concealed in a mound of earth, formerly surmounted by a small stone temple or summer-house, and approached on either side by a vaulted winding passage, likewise concealed by the artificial ground, which was planted with trees. The fashion and position of this domed building, with its round-headed niches, doors of access, and door-way opening upon the circular basin, are accurately shown in the accompanying diagrams. It is difficult to assign any precise intention to this structure, built with considerable care, and chiefly interesting as a vestige of the costly garden decorations of the suburban residences at Hackney and Homerton, which were formerly, as we learn from Pepys and other writers, so favourite a resort. By the kindness of Mr. Tyssen an old plan of the grounds preserved in the Bodleian Library, showing the details of the ornamental works, was brought by Mr. Wyatt for examination. It is described as a "Plan of an estate situate in the parish of St. John, at Hackney, and late belonging to John Hopkins, Esq., deceased. Surveyed by James Crow and T. Marsh, 1775." The house had been the property of Stamp Brookbank, Esq. On the death of Mr. Berger, the late proprietor, about two years ago, the extensive grounds were purchased by a Freehold Land Building Society, and all the buildings demolished.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Hon. R. C. NEVILLE.—A massive gold ornament of the remarkable penannular type, with a thin flat disc at each extremity of the ring, which is very delicately engraved. It was found at Killymoon, co. Tyrone, in 1823, on the property of the late William Stewart, Esq., M.P., by whom it was presented to the Dowager Lady Wenlock, and it was recently given by her to Mr. Neville. The weight of this fine example of a very curious class of Irish ornaments, sometimes designated as *fibulæ*, is 2 oz. 6 dwt. 10½ gr. Specimens of the same peculiar form are figured by Sir W. Betham, in his Memoir on the so-called Irish Ring-Money, Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xvii.

By Mr. FIRCH.—A small bronze brooch, found within the Roman works at Caistor, near Norwich. It represents two animals, possibly a dog attacking some beast of the chase, but the work is too much defaced by time to permit of the animal being identified. Length, nearly 1¼ in. The surface, in low relief, is wrought with lines apparently of inlaid white metal, indicating the outlines of the limbs. *Fibulæ* of the Roman period representing various animals have been figured by Montfaucon (a horse, fish, fly, bird, and three birds in a row). An example, in the form of a man on horseback, found at Kirkby Thore, is figured in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxi., p. 284; another, representing a horse, in this *Journal*, vol. xii., p. 279.

A curious silver brooch, possibly intended to represent a lion, has been recently given by Mr. C. Roach Smith, in his *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iv., p. 112; it is described as of late Saxon, or early Norman, manufacture.

By the Rev. EDWARD TROLLOPE.—Drawings of several Saxon urns lately found in Lincolnshire, accompanying the following notice of the discovery. These vessels resemble in their forms and character those figured in Mr. Neville's "Saxon Obsequies:"—

"A few months ago, in working a sand-pit in the parish of South Willingham, Lincolnshire, the labourers suddenly brought to view a number of cinerary earthen vases. Some of these were broken, but I have the pleasure of forwarding for your inspection correct drawings of three of them, two of yellow, and one of dark-grey clay. They are now in the possession of G. F. Heneage, Esq., of Hainton Hall, the owner of the sand-pit. An old Roman road from Caistor to Horncastle passes through South Willingham parish, about half a mile from the spot where the urns were found, but has evidently no connection with them."

By Mr. WHINCOPP.—A collection of rings, of gold and silver, chiefly found in Suffolk, several of them considered to be of the Anglo-Saxon period: one of these ornaments was found, in 1819, in the churchyard at Laxfield, near some Saxon coins; it bears on the facet a cruceiform ornament, formed of small concentric circles, such as occur on objects of that age. Also, a gold ornament set with an hemispherical crystal, through which may be seen a delicately finished lining of the Flagellation of Our Lord.

By the Rev. T. HUGO.—A circular leaden brooch, found in the Thames in 1855, with coins of the Merovingian period, and one of Harold.

By Mr. W. W. WYNNE, M.P.—A tripod brass pot, found in a field at Hendreforfydd, Merionethshire, in 1855. In form it resembles the vessel figured in this *Journal*, vol. xiii., p. 74, with the exception that it has a long-necked spout, like a coffee-pot of more recent times. The height of this example is 7 inches. It is perfectly plain. Vessels of this description have sometimes been assigned to the Roman period, having been found occasionally near Roman stations; one very similar in form to that exhibited is figured in Dr. Bruce's *Roman Wall*, pl. xvi., p. 434. They have been frequently found in N. Britain. See Dr. Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals*, p. 278.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—A collection of ecclesiastical rings, consisting of those of the following popes, cardinals, and bishops:—

1. Cardinal Conrad Caraccioli, of Naples; created, 1405; died, 1411. On one side of the hoop a cardinal's hat of early form; on the other, an escutcheon of the family arms surmounted by a mitre.

2. Cardinal Gabriel Condolmerio, a Venetian; created, 1408; elected pope, as Eugenius IV., in 1431; died, 1447. On one side a cardinal's hat of early form; on the other, an escutcheon with his arms, surmounted by a mitre.

3. Pope Nicholas V., Thomas of Sargana, Bishop of Bologna; created cardinal, 1446; elected pope, 1447; died, 1455. On one side has been engraved the papal tiara; on the other, crossed keys, which he adopted for his arms, being of a humble family who had no armorial bearings.

4 and 5. Pope Pius II., Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; created cardinal, 1456; elected pope, 1458; died, 1464. On one side is the papal tiara; on the other, the arms of Piccolomini.

6. Pope Paul II., Pietro Barbo, a Venetian ; created cardinal, 1440 ; elected pope, 1464 ; died, 1471. On one side are the family arms of Barbo, beneath the tiara ; on the other, those of Arragon or Naples, which at that time were the same, surmounted by a coronet formed of points or leaves.

7. Pope Innocent VIII., John Baptist Cibo, of Genoa ; created cardinal, 1474 ; elected pope, 1484 ; died, 1492. On one side are the Cibo arms, surmounted by the tiara ; and on the other, the keys of St. Peter. This ring is also ornamented with the emblems of the four Evangelists.

8. Cardinal Ascanius Sforza Visconti of Milan ; created, 1484 ; died, 1505. On one side are the Sforza Visconti arms, and on the other a cardinal's hat of the early form.

9. A massive ring, thickly gilt and richly enamelled, with the inscription in Lombard characters, "Episc. Lugdun." On either side are escutcheons, bearing as arms the crossed keys, surmounted by a cardinal's or archbishop's hat. The stone is an amethyst. It is difficult to make out to whom this belonged. There were four places called Lugdunum—Lugdunum Batavorum, or Leyden, which was never an episcopal see ; Lugdunum Gallicum, or Lyons, an archbishop's see ; Lugdunum Clavatum, or Laon ; and Lugdunum Convenarum, or St. Bertrand de Comminges, a bishopric in the south of France. The arms (the crossed keys) are not those of any of the archbishops of Lyons. The word "*Episc.*" seems to point to Lugdunum Convenarum, which was only a bishop's see, though the hat, from the number of tassels, is rather that of an archbishop ; but the arms are not those of any of the bishops of that see, unless, indeed, they were those of a certain "*Johannes*" (apparently an unknown man), Bishop of St. Bertrand de Comminges, in 1465, who, having no family arms of his own, may have assumed as his bearing St. Peter's keys, in the same manner as Pope Nicholas V. had done a few years before.

These large massive rings are all of bronze, or some base metal gilt, with imitation stones, or real stones of common quality, and increase in size as their date approaches the end of the XVth century. Their use is very obscure, but there is some reason to think that they may have been credential rings, or rings given to ambassadors or messengers, as ensigns of their authority or mission.

10. A large silver gilt thumb-ring ornamented with engraving : date early XVIIth century. The body of the ring is formed by a large square box, to contain a relic, in the lid of which is set a large hemispherical common garnet, cut all over in small triangular facets.

11. A thumb-ring of metal, gilt, with false stones of the same character as many of the preceding ; date, end of XVth century. This ring is but slight, and if it were for any great person, it is curious that it should be of such a common material.

By Mr. G. H. PARKINSON.—Two single-edged daggers, found about 1847, at a depth of nearly 16 feet, on the site now occupied by the Clock-Tower of the new Houses of Parliament. One of them measures $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the other $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches, in length. The haft, in both instances, terminates in a large ring. Date, XVth century.

By Mr. HEWITT.—A triangular object of iron plate, probably for some domestic use ; it is ornamented with scroll-work of skilful workmanship, formed with a ring at the top for suspension, and a row of small holes round the margin. This curious piece of mediæval metal-work may have been

intended to serve for holding keys, a purpose for which the hooks appear to be suited.

By Mr. B. BRIGHT.—A dodecahedron of black highly polished marble, described as “touchstone;” the pentagonal faces are engraved with the letters of the alphabet, Latin, Hebrew, and Greek; and there were doubtless originally two dodecahedrons, with a moiety of the alphabet on each. The accompanying woodcut represents one face, half the size of the original, bearing the letters V., the Hebrew Vau, and the vowel points Kibbutz and Schurek, which have the power of U., and the Greek Upsilon. This example may suffice to show the arrangement of the letters of the three alphabets. On eleven of the sides of this dodecahedron are engraved the letters N to Z (omitting U. and W.), on the twelfth side are the vowels. The counterpart doubtless presented the first twelve letters, A to M, omitting J. It is supposed that these objects may have been used for some purposes of divination.



Half-size orig.

By Mr. HUNTER, V.P.S.A.—A ball of thin brass plate, perforated over the whole surface with stars, and formed of two hemispherical cups, nicely adjusted together, so as to serve as a box, or *pomellum*, in which a scented ball might be enclosed. There is a small perforation in the centre of each moiety, through which a wire or a cord might have been passed, in order to unite them together, or for convenience of suspension. Diameter, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It has been conjectured that this ball may have been of Eastern origin; objects of this description, however, were used in the Middle Ages, either to enclose a pomander ball, or some appliance, possibly a solid heated globe of metal, for warming the hands, and they were known as *pommes chaufferettes*. In an inventory of the XVth century mention occurs of a “*pomme d’argent, pour eschauffer mains, taillée à plusieurs rosettes, où il y a plusieurs pertuis;*” and in another, dated 1502,—“*pomum—foratum in plerisque locis, habens receptaculum etiam argenteum in quo poni solet ferrum candens, ad calefaciendas manus sacerdotis celebrantis tempore hyemali.*” See M. De Laborde’s valuable Glossary, appended to his Catalogue of Enamels, &c., in the Louvre.—Also, a knife with a handle of tortoise-shell, which belonged to a gentleman deceased in 1685, and serving to illustrate the description of the “Totershell knife and fork,” mentioned at the previous meeting (see p. 89, *ante*). A singular Spanish clasp-knife, inscribed—*Peleo Agosto matando Negros. Muero por mi rey.*

By Mr. DODD.—Two miniature portraits, representing Mary, Queen of England, and Queen Elizabeth.

By Mr. LE KEUX.—A series of drawings of the collegiate buildings and other architectural examples in Oxford, by Mackenzie.

MATRICES AND IMPRESSIONS OF SEALS.—By the Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER.—Impression from a small brass matrix, of circular form, lately found at York, between Walmgate Bar and the River Foss. The device is a pair of hands conjoined, and a crescent between the wrists. Legend—* PRIVE SV. Date, XIVth cent.

By Mr. FITCH.—A small brass matrix, lately found at Wotton, near Lynn, Norfolk. The impress is the initial T. of the form sometimes termed “Longobardic,” enclosing a fleur de lys. Date, about 1450.



Seal of Margaret, daughter of William the Lion, King of Scotland, and wife of Conan, Earl of Richmond. XIIth cent.



Seal of Roger Bertram, Lord of Mitford, t. Henry III.

By Mr. W. HYLTON LONGSTAFFE.—Facsimiles in gutta-percha from two valuable seals, appended to documents in the possession of Sir William Lawson, Bart., F.S.A. One of them is the seal of Margaret, daughter of William the Lion, King of Scotland, and wife of Conan, Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond, the builder of the Keep Tower at Richmond Castle, in 1171. The figure of the Duchess is of remarkably slim proportions; displaying the *manches mal taillés* in all the exaggerated fashion of the period; in her right hand she bears a cross-globe, or orb, and on the left a bird. This interesting seal is of pointed-oval form: it is appended to a grant of lands in Forset, Richmondshire,—“*Engeramo pincernæ meo.*” The other seal is that of Roger Bertram, Lord of Mitford, third of the name, towards the close of the reign of Henry III. It represents a knight on horseback, with the arms of Bertram on his shield and the caparisons of his horse. See Mr. Longstaffe’s account of these documents, *Archæologia Eliana*, N. S. vol. ii., p. 10. We are indebted to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, with the kind permission of Sir William Lawson, for the accompanying woodcuts of these interesting seals.

Annual London Meeting.

MAY 15, 1857.

OCTAVIUS MORGAN, ESQ., M.P., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Annual Meeting to receive the Report of the Auditors of the Accounts of the Institute for the previous year, was held on this day. The accompanying balance-sheet was submitted and approved.

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS

FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31st, 1856.

We, the undersigned, being the Auditors appointed to audit the accounts of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, do report that the Treasurer has exhibited to us an account of the Receipts and Expenditure of the Institute from the 1st January to the 31st December, 1856, and that we have examined the said account with the vouchers.

The accompanying abstract is a true statement of the Receipts and Expenditure of the Institute during the period aforesaid.

(Signed)

WILLIAM PARKER HAMOND, JUN.
SYDNEY G. R. STRONG,

MAY 7, 1857.

Auditors.

Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

ABSTRACT OF CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1856.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Balance at Bank, December 31, 1855	57	9	9
Annual Subscriptions, including arrears	600	19	1
Entrance Fees	25	4	0
Life Compositions	31	10	0
Receipts for Sale of Works published by the Institute	64	6	6
Donations in aid of Illustrations for Journal	11	1	0
Nett Balance, Edinburgh Meeting, including Donations for Local Expenses	376	15	11
Received for use of woodcut blocks	2	0	0
	£1169	6	3

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
House Expenses:			
House Rent	160	0	0
Secretary's Salary	187	10	0
Insurance of Premises	3	0	0
Printing Circulars	20	0	0
Purchase of Books for Library, Binding, &c.	23	4	0
Stationery	2	14	0
	396	8	0
Publication Account:			
Printing Archaeological Journal	550	0	0
Drawing and Engraving	56	2	0
Lithography	10	18	6
	617	0	6
Petty Cash Disbursements:			
Housekeeper's wages and disbursements	23	3	8
Attendant's ditto	19	10	0
Expenses of issue of Journal	32	5	8
Costs	2	4	0
Issue of Circulars to Members in Arrear	1	2	0
Miscellaneous Expenses, including carriage of parcels and objects sent for exhibition, postage, &c. &c. &c.	29	17	9
Balance of Petty Cash in hand, December 31, 1856	1	5	6
	1123	17	0
Balance at Bank, December 31, 1856	45	8	9
	1169	5	9
By short payment to Bank of <i>6d.</i> on 30th June	0	0	6
	£1169	6	3

Audited, and found correct, May 7, 1857.

(Signed) WILLIAM PARKER HAMOND, JUN. } Auditors.
 SYDNEY G. R. STRONG.

The above Abstract was submitted to the General Meeting and unanimously adopted.

(Signed) OCTAVIUS MORGAN, }
 May 15, 1857. }
 Vice-President.



Fig. 1. Crescent with double sceptre. Crichtie, pl. 10.

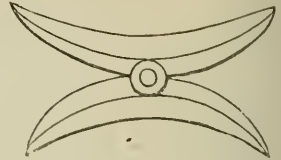


Fig. 2. Double crescent. Ulbster, pl. 40.

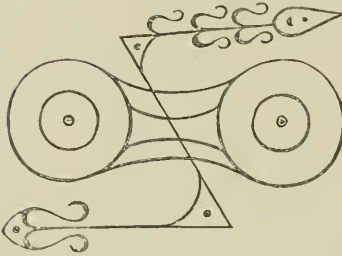


Fig. 3. Spectacle ornament with sceptres. Inch, pl. 6.

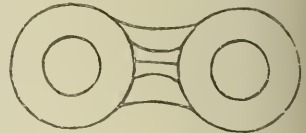


Fig. 4. Spectacle ornament. Logie, pl. 3.

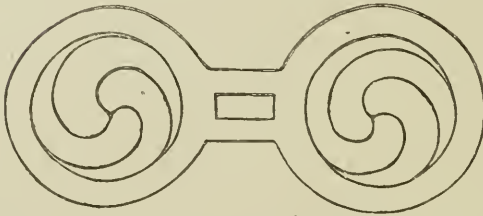


Fig. 5. Ornamented spectacle ornament, without sceptres. Ulbster, pl. 40.

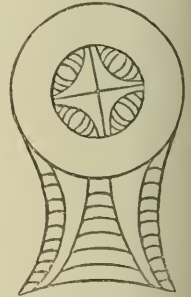


Fig. 6. Semi-spectacle ornament. Arndilly, pl. 15.

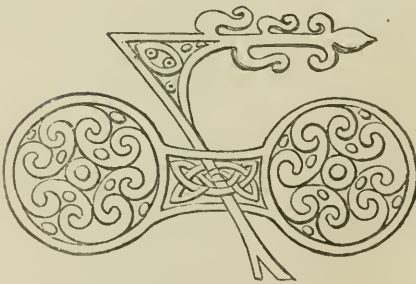


Fig. 7. Spectacle ornament with sceptres (lower part imperfect). Brodie, pl. 22.

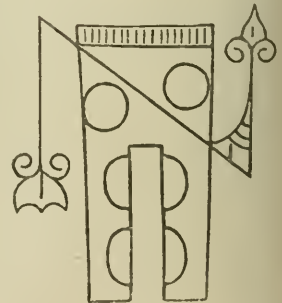


Fig. 8. Oblong ornament with sceptres. Arndilly, pl. 15.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

THE SCULPTURED STONES OF SCOTLAND. Aberdeen. Printed for the Spalding Club. 1856. Folio. 138 plates.

SUCH is the simple title of one of the most remarkable contributions to archaeology which has ever been published in this or any other country. In the year 1848, a volume of unrivalled excellence was produced by the late Patrick Chalmers, Esq., of Auldbar, and most liberally presented to the Bannatyne Club, containing figures and notices of the ancient carved stones of the county of Angus, of which an account will be found in our volume for the following year (vol. vi. p. 86). Previous to the appearance of this work, our knowledge of these singular monuments was mainly confined to the very insufficient engravings and descriptions published by Gordon, Pennant, and Cordiner. Mr. Chalmers' volume taught us not only how numerous were these stones in certain districts in Scotland, but also how beautiful were their details, how singular the symbols and ornaments represented upon them, and how interesting the many archaeological lessons which they taught. The seed sown by Mr. Chalmers' volume took deep root. The archaeologists of Scotland considered it a duty to seek out and illustrate in a fitting manner the many monuments of a similar kind scattered far and wide over their country, and the Spalding Club have been induced to undertake the publication of the present volume, which, although of a smaller size than Mr. Chalmers' plates, contains figures sufficiently large to bring before us all the minutiae and details of the most complicated ornament with which many of the stones are so unsparingly decorated. Mr. Chalmers himself (to whose loss a sincere tribute of regret is paid in the preface of the work before us) approved of the design which was entertained by the Spalding Club, to include in this work the whole class of symbol stones in Scotland, as well as all the crosses of the more ancient types; and with the view of aiding in this design, suggested that the drawings in his great work should be reduced to the same scale as those in preparation for the Spalding Club, and be included in their collection, further contributing at his own expence drawings of most of the stones in Fife and Perthshire for the work. "The design of the present volume has thus been widened, so that it may be said now to include all the known stones with symbols, and the more ancient sculptured crosses of Scotland."

If we have thus to thank the Spalding Club for a work of this character, we have more especially to acknowledge the great services rendered in the preparation of the volume, and in the excellent introductory remarks and descriptive details concerning each stone given by the secretary of the club, John Stuart, Esq., whose name appears at the end of the preface. In fact, it is to the energetic efforts of this gentleman that we are further indebted for the discovery of many of the stones here illustrated, and who, by means of circulars of inquiries sent to every clergyman in the North of Scotland, containing a printed return to be filled up by him, succeeded in obtaining much additional information. Moreover, in order to afford the

means of instituting a careful consideration of the circumstances connected with the original position of these stones, every vestige of information has been preserved with reference to the traditions of the different localities, with notices of any early remains, such as earth-works, cromlechs, or other stone erections in the immediate vicinity, which might be supposed to bear upon the subject. In this manner many curious facts have been collected; one of which appears to be that, in many instances, these stones, although evidently Christian from their details, were found in immediate connection with works or erections of a pagan character, leading to the inference that pagan monuments themselves, such as the Meini-heirion of Wales and Ireland, had been converted by the addition of sculptured details into Christian memorials. This seems in a considerable degree confirmed by the fact, that in many cases, especially between the Dee and the Spey, these Scotch stones are undressed slabs, upon the broader faces of which the symbols and ornaments have been sculptured. This is especially the case with those stones on which the class of symbols, more fully noticed in the subsequent part of this review, are represented, whilst those which contain representations of the cross with other Christian devices, and those with the more elaborate archæological details, have evidently had the edges and faces more carefully tooled; but there are not more than half-a-dozen stones throughout the whole of the work which have been worked into the shape of the cross, thus differing materially from the Irish and Welsh crosses, whilst the almost total absence of inscriptions distinguishes them from the crosses of Cornwall and Wales,—which also scarcely ever comprise illustrations of scenes of the chase and other analogous subjects, so common on the Scotch stones, as they are also on those of the Isle of Man. The latter further agree with those of Scotland in being unshaped slabs: the Manx stones, however, present certain analogies with the design of those of Scotland. Referring to our notice of Mr. Chalmers' work in our sixth volume, and also to the observations made upon these stones by Mr. Stuart himself, at the Edinburgh Meeting of the Archaeological Institute (published in our preceding volume, xiii. p. 383), we prefer on the present occasion to call more especial attention to the peculiar character of the ornaments, symbols, and sculptured figures upon these stones.

The ORNAMENTS with which a considerable number of these monuments are sculptured correspond almost entirely with those which are found in the finest Irish and earliest Anglo-Saxon MSS., and which are described in considerable detail in a paper by the writer of this notice, published in the *Journal of the Institute* (vol. x.). The interlaced ribbon pattern, the interlaced lacertine or other zoomorphic pattern, the spiral pattern, and the diagonal pattern are all found on these stones as elaborately and carefully executed as in the *Book of Kells* or the *Gospels of Lindisfarne*, occurring sometimes as surface decorations of the cross, or at others as marginal borders or frames to the design, being arranged in panels, just as in the MSS. The reverse, for instance, of the Nigg stone (pl. 29) might almost be supposed to have been designed by the artist who composed the decorations of that most beautiful frontispiece to the MS. of the *Commentaries on the Psalms*, by Cassiodorus, in the cathedral library at Durham. At a period like the present, when attention is so strongly called to the capabilities of surface decoration, the publication of such a series of plates as the present, exhibiting as they do so fully the capabilities of these old Celtic designs for panel work, is very opportune, and capable of infinite

variety in their application; the ornamentation of these stones, in fact, offers quite a mine of design to the decorative artist.

We shall here notice a few of the chief modifications in the different patterns above alluded to, exhibited by the more elaborately carved stones before us. In the Maiden stone (pl. 2), the diagonal Z-pattern is arranged into a circular wheel with remarkable elegance and simplicity, the central space being filled with the spiral or trumpet pattern with less effect. The splendid stone at Shandwick (pl. 26 and 27) exhibits in the middle of the reverse side a large square panel filled with the spiral pattern, arranged in gradually enlarged circles in a very unusual manner; the two groups of interlaced serpents at the foot of the stone are also as elegant as they are novel in their arrangement. The groups of lacertine animals on the Nigg stone are very elegant, and bear considerable resemblance to the groups on one of the tessellated pages in one of the St. Gall MSS., of which the writer of this notice has given two examples in one of the plates of Owen Jones's "Grammar of Ornament," as well as a few others (pl. 48-56).

These stones also exhibit another peculiarity of which we have only found other instances on the Irish crosses, namely, circular convex bosses, covered with interlaced or other designs. In the stones before us they are connected together by means of the long and slender bodies of serpents, but in the Irish examples, they generally form the centres of the spiral design.

In Sueno's stone (pl. 20, 21,) the edges are ornamented with a flowing arabesque design in which, although the details are rather confused, there is considerable interlacing intermixed. The same occurs also on the Hilton stone (pl. 25), in which the marginal ornament has quite a Norman seroll-like character, with small leaves and berries at the ends of the scrolls, and with birds and fantastic dragons introduced into the whorls on this stone. A very similar marginal design also occurs on the fragment at Taret. A somewhat similar design at Mugdrum (pl. 52), in which a series of circles are united by foliated branches, is very effective. The Dupplin cross (pl. 57) has the central portion ornamented with a very remarkable foliated and branching design, of which also another example occurs on the edges of the Crieff stone (pl. 65). The stone at Abercorn (pl. 128) has a very charming foliated and branching arabesque on the broad edge.

In the Golspie stone (pl. 34), as well as in the Strathmartin stone (pl. 77), and the Abereromby fragment (pl. 124), the edges are decorated with a series of S-like guilloche frets.

The Farnell stone (pl. 86), St. Orland's stone (pl. 85), and several others have the lateral borders ornamented with a long narrow decorated ribbon which forms the body of a strangely attenuated pair of animals, the heads and fore-legs of which appear at the top of the stone. In the Farnell stone the long bodies of these animals are decorated with plain circular pellets, in the latter with interlaced ribbons.

The Benvie stone (pl. 126) has one of the edges and the marginal border of a panel ornamented with a genuine classical fret, formed by opposite lines, bent at right angles.

Space will not allow us here to enter into the *national character* of the ornaments which appear in such great profusion upon these stones, or on the question of their extraneous origin. We regret this the more as the opportunity seemed a fitting one for discussing what appears to the writer of this notice to be the questionable nature of some of the remarks on this subject offered by Dr. Wilson in his "Prehistoric Antiquities of Scotland." We

believe the Norwegian, Danish, or Teutonic influences not to have had the slightest effect on either the formation or modification of the ornamental details on these stones; firstly, because they occur in our national monuments (especially Nigg) centuries before the northern nations of Europe were Christianized; and, secondly, because they do not occur at all in the earliest Norwegian or Danish Christian and Runic monuments. The writer must refer to the Chapter on Celtic ornamentation which he has contributed to Owen Jones's work, recently completed, "The Grammar of Ornament," for a partial discussion of this question.

The SYMBOLS upon the sculptured stones of Scotland constitute their most remarkable and indeed unique peculiarities.

The cross, as the chief symbol of the Christian faith appears on a great number of the Scottish stones. The work before us contains 150 stones, and of these 75 or exactly one half are without representations of the cross, which is often accompanied only by ornamental details, but oftener by the remarkable symbols noticed below, which appear not only on the reverse side of the stone, but often occupy the open spaces above and below the arms of the cross. In a few instances the cross is of the eastern form with all the four limbs of equal length, as at Papa Stronsay (pl. 42), Rosemarkie (pl. 105), and Abbotsford (pl. 99). Such also seems to have been the original idea in other cases, in which the cross design itself has the four limbs of equal size, but in order to give it more the appearance of the Latin cross, the lower limb is supported by a narrow stem or occasionally by a wider stem, as at Fowlis Wester (pl. 60).

In a few cases the cross of the Latin form is represented quite plain, as at Old Deer (pl. 11), Kirkelanch (pl. 123), and Abereromby (pl. 124); but more commonly it is richly ornamented, the stem disposed in squares, each with a different design. Occasionally the limbs of the cross are represented as united by a circular band, giving the appearance of the large Irish crosses, the spaces also between the inner edge of this band and the angles at the intersection of the limbs of the cross are deeply incised or even pierced. In the Maiden stone (pl. 11) we have the representation of such a cross surmounted by a standing figure, which is engaged in grappling with two dragons, an evidently Christian symbol. Often, also, the angles at the intersection of the limbs are rounded, so as, with the circular band, to form four nearly circular spaces or holes; and this rounding of the angles of the arms also takes place in some stones which have not the circular band.

The Elgin stone appears to have contained figures of the busts of the four Evangelists within the angles of the cross; it is however too much weathered to allow us to be certain on this point.

The stone at Nigg, which is one of the most beautiful in the volume, contains a remarkable group on the front side, on which the cross is represented. In the centre above the head of the cross is the Holy Ghost, under the form of a dove holding the consecrated wafer in its mouth, and beneath it is the patera. At each side is a bearded man holding a book, in the attitude of adoration, each attended by a crouching dog.

In some cases (but rarely) the cross is represented on both sides of the stone, as at Edderton (pl. 31).

And in a few instances angels are represented at the sides of the cross in the act of adoration, as at Aberlemno (pl. 81), and Brechin (pl. 138). The last mentioned stone is further remarkable, and indeed unique, as con-

taining a figure of the Virgin Mary with the Infant Saviour in her arms in the circle formed by the centre of the cross, inscribed *s. MARIA M̄R̄ XR̄I*, with angels at the sides and with a dove in the open space of the upper limb of the cross. The Strathmartin stone represents a human figure with a monstrous head, holding a double cross upon his shoulder.

Of the seventy-five stones here figured which are destitute of the Christian symbol of the cross, a considerable portion occur within a limited district, namely, along the banks of the river Don and its tributaries, or rather in the north-eastern extremity of central Scotland, bounded by the river Dee and the eastern stream of the river Spey; throughout this district, which comprises about forty stones, not more than five bear representations of the cross, and these are but moderately ornamented; the work, in fact, in this locality being comparatively rude. They are not, however, confined to this district, since we find a stone at Sandness (pl. 138) in Shetland (being the most northerly monument figured in the work), on which the symbols occur which have been termed the mirror, the fibula, and another not unlike a folded and sealed letter; another at South Ronaldshay, in the Orkneys (pl. 96), bearing two crescents, with the double oblique sceptres, the mirror, and an elegant and unique ornament; others also on the main land of the north of Scotland, as at Thurso (pl. 30); Ulbster (pl. 40); and Dunrobin (pl. 32, 33, and 112); others, again, in the middle of Scotland; and to the south of the Forth, a fragment recently found at Edinburgh on the east side of the castle (pl. 125), on which the crescent and double sceptre and the fibula appear; and even in the southernmost group in Galloway, near the mouths of the rivers Cree and Fleet, the spectacle symbol with a dolphin (?) is sculptured on a rock at Anwoth (pl. 97).

Thus, although the great Grampian range (better, perhaps, than the river Dee) forms a geographical division of these stones to a certain extent, we find that unquestionably the feeling which led to the adoption of these symbols was spread over the whole of Scotland, and this is exactly what we also find exhibited by the ornamental devices and sculptured figures. The Brassay stone in Shetland (pl. 95 and 96) which bears a lion, pig, dogs, monkeys, interlaced ribbons, wheel crosses, and monsters devouring a man, might have been sculptured in Angus; and the stones at Farr (pl. 35), Golspie (pl. 34), at Ililton (pl. 25), Shandwick (pl. 26, 27), Nigg (pl. 28, 29), and Rosemarkie (pl. 105, 106, 107, and 108), all north of the Moray Firth, are all as elaborately carved as any of the stones in central Scotland, with which their designs agree; in fact some of the latter equal in their enrichments the most intricate of the ornaments in the finest Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS., and could only have been executed by men perfectly familiar with such works, although we find mixed up with them some one or more of the strange symbols which never occur in the MSS. That local influences had a share in some at least of these crosses is evident, since we find the Thornhill stone (pl. 121) almost identical in its tall, upright shape, and in its peculiar heading, with the stone pillars still standing in Penrith churchyard. So again the stones at Monmblow, &c., near the mouth of the Clyde, as well as that at Ellanmore, on the western coast, are entirely destitute of the symbols above alluded to, and bear a much greater similarity to the Irish stones. With reference to the origin of these symbols, Mr. Stuart observes, that if they could have been derived from Rome, we might "naturally expect to find them in other countries open

to the same influence, whereas we have seen that the reverse of this is the case. If again the symbols had been Christian ones, then we should certainly have found them in other parts of Christendom, as well as in Scotland. The only inference which remains, seems to be that most of these symbols were peculiar to a people on the north-east coast of Scotland, and were used by them at least partly for sepulchral monuments. It seems probable that the early missionaries found them in use among the people of the district, and adopted them for a time, and in a more elaborate shape on the Christian monuments, on the principle of concession." He further adds some extracts from letters written to him in 1851, by the late Mr. Patrick Chalmers of Auldbar, suggesting a gnostic origin of these symbols. We believe, however, that we may claim the merit, whatever it may be, of such a suggestion first made in our notice of Mr. Chalmers'



Gnostic gem, from the collection of the late Viscount Strangford.

work in this Journal two years previously (in 1849); and, in addition to the illustrations referred to in our former notice, we may observe that Cliffet, Kopp, and Montfaucon (especially in plates 156, 164, and 166, of the great work of the latter author) have given other engravings of gnostic gems in which the Z, or reversed Z traversed by a cross-bar, accompanied with rings and surrounded by serpents biting their tails occur. We have also here engraved the symbols on a gnostic gem of agate, in the collection of the late Viscount Strangford (Walsh's Coins and Gems, pl. v. p. 48).

Mr. Stuart gives a summary of the number of times in which these symbols occur in the stones figured in the work :—

Crescent, with the Double Sceptre	34	
do. without ditto	9	
	<hr/>	43
Spectacle Ornament	6	
do. with Sceptre	30	
	<hr/>	36
Mirror	26	
“Elephant”	22	
Comb	17	
Arch, or horse-shoe figure	7	
Fish	13	
Serpent	9	
do. with Sceptre	8	
	<hr/>	17

“It is deserving of observation, that while the same symbols perpetually

occur on different stones, yet on no two stones is the arrangement the same, which seems to imply a meaning and intention in the arrangement of them. It must also be remarked, that, while the shape and outline of these objects are the same, the filling up and design are very different on different stones. The 'spectacle' ornament, which on most of the stones in Aberdeenshire consists merely of two circles in outline connected by transverse lines, becomes on some of those in Forfarshire and Ross-shire quite filled up with ornament, and in these last the upright bar of the 'sceptre' passes through a loop in the line which connects the circles. The 'elephant,' which formerly was merely in outline, becomes covered with interlaced ornament. The same may be said of the 'crescent' and its 'sceptre,' both of which become ornamented, and in some instances this figure occurs twice, and in one case (Rosemarkie pl. 105, 106) three times on one stone, with a difference in the ornamental design in each case. The mirror also varies. In some cases the surface of this object appears convex, whilst in others it is rather concave, like a shallow patera. Sometimes its surface becomes covered with ornament, when it resembles a circular enamelled ornament mentioned in the *Archaeological Journal* for 1846 (vol. ii, p. 162). Sometimes it has two handles, or a small circle on each side, when it resembles some ornamental lamps engraved by Montfaucon. The sceptre, instead of the dot in the angles, which appears in the Aberdeenshire stones, has an oval figure resembling an eye in each angle. The crescent also is filled with ornaments."¹

With the view of drawing more particular attention to these remarkable symbolical figures, we have had a series of those of most frequent occurrence engraved, and these appear in the accompanying illustrations. The crescent with the double ornamented sceptre and Z-like ornament with the ends of the upper and lower limbs also sceptre-like, are the most common and the most striking of these figures. The latter, either with the spectacle design or with an oblong ornament, or represented as crossing a twisted serpent, occurs on no less than forty stones; whilst the crescent with the double sceptre occurs thirty-four times; so that one half of these Scotch stones present one or other of these two designs. The crescent occasionally occurs without the sceptre, and is occasionally doubled (as in fig. 2). Figure 3 shows the ordinary form of the spectacle pattern, with its Z-like double sceptre. Fig. 4 shows us the spectacles without the sceptres, and fig. 5 the same, with the circles ornamented with spires. Fig. 6 appears to be intended for one half of the spectacle pattern, without the sceptre, and figure 7 exhibits one of the most elaborately ornamented of the spectacle pattern. Fig. 8 exhibits the oblong pattern, occasionally introduced instead of the spectacles, with the Z-like sceptres, and fig. 9 shows us a writhing serpent with the Z in lieu of the spectacles.



Fig. 9. Serpent with Sceptres.
Newton, pl. 37.

The Z never occurs more than once on a single stone, but the crescent with the double sceptre is sometimes repeated, even thrice on a stone, as in the remarkably elaborate example at Rosemarkie (pl. 105, 106).

¹ Bearing on this branch of the subject, Mr. Stuart adds, that in some instances, while all the other parts of the

sculptured stone are in relief, the symbols are incised.

The mirror and comb (fig. 10) are of common occurrence, not only on the rude stones, but also on those more elaborately ornamented, and occasionally in decided connection with females, as seen on the very beautiful stone at Hilton of Cadboll (pl. 25), where a lady is seated on horseback (sideways) accompanying a hunting party, and near her, in the upper angle

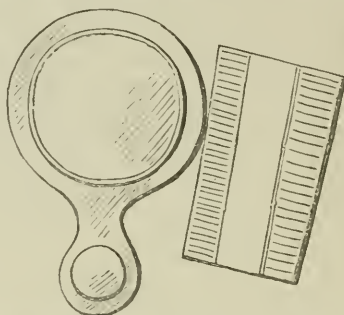


Fig. 10. Mirror and Comb. Maiden Stone. Garioch, pl. 2.

of the panel, are represented the mirror and comb. We have the authority of Montfaucon, that in Roman tombs, as exemplified by that of Hamila Alpionia, a tire-woman, the mirror was employed as the symbol of females; whilst the sepulchral stone of the last Prioress of Iona (A.D. 1543) bears the same emblems, showing that their use as indicating the female sex was still prevalent. (See Mr. Graham's work on the sculptured memorials of Iona.) There is, however, no instance of their occurrence in any of the tomb-stones figured or described by Mr. Boutell in his "Christian Monuments of England and Wales."

The symbols shown in figures 11 and 12 have sometimes been supposed to represent mirrors with two handles, the lines, however, running across the figures may possibly indicate some other object.

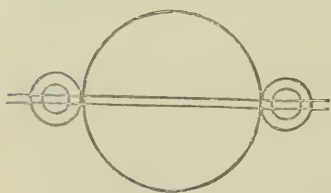


Fig. 11. Double-handled Mirror.
Kintore, pl. 109.

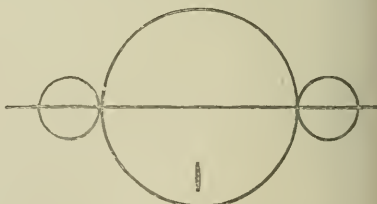


Fig. 12. Double-handled Mirror.
Lindores, pl. 102.

The strange animal, of which fig. 13 is an instance, occurs very often, and having been supposed to represent an elephant, an eastern origin has been ascribed to these devices ("Pict. Hist. of England," vol. i. p. 218, 221). As, however, there is no appearance of a tusk in any of the examples, we are inclined to object to this supposition. It, indeed, seems to us to be intended as a representation of the walrus, an animal occurring, but very rarely, on the coast of Scotland, and which, as we learn from the numerous passages on the subject collected by Sir Frederick Madden, in his paper on the Chessmen found in the Isle of Lewis ("Archæologia," vol. xxiv. p. 244), was

held in great esteem at the period when many of these stones were sculptured. The figures certainly represent an animal of an anomalous kind, although evidently treated in a conventional manner; the body is attenuated behind and sloping; the legs terminated by feet of a kind unlike those of ordinary quadrupeds; and the head is terminated in front by a long deflexed snout or jaws. Such a description accords entirely with the walrus, the jaws being intended for the long and deflexed pair of teeth of that animal. The artist has indeed added a curly tail



Fig. 13. The Walrus (?). Crichton, pl. 10.

and top knot, but they seem to be ornamental appendages introduced rather for effect than as representing real portions of the animal's fanciful body. The figure is, in fact, such an one as would be a traditional representation of a strange animal, not before the eyes of the artist, but of which the accounts had reached him from earlier observers. An elephant thus treated would be a very different figure. Why such an animal should be represented on these stones it is difficult to imagine, but the latest account we have met with of the appearance of the walrus in Scotland bears some-

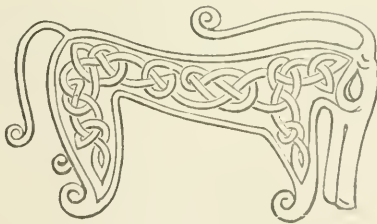


Fig. 14. Ornamented Walrus? Brodie, pl. 22.

what upon the subject. MacGillivray, in the "Naturalist's Library," mentions that a specimen was shot in 1817, as it reposed on a rock in the island of Harris, and the author adds, "The occurrence of so rare an animal caused great astonishment at the time, and the courage of the person who ventured to shoot it was highly extolled. It formed the subject of many a conversation over the whole district, and its ghost appeared to a young woman in a dream, stating that it had visited their inhospitable coast in search of a lost brother." ("Mammalia," vol. vii. p. 224.)

Our figure 14 represents this animal with the body filled up with an interlaced ribbou pattern, from the Brodie Stone (pl. 22).

Another pattern of an arch or horse-shoe form occurs rarely ; it is difficult to imagine what it may represent, but if the comb and mirror

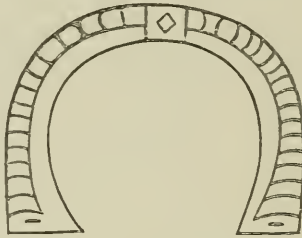


Fig. 15. Horseshoe or Fibula. Percylow, pl. 5.

symbol be rightly designated, the suggestion that this may be intended for a fibula, or a collar, is not without weight. An instance of it is given in figure 15 from the Percylow Stone (pl. 5).

Our two other figures, 16 and 17, represent two ornaments of a somewhat analogous character, the former from the Clyne Stone (pl. 131),



Fig. 16. Fibula? Clyne, pl. 131. Compare Dyce, pl. 9.

where it occurs with the crescent and sceptre ; the latter at St. Madoes (pl. 55). This is evidently, however, half of the spectacle pattern, of which the other half and the greater part of the double-sceptered Z is defaced.



Fig. 17. One end of spectacle pattern with sceptres (remainder defaced).
St. Madoes, pl. 55.

The SCULPTURED FIGURES lastly claim our attention ; and these, with the exception of the drawings in illuminated MSS. executed previous to the Norman Conquest, are almost the only illustrations of figures and scenes which we possess of so great an age ; the old stones of Cumberland,

Wales, and Cornwall being almost entirely ornamental in their details, and thus differing from those of Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man. Their value cannot, therefore, be too highly appreciated in an archaeological point of view.

These sculptured figures naturally divide themselves into religious and secular. The former are comparatively few. Of the Saviour on the Cross there is evidently a small fragment represented in pl. 93., whilst of the Temptation of Christ by two monstrous-headed figures (of not uncommon occurrence on the Irish crosses), there are one or two delineations, especially in pl. 93. Of the figure of the Virgin and Child, we have spoken above; and of the Saviour in the act of benediction with attendant angels, there is a rude figure in pl. 87. The Temptation of Adam and Eve is evidently intended in pl. 86. The curious stone at Aulddar seems to represent the conflict of David with the Lion, the rescued lamb, harp, and pastoral staff appearing in the middle of the stone. David (?) surrounded by Lions appears in pl. 84, and Sampson (?) is seen smiting a Philistine with the jawbone of the ass, in pl. 68. Angels in the act of adoration appear on a few of the stones. Several bishops with low mitres and short pastoral staves of the Cambatta form occur on both sides of the Stone at Bressay, Shetland, pl. 94, 95. A group of Ecclesiastics holding books (see Wilson's *Prehist. Ann.* p. 523), the two outer ones with a large circular fibula on each shoulder (if indeed they be not intended for angels, and these fibulae the ornamental bases of the wings), are represented in pl. 88; a group of monks on horseback with cowls and knotted bridles appears in pl. 55, and another group of tonsured monks walking with their cowls thrown back, one holding what appears to be a lighted taper in his hand, is seen in pl. 70; the form of the shoes in this group deserves notice.

Of secular subjects, scenes of the chase and of battles are by far the most numerous, single figures of men on horseback are very frequent, and in one instance, a lady on horseback, seated pillion fashion, is represented. There is in some of these figures a wonderful amount of spirit (a single horse in pl. 114 may especially be instanced), and we were assured by the late Mr. Chalmers that the originals were even superior in this respect to the engravings. Animals of strange forms constantly occur with others well-known and well-drawn; the boar and bull figured in pl. 38 are especially to be noticed. The monkey occurs occasionally, and a bear devouring a man, in pl. 76. We are inclined to refer many of these strange creatures (both quadrupeds and reptiles) to the fancy of the artist, rather than consider them as representations of Eastern animals, the knowledge of which had been gained in Oriental travel. Fish occur occasionally and singly, but whether symbolically or otherwise is matter of conjecture. The sea eagle seizing a fish is represented in pl. 69. The centaur with a branch of a tree is seen on several of the stones.

In the scenes of the chase the horsemen are generally armed with a small circular shield and a long spear, the hair of the head seems to have been allowed to grow long. The battle-axe and short sword seem also to have been favourite weapons. Duels are represented, in which the combatants use these weapons. The bow and arrow seem also to have been common. A group of warriors occurs in pl. 57, and a battle in pl. 79. We may cite also the figures upon the great stone of Sueno, near Forres, pl. 18 and 19, and others; the details on the St. Andrews' stones, pl. 61 and 63, and a stone in pl. 130, are full of interest. A group of led

captives and oxen occurs in pl. 60. A carriage or cart with two persons riding and another driving in pl. 76. Of musical instruments also there are several representations; a large harp is figured in plates 58 and 92, and long trumpets in pl. 80. In some few instances the details of the dress and armour may be well made out, as in plates 46, 55, 68, and 92. Chairs, a pair of pincers, hammer, and anvil appear in pl. 47.

A great peculiarity of these stones consists in the scarcity of inscriptions, in which respect they contrast strongly with the Welsh and Manx stones. The inscription on the Newton in the Garioch Stone has baffled the skill of inquirers. The late Dr. Mill, in a learned treatise yet unpublished, ascribed it to a Phœnician source. Dr. Wilson, the celebrated Oriental scholar, and Colonel Sykes, thought they traced Indian letters in some of the forms, but the remainder were unintelligible to them. The St. Vigean's Stone with its inscription, which has formed the subject of several communications published in this Journal, is also here carefully refigured. The Papa Stronsay Stone, pl. 42, seems also to bear an inscription, of which we should wish to see a careful cast or rubbing. The inscription also on the Brechin Stone has been alluded to above.

Four of these stones are also evidently inscribed with Oghams, the interpretation of which, thanks to the dauntless researches of Dr. Graves, is now likely to be effected. Of these characters examples occur in plates 1, 3 (the Oghams inscribed on a circle), 34, 94, and 95.

We trust that the Spalding Club will persevere in this good work. There are still many highly curious stones in Scotland remaining unpublished. Those of the West especially deserve careful investigation, from the probable influence which they would exhibit of Iona and Ireland. We may also allude to the stone supposed to cover the remains of Rob Roy, at Balquhiddy, in the south-west of Perthshire, with its remarkable carvings.

J. O. W.

ANTIQUITIES OF KERTCH. By DUNCAN M'PHERSON, M.D. Smith, Elder, & Co.

WHEN the British army first landed in the Crimea, it was felt as a natural cause of regret, that steps had not been taken by the Government at home, to attach to the force sent out some scientific men, who might have been ready to avail themselves of the many chances they would probably have of promoting researches on the spot into the numerous antiquities, Greek, Roman, and Mediæval, which it was well known were to be found in the old Tauric Peninsula. It was remembered how much had been done at different times by the savants attached, according to the usual custom of France, to the French expeditionary forces in Egypt and Algeria, and it seemed not too much to hope that our own people, wise by the experience of their neighbours, would have been willing to profit by so good an example. Nothing, however, of this kind was done; nor, perhaps, would there have been, at this time, any ancient remains in this country from this old Hellenic province, had it not been for the individual energy of some of the officers who were encamped either on the plateau before Sebastopol, or on the heights overlooking the Bay of Kertch. More than this—when it would have been quite possible for a very small guard of soldiers and marines to have preserved what the Russians had themselves collected in

their beautiful little museum at Kerteh, Sir George Brown insisted on hurrying forward with ill-judged and needless haste—and so this elegant structure with its valuable contents was left to the sack of Frenchmen and Turks, aided by the miscellaneous Tatar rabble of the town—the natural enemies of whatever tended to civilisation, no less than of their former masters, the Russians. It was not, indeed, till the close of the second year of the war, that anything was really effected towards the examination of the ancient localities among which our army had been so long stationed.

The first to commence operations was Colonel Munroe of the 39th regt., who, in the autumn of 1855, was encamped with his men a few hundred yards from the English head-quarters. On this spot, Colonel Munroe made some very curious excavations, and disinterred a circular building, about thirty feet in diameter, with traces of lateral walls, running southerly and easterly, together with some gigantic amphoræ, the use of which has not been satisfactorily determined. Whatever their use, however, it is clear that these vessels were, in ancient times, of some value, more than one of them exhibiting triangular rivets of lead, whereby they had been formerly mended.

It is, however, to the writer of the present volume, Dr. Duncan M'Pherson, of the Madras army, at that time holding the rank of Inspector-general of Hospitals to the Turkish contingent, that the public are indebted for the most complete and the most useful excavations made in the Crimea.

Besides a general knowledge that the Crimea had long been occupied by Greek colonies, many works had been published, calling particular attention to the remains of Greek occupation, at its eastern end, on the shores of the Sea of Azof. It was natural, therefore, that the late Sir Richard Westmacott, who had always taken a great interest in Greek art, should have early desired his son, then commanding one of the Infantry regiments of the Turkish contingent, to procure such fragments as might have escaped in the general destruction of the Museum at Kerteh. When, too, at a somewhat later period, Colonel Collingwood Dickson, C.B. accepted the command of the Turkish Artillery at that place, the advisability of making further excavations there was suggested to him, and careful tracings from Russian engravings of the tombs they had opened, and of the relics they had discovered, were sent out to him, in order that he or those whom he might employ might have an accurate knowledge of the localities previously examined, and of those places, therefore, which were likely to prove the fittest fields for future excavation.

The general result of these exertions at home was an application, first to General Vivian at Kerteh, and then to Lord Panmure, as Secretary-at-War, for permission to employ soldiers and others, when off military duty, in collecting what remained above ground, or in prosecuting future excavations under it. On the War Department assenting to these representations, Dr. M'Pherson, Major Crease, and Major Westmacott were appointed a committee to decide on such relics as were worthy of removal to the British Museum; and Dr. M'Pherson was induced to set on foot those further researches, which are recorded with much clearness and good sense in the volume before us. It ought not, therefore, to be forgotten that the labours of Dr. M'Pherson were, strictly speaking, twofold, and that the country is indebted to him, on two distinct occasions, for the zeal with which he has exerted himself in procuring and conveying to England some of the treasures of antiquity which once abounded in the neighbourhood of Kerteh.

On the first occasion he was engaged with the other officers, to whom we have alluded, in the removal of such objects as had been found in the town or among the débris of the Museum; a collection comprehending a large number of sepulchral monuments and fragments of Sarcophagi: on the second, he excavated, with some scanty aid from Government, in sites which, as far as he knew, had not been previously examined. It is to the narrative of this second work that the present volume is devoted.

Dr. M'Pherson commences his narrative with a concise historical account of the Crimea, and of the successive settlements or colonies in that land from their commencement under the Greeks to the present Russian occupation. Of the period preceding the arrival of the first colonists from Miletus, he is wisely silent, little being known of those times which can be deemed of any historical importance. We observe, however, that he favours the theory stated first many years ago, and since revived in more than one popular narrative, that Balaclava is the harbour of the Cyclops which Ulysses is said, in the tenth Book of the Odyssey, to have visited—a theory of which it is enough to remark that it has no satisfactory foundation, though Homer's description of the unnamed port suits well enough with the natural features of that inlet. It does not detract from the merit of Dr. M'Pherson's work that in this abstract he is wholly indebted to those who have gone before him—for the able and comprehensive accounts of M. Du Bois de Montpereux, and the detailed narratives of MM. Ashik and Sabatier, with more especial reference to Kerteh, have left little that can be added by any subsequent visitor to the scenes they have so fully described.

He then proceeds to give some account of the researches made by the Russian government into the monuments which still attest the ancient potency of the Greek and Roman colonies in the Crimea, with a sketch of the excavations made by Colonel Munroe, within the camp of Sebastopol, which, as we have stated, preceded his own at Kerteh by a few months. It is not necessary for us to follow him over this ground, the more so, as these important Russian discoveries have been completely described in two magnificent volumes published during the last year at St. Petersburg.

We proceed now to notice the principal works on which Dr. M'Pherson was himself engaged, and the results of these labours.

Dr. M'Pherson having carefully ascertained what tumuli had been previously examined, and having found out that there was little chance of his meeting with any novelties in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, determined to commence operations on one six miles distant from Kerteh, in the direction of Yenikale. "Its circumference was 346 feet, and its height about eighty, and it presented no appearance of its having ever been disturbed. Two parties of six men each were set to work with directions to tunnel their way in, at right angles with the other party; the one proceeding to the left, the other to the right." The results, however, of his first diggings were not so great as the virgin appearance of the mound had led him to anticipate. The labour was found to be very severe; the cold (early in March) was still intense, and the distance his labourers had to go to and from the town greatly retarded his operations. Ultimately, however, he was able to penetrate into the interior of the mound; but he discovered nothing there but a few amphoræ standing upright.

On continuing his excavations a little to the left, he came on the remains of several large upright beams occupying an oblong space; within this

space were human and animal bones which had, as it would seem, fallen in from above. There was much wooden fibre lying about the remains, probably portions of a roof, with the fragments of an antique urn, having dark figures on a cream-coloured ground. Among the ashes which had once been in the urn was a female bust of pure gold, an inch in length, a twisted gold ear-ring, and part of a pair of gold bracelets. These various objects are excellently engraved in a plate which illustrates this portion of Dr. M'Pherson's work. Unluckily, at the moment when this discovery was made, our author was absent on an official inspection of the hospitals along the Bosphorus and Sea of Marmora. Hence it was, that the most valuable object was secured and subsequently retained (it seems to us most unfairly) by some one else. The bracelets only were left for Dr. M'Pherson, and are now with the rest of his antiquities in the British Museum. Of the golden bust he adds:—"The face is purely Grecian, and the bust presents that of a beautiful woman with her hair thrown off her forehead, and encircled on the back of the head with a veil of light exquisite workmanship, so perfect, that the butterfly or insect pattern is distinctly visible. A beautifully worked tiara in form of a crescent, with the Greek honeysuckle ornament embossed thereon, encircles the forehead, and a gem adorns each ear. A small ring at the crown of the head evidently points out that this very beautiful and chaste figure was worn as a pendant to a necklace or chain. The figure is probably that of the Tauric Diana, who had her temple in the Taurida, and who was worshipped in the colonies around; the peculiarly formed tiara being the distinguishing mark of the Goddess."

Subsequently, Dr. M'Pherson made some examination of the northern side of this tumulus, and discovered a curious wall of great strength and solidity (the stones being four feet long, two broad, and two deep,) which extended about half way round it. What was the purpose of this wall, or when it was built, was not ascertained, though a Greek coin of Panticapæum, large quantities of bones, crushed urns, beads, and small fragments of fictile vessels were discovered lying parallel with it, together with several of the so-called red *lachrymatories*, in its recesses. The labour of further excavation was too great for his small party, and we may, perhaps, lament that, owing to this weakness, he has only pointed out the way for great and future discoveries, for those who, living on the spot, can afford to work more easily and more cheaply.

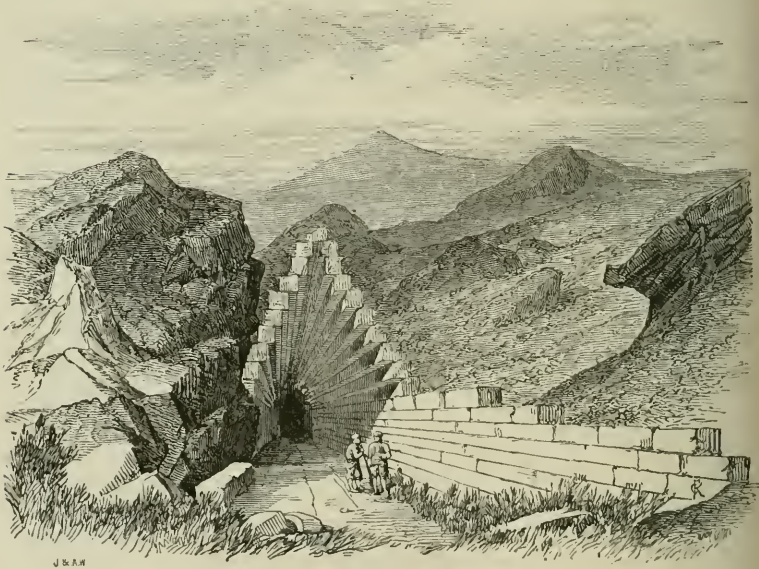
The next place Dr. M'Pherson determined to examine was in a cluster of tumuli, called the "Five Brothers," which stood to the south-west between the town of Kertch and Cape St. Paul. All of them were considerably larger than the first he had opened, and three were so uniform in shape that they looked as if they had been cast in a mould.

Into each, shafts were sunk, and tunnels run; but the labour was not for some time compensated by the results; although in one of the tumuli a stone sarcophagus was found considerably below the natural surface of the plain without. It was clear that this tumulus must have been opened, though there was no external appearance of that fact. In a second tumulus a similar sarcophagus was met with; "the roof was formed of slabs resting on and projecting beyond each other, supported on a niche cut out of the side wall; a most simple, efficient, and durable construction." The third tumulus opened appeared intact, till at length an aperture was detected in the roof big enough to admit a man's body. The mound itself was composed

of large masses of stone heaped one on the other, sloping downwards as we proceeded with our shaft"—the roof was in fact an arched vault. All the contents had at some remote period been removed from the tomb, and a rude cross had been traced on the wall, apparently with the smoke of a candle or torch.

In the exploration of the fourth tumulus Dr. M'Pherson was more fortunate in his researches. It was a mound of remarkable construction, consisting, as it did chiefly, of huge boulders heaped upon the top of a natural peak of coral rag. There was a natural separation in the hill. "This was cased round with masonry; but the roof, which was formed of wood, had fallen in. Portions of carved ivory which appeared to have been inlaid in wood, great numbers of coarse unglazed *terra cotta* vases of rude workmanship crushed by the superincumbent earth, and a fine Greek Hydria of bronze were found here; also the distorted bones of a deformed adult, whose curved and united vertebral column marked him as a hunchback.

"This bronze Hydria, when discovered, stood as entire as is represented in the plate (plate 3). The superincumbent earth, as I have said, had fallen in, and on this being removed, the Hydria broke down. Two of the



handles only have reached me. They are both alike, as shown in the accompanying woodcut. A third, having, I am informed, a figure of Victory on one end, and that of a Medusa on the other, has been retained by the gentleman then in charge of the work."

We don't understand upon what principle either the golden head or this bronze handle were kept by the persons who happened, during Dr. M'Pherson's accidental absence, to be superintending the excavations. Unless we are much misinformed, the cost of these works were defrayed by public money; it seems, therefore, that, as all Dr. M'Pherson obtained

has been placed by him in the National Collection, those who were no more than his agents were bound, in honour and in justice, to surrender their curiosities to him for a similar purpose. Had each man been digging at his own charge, the case would have been different. It is probable that, in this case, the individual excavators would soon have tired of their profitless exertions, and, although the nation would not have obtained many interesting remains, which are mainly due to the zeal with which Dr. M'Pherson prosecuted his researches, we should have been spared the effusions of a certain disappointed digger, Mr. Olguin, who was ready to bring, we know not what, charges against our author, but who has wholly failed in substantiating the assertions which he so hastily put forth. Dr. M'Pherson adds, in concluding this portion of his labours: "Although no large amount of success attended my researches among the tumuli, still my labours proved deeply interesting. The successive layers of earth by which these huge mounds have been formed establish, beyond a doubt, the fact that the heap was raised, as tradition assigns, at successive dates. We were fortunate, moreover, in our selections, inasmuch as each of those opened have presented to us distinct varieties, either in the construction of the tomb, or the mode of sepulture."

Having spent about two months in exploring these tumuli, Dr M'Pherson resolved to see what could be done towards the excavation of some parts of the ancient city of Panticapæum, which, curiously enough, appears now to be almost entirely buried under the heaps of débris which support the present town of Kerteh. "There is little or no appearance," says he, "of the ancient city on the surface of the soil, which, to the depth of from five to thirty feet in a circumference of about four miles, is composed of a mass of broken pottery and débris of every description,—an accumulation of successive ages, without any convulsion of nature."

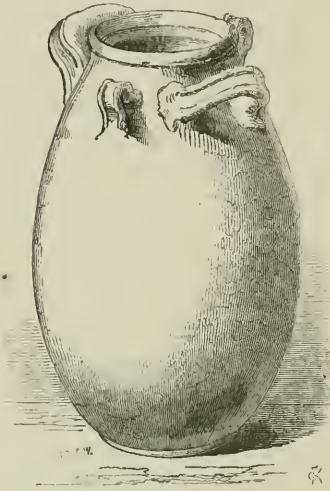
It would have required Herculean labour to have made any extensive examination of a city so buried. Something, however, was done. Shafts were sunk to the ruins of the ancient houses, and tunnels were carried, here and there, along their walls. In this way many interesting remains were met with; such as handles of amphoræ, with inscriptions and designs on them, fragments of beautiful patterns of *terra-cotta* and bright polished plaster, and bronze coins. To aid the diggings, the workmen were occasionally ordered to dig alongside huge masses of coral rock, which in different places cropped up out of the soil, and to excavate along their sides: in this way, some curious discoveries as to the mode of life of the ancient inhabitants were brought to light.

"On one occasion an extensive rock chamber was exposed, the abode, probably, of the Tauric aborigines of the country. It was warm and dry. A rude seat or couch was hewn out of the side, and there were small recesses in the rock. The entrance was partly artificial, partly natural; small, and capable of being closed by matting or otherwise. There was a quantity of earth and rubbish within, which was not removed, as there appeared no object to be gained in doing so. The rubbish gave cover to human remains, but no relic was discovered along with these." In another similar chamber the excavators were employed for five days in removing human bones: as many of these exhibited fractures and other injuries, it was natural to suppose that these remains were the memorial of some great battle.

A little later a series of twelve tombs was discovered at a depth of from

eight to twelve feet below the surface. The roof and sides were composed of two or three slabs of sandstone about four inches thick ; and, adjoining them, amphoræ of baked clay were usually found much crushed by the superincumbent earth. Each of the stone tombs contained the bones of one person only, and there was seldom any ornament within. Moreover, it was not unusual to find the remains in one spot, and the relic in another.

In one instance, they came upon a large ornamented unglazed vase of baked clay with some small vessels of glass. Dr. M'Pherson adds :



“Doubtless these amphoræ contained wine when originally placed there ; for the lees or scorix of the wine encrusted the inside, and had accumulated in considerable quantities at the bottom, as the fluid portion dried up. The fixed acid in the deposit was proved to be still present, on the application of litmus paper, by a gentleman at the late meeting of the British Association held at Cheltenham, an extraordinary fact, after so great a lapse of time.”

It seems, however, difficult to determine the limit of time for the endurance of vegetable acids ; and it is well known that Sir Henry Rawlinson discovered similar remains in an alabaster vessel procured by

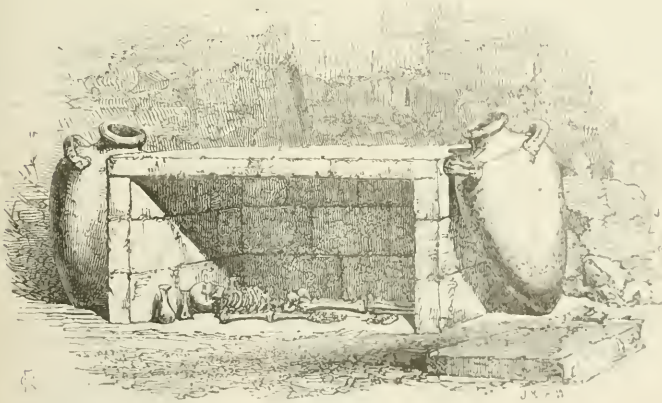
one of his agents at Nineveh.

One of the most remarkable excavations Dr. M'Pherson made was into a subterraneous vault or chamber, on the walls of which were still to be traced the outlines of birds, grotesque figures, and flowers. Opposite the entrance were representations of two figures on horseback, sketched in black on the wall. One seemed to be a person in authority, the other his attendant. “Hung on the shoulders of the latter could be traced a bow and a quiver of arrows, (the Scytho-Grecian bow and arrows are a common emblem on the coins of Phanagoria), and he held in his hand a long javelin, also a formidable weapon in those days.” In a recess was found the skeleton of a man, and a portion, too, of that of a horse. The discovery of the bones of the horse so frequently among these researches proves the fact, that the most ancient inhabitants of the Crimea (doubtless of a Scythian or Tátar race) were in the habit of burying their horses, just as Herodotus relates of the Scythians, and Tacitus of the Germans. We have abundant evidence that the same custom prevailed in different ages among the Celts in Gaul, the Franks, the Saxons, and the Northmen. As the late Mr. Kemble has justly remarked, “The horse is a sacrificial animal, and, as such, slaughtered and eaten at the tomb—the head in this case being deposited with the dead.”

It would not be possible within the limits assigned to us to enter into more detail of the many interesting researches which Dr. M'Pherson was enabled to make. For such fuller accounts, the reader must go to the work itself. Before, however, we conclude this notice, we must briefly allude to two

more discoveries which were made, and of which Dr. M'Pherson has given a full and interesting narrative. One of these was that of a grave cut out of the rock : in front of this was a large flagstone, and near it the bones of a horse : Dr. M'Pherson adds—

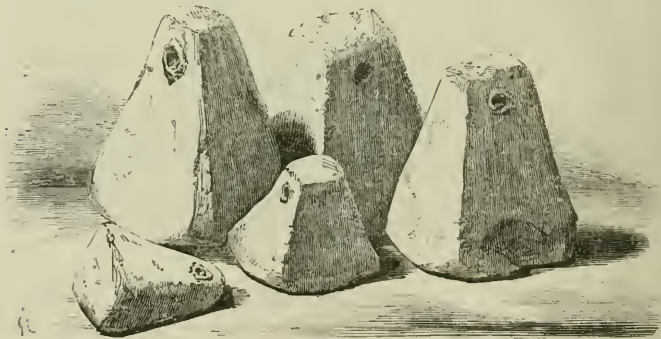
“The cut represents the position of the various objects in the Tomb. There was no confusion here ; the floor was covered with the same beautiful pebbles. On the niches around, all the objects remained as they had been placed twenty centuries ago There, in the stillness of this chamber, lay the unruffled dust of the human frame possessing still the form of man. The bones had all disappeared, or their outer surface alone remained. The place occupied by the head did not exceed the size of the palm of the hand ; yet the position of the features could still be traced on the undisturbed dust. There was the depression for the eyes, the slight prominence of the nose, and the mark of the mouth ; the teeth being the only portion of the entire frame which remained unchanged. The folds in which the garments enveloped the body, nay, even the knots which bound them, could be traced in the dust. A few enamelled beads were found in the right hand of the dead, and some walnuts in the left, and the green mark of a copper ring, into which a stone had been fixed, was on one finger. On each niche one body had been placed. The coffins, crumbled into powder, had fallen in. At the head was a glass bottle ; one of these still held a table-spoonful of wine : the nuts and the wine being doubtless placed there to cheer and support the soul in its passage to paradise. There was a cup and a lachrymatory of glass, and an unglazed earthenware lamp stood in a small niche above the head. This tomb was sufficiently spacious to permit ten of us to stand upright. . .”



On a subsequent day, an almost similar discovery was made, the remains of the skeleton being that of a man of great size and more than seven feet in height. On his heart was a brooch studded with garnets, and near him a glass decanter, holding still a portion of red wine ; walnuts, and other glass vessels, and a carnelian, representing the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, were found with this skeleton. There could be little doubt that this tomb was the resting-place of some distinguished chieftain.

The second principal excavation and discovery arose from the removal of the earth above one of the great shafts which he had found it necessary to sink. "On the second day," says he, "of the work, at a depth of twelve feet from the surface, we struck upon two stone tombs, containing adult remains. Reclining, and, at the same time, resting upon them, were fragments of large amphoræ, each of which contained the remains of a child. Beneath, at a distance of some three feet, was a skeleton of a horse." Adjoining the tomb, Dr. M'Pherson found many of the same indications he had noticed elsewhere; and immense heaps of broken amphoræ, fragments of wine-jars, the insides of which were still encrusted with the lees of wine, ox and sheep bones, portions of earthenware black with smoke, and great quantities of charcoal, clearly showed that a great festival had been once held here. On further digging, many more remarkable facts were brought to light; and with the aid of some sailors of H. M. S. Snake an ancient shaft no less than forty-two feet deep was cleared out. In the centre of the shaft was found the skeleton of a horse, and "a few feet beyond the bones of the horse, the skeleton of an adult female, partly enveloped in sea-weed, was found. . . . Three feet lower down, we reached a layer of human male skeletons laid head to feet, the bones in excellent preservation; as indeed we always found them to be, wherever the calcareous clay came into immediate contact with them. There were ten skeletons on this spot; and separated by a foot of sand we came upon four similar layers, being exactly fifty in all. There was no ornament or relic discovered in this space."

Dr. M'Pherson has discussed at some length the various reasons which have been assigned for this remarkable system of entombment, and has alluded to the discovery in other places of analogous shafts or pits. We cannot, however, think that any satisfactory reason has yet been given for the adoption of this custom, or that the instances quoted of similar pits in which Roman remains have been met with, are really much to the purpose. The shafts discovered by Dr. M'Pherson are on a scale much more extensive than those elsewhere reported, and require a much more complete examination than the brief time and slender means he had at hand enabled him to make. All that we can say on the subject is, that our author seems



to have worked with great assiduity, and that we much regret he was compelled to stay his hand, just as he had acquired a practical knowledge of the utmost value for future researches.

In the course of the excavations Dr. M'Pherson met with several of the

curious pyramidal objects of terra-cotta which have not unfrequently occurred with *amphoræ* and the like, a circumstance that has induced some Archaeologists to suppose that they were employed for some purpose in the wine-cellars. A group of them is represented in the accompanying woodcut. They vary in size, the largest being about four inches in height. A few of them are stamped with impressions of gems or seals. It is very uncertain to what purpose they were applied. Mr. Kemble supposed them to be weights for fishing-nets (see p. 69, *ante*). The locality in which they were found does not seem to support this view.



Among the other miscellaneous objects brought to light "was a calthrop formed from the head of the human *radius*. The representation here given will explain itself. There are four points so joined at the base that, being thrown on the ground, one stands upright; one point



is formed from the human bone, the other three are ivory spikes (one being broken) introduced into the articulating end of the bone. The specimen is probably unique."

Again, Dr. M'Pherson notices that "in the great shaft were discovered two female busts in baked clay, and one of a youth in the same material. The modelling of the former is good, though apparently moulded by the fingers from wet clay and afterwards baked, as the impression of the fingers can be traced on it." (See woodcuts.)

"I likewise found in the same place," he adds, a figure about six inches in height, representing a senator in robes: it formed one of a cluster, which stood out in relief on a large earthenware jar which held the remains of an infant."

With regard to the fibulæ, which were found in great abundance when excavating the tombs adjoining the present town, there has been much interesting discussion as to who the wearers of them were, and to what age their style of art would naturally assign them. There seems to be now no doubt that they must have belonged to a race directly connected with the Anglo-Saxons, as metallic work of a character precisely similar has been met with in almost all the countries in which that race settled. The Greek emperors were in the habit of keeping in their pay a Teutonic body-guard called Varangians, who are noticed repeatedly for their bravery and other excellent qualities in the histories of the Byzantine empire, especially in Villé-Hardouin's account of the taking of Constantinople by the Franks and Venetians. Whether or no they deserve to be termed, as Dr. M'Pherson has called them, "Englishmen," may perhaps be questioned, but that they were of the same race as some of our ancestors would appear to be certain. According to Gibbon, who has traced their history with much care, they were first induced to travel southwards by Vladimir I., and the name of Vladimir I. directly connects them with the Crimea.

We here take leave of Dr. M'Pherson, and of his interesting and important volume; not without the hope that the spirit he has shown in procuring for the English nation many excellent relics of the ancient inhabitants of the Crimea, a service of much labour and little personal profit, may be acknowledged more adequately than it has been by those who are best fitted to appreciate what he has done. When we reflect on the difficulties he had to encounter, the little real assistance he obtained, and the great zeal with which he continued working where many would have been but too ready to abandon the enterprise altogether, we cannot but think that he is personally deserving of the highest praise that can be bestowed by the antiquary or the student of ancient history. That he has not more completely worked out the problem he undertook to solve cannot in justice be adduced as any charge against him. We only hope that the extensive sale of the interesting volume he has produced, while it will satisfy the public generally as to the nature of his labours, will, at the same time, in some degree recompense him for the large outlay with which it has been brought out.

The first portion of the Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy has recently been produced by Mr. Wilde, Secretary of Foreign Correspondence to the Academy. It comprises the antiquities of stone; the urns and objects of the earthen materials, and those of vegetable materials. The volume is copiously illustrated with woodcuts, and exemplifies in an instructive manner a large class of the earlier remains found in Ireland. It may be obtained from Messrs. Hodges and Smith, Dublin.





The Madonna di Rocca-Melone.

Central portion of the engraved Brass Triptych originally placed in the votive chapel built on the Rocca-Melone, near Susa, by Bonifazio Rotario of Asti, A.D. 1368.



Engraved Brass Triptych originally placed in the votive chapel of Our Lady of the Snow on the Rocca-Melone, near Susa, A.D. 1368.

On one of the wings appears St. George; on the other, Bonifazio Rotario, of Asti, the Donor, accompanied by his Patron Saint.

The Archaeological Journal.

SEPTEMBER, 1857.

NOTICE OF AN ENGRAVED BRASS TRIPTYCH, OF FLEMISH WORKMANSHIP, ORIGINALLY PLACED IN THE CHAPEL OF THE MADONNA DI ROCCA-MELONE, ON THE ALPS.

BY ALEXANDER NESBITT, ESQ.

THE traveller when crossing the Mont Cenis, if so favoured by the weather as to see the Rocca-Melone (the mountain which rises on the north-west of Susa) free from cloud, may have discovered with surprise a small building upon its summit, at an elevation of upwards of 11,000 feet above the level of the sea. From Murray's Handbook he will learn that this is the Chapel of our Lady of the Snow, and that it owes its existence to the vow of Bonifaccio Rotario of Asti, who, when on a crusade, was taken prisoner, and while in captivity vowed if he recovered his liberty to build a chapel in honour of the Virgin Mary on the highest mountain in the states of the House of Savoy. A pilgrimage is made to it annually on the 5th of August.

The history of Bonifaccio Rotario seems to be very obscure. From a little memoir written, I believe, by one of the canons of the Cathedral of Susa, and published under the title, "Sunto della Festa della Madonna di Rocca-melone," it would appear that what is known of him is chiefly traditional. When he took the cross seems to be unknown, but the author of the work above-mentioned surmises that he may have joined the crusade promoted by Pope Clement VI., which set out for the Holy Land in 1343, and terminated disastrously at Smyrna; or that he may have accompanied the reinforcements which, in 1345, were led by Humbert II., Dauphin of Vienne. All that appears to be certain is that by the 1st of September, 1368, he had fulfilled his vow, and placed in the chapel the remarkable

object which is the subject of this notice. This information is derived, as will be seen, from the inscription.

The "sacra effigie" of Our Lady of the Snow, or the Madonna di Rocca-Melone, is, as shown in Mr. Utting's accurate engravings which accompany this notice, in the form of a triptych, consisting of a central piece joined by hinges to two wings which fold over and cover the former, and these folding leaves when closed are fastened by three hooks. It is of brass, and measures when open, $20\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth, and $22\frac{1}{2}$ in height. The gable of the central piece had no doubt originally a finial and six crockets; only two of the last remain. The outside is perfectly plain, but the inside is engraved in a manner precisely similar, both as regards drawing and execution, to that of the monumental brasses made in Flanders in the fourteenth century.

The engravings which accompany this notice, make any lengthened description unnecessary. The central piece, it will be seen, is occupied by a figure of the Virgin crowned and seated upon a throne, holding in her arms the Infant Christ, who caresses her chin with his right hand, while his left holds an orb. On the wing to the right of the Virgin, is St. George on horseback, treading under his horse's feet the Dragon, whose jaws he pierces with his lance. The saint is seated on a saddle with a high back; and the *arçon* appears prolonged so as to overlap the thigh, as in the tilting saddle of a later date. In the armour we may notice the riveted plates protecting the shoulder, the short jupon, the upper part of the thighs being protected with mail, and the lower bezanty. The spurs are a late instance of the pryck spur, formed of a point issuing from a ball. The form of the shield is peculiar for so early a date. On the spear may be seen a remarkable variety of the vamplate, which is in the contrary direction to that of a later period. The defences, apparently of plate, protecting the head and breast of the horse, are of unusual character.

On the other wing is a standing figure of a saint, probably St. John the Baptist,¹ presenting to the Virgin the donor, kneeling, who is in similar armour to St. George, but bare-headed, and raises his joined hands. The shield which stands by his side, as also his surcoat, may have had each an inser-

¹ The author of the "Sunto," &c., considers this figure St. Joseph, but the bare head, breast, and feet, and single

garment, loosely wrapped around him, would seem to point to St. John the Baptist.

tion, which has disappeared : these spaces were possibly filled by separate pieces of copper, enamelled with the arms of Rotario, in the same manner as the arms of D'Abernon are inserted on the shield of Sir John D'Abernon, on the sepulchral brass at Stoke Dabernon, in Surrey. ²

Above the head of Rotario is his large helm, surmounted by a coronet and a crest ; the latter, it would seem, representing the trunk of a tree with lopped branches. The inscription which runs across the triptych, when written at full length, is as follows :—“ Ille me apertavit Bonifacius Rotarius Civis Astensis in honorem Domini nostri Jesu Christi et beate Marie Virginis, Anno Domini MCCCXLVIII. die primo September.”

From this inscription, it would appear that the triptych was originally placed in the chapel of the Rocca-Melone—no doubt, over the altar—by Rotario himself ; and it may possibly, have remained for a considerable period in this position. All that is known respecting it with any certainty is derived from a judicial act extant in the archives of the municipality of Rivoli, from which it appears that, on the 3rd of August, 1673, this curious relique was brought to the castle of Rivoli, where Carlo Emmanuele II., and Giovanni Baptista of Savoy-Nemours, were then resident, and was afterwards exposed to public veneration in the church of the Capuchins in Rivoli, when a *novena* was celebrated and attended by an immense concourse of people of all ranks, as well from Turin as from the various parts of Piedmont. In this act, Agostino Pedavino of Ivrea, Master of the Ceremonies, and several other officials, depose that the effigy then exposed was the same which had been venerated in the Chapel of the Rocca-Melone, and which they had several times visited there.

Since that time, the effigy of Our Lady of the Snow has probably remained where it is still kept—in a receptacle over the altar of the Virgin, in the Cathedral of St. Just, at Susa. It is annually carried on the occasion of the pilgrimage to the Rocca-Melone, and placed on the altar while mass is celebrated in the Chapel, assuredly the most elevated place of worship on the European Continent.

As has been said above, both the drawing and the mode of execution are precisely those of the Flemish sepulchral brasses of the fourteenth century ; the architectural details

² See Mr. Waller's ‘Sepulchral Brasses.’

are also identical with such as may be found on those memorials. Nothing of Italian character is to be seen either in the drawing of the figures, or in the architecture. It cannot, I think, be doubted by any one familiar with the works of the Flemish brass-engravers, that this triptych was executed by one of those artists. Why an Italian nobleman, in an age when art was already so flourishing in his own country, should have had recourse to Bruges or Ghent, seems difficult of explanation. The Flemish artists of the fourteenth century had undoubtedly gained a considerable reputation for works of the same kind, as is shown by the fine specimens of sepulchral brasses of that school which still exist in England, and in Lubeck,³ Schwerin, and other towns of the north-east of Germany; but hitherto no example of their skill has been noticed in Italy. In the manufacture of ecclesiastical decorations, the art of the craftsmen of Asti, Alessandria, Milan, or Genoa rivalled, if not excelled, that of their brethren in Flanders.

Two explanations may, however, be suggested; either, that a Fleming may have established himself in some neighbouring city, and there executed this work; or, that Rotario did not join a crusade directed against the Infidels in the East, but the enterprise which was then vigorously prosecuted by the Teutonic Knights against the pagan Prussians, and that he may have returned from his captivity through Flanders, and there caused this *ex voto* offering to be made. There is nothing unreasonable in this supposition, as it is well known, that many knights of all countries fought in the ranks of the Teutonic brethren,⁴ and the statements made as to the history of Rotario seem to rest on little more than legendary foundation.

If our gallant knight was a captive, not of the Saracens, but of the Prussians, he had abundant reason to be thankful for his escape or release, as the custom of the Prussians was to burn alive their prisoners of war, with their chargers, as an offering to their Gods.

ALEXANDER NESBITT.

³ Hermann Gallin, senator of Lubeck, who died in 1365, ordered by his will that his executors should place over his sepulchre, "unum Flamingicum auricalcium figurationibus bene factum lapidem funeralem." It does not now exist, but there are still in that city several examples of Flemish brasses.

⁴ Every reader of Chaucer will recol-

lect the knight who had shown his prowess—

"Aboven alle nations in Pruce
In Lettowe hadde he reysed and in Ruce."

In the church of Felbrigge, in Norfolk, on the brass commemorative of two of the Felbrigges and their wives, the epitaph tells us that Roger "moruet en Pruse ou est son corps en terre."

ON THE GLAZING OF THE NORTH ROSE WINDOW OF LINCOLN
CATHEDRAL.

THERE is no task more agreeable to the archaeologist than that of recording the preservation of an interesting relic of ancient art. The painted glass in the North Rose of Lincoln Cathedral, which was observed to be in an insecure state during the Institute's visit to Lincoln in 1848, was, in the course of the year before last, releaded, and the stonework in which it is placed reset, at the expense of the dean and chapter. It is impossible to speak too highly of the substantial character of the repair; and as no "restoration" of the glass was attempted, what remains of the original glazing is likely to continue for many generations a trustworthy witness to the state of the arts at the time of its execution.

Having had an opportunity during the repairs of more closely examining the glass than I had before been able to do, and finding that my description of it in the Lincoln volume of the Institute's proceedings was in some respects inaccurate, I am induced to subjoin the following amended description, in which I have again availed myself of the diagram that illustrated my former statement.

No. 1. This picture is in a very mutilated state. It represents Christ. The head is youthful, but of inferior execution to the head of the figure in No. 16. It is adorned with a yellow nimbus, bearing a white cross. What remains of the figure is clothed in a red robe, and a white undergarment having yellow cuffs. The right hand is raised in Benediction; it exhibits no stigma. The left hand is destroyed. It once held a book, which still remains. One foot is perfect, it exhibits no stigma. The body of the figure, with the exception of a small fragment of the white dress, is destroyed. The flesh colour of the figure is very deep, almost purple, as is the flesh colour of several of the other figures.

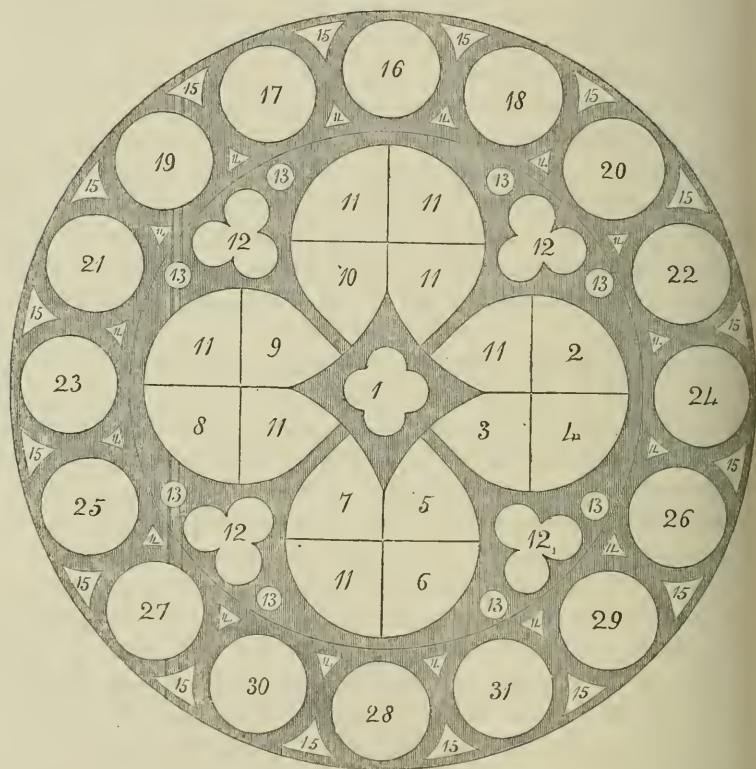
No. 2. Represents three figures seated in attitudes of

adoration, and looking towards No. 1. The first figure of the group from the centre of the window, wears a mitre.

No. 3. A similar subject. The group consists of a female and two male figures.

No. 4. A similar subject. The group consists of three male figures, the first of which is mitred.

No 5. This picture is much mutilated. The group consists of three figures seated like the others. The heads are smaller than those of the rest of the figures, and are apparently insertions.



No. 6. Represents a similar subject, consisting of two male figures and one female.

No. 7. A similar subject, consisting of three figures. The last of the group has the head of a monk, but this is an insertion.

No. 8. This picture is much mutilated. One figure only of the group remains. Part of a "Jesse" is inserted.

No. 9. A similar subject. The group consists of three male figures.

No. 10. A similar subject.

Nos. 11, &c. Each of these seven compartments is filled with painted glass collected from other windows, and mostly of a date somewhat earlier than that of the original glazing of the Rose. The subject of one of the paintings is the legend of St. Gregory.

Nos. 12, &c. Two of these four compartments contain each the figure of an angel swinging a Thurible, the remains of a similar figure occupy the third compartment; the figure of the fourth compartment is lost.

No. 13. Each of these eight compartments contains, or did contain, a small four-leaved ornament in a circle.

No. 14. Each of these sixteen compartments contains, or did contain, a white star of six wavy points, on a red ground.

No. 15. Each of these sixteen compartments contains, or did contain, a red star of six wavy points, on a blue ground.

No. 16. Represents Christ sitting on a rainbow. There is a candle on each side of his seat. The head is youthful, is bearded and adorned with a red nimbus bearing a white cross. The figure is draped in white and purple. The stigmata are shown in both the hands and the side, but not in the feet. The picture is enclosed in a quatrefoiled frame or border composed of two bands, the innermost purple, the outermost white, at the angles of which are the Evangelistic symbols, thus arranged: the angel and eagle at top, the lion and bull beneath. None of these symbols is nimbed. A symbolic disposition of colour, such as is partially adopted in this design, is of rare occurrence in painted glass.

No. 17. Represents two angels supporting the Cross, inscribed,—IHC NAZARENVS.

No. 18. Represents two angels carrying the Spear; the head of which is formed of a piece of ruby glass, imperfectly coloured, and appearing as if it were white, with a trifling smear of red.

No. 19. Two angels, one carrying the three Nails and the Napkin; the other a Thurible.

No. 20. Two angels, one bearing the Crown of Thorns; the other a Thurible.

No. 21. St. Peter with the Keys, preceding five other

figures, three of which besides St. Peter are nimbed. One of the figures is that of a female seated and crowned, but not nimbed. The rest are standing.

No. 22. Seven figures seated.

No. 23. Two angels sounding the trumpets.

No. 24. A similar subject.

No. 25. Part of the general Resurrection; the subject represents the dead rising from their coffins.

No. 26. This picture is an insertion, it represents Adam digging, and Eve spinning. In the centre are the remains of a tall figure, or angel. The glass seems somewhat later than the original glazing of the Rose.

Nos. 27, 28, 29. These pictures are clearly insertions. Each represents a bishop seated, giving the benediction. The glass seems somewhat later than the original glazing of the Rose.

Nos. 30, 31. These pictures also are insertions. Each represents an archbishop seated, giving the benediction. The glass is of the same date as the last three subjects.

Amongst the fragments inserted in the North Rose, are some trifling remains of the original glazing of the choir windows, which glass appears to be of the time of Edward I.

From the above account it appears that the intention of the designer of the North Rose was, to represent in the central part of the window, the Kingdom of Heaven, under the type of Christ seated in glory amidst the blessed (many of these figures are nimbed); and to represent in the outer series of circles, the Day of Judgment. The circle, No. 26, doubtless contained originally a similar subject to that in No. 25. And the remaining five vacant circles, Nos. 27, 28, 29, 30, and 31, were in all probability occupied with the Resurrection, and its usual incidents, the rescuing of the Good, and the abandonment of the Bad to the Infernal Powers. The mode of describing a connected story by means of representations of its incidents arranged in symmetrical order, so common in the medallion windows of the XIIth and XIIIth centuries, had its origin in remote antiquity. It is indicated in some of the Assyrian sculptures in the British Museum.

The original glazing of the North Rose consistently with its character, would admit of a date being assigned to it as early as the end of the XIIth or beginning of the XIIIth

century ; which, I believe, coincides very nearly with the date generally attributed to the stone-work. And it is on the whole a valuable specimen of the art of the period, although possessing nothing besides its general design, which calls for particular notice. The colours of the glass are very fine, being rich and brilliant, and low in tone, as compared with those of ordinary modern glazing. The blue, which is not so pure, and more resembles a neutralised purple than that commonly employed in the XIIth century, occasionally exhibits narrow streaks of red ; by no means an unusual occurrence in XIIIth century blue glass, denoting the presence of copper used to correct the rosy hue of the cobalt, some of which has unintentionally been converted into ruby glass. The white glass is of a sea-green tint, and the yellow (a pot-metal) is strongly impregnated with blue, the effect of the deoxidising influence of the carbon of the wood-ash used as an alkali, and of the smoke of the furnace, upon the iron contained in the sand, and upon the wood-ash, the constituents of the glass. Much of the ruby is very streaky and uneven in tint, some pieces indeed when seen near are only like pieces of white glass streaked here and there with ruby ; although, owing to the intermixture of the rays of light, when seen from the floor of the transept, they appear as if they were of an uniform light red colour. Such of the ruby glass as has been painted upon, and therefore burnt in the glass painter's furnace for the purpose of fixing the enamel, for instance, that used in the draperies, is usually more uniform in tint, and has a thinner coating of colouring matter than that used in the unpainted grounds—a circumstance which may often be remarked in glass paintings of the XIIth and XIIIth centuries, and which perhaps may be accounted for in the following manner. It has been proved by experiments that the ruby colour is produced in glass by adding to the materials of white glass, copper in a state of protoxide, along with oxide of tin, and other substances having a tendency to deprive the copper of its oxygen, as well as oxide of iron ; and recent researches conducted by my friend, Mr. Clarke, have gone far to establish the fact, long since suspected by chemists, that the red colour is due to the presence of copper in the metallic state, very finely divided.¹ But whether it is metallic copper, or a precipi-

¹ That metallic gold in a finely divided state will produce a red colour when
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tate of a suboxide of copper, which produces the ruby (the protoxide of copper only imparts a green colour) it is evident from inspecting a piece of streaky ruby glass that its colouring matter lies in several parallel planes separated from each other by greenish or yellowish white glass,² and forms thin strata of an elongated character, varying in breadth from an inch or more to a mere thread; and that the streaky appearance is owing to the coloured lines in one plane lying in a different direction from the coloured lines in another plane, the complexity of the streaks being in proportion to the number of strata and non-coincidence of lines of colour. This may be accounted for by supposing that the red colour occurs when the oxide of iron, taking the place of the suboxide of copper, or metallic copper, precipitates the latter; and that as this precipitation is irregular, the colour also is irregular; and that the mechanical action of blowing the glass into sheets causes these irregularities to take a streaky form, the more complicated in proportion to the number of planes in which the precipitation takes place, and the extent to which the soft glass becomes twisted in the operation. The precipitation of the copper by the iron, depends upon a proportion of materials in the glass, the amount of heat to which it is subjected, and apparently to other causes with which we are not yet acquainted.

In general, the greater the length of time to which the glass is exposed to heat, the more the precipitation takes place, and the more fully is the glass coloured.³ Those sheets of glass which in the manufacture show the least traces of colour, will therefore, in general, endure the greatest quantity of heat without becoming too dark. The thinner also the coating of coloured glass is, *ceteris paribus* the less intense the colour will be.⁴ It is probable that

held in a transparent medium, has been shown by Professor Faraday's experiments. See Proceedings of the Royal Institution, vol. ii. p. 310. Glass coloured with gold is more pink in hue than that coloured red with copper. The Railway night danger signal is generally constructed with the gold ruby.

² Diagrams of ruby glass, seen in section, in which the laminae of colour are shown, are given in the "Inquiry into the Difference of Style observable in Ancient Glass Paintings. By an Ama-

teur." P. 22.

³ Sometimes the same process will convert the red glass into white glass; but this is perfectly consistent with what is stated in the text.

⁴ The thinly coated ruby of the XIIth and XIIIth centuries, before it is burnt is streaky in colour, and its ruby coating when seen with the microscope is found to be filled with thin laminae of red, like that of the thickly coated ruby. The streakiness of the thickly coated ruby is, however, rather more strongly

the experience of these consequences led the ancient glass painters to select for the purpose of being painted and burnt such portions of the ruby-glass as were ascertained to have the thinnest ruby coating, in which no other change might in general be apprehended than the conversion of streaky ruby into smooth ruby, and a general though unimportant increase in the depth of colour. During the XIIth and XIIIth centuries, and in England until about the last quarter of the XIVth, glass thinly coated with ruby is comparatively rare; the great majority of specimens of ruby having a ruby coating of a depth varying from one-fourth to one-half of the thickness of the entire sheet.⁵ And there can be little doubt that the thinly coated ruby of this period, the colouring matter of which is about the thickness of a sheet of stout writing paper, was produced by some accident in the manufacture.

The smooth ruby which superseded the streaky in England about 1370, and in Germany a good deal earlier in that century, has a coating of colouring matter not thicker than a sheet of writing paper, which is almost always entirely converted into ruby in the first instance. This glass, therefore, either is not altered at all in colour, or undergoes but a very slight increase in depth of colour on being burnt; and for this reason the change in the manufacture was probably at the time considered as an improvement by the English glass-painters, who were then beginning to treat paintings on glass less as mosaics, and more like pictures. If they had continued to practise the older system of designing, they would have found the new material productive of a flatter and tamer effect than the old streaky ruby. But the change in the manufacture of the material exactly suited the change in the style of glass painting which, in England, took place nearly contemporaneously with it. Some of the German glass paintings of the first half of the XIVth century, and most modern glass paintings which affect so early a style, may be referred to as illustrating the truth of the above remark.

The actual painting of the glass in the North Rose, when compared with that of contemporary specimens, must be

marked than that of the thinly coated ruby.

⁵ It is to be remembered that "Ruby glass" is a "coated glass," i.e. glass which consists of a sheet of white glass

coloured on one side with a coating of ruby, applied during its manufacture. Such glass is not *coloured* by the glass painter.

considered to be rather careless than otherwise. Nevertheless, it is impossible not to recognise in the drawing throughout, but especially in the draperies, the influence of Greek art, though not quite to the extent to which this is shown in the glass paintings generally of the latter part of the XIIth century, particularly in those which, like some examples at Canterbury, may be considered to be of French workmanship. It would be unreasonable to suppose that the resemblance between ancient works in glass and the remains of classical art is accidental. As Gothic architecture originated in a style borrowed from the Roman, and worked out by Greek or Byzantine architects, and that of the XIth, XIIth, and early part of the XIIIth centuries, is evidently an exotic, the native of a southern climate, we might naturally expect to meet with the same Greek feeling in all other decorations as is so abundantly displayed in the sculpture of this period. It is probably to a connection with Byzantine art, that the glass painters of the XIIth century owe their superiority over those of the XIVth; or, indeed, of any other time than the XVIth. For through such connexion they could feel, although imperfectly, the influence of that standard of ideal perfection on which the art of the Greeks had the advantage of being founded. The closeness of the connection of these early artists with Byzantine art, and consequently the more immediate influence of the latter on them, will be easily explained, if, as there is reason to believe, France, and Limoges in particular, the ascertained abode of Greek artists, and a place in direct communication, through Marseilles and Alexandria, with Byzantium and the East, was the cradle of glass painting: although the excellence of these glass painters may be partly due to the vigour of race. But whether the connection of glass painting with Byzantine art arose in the manner just indicated or not, or whether it was more or less direct, we may conclude that if these artists had had under their eyes that standard of excellence which is the foundation of Greek art, at however debased a period, instead of being able only dimly to perceive it through the corruptions of tradition, they might, in point of drawing, have anticipated the artistic triumphs of the XVth and XVIth centuries. Their works in glass, although not altogether free from the stiffness and severe formality of Byzantine art, in general exhibit a strong feeling for nature; but the nature

these artists affected,—doubtless under the influence of their traditions,—was not a common and imperfect nature, like that represented in the subsequent works of the middle ages, but a noble, refined, and elevated nature, such as is displayed in the antique Roman bas-reliefs,⁶ and again, in those great works of the Renaissance, which the discovery and direct study of these antiques so strongly promoted.

Considerations such as these are the best answer to the insensate outcry which has been raised against the employment in the service of our reformed religion, of anything in the least partaking of the character of “Pagan,” *i. e.* classic art, an outcry the less respectable when we know that those who make it the loudest, are at the same time the most eager to palliate the many real paganisms which have been adopted by the Romish church, some of which are by no means so innocent in their consequences as the denounced paganism of artistic truth and beauty. If we recognise the beneficial effect of possessing a standard of excellence in the perfection and freshness of the works of the Renaissance, which seem like the creations of yesterday, since being wholly devoid of quaintness, they address us in the language of our own sympathies,—of our own modes of thought; common sense will suggest the wisdom of referring to such a standard in modern works, instead of, and in our own case without the excuse of necessity, continuing to flounder on, as in the middle ages, unassisted by such a guide. It is possible that this course might lead to the abandonment of the idea that nothing but that lowest of arts, the meagre Gothic of the XIXth century,⁷

⁶ See the plates, “*Admiranda Romanarum Antiquitatum*,” by Jacobus de Rubeis. The Roman sculpture, with much of the beauty of the Greek, is less ideal and more natural. It was this latter quality which probably rendered it more useful to the masters of the XVIth century, than the purest Greek sculpture would have been.

⁷ Far be it from me to disparage any attempt to improve our national architecture: but although we may criticise the Palladian style, it by no means follows that we ought to set up the Gothic as infallible. Any scheme, indeed, for removing us from the art of the classic epochs is preposterous. No architectural style can ever be a real living style, which does not reflect the spirit of its age, and no style can reflect

the spirit of this age, which is at once the most powerful and refined age the world has yet seen, except it be capable of great breadth, simplicity, and refinement; in all which qualities the Gothic style is notoriously deficient. It is impossible not to see that the civil engineers are the real architects of the day, and that they are silently developing a new and original style, founded on the old Roman, whose excellences it retains and enhances, but whose defects it avoids; and which seems to require nothing but fine handling to become a truly noble style, in all respects worthy of, and suited to the XIXth century. Although yet in its infancy, and although but little pains seems hitherto to have been taken with it, its productions, by their symmetry, simplicity, and gran-

is fit for the purposes of our Church ; but we may console ourselves with the assurance that the extinction of the notion would be followed by the erection of buildings, better suited to our ritual, to the character of our nation, and practical spirit of the age in which we live, as well as by the advancement of sound principles in art.

C. WINSTON.

deur, already often put to shame our most studied modern ecclesiastical edifices. They are, moreover, in entire harmony with other works admitted to be embodiments of the spirit of the age, such as our ships, our machinery, our bridges, &c. And the spirit in which they are

conceived seems nearly allied to those broad and comprehensive views which characterise our times, and which by contrast, render the narrowminded subtleties of the mediæval era the more contemptible.

ON THE PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS OF SCIENCE IN SCOTLAND
AT THE CLOSE OF THE SIXTEENTH AND COMMENCEMENT
OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES, AS COMPARED WITH
THE SAME AT CAMBRIDGE A CENTURY LATER :

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS OF SEVERAL REMARKABLE COINCIDENCES BETWEEN THE
GENIUS, THE STUDIES, AND THE DISCOVERIES OF NAPIER OF
MERCHISTON, AND SIR ISAAC NEWTON.¹

BY MARK NAPIER, ESQ.

I HAVE been honoured with a request to contribute a memoir touching the antiquities of science in Scotland as compared with its condition at Cambridge of a much later period. Not that I have the slightest pretensions to be considered scientific, but the command of some original documents among the family archives of Napier of Merchiston, the inventor of logarithms (the only philosopher who illustrates Scotland in the great era of Tycho, Kepler, and Galileo), and a closer attention bestowed by myself than by any one else upon the habits and history of this great Scottish worthy, may perhaps enable me at least to amuse, if I do not instruct, the learned whom I have the honour to address.

If Mr. Macaulay be right in his estimate of Scotland, even at so late a period as the commencement of the XVIIth century, when our Sixth James migrated, nothing loth, to more abounding England, the less we look into our social antiquities, and the more we dwell upon our scientific, the less cause shall we find to blush for our ancestors. That gifted historian, whose mode of announcing new facts is as fearless as it is brilliant, speaking of the comparatively modern era when the union of the crowns had placed the resources of three kingdoms at the command of one monarch,

¹ Communicated to the Historical Archaeological Institute in Edinburgh, Section, at the Annual Meeting of the July 25, 1856.

contrasts the condition, intellectual and social, of Scotland with that of Ireland at the same period. Taking his readers by storm with one of his rapid and dazzling generalisations, he thus issues his fiat as to the leading characteristics of Scotland at the commencement of the XVIIth century, the grand era of science :—

“ In mental cultivation (he says) Scotland had an indisputable superiority. Though that kingdom was then the poorest in Christendom, it already vied in every branch of learning with the most favoured countries. Scotsmen, whose *dwellings* and whose *food* were as wretched as those of the Icelanders of our times, wrote Latin verses with more than the delicacy of Vida, and made discoveries in science which would have added to the renown of Galileo. Ireland could boast of no Buchanan or Napier.”

We must be allowed to doubt the historical accuracy of this elegant and laboured antithesis. We are not aware that any such extreme discrepancy between social resources and intellectual powers ever existed in any age or country. We cannot believe that it was the case in Scotland at the commencement of the XVIIth century. We will not accept the compliment, even from Mr. Macaulay, at the expense of his banter. An archæological excursion through Edinburgh, indeed through Scotland, under such accomplished guides as a Daniel Wilson or a Robert Chambers, would have been no less instructive to our prime historian than would have been a lecture on the Roman remains, bestowed upon our Prime Minister before the Crimean campaign, according to the intelligent suggestion of Dr. Bruce. But the dramatic historian of England, ever fond of pointing his moral and adorning his tale with an illustrious name, has not failed to peril his proposition upon individual instances. We accept his challenge, then, under the special examples offered. There is no reason to believe that Master George Buchanan, who certainly wrote Latin verses with more than the delicacy of Vida, was ever at a loss for a comfortable lodging and a good dinner. Indeed, he dwelt very much in a palace ; and many must have been the regal tit-bits, the savoury crumbs of pasties and preserves, the savoy-amber, the pistache amber, and the fennel, that adhered to the liquorish moustache of the royal dominie.

The instance is no less unfortunate as regards the wealthy laird of the Logarithms. He possessed various dwellings all

over Scotland, from besouth the Forth to benorth the Tay ; and every one of them most substantial. Many and changeful were the characteristics and conditions at different times of the old Castle of Merchiston ; but, assuredly, Icelandic it never was. The Scottish worthy, whose scientific genius Mr. Macaulay so fully appreciates, was, to say the least, as commodiously housed, and doubtless was a more regular and comfortable diner, than Sir Isaac Newton at Cambridge a century later. Napier was a great store farmer. He was careful of stock, and curious in cultivation. This Icelandic Scotsman's time and great genius were about equally bestowed upon the mysteries of Agriculture, of Algebra, and of the Apocalypse ; and we doubt not he would have grimly chuckled over so figurative a description of his " dwellings " and his " food " as that with which we are favoured, *currente calamo*, by the most popular writer of the XIXth century. " Merchiston's new order of tillage and pasturage," and especially his instructions for the management of the milk-cows on the home-farm, so that they might give double the quantity of rich milk—a system of home-farming set down by himself so early as 1598—suggests no idea of Iceland, as we peruse the placid and pastoral record. Cuypp might have painted from it ; and the quaint beards that for generations wagged merrily in those old halls, had grown out of the best of beef and Easter ale, besides " wild meat," as game was then designed, comfits, " fine hetted kit," and " chopins of claret wine," long before the time when, says Mr. Macaulay, the intellectual immortality of Scotland dwelt wretchedly in Icelandic huts, and fed on garbage !

But I must not allow this tempting text, although really unsusceptible of some very curious illustrations to its complete discomfiture, to allure me from the particular subject of the present paper, which belongs to the archæology of science. I propose to look back upon those picturesque times, when the chrysalis of the adept was still hanging upon the brilliant wings of science—when astronomy had not yet escaped from judicial astrology, nor mathematics from magical squares and the mysterious powers of the numbers five and seven, nor chemistry from the alluring promises of faithless Hermes. My purpose is, so far as time will permit, to compare Scotland of that period with Trinity College, Cambridge, a century later. What was doing anent science and philo-

sophical matters in Icelandish Scotland during the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, at a time when Newton was uncreated dust ?

From private papers, as well as from the published records of science, it can be shown that the advent of Newton was being there typified ; the way was being there made straight for him, even in what may be called the wilderness of science, a century before he came. The remarkable coincidences between the studies, the discoveries, and the genius of Napier and of Newton, have not attracted even in Scotland that attention which a fact so interesting to the intellectual fame of our country deserves. It can be shown that Napier had surveyed the whole field of Newton's triumphs with a curious anticipation, indicating a bent of genius singularly coincident with his in all its phases ; that he had actually bequeathed both the principle and the nomenclature of *Fluvions* ; that as regards alchemy, the searching for the hidden treasures of the earth, and the practical details of the royal mint ; arithmetic and algebra ; mechanics and catoptrics ; the curiosities and refinements of domestic agriculture ; and the sacred mysteries of the Prophet Daniel and the Book of Revelations,—Napier trod in the very paths, and with no tottering steps, where the march of Newton so majestically followed a century after. These coincidences, indeed, are so striking as to justify the figure, that the antique mirror of the King of Numbers reflected the coming form of the Prince of Mathematicians.

I. COINCIDENCE IN THEIR PURSUIT OF ALCHEMY.

I commence the comparison with the state of Alchemy in Scotland during the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, as compared with the same at Cambridge, in the hands of Newton, a century later. Even that subject cannot be fully discussed upon this occasion ; and I must limit myself, as regards Scotland, to a few illustrations derived from contemporary manuscripts, which have never yet appeared in print.

The first of Napier's manuscripts to be submitted to this assembly, discloses, in graphic terms, a very curious scene, occurring in Edinburgh precisely two hundred and forty-eight years ago. As the context proves, it was carefully

recorded at the time by Napier himself; but the manuscript was lost sight of, and has been too recently recovered to have been entered in his biography. It need only be further premised that the philosopher, having been installed in the fee of the barony of Merchiston before his father's death, invariably subscribed himself, while his father lived, "John Napier, fear of Merchiston:"—

"Upon Saturday, the 7th of November, 1607. I, John Napier, fear of Merchiston, came to confer with Mr. Daniel Muller, Doctor of Medicine, and student in alchemy, ament our philosophical matters. Not knowing that he was sick, and finding that he was diseased of the gout, his ordinary disease, I thought not to have troubled him with much conference, and meant to have left him for that time; but he, craving conference of me, showed me that he was to have sent for me if I had not of accident come, and that he had a matter to communicate with me, if I might then remain, or shortly return. So I removed my company, and sat down before his bedside. Then he burst forth in these words:—

" "Sir, you are occupied in alchemy: I have been, these many years, a very earnest student therinto, and have attained to the knowledge thereof. I have pressed to have diverted you from your wrong opinion, so far as I durst be plain. But now, sir, I will be plain, knowing that you are a man who fears God, and will be secret; and that you will be good to my wife and bairns, in case these diseases shall take me away.

" "Sir, I sent a credible friend to Hustria (a Venetian province at the top of the Adriatic), to bring me hither of crude mercury out of those mines a long time since, and as yet I have heard no word from him; I think he be dead. I once received a little piece of the earth of those mines, about the quantity of an hazel nut, which, as I brake, there appeared scales of quicksilver within the same, and the crude mercury flowed forth without the fire. With this I perfected the philosophical work, as you may do with the like; for this mercury, being taken with fine silver which never did find fire, and inclosed in a matrix, will become black within the space of forty days, and thereafter will become white, and then is the point and term to loose it, if you do not join it with fine gold that never did find the fire, when instantly that which was taken of mercury and *luna*, or silver, will devour up the gold; and at this conjunction or fermentation endeth the first work, called *opus lune* (the silver operation), and beginneth immediately the second, called *opus solis* (the golden operation).

" "In this *opere solis* your work becomes blacker than in *opere lune*, and then white, and at last, red.

" "Both these works are performed in a year—to wit, two months and a-half in *opere lune*; and nine months and a-half in *opere solis*.

" "And for *pondera* I take nine of crude mercury to one of crude *luna* (or silver), in *primo opere*; and this I conjoin with one of *sol* (or gold) in *secundo opere*.

" "So *luna* is the *medium conjungendi*; and hereof cometh three mercuries—to wit, the first, which is *mercurius crudus*, and is called *mercurius frigidus*, *acetum*, *mercurius mineralis*; the second, which is *luna* dissolved in crude mercury to the point of whiteness, is called *mercurius tepidus*, *acetum acerrimum*, *mercurius vegetabilis*, *quia luna est planta*

(because silver is the root) ; the third, which is *sol* dissolved by the second, is called *mercurius calidus*, *mercurius animalis*.

“ ‘ Further,’ said he (Dr. Muller), ‘ the little cipher table, entitled ‘ Medulla Philosophiæ Hermetriæ,’ it is mine, for I made it.’

“ Also, he added many discourses, citing texts out of Clangor Buccinæ, Marsilius, Ripheus, and Arnoldus, to prove the premises, and especially ‘ De Terra Nigra Oculosa, Terra Hispanica,’ &c.

* “ Further, he said that the various hued glass which I did see was in that manner, throughout all its texture, coloured with the stuff which he made in that same glass.

“ Further, he spake to the *triplici usu lapidis*, after Paracelsus—first, in transmutations of metals ; secondly, in curing diseases ; and thirdly, it is *lapis divinus*, for magical uses.

“ Now, when I heard these things, and had said unto him, ‘ My lord, that matter is marvellous, if you be sure of the truth thereof by practice,’ he answered with earnestness, ‘ In truth I have practised it to the end, and made projection and found it true.’

“ Again, when I demanded of him, how it fortunèd that he did not multiply his stuff, and keep the same, he answered, ‘ I lacked crude mercury, without which it cannot be multiplied again.’

“ Upon the 9th of November, I conferred with him again anent some doubts, *quod fons trahit regem, et non rex fontem*, and so doth *aqua-regis* ; but vulgar mercury, on the contrary, *non trahit solem, sed sol eum* ? He answered, that whatever vulgar mercury or crude mercury do, yet this mercury philosophical, of crude mercury and silver, will instantly drink up gold, and draw it in, *initio secundi operis*. Then I demanded, when should the second work begin, and what was the sign before the point of danger to the work ? He answered, that after perfect whiteness *in opere primo*, there would appear, in an instant, a small hair-like circle surrounding the matter, and attached to the sides of the vessel ; then instantly ferment with gold, and it will presently eat up all the gold, and that circle will vanish ; but, if you stay longer in fermenting, the work will become all *citrine*, and more dry than that it can dissolve the gold ; for the gold must be sown *in terram albam foliatam*.

“ Then I demanded what *terra alba foliata* was ? He answered, that at the point of whiteness, in the first operation, the matter of mercury and *luna* became like the small scales of a fish. Then I remembered that my father showed me that he made a work which became *terra alba foliata*, most like the leaves of a book set on edge, of *sol luna*, *aqua-regis*, and *aqua fortis*.

“ Upon the 13th day of November, he, being convalesced, showed me that he had feared himself (thought he was dying), and out of affection had revealed these things to me, which, upon his salvation, he affirmed to be true, and desired me to confer the sentences of the philosophers together, and I should find them all agree with these premises ; which I find apparently very true in their theoretical sentences ; but, on the contrary, in their practical precepts, they induce many things repugnant to themselves, to illude the vulgar and profane people, and to divert them from the truth of their former sentences.

“ Thereafter, about the 15th day of March, 1608, the Doctor showed me that he had received glad tidings of the safe return of Lionel Struthers, his said friend, from Histria to England ; and he showed me a certain

antique figure, with certain verses of congratulation which he had made, and was sending to him in joy of his safe return.

“So, within ten days, he came to Edinburgh to the Doctor, and brought with him great store of mineral mercury, which never had felt fire, and some unrefined, easy to be wrung out from his ore. The Doctor gave me, secretly, a small portion both of the one and of the other; as, also, a very small part of *luna* mineral unrefined; but I purchased more, both of Scots and German *luna*. As for *sol* (gold) mineral, we have enough in Scotland, rests time and opportunity to enterprize the work, with the blessing of God to perform the same, to his glory and comfort of his servants, which the Almighty grant to us, whose holy name be praised and magnified, for ever and ever. Amen.

“Mr. Struthers says that the Spaniards take all the said crude mercury, for it gathers most of mine gold.”

This curious document enables us to institute a comparison in the matter of alchemy, between the author of the Logarithmic Fluxions, and his great antitype, the author of the “Fluxionary Calculus.” From it we may gather that Napier, even in his remoter age and ruder country, was, to say the least, as cautious and sceptical in his reliance on the adept, as was Newton in his riper epoch, at Cambridge. Let us then take a walk, a century later, in Trinity College, Cambridge, that we may not too hastily condemn or deride such investigations as “follies of the wise.”

It has rather taken the world by surprise to learn, of late, that Sir Isaac Newton was an Alchemist. The fact may tend to elevate our notions of that exploded and explosive study, and of the minds and motives of those men of genius, who wasted the midnight oil, and their daily bread, in endless efforts to present us with a stone. But it never can reduce our estimate of Newton.

In the first edition of the best biography of him, Newton's devotion to alchemy was not sufficiently known, and therefore not conceded. “There is no reason to suppose,” said his gifted expounder and eulogist, “that Sir Isaac Newton was a believer in the doctrines of alchemy.”

The recent greatly expanded edition of that valuable biography has shed a broader and less dubious light upon a curious and hitherto unobserved phase of England's greatest mathematical mind. Original letters, contained in various publications, have added their stores to the previous researches, and our own revered prophet of light has been constrained to submit to the perhaps unpalatable duty of

disclosing his illustrious subject, Sir Isaac Newton, with his conjuring cap on.²

Accordingly, we are now told—"Newton, at one period of his life, was a believer in alchemy, and even devoted much time to the study and practice of its processes."³ But the period of his life, when he was thus too much engrossed by labours comparatively, though not entirely fruitless, comprehends, we find, no less than about thirty years of the best period of his mental and bodily vigour. And, however his faith may have become latterly somewhat shaken in the omnipotent capabilities of the crucible, no evidence appears that he ever absolutely renounced his long allegiance to Hermes Trismegistus, King of Thebes, and great-grandson to Noah.

In the year 1669, writing to a young friend, Mr. Francis Aston, on the eve of his travels, among various instructions how to improve the occasion, the most earnest seems to be the following :—"Observe the products of nature in several places, especially in mines ; with the circumstances of mining, and of extracting metals or minerals out of their ore, and of refining them ; and, if you meet with any transmutations out of their own species into another, above all those will be worth your noting, being the most luciferous, and many times lucriferous experiments in philosophy."⁴

This interesting letter contains many other instructions relative to observing all the processes of angling for gold with mercury, throughout the mountains and streams of Hungary, Slavonia, and Bohemia ; and there is even an anxious injunction, imparting somewhat of an Arabic air to this instructive missive, that his Telemachus should be on the look out for a certain individual in Holland. "I think," writes Sir Isaac, "he usually goes clothed in green, and was imprisoned by the Pope, to have extorted from him secrets of great worth, both as to medicine and profit, but escaped into Holland, where they have granted him a guard."

There is no mistaking this language. It obviously emanates from a mind teeming with hermetic aspirations, and from one whose very soul was saturated with *mercurius crudus, sol*, and *luna*.

² Sir Isaac Newton : Memoirs of his Life, Writings, and Discoveries. By Sir David Brewster, K.H. Two vols. 8vo.

Edinburgh, 1854.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 271.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 388.

True, Sir Isaac at this time was only in the twenty-seventh year of his age. But for eight of those years he had been a distinguished student at Trinity College, Cambridge; was already deep in Descartes, and, indeed, had passed the period of his first conception of the fluxionary calculus. Nay, the letter from which we have quoted is dated three years subsequent to that pregnant occasion when he noted the fall of the famously suggestive fruit, which thus became the second memorable apple in the history of mankind.

About sixteen years after this advice to the young traveller, we discover the coming glory of England, instead of being reclaimed from these "follies of the wise," occupying, like another Sidrophel, the centre of his magic circle. Between the years 1683 and 1689, he is graphically presented to us, by his assistant, Dr. Humphrey Newton, as for ever flitting round a furnace in his laboratory—"the fire," says the Doctor, "scarcely going out either night or day; he sitting up one night and I another, till he had finished his chemical experiments, in the performance of which he was most accurate, strict, exact. What his aims might be, I was not able to penetrate into; but his pains, his diligence, at these set times, made me think he aimed at something beyond the reach of human art and industry."⁵

In another letter, Dr. Newton becomes a little more explicit. "About six weeks at spring," he tells us, "and six at the fall, the fire in his laboratory scarcely went out; which was well furnished with chemical materials, as bodies, receivers, heads, crucibles, &c., which were made very little use of, the crucibles excepted, in which he fused his metals. He would look sometimes, though very seldom, into an old mouldy book which lay in his laboratory; I think it was titled 'Agricola de Metallis;' the transmuting of metals being his chief design."

But Sir Isaac did more than dip into that one old volume; he absolutely pastured upon the voluminous records and rankest grass of the kingdom of Trismegistus. The jargon of that mysterious potentate's disciples could never have been out of Newton's head; and their hieroglyphic signs must have been for ever dancing before his prismatic eyes, like motes in the beams of the sun, or spots upon his

⁵ Sir Isaac Newton: Memoirs of his Life, Writings, and Discoveries. By Sir David Brewster, K. II. Vol. ii., p. 93.

disc. "There exist," his modern biographer tells us, "many sheets in Sir Isaac's own writing of Flamel's 'Explication of Hieroglyphic Figures,' and large extracts out of Jacob Behmen's works." "We have seen," he adds, "in Sir Isaac's handwriting, 'The Metamorphoses of the Planets,' by John de Monte Snyders, in sixty-two pages quarto, and a key to the same work; and numerous pages of alchemist poetry from Norton's 'Ordinal,' and Basil Valentine's 'Mystery of the Microcosm.' There is also a copy of 'Secrets Revealed; or, An Open Entrance to the Shut Palace of the King,' which is covered with notes in Sir Isaac's hand, in which great changes are made upon the language and meaning of the thirty-five chapters of which it consists." "I have also found," continues his biographer, "among Sir Isaac's papers, a beautifully-written but incomplete copy of William Yworth's 'Processus Mysterii Magni Philosophicus;' and also a small manuscript in his hand-writing, entitled, 'Thesaurus Thesaurorum Medecina Aurea.' In addition to these works, Sir Isaac has left behind him, in his note-books and separate manuscripts, copious extracts from the writings of the alchemists of all ages."

From another original and unprinted manuscript, yet preserved in the Napier charter-chest, written subsequently to the death of the inventor of Logarithms, by a younger son, but before the birth of Newton, some idea may be formed of Sir Isaac's purpose in submitting his great mind to the endless toil of extracting these barbaric authors, even including their most execrable poetry, for the prompting of which Apollo ought to have kicked Mercury round the circle of the heavens.

Faith in alchemy seems rather to have increased than diminished during the century that separates Napier from Newton. The son of the Scottish philosopher had toiled in the vineyard of Trismegistus far more devotedly than his somewhat sceptical father; and yet, even he would seem to have been idle as regards both the study and practice of alchemy, by comparison with the thirty years of labour, mental and manual, submitted to by England's greatest mathematical mind.

Robert Napier, however, to whose manuscript I am about to call attention, by extracting the marrow of all the hermetic philosophers and authors who preceded him, was thus

enabled, as he imagined, to separate their truthful doctrines and precepts from their wilfully deceptive mystifications; and he actually bequeathed to his son that which he does not profess to have received from his own father, namely, the grand secret itself.

I hold the precious gift in my hand. But the paternal blessings with which the awful boon is announced are so blended with anathematizing, and the pure worship of God, which the preface inculcates, is so closely allied to the most exclusive worship of Mammon, that I have scarcely ventured, as yet, beyond the limits of its lunar preface, into the solar realms of the opened palace of the king, that lie beyond. Nor, I believe, has any one but myself ventured to master even the preface.

The first injunction is written in such English as was then commanded by its profound author, Master Robert Napier of Culeroich, Drumquhannie, and Bowhoppie.

“This book is to remain in my charter-chest, and not to be made known to any, except to some near friend, being a scholar, studious of this science, who fears God, and is endowed with great secrecy, not to reveal or make common such mysteries as God has appointed to be kept secret among a few, in all ages, whose hearts are upright towards God, and not given to worldly ambition or covetousness, but secretly to do good, and help the poor and indigent in this world, as they would eschew the curse of God if they do otherwise.—R. NAPIER.”

But the title, the caveat, the preface, and the treatise itself, are all in Latin, which I must take upon me to translate only to the very limited extent that cannot put any of my present hearers in possession of the secret which this *libellum* contains. He calls it—

“The revelation of the mystery of the Golden Fleece; or a philosophical analysis, whereby the marrow of the true hermetic intention is made manifest to such of my posterity as fear God.—ROBERT NAPIER, author.”

Then comes this solemn caveat:—

“Beware that you do not make public this little book to the impious, the imprudent, or the garrulous. Beware!”

After which follows the preface:—

“My beloved son,—And be thou initiated as a son of this art and in the principles of this sacred science: above all things, seek God with your whole heart, and embrace him with a pure spirit; for without the guidance of God all is vanity, especially in this Divine science, which, even from the Deluge down to these times, the Almighty hath been pleased to reveal only

to a very few, and these good men, and gifted with Pythagorean silence. God, the searcher of hearts, directs both the mind and the hand. He bestows this science when he wills, and upon whom he wills. And it is not his will that pearls should be cast to swine (*nec margaritas porcis proijci voluit*). Whoever divulges these sacred mysteries, shall be held guilty of betraying his secret, and responsible for all the ills that may emanate therefrom. A madman must not be armed with a sword. Divulge this secret, and the hind would become greedy of gold to his own destruction. Iniquities would cover the earth; agriculture and the other arts of civilization would no longer exist. Mighty in their gold, nations would rush to war for nothing. The worthless would wax proud, and scorn their rulers. The reins of civil power and legitimate government thus relaxed, a fearful earthquake would follow. Oh! I say, reveal this secret to the vulgar, and the darkness of chaos will again brood upon the face of the waters.

“But that all knowledge of so great a gift of God might not perish, and that the wise and the good might, even in this mortal life, obtain a foretaste of the supreme goodness of God to his own glory, it has been ordained by Divine Providence that this science should be transmitted to us, from Hermes, its first inventor, down even to these times, a period of nearly 4000 years, through the hands of the learned—the majesty of the great mystery being protected in a cabalistic form. That such a science exists, has also been made known to us through books; but these, for the most part are so full of enigmas, allegories, and figures of speech, nay, of falsities, mystifications, and contradictions, that they seem rather to have been written for misleading than for instructing. Long would be the time, and weary the wandering in error, ere this divine art could be acquired by any one from the books of the philosophers, without a faithful guide.

“But I, my son, moved by paternal care and affection for you, and towards all of my posterity who serve the living God, lest seduced into error by these books you waste the precious time in vain, and fruitlessly expend both money and labour in search of this divine art, for your sake have determined in my own mind to treat of the art truthfully, plainly, and systematically, by collecting together in this manuscript all the most trustworthy sentences of the philosophers which I find confusedly scattered throughout their many books, and to digest them in methodical order. And this I have undertaken that you, thus rendered competent and learned, both as regards the process and the material, and grateful for so great a gift of God, may direct it all to his glory by exercising beneficence to the poor, by relieving all their wants, and alleviating all their bodily sufferings.

“First, however, I adjure thee, and whomsoever of my posterity may happen to see and read this manuscript, by the most holy Trinity, and under the penalty of the Divine vengeance, that you publish it not, and make it known to no one, unless he be a son of this art, a God-fearing man, and one who will keep the secret of Hermes under the seal of the deepest silence.

“If you do otherwise, accursed shalt thou be; and, guilty before God of having betrayed his secret to the wicked, most assuredly the Divine vengeance will light upon your head for all the evils that may thence arise.

“May my own soul be free from so deadly a sin. My constant prayer to him is, that this manuscript of mine may by no accident fall into impious hands. And I here call Him to witness, that it was collected and written by me solely for the sake of good men, who with sincere and

pure hearts worship God, to whom be all honour, praise, and glory, for ever and ever."

We now know that this mouldy manuscript, likely in these days to be perused, or rather glanced at, with a smile not only of credulity but of compassion, would have found favour in the sight of Sir Isaac Newton. For, dipping cautiously into the revelation of the golden mystery itself, the very first philosopher whom we find quoted is, "Flamelli Hieroglyphica," or Flamel's explication of hieroglyphic figures, of which many sheets have been discovered among Sir Isaac's papers, in his own handwriting. We also find extracts from "Nortonus Anglius," and "Basilius Valentinus;" being the same authors, doubtless, as those mentioned by Newton's biographer, when he tells us, that he has "seen in Sir Isaac's handwriting numerous pages of alchemist poetry, from 'Norton's Ordinal,' and 'Basil Valentine's Mystery of the Mycrocosm.'"

Neither has our curiosity been disappointed, in searching through this manuscript for some notice of that alchemist friend of the inventor of logarithms whom we have already discovered labouring under the double agony of gout and gold. When, in Robert Napier's manuscript, we found a quotation from "D. D. Mollierus," we could not doubt that this means "Doctor Daniel Muller." It will be remembered that this worthy sent an antique figure, with some congratulatory verses, to hail the happy return from Istria of his friend "Lionel Struthers," who in these comparisons may be taken as the pendant to Newton's young travelling friend, Francis Aston. And we are happy to be able to present a specimen of that alchemist poetry which Sir Isaac delighted to transcribe. Robert Napier favours us both with the original in Latin, and with an English version by himself.

" D. D. MOLLIERUS.

Clavicula triplici proprio de stemmate facta,
Ingenuè reseror : quarum jacet una sepulta
Monte sub Istriaco ; Mariana Monte secunda ;
Tertia soliferis Scotiæ reperitur in undis.
His tribus unitis cedo non viribus ullis ;
Longævus, sanus, locuples, reserator abibis."

" ENGLISHED THUS :

A three-fold key soon opens me, made of my proper kind ;
The first lies still in Istria Hill, there buried in that mine ;

The next is wout in Marian Mount to lie among the mould ;
 The third is found in Scottish ground, in waters breeding gold ;
 This units three does open me, I fear none other force ;
 Depart with wealth, long life and health, thou opener of my corse."

At the very time, however, when laboriously studying such poetry as this, the mighty mind of Newton was giving birth to the "Principia Mathematica!" And when, nearly an hundred years before, Napier was discoursing at the bedside of Dr. Daniel Muller, about Mercurius, Sol, and Luna, he had the Logarithms in his pocket, though not given to the world until six years thereafter! As for Newton, while thus painfully sacrificing at the altar of Hermes, forbearing to sleep, forgetting to eat, disdaining to sit, and all in search of the golden Fleece, his immortality had already responded to the call both of Napier and of Kepler. Wielding Napier's great discovery, namely, the logarithmic principle and power of progressions and relative proportions or ratios, deeply indebted, both arithmetically and algebraically, to the Napierian canon of the Logarithms, in which that teeming principle was for the first time developed, and completely armed for practice, Newton, with the advantage of a new and powerful algorithm, continued to expand and fructify this most suggestive Institute of Numbers, through the binomial theorem, into the boundless region of transcendental algebra. Seizing, with tenacious grasp, the great law of the heavenly bodies, which had been so opportunely promulgated by Kepler, he conceived and completed the demonstration of universal gravitation.

Newton has compared himself and his discoveries to a child picking up pebbles on the shore of a vast unexplored ocean. Yet he did not actually pick up the most precious of his pebbles. They were presented to him by the children of a previous century, who were far from unconscious of the value and latent virtues of their rugged gifts. But his was the destiny to cut and polish those precious pebbles, until the face of nature became reflected therein.

The coincidences, however, between the genius of Napier and of Newton, in the higher and more approved departments of science must now be illustrated.

II. COINCIDENCE OF THEIR COMMENTARIES ON THE PROPHECIES.

Sir Walter Scott, speaking from a very imperfect consideration of the circumstances, observes in his "Provincial Antiquities" :—"The sublime genius which marked by the Logarithmic Canon the correspondence betwixt arithmetical and geometrical professions, had his weak point. Napier, like Newton, wasted time in endeavouring to discover the mysteries of the Apocalypse, and to ascertain prophecies, which, if intended for our instant comprehension (with deep respect we speak it), would have been expressed more clearly."

The degree of weakness, however, if weakness it be, in this matter, is very different as regards these great intellects. The rude and unenlightened condition of theology, and the unsettled and alarming prospects of Protestant Europe, and of the British Isles in particular, when Napier put forth in haste (expressly to meet a great crisis) his long-considered theological work in the year 1593, must redeem his undertakings from the imputation of mere weakness. His was the first great theological work of the kind ; and neither from the hands of Sir Isaac Newton, nor of Dr. Newton, or Mede, or the whole host of Apocalyptic commentators down to the present day, has the world obtained a treatise more exhaustive of the hopeless subject, or one which for originality, ingenuity, and profound and varied erudition, can stand a comparison with Napier's "Plain Discovery of the whole Revelation of St. John." Why Sir Isaac Newton, in his own elaborate and earnest, but, by comparison, rambling disquisitions on the same subject, entirely ignores Napier (as he also does in science), is a question I cannot answer. But the "Plain Discovery," although a voluminous digest, had been translated before Sir Isaac's time, into Latin, French, Italian, and German ; and would have been the very best institute on the subject to which he could have attached himself. Doubtless the sceptic Voltaire said it with an unseemly sneer, and careless of ingenious and fruitless varieties, but he was substantially well-founded in the remark, that the prophet of universal gravitation added nothing whatever to human triumphs in this unconquered field, but "explained the Revelations in a manner very similar to all the commentators who had preceded him."

Napier's theological studies arrived at their culminating point under very peculiar circumstances. We have evidence from himself of the intense working of his speculative mind at the early age of not more than fourteen years. The greatest *alumnus* ever reared by the *Alma Mater* of Scotland, he matriculated as a student of St. Salvator's College of St. Andrews in 1563, being then not fourteen years old. This was only three years after the Parliamentary establishment of the reformed doctrines, and St. Salvator's was still remarkable for the divided state of religious opinion. In his address "to the godly and christian reader," prefixed to the "Plain Discovery," he himself affords this graphic account of the earliest energies of a mind destined to create a great revolution, not in religion, but in science.

"In my tender years and bairn-age in St. Andrews at the schools, having on the one part contracted a loving familiarity with a certain gentleman, a *papist*; and, on the other hand, being attentive to the sermons of that worthy man of God, Master Christopher Goodman, teaching upon the Apocalypse, I was so moved in admiration against the blindness of papists that could not most evidently see their seven-hilled city, Rome, painted out there so lively by Saint John, as the mother of all spiritual whoredom, that not only burst I out in *continual reasoning* against my said familiar, but also, from thenceforth I determined with myself, by the assistance of God's spirit, to employ my study and diligence to search out the remanent mysteries of that holy Book; as to this hour (1593), praised be the Lord, I have been doing at all such times as conveniently I might have occasion."

Here is a trait seldom surpassed in the history of boyhood. The mind of his great contemporary, Galileo, when a few years older, was also roused to powerful activity in the house of God. But his eye, not his ear, was attracted; a characteristic difference between the practical and the speculative philosopher, which continued throughout their respective careers. In the cathedral of Pisa, to which city the young Italian had been sent for education at the university, he fixed his gaze upon the vibrations of a lamp. Amid the pageantry of that worship against which Napier warred, and of which Galileo was destined to be a victim, he watched the isochronal movements of the chain, and measured them by the beatings of his pulse. The result was the pendulum.

The *scientific* fruits of Napier's attention to the Protestant divine's sermon, if less direct, were no less valuable than those of Galileo's inattention to the papal service. It was during this dreary adventure, undertaken in his very boy-

hood, that the genius of the Scotch mathematician found its proper elevation. No sooner had he determined to "make plain" the mysteries of St. John, than he found himself constrained to grapple, nothing loth, with the difficulties of numerical science. Doubtless, "he lisped in *numbers*, for the *numbers* came." Intuitively his work assumed a mathematical form. "Being of purpose," he says, "to expound and open up the mysteries of this revelation by a two-fold discourse, the one *paraphrastical*, the other *historical*, both confronted together, I have thought good to premit, by way of introduction, a reasoning for the investigation of the true sense and meaning of every notable mystery thereof, and to set the same in form of *propositions*, as near the *analytic* or *demonstrative* manner as the phrase and nature of holy scriptures will permit." Then, after elaborately, but lucidly, disclosing his *modus operandi*, he proceeds to the groundwork of his exposition, his first object being to demonstrate the meaning of "dates and chief reckonings hid under terms." Such studies could not fail to direct the natural tendency of his mind to numerical calculations. He had to extricate and determine a system of chronology; to reckon dates, and the number of days, weeks, and years; and to resolve the problem of "a time, times, and half a time." In the progress of this undertaking, his natural genius inevitably impelled him to the attempt of ascertaining, by interpretation and calculation the precise time, or near advent, of the end of all things. His theological calculations led him, or rather misled him, to the conclusion (by no means dogmatically expressed) that "the day of judgment *appears to fall* betwixt the years of Christ 1688 and 1700." We now know that the awful period only brought us King William. The cautious Sir Isaac Newton was wise in not repeating that daring attempt of his great prototype. But in thus vainly seeking for the day of judgment, Napier kept calculating and calculating, till he found the LOGARITHMS.

The idea of the near approach of the latter days has been so prevalent in every age, including that of the Apostles themselves, and is so inevitable to those who study the subject deeply, that to infer from it a weak or unsound state of mind, is greater weakness in itself. It is from the individual's mode of arriving at and treating such conclusion, that weakness or wildness is to be discovered. Napier's reasoning is scarcely

to be impugned. He refers to the text, "But of *that day*, and *that hour* knoweth no man, no not the angels which are in Heaven; neither the Son, but the Father." His argument, however, from the same chapter, is not easy to meet, that Christ's knowledge yields to that of the Father only in respect of the precise day and hour; and that the Son was even careful to instruct his disciples that they might know the signs. He compares this to our knowledge of the approach of death; and he adds, "To what effect were the prophecies of Daniel, and of the Revelations, given to the Church of God, and *so many dates* of years, and circumstances of time foreshowing the latter day, contained therein, if God had appointed the same to be never known or understood before that day come?" He also quotes Daniel:—*"Signa librum ad tempus statutum; multi pertransibunt et multiplex erit scientia: Seal the Book till the appointed time; many shall go to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased."*

Surely Sir Isaac Newton must have seen one at least of the many editions, in various languages, of Napier's work. How little does the English philosopher, writing a century after, differ on this momentous subject from his great predecessor. "In the very end," says Newton, "the prophecy shall be so far interpreted as to convince many. 'Then,' saith Daniel, 'many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.' For the Gospel must be preached in all nations before the great tribulation, &c. : But if the last age, the age of opening these things, be *now* approaching, *as by the great successes of late interpreters it seems to be*, we have more encouragement than ever to look into these things: if the general preaching of the Gospel be approaching, it is to us and to our posterity that those words mainly belong,—'In the time of the end, the wise shall understand, but none of the wicked shall understand.'"

It will be obvious to any one who compares their writings, that Napier, even upon the problem of the last day, is no more wild and visionary than Newton was. The former, who, be it remembered, belonged to a very different age, is a little more precise and courageous in his examination of this mystery of mysteries, and even commits himself by hazarding a computation of the period. But Sir Isaac Newton, with the immense advantage of a century's additional light and experience, and with the commentaries of Mede between him

and Napier, also hazards a conjecture of the end of all things being at hand, wields the very argument of Napier, and quotes the same texts to prove it. The difference between them is merely this, that Napier, upon comparing *his* chronology of the world with the signs of his times, supposed that the period of "understanding" by the wise had arrived; while Newton only gathered from his comparison that "the age of opening these things" was approaching. Accordingly, the one perilled a calculation; the other said, there was "*encouragement* to look into these things." And both laboured in vain; as the conflicting commentaries of a Keith, a Cumming, and an Elliott in our own times, may suffice to prove.

III. COINCIDENCE OF THEIR TREATISES ON ARITHMETIC AND ALGEBRA.

But while Napier laid the feeble hand of mortality upon the Apocalypse, he clutched the inchoate system of NUMBERS with the grasp of a giant. He set himself to develop that wing of applicate science, with the same systematic energy with which he had endeavoured to unveil Daniel and Saint John. This is manifest from what he tells us himself. In the first place, he says, he had long and laboriously wrought out,—"*à me longo tempore elaboratum*,"—his Canon of the Logarithms, prior to their publication in 1614. There is evidence that he had mastered the invention before the year 1594. Then he excogitated (*excogitarimus*) the mechanical system of figured rods, called *Rhabdologia*, or "Neper's Bones," for the benefit of those who might be distrustful of the artificial system of his Logarithms. His "Promptuary of Multiplication," he states to be the latest of all his inventions,—"*omnium ultimo à nobis inventum sit hoc multiplicationis promptuarium*." He had previously invented his mode of calculating with the *Abacus*, or chess-board; in the preface to which he again refers to the origin of all these valuable inventions; namely, that he had made it the labour of his life to rend the fetters with which applicate science was still clogged and retarded. He says that he devoted "every moment of my leisure,"—doubtless, from what he considered his chief calling, the Revelations,—"to the invention of these compendious methods of calculation, and to the

inquiry, by what means the labour and toil of calculation might be removed."

The great mass of Napier's loose papers and scientific manuscripts, along with a Bible containing his autograph, were deposited in a chest, placed in the garret of a country house belonging to the representative of that younger son, Robert Napier, whose precious illustrations of the divine art of Hermes we have to a certain extent ventured to disclose. Robert was his father's literary executor, and published his posthumous work, the mode of *constructing* Logarithms. Some time in the last century, the domestic calamity of destruction by fire of that country house, assumed somewhat of a public one by reducing to ashes the chestful of scientific manuscripts. These had never been explored, but their value, at least to the history of science, may be surmised from some remnants very accidentally saved. There had been previously transmitted to the then Lord Napier, as head of the house, two manuscripts, considered curious specimens; the one being that treatise of Alchemy, by Robert Napier himself; and the other, "The Baron of Merchiston, his Book of Arithmetic and Algebra." The contents of what perished, no man alive can tell. That which has been saved is a Latin treatise, "De Arte Logistica," comprehending both Arithmetic and Algebra.

It forms another of the many curious coincidences between the genius of Napier and of Newton, that the latter also wrote a Latin treatise of Arithmetic and Algebra, entitled, "Arithmetica Universalis," being the substance of his lectures at Cambridge. It is very interesting to compare Newton's work with Napier's, which for a whole century before had been concealed in a Scotch charter-chest. In this discourse I can only afford a single example; namely, their respective elementary introduction to the refined and subtle philosophy of *plus* and *minus*. A literal translation from each will be excused.

"Quantities," says Sir Isaac, "are either *affirmative*, or greater than nothing (*majores nihilo*), or *negative*, or less than nothing (*nihilo minores*). So in human affairs *possessions* may be called affirmative goods; *debts*, negative goods. And in locomotion, progression may be called affirmative motion; retrogression, negative motion; the first being an *increase*, and the other a *decrease*, of the path commenced. Negative quantities are indicated by the sign $-$, affirmative have the sign $+$ prefixed."

Bishop Horsley, Newton's very learned editor, commenting upon this passage ("Opera," t. i., p. 3). says :—

"If I mistake not, Albert Girard, doubtless a consummate mathematician, was the very first (*omnium primus*), to use the expression *nihilominus*, by a rude figure of speech utterly unknown to Diophantus and Vieta, and which I wish Descartes, and some of our mathematicians, had not so eagerly adopted."

Dr. Hutton, in his "History of Algebra," thus follows what we shall immediately show to be a complete, and, in such hands, a strange mistake :—

"Girard was the first who gave the whimsical name of *quantities less than nothing*, to the negative ones."

And what is yet more remarkable, the great Scotch professors, Leslie and Playfair, fell into the same blunder as to the origin of the phrase, the one condemning, the other defending a nomenclature adopted by Newton :—

"Girard," says Leslie, "was possessed of fancy as well as invention; and his fondness for philological speculations led him to frame *new terms*, and to adopt certain modes of expression which are not always strictly logical; though he stated well the contrast of the signs *plus* and *minus*; he first introduced the very inaccurate phrases of *greater* and *less than nothing*."

Then Playfair says :—

"Girard is the author of the figurative expression which gives the negative quantities the name of *quantities less than nothing*; a phrase that has been severely censured by those who forget that there are correct ideas which correct language can hardly be made to express."

Albert Girard was a Flemish mathematician, who flourished after the time of Napier. His "Invention Nouvelle en Algèbre," was not printed until 1629. Napier's "Canon of Logarithms" was first published in 1614, just three years before his death. Whatever Horsley and Hutton might have done, we are certain that Leslie and Playfair, whose admiration of the genius of Napier was unbounded, would have blushed to have had it pointed out to them, from a work worthy of being placed beside Newton's *Principia*, and which they ought to have known by heart, the very nomenclature they all so pointedly ascribe to Girard. At the outset of Napier's published Canon, we find the most precious practical application of that doctrine of *plus* and *minus*; which also forms a valuable chapter of his *unpublished* manuscript treatise on Logistic, where it is expounded

in terms exactly similar to what we have quoted before, from Newton's "Universal Arithmetic," but more fully and systematically. Had the proof rested upon Napier's manuscripts, only brought to light by myself at no distant time ago, their mistake would have been natural. But how came these four mathematical *savants* to ignore this important passage in that great work, the "Canon Mirificus Logarithmorum?" We give it from a translation published in 1616, and revised by Napier himself:—

"Therefore we call the logarithms of the sines *abounding*, because they are always greater than nothing (*majores nihilo*), and set this mark before them, +, or else none; but the logarithms which are less than nothing (*minores nihilo*), we call *defective* or wanting, setting this mark, —, before them."

This contradicts Horsley, Hutton, Playfair, and Leslie; and the contradiction is derived from a work of the greatest interest and importance to Science next to the "Principia Mathematica." Napier's mode of demonstrating the Logarithms, as we shall have occasion presently to notice more particularly, was by the idea of locomotion, namely, the motion of two points; one he conceived to generate a line by *increase*, in equal proportions in equal moments; the other, to facilitate his operations, he conceived in the *decreasing* ratio, namely, a moving point cutting off small parts continually, each small part bearing the same relative proportion to the line from which it was cut off. This, in fact, is an exemplification of the doctrine of *plus* and *minus* the very same as that which we have already quoted from Sir Isaac Newton's explanation of what he termed *affirmative* and *negative* quantities. Napier, by a phraseology less liable to cavil, had called them *abounding* or *abundant*, and *deficient* or *defective* quantities. Now, it is in his manuscript "De Arte Logistica," and before evolving the admirable expedient of Logarithms, that the Scotch mathematician, a hundred years before Newton, laid the groundwork for his future logarithmic demonstrations, in his beautiful general treatment of the subject of *plus* and *minus*; and we may here translate a passage from Napier's chapter, "De quantitibus Abundantibus et Defectivis," for comparison with the literal translation already given from the work of Newton.

"Abundant (*abundantes*) quantities are those which are greater than

nothing (*majores nihilo*) and carry the idea of *increase* along with them. These have either no symbol prefixed, or this one, +, which is the copulative (*copula*) of increase. Thus, if you are not in debt, and your wealth be estimated at 100 crowns, these may either be noted 100 crowns, or + 100 crowns; and are to be read, a hundred crowns of increase; always signifying wealth and gain. Defective (*defectiva*) quantities are those which are less than nothing (*minores nihilo*) and carry the idea of diminution along with them. These are always preceded by this symbol, —, which is the copulative of diminution. Thus, in the estimation of his wealth whose debts exceed his goods by 100 crowns, justly his funds are thus pre-noted, — 100 crowns, and are to be read, a hundred crowns of *decrease*; signifying always loss and defect. I have already shown that defective quantities have their origin in subtracting the greater from the less."

He then proceeds to lay down the general rules of the arithmetic of *plus* and *minus*, and to connect the chapter with the rest of his system, in a manner certainly not surpassed by Newton, Maclaurin, and Euler, in a far riper age. At the same time he was perfectly well aware that he was dealing with a most fructiferous department of his subject. In a subsequent chapter, of great interest and curiosity, when explaining a most original device of his own for a new symbolical notation of irrational roots (at a time when the modern algebraic notation was unknown), he refers to his chapter of *plus* and *minus* in these words:—

"Seeing, therefore, that a *surd uninome* may be the root either of an abounding or of a defective number, and that its index (*index*) may be either even or odd, from this *fourfold* cause it follows, that some surds are abounding, some defective, some both abounding and defective, which I term *gemina*,—some neither abounding nor defective, which I term *nugacia*. The foundation of this *great algebraic secret*, I have already laid in the sixth chapter of the first book; and though hitherto *unrevealed by any one else, so far as I know*, the value of it to this art, and to mathematics in general, shall presently be made manifest."

The internal evidence is quite conclusive, that this is no allusion to his great discovery of the Logarithms which had not yet occurred to him. He used the word *uninome* (*uninomium*), to signify a simple uncompounded "*concrete number proper*," which he defines to be "*the root of an irreducible number, and these roots are commonly called *surd* and *irrational**." Compounded quantities of this kind he called *plurinomia*.

Napier had too strong a hold of his subject to reject these latent and ineffable roots as *no quantity at all*. He views them, indeed, in their proper *concrete* character of quantity

or magnitude, rather than a *discrete* number or multitude; and he calls them "nomina," because susceptible, he says, "rather of being *named* than *numbered*." But he considered these quantities so profoundly, as to discover all their computational properties, and fully to illustrate them under the operation of all the rules of Arithmetic relative to *discrete* number and quantity.

There is also a mathematical quantity which has obtained the startling designation of *imaginary* or *impossible quantities*. Playfair, speaking of Girard, in the passage already referred to regarding quantities less than nothing, says, "the same mathematician conceived the notion of *imaginary* roots." This accomplished professor was not aware of the existence of Napier's manuscript. There can be no doubt, that by "nugacia," the old Baron means the *impossible* quantity; and his manuscript proves that he was the first to conceive the idea, and to propound its use, in the Arithmetic of Surds, and Theory of Equations. He explains minutely the nature of such quantities, invents a notation for them, and, with the consciousness of algebraic knowledge and genius, fears not to describe it as "a quantity absurd and *impossible*, nonsensical, and signifying nothing." He was, in fact, the first inventor (unknown to the world, his manuscript remaining unfinished and unpublished) of the Arithmetic of Surds, hitherto assigned to Girard. Early and rude as was the period of algebraic science to which we must refer Napier's manuscript, we find him treating these mysterious quantities with the most perfect command of their mathematical qualities, and looking forward with confidence and exultation to his own future applications of this "great algebraic secret." Nothing can be more interesting to the mathematical student than his opening chapters of Equations. They prove that he was among the very first thoroughly to understand that redoubtable department of Numbers, his treatment of which will stand a comparison with the best works of his illustrious successors in that walk, from Harriot to Euler. Upon the strength of this manuscript, then (edited by me for the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs in 1839), I claim for Napier the invention of the Arithmetic of Surds, the application of which to a higher department of Algebra is the secret to which he alludes in the passage already quoted.

IV. COINCIDENCE OF THE BINOMIAL THEOREM.

Even Euler's chapter of the Binomial Theorem, the algebraic glory of Newton, and engraved on his tomb, presents another remarkable coincidence between Napier and Newton. Euler, in his Algebra, presents the student with a table of integer numbers, arranged in a triangular form, from which he discovers the law whereby binomial coefficients are formed. From this table, indeed, he proceeds to deduce the Binomial Theorem itself, and concludes his chapter with these words:—

“This elegant theorem, for the involution of a compound quantity of two terms, evidently includes all powers whatever; and we shall afterwards show how the same may be applied to the extraction of roots.”

Now, the 7th chapter of the 2nd book of Napier's manuscript is entitled, “Of finding the rules for the extraction of roots;” and therein occurs a triangular disposition of integer numbers, precisely the same as that displayed by Euler. In the manuscript, however, the numerals are inclosed in a diagram of small hexagonals, forming a figure of singular beauty, for drawing which precise directions are given, and the inventor adds, “and thus you have my triangular table, filled with little hexagonal areas.” Manifestly the old Scotch philosopher required no more than the Cartesian notation, to have given the Binomial Theorem itself; a fact I proceed to illustrate.

In more modern times, the celebrated Blaise Pascal, one of the most profound minds ever created, has obtained the very highest praise for his “Arithmetical Triangle.” It is just Napier's table (of which Pascal knew nothing) in a far less beautiful diagram. Montucla, in his “History of Mathematics,” says of it,—“Les usages de ce triangle arithmétique sont nombreux, et c'est une invention *vraiment original*, et *singulièrement ingénieuse*.” Nay, so intimately connected with the Binomial Theorem are the properties of this triangle of whole numbers, that Bernoulli claims for Pascal the famous theorem itself. In his annotations on a work of Mr. Stone's upon the infinitesimal analysis, where the latter speaks of that “marvellous theorem,” Bernoulli notes,—“Pour l'élévation d'un binome à une puissance quelconque: *Nous avons trouvé ce merveilleux théorème aussi-bien que M. Newton,*

d'une manière plus simple que la sienne : Feu M. Pascal a été le premier qui l'a inventée."

Bernoulli was mistaken. Without pretending to enter into the question which that great mathematician so promptly determines to his own satisfaction, this much we may say, that Pascal, in his discovery of that triangular configuration of integer numbers, and its important properties, was not "le premier qui l'a inventée." It lay hidden, long before his time, amid the dusty records of an ancient Scottish charter-chest, and is minutely and profoundly expounded by Napier, in the progress of a complete digest of the whole art of Logistic. (*See Appendix to this Paper.*)

V. COINCIDENCE IN FLUXIONS.

"Newton's Fluxions," that refined expansion of the principle of the Logarithms which opened a new era in the science of calculation, are terms scarcely less familiar to those who do not understand them, than to those who do. But where did he get the term *Fluxions*? The reserved Sir Isaac was not in the habit of pausing to record the external suggestions and impulses which directed him to his rapid triumphs. When his unfortunate controversy with Leibnitz constrained him to give some account of his discovery of Fluxions, he so expressed himself as to seem to say, that the geometrical mode of flowing quantities, whereby he demonstrated the new calculus, and the relative terms *fluxions* and *fluents*, were original ideas, arising spontaneously in his own mind. That Newton ever meant to conceal any derivative impulse, or the source of any aid which his own pre-eminent genius had ever derived from a gifted predecessor, is not to be imagined; and one might as well accuse the sun of being a plagiarist of light, as the author of Fluxions of plagiarism in mathematics. Nevertheless, the following passage, which we translate from the Latin of Sir Isaac's "Introductio ad Quadraturam Curvarum," ("Opera," t. i., p. 333), is somewhat too exclusively expressed:—

"I here consider," he says, "mathematical quantities, not as consisting of infinitely small parts, but as described by a continued motion. Lines are described, and therefore generated, not by the apposition of parts, but by the *continued motion of points*," &c. "Therefore, considering that quantities which increase in equal times, and by increasing are generated, become greater or less according to the greater or less velocity with which

they increase and are generated, I sought a method of determining quantities from the velocities of the motion, or *increments*, with which they are generated; and calling these velocities of the motions, or increments, *fluxions*, and the generated quantities *fluents*, I fell *by degrees*, in the years 1665 and 1666, upon the method of Fluxions, which I have made use of here in the Quadrature of Curves."

That distinguished Scotch mathematician of the last century, Colin Maclaurin, the friend and assiduous commentator and expounder of Newton, in like manner tells us, how "Sir Isaac Newton considered magnitudes as generated by a flux or motion, and showed how the velocities of the generating motions were to be compared together;" and then he adds,—"*The method of demonstration, which was invented by the author of Fluxions, is accurate and elegant; but we propose to begin with one that is somewhat different,*" &c. ("*Treatise of Fluxions,*" Vol. i, pp. 2, 3.) And even Professor Leslie, a vast admirer of Napier's, following probably the same lead, entirely ignores the Scotch mathematician when thus recording the Calculus of Newton:—

"The notion of flowing quantities, *first proposed by Newton*, and from which *he framed* the terms *fluxions* and *fluents*, appears on the whole very clear and satisfactory; nor should the metaphysical objections of introducing ideas of motion into Geometry have much weight: Maclaurin was induced, however, by such cavilling, to devote half a volume to an able but superfluous discussion of this question."

This statement, from such a quarter, might have caused the old Scottish Baron to rise from his grave and exclaim:—

"Me, me, adsum qui feci, in me convertite ferrum."

It is the more remarkable, that Sir John Leslie was a most accomplished and ingenious explorer of the antiquities both of Science and of History. Why speak merely of Colin Maclaurin having superfluously defended Newton from the metaphysical cavil of introducing ideas of motion into Geometry, and why did Maclaurin himself break that lance as if the quarrel were a new one, seeing that, a century before, the inventor of Logarithms had been canvassed, criticised, and chided by the great mathematicians of Upper Germany, for introducing that very same idea of motion into Geometry, and was publicly and enthusiastically defended against them all by the immortal Kepler, long before Newton was born?

"When," says Kepler, "in the year 1621, I passed into Upper Germany

and debated everywhere with those skilled in the mathematical sciences, concerning the Logarithms of Napier, I discovered that they, of whose minds years had diminished the quickness in proportion to the acquisition of caution, were loth to admit this kind of numbers in place of the usual canon of sines. They said it was derogatory to a professor of mathematics to exhibit such childish exultation about any compendious method of calculation, and at once to receive into practice, without even a legitimate demonstration, a form of calculus which might some day, and when least expected, involve the unwary in the snares of error. They complained that this *demonstration of Napier's* depended upon the fiction of some kind of geometrical motion, whose lubricity and *fluxibility* (*lubricitas et fluxibilitas*), was quite inept to sustain the severe march of geometrical reasoning and demonstration."—*Kepleri Chilias, &c.*, p. 113, 1624.

And so this immortal genius proceeded, with great enthusiasm, and most amusing indignation, to defend the old Scottish Baron (of whom he had never heard until the Logarithms appeared), and to illustrate Napier's Fluxions, just as Maclaurin did by Newton's a century later.

Nor was this idea of geometrical motion, as a means of demonstrating new powers of calculation, either latent or barren in the hands of Napier. He announced it to the world at the very threshold of a work destined immediately to create a great revolution in science, abstract and applicate. The discovery of Logarithms does not afford an instance of the rough pebbles which Newton was destined to cut and polish. The original Canon, the most unaided and unsuspected of inventions, was presented to the world complete in all its parts, ready for the work of a new era in calculation, "*in seipso totus teres atque rotundus.*"

In the first page, first chapter, and first definition, in Napier's first work published in 1614, these words occur:—

"Linea æqualiter crescere dicitur, quum *punctus eam describens* æqualibus *momentis* per æqualia intervalla progreditur."

Of this the author himself revised a translation, wherein that passage runs thus:—

"A line is said to increase equally, when the point describing the same goeth forward equal spaces in equal times, or *moments.*"

And in proceeding with his demonstration he thus expresses himself:—

"Sit punctus A, à quo ducenda sit linea *fluxu* alterius puncti, qui sit B; *fluat* ergo primo momento B ab A in C," &c.

And then follows the corollary:—

"Unde hoc *incremento* quantitates æqui-differentes temporibus æqui-differentibus produci est necesse."

Now, in the first place be it observed, that Leibnitz, in the "Acta Eruditorum" for January, 1705 (p. 34), which commenced his controversy with Newton, uses the very language of Napier. Speaking of his great rival's introduction to his Quadrature of Curves (already quoted), he says:—

"That it may be better understood, be it known, when any quantity increases continuously, as a line, for example, increases by the flowing of a point describing the same (*fluxu puncti quod eam describit*), those momentary increments (*incrementa illa momentanea*) are to be called differences (*differentias*); namely, the difference between the original quantity, and that which is produced by the momentary motion; and hence the *differential calculus*."

Leibnitz then goes on to state, that Newton had called the very same thing *Fluxions*.

But, in the next place, even in the passages we have quoted from Napier's Canon, so far as the fundamental principle, and the exact nomenclature are concerned, may be perceived more than the coming shadows both of the *fluxions* or flowing quantities of Newton, and of the *differentiæ*, or differential calculus of Leibnitz. And surely it is worthy of remark, that the very words which the whole of Newton's commentators and biographers refer solely to him, without an allusion to the demonstration of the logarithmic fluxions, all find their exact Latin equivalents at the very outset of Napier's Canon, namely, *incrementum*, *decrementum*, *momentum*, *fluxu*, and *fluat*; while, a little further on, there repeatedly occurs the term adopted by Leibnitz, namely, *differentiæ*.

The genesis of a line by the motion of a point (the most simple idea in nature) is indeed a geometrical notion at least as old as Archimedes. But with the Greeks it was, comparatively, a barren idea, and produced nothing in mathematics. It produced neither the Fluxions of Napier, nor of Newton, nor of Leibnitz. The very first great fruit of that geometrical idea was the Logarithms; and as for the nomenclature, we know of no earlier use of the term *fluxions*, than Napier's *fluxu* and *fluat*.

Neither is this a mere unimportant coincidence of phrases. So strong is the mathematical affinity, in this matter of Fluxions, between Napier and Newton, that when Maclaurin applied his most ingenious mind to expound Newton's fluxionary method, he wrote a chapter "Of the grounds of

this method," which serves equally well to illustrate Napier's Logarithms or Newton's Fluxions. And even Dr. Hutton, who in some respects has done great injustice to Napier, in his elementary history of the Logarithms, finds himself constrained to observe :—

"Napier's manner of conceiving the generation of the lines of the natural numbers, and their logarithms, by the motion of a point, is *very similar* to the manner in which Newton *afterwards* considered the generation of magnitudes in his doctrine of Fluxions ; and it is also remarkable, that in article second of the 'Habitudines Logarithmorum, et suorum naturalium numerorum invicem,' in the appendix to the 'Constructio Logarithmorum,' Napier speaks of the *velocity of the increments, or decrements*, of the logarithms, in the *same way that Newton does*, namely, of his *Fluxions* ; where he shows that those velocities, or fluxions, are inversely as the sines, or natural numbers, of the logarithms ; which is a necessary consequence of the *nature of the generation*," &c.

And Dr. Hutton mentions this more particularly afterwards, when he says :—

"I shall here set down one more of these relations, as the manner in which it is expressed (by Napier) is *exactly similar* to that of *fluxions* and *fluents* ; and it is this : Of any two numbers,—'As the greater is to the less, so is the *velocity* of the increment, or decrement (*incrementi aut decrementi*) of the logarithms at the less, to the velocity of the increment or decrement of the logarithms at the greater : ' That is, in our *modern notation*, as $X : Y :: y : x$; where x and y are the *fluxions* of the logarithms X and Y ."

Here the mathematical language of Napier, when expounding his Logarithms, is shown to be *identical* with that of Newton, when expounding (in *Cartesian notation*) his method of Fluxions ; and to this illustration must be added the very significant fact already pointed to, that Newton's term *fluxions*, is also to be found,—and found so far as I know for the first time,—in Napier's *fluwu* and *fluat*.

It was necessary to be thus particular, as the assertion may have startled some of my audience, that, while the ancient Scotch philosopher was dabbling, and dreaming, and doubting in alchemy (just as the English philosopher was doing a century later at Cambridge, even when he had made conquest of the fluxionary calculus), the fundamental principle, and the very nomenclature of that immense impulse to calculation, *Fluxions*, were already conceived and recorded by Napier, in works which for their great mental power, and universal practical application, well deserve to be placed

beside the "Principia Mathematica." Nor is it too much to say, that the illustrious Newton's exposition of his Genesis of Fluxions in that controversial preface to his "Quadrature of Curves," would have been more perfect and valuable, as a page of the history of science, if he had condescended to add:—

"And after this manner Napier of Merchiston in Scotland, a century before my time, by drawing a moveable point along a right line, taught the Genesis of Logarithms which have become so indissolubly interwoven with the fluxionary calculus; and when I speak of quantities becoming greater or less according to the greater or less velocity with which the increase and decrease are generated; and of determining quantities from the *velocities* of the motions or *increments* with which they are generated; and when I call these *velocities* of the motions or increments, *Fluxions*,—I avail myself of Napier's demonstration; I adopt his mathematical reasoning; I use his very expressions, *fluxu* and *fluat*, and *incrementi* aut *decrementi*; and, with the aid of the Cartesian notation, I repeat, and expand into the regions of a new and more powerful calculus, this his own original proposition,—'Ut sinus major ad minorem, ita *velocitas incrementi*, aut *decrementi*, logarithmorum apud minorem ad velocitatem incrementi aut decrementi logarithmorum apud majorem.'

Had this been the language of Newton, how valuable would it have been to the fame of Napier, *and how true!*

The *greatest lever of Newton's fame was the Logarithms*. Not only was their practical aid indispensable to his calculations, but their mathematical principle, and most suggestive properties, are intimately connected with his algebraic operations in their more transcendental departments. Newton could not fail to know this; and, had the question been put to himself, surely he would not have failed to acknowledge it. Yet throughout his voluminous collected works I have been unable to discover a single allusion to Napier, or to his great invention. Newton commenced his ascent to the pinnacle of his fame, the throne of mathematics, having the beautiful system which has obtained the name of the *Arabic* notation, complete to his hand. Logistic was then ready for its gradual expansion through the new algebraic notation into the higher calculus. But Napier *had to complete* the Indian, or Arabic system of arithmetic, which he found inchoate and undeveloped in the XVIth century. Wallis,

whose algebraic works were the earliest impulsive studies of Newton, tells us, while tracing the history of Algebra,—

“ There are two improvements, very considerable, which *we have added* to the algorism of Arithmetic since we received it from the Arabs ; to wit, that of Decimal Fractions, and that of Logarithms.”—*Treatise of Algebra*, p. 15.

But who added them? When Napier attacked the mysteries of Numbers, neither improvement existed. When death unexpectedly cut short his labours, at the untimely age of sixty-seven, to himself belonged the chief merit of the one, and the sole glory of the other. Indeed his geometrical idea of motion, which he took to generate *ratios*, or proportions,—or as *Delambre* acutely remarks, when doing all honour to Napier in his “History of Astronomy,” “Cette idée de *fluxions*, et de *fluentes* qu’on a depuis reprochée à Newton,”—was analogous to the law of the Arabic notation, where the significant digit may be conceived to generate an infinite decuple progression, by travelling in a line by equal steps from right to left. But it was Napier himself who *completed* the plan. The working of *decimal fractions* is just the infinite *decreasing* progression from unit in the opposite direction. When this principle is thoroughly understood, it is simply to be operated upon by placing a point between. The system had been previously mooted on the continent in a ruder form, indicating a less ripe consideration and stage of the system. But, says Professor Leslie,—

“ It was our illustrious countryman Napier that brought the notation of decimals to its ultimate simplicity, having proposed in his ‘Rhabdologia’ to reject entirely the marks placed over the fractions, and merely to set a point at the end of the units. But his sublime invention of Logarithms about this epoch eclipsed every minor improvement, and as far transcended the *denary* notation, as that had surpassed the numeral system of the Greeks.”—*Dissertation*, p. 587.

When Kepler first turned his mind to the new discovery of Logarithms, he at once pronounced it to be the greatest development which the science of Numbers had received since the introduction of the Arabic notation.

Nothing is more characteristic of the ardent disposition of Kepler, or more consistent with the greatness of his own genius, than the enthusiasm with which he hailed the Logarithms. Writing to a mathematical correspondent at that

epoch, after revelling in some of his deepest calculations, he exclaims,—

“But I can conceive nothing more excellent than Napier’s method of proportions (Logarithms); and yet it is so long ago as 1594, that some Scotchman (*quidem Scotus*), visiting Tycho, even then gave him some hint of the advent of this ‘Canon Mirificus Logarithmorum.’”—*Epist. ad Petrum Cugerum*.

This “certain Scotchman” alluded to by Kepler, was Dr. John Craig, an accomplished mathematician, a great friend and correspondent of the Baron of Merchiston. He was also the friend and correspondent of Tycho; and being attached to the household of James VI., as his physician, had accompanied that monarch to Uraniberg, when the great astronomer was honoured with a royal visit. On his return, Craig informed Napier of his adventures there, and that great master of Logistic then caused him to inform the Danish astronomer (for whose imperfect powers of calculation the stars were becoming too many, though he had Kepler for assistant), that he had discovered the Logarithms, and was calculating the Canon. Can a better evidence be afforded of the difficulty and perfect originality of the invention, than the fact, that the Canon remained unpublished for twenty years after this information—admitted by Kepler himself—and neither he nor Tycho fathomed the secret? When it appeared in 1614, Kepler had made some progress with his Rudolphine Tables. Immediately he cast that portion of his labours aside, and recommenced his long expected work upon the basis of the Logarithms. He wrote to Napier that he had done so. Nor was this all. Surely Sir Isaac Newton must have frequently contemplated the ingenious and elaborate device of the engraved frontispiece to those famous Rudolphine Tables, published in 1627. Conspicuous among the tutelary deities elevated round the dome of the Greek Temple of Science there delineated, may be seen a female figure holding in either hand a rod of different proportions, and having the numerals 6931472 arranged in the form of a glory round her head. These numerals compose the hyperbolic, otherwise called the *Naperian* logarithm of half the radius of a circle. It is Kepler’s conception of the Genius of the Logarithms. The unequal rods in her hands are symbolical of the fact, that the Scotch philosopher was the first to infuse vitality into the mathematical principle of *ratios* or

proportions; a principle barren even in the hands of Archimedes, but destined, through Napier, to play a great part in the practical affairs of men, as well as in the accelerated progress of science. Kepler's public monument to his fame, is sufficient consolation for the fact that his own country has erected none, and that Newton forgot to name his benefactor.

VI. COINCIDENCE IN CATOPTRICS AND MECHANICS.

We have said enough to illustrate our position, that if Newton be the Prince of Mathematicians, Napier is King of Numbers. But his far-searching mind was not satisfied with abstractions destined to develope the long latent powers of calculation. He had not left untouched those inchoate systems of catoptrics and mechanics which the immortal Newton so grandly illustrated. Indeed, his practical value was well understood by the learned among his own contemporaries. Sir John Skene, Lord Clerk Register in the reign of James VI., the great legal antiquary to whom we owe the first collection of our acts of Parliament, the "*Regiam Majestatem*," the "*Quoniam Attachiamenta*," and the treatise "*De Verborum Significatione*," in the course of preparing this last work, came to the word "*perticata terræ*," which he defines, "from the French word *perche*, much used in the English laws, a rood of land;" and then he adds:—

"But it is necessary that the measurers of land, called *landimers*, in Latin *agrimensores*, observe and keep a just relation betwixt the length and the breadth of the measures which they use in measuring of lands; whereanent I find no mention in the laws and register of this realm, albeit an ordinance thereanent be made by King Edward the First, King of England, the 33rd year of his reign; and because the knowledge of this matter is very necessary in measuring of lands daily used in this realm, I thought good to propose certain questions to John Naper, fear of Merchistoun, a gentleman of singular judgment, especially in the mathematical sciences; the tenor whereof, and his answers made thereto, follows:" &c.

Sir John Skene's treatise was published in 1597; and at the same epoch we find our philosopher in communication with the governments both of his own country and of England, upon the subject of constructing unheard-of instruments of war, for the protection of the whole island from the "enemies of God's truth, and Religion."

Among the papers of Anthony Bacon, preserved in Lambeth Palace, there is a document subscribed, "John

Nepar, fear of Merchiston," in his own hand, and bearing this title :—

"*Anno Domini 1596, the 7th of June : Secret inventions profitable and necessary in these days for defence of this Island, and withstanding of strangers, enemies to God's truth and Religion.*"

The subsequent date of receipt by Anthony Bacon is marked by this indorsement :—

"Mr. Stewart : Secretes invention de la guerre, le mois de Juillet 1596."

Colonel William Stewart, Commendator of Pittenweem, sometimes called, "Knight of Houston," was Captain of the Guard to James VI. Archibald Napier, the philosopher's eldest son, was Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and well known to Sir William Stewart. In the year 1595-6, the latter was also entrusted with the important mission of Ambassador Extraordinary to the Emperor of Germany, and other Christian potentates, for the purpose of announcing the King of Scots' alarm at "being informed that the Turk was entered Christendom with a potent army ;" and offering his hearty co-operation "to debell the great enemy to our Saviour Christ." ("Hist. of James the Sext."). On the 1st of June, 1596, the famous expedition against Cadiz set sail from England ; the land forces being commanded by Essex, and the fleet by the Lord High Admiral Howard. Anthony Bacon (elder brother to the great Verulam) was the devoted friend and secretary of Essex. These facts sufficiently account for the document in question having come from the hands of Sir William Stewart into those of Anthony Bacon, in the month of July 1596. The propositions, indeed, were a day behind the fair ; and, probably, having been duly indorsed, were never looked at again. Some days prior to the receipt of it, with no other mirrors than those mirrors of knighthood, Effingham, Essex, and Raleigh,—

"Her Majesty defeated and destroyed the best fleet which the King of Spain had together in any place, and amongst those his ships of greatest fame, and in which all the pride and confidence of the Spaniards were reposed : The captains of them confessed aboard the *Duc Repulse*, that forty gallees were not able to encounter one of her Majesty's ships."

This gratifying announcement is quoted from a paper in the Lambeth Collection (Vol. xi., fol. 146), entitled, "The advantages which her Majesty hath gotten by that which hath passed at Cadiz, the 21st of June, 1596."

But, abortive as this patriotic emulation of Archimedes on the part of the ancient Scottish Baron happened to prove, the record remains a most interesting evidence of his own grasp of science in all departments. Manifestly he was no charlatan; nor would he have made any offer of the kind, unless under the same consciousness of having mastered the inventions, that had prompted, shortly before, his promise of the Logarithms to Tycho, in 1594. It is obvious that in the short *précis* of his inventions which he transmitted to the friend of Essex, Napier intended to conceal rather than expound the particular mode of his Catoptrics, and the principles of the mechanism he had conceived. Like other great inventors, even while benefiting the world by the publication of his Canon of Logarithms, he reserved the secret of his construction of it, which was published by his son after his death. But the document in question affords proof that for years his mind had been occupied with the subject. He positively states that he was now fully prepared, not merely with the *mathematical demonstrations*, but also the practical proof, and *visible demonstrations* of one and all of these warlike instruments, of which he expressly claims to himself *the invention*.

“*First.* The *invention, proof, and perfect demonstration, geometrical and algebraical*, of a burning mirror, which, receiving the dispersed beams of the sun, doth reflect the same beams altogether united and concurring precisely in one mathematical point, in which point most necessarily it ingendereth fire: with an evident demonstration of their error who affirm this to be made a parabolic section.

“The use of this invention serveth for burning of the enemy’s ships at whatsoever appointed distance.

“*Secondly.* The *invention, and sure demonstration*, of another mirror, which receiving the dispersed beams of any material fire or flame, yieldeth also the former effect, and serveth for the like use.

“*Thirdly.* The *invention, and visible demonstration*, of a piece of artillery, which, when shot, passeth not lineally through the enemy, destroying only those who stand on the rondon thereof, and from them forth flying idly as others do; but passeth *superficially*, ranging abroad within the whole appointed place, and not departing forth of the place till it hath executed its whole strength, by destroying those that be within the bounds of the said place.

“The use thereof not only serveth greatly against the army of the enemy on land, but also by sea it serveth to destroy, and cut down, and unshot the whole masts and tackling of so many ships as be within the appointed bounds, as well abroad as in large, so long as any strength at all remaineth.

Fourthly. The *invention of a round chariot of metal*, made of the proof

of double musket, whose motion shall be by those that be within the same, more easy, more light, and more speedy by much than so many armed men would be otherways.

“The use hereof, in moving, serveth to break the array of the enemy’s battle, and to make passage; as also, in staying and abiding within the enemy’s battle, it serveth to destroy the environed enemy by continued charge of harquebuss through small holes; the enemy meantime being abashed, and altogether uncertain what defence or pursuit to use against a *moving mouth of metal*.

“These inventions, besides *devices of sailing under the water*, with divers *other devices and stratagems* for harming of the enemy, by the grace of God, and work of expert craftsmen, I hope to perform.

“JO. NAPIER, fear of Merchistoun.”

A hasty reading of our philosopher’s first proposition might lead to the idea that he had fallen into the mistake of denying the well-established proposition, that a parabolic speculum reflects the solar rays to a burning point, the focus of the parabola. The hint lies deeper, and is very interesting. He proposed to burn “the enemy’s ships at *whatsoever* appointed distance.” But how could a parabolic speculum be constructed of such dimensions, that its focus, or burning point, could be thrown to any distance? And hence the famous exploit recorded of Archimedes came to be regarded as a fable; because many vain attempts had been made to realize it; all founded, however, upon a law of catoptrics undeniable in the abstract, and practicable within certain limits. To exceed this limit, indeed to be independent of any particular limit, was the object of the Scottish Archimedes, and one which he professed to have accomplished. Centuries after his time, we find the question keenly discussed by the *savants* of science. Montucla sets himself to controvert the idea of Archimedes’s experiment with parabolic burning glasses having succeeded upon the distant ships: “En vain,” he says, in his “History of Mathematics,” t. i. p. 232, “proposeroit on, avec quelques-uns, une combinaison de miroirs paraboliques, à l’aide de laquelle ils ont prétendu produire un foyer continu dans l’étendue d’une ligne d’une grande longueur; ce n’est-la qu’une idée mal réfléchie, et dont l’exécution est impraticable, par bien des raisons.”

Napier, nearly two centuries before, knew that as well as Montucla and Buffon. He expressly proposes to demonstrate the impossibility of the parabolic curve being so applied

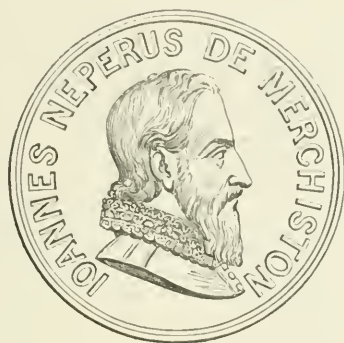
with effect beyond a very limited distance ; but at the same time he was prepared, he says, with—"Proof, and perfect demonstration, geometrical and algebraical," of his own invention, upon some other principle of catoptrics "for burning the enemy's ships at *whatsoever appointed distance*." The inventor of Logarithms was the last man in the world to have thus promised proof and perfect demonstration of the kind loosely or crudely, or upon grounds of which he did not himself feel perfectly sure. The great Descartes, no doubt, issued his fiat—but all reasoned upon the arguments of the very limited range of the parabolic focus,—that—

"Hence it is obvious, that, from a crude conception of optics, impossibilities have been imagined ; and that those famous burning mirrors of Archimedes, by which he is said to have consumed a fleet in the distance, must either have been mighty big, or, what is more probable, are a fabulous creation."—*Dioptrices*, c. viii. p. 22.

Napier's reply obviously would have been,—“But Archimedes knew better than to make such an attempt with a parabolic speculum ; I will show you how he did it, upon a different principle.” Accordingly, what do we find in the second century after the Scotch philosopher's announcement? The Count de Buffon practically controverting the dogma of Descartes, by operating with a congeries of plain mirrors, and setting fire to planks of wood, in less than a minute and a half, at the distance of 150 feet, and also at 210 feet in a like time. And this principle he showed to be capable of an extension only controlled by the limits of the materials, and as Napier said, “the necessity of the aid of expert craftsmen.” We refer to Buffon's “*Invention de Miroirs pour brûler à de grandes distances*,” in the supplement to his *Natural History*, i. 399.

Napier's second invention, which to us seems as fanciful as the attempt to read the sun-dial with the light of a candle, namely, to operate in like manner with “any material fire or flame,” I do not profess to illustrate ; but that he was very far in advance of his age, and of all the conceptions of the most scientific war-providers of the XVth century, and was, nevertheless, indulging in no fanciful speculations, but had anticipated the most dreadful yet now common engines of modern warfare—let the Congreve rockets, the diabolical shells, spherical case shot, and other

such awful devices, which characterised the “infernial fire” at Sevastopol, bear witness. And if we allow that *steam* can realise his fourth invention—that “moving mouth of metal,” the motion easily and speedily directed by those *within* “a round chariot of metal made of the proof of double musket,” it must be conceded that Napier was no less practical in his science than Newton, and that the old Scottish Baron now stands fully justified in those neglected proposals which he transmitted to Anthony Bacon in the year 1596.



John Napier of Merchiston

APPENDIX.

The subject of our fourth coincidence, relative to the Binomial Theorem, is so curious and interesting, that a more particular illustration will be acceptable to the student of mathematics.

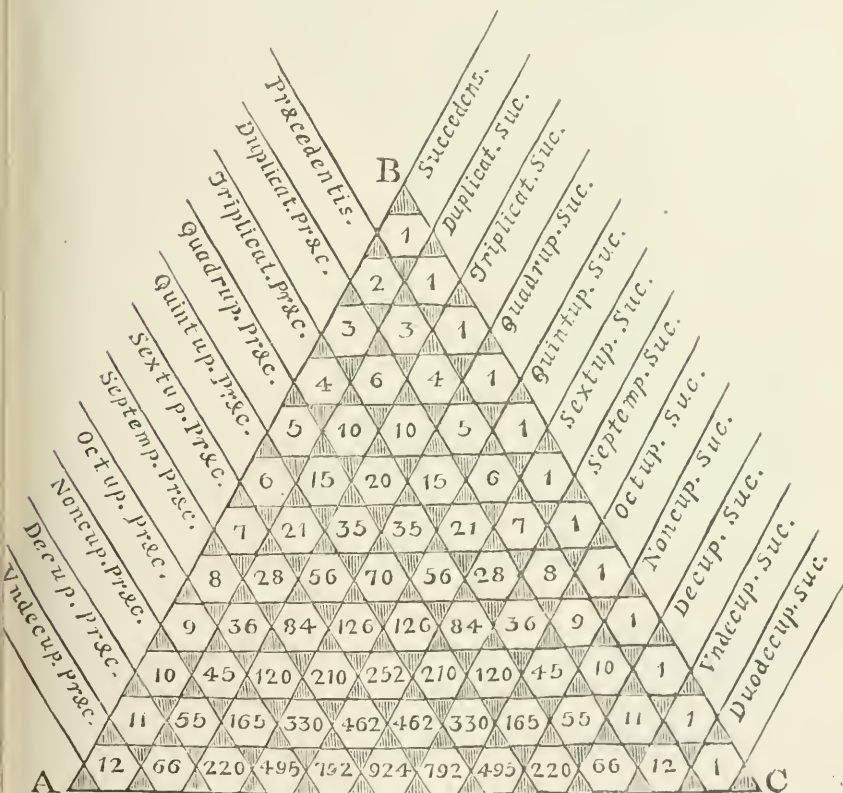
Of the extraction of roots it has been observed, that among all the questions which the development of our ideas of number places in review before us, there is none which, independently of the importance of the solution, has a greater tendency to excite the curiosity of every mind born for calculation. It is comparatively easy to raise roots to powers, but when we demand the roots back again it is not so easy to obtain them. Accordingly, the 7th chapter of the second book of Napier's manuscript digest of Logistic, is entitled, "Of finding the rules for radical extraction." And here the Scotch mathematician, a century before the time of Newton, is disclosed to us on the very track of the famous Binomial Theorem. "Every root," he says, "has its own appropriate and particular rule of extraction. Each rule of extraction consists in resolving the radicate (*radicatum*, Napier's term for *power*) into its supplements (*in sua supplementa*). The supplement is the difference between two *radicates* of the same species. Thus, 100 and 144 are both *duplicates* (Napier's term for the *square*), the one of 10, and the other of 12; and the difference between them is 44, which is the true *supplement* of the foresaid *radicates*. Supplements are as various, therefore, as the varieties of the species of radicates (powers) and roots. There is one rule for finding the supplements of *duplication*, and of the extraction of the *bipartient* root; another of *triplication*, and the extraction of the *tripartient* root; and so on of all the rest. But MY TRIANGULAR TABLE, filled with *little hexagonal areas*, having, on the right side, a series of units inscribed, and, on the left, a series from unit increasing by unity, and descending from the vertex,—every one of the little hexagonal areas containing within them a number, each equal to the sum of the two numbers placed immediately above it,—teaches the rules for finding the *supplements* of all *radicates* and *roots*."

Napier's directions for drawing the diagram of his Triangular Table.

"Let A, B, C, be a triangle, of which A is the left angle, B the vertical, and C the angle to the right, By so many species of roots as you wish the table to contain, into twice as many parts, and one more, divide each side of the triangle. For instance, in order to extend it to *twelve* species of extractions, let each side of the triangle be divided into *twenty-five* equal parts; then, beginning from the base, A, C, draw twelve parallel lines within the triangle, connecting the sides by the points in them, alternately taken. In like manner, begin from the side A, B, and draw twelve parallel lines betwixt the alternate points of the base and the side B, C, *extending* the lines beyond the side B, C, about the space of an inch. Exactly in the same manner draw the lines betwixt the side B, A, and the base, extending them an inch beyond B, A. Thus you will have the triangle filled with little hexagonal areas.

“Of these, the twelve to the right, and next the line *B, C*, must each have a unit inscribed within it. Those on the left must have the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, &c., as far as 13 (exclusive), successively inscribed within each, descending in their order from the vertex *B*, to the angle *A*. Then each interior hexagonal, still vacant, must have inscribed within it *the sum of the two numbers which are immediately above it*. Thus, under 2 and 1 must be written 3; under 3 and 3, 6; under 3 and 1, 4; and so on down to the heel of the table. Lastly, the table must be titled. On the *left* side, above the second hexagonal (2) let there be written, *præcedentis*; above the third hexagonal (3) write, *duplicatum præcedentis*; and so on, as far as *duodecuplicatum*. On the right hand of the table, write above the first hexagonal *succedens*; above the second, *duplicatum succedens*; above the third, *triplicatum succedens*; and so on, down to *tredecuplicatum*. Just as you have here in the diagram of the table itself, written below.

[Fac-simile of the diagram in Napier's manuscript, circa 1590.]



“To every supplement, two parts of the root correspond; the one part consisting of one or more left-hand figures, already found, and which is called *præcedens*; the other consisting of a single figure immediately

ON A NEWLY RECOVERED RUNIC MONUMENT AT KIRK
BRADDAN, IN THE ISLE OF MAN.

BY THE REV. J. G. CUMMING, M.A., F.G.S.
HEAD MASTER OF THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL OF KING EDWARD VI., LICHFIELD.

COMMUNICATED AT THE MEETING OF THE INSTITUTE IN EDINBURGH, JULY, 1856.

THE fragment of a Runic Cross, which is the subject of the following observations, was formerly built into the Church-tower of Kirk Braddan in the Isle of Man.¹

It was one of the stones of the lintel of a door-way communicating from the Tower into the roof of the body of the Church. I observed some time ago that on the exposed portion there were carved two of those remarkable scale-covered animals which form such conspicuous objects on the well known cross in the centre of the Church-yard of the same parish. On inserting my finger in the aperture between it and the adjoining stone, I felt that along the edge there were Runic characters inscribed. This made me the more anxious for its removal; and I made several applications and offers on the subject to the vicar and church-wardens of the parish, but at that time without effect. At a lecture which I subsequently delivered in Douglas, in December 1854, I obtained a promise that steps should be taken by the parishioners for its removal; but it was not till the autumn of last year that through the exertions of George Borrow, Esq. this was effected.

It is now carefully cleared of the mortar in which it was embedded, and it has been erected in the Church-yard along side of the other interesting Scandinavian monument which exists there.² The two are evidently of the same age, and, I suspect, may be by the same hand. They differ considerably

¹ A cast from this fragment was exhibited by Mr. Cumming, when this communication was read. It was subsequently presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

² See *Archaeological Journal*, vol. i. p. 75, and the "Runic and other Monumental Remains of the Isle of Man," by the Rev. J. G. Cumming, p. 29. Bell and Daldy, London.

from all the other Crosses in the Island, which must be regarded for the most part as mere slabs of stone, the central portion of which is occupied by knot-work assuming the form of a Cross, the spaces on each side of the shaft being filled, either with various devices of knot-work, or with very rude representations of animals of the chase or domestic use; whereas these two Braddan Monuments approach more closely to the form of the Irish and Iona crosses, and are of a more finished and delicate character than the generality of the Manx monuments.

From an examination of the fragment last recovered, we must clearly allow an addition of a foot to its length, not including the heading, which would probably be similar to that of the more perfect Braddan cross. If we take that face of it which is covered with the lacertine animals as the principal one (and the small cord running along the edge indicates this), we shall notice that there has been lost on the *obverse* (so to speak) a *third* compartment, somewhat smaller no doubt than the two others, the length of which, however, would be about twelve inches. This was probably filled with a device in knot-work. That so much of the shaft is lost, is evident also from the broken inscription, the completion of which would require about that space. The upper of the two remaining compartments consists of a plain riband, and one studded with large dots or pellets, interwoven so as to fill up the entire space. The form of the pellets in this example gives the appearance of a twisted cord, (similar to that on the edge of this monument) inserted in the middle of a flat strap. On other Manx Crosses the pellets are round or lozenge shaped. To preserve, however, uniformity in the general appearance of the compartment, and to avoid at the extremities the concurrence of two plain ribands at the interlacing, a small portion of the otherwise plain riband is pelleted, and the pelleted riband is for a small space left plain. In the lower compartment we have two pair of double *Triquetras*; one pair being formed by a plain riband, the other by a pelleted one.

The extremely rude manner in which the carving has been executed must strike every observer.

No parallelism of lines is observed. The ribands separating the compartments are of very unequal width, and the attempt to fill up the inequalities of the compartments, caused



Fragment of a Sculptured Cross, found in 1855, in the Tower of Kirk Braddan Church, Isle of Man.

UTR : RISTI : CRUS : THONO : AFT : FROKA : FATHUR : SIN : IN : THURBIAURN SUNR . . .

Oter erected this Cross to Froga his father, but Thörljörn son of . . .



by the want of parallelism of the bounding edges, is extremely awkward.

This is a circumstance almost characteristic of the Manx Crosses.

In reference to the scale-covered lacertine ornamentation, an examination of these two Braddan crosses compared with others on the Island, especially with the beautiful cross at Ballaugh, impresses me with the idea that it is simply a development of the ordinary riband interlacing.

In the compartments of the obverse side of the Cross under consideration we have noticed a plain riband interwoven with one ornamented with large pellets. By making two or three rows of pellets where the breadth of the riband will allow, and affixing a head, we have at once the scale-covered snake, or sea-serpent, so firmly believed in by the Norwegians. Comparing these two Braddan Crosses, we perceive that whilst the edge of one is occupied by two *plain* intertwisted ribands, that of the other has one of the ribands so dotted with pellets, that with the addition of the head at one extremity, it passes at once into the Serpent. On both crosses, and also on one at Kirk Michael, we have the appearance of feet or fins under the body. The interlacing ribands surrounding the body may be conjectured to represent the meshes of a net.

Such an idea is not inconsistent with the fanciful monstrosities which the peculiar genius of the Northmen impressed upon other crosses in the Isle of Man, whether we consider that they borrowed their general notions and ornamentation from Irish or Hiberno-Scottish models, or that they themselves originated the form and designs.

On referring to the Runic inscription along the edge of this fragment, we are enabled to form a conjecture both as regards the name of the maker of it, and its date. The portion of the inscription which remains, and which is very distinct, runs thus:—

UTR : RISTI : CRUS : THONO : AFT : FROKA : FATHUR SIN :
IN : THURBIAURN : SUNR. . . . *i.e.* Oter erected this cross to
Froga his father, but Thörbjörn son of, &c.

I believe that the last portion contained the name of Thörbjörn's father, and the word "Girthi," *i.e.* *made it*; so that the conclusion of the inscription would be,—“but Thörbjörn son of” (N. N. *made it*).³

³ There are at the present time living in the Isle of Man families of the name of Thorburn (Thörbjörn).

We have a similar form of inscription on a much mutilated cross at Andreas :—

. “THANA AF UFAIG FAUTHUR SIN, IN GAUTR GIRTHI SUNR BIARNAR,” i.e. (*N.N. erected*) *this cross to Ufaig his father, but Gaut made it the son of Björn.*”

On referring to Manx history we find that in the year 1093, when Goddard Crovân was expelled from the Isle of Man by Magnus Barbeen, or *barelegs*, (so named from his adopting the Highland costume) one *Other* or *Ottar* was appointed by Magnus as his Jarl or Viceroy in the Isle of Man.

The “Chronicon Manniæ” states that this *Other* was slain in an insurrection of the Manx in 1098. If we can imagine this *Other* to be the Oter named on this monument, we have the date for this cross at the termination of the XIth century.

I would observe that this date agrees very closely with that which has been assigned to the majority of the Manx Runic monuments by Professors Münch and Wörsäae, from a consideration of the language and characters in which the inscriptions are written.

Original Documents.

BILL OF MEDICINES FURNISHED FOR THE USE OF EDWARD I. 34 AND 35 EDW. I., 1306-7.

(MISCELLANEOUS RECORDS IN THE QUEEN'S REMEMBRANCER'S OFFICE.)

COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. CHARLES H. HARTSHORNE, M.A.

THE following letter and medical notices respecting the health of Edward the First, at a period shortly previous to his decease at Burgh-upon-Sands, are appended to a Roll of the Wardrobe for the 34th Edward I. They have been printed in the "Proceedings of his Majesty's Commissioners on the Public Records of the Realm, edited by C. P. Cooper, Esq., Secretary to the Board," (vol. 1, p. 556).¹ That volume, containing "Notes of Business for the Board," at the meetings of the Commissioners held in the years 1832-33, printed exclusively for their use, is of very rare occurrence, and with difficulty to be consulted in any libraries accessible to the historical student. We are indebted to the Rev. Charles Hartshorne for bringing under our notice the following documents, which are scarcely more interesting as regards the period to which they relate,—the close of the eventful career of our first Edward, the *Malleus Scotorum*,—than as illustrative of the obscure subject of mediæval pharmacy, and the practice of the Hygienic art in the fourteenth century.

The infirm state of King Edward's health had commenced whilst he was passing the season of Lent at Winchester, in 1306. The disorder appears to have been in his legs (tibiis), to which, and to his feet, were applied ointments of soccotrine aloes, balsam, &c., with "rebus desiccatis." After Easter he moved towards London, being conveyed in a carriage, as we are informed by Trivet—"movit se rex versus Londonias currizando, quia ob infirmitatem, quam habuit in tibiis, non potuit equitare."² On Whitsunday Prince Edward received the distinction of knighthood, and the young prince forthwith advanced with a large force by rapid marches towards Scotland, whilst Edward I. followed slowly, his infirmity rendering it necessary that he should be carried in a horse-litter.—"Cum in lectica deportatus Eboracum transisset, cœpit dysenteria laborare; propter quod quendam Nigrorum Canonicorum prioratum in Marchia Scotiæ, qui Landerecost dicitur, declinans, mansit ibidem toto tempore hiemali."³

On his northward progress from York, where he was on July 29, Edward had passed by Durham, August 1 to 7, Newcastle, August 8 and 11. He was at Corbridge on August 14, and by August 23 had reached Newborough, a

¹ Amongst the curious contents of this volume may here be cited the Inventory of the plate, jewels, sacred vessels, several "pixides cum tiriaca," and other valuable effects of Edward I., taken at Burgh, July 17, 1307. It includes the cup of St. Thomas of Canterbury,

the "Crux Neyghe," the "Blakerode do Scotia fabricata in auro cum cathena auri," &c., the "Crux Sancte Elene de Scotia," and a remarkable assemblage of relics.

² Nic. Triveti Annales, edit. Hist. Soc. p. 403.

³ Ibid. p. 409: from Merton Coll. MS.

village in Tynedale, situated near the northern bank of the river Tyne, and about four miles N.W. of Hexham. The king appears to have been detained there some days by aggravation of his disorder.

On September 8, Richard de Montpelier, the king's "*Especer*," or apothecary, was despatched towards London, to procure remedies required by the royal physicians. The following urgent letter from the keeper of the King's wardrobe is dated on that day, at Newborough. The "*Chronicon de Lanercost*" records that Edward had fallen sick at that place, ("apud Novum Burgum juxta Hestildisham"). It appears, however, that two days previous to the date of this letter, namely, on Sept. 6, he had been sufficiently convalescent to pursue his journey about eight miles further, to "Bradeleye in Marchia Scotie," doubtless Bradley, now a small farm-house, adjacent to the Roman Wall, near Housesteads. On Sept. 8 and 10, we find the king at Henshaw ("Heynessalgh"); on Sept. 11 at Haltwhistle ("Hautwysel"), Sept. 13, at Melkridge; ("Melkligg") Sept. 15, at Redpath; Sept. 16, at Blenkinsop, and on Sept. 20, at Thirlwall. Towards the close of that month he had reached Lanercost. The "*Chronicon*" before cited, states that about Sept. 21, Margaret, his consort, arrived with her suite at Lanercost, where she was joined by Edward on Sept. 29.⁴

By the skill of the royal physician, Master Nicholas de Tyngewyke,⁵ or the virtues of the remedies enumerated in the subjoined document, the king's health had become in some degree re-established. In a letter addressed to Pope Clement V. from Haltwhistle, dated Sept. 11, the king solicits a dispensation for his physician, whom he had presented to the church of Reculver, in Kent, so that he might hold that benefice together with that of "Colleshull" in the diocese of Sarum, which he already enjoyed. The royal letter urgently requests that this favour might be granted—"dilecto clerico nostro magistro Nicholao de Tyngewyk, medico nostro (cui, post Deum grates referimus de vita et reconvalescentia nostra de infirmitate, qua jam per aliqua tempora eramus fatigati)"; adding, also, the following high testimony of royal approbation—"præsertim cum eundem Nicholaum peritiorem et aptiorem de regno nostro, pro cura et custodia status et sanitatis nostræ, nostro judicio reputemus; eique ex toto curam corporis nostri commiserimus, ob grandem fiduciam quam de ipsius peritia optinemus." (Rymer, vol. i. part ii. p. 999).

Not long after, during his residence at Lanercost (Oct. 7), Edward renewed his request to the Pope, in regard to the preferment of his "dilectus clericus—magister Nicholaus de Tynchewyke, medicus noster," to the church of Reculver,—“utpote pro persona honestæ vitæ, bonæ conversationis, eminentis scientiæ, habilisque ad quamlibet dignitatem ecclesiasticam, nostro judicio, optinendam.” On Jan. 17 following, Clement addressed to the king his assent to the request on behalf of his skilful physician. (Ibid. pp. 1000, 1006.)

Edward I. and his queen remained at Lanercost, with the exception

⁴ "Rex autem, propter senectutem et debilitatem, lento gradu, factis multis parvis dietis et vectus in lecto supra dorsa equorum, appropinquavit cum regina versus Marchiam Scotiæ, et in festo Sancti Michaelis venit usque ad prioratum de Lanercost."—*Chronicon de La-*

nercost, edited for the Bannatyne Club, pp. 205, 206. Two statements occur, in which some discrepancies in the dates are to be noticed.

⁵ His name may have been taken from Tingewick, a parish in Buckinghamshire.

of a short visit to Carlisle, until March, 1307. Towards Midsummer in that year the king's health was so far restored that he contemplated resuming the command of his forces, in a fresh campaign against the Bruce, and he determined to send away Prince Edward, in order to complete the negotiations for his espousals with the French princess, Isabella. About Midsummer day King Edward made solemn offering in the cathedral church of Carlisle of the horses and litter which he had been of late accustomed to use,⁶ and, on July 3, mounted his charger, on his progress towards Scotland. A renewed attack of dysentery, however, a malady from which he had previously suffered, had occurred in the interval; the journey of that day extended only to two miles, the like distance being achieved on the day following.⁷ After a day's rest, the king reached Burgh-on-the-Sands on July 6, and on the morrow, the skill of Nicholas de Tyngewyke and his precious electuary, *ἀντι μορός*—antidote to fate,—proving of no avail to arrest the malady, his death took place.

We must leave to some antiquary skilled in the mysteries of the mediæval pharmacopœia, the explanation of the various technical terms occurring in the following document, including several obviously of Greek origin. The use of medicaments prepared, as it would appear, from pearls, jaciuths, and coral, is remarkable, but such substances were retained in the *Materia Medica* at a much later period. Amongst the drugs, for instance, supplied for the voyage of Sir Martin Frobisher, to discover the north-west passage, we find the items—"Margarita, corallina, coralli rubili, lapis lazuli," &c.⁸ Amongst remedies obtained from vegetable substances may be here noticed the oils of wheat, ash, and bay, water of the roses of Damascus, and wine of pomegranates, &c. The virtues of oil of wheat are commended by various old writers, and as late as the times of Elizabeth, Langham, in his "Garden of Health," assures us that "the oyle pressed out of wheat, betwixt hote irons, healeth ulcers and wounds," and he gives a long account of the remedial efficacy of the ash. The stiptic and restorative virtues of the pomegranate were in high estimation, and the rind, boiled in wine, was used, as Langham observes, in cases of dysentery. The price, however, at which such foreign productions were at that time obtained, must have precluded their general use; we find, in the following account, that six pomegranates cost not less than sixty shillings, besides transport from London.

In concluding these brief observations we would thankfully express our acknowledgment of the friendly courtesy of Mr. Hunter, who, with his accustomed kindness, not only afforded every facility in examining the documents relating to the close of the career of Edward I., now at Carlton Ride, and favoured us with an accurate transcript of those here printed, but permitted us freely to consult the MS. Itinerary of the reign

⁶ "Rex, instante festo S. Joannis Baptistæ, equos suos et lecticam, in qua deferrî propter debilitatem solebat, obtulit in ecclesia cathedrali." Trivet, ut supra, p. 413.

⁷ These particulars are given from Mr. Hog's note on Trivet, p. 413, where Edward's departure from Carlisle is said to have occurred "quinto nonas Julii" (incorrectly printed in Walsingham *Junii*) July 3. The letters to the Pope

and Cardinals, given in Rymer, dated at Carlisle, July 5, are not "Teste Rege," and were probably sent in the king's name after his departure. Mr. Stevenson's "Itinerary" gives July 1, Caldecotes; July 3, Kirkandrews; July 4 and 5, Carlisle; July 6, Carlisle, Burgh, Holmcoltram. Some of these dates are, perhaps, to be explained in like manner.

⁸ Proceedings of the Commissioners of Records, p. 75.

of that sovereign, prepared by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, and preserved in that Record Office. That valuable compilation, although it may not be infallibly correct, must always prove of great advantage in the prosecution of any historical inquiry connected with the period.—A. W.

MINUTE EXPENSE FACTE PER RADULPHUM DE STOKES, CLERICUM MAGNE
GARDEROBE ILLUSTRIS REGIS ANGLIE, ANNO REGNI REGIS EDWARDI
FILII REGIS HENRICI XXXIIJ.

Johan de Drogenesford, Gardein de la Garderobe le Roy, a Sire Rauf de Stok' clerk' de la grant Garderobe le Roy, saluz : Pur ce qe Richard de Montpeillers, Especer le Roy, est assigne daler vers les parties de Londres pur diverses purveances faire pur la maladie le Roy, sicome il est plus pleinement enjoint par les Fisiciens le Roy ; vous mank' et pri qe de totes maneres de purveances qil avera purveu pur la maladie le Roy, voillez aconter ovesqe lui ou assigner autre en vostre leu de ceo faire, et entrer ses parcelles en aconte de Garderobe. Et jeo vous en ferai avoir due alloance sur vostre aconte. Et ceste chose en facez a plus en haste qe vous purrez, sicome vous volez le sancte du corps le Roy. A dieu. Escrit à Neuburghe en Tyndale le jour de la Nativite nostre dame, lan du regne le Roy Edward Trente quart (Sept. 8, 1306). (In dorso) Montpeillers.

Ricardo de Montepess' pro factura cc. iiij.^{xx} ij. lb. electuariorum factorum de zucra gard', per manus domini J. de Langeford liberantis, prec. lb. xij. d.—xiiij. li. ij. s. vj. den. Eidem pro evj. lb. di. albi pulveris, prec. lb. ij. s.—x. li. xij. s. Eidem pro diversis suripis, medicinis, unguentis, elect' et emplastris emptis London' per dictum Ricardum pro infirmitate domini Regis, per preceptum ejusdem, exist' apud Lanrecost et Karliolum, ut patet per particulas plenius contentas in cedula quam idem Ricardus liberavit inde in Gard', anno presente.—cxxx. li. xvj. s. iiij. d. In cariagio predictarum rerum de London' usque Karliolum eundo et redeundo, una cum expensis dicti Ricardi querentis predicta eundo et redeundo cum v. equis.—c. s.

Summa elix. li. xj s. x. den'.—prob'.

[The following particulars are appended to the foregoing entry in the account.]

Anno xxxiiij. et Anno xxxv. apud Landrecost'.

Propter infirmitatem domini Regis, per ordinationem Magistri Nicholai de Tyngewyk, pro i. unguento cum aloë cicotrina⁹ et cadmeauri per sex vices facto pro tibiis Regis.—xi. li.

Item, pro alio unguento de rebus desiccativis cum balsamo, uncias sex.—xx. marc.

Item, pro cironis¹ fundatis de gummis pro calceis Regis.—cx. s.

Item, pro balneis de floribus aromaticis et stuffis herbarum.—cx. s.

Item, pro oleo de tritico.—xxx. s.

Item, pro oleo fraxini.—xviiij. s.

Item, pro emplastris cironeis diatrascos² hoc (sic) sirocrocium, lb. xx. pro stauro.—iiij. li.

Item, de Aquilon.—xxiiij. lb.—xlviij. s.

Item, pro oleo de terebentino distillato.—xl. s.

⁹ Soccotrina — "Alloë cycoterne;" expenses of John, King of France, Comptes de L'Argenterie des Rois de France, p. 212.

¹ The import of the term is doubtful. *Cironi* or *Cironei* is possibly derived from κηρός, κηρίον, wax, and may denote

cerates, applied to the royal heels, or possibly to the king's shoes—*calceis*.

² Possibly purified wax, τρακτός, *cera alba*. Ducange, Gloss. Gr. The signification of these words is exceedingly obscure: the scribe may have intended to write "hoc est."

Item, pro uno electuario confortativo cum ambra et musco, et margaritar' et jacinctar' et auro et argento puro lb. viii.—viii. mare.

Item, pro sucrosset' ³ acuat' cum margaritar' et curall' uncias iiiii.—v. mare.

Item, pro unguentis calidis lb. xvi.—xxxii. s.

Item, pro oleo laurino lb. viii.—xx. s.

Item, pro aqua rosata de Damase' lb. xl.—iiii. li.

Item, pro vino malorum granatorum xx. lb.—lx. s.

Item, pro uno emplastro pro collo Regis cum ladano ⁴ et ambra orientali.—lx. s.

Item, pro malis granatis vi.—lx. s.

Item, pro vi. unciis dimidiatis de balsamo ad corpus domini Regis unguendum.—xiii. li.

Item, pro pulvere aromatico de aloen, thure et mirra, ad ponendum in corpore Regis.—iiii. li.

Item, pro musco iii. uncias ad ponendum in naribus Regis.—lx. s.

Item, pro ambra orientali ad ponendum in cib' Regis et in claret', unc' xviii. pretium unciæ j. mare.—xviii. mare.

Item, per præceptum domini Regis pro domino Roberto de la Warde qui fuit paralyticus. ⁵

Item, pro xxxviii. glister'.—lx. s.

Item, pro oleo benedicto xii. unc'.—xlviii. s.

Item, pro pinguedine castor' unc' xvi.—xlviii. s.

Item, pro unguent' acuat' cum pulveribus castorii, et cum pinguedine castor', et cum pulvere eufurbeo. ⁶—lxix. s.

Istud unguentum fuit iterum factum pro domino Rege, cum balsamo et aloen cicotriino.—lx. s.

Item, pro j. electuario precioso quod vocatur Dyacameron' xii. lb., pretium libre i. mare.—xii. mare.

Item, pro cariagio istarum medicinarum de London' usque Karliolum, cundo et redeundo, c. s.

Summa vi. ^{xx} xiiij. li. xvj. s. iiij. d.

³ Amongst spices and drugs supplied for the use of John, King of France, during his captivity in England, occurs—"Pour j. quarteron de lectuaire sucre de roses, 18d."—Comptes, p. 213.

⁴ Ladanum, *λήδανον* of the Greeks, a gum resin formerly used as a stimulant and in fumigations. Ambra orientalis is probably the *ἀμπαρ* of the Greeks, supposed to be the excrement of fishes, the ambergris of modern times, found on the sea or on the coasts in Eastern parts. See Ducange, Gloss. Græc. "Ambra est Sperma ceti." Rulandi, Lexicon Alchemiæ.

⁵ Robert de la Warde was steward of the king's household, and had summons to Parliament amongst the Barons from 28 until 34 Edw. I. (1306). He had been in the wars of Scotland, 31 Edw. I. He occurs amongst the witnesses, Pat. 34 Edw. I. dated at Newborough, 31 August (Rymer): and he was with the king at Lanercost Priory, his name being found

amongst the barons present there when James Stuart, "Seneschal d'Escoce," swore fealty to Edward I. on the host, the holy Gospels, the "Croiz Neytz et sur la Blake Rode d'Escoce, et sur plursors autre reliques."—Rymer, vol. i. part ii. pp. 998, 1001. Of the Cross of Gneyth, or Neyt, doubtless the "crux dicta Neoti," brought from the Holy Land to Wales by a priest named Neot, and presented to Edward I. by a secretary of Prince David, see Mr. Topham's observations on the Wardrobe Account 28 Edw. I., p. xxxi., and the Glossary, p. 365.

⁶ *Εὐφόρβιον*, Euphorbium, spurge, of which the medicinal virtues are cited by Pliny, lib. xxv. c. 7; xxvi. c. 8. It is said to have been discovered on Mount Atlas by Juba, and the indurated juice formed a gum like frankincense. See Pliny's description of its preparation and uses.

⁷ "Antimoris—ἀντι μορός." Note in Proceedings of the Record Commissioners.

Proceedings at the Meetings of the Archæological Institute.

APRIL 3, 1857.

JOSEPH HUNTER, Esq., V. P. S. A., in the Chair.

BEFORE opening the regular business of the sitting, the Chairman said, "he could not forbear adverting to the great loss which the Institute had sustained since its last meeting, in the death of Mr. J. M. Kemble, who was an unfailing attendant, and a very frequent contributor of information from his ample and varied stores of archaeological knowledge. There were, indeed, few persons to whom the Institute had been more indebted, and he felt confident that all present would share with him in the regret which he himself felt, that we should see him here no more.

"But it is not within the circle of his associates in this Institute that his loss will be felt and acknowledged; there can be no doubt that throughout the realm of Archæology, his early and unexpected departure, leaving so many works uncompleted after having shown that he could do so much and that so well, will be regarded as an event greatly to be deplored. In one department to which of late he had chiefly devoted his attention he stood in the first rank of those who have attended to it, and here his long residence on the Continent, and especially in the northern parts of Germany, gave him advantages which few others have possessed in the acquaintance which he was thus enabled to obtain with the contents of the museums and cabinets of early remains of people in origin kindred to ourselves, and in opportunities of communication with foreign scholars who had directed their attention on the remains of their and our primæval ancestors. He engaged in the study of these remains in a philosophic spirit, and there can be little doubt that in his *Horæ Ferales*, had he lived to see it issue from the press, we should have found that he had done more than had previously been accomplished, to give this portion of Archæology something of the completeness and dignity of a science.

"It is in this department of Archæology that we have most frequently listened to him in this room; but we should greatly mistake in our estimate of his services, if we looked upon him only as one surrounded by celts and ancient pottery, or even by the more finished and curious remains which are sometimes found in the barrows: with the written as well as the unwritten remains of our primæval fathers, he was intimately acquainted, and he will for ever take his place as one of the most accomplished Saxon scholars which this country has produced.

"I do not pretend to be able to form a critical estimate of his literary power in this department, but it is, I believe, most highly estimated not only at home, but among the students of the Teutonic dialects among the learned in Europe. Nor am I about to detain you with pointing your attention to many other subjects of antiquarian and historical interest which

have been indebted to his industry or illustrated by his genius ; but I cannot pass to the business of this meeting without slightly alluding to what he was, not so much as a scholar and antiquarian author, but as a man and a friend ; to his agreeable conversation, his friendly disposition, and his willingness to impart information and to assist other inquirers in their researches when he had the opportunity of doing so : and I may be excused for mentioning in conclusion one instance of it in which I, then first introduced to him, received the benefit of it. It was in the year 1834. He was then living at Cambridge. I visited the University for the purpose of reporting to the Board of Commissioners on the Public Records on the amount of manuscript matter in the various libraries that would be found useful to historical students. Mr. Kemble entered warmly into the object of my mission, and I owed to him introductions which greatly facilitated my access to some of the libraries. Honour be to his memory !”

The Rev. W. HASTINGS KELKE sent the following notices of the ancient encampment, known as Choulesbury, in Buckinghamshire, illustrated by a ground-plan which is here given.

“Choulesbury, anciently Chelwoldsbury, is a very small village on the Chiltern hills, in the county of Buckingham, but within three miles of Tring in Hertfordshire. Formerly it was included in the parish of Drayton Beauchamp, but the advowson of Choulesbury was given by Marnon or Hamon Peverell, and William Peverell, about 1091, to the Knights Templars. The church, which is ancient, and built of flints, is very small, nave and chancel together being only fifty-one feet long, by fifteen feet wide.

“The Rev. David Roderick, the antiquary and friend of Mr. Leman of Bath, was incumbent of Choulesbury. He furnished, I believe, the account of Choulesbury camp for Lipscomb’s History, and an account of Grymes Dyke, given in Clutterbuck’s ‘History of Hertfordshire.’ In the two accounts of the encampment given by Lipscomb there appears a contradiction. In one he says the form is oval, in the other, square. In the latter notice he doubtless includes some earthworks which are evidently unconnected with the original camp, which, as clearly shown by the map here given, is of oval shape. Instead of there not being two entrances now clearly traceable, a careful examination will discover undoubted evidence of four. The eastern entrance, which appears to have been the principal one, adjoins an ancient road, now called ‘The Shire lane,’ which runs directly down a very deep and remarkable cutting to the Icknield way, which passes about three miles, in this direction, from Choulesbury, but in another direction it is not, perhaps, more than a mile and a half distant. Within the area of the camp is an ancient pond, called ‘Bury Pond,’ and also a very small pond, which has apparently been an old well, in which, tradition says, is concealed a chest of treasure.

“Grymes, Grymer’s, or Grim’s Dyke or Ditch, which passes within a mile of Choulesbury Camp, between it and the Icknield way, is an ancient earthwork, consisting of a trench and bank, which, in the more perfect parts, measure about forty feet in width and thirty in depth. Its course may still be traced, at intervals, from Verulam to the southern part of Buckinghamshire, where it passes along the side of the Chiltern hills, carefully maintaining nearly the same distance from their summits, till it reaches the Thames opposite Cookham in Berkshire. A few years ago it might have been seen in its most perfect state on Wigginton Common, but by a recent inclosure, it has been entirely obliterated there. It is, however, to be found

in good preservation in various parts, especially on Berkhamsted Common, and along old woodland districts. It cannot have been constructed for a road, because it passes over hills too high for carriages; nor could it have been designed as a fortification, because the bank is lower and the ditch more shallow over the lower ground. It was possibly the boundary line of some British kingdom or district."

The following account of this camp is given by Lipscomb, in his "History of Buckinghamshire:"—

"On the northern verge of the parish (Choulesbury), on the border of Drayton Beauchamp, is an ancient Camp of an irregular oval form, occupying a portion of level ground on the summit of that branch of the Chiltern hills which is common to the western limits of Herts and the eastern boundary of Bucks. The area includes about ten acres, the church and churchyard being included within the south-western angle of the entrenchment. The lines consist of a very deep trench and strong vallum or rampart of earth on the north, east, and part of the south sides, strengthened by a second line at the north-eastern and north-western angles, and also from the south-eastern part, in a parallel line along that side, until it disappears near the churchyard, part of which seems to occupy the inner bank, as the site of the minister's house does likewise the exterior rampart, which has evidently been levelled. On the east and west sides or ends of the encampment the foss is single; in some places thirty feet in depth, but towards the south-west it is nearly obliterated.

"In those parts where the trench is double, the width is about equal to the depth; and the ramparts between them, as well as the sides of the ditches and verge exteriorly, are covered with trees and brush-wood, excepting only where a narrow approach to the area has been left on the south and west. About the centre of the north side appears to have been another opening but long disused, so as to have become obscured by trees and bushes; and now, only to be *conjectured* one of the original entrances. The additions, at the angles on the north-east and north-west, have converted the oval form of the entrenchment into an oblong square; but considerable alterations having been evidently occasioned by the progress of cultivation, the vallum is less distinct at the south-eastern and south-western corners, where the embankments have been reduced and nearly levelled, and the trenches filled up; the appearance on that side is therefore less regular; the trenches, however, remain of considerable depth on the southern face, and perhaps partly in compliance with the shape of the hill, form a curve in approaching the west, so that at that end, the area included within them is much narrower than the opposite portion. On the north side the contiguous ground is nearly on a level with the area enclosed by the vallum; but on the east and west, where the trench is single but of great depth it declines rapidly. On the south, where are two ditches, the ground immediately contiguous is nearly on a level with the entrenchment, but soon gradually declines. Along this part of the camp is the course of an ancient road.

"In form, the whole more nearly resembles the Danish Camp at Bratton, than most others; and it agrees in many particulars with the most correct descriptions of the military fortifications of that people. Originally it appears to have been a single vallum round the top of an eminence, favouring the irregularity of the ground. One entrance, or at most two entrances, are all that can be traced. Outworks, or an additional angular vallum

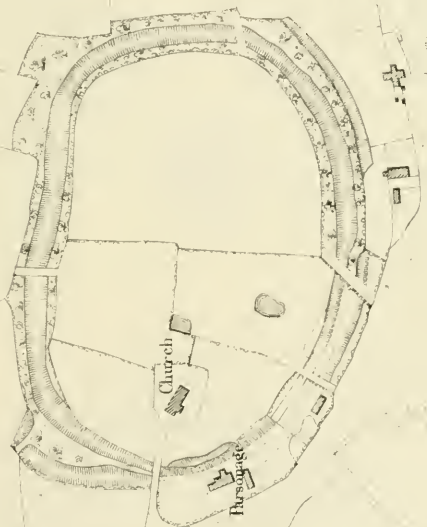
Plan
of the
BRITISH CAMP
at
CHOLESBURY.

1852.

From Buckland Common

COUNTY OF HERTFORD
SHIRE LANE
COUNTY OF BEDFORD

THE COMMON

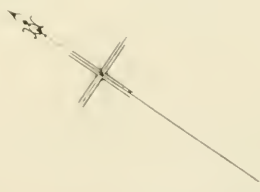


Church

Barrow

From Chesham

Scale of Chains



Remarks.

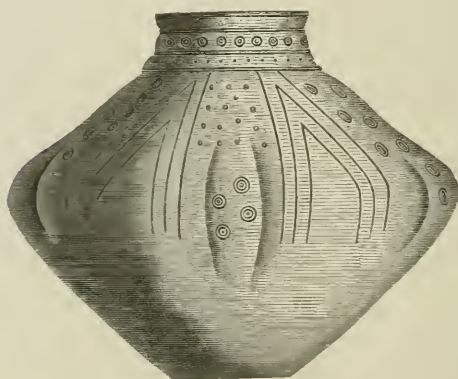
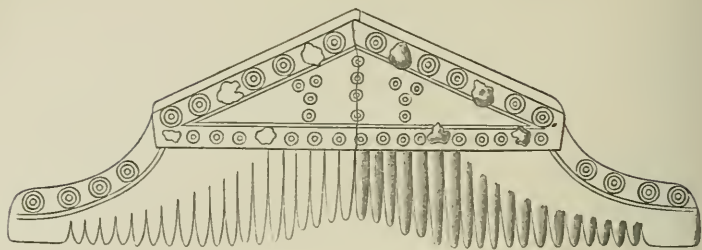
The inside area of the Camp
Quadrilateral including Woodland
Extreme inside length 897 feet
Extreme inside width 538 feet
The circumference taking the centre
of the foss is exactly half a mile
The width of the foss in its widest part
is 50 feet
Its present extreme depth 23 feet

From Tring





ANTIQUITIES OF THE SAXON PERIOD.



Saxon Sepulchral Urns and a Bone Comb, discovered in Lincolnshire.

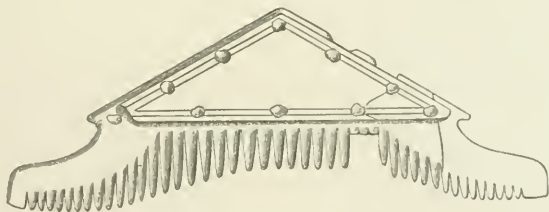
(The Urns, one-fourth orig. height. The Comb orig. size.)

having a double trench, have been made at the north-west and south-east angles ; near which the height of the neighbouring ground seemed to render such defence necessary. If any such works were likewise added at the opposite angles, they are now no longer to be traced ; the contiguous ground on the north, remaining in tillage up to the verge of the lines. Some suppose this to have been a British town, afterwards converted into a military work by the Danes, surrounded by woods, and occupying an eminence ; but it seems more probably a Danish encampment."¹

Several other ancient entrenched works exist in the same locality. At West Wyeombe, on a hill, there is a circular camp, with double vallum and deep ditch on the east side, and a shallow trench inclosing the remainder. There is another circular camp at Old, or Ald, Hollands, near West Wyeombe, above the station in Desborough Field. Also ancient earthworks on the side of the Chilterns, near Ellesborough ; and a high circular mound called Castle Hill, or Kimble Castle, 80 paces in circumference, which has been assigned by tradition to Cunobelinus, the 'Cymbeline' of Shakspeare.

The Rev. EDWARD TROLLOPE sent an account of Saxon interments, found in Lincolnshire :—

"During the year 1856, an interesting discovery was made on the property of T. B. Richardson, Esq., of Hibaldstow, just within the northern limit of the parish of Kirton-in-Lindsey, Lincolnshire. Mr. Richardson, in making a road on his land, had occasion to cut through a slightly rising mound, situated on a high ridge of ground running north and south through the greater part of the county, called the 'Cliff.' Here the labourers suddenly turned up a group of dark-grey Saxon sepulchral urns, from fifty to sixty in number, greatly varying as to size and pattern, but all filled with bones. From one of them (most unfortunately) a pair of brass tweezers were extracted, for as this article shone when cut with a knife, it was immediately pronounced by the finder to be gold, and the doom of the



Saxon Comb, found in a cinerary urn in Lincolnshire.

urns quickly followed, for henceforth they were dashed to pieces as soon as found, in the vain hope of finding more of such golden treasures. Thus some fifty of these interesting relics were ruthlessly and irreparably broken to pieces. Happily, however, the proprietor, when he visited the spot at a later hour, was able to rescue seven or eight from destruction. Of six of these urns I have been enabled to take drawings, through the courtesy of Mr. Richardson, and of the Rev. J. White, of Grayingham, who directed

¹ Lipscomb's Bucks, vol. iii. pp. 314—315. "At Choulesbury, is a regular oblong square camp or trench, 289 yards from east to west, and 207 yards from

north to south, surrounded by a double ditch ; probably an ancient British town." Lipscomb's Introduction, p. xiii.

my attention towards them. A small vase or drinking-cup was found within one of the urns, and some thin circular pieces of metal in a very decayed condition in another (probably fibulæ), also a portion of a comb, an object not unfrequently found in the Saxon urns of Lincolnshire, but never in an entire state. I am satisfied they were deposited in a fragmentary condition, and it is possible that the remaining portion was retained by some near relative of the deceased as a memento of the departed.

“On the northern side of the vases a quantity of stones were found—perhaps connected with the *Ustrina*, and above them from 4 to 5 feet of soil had been heaped up to form a tumulus.

“I also send for the inspection of the Society a drawing of an urn, presented to me by F. Eaton, Esq. It is of grey earth, and was lately found at Ancaster—the Roman *Causennæ*. It contained the burnt remains of a human body and the fragment of a comb. Two other combs, represented in my drawings, are from the same burial ground.”

Two of these curious combs are here figured, the portions deficient in the originals being indicated by outline, without shading. The perfect form of the reliques, of rather unusual character, is thus shown (see woodcuts, orig. size). Combs of very similar fashion occur in the north of Europe. See examples from the Museum at Copenhagen, in Worsaae's “*Afbildninger*,” fig. 287.

A short notice was received relating to recent discoveries of potteries near Chepstow, and some specimens of the wares were sent for examination by Dr. Ormerod. The site of these works, which are regarded as of the Roman period and are interesting, more especially as a fresh instance of fictile manufactures in this country in Roman times, is between the tumulus which has been described by the learned historian of Cheshire, in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxix., p. 96, and the cliffs overhanging the Severn. Vestiges of the kiln and numerous remains of vases of various forms have been brought to light; some portions of ware are glazed, whilst others present traces of a certain superficial colouring, possibly in imitation of the imported “*Samian*” wares.

A Memoir by Mr. W. S. WALFORD was read,—On Tenure Horns; which will be given in this Journal hereafter.

The Rev. JAMES RAINE, Jun., communicated the Original Statutes for the Collegiate church of Middleham, Yorkshire, founded by Humphrey Duke of Gloucester. (Printed in this volume, p. 160, *ante*.)

An enquiry was made by Mr. POYNTER whether any measures had been taken, on the part of the Institute, in regard to the preservation of the ancient church at Dover Castle, the demolition of which had, as it was reported, been proposed, in order to erect a new garrison church. It was stated that for upwards of a year past, the Central Committee had been in communication with the War department on the subject, and that there was every hope that the interesting remains of the fabric would ultimately be preserved. It had been deemed expedient, however, for the present to defer making any direct appeal to Lord Panmure on the subject, since certain information had been obtained, on the renewed rumour of the approaching destruction of the ruined church, a few weeks previously, that for the present year no such apprehensions need be entertained.

Prince ALEXANDER LABANOFF, in transmitting from Paris a copy of the Catalogue of the Portraits of Mary Queen of Scots, in his collection, and of Documents relating to the History of Bothwell, two works privately

printed at St. Petersburg by his directions, took occasion to advert to the interest with which he had received a detailed notice of the numerous portraits of Mary Stuart, exhibited in the Museum of the Institute at the Edinburgh Meeting. A full account had been transmitted to the Prince by M. Teulet, of the Imperial Archives at Paris, the learned editor of the Collections relating to Scottish History, preserved in France, who had been present at the Meeting in Scotland.

The works presented by the Prince are thus entitled: "Notice sur la Collection des Portraits de Marie Stuart, appartenant au Prince Alexandre Labanoff, précédée d'un Résumé Chronologique.—Pièces et Documents relatifs au Comte de Bothwell. St. Petersbourg." 1856, 8vo.

It was announced, that in consequence of the interest with which the numerous portraits of Mary Stuart, and the relics connected with the history of her times, brought together at the Edinburgh Meeting, had been viewed, and the liberal offers of many other portraits for exhibition, which had not been available at that time, it was proposed to form a further display of paintings and engraved portraits of the Queen of Scots, in the apartments of the Institute, during the month of June.

Mr. ALLINGHAM, of Reigate, communicated a singular document, being a license to Henry Shove, an inhabitant of Nutfield, Surrey, to absent himself from his parish church, in consideration of the impassable state of the roads. This privilege was conceded for a term of twelve years. Mr. Hunter observed that no license of a precisely similar nature had fallen under his observation. The Very Rev. Dr. Rock stated, that in the XIIIth and XIVth centuries such a privilege had been granted not unfrequently, in cases where parishioners resided at long distances from their church. Mid-Lent Sunday was termed "Mothering-Sunday," as it is said, because on that day all were required to be present at their mother church. The document preserved in Mr. Allingham's possession is in the following terms:

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos literæ nostræ testimoniales pervenerint, seu quos infrascripta tangunt seu tangere poterint quomodolibet in futurum, Robertus Mason, legum Doctor, Vicarius in spiritualibus generalis Reverendi in Christo Patris et domini, domini Richardi, permissione divina Winton' Episcopi, necnon officialis venerabilis viri, domini Archidiaconi Surr', principalis legitime constitutus, salutem in domino sempiternam, ac fidem indubiam presentibus adhibendam. Cum coram venerabili viro Magistro Willielmo Merricke, legum Doctore, Surrogato nostro, nuper allegatum sit ex parte discreti viri Henrici Shove, de Nuttfeild in Comitatu Surr', yeoman, domum solitæ suæ habitacionis non solum distare tria fere milliaria ab ecclesia de Nuttfeild predicto, verum etiam viam interjaacentem (tempore presertim brumali) adeo inviam et inaccessam esse, ut ipse una cum sua familia ad eandem ecclesiam ad matutinas preces audiendas accedere, ac illinc domum revertere, ac ad ecclesiam predictam antequam vespertina officia celebrentur redire, nullo modo valeat, sicut de jure requiritur; cumque sit insuper ex parte sua allegatum vias inter eandem suam domum et Ecclesiam de Horley, in eodem Comitatu Surr', non solum esse magis pervias sed multo etiam breviores; Sciatis igitur nos, Judicem antedictum, propter causas predictas aliasque nos in hac parte specialiter moventes, dedisse et concessisse (prout per presentes damus et concedimus) prefato Henrico Shove, suæque familiæ pro tempore existenti, facultatem et licenciam ad Ecclesiam de Horley predicto libere accedendi; ibidemque divinas preces et conciones audiendi, aliaque omnia divina officia ibidem

peragendi, a tempore in tempus, quamdiu ipse degerit in eodem domo : Sub hac tamen lege et conditione, quod dictus Henricus Shove suaque tota familia quater quotannis Ecclesiam suam de Nuttfeild predicto adibunt, ibidemque temporibus a lege constitutis sacram Eucharistiam a (*vicario* erased) Rectore sive Curato ejusdem Ecclesie recipient, sicut ad id sunt de jure astricti ; ac omnia onera eidem Ecclesie necessaria eisque incumbentia prompte subibunt, ac nullum inde Ecclesie de Nuttfeild predicto, vel Rectori aut Curato ejusdem pro tempore existenti, oriatur prejuditium. Licebit autem Curato (*vicario* written over the line) qui pro tempore fuerit Ecclesie de Horley predicto sub eadem conditione mortuos sepelire, et infantes e dicta familia baptizare, quoties erit oblata occasio (salvo semper jure Ecclesie de Nuttfeild predicto). Volumus autem hanc nostram Licenciam per spatium solummodo duodecim annorum jam proxime futurorum post datum presentium, et non ultra, firmam remanere. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum quo in similibus uti solemus presentibus apponi fecimus. Dat' vicesimo octavo die mensis Junii, Anno Domini Millesimo Sexcentesimo Tricesimo primo.

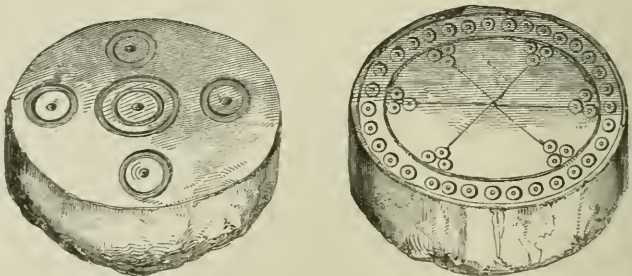
Nicolaus Sheppard.

(L. S.) (*sigillum deest.*)

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. HENRY LAING, of Edinburgh.—A collection of casts from celt-moulds of stone, and several very rare types of the weapons and other ancient relics of stone, found in North Britain. These casts, which are formed with great perfection, may be purchased from Mr. Laing, 3, Elder-street, Edinburgh. Amongst the moulds may particularly be noticed two for the manufacture of bronze socketed celts : they are valuable examples, on account of the two moieties of the mould having been in both instances preserved ; more commonly, only a single portion of such a mould has been discovered. The moulds in question were found in the parish of Rosskeen, Ross-shire, near a large sepulchral cairn : they are figured in Dr. Wilson's Prehistoric Annals, p. 224.

By the Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER.—A disk of bone, the upper face



Bone draughts-men, found at Lincoln. Original size.

ornamented with engraved circles, forming a figure with six cusplings. Diameter, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch ; thickness, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch. It was found in the Isle of Aranmore, on the west coast of Connemara, and had doubtless been used as a piece for the game of tables, or draughts. Disks of bone, of similar

character, and probably for similar uses, have been brought under the notice of the Institute on several occasions. Those here figured were found at Lincoln with Roman remains, and have been regarded by some antiquaries as relics of the Roman period. They are probably of a later age.

A penannular bronze object, probably part of a brooch or buckle, found at Bedford; a knife-handle of the XIVth century, representing a female holding a falcon on her left hand, sculptured with considerable taste; a six-foiled bronze brooch; and a spoon of base metal;—these three relics were found at Winchester.

By Mr. G. BISH WEBB.—A bronze socketed celt, described as found in the Thames, near Staines; and a glass ampulla, 3 inches in height, discovered near the same place, in railway cuttings.

By Mr. W. F. VERNON.—A drawing, by Major Beauchamp Walker, of an inscribed Roman monument in the court-yard of the mosque at Ismid, (*Nicomedeia*), in Anatolia, the ancient seat of the kings of Bithynia. It resembles the upper portion of an altar with a cavity, or *focus*, the base being concealed in the ground—it may, however, have been the pedestal of a statue. On one side is the following inscription to Constantine the Great, who died at this very place, A.D. 337 :—

OPTIMO · BENIGNISSIMO · QVE.
 PRINCIPI · FLAVIO · VALERIO.
 CONSTANTINO · NOB · CAESARI.
 GERMANICO · MAX · CONS · COLONIA.
 NICOMEDENSIVM · D · N · M · CÆIVS.

The remainder is illegible. Major Walker stated that many similar remains might doubtless be found at Ismid. The town presents innumerable fragments of marble, columns and slabs, built into the modern houses, and he saw a stone-cutter busily engaged in cutting a tomb-stone out of a marble block, evidently of the Roman age.

Major Walker sent also drawings of a metal crucifix picked up on the field of Inkerman, Nov. 5, 1854, and a small metal tablet, with the figure of a saint, found at Alma. The figure of our Lord, on the former, is accompanied by inscriptions and sacred symbols very rudely designed; angels, the Holy Dove, and the symbols of the Passion, in the usual fashion of Greco-Russian objects of this class.

Mr. EDWARD FALKENER exhibited the original surveys of Ephesus, and illustrations of the vestiges of the ancient grandeur of that ancient city, prepared for his forthcoming work—"Ephesus and the Temple of Diana." The plans, corrected by actual measurements, show, for the first time, with the accurate detail which the importance of the remains deserve, the ichnography of that remarkable locality, the ancient port, the agora, forum, theatre, stadium, and vestiges of other monuments; the tombs, the "Cave of the Seven Sleepers," &c. Mr. Falkener brought also for inspection views of the exterior and interior of the Mosque at Aiaslik, near Ephesus, a structure of remarkable architectural features; of the picturesque Turkish cemetery near Ephesus, and other drawings illustrative of the subject of his monograph, shortly to be published.²

² This work will be produced by subscription by Messrs. Trübner; Mr. Falkener is well-known to archæologists as the

Editor of the "Museum of Classical Antiquities," and as the author of other valuable publications.

Mr. FALKENER produced also the case or cabinet of ebony, originally in the possession of Charles I., and in which a limning by Peter Oliver, after Titian, had once been placed, amongst the collections of art formed by that king. The cabinet is formed with panelled doors, as a protection to the painting when suspended on the wall: it measures $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 9; and on the back may be seen the brand-mark of the royal collection—C. R. with a crown. A paper is also attached to the back of the cabinet, with the following memorandum by Abraham Vanderdoort, who was keeper of the king's cabinet at Whitehall—“9 Hind shelf of his Mj^s Cab^t room Cubbards in y^e Wh. Hall, 1639, O. f. 6. O. f. 9,” signifying the measurement of the limning, namely, 6 inches by 9. In Vanderdoort's catalogue of the collection of Charles I., preserved amongst the Ashmolean MSS., and published in 1757, from a transcript by Vertue, the following entry occurs (pp. 32, 35):—“Here followeth the fourth book of the King's limned pieces and pictures, being No. 10, that are kept in his Majesty's new erected Cab^t room within the cupboards at this present time at Whitehall [c. 1639], whereof ten limned pieces are in double shutting cases with locks and keys, the particulars thereof specified as follows.—No. 9. Done by Peter Oliver after Titian.—The great limned piece, done upon the right light, *ninth*; lying along, a naked woman on her back, where by the chamber afar off is a little waiting woman kneeling, taking something out of a chest; another waiting woman coming after bringing along a pillow; whereof my Lord Chamberlain hath the principal in oil colours; the limned piece being dated 1638.” The original painting of this subject by Titian is in the Tribune, in the Gallery at Florence. The ebony case and limning enclosed in it appears to have remained in the Royal Collection subsequently to the dispersion of the principal works of Art in possession of Charles I., and is thus described in Vertue's Catalogue of Pictures in Queen Caroline's closet at Kensington, taken by him in 1743.—“No. 50. In a black ebony case with folding doors, a limning of Venus lying on a couch: *out of K. Charles I. cabinet.* After Titian by Peter Oliver.” This case was recently purchased at an auction in London. The limning having unfortunately been removed from it, Mr. Falkener had supplied its place by a beautiful drawing of a Crucifixion, from the Jacob's Kirche at Lubeck.

By Mr. W. BURGES.—A drawing of the silver hen with six chickens feeding around her, presented by Theodelinda to the church at Monza. See the Memoir by Mr. Burges, p. 16, *ante*. The eye of the hen, which is of life size, is set with an antique intaglio; a figure standing. Also an impression from an antique intaglio on the cross of Berengarius at Monza; a warrior holding a spear.

By Mr. J. H. LE KEUX.—Drawings of various Roman inscriptions from the Roman Wall, and sculptured stones. Drawn by John Carter, in 1795. A coloured representation of a Mosaic pavement found Oct. 15, 1782, under the cellars of a house at Leicester. The subject is a man standing near a stag, which he apparently is leading by a cord, and in front is a winged boy. This pavement has been figured in Nichols' History of Leicestershire.

By the Rev. EDWARD WILTON.—A small ancient spoon of silver, lately found in digging foundations for the new Market House at Devizes, near the Bear Inn.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—Four beautiful weapons, consisting of a Persian battle-axe of steel, with engraved handle, the blade perforated with a quatrefoil; a Turkish martel, the head inlaid with brass, orna-

mented with punched markings; a Persian battle-axe of steel cased with silver richly engraved and parcel-gilt. The haft contains a knife screwed into it. Also a German mazouelle of steel, the head elaborately formed with six crocketed blades, each of them pierced with a trefoil; the haft is a square bar of steel, twisted spirally and furnished with an hexagonal guard for the hand. This beautifully-wrought specimen of metal-work is of the fifteenth century.

May 1, 1857.

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

The Rev. J. W. DUNN, Vicar of Warkworth, communicated the following particulars regarding a sepulchral cist found recently at Amble, Northumberland, near the mouth of the river Coquet:—A long upright stone was noticed, in "winning stones" near the shore, standing out of the shale to the height of about 14 inches. Alongside this stone was a large unwrought slab, which was found to be the covering of a grave, containing a skeleton, lying on its left side, with the head to the S. W.: the knees raised, and the right arm thrown back. On either side, on a line with the elbows, stood an urn. One of these crumbled to pieces; the other had been preserved, and was in the possession of Mr. T. G. Smith, of Togstone,³ on whose estates the discovery took place. (See woodcut.) The urn resembles that found at Hawkhill, near Lesbury, now in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, and other sepulchral urns found in the district. It contained a small quantity of dark earth.

The grave appeared to have been dug out of the friable shale which lies upon the harder rock. It was composed of four side-stones, closely backed up with stones roughly broken. The ends were overlapped by the sides. The grave lay S. E. and N. W., and measured as follows:—Depth, 18½ in.; width, 26 in., and length, at bottom 4 ft., at top 3 ft. 4 in. The bottom of the grave was covered, to the depth of about ½ inch, with dark unctuous earth. Amongst the rubbish forming the filling up of the sides was found a piece of silex, which may have served as an arrow-head (see woodcut), and in the S. W. corner of the grave was placed a large, smooth cobblestone, of irregular form, measuring about 6 inches by 5, the weight being 4½ lbs. It was conjectured that it might have formed a sort of rude weapon. The slab projected on all sides beyond the grave, and the upright stone first noticed was set up, not at one of the ends, but along its length.



Fragment of Flint.
Length, 1½ in.

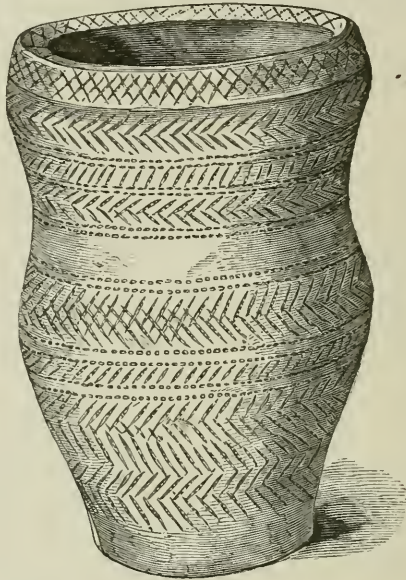
The skull must have been very characteristic from the unusual lowness of the frontal region, the striking development of the occipital portion of the head, and the great width and length of the lower jaw. The teeth are said to have been regular and quite sound. The thigh bone measured 19½ in., indicating that the deceased had been a man of large size.

The urn is of a light clay colour, and measures in height, 8 in.; depth, 7¼ in.; diameter, 5½ in. It is ornamented with zigzag scorings, alter-

³ This fine example of the highly ornamented Northumbrian urns has been presented to the Duke of Northumber-

land by Mr. Smith, and is preserved in his Grace's Museum at Alnwick Castle.

nately with dotted and upright, or sometimes slanting lines, and the scorings are continued over the edge of the rim, as may be usually noticed in urns found in Northumberland, and those of similar fashion, accompanying



Sepulchral Urn, found at Amble, Northumberland.

early burials in the southern parts of Scotland. The massive stone noticed by Mr. Dunn, if in fact to be regarded as intentionally deposited in the grave, may have been thus preserved as having occasioned the death of the deceased.

Mr. ALBERT WAY offered some observations on the remarkable relic of Roman times in Britain, known as "The Rudge Cup," which was exhibited by permission of the Duke of Northumberland. The traces of the preservation of this cup had for some time been lost, until it was happily brought to light again very recently, in the possession of his Grace, at Northumberland House. The cup was found in 1725 on the site of a Roman building at Rudge Coppice, near Froxfield, six miles east from Marlborough, Wilts. The discovery occurred in the course of excavations made by direction of the Earl of Hertford, afterwards Duke of Somerset, and by creation in 1749 Earl of Northumberland. The Earl took an active part in promoting the taste for antiquarian pursuits which arose at that time: he was the patron of Stukeley, and succeeded Le Neve, in 1724, as President of the Society of Antiquaries, an office which he retained till the close of his life. Lethicullier states in a letter to Mr. Wise, dated May 25, 1726, that Lord Hertford had given him an account of the discoveries made during the previous year at Rudge:—"A farmer having noticed some foundations through a large tract of ground, his Lordship immediately ordered some labourers to search among them, and it was not long before they came to a tessellated pavement, 17 ft. long, and 15 ft. wide, of which a drawing has been taken and since engraved. Not far from the pavement a well was discovered, but filled with rubbish; in the clearing of which

they found several bones of beasts, four or five human skeletons, and some medals of the lower empire; but, what is most curious is a brass cup, about 4 in. in diameter, and 3 deep. The outside of it is wrought, and has been enamelled with red, blue, and green."⁴ Lethicullier proceeds to describe the inscription. Horsley, in his "Britannia Romana," published in 1732, first published representations of the Rudge Cup, of which he gives three views, with a statement of the opinions of Gale and Baron Clerk regarding it. (Inscriptions, Wiltshire, No. 75, and p. 329.) "Though the print of this antique cup (Horsley remarks) was but in few hands before, yet his Lordship, out of his great humanity and strict regard to good letters, readily consented to have it inserted in this collection, and favoured me with a sight of the original. The bottom of the cup is broken off from it, but is yet also in his Lordship's possession."

The inscription around the rim of the cup presents five names of places which, although not hitherto satisfactorily identified, are undoubtedly Stations either on the line of the Roman Wall in Northumberland, or adjacent to it. This difficult question will no doubt be fully discussed in the "Corpus Inscriptionum per Lineam Valli," to be published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, under the editorial care of Dr. Collingwood Bruce, and of which the numerous requisite illustrations have been liberally contributed by the Duke of Northumberland. It will suffice here to give the precise reading of the inscription as follows—A · MAIS ABALLAVA VXELODVM CAMBOGLANS BANNA. Some traces of enamel may be perceived in the cavities of the work; the colours being a dull red, pale greenish blue, and full smalt blue. The process of art is the *champlevé*, of which few examples of that early period exist; the vase found in one of the Bartlow tumuli being that most worthy of mention.⁵

The Very Rev. Dr. Rock observed that in the Museum of the Collegio Romano at Rome, there are three singular silver vessels of cylindrical form, resembling milliary columns, each of them engraved with the Itinerary of the stations between Cadiz and Rome. They had been found in 1852 in the "Acque Apollinari," the ancient baths of mineral water at Vicarello, with numerous votive vases of great beauty, medals, and other relics, which had been thrown into the reservoir of the baths, doubtless, as *ex voto* offerings to Apollo and the Nymphs who presided over the waters. This discovery has been related by the Padre Marchi, and the cups are figured in his Memoir, "La Stipe tributata alla Divinità delle Acque Apollinari." Rome, 1852. The fact that the Rudge cup had been found in a well might possibly be significant of some similar *cultus* of divinities associated in ancient times with springs and waters.

Another remarkable illustration of the usage of throwing votive offerings into springs of water is supplied by the discovery of the temple of the Goddess *Sequana*, frequented for the cure of all diseases, near the sources

⁴ Hoare's "Ancient Wilts," vol. ii. p. 122, from MSS. Collections made by Lethicullier. Sir Richard remarks that this curious cup still remains preserved by the Duke of Northumberland. He gives a representation of it, copied from Horsley, and a plate of the pavement discovered and laid open in 1725, by Mr. William George, who was steward to Mr.

Popham of Littlecote Park. Gough, in his edition of "Camden," vol. i. p. 163, ed. 1806, gives 1723 as the year when Mr. George found the pavement. Gough has a figure of the cup, a copy from Horsley's.

⁵ See a representation of the Bartlow vase in this Journal, vol. xii. p. 418.

of the Seine; and of the large deposit there found of *ex voto* offerings and medals enclosed in an ovoid vase, inscribed *DEE SEQVANA (sic)*.⁶

Dr. BUIST, of Bombay, observed in regard to the bow of horn, stated to have been found in the Cambridgeshire fens (described in this Journal, vol. xiii. p. 412), and sent by Mr. G. P. Minty for his examination, that it closely resembles in form the bow used in Northern India, similar to the Parthian bow, and that represented in Greek sculptures. The bows of that district were occasionally formed of a single horn, and the horns of the Indian buffalo are of sufficient length to supply material for such a bow as that exhibited. He inclined to believe it of Oriental origin, although possibly of considerable antiquity. The bows made in Bombay are formed of buffalo-horn and bamboo in thin slips bound skilfully together; the horn being visible at the extremities only.⁷

The Rev. H. T. ELLACOMBE communicated a notice of an ancient bell, now in the church of Scawton, near Helmsley, Yorkshire. It had been regarded with interest, from the supposition that it might be the same bell which was removed by the monks of Byland Abbey to the chapel built at Scawton by Abbot Roger, according to the narrative of Philip, third abbot of Byland, from statements which he had received from Roger and the senior members of the fraternity. (Dugdale's Mon. vol. v. p. 351, new edit.) It there appears that Abbot Roger, considering the perils and difficulties of access to the mother church of Byland, which distressed the inhabitants of Scawton, obtained permission from Henry, Archbishop of York, in 1146, to build a chapel there; and on its completion, vestments, service-books, font, and all necessaries having been provided,—“*præcepit abbas R. Landrico de Agys cellarario suo, quod cum omni festinatione ac reverentia, ac sine mora, minorem campanam dictæ matricis ecclesiæ Bellalandæ in plaustro portari faceret usque ad dictam filiam suam de Scawton festinanter.*” The bell now to be seen there is of remarkably fine tone; it measures 16 inches in height; the surface is very smooth, not corroded, but slightly oxidised. Around the upper part of the bell there is an inscription in so-called Longobardic character—✠ CAMPANA · BEATE · MARIE, a florid letter M. being introduced between each of the words in place of a stop. On the lower part of the bell appear the letters A.V.E.R. with the initial M. as before, and a bell-founder's device in the form of an escutcheon, upon the bordure of which is inscribed—✠ JOHANNES COGRAF ME FECIT. The device is composed of a crosier in pale, between a pestle and mortar on the dexter side, a bell and a two-handled tripod pot on the sinister side. It has been suggested that the letters around the lower rim may signify—*Ave Virgo Celi Regina Maria*—the third character being possibly a C.

It seems certain, from sketches of the device and inscriptions which accompanied these observations, that the bell can have no claim to be regarded as a relic of the XIIth century. It was more probably cast in the XVth, or, at the earliest, the XIVth century. The occurrence of the mortar amongst the bellfounder's devices recalls the beautifully wrought mortar of the Infirmary of the Abbey of St. Mary at York, now preserved

⁶ Revue Numism. Belge, tom. ii. p. 185.

⁷ See the Notice of a Memoir by Dr. Buist on the Scythian Bows and Bows of the Ancients compared with those of

India: Proceedings Soc. Antiqu. Scot. vol. i. p. 237, and Mr. Syer Cuming's memoir on weapons of horn: Journal Arch. Assoc., vol. iii. p. 24.

in the Museum of the Philosophical Society of that city. It is of bell-metal, and bears the following inscriptions (here printed *in extenso*):—
 + Mortarium sancti Johannis Evangeliste de Infirmaria Beate Marie Ebor'.
 + Frater Willelmus de Touthorp me fecit, A.D. MCCCXIII.*—This inscription supplies evidence that the mechanical arts, such as that of casting in metals, were practised by the members of conventual establishments; and the crossier which occurs on the device of John Copgraf may very probably indicate that, although not, perhaps, like "*Frater Johannes de Touthorp*," a member of such a body, he may have pursued his craft in connection with, or within the precincts of, one of the great monastic institutions of Yorkshire.

Mr J. H. LE KEUX communicated an account of the curious paintings on oak panel which existed in the church of Ingham, Norfolk, and of which he brought drawings executed by John Carter, in 1787. A minute description of the subjects was also read, being a letter addressed to Carter by Mr. Fenn, the Norfolk antiquary. The very Rev. Dr. Rock pointed out that these paintings represent certain incidents in the legend of St. Nicholas of Myra; especially his charity in rescuing the three damsels, whom their father, being reduced to poverty, was about to abandon, an act which caused his being regarded as the patron of children; and his miraculous preservation of the ship in his voyage to the Holy Land; on which account he became the patron of seafaring persons. The date of the paintings appeared to be early in the XIVth century. The same subjects are sculptured on the font in Winchester Cathedral.⁹ The drawings exhibited had formed part of the valuable topographical collections in the possession of the late Mr. Britton.

Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P., communicated notices of certain social usages in olden times, and of the various appliances for "Eating and Drinking;" and gave some curious illustrations of ancient housekeeping from the treatises by Gervase Markham and other writers once highly esteemed.

The Prince ALEXANDER LABANOFF presented to the Institute an impression of the Portrait of Mary, Queen of Scots, engraved by Pannier, from a painting in the Prince's collection at St. Petersburg. This portrait is on panel, and considered to be contemporary with the times of Mary, who is represented seated, her hands resting on the arms of the chair. The features closely resemble those of the portrait formerly in St. James's Palace, attributed to the year 1580, and engraved by Vertue in 1735. A special expression of thanks to the Prince was voted for this valuable present, and announcement was made that at the ensuing meeting a collection of portraits of Mary Stuart would be brought before the Society.

Mr. SALVIN stated some particulars in addition to his former notice of the discovery of an engraved leaden plate at Holy Island, during the works of restoration recently completed under his direction, by aid of a grant appropriated to the purpose by Government (See Vol. xiii. of this Journal, p. 411). The leaden plate was brought by Mr. Salvin, through the permission of the Hon. C. A. Gore, Commissioner of her Majesty's Woods and Land Revenue. It has subsequently been deposited in the Museum of the

* See the Descriptive Account of the Antiquities in the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, by the Rev. C. Wellbeloved, p. 86; and Mr. Hamper's

notice in *Gent. Mag.* vol. 83, ii. p. 17.

⁹ Milner's *Hist. of Winchester*, vol. ii. p. 79.

Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The plate is in remarkable preservation : it measures $11\frac{3}{8}$ inches by $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches. An accurate facsimile of the inscription has been supplied by Mr. Utting. It records the removal, in 1215, of the remains of "tres monachi," Silvester, Robert, and Helias. "ab orto monacorum," the position of which, or the cause why their bodies had been there deposited, has not been ascertained:—ANNO : MCC^o XV^o : TRANSLATI : SVNT : ISTI : III : M^oI : SILVESTER : ROB^oT : HELIAS : AB : ORTO : MONACOR^o : IN : H^oC : LOC^oV. Mr. Salvin produced a plan of the conventual church, showing the precise position in which the interment was found at a short distance from the east end of the choir. The discovery occurred in forming a sunk fence on the North and East sides of the buildings, to prevent any damage from cattle pastured there. It has been conjectured that the three monks may have been temporarily interred in the conventual "ort-yard," on account of some offence for which their remains were not permitted to be deposited forthwith in the usual cemetery

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.—A collection of drawings of ancient remains, castles and churches in Northumberland, being portion of an extensive series in course of preparation under his Grace's direction by Mr. Wykeham Archer. They comprised views of the remarkable rocks at the Rowting Linn, near Doddington, and near the earthworks at Old Bewick, incised with curious symbols, concentric circles, and other markings of unknown import. The remains of a circle of stones on Dod Moor, near Doddington; and some vestiges of the same period on Wrangham Moor. The interesting Norman church at Rock; Warkworth church, and the cross-legged effigy there to be seen, attributed to Sir Hugh de Morwick; the arms upon the shield are not, however, those assigned to that family. The church of St. Gregory at Kirk Newton, near Yevinger, a little building presenting some unusual architectural features, and occupying the site possibly of the primitive place of worship there established after Paulinus preached the Gospel in that district, and baptised numerous converts in the adjacent river Glen. A rudely-sculptured tablet of the Offerings of the Wise Men still exists in the church. Of this, as also of the supposed remains of the residence of the Saxon kings immediately beneath the entrenched works on the hill called Yevinger Bell, Mr. Archer has made careful drawings. This place, distant about five miles from Wooler, has been considered to be the "Adgefryn," where, according to Bede (B. ii. c. 14), Paulinus came with King Edwin in the VIIth century, and remaining some time at the royal country seat, brought the Christian faith into that remote part of Northumbria. Also views of Dunstanborough Castle, of the Tower on the Bridge at Warkworth, and of monastic remains at Amble, near the mouth of the river Coquet, subordinate to Tynemouth Priory.

In reference to the remarkable incised marks upon the rocks in Northumberland, Mr. Wykeham Archer observed that their forms appeared to bear considerable analogy with those on a fragment of rock found in a tumulus in Cumberland ("Archæologia," Vol. x., p. 112). Such incised symbols occur also in the Channel Islands and in Brittany; and some examples had been noticed in Scotland.



By the Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER.—A weapon of flint, found at Hoxne in Suffolk, at a spot where several objects of a similar rudely-wrought character have been found. Two of these are figured in the "Archæologia," Vol. xiii., p. 204; and it is there stated by Mr. Frere (in 1797) that they were found in large numbers at a depth of about 12 feet, in a stratum of gravelly soil, over which is a bed of sand mixed with shells and marine substances. The flints were found generally about five or six in each square yard, and they were so numerous that they had been carried away in baskets to mend the adjoining road. Fragments of wood, and bones of unusual size had been found in the same stratum. In form they differ from the ordinary stone celt or hammer-head; they are sharply pointed, and present the general appearance of a lance-head; but the blunt extremity is usually very thick and clumsily worked, wholly unsuited to be adjusted to a haft. Mr. Chester confirmed the report, according to the statement of the brick-makers by whom the stratum is worked, that very large bones, supposed to be of the elephant, were occasionally discovered in the same bed with these flint weapons, and that these animal remains were not in a fossilised state.

By the Rev. EDWARD WILTON.—A small bronze fibula, of slender proportions, and probably of Roman workmanship, found on the Wiltshire Downs, in the parish of Great Cheverell. Numerous fibulæ and objects of metal are brought to light in the district. A coin of Constantine and some bones were found near the fibula exhibited, which is bow-shaped, the *acus* being formed of the same piece of metal as the bow, the extremity of which is twisted in a loop or knot, so as to give a certain degree of elasticity to the fastening. Mr. Wilton desired to invite attention to the proposed publication, by Mr. Vernon Arnold, of "Illustrations of the Architectural features of Edington Church, Wiltshire," well known as a remarkable example of the Decorated and Perpendicular styles.

By Mrs. A. WYNDHAM, of Blandford.—Drawing of a massive spiral ring of bronze, diameter, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches; weight, 5 dr. 10 gr. It was found recently, some feet below the surface, in uncultivated down-land near Compton and Melbury Abbas; a similar bronze ring, found in the camp on Hod Hill, near Blandford, is in the collection of Mr. Durden, of that town. Also a drawing of a slight twisted ring of bright mixed metal, almost as bright as gold, which was dug up in a garden at Fontmell-Magna, Dorset. This pretty little tore-ring measures 1 inch in diameter; the weight is 17 gr. Mrs. Wyndham stated that a large gold ring had been found in the parish of Motcombe, and is now in the possession of the Marquis of Westminster. The value of the metal, as she had been informed, is 5*l.*

By Mr. FITCH.—An oval jewelled ornament, possibly a fibula, of gilt metal, found near Swaffham. It appears to be of Roman character, but some doubt had arisen in regard to its being of Roman workmanship, on account of the gilding, which as it had been supposed is unusual in the works of that period. An oval fibula, however, of similar size and fashion, is figured in *Gent. Mag.*, vol. 58, part ii., p. 702, described as set with an imitative gem resembling an amethyst, shaped nearly to a point, the setting being thickly gilded. It was found with coins of Constantine, Probus, Septimius Severus, and Pertinax, in "Four Acre Honeycomb," in the Parish of Wickham Brooke, Suffolk. Mr. Fitch sent also a circular Roman *speculum* recently found at Caistor, near Norwich. It was unfortunately broken by the spade at the time of discovery. It is of white

metal, exceedingly brittle ; it measures about four inches in diameter, and around the rim there is a row of circular perforations closely set, a feature which may be noticed in other Roman *specula*, such as those found with pottery and glass, in 1835, in Deveril Street, Southwark. One of these mirrors, with a portion of its handle, is figured, "Archæologia," vol. xxvi., p. 467. It is now in the British Museum. The marginal perforations occur in the elegant mirror found at Pompeii, figured in the Rev. E. Trollope's "Illustrations of Ancient Art," pl. 44, and in an example in the Copenhagen Museum, precisely similar to that exhibited by Mr. Fitch, figured in Worsaae's "Afbildninger," No. 292. The compound metal of which these *specula* were formed is supposed to be copper mixed with antimony ; the fractured edges, which are remarkably sharp, show that its colour is reddish white. The best *specula* were made, according to Pliny, at Brundisium. In 1823 a remarkable double mirror was found with Roman urns at Coddendam, Suffolk, the case being ornamented with the head of Nero on one side, and on the reverse the Emperor addressing the army. This object is figured, "Archæologia," vol. xxvii., p. 359, and is in the British Museum. A mirror with the head of Nero is also figured in Montfaucon, Supp., vol. iii., pl. 21 ; and another object of the same class in Caylus, "Recueil," tom. iii., p. 331. In the work last mentioned, tom. v., p. 174, may be found an account of the analysis of the metals of which Roman mirrors were composed ; and in the "Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscr.," tom. xxiii., p. 140, the researches of M. Ménard on the same subject have been published. The form of the Roman *speculum* is usually circular, but in the excavations carried out by Mr. Clayton on the line of the Roman Wall in Northumberland, a portion of a *speculum* of rectangular form has been found, which is now in his collection at Chesters.¹

By the Rev. THOMAS HUGO, F.S.A.—A Brank, precisely similar in fashion to that exhibited at a former meeting by Mr. Carrington, and figured in this Journal, vol. xiii., p. 257. It differs from that example solely in the forge-mark on the band which passes over the head : it is the letter H (or possibly H and D combined), instead of the crowned W noticed by Mr. Carrington as indicating the date of the reign of William III.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—A circular talisman of silver, inscribed with mystic symbols, including those of Venus, the Moon, and Libra. Around these is inscribed, running spirally—"Accipe mihi petitionem o domine : keep me as the apple of an eye, hide me under the shadow of thy Wings from all evel. Up Lord and help us for thou art my stroug Rock and my Castle. Amen." On the other side is a magic square of forty-nine compartments, containing Hebrew characters, the numerical value of the whole being 1225. The preparation and virtues of these amulets is fully set forth by Reichelt, in his treatise "De Amuletis," Strasburg, 1676 ; and it appears that the silver disc now exhibited is an amulet of Venus, made under the influence of the Moon and Libra, and efficacious against wounds by weapons or firearms. Mr. Morgan subsequently read a detailed notice of these amulets, at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries ; it is printed in their "Proceedings," vol. iv., p. 86.

Mr. Morgan brought also a collection of Astronomical and Geometrical

¹ A Roman *speculum*, with its handle, found on the Lexden road, Colchester, was exhibited by Mr. Whincopp at one

of the meetings of the Institute in 1850, Arch. Journ. vol. vii. p. 87. See two examples in Journ. Arch. Ass. vol. v. p. 133.

Instruments, consisting of Astrolabes, Ring-dials, hanging-dials, ivory *Viatoria*, and other portable universal sun-dials, oblique and horizontal. Also a solid octagonal dial and a curious cup-dial. The dates ranging from about 1530 to 1730. One of the ring-dials, or "Journey rings" had been formerly in Mr. Whincopp's Museum, and was shown at a former meeting.—A rubbing from the inscribed brass plate on the rood screen at Usk, Monmouthshire, as given in the "Archæologia," vol. ii., p. 19, where the interpretation by the learned Dr. Wotton may be seen.² This inscription, which commences—"Nole Clode"—has never hitherto been satisfactorily explained. A Dissertation, accompanied by an engraved representation (not scrupulously correct) may be found in the Appendix to "Cox's History of Monmouthshire," vol. i., p. 418. The original plate measures 19½ in. by 2½ in.

By Mr. J. H. LE KEUX.—Drawings and tracings from drawings by John Carter, representing various antiquarian reliques, executed towards the close of the last century. Amongst these memorials of objects of interest, of which some have subsequently perished, were, the original coloured drawing of the painting in Canterbury Cathedral, representing the Martyrdom of St. Thomas. This, as also some other subjects exhibited, was engraved by Carter for his "Painting and Sculpture in England." Ancient chalices, pontifical rings, with other valuable relics, found in York Minster, and now to be seen in the Treasury of that church:—An enamelled candlestick of very elegant design, found during the repairs of the Chapter House at York, about 1740, and in the possession of Lady Salisbury. It is similar in workmanship to that exhibited in the local Museum at the Meeting of the Institute at Winchester, by Mr. Beever, of Ambleside. The designs represent birds, flowers, grapes, &c., the enamels being chiefly green and white. Date, XVIth century. The candlesticks formerly in the Bernal collection, bearing the name of Sir Thomas More, 1552 (lot 1305) are of the same class of enamels, supposed to be of English work, but are wholly different in their form.—Decorative pavement tiles of varied colouring, probably Flemish imitations of *azulejos*, found near the door of the library, at Rochester Cathedral.—The font in St. Gregory's Church at Sudbury, with its lofty canopy of wood, elaborately sculptured and painted, resembling in form the spire of a church. A second view shows the interior of the lower part of the canopy, which opened with folding doors, so as to give access to the basin of the font.—The head-piece, formerly suspended over the tomb of the Duke of Beaufort, in Wimborne Minster: drawn in 1798.—A spur, of the very long-necked fashion of the XVth century, found at Hyde Abbey, Winchester.—An iron forked arrow-head, "in Capt. Keen's Museum, in Beach Lane, Cripplegate, 1789;" resembling in form those in Mr. Morgan's possession, figured in this Journal, vol. ix., p. 118.—A set of eleven keys, ingeniously constructed so as to fold up into small compass, hinging on one pivot upon which the whole turn freely: they were found in the area of the castle, Castle Acre, in 1783, and were in the possession of Mr. J. Fenn, the Norfolk antiquary.—A rondache formed with concentric rings of iron, in the collection of Mr. Fenn. It resembles that in possession of Gen. Vernon, at Hilton Park, figured in this Journal, vol. vii., p. 181. The diameter measured about 14 inches. "East Dereham, 1786."—A singular piece of armour, pro-

² See also Camden's *Britannia*, ed. Gough, vol. viii. p. 116.

bably Oriental, a scull-cap, described as formed of eight plates of steel, fastened together with leather thongs; it had a projecting ornament on the crown of the head, to which was appended a tassel. In possession of Hon. H. Walpole, 1789.

Mr. C. E. LONG, by kind permission of Mr. Mortimer Drummond, exhibited two silver drinking cups, now in possession of that gentleman, and formerly belonging to Lyons' Inn. They bear inscriptions which record their presentation to that Society, in 1580, by Giles Allington, the Treasurer. The form of these pieces of ancient plate is peculiar; they resemble bottles, wide-mouthed and short-necked, with two plain handles. The height is 5 inches; diameter of the mouth $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. They are engraved with the following arms—Quarterly, 1. a bend engrailed between six billets (Allington): 2. three covered cups, (Argentine): 3. six birds (usually blazoned as eagles) a canton ermine, (Fitz-Symon): 4. per fesse, a pale counterchanged, three griffins' heads erased (Gardener). A crescent charged with a martlet, as a difference. Crest, on a helm a talbot ermine. Motto—NON · POVR · HAINE. The inscription is as follows,— + EX DONO · EGIDII · ALINGTON · THESAURAR · HOSP · LEONIS · 1580. The Assay marks are, the leopard's head, lion passant, on one cup the Roman capital D. (1581) on the other the Roman capital N. (1590). It thus appears that one of the cups was made in the year after the donation by the Treasurer to the Society, the other not until ten years later, although probably with the monies given for the purpose at the earlier period recorded on both the cups. Mr. Morgan remarked that a similar discrepancy in the date of manufacture occurs in regard to two grace-cups, in possession of the Goldsmiths' Company. He stated that amongst some of the college plate at Christ Church, Oxford, there are similar two-handled cups now used by gentlemen-commoners for drinking beer. The Allington family had estates at Wymondley, Herts, and at Horsheath, Cambridgeshire. The donor of the cups appears to have been of a junior branch of the Allingtons of Horsheath. Giles Allington, of that place, Sheriff of Cambridgeshire, 22 Hen. VIII., was the eldest son of Sir Giles Allington by the heiress of Sir Richard Gardiner: the said Sir Giles being lineally descended from William Allington, who lived in the time of Edward IV., and married the heiress of John de Argentine, of Wymondley, Herts. Mr. Long brought also a miniature portrait of William Allington, of Horsheath, raised to the peerage of Ireland in 1642, as Baron Allington, of Killard. This contemporary painting is in the possession of Mr. Henry L. Long, of Hampton Lodge, Surrey.

By Mr. HEWITT.—An iron chain, formed apparently as a scourge or implement of torture. It has been recently added to the collection in the Tower.

By Mr. DODD.—A document, dated 30 Edw. I., 1302, with the Great Seal appended. It is a Warrant to the Bailiffs and Burgesses of Bona Garda to aid Bernard de Rinucio, and John de Lysto, merchants of Bayonne, in supplying corn, wine and beer for castles and towns in Gascony.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

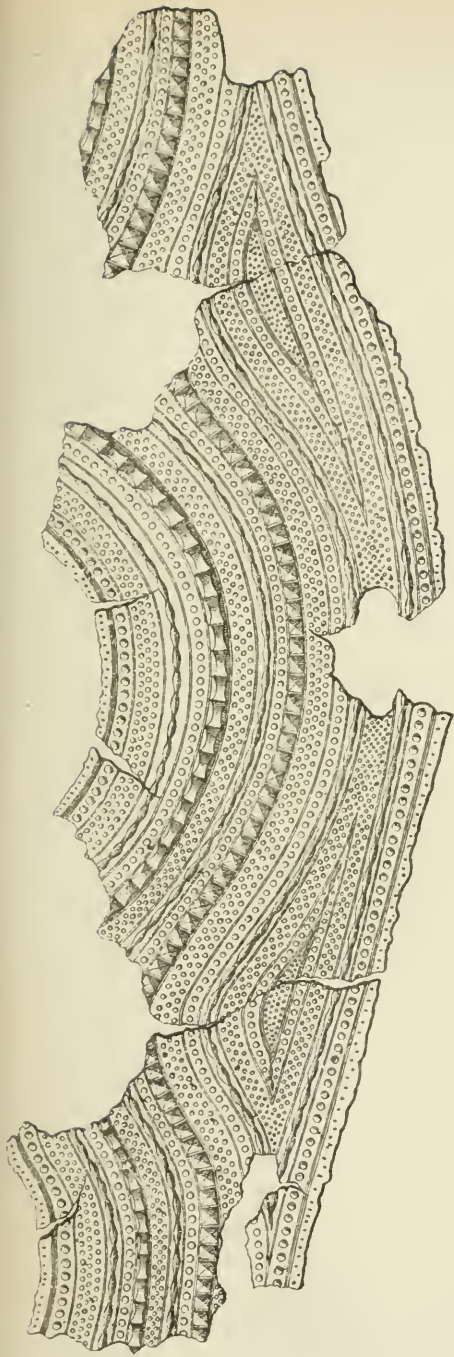
JOURNAL OF THE ARCHITECTURAL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL, AND HISTORIC SOCIETY, FOR THE COUNTY, CITY, AND NEIGHBOURHOOD OF CHESTER. Vol. I. From June 1849 to Dec. 1855. Chester: Printed for the Members. 1857. 8vo.

It is with gratification that we invite the attention of our readers to the first Volume of Transactions, produced under the auspices of the Society founded for purposes kindred to our own through the exertions of our lamented friend, the late Rev. William H. Massie. At the close of the year 1849, the impulse, which we may attribute to his intelligent perception of the beneficial influence of such local Associations, achieved the formation of the Society, of whose successful progress the record is before us. From the outset, the hearty sympathies of many influential patrons of the design, as also of many an active fellow labourer in that rich field of Historic and Archaeological enquiry, in which our accomplished friend proved so efficient a guide, had been won, not less by his amiable and estimable character, than by his keen interest in National Antiquities. The volume under consideration presents most appropriately a detailed Memoir of Mr. Massie, accompanied by a Photographic Portrait.

During the recent visit of the Institute to the city of Chester, with the friendly cooperation and guidance of the leading members of the local Society, we had occasion to appreciate the interesting character of many sites marked by historical associations, and of many relics of ancient *Deva*, illustrated in this volume. It opens with the Inaugural Address, delivered by the late Rev. Chancellor Raikes, in which the proper functions of such Provincial Institutions, and the advantageous results accompanying their operation are impressively set forth, and a pleasing freshness and variety has been given to the train of argument, *decies repetita*—with which the frequent Inauguration of local Institutions of this nature have made us familiar, since that remarkable movement commenced, to be traced doubtless to the impulse given by the annual progresses of our Society and of the Archaeological Association. Mr. Williams, Mayor of Chester at the time when Mr. Massie originated so successful an Archaeological enterprise, and whose courteous hospitalities on the occasion of our recent Meeting will not be forgotten, appropriately contributes a memoir on the Course of the River Dee—tracing to its source in Merionethshire the small beginning of that noble stream, the pride of the Western Marches; a subject replete with stirring suggestions to the antiquaries of Chester in the incipient freshness of their association. Amongst matters relating to the antiquities of the earlier periods, may be noticed the memoir by the Ven. Archdeacon of Chester, “On the probability that Kinderton, near Middlewich, is the *Condate* of the Itineraries,” illustrated by a map of the entrenchments regarded as vestiges of that Roman Station, on the site known as “The Harboro’ Field,” where coins, Samian ware, and other relics have been found; the coincidence of distances, as compared with the Itineraries, and

other facts which are here adduced, appear to justify the conclusion that "this is *Condate*, the station so long lost and so vainly sought." Of Roman remains discovered in Chester we find frequent notices in this volume; such as the remarkable fragment of an altar bearing a Greek inscription, discovered in 1851 near the Exchange, which has supplied the subject of a disquisition by the late Chancellor Raikes; and the more recent discovery of a sculptured fragment at Handbridge, doubtless part of a Roman tomb of very unusual character in this country, but closely resembling that of a Roman knight, in the Museum at Tivoli, of which a figure is given. The excavations at Handbridge appear to have presented undeniable indications of the position of the chief Cemetery in the times of Roman occupation. We may here also call attention to the notice of the tile bearing a figure of a *Retiarius* in low relief, figured in the *Vetusta Monumenta* many years ago. It is now in the Collection of Mr. Frederick Potts, who so kindly made his treasures available for the gratification of our Society in our Temporary Museum. The interesting remains of a hypocaust exposed to view in 1854 are duly noticed, and the massive masonry of the entrance to the Baths supplies a subject for an etching by Mr. W. Ayrton, whose pencil has frequently been in requisition in producing the illustrations of the volume. Mr. Thomas Hughes, one of the Secretaries of the Chester Society, whose useful "Handbook to Chester and its Environs" was a frequent companion during our recent explorations, to whose indefatigable exertions also in our behalf, and friendly cooperation, we were largely indebted at the Chester Meeting, contributes a memoir on the so-called Corselet of gold now in the British Museum, and found in 1833 near Mold. Of this remarkable object, the intention of which has never, as we apprehend, been satisfactorily explained, Mr. Hughes has given a faithful representation, which through his kindness we are enabled to place before our readers. He has brought together all the information which bears on the discovery, as recorded by the Dean of St. Asaph and the late Mr. Gage Rokewode, in the *Archaeologia*, vol. xxvi. [p. 422, and more recently by the Rev. J. Williams, in the *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, First Series, vol. iii. p. 98. In a former volume of this Journal, we adverted to the singular tale of the premonitory vision at "The Goblins' Hill," and to some other instances of popular traditions regarding hidden treasure.¹ The Dean of St. Asaph, in some additional observations which he has communicated to Mr. Hughes, confirms the story of the apparition, having been well acquainted with the person who beheld the spectre clad in gold. He states that he had obtained at Mold one of the fragments, of which unfortunately so many had been abstracted at the time of the discovery, but that he had endeavoured in vain to obtain one of the beads, supposed to be of amber, of which hundreds had been thrown away. The mound, as he observes, has been wholly removed and the ground levelled under the plough. In regard to the use or intention of the "corselet," obviously not suited for any purpose of defence, it appears probable that the plate was attached to tissue or leather by the small perforations round the margin. The difficulty of ascertaining its original character is greatly due to the foolish desire for shreds and fragments of curiosities, which too frequently prevails, to the serious detriment of the scientific results to be obtained from a discovery. It is satisfactory to learn from Mr. Hughes that he had

¹ Arch. Journal, vol. vi., p. 259.



GOLD CORSLET

FOUND AT MOLD, FLINTSHIRE.

[Width of Original, Three feet one inch and a quarter]



secured a fragment of this corselet, and transferred it to the British Museum; another, purchased at Stockport by the Rev. T. Hugo, by whom it was exhibited at a meeting of the Institute, as recorded in this Journal, vol. xi., p. 59, has, we hope, found the same destination; and whilst preparing this Notice, we have heard with satisfaction, that a portion of considerable interest, formerly in the possession of Baron Bolland, has been presented to the National Collection by Sir Walter C. Trevelyan, Bart.

A Memoir on the Norman remains brought to light during certain alterations in Chester Cathedral, as related more briefly by Mr. R. C. Hussey, in this Journal, Vol. v., p. 17, is contributed by that gentleman, and accompanied by a ground-plan of the eastern portions of the structure, showing its original termination in an apse, as also the Norman transepts with their apses. Mr. William Ayrton has described certain Norman portions of the fabric; his remarks are illustrated by numerous Anastatic drawings and etchings, representing the Norman triforium, the details in the north-west tower, the doorways and arcade in the cloisters, and the striking vaulted chamber on the north side of the Cloister Court. To this chamber Mr. Ashpitel, on the occasion of the Meeting of the Archæological Association in Chester, when this interesting structure was cleared out at the expense of the Local Committee, assigned the name of the "*Promptuarium*," or store-room; but it is regarded by Mr. Ayrton as the "*secunda Aula*," or Strangers' Refectory, connected with the Abbot's lodgings. Our friend Mr. Sharpe, an authority of no ordinary weight in such questions, has noticed a similar building at Furness Abbey, to which he assigns the title of *Hospitium*. Mr. Ayrton is also the contributor of a notice of Beeston Castle, prepared for the visit of the Chester Society to that striking site, and accompanied by a clever sketch, etched by himself, of the gateway to the upper ballium.

Amongst other Architectural Memoirs, we may mention that by the Rev. Chancellor Raikes on St. John's Church, an object of much interest at our late meeting; by the Rev. W. Massie, on Timber Churches in Cheshire, especially those of Marton and Lower Peover; and on the history of St. Nicholas' Chapel, Chester, by the Rev. Canon Blomfield. Also the interesting account by Mr. W. Ayrton, of Bruera Chapel, once pertaining to St. Werburgh's; of the Abbot's manor house at Saughton Grange, a valuable example of domestic architecture; and of Bunbury Church, whither some of our members, doubtless, repaired, to examine the striking memorial of Sir Hugh Calveley, so well-pourtrayed by Charles Stothard.

The Chester archæologists have occasionally received encouragement in their progress, from the distinguished historian of the county, Dr. Ormerod, the accuracy of whose extensive knowledge is scarcely more remarkable than his courteous liberality in imparting it to those engaged in researches kindred to his own. Many of our members, present at the late Meeting in Chester, profited by the kindness of Dr. Ormerod in presenting to us copies of his "*Memoir on the Cheshire Domesday Roll*," privately printed, and sent on that occasion in token of his cordial interest in our proceedings. To the volume produced by the local Society he has contributed a notice of a document connected with St. Mary's Priory, Chester, and presenting certain facts locally of interest. The seal of the convent, previously, as we believe, unknown, is appended to the deed, and is remarkable as having impressions of three fingers deeply made by the person by whom the seal was attached, on the reverse of the dark green wax of which it is formed.

Mr. Harrison, who frequently aided our recent investigations at Chester with very obliging readiness, has given a notice of a pavement of decorative mediæval tiles, found in Bridge Street, Chester, in 1850, and preserving the original arrangement so rarely to be ascertained, and too frequently disturbed, whenever such discoveries occur, before any memorial has been preserved. The admirable work in course of publication by Mr. Henry Shaw, has amply shown how much of the detail of arrangement in these beautiful decorations may still be recovered.

To the talented founder of the Society, now no more, the volume before us owes a large measure of the sterling interest which it possesses, as materials for local history, throughout all periods of Archaeological enquiry. We cannot, indeed, view without surprise the variety of subjects comprised in Mr. Massie's communications. At an early period of the proceedings of the Society we find him engaged on the highly curious discovery of a wooden bridge, at a depth of fourteen feet under the silt at Birkenhead; it was brought to light in the course of railway operations in 1850. A section and plan, for which we are indebted to Mr. Harrison, have preserved a memorial of this relic of early occupation, in a district where many important observations have been elicited through the investigations by Mr. Picton, Dr. Hume, and their coadjutors in the Lancashire Historic Society. Mr. Massie contributed at a later period "Remarks on the History of Seals, with Local Illustrations;" exemplified by numerous Anastatic drawings, hastily sketched, but which may suffice for the purpose intended, especially as an indication of official seals connected with the county and city of Chester, comparatively unknown to collectors. Many of the originals from which these drawings were taken were produced in the temporary museum at our late annual meeting, as also the matrices of the city and mayoralty seals, and that of St. John's Hospital, an ill-executed copy apparently of a good ancient original. We may here observe that we sought in vain to discover the matrix of the seal for Statutes Merchant, described by Mr. Massie as at that time in the hands of a Mr. Broster, who had also the silver privy seal (*Secretum Majoris Cestrie*), which, we may state with satisfaction, has been restored to its proper custody in the Town Clerk's Office. Mr. Massie has supplied also a dissertation on the original Charter of Hugh Lupus to St. Werburgh's Abbey, preserved in the deed of Confirmation by the second Randolph, Earl of Chester, amongst the muniments of the Marquis of Westminster. Of portions of this remarkable document facsimiles are given.

Mr. W. Beamont has given memoirs on the Battle of Blore Heath, and on a remarkable example of monumental sculpture in Warrington church, the alabaster tomb and effigies of Sir John Boteler, whose tragical end through family variance and jealousies, in the reign of Henry VII., presents a curious picture of the state of society at that period. A subject of much historical importance, the early connection between the County Palatine of Chester and the Principality of Wales, is discussed in a paper by the Rev. F. Grosvenor.

Mr. Hicklin, our intelligent *Cicerone* around the "Walls of Chester," during the Institute's visit to that city, gives a memoir on Christian Monuments, exemplified by the memorials there to be found, in the cathedral, at St. John's and at St. Oswald's. Amongst these we specially observed the rich cross-slab in St. Oswald's churchyard, the memorial of Henry de Bebynton, "quondam armiger domini Willielmi Abbatis," deceased in 1345;

the kinsman doubtless of William de Bebington, who was elected Abbot of St. Werburgh's in 1324, and obtained the concession of the mitre to himself and his successors in the very year of the death of this his *Armiger*. Mr. Hicklin has not explained the functions of that officer, nor are they set forth by Fosbroke in his "British Monachism." Certain notices of *armigeri* and of *escudarii* in monasteries may be found in Ducange, but they were apparently in a more menial position than would have accorded, we may imagine, with the station of the Abbot's relative. The Society has been indebted also to Mr. Hicklin for communications on "May-day Sports and National Recreations," and for other matters of curious research, recorded in their Journal as brought before their periodical meetings.

There will be found many subjects, of general as well as local interest, to which the limits of this notice will not permit us to advert. We must here take leave of our friends within the ancient walls of *Dera*, with cordial wishes that their future progress may fully sustain the hopeful promise to be found in the course of their proceedings to the present time.

Archaeological Intelligence.

WE learn with much pleasure, that the publication of the "HORE FERALES" will not be abandoned in consequence of the death of its lamented author. The work will necessarily be somewhat modified in consequence of the incomplete state of the letter-press, as it was left by Mr. Kemble. Ample materials, however, have been found amongst his valuable MSS., the result of many years of careful study, to fill up in some degree the outline which he had proposed. It may be questioned whether he himself, had his life been spared, would have found it practicable to compress a subject of such extent as that which he had contemplated, within the limits of a single volume. Mr. Reeve, by whom the publication was undertaken, intends, we believe, to augment considerably the number of illustrations originally announced in Mr. Kemble's life-time; in order to furnish a more comprehensive view of the archaeological remains of the earlier races which have inhabited Europe. Subscribers' names are still received by Mr. Lovell Reeve, 5, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden; the price will be raised on the publication of the work. Mr. Kemble's Address delivered to the Royal Irish Academy shortly before his decease,—"On the Utility of Antiquarian Collections as throwing Light on the Pre-historic Annals of the European Nations,"—which has been edited by Dr. Todd, President of the Academy, and published in their Proceedings, has been reprinted in a separate form, and may be obtained from Mr. Reeve.

A work of the greatest importance to the student of English History will shortly be given to the public under the sanction of the Master of the Rolls. This is a Catalogue of all existing materials for the History of England, from the earliest period to the final close of the Wars of the Roses on the accession of Henry VIII. At that limit Modern History may be considered to commence. The preparation of this valuable calendar has been placed in very able hands: it has been compiled by Mr. Thomas Duffus Hardy, whose intimate acquaintance with records and recondite

sources of historical information is known to all who can appreciate their value.

A Synopsis of the antiquities of Ireland, exemplified in a most striking manner by the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, has long been a desideratum in Archaeological literature. A descriptive Catalogue of a large portion of that collection has recently been produced by Dr. Wilde Secretary of Foreign Correspondence to the Academy, well known as an antiquary of distinguished attainments. The first part, now completed, contains the antiquities of stone, earthen and vegetable materials.

This work, printed for the Academy, and consisting of 246 pages, illustrated with 159 engravings on wood, may be had, postage free, for 6s., upon application to E. Clibborn, Esq., 17, Dawson Street, Dublin. It is much to be desired that the continuation of Dr. Wilde's valuable manual, comprising the antiquities of metal, so remarkable and varied in their types, may speedily complete this long-desired contribution to the archaeology of the British Islands.

A proposition has been issued by Mr. JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS for the continuation of "The Topographer and Genealogist," of which three volumes are now completed. In the event of his receiving sufficient encouragement from subscribers, Mr. Nichols proposes to produce in future six parts, at the price of half-a-crown, forming a volume, yearly. This useful Record of genealogical information and materials for local history will also henceforth present greater variety of subject and a wider field of interest. Those persons who may desire to encourage this undertaking should communicate with Mr. Nichols, 25, Parliament Street.

Mr. CHARLES ROACH SMITH announces as in preparation for the press, an Illustrated Report on the Excavations made at Pevensey, in Sussex, in the Summer of 1852, with Introductory Observations on the Roman *Castra* (with plates and wood-cuts). Those who did not subscribe to the excavations, but yet may desire to secure copies, are requested to forward their names to the author at Temple Place, Strood, Kent. The Report will be in small 4to, uniform with "The Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne."

The Archaeological Journal.

DECEMBER, 1857.

NOTICE OF THE DARNLEY RING.

THE visit of our society in the summer of 1856 to the ancient Metropolis of North Britain, with the remarkable assemblage of historical relics brought together on that occasion in the spacious halls of the National Galleries, excited feelings of interest for which we were scarcely prepared. Few indeed can be insensible to the impression which many scenes and objects there presented to our view tended to produce. There were to be found, possibly, in those varied collections, to which the stores not only of ancient houses but of the numerous provincial museums in Scotland largely contributed, objects comparatively of trivial character, or even of questionable authenticity. The general impression, however, gave fresh proof of the value of those minor links of evidence, which enable us to realise historical associations, and serve to illustrate the progress of arts, the conditions of society and daily life, the growth of local industry, or the peculiarities of local usages.

Of the historical vestiges and Scottish antiquities of every period combined in the Museum of the Institute at Edinburgh, I hope hereafter to be able to complete the detailed notices which have been in preparation, and to include in that memorial the numerous relics connected with the royal race of Scotland, and especially with Mary Stuart, whose disastrous history was brought to so tragical a termination.¹

An object of very interesting character from its supposed

¹ The publication of a Catalogue of the Museum formed at the Edinburgh Meeting has been undertaken by Mr. Constable; and it is in the press. It will

form a volume very fully illustrated, to range with the Annual volumes and Journal of the Institute.

connexion with the history of Mary Stuart and her captivity at Fotheringay Castle, is the gold ring stated to have been found near that place. It had been brought under our notice at a previous occasion, and was unfortunately not attainable at the time of the Edinburgh meeting. This ring, formerly in the possession of Colonel Grant, was exhibited by Mr. Farrer, in the museum formed during the Annual Meeting of the Institute at Salisbury, July, 1849. It has subsequently been added to the choice collection of rings in the possession of Edmund Waterton, Esq., F.S.A., of Walton Hall, near Wakefield, who has formed with great taste a *dactylotheca* of remarkable character.

The beautiful ring discovered at Fotheringay, and here figured, has been regarded as a nuptial gift, a token probably of plighted troth, from Mary to Darnley. The impress, as will be seen by the woodcuts, presents the initials H. and M. combined; with a true-love knot repeated above and below the monogram. The first stroke of the H., however, has a transverse line at the top, forming a T., a letter which it is not



The Darnley Ring, found at Fotheringay. The Monogram, intended for use as a seal, here appears reversed.

easy to explain in connexion with the supposed allusion to the names Henry and Mary. Within the hoop is engraved a small escutcheon, charged with a lion rampant, and surmounted by an arched crown; the tressure of Scotland alone is wanting to give a royal character to this little achievement, which is accompanied by the inscription—HENRI. L. DARNLEY.—1565. This is doubtless to be read, Henry Lord Darnley.

It may now be impracticable to ascertain the precise period when Mary Stuart and her young cousin exchanged that mutual troth, of which possibly this interesting ring may have been a pledge; but there can be little doubt that Darnley became her accepted suitor in the early part of the year 1565, the date here found inscribed. Rumours of the Queen's engagement to Lord Darnley had been, it is

true, prevalent at the Court of Holyrood, as early as the commencement of 1562.² It was, however, during Henry's stay with Mary at Wemyss Castle, where she received him in February, 1564-5, that Darnley may have first found favourable occasion to plead his suit; he was with Mary again immediately on her return to Holyrood House, towards the close of that month; and when his impatience so far broke through the proprieties of royal etiquette as to make him venture on a proposal of marriage, Mary, as Sir James Melville writes on the occasion, took it in evil part at first, and refused the ring which he then offered to her.

This occurred in March, and about the second week of April the nuptials were celebrated privately in Stirling Castle.³ On May 15, 1565, the Queen met her nobles in the Parliament Hall there, and signified her intention of espousing Darnley, which was received without a dissentient voice. It was on that same occasion that she created him Lord of Ardmanach and Earl of Ross. On July 23, the public celebration of her marriage being fixed, the banns proclaimed, and the Pope's dispensation obtained, Mary created Darnley Duke of Albany, and on the 28th she issued her warrant commanding the heralds to proclaim him King of Scotland, in virtue of the bond of matrimony to be solemnised on the following day in the chapel of Holyrood. The next morning the proclamation as king was repeated, and thenceforth all documents were subscribed—Henry and Marie R.

Two points of difficulty obviously present themselves in regard to this ring, the interest of which is of no ordinary kind, if it may be received as unquestionably a relic of that important period in the fortunes of Darnley, still more important in the calamitous course of public affairs in Scotland. The introduction of a T. in the monogram requires more satisfactory explanation than has hitherto, to our knowledge, been suggested. Some have thought to trace in this initial some allusion to the royal house of Tudor, since Darnley's maternal grandmother, it will be remembered, was Margaret daughter of Henry VII. of England, and dowager of James IV. King of Scots, grandfather of Queen Mary. Thus both the affianced parties, on the occasion for which this remark-

² Miss Strickland, "Lives of the Queens of Scotland," vol. iii. p. 209.

³ Ibid. vol. iv. pp. 97, 113. Labanoff, Appendix, vol. vii. p. 67.

able token of betrothal may have been prepared, might alike claim descent, in the second generation, from the Tudor race, and how momentous were the questions involved in that claim and that descent!

The other feature of detail, not easily to be explained, is the introduction of the lion rampant within the ring, accompanied by the royal crown, and the date when Mary actually conferred on Darnley the title of king. Under these circumstances, a single bearing being thus specially selected, not the ancestral coat of Darnley's family, it might naturally be expected that the lion of Scotland would appear, accompanied by the tressure, which, however, is here wanting. The conjecture is indeed not inadmissible, in the absence of any other solution of the difficulty, that the diminutive size of the escutcheon may have occasioned either the omission of the tressure, or that the tressure may have been expressed merely on the surface of the red enamel, now wholly lost, with which the field of the miniature achievement was doubtless filled up.⁴

ALBERT WAY.

⁴ It has been conjectured that the lion rampant might possibly be the ancient bearing of the earldom of Fife, which appears to have been borne by the Dukes

of Albany, and may have been placed on this ring in special allusion to that title being conferred on Darnley on the day previous to his marriage.

LOTHIAN : ITS POSITION PRIOR TO ITS ANNEXATION TO
SCOTLAND.

BY JOHN HODGSON HINDE, ESQ.,

Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle.¹

IN offering a few observations on the condition of Lothian at an early period, it is necessary to premise that the sense in which I use the term is that in which it was understood in the twelfth century, including, not merely the district which is now so designated, but the entire country between the Tweed and the Frith of Forth.

Passing over the Roman period, we find one of the earliest Saxon settlements established at the northern extremity of this district, including in all probability the spot on which we are now assembled.

The first kingdom founded by this people, or, at all events, the first of which we have any historical record, in this island, was that of Kent, the origin of which is assigned, by the nearly unanimous concurrence of our best-informed writers, to about the year 449.

The only detailed account of the settlement in Lothian is contained in the compilation which passes under the name of Nennius. It is remarkable that the original expedition of Hengist and Horsa, and their landing in Kent, is not there described, as it is by Gildas and Beda, as the result of a previous invitation from Vortigern. The statement is simply to this effect:—"After the war between the Britons and Romans, and the extinction of the Roman government, the country was in a state of insecurity for forty years. Guorthigirn then reigned in Britain; and during his government he was distracted with the fear of the Piets and Scots, the apprehension of a Roman invasion, and a jealous terror of Ambrosius. In the meantime, two brothers, Hengist and Horsa, arrived with three vessels from Germany, having

¹ Communicated to the Historical Archaeological Institute at Edinburgh, Section, at the annual meeting of the July, 1856.

been driven into exile. Guorthigirn received them hospitably, and bestowed upon them the Isle of Thanet." The residence of these strangers was highly agreeable to Vortigern, for whose protection they formed an efficient body-guard; but the expense of their maintenance was little acceptable to his subjects, who clamorously demanded their dismissal. Under these circumstances, Hengist counselled the British king to invite over and take into his service a much larger number of his own countrymen, who by their presence would effectually overawe the malcontents, and put down all opposition. This advice having been taken, a large force came over in forty ships. Such a multitude could not be quartered in Kent; but, as we are told, "the northern province, bordering on the wall which is called Guaul," was ceded to them, with the express view that they might be in readiness "to fight against the Scots," as well as to coerce the subjects of their patron. Their leaders were Octha and Ebissa, who are represented as the son and nephew of Hengist. "They passed," we are told, "the land of the Picts, laying waste the Orkneys, and came and occupied a large tract of country bordering on the Picts." The Picts, as we know from Beda, were separated from the Britons by the Frith of Forth; and "the wall called Guaul" must have been that which is known to us as the Wall of Antoninus, which stretches from the Forth to the Clyde. "The northern province, bordering on this wall," which was ceded to the compatriots of Hengist, was necessarily Lothian, or the northern portion of it.

Now, although this account is not given in detail by Beda, we shall find on comparison that it is materially corroborated by his statement. Having described the first immigration under Hengist and Horsa, he proceeds as follows:— "Swarms of the aforesaid nations came over into the island; and they began to increase so much as to become terrible to the natives who had invited them. Then, having on a sudden entered into a league with the Picts, whom they had by this time repelled by the force of arms, they began to turn their arms against their confederates." Such a league, between the Saxons of Kent and the Picts, who were separated from them by nearly all the native states of Britain, is as improbable as it would have been inefficacious; but if these last arrivals were, as described by Nennius, in the

intermediate district between the Britons and the Picts, nothing could be more natural than that, when they had quarrelled with the former, they should enter into a strict alliance with their neighbours on the other side; nor can we doubt that the united efforts of the Saxons and Picts were truly formidable, when directed against a frontier which it had been found difficult to defend against the attacks of the latter only. It was much easier, also, to find space for the settlement of these increasing hordes of invaders on a frontier which had been depopulated by repeated devastations, than in a district like Kent, which, from the earliest periods of history, had been the most flourishing and populous in the island. We have even reason to believe that the locality to which the settlement under Oetha and Ebissa is assigned, was at this time altogether unoccupied. Its original inhabitants were the Otadini, in reference apparently to whom we meet with some very curious particulars in the miscellaneous matter appended to Nennius. We there read that Cunedag, the ancestor of Mailcunus, the great king of North Wales, emigrated from the northern district called Manau Gu-Otodin with his eight sons, 146 years before the reign of Mailcunus, whose death is placed by the Welsh annalists A.D. 547. If by Manau Gu-Otodin we are to understand the land of the Otadini, we have here an account of the emigration of the chief of that tribe towards the close of the century preceding that in which the deserted territories were occupied by Oetha and Ebissa, at the very period when this exposed district was abandoned by the Romans to the attacks of the northern barbarians. It must always be borne in mind, that, however far the Picts pushed their incursions into the interior of Britain, they never attempted to form settlements beyond their ancient limits—and that if Lothian was deserted by its ancient British inhabitants, it remained altogether unoccupied, until it was colonised by the Saxons. On this head the authority of Beda is incontrovertible, who informs us that even in his time the Friths of Forth and Clyde formed the southern boundaries of the Picts and Scots.

In the district immediately adjoining, I have endeavoured to show that a Saxon settlement was formed under Oetha and Ebissa, shortly after the middle of the fifth century, at a period when only one other Saxon colony, the kingdom established in Kent, was in existence.

The death of Hengist took place A.D. 488, after a reign of forty years, ten years previous to which the kingdom of Sussex was founded by Ella.

On Hengist's death, we are told by Nennius that Octha was advanced to the throne of Kent; but he does not inform us who was the successor of the latter in Lothian. Malmesbury, indeed, states that the followers of Octha continued under the government of dukes, appointed by the Kentish kings, until the establishment by Ida of the kingdom of Northumberland, in which the colony of Lothian was merged; but the unsupported testimony of this writer is of little weight in reference to the affairs of this early period; still less can we rely on such authorities as Brompton, De Taxster, and the *Scala Chronica*, which furnish us with additional particulars.

We are not, however, altogether without details of events of considerable importance, which appear to be connected with this district, the interest of which is greatly enhanced by the legendary celebrity of the individual to whom they relate—the renowned King Arthur. So much are we accustomed to connect the history of this king with the absurd fictions of Jeffrey of Monmouth and the romances of his disciples, that it is difficult to secure for him the place to which he is entitled in sober history. The national vanity, in an earlier age, received with eager credulity the most preposterous narratives of his achievements; whilst the cautious criticism of our own times is disposed to regard the very question of his existence with scepticism. The late Mr. Chalmers, in his *Caledonia*, has taken considerable pains to establish, not only the historical reality of King Arthur, but his local connexion with the South of Scotland, by the collection of a number of instances in which his name is combined with that of places in the district. He lays little stress on the designation, so familiar to us all, of Arthur's Seat, which he admits to be comparatively recent, although this is referred to by Camden in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and even by earlier writers. He notices, however, amongst a great variety of others, an ancient name of the rocky citadel of Dumbarton, which is called, in a parliamentary record of the reign of David II., "Castrum Arthuri" (the Castle of Arthur). I will not pursue this branch of the inquiry further, but rather refer you to the

work of the author from whom I have quoted, of whom this country may be justly proud, as well worthy of the title of the Camden of Scotland.

The *historical* evidence of King Arthur's connection with Lothian is to be found in the list of his battles, preserved by Nennius and copied by Henry of Huntingdon :—“ After the death of Hengist, his son Oetha passed from the North of Britain into the kingdom of Kent, and from him are descended the kings of that province. At that time Arthur fought against the Saxons, with the kings of the Britons ; but he was the chief commander in the wars. The first battle was at the mouth of the river Glein ; the second, third, fourth, and fifth, on another river, which is called Dubglas, in the district of Linnuis ; the sixth battle was on a river called Bassas ; the seventh, in the wood of Celidon ; the eighth battle was at the Castle Guinnion. The ninth battle was at the city of the Legion ; the tenth, on the shore of the river Tribruit ; the eleventh, on a mountain which is called Agned ; the twelfth was on Mount Badon ; and in all these battles he was victorious.”

From this extract it would appear that the victorious career of Arthur commenced soon after the death of Hengist, and the departure of Oetha from Lothian to Kent, at which time, as we have seen, there were but three bodies of Saxons in the island, against whom the prowess of the British king *could* be proved. It is natural, therefore, that we should look for the fields of the earlier battles, at least, in or adjacent to one of the three Saxon settlements. Extending our survey to the first seven battle-fields, we meet with no names at all similar to any one of them, either in Kent or Sussex, or in any adjacent district. On the other hand, we have no difficulty in finding appropriate sites for each in Lothian, and in the districts immediately South and North of it. This, undoubtedly raises a strong presumption that the opponents of Arthur in these seven engagements must have been the Northern Saxons, and not those of Kent or of Sussex ; but such presumption is almost converted into certainty by the locality of the seventh battle in the wood of Celidon, in which we at once recognise the celebrated Caledonian Forest. Nor is the order in which the names occur less material in testing the soundness of our conclusions, if we consider in connection with it two circum-

stances:—first, that the Saxons were the aggressors; secondly, that the seven battles resulted in successive victories to the Britons. The first battle, then, was on the Glein or Glen, a small river which gives name to Glendale, a district of Northumberland, immediately South of the Tweed. The hills which skirt the vale of the river, to this day present extensive remains of British fortifications; and it is probable that on the fertile plain below was of old the capital of a British state; as we know there was in aftertimes the villa of the Saxon king of the district, as mentioned by Beda, first at Yeavinger, and afterwards at Milfield.

Here, then, it is probable the Saxon leader conducted his troops to attack the citadel, either of Arthur himself, or of one of his allies. On his defeat he naturally retreated within his own territory; and here we find him, with desperate pertinacity, resisting the advance of the Britons in four successive engagements, each terminating in a defeat on the banks of the same little stream, the Dunglas (written incorrectly in different MSS. the Duglas and the Dubglas). The river Bassas, on which the sixth battle was fought, at first seemed to have some reference to the Bass Rock in this vicinity; but I am rather disposed, instead of Bassas, to read Peasas, and to identify the site with the Pease rivulet, which runs parallel to, and within a very short distance of, the Dunglas. The sides of the ravines through which both these streams flow, afford several positions of remarkable strength, well calculated for defence. Of the passage of the Pease in particular, Cromwell, who surveyed it with a military eye more than eleven centuries afterwards, makes use in a despatch of this remarkable expression, that here “one man to hinder were better than twelve to make way.”

When the passes of the Pease and Dunglas were forced, an open country lay before the pursuers and the pursued; and it is not extraordinary that the Saxons, after six defeats, should seek refuge in the territories of their allies the Picts. If, after the seventh defeat in the Caledonian Forest, they were not altogether annihilated, we may well believe that they were at all events incapable of further aggression; nor is there reason to suppose that the subsequent exploits of Arthur were performed in the North. Hitherto we cannot consider him to have acted in the capacity of leader of “the

kings of the Britons," but only as the chief of a local confederacy for the defence of the northern border; but the warlike qualities which he had here displayed naturally pointed him out for a more extensive command, when the necessities of his country required a union of the native princes to resist the invasion of the common enemy.

It is probable that there never would have been any difference of opinion as to the sites of these battles, but for a mistake, into which our historians have been led by Jeffery of Monmouth, of confounding the "Regio Linnuis," in which the Dunglas is said to be situated, with Lindsey in Lincolnshire; whereas the district really meant is undoubtedly Lothian. The names usually applied to this province in charters, and by the monkish historians, are Lodo-neum, Lothonia, Laodonia, &c.; but instances are not wanting of an orthography much more nearly approaching to that in the text, as Leonis, Loeneis,¹ whereas Lindsey or Lindissi is never spelt without a *d*.

Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the age of the *Historia Britonum*, ascribed to Nennius, there can be no doubt that it existed considerably before the time of Jeffrey of Monmouth, by several of whose contemporaries it is quoted; not, indeed, under his name, but either under the name of Gildas, or by a reference to an anonymous authority. Its credit, therefore, cannot be affected by the superstructure of fiction which has been raised upon it.

The list of the battles of Arthur, which is given above, is the only information which we possess respecting him from any historian prior to the time of Jeffrey, or which is untainted by his inventions. His name, indeed, occurs three or four times in the lays of the ancient British bards, but unaccompanied by any details materially to enlarge our knowledge of his history, still less to countenance the extravagant fables of later writers. One of the poems of Llywarch Hen relates to a battle which he fought on the river Llawen, which may be identical with the Glen.

Mr. Sharon Turner impugns the accuracy of Nennius's account of these battles, on the ground that this succession of twelve victories is inconsistent with the gradual progress

¹ "Terra quæ Leonis vocatur usque ad mare Scoticum," Giraldus Cambrensis, *De Instructione Principum*, p. 13. "Leonensis," Script. Norman. Duchesne,

p. 1001. "In terra regis Scolia, in Loeneis," *Magnus Rotulus Pipæ*, 4 Hen. II., apud Maddox, vol. 1, c. 1, p. 3.

and ultimate success of the Saxon arms. And such would indeed be the case, if Arthur had been everywhere present and the British everywhere victorious ; but a slight examination will show that this was far from being the case. The seven battles already reviewed, although they secured the temporary tranquillity of the northern borders, would have little effect upon the general progress of Saxon occupation. In the meantime, Kent and Sussex were extending their frontiers, and the continental Saxons were preparing for those expeditions which were conducted on a larger scale than hitherto under Cerdic. The first attempts of this adventurer were not directed against the western coast, where his kingdom was ultimately established, but against the shores of Norfolk, where we read of his landing A.D. 495 at a place called by the Saxon Chronicle Cerdic's Ore, which Camden identifies with Yarmouth. This was just six years after the death of Hengist, which allows a sufficient interval for the conclusion of Arthur's wars in the North, and the establishment of his reputation as the first captain of his age. Nothing is more natural than that he should be invited to take the command of his countrymen against this new and powerful assailant ; and there is a remarkable resemblance between the name of the site of his next battle at Castellum Guinnion, and that of an abandoned Roman station in the immediate neighbourhood of Yarmouth, Castellum Gariannonum, the massive remains of which are to be seen in great perfection to this day. If we were to look for the fittest situation for the encampment of a party of marauders on an open coast like that of Norfolk, totally void of any natural fastnesses, our attention would almost of necessity be directed to this place, the modern name of which, Burgh, denotes its Roman origin, as unmistakably as the prefix of Castellum in Nennius. That Arthur not only engaged the Saxons in his neighbourhood, but effectually repulsed them, is perfectly consistent with what we know of the history of the period from other sources : for though two or three hostile descents were made in the same locality, we know that no permanent settlement was effected till many years afterwards.

Four battles only remain to be accounted for, and there is no doubt that Mr. Turner is right in fixing the localities of these in Wessex. Even here, however, we may believe

that they were all victories, without at all contradicting the received accounts of the rapid progress of Cerdic's arms, and the ultimate establishment of his kingdom. If Arthur's own capital was, as we have reason to believe, in the North, a long time must have elapsed after the landing of a Saxon force in Hampshire, before he could possibly have obeyed a summons to lead his distant warriors to resist the invaders. Cerdic in the mean time had doubtless established himself too firmly to be easily dislodged, and reinforcements could be obtained as quickly from Germany as from Northumberland. He had, besides, the aid of his countrymen, who were settled in his immediate vicinity, in Sussex and Kent. When Arthur arrived, a large tract of country was probably irrecoverably lost; and all that he could do was to check the further progress of the invaders, or at most to contract the limits of their occupation. Each of his victories might be attended with important results, and the enemy might yet be left in possession of extensive conquests. The last of these battles, that of Mount Badon, is assigned by the Annals of Ulster to the year 516. The establishment of the kingdom of Wessex is placed by the Saxon Chronicle just three years later. The death of Arthur may have taken place in the mean time, and the British arms have sustained a reverse. At all events, we know from Gildas, who, as well as Beda, refers to the battle of Badon, though he does not mention the name of the British leader, that this was "nearly the last, though not the least, slaughter" of the Saxons.

The settlement of Ida took place A.D. 547. He is said to have landed at Flamborough in Yorkshire; but this is doubtful. We only know with certainty that the seat of his government was at Bamborough in Northumberland. He was of a different branch of the Teutonic race from the former settlers under Oetha. They were countrymen of Hengist, who was a Jute. Ida and his followers were Angles. If, however, any of the earlier colonists remained, they would readily amalgamate with a kindred tribe.

That Lothian was from an early period included in the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumberland, is beyond doubt; but the first intimation we have of this fact is not from historians, but from the etymology of this city of Edinburgh, which is generally allowed to have received its name from

Edwin, the second king of the united provinces of Bernicia and Deira, whose reign extended from A.D. 616 to 633. We must not, however, assume, because Edwin created a burgh or fort on the shores of the Frith of Forth, that the intermediate district from thence to the Tweed was fully peopled. The fact appears to have been directly the reverse. The district immediately around Edinburgh may have been tenanted by a numerous colony of Jutes or Angles, or of a mixture of both ; but we have a remarkably proof, in the succeeding reign of Oswald, that a large tract of thinly inhabited country, if indeed it was inhabited at all, adjoined it to the East and South. Amongst the lands bestowed by that king on his newly established bishopric and monastery of Lindisfarne, was included the immense territory which extends from the Lammermuir Hills to the river Esk, which falls into the Frith at Musselburgh, co-extensive with the entire county of Haddington. Within these wide limits, the entire area, up to this time, must have been "foc-land," or land unappropriated to the private uses of any individuals. Some of it was probably occupied as pasture for the flocks of the inhabitants of the adjoining settled districts ; but if any settlers were located here, possessing no other home, their position would be similar to that of the squatters in the unreclaimed districts of the New World in our own days.

Besides this, a grant of land within the present county of Northumberland, extending along the sea-coast from the Tweed nearly to Bamburgh, and reaching inland to the valley of the Breamish and the Till, with another immense tract immediately North of the Tweed, were appropriated to the same religious purposes. Those two last districts were immediately colonised—the one in connection with the present monastery of Lindisfarne, the other with Melrose, which was an offshoot of the same establishment. In East Lothian, also, a monastery was established at Tynningham.¹

¹ Dr. Smith, the learned editor of Beda, would refer the monastery at the mouth of the Tyne, originally tenanted by monks, afterwards by nuns, which is noticed by his author in his *Life of St. Cuthbert*, to Tynningham ; but this is inconsistent with Beda's narrative, which describes the river as navigable, thus identifying it with the Tyne in Northumberland, not the little rivulet in Lothian. A monastery, however, did

exist at Tynningham in Beda's time, as appears from his mention of its Abbot Herebald. Symeon mentions Tynningham as the residence of the anchorite Balther, who died A.D. 756. He also speaks of a "most noble monastery at the mouth of the river Tyne," under the year 792, but whether this refers to Tynemouth or Tynningham, and whether the inmates were male or female, uncertain.

The particulars of these endowments will be found in the very curious account of the bishopric established at Lindisfarne, and afterwards removed to Chester-le-Street, which is appended to Symeon's History of the Church of Durham, in Twysden's edition. The account only reaches to the time of Athelstan, and appears to have been written at that period, or, at all events, prior to the final removal of the bishopric from Chester-le-Street to Durham, at the close of the tenth century. Symeon has made great use of it, but has not exhausted it. Indeed, partly from the corrupt state of the text and partly from the want of minute local knowledge, he does not seem to have been able, in all cases, accurately to make out the localities referred to. In one of the Chronicles attributed to Symeon, but not in his Church History, Edinburgh itself is said to have been included amongst the possessions of the see of Lindisfarne; but this statement is not supported by the ancient document above referred to, or by any reliable authority. Coldingham in Berwickshire became the site of a monastery under the government of the celebrated St. Ebba, in the reign of Oswi, the brother and successor of St. Oswald. In this reign, also, the pastoral country on the banks of the Bowmont, South of the Tweed, but North-West of the Cheviot range, appears to have been reclaimed, and was granted by Oswi to St. Cuthbert, then an inmate of the monastery of Melrose. Jed-Forest probably remained in a state of nature till a century later, when the two Jedworths were founded by Bishop Egred about A.D. 850.

Roxburghshire was nearly the furthest limit of Saxon occupation in this direction. Beyond it, the forest of Ettrick interposed a wide belt of uncultivated country between the settlements of the followers of Ida and the dwellings of the Cumbri. The latter, indeed, were compelled to yield to the military superiority of Ethelfrid, and to pay tribute for the lands which their ancestors had immemorially held; but they were not slaughtered, or driven from their homes, as had been the harder lot of their brethren to the East. The land which had been already wasted was more than the immigrant population could occupy; and interest, if not humanity, restrained the victors from the wholesale slaughter of those who could thus be converted into profitable dependants. On this subject we are not left to inferences and probabilities,

but have the express statement of Beda, amply confirmed by the existence of the remains of Celtic occupation on one side of the boundary line and their absence on the other.

The tenacity with which the Britons resisted the advance of the intruders is proved by the existence of that remarkable line of defence, the Catrail, the remains of which are to be traced to this day, traversing a large extent of frontier. This had long been known to the provincial antiquaries of the district, and was ascribed by them, like almost everything else in Scotland and the North of England, whose origin is obscure, to the Picts—a people, who, as pointed out by Mr. Chalmers, never had any footing in the district. To that diligent investigator of the antiquities of his country, we are indebted for having traced the course of this extraordinary work, from the high ground between the Gala and the Tweed above Galashiels, to Peel-Fell, at the head of Liddesdale; and more than this—for proving, by the clearest demonstration, its true authors, and the time and object of its construction.

During the entire Saxon period, the history of Lothian is singularly barren of incidents. The celebrated battle of Degaстан, in which Ethelfrid of Northumberland gained a decisive victory over Aidan, King of the Scots, A.D. 603, is generally placed at Dawston in Liddesdale, on the outskirts of this district. Another battle is mentioned, A.D. 761, in which Mol Ethelwald, King of Northumberland, defeated and slew his rival Oswin, after three days' hard fighting, at Eildon. The Saxon Chronicle calls the site of the battle Edwine's Cliffe; and Florence of Worcester, Cliffe; but in Symeon's Chronicle, which is generally more accurate as regards northern topography, the place is called Eldunum, to which an early interpolator has added, "near Melrose." The position of Eildon is one where an obstinate engagement is very likely to have taken place—at a difficult pass in the main line of communication between the South and North of Northumberland.

In the ninth century the coast of Lothian suffered, in common with the other maritime districts of the island, from the piratical incursions of the Danes; whilst a new and hostile neighbour threatened the province from the North. The Scots, who had previously been confined to the North-western district beyond the Clyde, had about A.D. 840, by

the subjection of the Picts, established themselves on the North of the Forth. Elated by his success, their king, Kenneth M'Alpine, turned his arms against the Saxons, whose territory he six times invaded, involving in ruin Dunbar and the abbey of Melrose. From this time the former place is not again mentioned, till more than two centuries later, in the reign of Malcolm Caenmore ; and the entire statement of the invasion rests on the testimony of the old Pictish Chronicle published by Innis. In the same way we have, in Roger of Wendover, a solitary mention of Berwick-upon-Tweed as the place where the Danes landed in 870, on their expedition to avenge the death of Ragner Lodbroc. To the same year he ascribes the destruction of Lindisfarne and Coldingham ; but this date we know to be inaccurate. Lindisfarne was destroyed by Halfdene and his followers, whose invasion of Northumberland did not occur till five years later ; and we learn from Wendover himself that its ruin preceded that of Coldingham. To this author we are indebted for the story of the heroism of the Abbess of Coldingham and her nuns, who are said to have mutilated their faces in a ghastly manner, rather than expose their charms to the gaze of the barbarians. He gives to the abbess the name of her predecessor, Ebba, the founder of the monastery—exhibiting either a remarkable coincidence or some poverty of invention. If there had been any truth in the narrative, it would not have escaped the research of the earlier monkish historians, who deal in legends of this sort ; but it is much more likely that the holy sisterhood, who appear to have had abundant notice of the approach of Halfdene, imitated the example of the monks of Lindisfarne, and escaped the danger which threatened them by timely flight. Neither Coldingham nor Melrose was restored till the Norman era ; but if Tynningham was involved in the general ruin of the Northumbrian monasteries, it must have been rebuilt previous to 941, when “ Onlaf, King of Northumberland having plundered the church of St. Balther and burnt Tynningham, was afterwards killed,” as we read in Symeon's Chronicle. Coldingham was not, like the monasteries of Melrose and Tynningham, founded on a previously unoccupied spot. Its site is dignified by Beda with the appellation of the City of Coludi. We can hardly suppose that such an amount of Saxon population was collected there

as to entitle it to this distinction, but must rather refer its origin to the British or Roman period of our history. This view is confirmed by the circumstance that one of the two ancient roads which traversed Northumberland terminated here. At the period when these roads were laid out, it is evident that no bridge existed across the navigable portion of the Tyne, although the construction of one at Newcastle as early as the reign of Hadrian is implied in the Roman name of the station at that place, Pons Ælii. But the great lines of communication with the North had already been completed, crossing the river at Corbridge, sixteen miles higher up ; and the route was not altered on the erection of the bridge of Hadrian, as no traces whatever of a coast road of Roman construction exist North of Newcastle. From Corbridge the principal thoroughfare passed nearly in a direct line to Eildon ; from whence, crossing the Tweed, it followed the Gala-Water to its source, and thence proceeded northward towards the Frith of Forth. From this road, near its southern extremity, and almost immediately North of the Wall of Hadrian, another branched off to the North-East, which crossed the Tweed two miles above Berwick, and terminated, as above stated, at or near Coldingham. Bremerium, one of the cities of the Otadini, recently excavated at the expense of a liberal patron of this institute, the Duke of Northumberland, and illustrated by Dr. Bruce, stands on one line of road :—it is not unlikely that the other, Curia, was the Urbs Coludi at the extremity of the second. The limits of the Northumbrian kingdom, as established by Ethelfrid in the early part of the seventh century, were the Humber and Mersey to the South, and the Forth and Clyde to the North. Of this territory the first curtailment took place A.D. 685, when Strathclyde recovered its independence after the death of Ecgrif. This was followed, a century afterwards, by the loss of Galloway. The territory thus severed was of very considerable extent, including all the West of Scotland from the Solway to the Clyde ; but the direct injury was not proportionably great, as the inhabitants were chiefly of the old British stock, on whose allegiance the Saxon sovereigns could never very confidently rely. Incidentally, however, it was attended by consequences much more serious, by laying open the western frontier of Lothian to incursions from which it had hitherto been protected by

the intervention of the subject states. This source of insecurity was greatly aggravated, a hundred years later, when Strathclyde and Galloway, with the district to the South between the Solway and the Duddon, were united in a confederacy under the protection of Scotland. The exaggerated statements of the early national historians as to the exploits of Gregory, the King (or, according to others, the Regent) of Scotland, from 881 to 893, have re-acted so much to the prejudice of his reputation, that modern inquirers are disposed to ignore altogether his pretensions to the character of a conqueror. Now, without implicitly adopting the idle stories which ascribe to him the conquest of all England and the greater part of Ireland, there seems no reason to doubt that he availed himself of the advantages of his situation and the distracted state of Northumberland to make himself master of Lothian, which his predecessor Kenneth had overrun under circumstances much less favourable.

Almost all England had been recently at the mercy of the Danes; and although these barbarians had been expelled by King Alfred from his own immediate dominions, they were established more firmly than ever in East Anglia and Northumberland. Christian Saxons and Pagan Danes were at length harmoniously united in the latter kingdom, under Guthred, who adopted the religion of the one, whilst his nationality recommended him to the other. His kingdom extended, in the first instance, only to the Tyne, beyond which three petty Saxon princes, Egbert, Ricsig, and a second Egbert reigned in succession from 867 to 883, and probably longer, but from this date we have no particulars of the affairs of the northern province for some years. When they next recur, Guthred appears as the sole (or at least the paramount) Northumbrian king; but the Scots in the meantime had not only possessed themselves of Lothian, but had carried their arms across the Tweed. In the year 890, the ninth of the reign of Gregory, the Scotch army suffered a repulse at Lindisfarne. Symeon mentions their discomfiture by Guthred, and refers to older authorities for the particulars of the miraculous interposition of St. Cuthbert, and the divine judgment which overwhelmed the sacrilegious intruders on his territory. This defeat seems to have shaken the stability of Gregory's power; for, three years hence, we find him driven from the throne, and a new king, Donal, the son of

Constantine, substituted for him. Far from being able to extend, or even to maintain, the conquests of his predecessor, Donal was hard pressed by the Danes within his own dominions, and fell in battle A.D. 904.

Guthred died the year after Gregory's expulsion, and Northumberland was divided into a number of petty principalities, the rulers of which, after seven years of anarchy and confusion, agreed to place the chief authority in the hands of Athelwold, the brother of Edward the Elder. This weak prince only held the monarchy to which he had been elected three years, and then abandoned it for other schemes in the same year in which his neighbour, Donal, King of Scotland, was slain. Three brothers, Neil, Sitric, and Regnald, according to some authorities the sons of Inguar, according to others of Guthred, now occur as kings of Northumberland; but the paramount superiority, both of King Edward and of his successor Athelstan, was reluctantly acknowledged. Constantine, who succeeded Donal on the throne of Scotland, viewed with natural alarm the extension of the power of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy so near his own borders, and endeavoured to counteract the danger by such combinations as he was able to form. His brother Donal, whom it is necessary to distinguish from his own predecessor of that name, had obtained the sovereignty of the Strathelyde Britons, in which he was succeeded by his son Eugenius, the nephew and presumptive heir of Constantine, by whose aid his authority was extended over the neighbouring British states, with the title of King of Cumbria. At a later period, Constantine secured the alliance of the Northumbrian Danes, as well as their compatriots in Ireland, by the marriage of his daughter with Anlaf, the son of Sitric. The strength of this confederacy, however, was annihilated at the celebrated battle of Brunanburgh, in which Athelstan defeated his combined foes, A.D. 937. Seven years afterwards, Constantine retired to a monastery, and was succeeded by Malcolm, who, by the adoption of a different policy, succeeded in conciliating the contemporary English King, Edred, who restored to him Cumbria, and seems to have recognised his claims to Lothian also; although the death of both kings, A.D. 955, prevented the actual transfer. At all events, we know that the city of Edinburgh was vacated that very year, and the cession of the remainder of the

province was only delayed a few years. The particulars of this important event are thus detailed by Wendover :—" In the year 975, Bishop Alfsey and Earl Eadulf conducted Kinred (Kenneth), King of the Scots, to King Edgar, who made him many presents of his royal bounty. He gave him, moreover, the whole district called Laudian in the native tongue, on this condition, that every year, on certain festivals, when the king and his successors wore the crown, he should come to court and celebrate the festival with the other nobles. The king gave him, besides, many mansions on the road, that he and his successors might find entertainment in going and returning ; and these houses continued to belong to the Kings of Scotland until the time of King Henry II." I have been thus particular in transcribing this passage at length, because I believe that it satisfactorily explains the homage rendered by the Kings of Scotland to the Kings of England :—not for Scotland, not for Cumberland, but for Lothian. At this period the performance of homage might indeed be unknown either in Scotland or in England ; but services and attendances were here stipulated, on which homage was almost of necessity engrafted at a later date. When we consider the long and warm controversies which have been carried on as to the object of this homage, it is not a little singular that no reference has, so far as I am aware, ever been made to a passage in Ordericus Vitalis, an early and authentic historian of the Norman period, which seems conclusive on the question. When William Rufus demanded the homage of Malcolm Caenmore, the latter did not deny that it was due to the English Crown, but maintained that the party entitled to it was not William, but his elder brother, Robert. " I am ready to admit," he said, " that when King Edward promised me his niece Margaret in marriage, he conferred on me the earldom of Lothian. King William afterwards confirmed what his predecessor had granted, and," addressing Robert, " commended me to you as his eldest son."

Mr. Chalmers ignores altogether the cession of Lothian by King Edgar, and finds the title of the Scotch kings to this province on its compulsory surrender by Eadulf Cudel, Earl of Northumberland, to Malcolm II., A.D. 1020. His authority is a little tract ascribed to Symeon of Durham, containing a history of the earls of this province, commencing

with Waltheoff, the brother of Eadulf Cudel. Eadulf is there described as of a slothful and cowardly disposition ; and we are told that, "fearing that the Scots would revenge upon himself the slaughter which his brother had inflicted upon them, he surrendered to them the whole of Lothian, to appease them, and secure peace. In this manner Lothian was annexed to the kingdom of Scotland." From the same tract, however, we learn that Malcolm was not only at a previous period in possession of Lothian, but that he had penetrated through the present county of Northumberland as far as Durham. From thence he was driven back with great slaughter by Waltheoff, who was rewarded for his valour with the hand of the daughter of the English king, Ethelred, in marriage. At this time it is probable that Lothian, or a part of it, was occupied by this powerful earl, and retained during his lifetime, but restored after his decease by his less warlike brother. No reference to this cession of Lothian is to be found, either in Symeon's History of the Church of Durham, or in the general Chronicle which passes under his name ; but in both we read of a dreadful slaughter of the Northumbrians by King Malcolm, in a battle which was fought two years previously, at Carham, on the south bank of the Tweed. If any territory North of that river was then in possession of the English earl, we cannot doubt that it was immediately restored to the Scots ; but it is not necessary to assume that it then, for the first time, passed into their possession. On the contrary, it seems very improbable that succeeding Kings of England would have quietly acquiesced in the continued occupation of this territory by Scotland, if no better title could be shown by the latter country than what was derived from an official dependant of the Anglo-Saxon monarch, who could have no power of alienation without the sanction of his superior. Without rejecting the authority of Symeon, that this district was in possession of Waltheoff and surrendered by his brother, we may yet accept the testimony of Wendover, that it had been long previously held by Scotland under a more valid tenure. Although the latter writer was of a date considerably posterior to Symeon, we are in many instances indebted to him for authentic notices of northern affairs, which are not to be met with elsewhere ; and this may readily be accounted for by the fact that the great monastery of St. Alban's, of

which Wendover was a member, was possessed of a cell at Tynemouth in Northumberland, in which we know ancient chronicles were preserved, which are not now extant, but to which the historian of the parent monastery no doubt had access.

Henceforward Lothian has no separate history—its fortunes, from this time, being indissolubly connected with the realm of Scotland.

ON THE ALLELUJAH VICTORY, AND THE STATE OF ENGLAND
IN THE FIFTH CENTURY.¹

THE life of St. Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, has claims upon our attention from his having visited Britain in the fifth century, and especially as archæologists engaged in investigating the early history of Cheshire, from the traditionary site of the Allelujah victory which he gained over the Saxons, being in close proximity to that county.

The town of Mold, near which this event is said to have happened, is within the ancient limits of Wales, but close to the English border; and before the two nations were united, must have been liable to the accidents to which such localities are constantly exposed. . On the west of the town there is a remarkable hill, which has been strongly fortified, probably from a very early period. The character of the existing works is Norman, and the name, Bailey Hill, points to the same origin; but it is likely that a stronghold of a much earlier date existed here, and earth-works are so much alike, that between British, Saxon, Danish, and Norman, especially where succeeding races have enlarged and modified the works of their predecessors—who shall decide? Mold must always have been an important pass, as guarding one of the roads leading into the interior of Wales.

But this part of the history of Germanus is further noteworthy from the period at which his Life was written. His biographer, Constantius, a presbyter of Lyons, is the only contemporary writer who gives any authentic details of any transactions in this island in the fifth century,² and however small the harvest may be, a careful gleaner may still gather

¹ Communicated at the Annual Meeting of the Institute at Chester, July, 1857.

² Constantius is supposed to have

written his "Life of St. Germanus" about 490; it may be found in the "Acta Sanctorum," Bolland; as also that by Heric under July 31.

some things that become valuable, in proportion to the great rarity of historical materials for that important epoch of the world's history, when the Roman Empire was falling to pieces, to be reconstructed in a new political creation.

And these gleanings become of more consequence from the confusion that has arisen with reference to the inhabitants of Britain from the misunderstanding and ambiguity of the Latin names. It is certain that not one of the tribes or families named by Cæsar, Tacitus, or any of the Roman historians of the first three centuries can be identified, except the Kentish. It is only in the fourth century that we find the Saxones and the Littus Saxonicum corresponding with the later Essex, Middlesex, Sussex, and Wessex. In the following century we observe one or two other similar traces, and this remark applies not merely to the Eastern or Germanic part of the island, but equally so to the Welsh portion.

We may also notice that in Ammianus Marcellinus, Gildas, and Constantius, that is in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, the term *Britanni* or *Britones* is not applied to the inhabitants of the island generally, but to the Roman party only, which included the owners of property, the cities and municipal towns, and in fact comprehended the wealth, intelligence, organisation, and the political, if not the physical, power of the community. The other, or what we might name the national party, are called *Barbari*.³

The earliest notice of the expedition of St. Germanus into Britain is found in the Chronicle of Prosper of Aquitaine, which is a continuation of that of St. Jerome, comes down to 455, and may be supposed to have been written five or six years after the death of Germanus. Prosper tells us, that "in the Consulship of Florentius and Dionysius (A. D. 429), Agricola Pelagianus, the son of Severianus

³ See Beda, lib. i. cap. 12 et seq. The Roman party termed *Britones* by him, asked for, and got help from the Romans in 414 and 416, against the *Barbari*, who certainly were not Welsh or Gaelic. The contests, as might be expected, were waged with various success; but about the middle of the Vth century the Roman party had actually acquired the ascendancy, when dissensions broke out among themselves. The arrival of leaders from the continent afforded a

point of union, hitherto wanting, to the *Sexna*, and the revolution may be said to have commenced from that period. It is curious that some cities retained their freedom and possessions through all the changes both then and subsequently, and little doubt can be entertained, that both London and York exhibit traces of the original municipal institutions of *Londinium* and *Eboracum*. Chester itself may be added to this list.

a Pelagian bishop, corrupted the Churches of Britain by insidious teaching ; but the Pope Celestinus, by the inducement of Palladius, a deacon, sent Germanus, the Bishop of Auxerre, as his representative, by whom the heretics were put to the rout, and the Britons were turned to the Catholic Faith.”⁴

Doubts have been thrown upon the genuineness of this statement, and as neither Constantius nor Beda (who quotes Prosper) says anything about Celestinus, this part may have been interpolated ; but there is no reason to question the date itself. Germanus, however, is stated to have come over a second time, shortly before his death, which took place in 449.

When the Pelagian heresy reached Britain, Constantius tells us that a deputation was sent to the Gallican bishops to request their help in defence of the Catholic Faith ; that a large synod met, and that Germanus and Lupus were chosen to put down the growing evil. After escaping a violent storm in the voyage, they were received by a number of priests from all parts. They preached not only in the churches, but in the streets of cities, and in country lanes. At first the Pelagians are said to have hid themselves ; but not wishing the people to escape out of their hands, they at length determined to face the new apostles. They advanced to the conflict conspicuous for their wealth, in shining robes, and surrounded by troops of flatterers. After a public disputation, in which all the arguments, eloquence, and triumph are attributed to the bishops, the assembly, as judge, with difficulty held their hands, and expressed their opinion with a shout. At this moment a certain person of Tribunitian authority, with his wife, brought his blind daughter, ten years old, to test the truth of the contending parties by their miraculous powers. The Pelagians declining this proof, Germanus took a small box of relics from his neck and applied it with prayers to the child's eyes, who immediately recovered her sight, and the conviction was complete ; the heresy was put down, its supporters confuted, and the minds of the people settled in the pure faith. The Gallican bishops visited the Martyr St. Alban, and returned thanks to God through him. Germanus had the tomb

⁴ “Mon. Historica Brit.” p. lxxxii.

opened, and deposited therein many relics of other saints collected in various countries. He also took some of the soil where the blood of the saint was shed and which it yet contained; and as the conclusion of these events, it is said, innumerable men were the same day turned to the Lord.

On his return, Germanus having injured his foot, was obliged to stop in a cottage; a fire took place, and in spite of every effort, the village was consumed; the house where the Saint remained alone escaping. After the application of various remedies without effect, at last the injured limb was miraculously healed.

In the meantime the Saxons and Picts had joined their forces and made war upon the Britons, who entrenched themselves, but fearing that their troops were inferior to the enemy, they sought the help of the holy bishops. Their early arrival inspired the Britons with as much confidence as if they had been reinforced by a very large army. It was the season of Lent, and impelled by the daily sermons, the people hastened to be baptised. A church was built of green branches on Easter Sunday, and gave the appearance of a city to the rural encampment. The newly baptised converts with fervent faith, distrusting the mere protection of arms, awaited the divine help. The enemy, who had heard of this ceremony, presuming upon an easy prey, rapidly advanced; Germanus, when the services of Easter day were over, was informed of their approach, and undertook the duties of general. He disposed his enthusiastic followers on the sides of a valley, amidst mountains, through which the enemy would have to pass, and notice of their advance was given by scouts placed for the purpose; the Saint ordered his troops to repeat aloud thrice, the word "Allelujah!" when he gave the signal. The mountains re-echoed the shout, and the Saxons, who calculated on surprising the Britons, were themselves struck with terror. They fled, throwing away their arms, and some even, overcome with fear, were drowned in crossing the river. The Christian army beheld the discomfiture of its enemies, as idle spectators of the victory thus won. They gathered the spoils, and the bishops rejoiced in a bloodless conquest gained by faith, not by strength.

The security of the island both as far as visible and invi-

sible foes were concerned was obtained, and Germanus and Lupus returned safely to Gaul.⁵

I have endeavoured to render as accurately as possible, the language of Constantius, which is the more necessary as later writers have exaggerated his statements for the purpose of enhancing the supposed miracle. There is nothing in the narrative to indicate the spot where this defeat took place ; but tradition has assigned to it a valley, still called Maes Garmon, the field of Germanus, about twelve miles from Chester. The town of Mold may be considered as forming the foreground of the first range of Welsh mountains ; it is built on the slope of a hill terminated by the church, immediately to the west of which is the Bailey Hill already mentioned. Beyond this is a valley more than half a mile across, which is closed on the opposite side by a steep ridge : here is a monument—an obelisk erected in 1736, in memory of the battle. The valley opens on the right to the river Alyn ; to the south it descends to the Maes Garmon, at a farm-house, and is continuous with another narrow valley from the south-east. If we suppose a heedless body of Saxons coming along this valley, the head of it having reached the parallel of the present monument, and concealed detachments of the disciples of St. Germanus placed along the broken sides of the hills, raising the shout and exhibiting their arms, we may easily conceive that the enemy fancied themselves surrounded by a superior force, and, seized with a panic, fled into the open country to the north, crossing the Alyn. Constantius does not say that many lost their lives ; but if the river was flooded, it is possible that some might perish there. It was probably nothing more than a predatory inroad, such as was frequently made in later times, in which victory brought little gain or glory, and defeat as little loss or disgrace.

We may here allude to the practice of the early Church in celebrating baptism at Easter ; and as nothing is said by Constantius respecting the difference between the Roman and British Churches, we may imagine that Germanus and Lupus themselves used the Eastern form of computation.

⁵ "Bed. Hist. Eccl." lib. i. cap. 17 et seq. Beda never names Constantius: the various readings may be seen in the

"Monumenta Historica Brit.," p. 122, et seq.

Where Germanus landed, or in what part of the country he preached, the Life does not tell us. The only locality named is that of Verulam, the scene of the death of St. Alban, so graphically described by Beda; and whether the bishop went there at once, as conjectured, or whether the assembly where the tribune's daughter was healed took place elsewhere, and the visit to St. Alban's was made later, we have too little evidence to decide. The battle is said to have occurred on Easter Sunday—but it would be according to the Eastern calculation, and we have now to draw our conclusions as to the condition of the country in the second quarter of the fifth century as carefully as we can.

Resistance to the Romans had begun at least eighty years before; and though rebellions had been repeatedly put down, the outbreaks were again and again renewed. The troops were wanted elsewhere, and were gradually withdrawn from the island, till at length in 409 the Emperor Honorius wrote letters to the cities of Britain, telling them they must look to their own safety.⁶ At the beginning of the fifth century religious discord was very rife among the British Christians, and there was a powerful heathen party, the Barbari, who seem to have assumed the name of Picts—and were soon to predominate. The political factions also were striving, not merely for present power, but for life, for freedom, and for the whole property of the country; one relying on present possession and organisation, the other on numbers and national rights, and with altogether different laws relating to property itself. Constantius names only two political parties, the Saxons and the Picts; but these possibly represent the two great divisions of a later period, the Saxons and the English. The Saxons were undoubtedly the the *Sexe* or *Sexna* who held the *Littus Saxonicum* under the Lower Empire, forty or fifty years before, and whose name Latinised into *Saxones* was confounded with the *Sachsen* of the continent, and seems even then to have been applied by the Welsh to the English generally.⁷

The Picts on the other hand were not any particular tribe or family, but a political confederation or party, which, about

⁶ Zosimus, lib. vi. cap. 10.

⁷ The later historians, when writing in Latin, apply the word *Saxones* to the in-

habitants of England, while the native writers, using their own language, even from the first call them English.

the middle of the previous century, rose against the Roman government, and after years of hard struggling achieved their freedom and merged in their original tribes, to maintain a stormy and less prosperous independence. These were all of Germanic origin, and had nothing but the innate love of liberty and their own valour wherewith to contend against the wealth, organisation, and *prestige* of the Roman party. It was, in fact, as we may gather from the letter of Honorius, country against town, and at the time when Germanus came over, it would seem that the city of Verulam was still independent.

We may notice another fact of importance, that no mention is made of any king or general, and the divided state of the country accounts for this circumstance. The mention of a person of Tribunitian authority points to a municipal government, and the advice of the Emperor "to the cities of Britain" serves to show that each was independent of the others. Twenty or thirty years later we have Kings of Kent, then Kings of Sussex, and Wessex, and in the following century Gildas names Kings of Devonshire, and North Wales. Many of the cities were probably by that time destroyed; the Roman party was subdued; the heathen triumphant, and possibly Stonehenge may be a memorial of the newly recovered nationality commenced upon a magnificent scale, and never completed.

The country through which Germanus passed, appears to have been entirely under the Roman party, as there is no allusion to any other religious enemy than the Pelagians, who appear to have been of the higher and wealthier classes. In the interval of the twenty years which had elapsed from the letters of Honorius, communications were kept up with Rome, and applications for assistance made, as described by Gildas. Twenty years later it was sought in vain; district after district assumed its independence and received their so-called kings from the fatherland of their race. Indeed, the statement of Adam of Bremen,⁸ who quotes perchance some lost classic authority, is in all probability literally true, viz., that the Saxons of the continent came from Britain. If some of the Sexe of our island took refuge on the barren islands and shores at the mouth of the Elbe in the first and second

⁸ He quotes Einhardus, who had Tacitus before him.—*Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. 4.

centuries, from their Roman conquerors, they would of necessity support themselves by attacks upon the more civilised settlements about them, and the royal races might be continued and known amongst them. There will thus be no difficulty in receiving the history of the establishment of the various Anglo-Saxon kingdoms as given in Beda and the Saxon Chronicle.

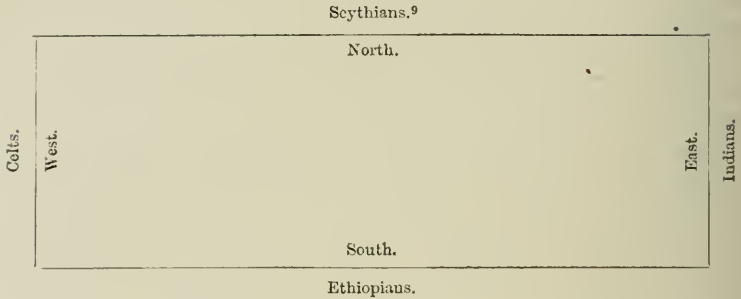
There is one more point to be noted, with reference to the Saxons and their piratical attacks upon their wealthy neighbours. The Sexe never were a sea-going race, except from absolute necessity. Cæsar when he invaded the island does not appear to have seen a vessel of any sort; the previous reports of the assistance the Britons had given to the Gauls, if true, must refer to the Cornish Britons. After the defeat of the Romans, the intercourse with the continent was not frequent, except perhaps with Rome. Alfred from necessity raised a fleet, but his successors did not keep it up; nor was it till England and Normandy were one kingdom, that any permanent British navy was established.

The tribes on the west side of the kingdom, including Cornwall and Wales, were of a different race, which has been named Celtic—an objectionable name, and which should be either strictly defined or abandoned altogether. It may be applied to any people speaking a cognate language with the Welsh, but not to races using a Latin dialect, and still less to those of purely Teutonic origin.

It may here be allowed to add a few words upon this important subject. Every one who has had occasion to examine the Geography of the ancients, knows how little it is to be depended on, whether as regards the relative position of places, or the names assigned to them. With little knowledge of science—with less of strange languages—none of which, in this portion of the globe had been reduced to writing, and with few voyagers whose accounts could be trusted, we may be surprised that they have done so much; but evidence merely collected from their compilations is of the most unsatisfactory kind.

Ephorus, a Greek historian, flourished 341 years before Christ, or about 140 years after Herodotus. In order to systematise Geography, he assumed that the habitable world was a parallelogram and thus arranged all those who dwelt

outside of those nations with whom the Greeks had intercourse, or where they had colonies :—



Now, as nobody would attempt to identify the Scythians or Indians, or even the Ethiopiains, with any existing race, these names in fact comprehending all the unknown tribes which peopled immense divisions of the habitable globe, it is not easy to see why the Celts should have formed the only exception. Herodotus is the earliest author who mentions them, merely however as a tribe, dwelling to the west of the Phocæan colony of Massilia, and they are never named again as an individual family or people. Later writers, it is true, applied the term to the Gauls, from some supposed etymological affinity between Galatæ and Celtæ; and Cæsar divided Gaul into three parts, one of which he called Gallia Celtica. But it must always be borne in mind that these groupings of various districts and tribes into one large province, are comparatively of late date, and are altogether arbitrary. Still later writers have regarded even the Scandinavians as Celts, and it seems to be a prevalent opinion that a figurative wave of Celts at some unknown period flowed up from the East, till they were stopped by the real waves of the Atlantic in the West. It is quite time to put an end to what I fear must be called idle fancies; let us accept the divisions of Europe as they are already defined by language. In the western part we have only three such families, the Cymric, the Latin, and the Scandinavian—all clearly distinct dialects, and all as clearly from the same original tongue, each, too, marking its own unmistakable boundary by the

⁹ See "Geographia Antiqua," edited by J. Gronovius, at the end. Lugd. Bat. 1700. "Fragmens des Poèmes Geogra-

phiques," par Latronne. Paris, 1840, p. 146.

names of places, which further are characteristic of the sub-dialects ; these sub-dialects themselves, however, having become independent languages long before any existing history.

The miracles and events respecting St. Germanus in the compilation of Nennius (who says nothing of the Battle of Mold), are altogether of a different character to those given by Constantius. Part seems to be taken from a Life of Germanus, by Heric, written in the ninth century, who gives as his authority Marcus Anchorita, a British monk ; and part may be derived from the effusions of the Welsh Bards of a still later date. The former relate to a certain Benli, the Lord of Ial or Durnluc, described as a tyrant and usurper, and who is compelled by the Saint to resign his power and possessions to one Ketel or Catell : in the latter portions we are introduced to King Guorthigern and Ambrosius, and though the whole might find a place in the Mabinogion, it has nothing to do with history. The only reference that can be made to it, is that in the ninth century the localities connected with St. Germanus in Wales are in the immediate neighbourhood of Mold. The district of Ial or Yale is said to have extended from Corwen to Mold, and four or five miles from the latter we have a hill-fort called the Castle of Benlli.

Constantius describes a second journey of Germanus, the events of which are of the same character as those of the first. The heresy was again spreading ; there was another invitation for help ; Severus, a disciple of Lupus, was joined with Germanus in the mission ; the bishops are told that few are really to blame, and these they find out and condemn. A certain Elafius, one of the chief men of that district, hastened with his son who had lost the use of his limbs, to meet them : the youth is restored to his health, the people are filled with wonder at the miracle, and the Catholic Faith is firmly established in the breasts of all. By the general voice the authors of the heresy being expelled from the island, were given up to the priests to be conveyed to the continent, that the country might be freed from them, and they themselves have a chance of amendment.

Thus even in 447—for as Germanus is represented as proceeding from Britain to Ravenna, and there dying in 449, it could hardly have been earlier—we find much the same

state of things in the part of the island which he visited, as in his former journey.

I have now endeavoured to give a fair representation of the narrative of Constantius, whose Life of St. Germanus has been freely used, but not named by Bedā in the first book of his History. However meagre the details, the account is by far the most valuable we possess of the time, the evidence being much more trustworthy than the legends of two or three centuries after. We can only hope to have made the best use of our materials, and to have succeeded in throwing some light upon the early history of our country.

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THE CONNECTION OF SCOTLAND WITH THE PILGRIMS OF GRACE.

BY W. HYLTON DYER LONGSTAFFE, F.S.A.¹

It may seem unnecessary on the present occasion to detail the circumstances of the northern kingdom of Britain at the time of the rebellion against the English king, called the Pilgrimage of Grace. It is sufficient to observe that, although, while Henry VIII. was breaking the fall of the ancient hierarchy in his own peculiar way, the clergy of James V. induced him to string the bow tightly, there were circumstances which deterred the latter from giving any active assistance to the so-called Pilgrims, who vainly attempted to sustain the monastic system. The red field of Flodden was fresh in the memory of the Scottish ecclesiastics, and tyrannical as they were, they must have been thoroughly aware that they were treading upon volcanic ground. The Reformation had already made gigantic strides in Scotland, and a withdrawal of the national military in an unpopular cause might have opened a crater in their own land. Thus the State, under ecclesiastical guidance, contented itself with an unrelaxing vigilance in support of the Romish power at home, a vigilance, however, which ultimately tended only to increase the severity and secure the perpetuity of its fall. There was another reason for James's acquiescence. He was engaged in negotiations with France for a matrimonial alliance, and Henry at present was on a very good footing with his neighbour Francis. He had, therefore, substantial grounds for depending upon the inaction of the Scotch sovereign, although he had grave complaints against him touching the usage of his sister, the Queen Dowager of Scotland, and on more accounts than one must have been conscious of a want of mutual confidence. But Herbert's statement that Sir Ralph Sadler was sent into Scotland to secure its rest, and to reside there until James returned to his kingdom, is inaccurate. He seems merely to have gone north in January, 1536-37, for the purpose of claiming English refugees, and ascertaining

¹ Communicated to the Historical Section, at the Meeting of the Institute in Edinburgh, July, 1856.

the sentiments of the queen-mother. He returned with fresh grievances, and was despatched to remonstrate with James in France, whither he arrived about March 27, 1537, some time before James's return.

The King of Scotland had succeeded in obtaining the hand of the eldest daughter of the French king, the princess Magdalene, and his father-in-law requested a passage through England for the young couple. Henry seems to have had grave doubts of the propriety of suffering his nephew to proceed through the embers of rebellion. James was, in spite of national jealousies, not unpopular with the ultramontane section of the English Romanists. The tenor of his government was well known, and he had resisted all Henry's attempts to change his feelings on the subject of church government. Rather perplexed with the request of his brother of France, Henry asked the opinion of his northern lieutenant, the Duke of Norfolk, one of the heroes of Flodden, who, on the 11th of February, answered in a characteristic and amusing manner. He saw no harm in the Scotch king's coming, save its great expense to the king and to the nobles *en route*, of whom, he with great simplicity remarks, *he himself would be one of the greatest sufferers*. He, however, suggests that the visit might be of some service. And in this way. He thought that the strangeness of James not writing himself to his uncle and the head of his blood proceeded from what would "never be *plucked* from that nation, that is, most high pride of all sorts of people. Now," said Norfolk, "if this pride were *possible* to be *allayed*, or somewhat *mitigated*, what he would see in this realm, might do much thereunto, or at least make him to take heed how he should attempt any war against the same, it being furnished as well with plenty of tall men, as with another sort of riches than his own. Nay," continued the old fox, "it might be so ordered with provision made for the *show* of the same, *that it would be nothing pleasant for him to look upon*." In fine, Norfolk considered that James had "a very enemy's heart," and that his personal application for a safe conduct should, at all events, be a *sine quâ non*. He (Norfolk) understood that false reports of the rebellion had reached France, and had therefore written to a bishop there showing that all things were of as good sort as he could wish them, and trusted shortly to see them to be.

The Council's objections to the coming of James were almost as singular as Norfolk's. They recounted his various discourtesies, and the grief of honouring a man whom the English did not love. He must come as the *vassal* of England's king, for never came a king of Scotland *in peace* to England, but as such. For Henry's honour, he must have presents everywhere. By these he might conceive glory, and it was not for his grace's honour to put into glory "so mean a king," who might practise mischief on the way. Moreover, the king having, in deference to the wishes of the pilgrims, determined to repair to York in the summer, to hold a parliament, to crown Jane Seymour, and establish the country in quiet, the requested passage would hinder Henry's own purposes, and so waste the north parts, and impoverish his subjects there, that he could not have victuals and necessaries for the furniture of his own train, since already "horsemeat could not be had there for money."²

The continued poverty of purse which arose from Henry's wasteful magnificence and dispersal of the enormous revenues which sacrilege had given him, was probably the king's own most cogent reason for refusing leave for his nephew's passage, as the expenses of repressing the late rising had left his treasury very bare; but, from whatever motive, he declined the French king's request. The refusal naturally increased the feelings in Scotland which the flight of many of the pilgrims into that country had produced. "What news?" said the Chancellor of Scotland to Ray, the pursuivant of Berwick, when he presented a letter to the Council on April 23. "I know of none," answered the herald. "Then what is the cause ye send your friars to us?" said Master Otterburn. "We sent none," quoth the herald; "we had liever keep them ourself." "If," replied Otterburn, "they had tarried with you, ye had made martyrs of them."

² The scarcity of provisions in the northern counties of England has not, perhaps, received its due attention. Before the Pilgrimage of Grace, in the early part of 1536, a meeting between James and Henry had been contemplated. The former wished to meet at Newcastle at Michaelmas, as he could not be provided honorably till that time. Henry's ambassador, Lord William Howard, answered that his master could not be furnished honourably with carriage, vic-

tuals, or lodging between York and Newcastle, and that the great carriage and train, that ordinarily belonged to his Court, was not able to pass in return in the winter time. Fourteen days before Michaelmas as to time, and York as to place, were each required by Henry, but James naturally eschewed the journey between Newcastle and York which Henry declined; nevertheless, this refusal was one of the sore points between the kings.

“Nay,” interposed the Chancellor, “but patriarchs.” “What ships have you sent forth from Newcastle?” resumed Otterburn. Ray answered that he knew of none. Otterburn rejoined that four had gone from that place, and some further conversation on the diplomatic relations with England followed, the Scots believing that ships had been sent to intercept and seize James on his voyage. If the queen-mother spoke correctly, they had sent “Rosey Herald” into France, with instructions to oversee England on his road, and inform James of its condition. To effect an interview with her majesty, Ray had to change apparel, and put on *a cloak and hat after the Scottish fashion*. She sent her advice to Norfolk to be “sure of the commons,” if war was intended to be had with Scotland. “Hath your grace,” inquired Ray, “any suspect or knowledge that they are not sure enough?” She merely answered, “Nay, but I pray you show this unto him.” The next day, the herald had a conference with the Bishop of Aberdeen touching a friendly difference between him and Norfolk as to the abolition of the Pope’s authority. “My lord,” said Ray, “why for this cause should ye have any grudge towards us?” “Nay,” answered the bishop, “not for that, but for the cruelness of you, that put down your own poor commons.”

In May, James was on the seas with his young queen. Norfolk was at Bridlington, spoiling the monastery there, and sending its choicer goods to Sheriff Hutton. He heard that the King of Scotland rode at anchor within half a mile of Scarborough, about six o’clock at night, and that divers English fishermen went on board his ship, one of whom reported him as saying, “Ye Englishmen would have let me of my return; and if ye had not been, I had been at home forty days past. But now I am here, and will be shortly at home, whoso sayeth nay.” The interview was more minutely detailed afterwards by James Crayne, an English gentleman on board, who was intimate with the vice-admiral of France, and bore credences to be declared to Sadler, upon a token, that when Sadler was in France, he inquired for this James Crayne at his own house in Rouen. The credences were an account of the interviews with Englishmen on the voyage. Crayne and others came on land at a village near Scarborough, the name of which he did not know, to buy provisions. Twelve of the commons of the village and vicinity

came on board the king's ship, and fell on their knees before him, thanking God for his healthful and sound arrival. They showed how they had long looked for him, and how they were oppressed, slain, and murdered. They desired him for God's sake to come in, and he should have all. After these departed, a gentleman of the same country came and desired to speak with the king. Crayne the spy feared that he came for the same purpose as the other Englishmen, and so contrived that the king set sail without any communication with him. Norfolk understood that the fleet consisted of three ships with four tops, and divers with three tops; in all were seen seventeen sail. When the king weighed anchor he went northward with a scanty breeze, but next morning the wind was "very strenable," and Norfolk was in some hopes of the royal travellers landing in Yorkshire near him. "If God," writes the duke, "would have sent such good fortune, I would have so honestly handled him, that he should have drunk of my wine at Sheriff Hutton, and the queen also, before his return into Scotland."

James sailed on until he came to another town, distant from the village aforesaid a great space. Crayne and his company being here under similar circumstances to those which led them to the Scarborough village, other ten persons came on board to the king, and promised plainly that if he would take it upon him to come in, all should be his. The name of this place was also unknown to Crayne, according to his own account—which is remarkable, if true—but he perceived that there was a church there, dedicated to Saint Andrew, and that the parson or vicar was a chaplain to King Henry. The village was afterwards discovered to be Whitburn, near Sunderland, in the county of Durham. Dr. Cuthbert Marshall, its rector, was, I believe, as stated, a royal chaplain, and he was a loyal man. Robert Hodge, the parish priest, acting under him, was the offender. Two boats of Scotchmen and Frenchmen had landed, and the priest told Crayne that there was ill news, for men were killed and hanged up, and the Duke of Norfolk dealt very cruelly; and he wished the Duke to be hanged on one side the tree, and the Lord Cromwell on the other. He wished, too, that the King of Scots had come five months before, and hinted that there was as good landing there for men as in any part of England.

James was not in a position, on a marriage trip, to accept the invitations of the English traitors, even if he had as much confidence in the prospects of success as they had. But they would not be antidotes to the vinegar which the compulsory voyage must have thrown on the royal temper. The passage was a stormy and dangerous one, and the young queen never recovered from its effects. When James was opposite the Berwick frontier, or a little beyond, he said among his gentlemen that, if he lived one year, he would himself break a spear on an Englishman's breast. He entered Leith Harbour on Whitsun-Eve, with ten great ships of France, and four Scotch ships.

The English pursuivant Ray was again at that time in Edinburgh, with instructions to report that in England the rumour of offensive military proceedings on the part of Scotland was not believed by wise men, and that Henry's queen was thought to be pregnant with a nail for the coffin of the Scotch succession. He was to enquire how the Scots were affected towards insurrection, and to make great *cracks* about the riches and power of England. When Crayne arrived, and saw by Henry's arms "in the box" upon Ray's heraldic breast that he was an Englishman, he showed him the credences for Sadler, and cautioned him about the Bishop of Limoges, who came with James, and would probably pass in embassy to Henry. He was the most crafty man in all France, and either he or *his son* would report his experience of England to James before returning to France. Crayne professed that he would have given 20*l.* to have himself come through England to show his mind further.

Meanwhile, the state of the north of England was satisfactory on the whole, and in this month of May, Sadler went to Scotland with a present and instructions for a long sermon to James. He was told by Henry to begin by mentioning the report which Lancaster Herald had made of his kind nephew's good disposition, and that he (Henry) would open his mind; and that his new fortifications were merely for defence against the Bishop of Rome and his adherents, who intended his destruction by hook or by crook, by *phas* or *nephas*. He was loth to offend his nephew, who, in his simplicity, and by not attributing to himself any learning in religion, continued in the persuasion that the Bishop was

Christ's vicar on earth ; but for God's glory he prayed him to join to his "simplicity columbine" the prudence of a serpent, and not to think himself, as his clergy wished him to be, "as brute as a stock, or to mistrust that his wits, which he received of God, were not able to perceive Christ's word." He cautioned James against the publication of the Pope's cruel bull against him, and after some more rounds at the clergy, assured James that he loved him as his own child, as he would have shown if evil reports had not prevented him.

The king now determined not to come down to York this year, and his reasons are amusing. There was an important embassy from the Emperor : armies were gathering near Calais : it was thought that Queen Jane had counted wrongly by a month, and any sudden rumours in the king's absence might endanger her issue ; and his delay having arisen by the waste state of the north, that reason still prevented him from staying long in any one place, and, in fact, from proceeding northward from York at all. Thus the northernmost people would not have any "fruition of his presence," whereas next year he would pass as far as Berwick. All this Norfolk was to *say*, but the real reason he was to keep to himself, and it was that the far journey and the heat might *increase a humour fallen into the King's legs*.

In July, Crayne had arrived in England, and was sent all along the coast from Flamborough northward. When he came to Whitburn, he identified it, and its church dedicated to Saint Andrew. Its priest was seized, and brought by the Sheriff of Durham before Norfolk, at Sheriff Hutton (Aug. 1). At first he stuck firmly to an accusation that it was Crayne who spoke traitorous words, and those to himself. One said *Yea*, the other *Nay*, until Norfolk, fairly perplexed, ordered Crayne out of the room, and cajoled the priest by promising to be a suitor for his pardon. He made a full confession, exculpating his rector entirely. Norfolk then sent the sheriff home to attach "a fellow with a foul sauslyme face," to whom Crayne charged a marvellously seditious speech, but knew not his name or dwelling. He was captured and sent to Sheriff Hutton, as were three others who had been in the boat of offence at Whitburn. Norfolk, who was in bad health, departed from the north in October, being suc-

ceeded by the new Council of the North, under the able presidency of the amiable Bishop Tunstall of Durham. Soon after, we find him in the possession of two friars from Canterbury and Old Lynne, who, during the rebellion, entered into the house of the Grey Friars in Newcastle, whence they were expelled by Norfolk, and went into Scotland, but soon fell into such "very misery and great penury," that they came back, and were captured. They now said that they would forsake the Bishop of Rome, and Tunstall wished them to be received to mercy, though he saw the inconvenience of the step, because they had returned after they were commanded to leave the kingdom, and, if they were taken in, probably others in a similar position might follow. So that there was some truth in the taunts of the Scotch councillors to Ray, but they do not appear to have treated the exiles with much kindness, notwithstanding their zeal for the ancient hierarchy.

In March, 1539, a French ship, laden with Scotch goods, was driven into the Tyne. The servants of the Earl of Westmoreland (who had notice from an Englishman just arrived from Scotland, that an English priest was in the vessel) rode all night from Brancepeth or Raby, and found a priest lately taken out of Hexham prison (who tried to pervert his custodiers on the way to York), and two Irish monastics hidden under the baggages in the hold. Seditious letters from rebels in Ireland to the Pope and Cardinal Pole also turned up.

In December, 1539, Dr. Hilliard, "late chaplain to the Bishop of Durham," received a privy token from the ejected Prior of Mountgrace in Yorkshire, commending him to the Prioress of Coldstream's good offices towards procuring him an audience with the Scotch Cardinal Beaton. The Doctor had counselled several religious houses not to surrender, and was compelled to retreat into Scotland for safety. His old servant, Robert Veale, who had accompanied him from London to Auckland, broke down at the latter place, from a horse's stroke, and the Doctor sent for George Bishop of Auckland to accompany him towards Newcastle, preaching. At Coldstream Hilliard crossed the Tweed, and informed the Prioress that others of his sort would follow. But the servants of the Bailiff of Cornhill would not allow Bishop to follow his companion. He had to return, and was strictly

examined ; whilst Veale was committed to York Castle, and confessed his errand into Scotland. The Prior of Mount-grace was in keeping of the Council of the North, and the Prioress of Coldstream was not true to her order, for she gave secret information to England. The English Court now made great efforts to obtain refugees. Nicholas Musgrave, who had been concerned in the western disturbances, and Lecch, one of the Lincolnshire rebels, had been in Edinburgh ; and Dr. Hilliard was especially sought after. Even the offer of a notable Scotch fugitive in exchange was made in vain. In February, 1540, James positively declined to give him up, stating that he never meddled with faulty churchmen, but left them to the law of "Hali-kirk," which he would maintain, but that as to other fugitives, he would be glad to exchange. It must not, however, be supposed that, in this procedure, James acted upon a lofty sense of right and wrong. He did not dissolve his monasteries, but he was bought by the clergy's settlement of a substantial income upon him for a number of years, and with true national caution, in April, 1541, solicited the Pope's confirmation of the grant. His Holiness was, however, still unsubdued and undegraded by the revolutions in the Church, and scrupled to grant the request.

In July, 1541, Henry VIII. left his capital to pay his long-promised visit to the north, having agreed with James of Scotland to meet him at York, and, on the 16th August, entered Yorkshire. There was no lack of pomp on his progress ; but one great object of his visit entirely failed, for the Scottish king, after continual excuses, at last plainly apologised for his absence. Henry was excessively exasperated. His attempts to break the alliance between James and his Church had only led to jokes from the Scotch king and refusal to confiscate, though he swore he would make some of the monks amend their lives. He had married, for his second wife, Mary of Guise, who had refused the hand of the redoubtable Henry. And now, after a promise of some kind to meet Henry, had, after former refusals, been elicited from the unwilling James, the latter failed in performance. A renewal of the old claims of England to the Scottish crown, and a desultory renewal of hostilities between the countries, mixed with attempts to make matters up, were the result, and in connection with the Pilgrimage of Grace, the last

singular notices of its exiles unfold a strange tale. It shall be given chronologically, and the depositions of both sides shall be credited, as their general accuracy seems to be obvious.

On Nov. 14, 1542, Somerset Herald and Ray, Berwick pursuivant, two English officers at arms, arrived at Edinburgh with letters to the Scotch king from the Duke of Norfolk. James was absent hawking, and his council stated that they were to receive all letters. The heralds delivered their epistle, and were assigned lodgings and good cheer, wine being sent them by a Scotch herald every day. They found that Dr. Hilliard and other refugees were still in Scotland, especially John Priestman and William Leech, who had lived there for more than six years in great indigence and dread of their lives, having been engaged in the opening insurrection of Lincolnshire. They had no support from England, and subsisted wholly on James's bounty, which, however, according to the exiles' own account, was not very voluntary or liberal, and, after the army of Scotland was "sealed," they perceived a decline of favour with the Scotch lords. Conferring as to the cause, they concluded that any cruel or mischievous deed to Englishmen would restore them to credit. The king had returned to Edinburgh, and the two exiles, before taking any measures, procured an interview with him. They insinuated that the English heralds were spies, and pity it were if they should go unpunished. James vouchsafed no answer, but looked toward them, and with his hand made a certain sign. It was enough. They gathered that he "forced not, though they had a shrewd turn." They next went to the king's secretary, and cunningly asked him for some subsistence, or leave to depart to serve in foreign wars, being sure, they said, that when the wars between England and Scotland broke up, they would be delivered to the King of England. The secretary promised them wages *shortly*, and emphatically said, "Fear not; nor have no such doubt; for, if you had killed the King of England himself, you should not be delivered into England." Then they proceeded to the cardinal, praying him to be good to them. The cardinal promised fairly, but added the vile innuendo, that "they had been long succoured in Scotland, and that the time was now of service." He asked them what they could do, and one of them was summoned into the council. But no rewards or

wages were given them up to the time fixed for the Englishmen's return. Their poverty was great, and they became certain that they were being starved into the commission of some cruel deed. This cruel deed assumed a definite shape, and they conceived, rightly or wrongly, that the Court expected the slaughter of the inoffensive heralds at their hands. No man, indeed, promised them reward for the act, nor gave them a comfortable word of encouragement; but, according to their own account, they perceived "as well by the Scots' fashions, that they would have such a thing done, as though they commanded them expressly to do it." Lecch had a brother in Scotland, who, according to Priestman, refused to co-operate with them; but Ray, one of the heralds, declared this other Lecch a participator in the events which followed.

If the Scotch Court really acted as is described, it did not represent Scotch feeling, for a Scotch pursuivant, who must have perceived that the exiles were bent on some desperate enterprise, came with some of his nation and warned his unsuspecting brethren of England against their own countrymen, with a kind "Take heed." The two heralds immediately required a safeguard, and the friendly pursuivant, whose name was Dingwell, was appointed to go with them. On November 25, they received a reply to the letter they had brought, and because Henry had only written through his lieutenant, James answered through *his*. The heralds received a present of twenty crowns, with the mortifying remark, that this was the lieutenant's reward, and that if they had come from the English king, they should have had a Scottish king's reward. In company with Dingwell they left Edinburgh for a day's journey to Dunbar.

Meanwhile, as they afterwards deposed, the two refugees hired a lad to run on foot with them and procure them horses, the lad being ignorant of their purpose. They intended to slaughter Somerset and his fellows within the "bounde rodde" of Berwick, in greater bravado of England; but their horses failed them, and they made up their mind to do it earlier. The heralds arrived within two miles of Dunbar. It waxed near even, and darkness was throwing a mantle on the earth. Somerset and his boy rode first, and were followed by Ray and the Scotch pursuivant. Suddenly the two refugees appeared on horseback. The lad on foot

was with them, as they maintained ; but, according to Ray, the third person was Leech's brother. Riding past Ray and the pursuivant, they came up with Somerset in silence. According to Ray, they spoke to Somerset not a word, but one of them ran him through with a lance-staff behind, another pierced him to the heart with a dagger in front, and a third struck Somerset's boy on the face with his sword and brought him to the ground. On the contrary, the refugees, who declared Leech's brother to be absent, said that Leech required Somerset to yield, and, on his refusal, a mutual encounter happened, in which, after a long struggle with daggers, Somerset was slain ; and that, during this engagement, Priestman attacked Somerset's young man, who cried in vain for help to Ray, who, for fear of losing the treasonable letters they supposed him to possess, fled with speed of horse.

Now, if Leech's brother was really absent, Ray might possibly be led by the rapidity of action into the erroneous belief that three men made the attack. Priestman might assault Somerset with a lance in silence, and run off to attack his boy, while Leech summoned Somerset to surrender. But if the companion of the refugees was indeed passive, and if Somerset was never wounded by more than one of the assailants at once, why did not Ray and the Scotch pursuivant, who had purposely been sent as a safeguard, rush to the defence of their comrades ? Were they then *both* cowards ? This could hardly be.

On the fall of Somerset's boy the refugees alighted, and their horses ran away. Their companion ran after the steeds, and then Ray and the pursuivant ventured to come up : another proof that the comrade of the refugees can scarcely have been passive before. " Fye on you, traitors ! " they exclaimed, " ye have done a shameful act." The refugees' footman, who ran after the horses, rode away with them as fast as he could, according to the assassins, but Ray stated that he returned. The refugees left Somerset dead, and ran after Somerset's horses, and were long in getting them. While they were so employed, Ray fled, and the refugees leaping upon the new horses, one of them said, " Fie, we have lost the other heretic." Ray heard this, spurred his horse and escaped. The exiles then returned to the dead Somerset, spoiled him, and gave his boy three more wounds. The Scotch pursuivant had not departed, and, according to the

narration of himself and the wounded boy, confirming Ray's statement that three persons were actively employed as murderers, the three men bid him bear witness to the Council and all other, that John Priestman, William Leech, and his brother, banished Englishmen, had slain Somerset, and no Scotchman had done it.

Vengeance was not delayed upon the King of Scotland and his Court. It was poured out that very day, when the indignation of the nobles against court minionship produced the disgraceful rout of Solway Moss.

Next morning (Nov. 26), Ray, who had fled to Ennerwik Castle, desired his host to obtain for him an interview with the king and council. We can readily understand the feelings which prompted them to substitute for the interview a guard of twenty men for his conveyance to England. On the following day the laird of the castle executed the order, but not before Ray had taken the guard to Somerset's body, caused it to be decently buried in Dunbar church, and provided surgical aid for the wounded boy. James and his council now became terrified at the prospect of Henry's revenge. Although the intended murder was foreseen at Court, as the friendly warning to the victims manifests, and although by the farce of sending a single herald as a safeguard, it was permitted, James now wrote letters professing indignation, and stating that the assassins had been dragged out of sanctuary and committed to Edinburgh Castle for punishment. He, moreover, desired Henry's safe-conduct for fourteen persons to go and declare the verity of the slaughter so that punishment might follow. Henry passionately answered that no declaration could be satisfactory until the murderers were given up. "Nephew," said he, "this slaughter is so cruel, so abominable, and so barbarous, as howsoever other things stand between us, we cannot choose but most heartily wish and desire that it may appear both to us and to the world that it hath been committed against your will." But before this reply reached Scotland, the causes of the dismal overthrow at Solway Moss, and apprehension of the consequences of the murder, had afflicted a mind "predisposed to a savage melancholy" with immoderate grief, and, seven days after the birth of his beautiful and hapless daughter, James V. died of a broken heart.

Such is the wild tragedy which concludes our knowledge

of the Pilgrims of Grace. On James's death, the Scottish council desired peace, and delivered up the assassins, Leech and Priestman, who possessed some grounds of excuse, and were very repentant. Leech's brother was also given up at the "bounde rodde" of Berwick, where the murder was to have been committed. Leech himself was executed in May following. With all James's faults, the independence he had shown in the protection (such as it was) of the refugees, contrasts with subsequent acts of the governments of Scotland. His death, indeed, opened out a new era which prepared the way for the union of the crowns. Destructive inroads were made into Scotland in the last days of Henry, and in his son Edward's reign, but, generally, England found that gold transmitted to the capital did more for her interest than steel thrown into the frontiers of Scotland; and very much of the old Bruce spirit, fortunately as it ultimately proved, disappeared at Solway Moss. Its continuance might have compelled the carrying out of Henry VIII.'s will, and the rejection of the Scottish succession; and, had the Stuarts been supplanted by a race more conciliatory to the middle classes of England, the destruction of the despotic rule of the Tudors might have been delayed until the days, and for the atrocities, of the French Revolution.

* * * The materials of the preceding Memoir will be found scattered over the divisions of the State Papers printed by the Record Commission. The arrangement into those divisions must be objectionable to historians generally, but to antiquaries in the Northern Marches they are peculiarly perplexing. There is no distinction, as would naturally be expected, between papers relating to the affairs of Scotland and those of Northern England. The dates given to these papers also continually require careful verification.





Brigandine head-piece, found at Davington Priory, Kent.

In the possession of Mr. Thomas Willement, F.S.A.

The perforated iron plates are drawn one-half original size.

NOTICE OF A HEAD-PIECE OF BRIGANDINE ARMOUR, FOUND
AT DAVINGTON PRIORY, KENT.

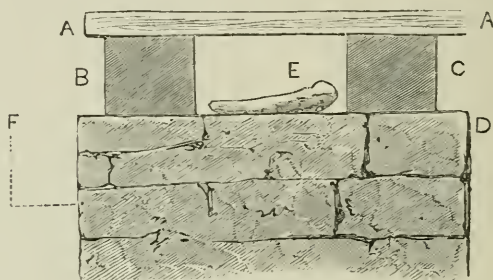
IN THE POSSESSION OF MR. THOMAS WILLEMENT, F.S.A.

TOWARDS the close of the XVth and throughout the XVIth century, the inconvenience occasioned by the ponderous nature of armour of plate naturally led to the adoption of various defences of less rigid and cumbrous description. The frequent use at that period of body-armour formed of mail or small plates of metal, quilted within a garment of linen or other more costly tissue, has perhaps been hitherto insufficiently noticed. From the perishable nature of the material we can rarely expect to meet with original examples of such armour, even under circumstances most favourable to their preservation; whilst on the other hand the scanty evidence to be gained from contemporary writers, or from the concise description in an inventory or a bequest, may scarce suffice to define the precise distinction between the brigandine and the "noble jazeran,"—the jacket of mail, the privy coat of fence, and the plated doublet.

A remarkable example of armour of plates of iron stitched between folds of linen, forming a "secret," or concealed protection for the head, has recently been brought before the Institute by Mr. Willement. Body-armour of precisely similar workmanship exists in various collections, but no specimen has hitherto been noticed, destined to supply the place of the rigid and ponderous head-piece usually worn. The circumstances connected with the discovery are no less singular than the remarkable preservation of the relic. "It was found (Mr. Willement states) towards the close of February, 1856, at Davington Priory, Kent, on the top of a wall, 2 feet in thickness and about 20 feet from the ground, the wall being composed of irregular stones, flint and rubble, probably of the time of Edward II. The cap was not imbedded in the masonry, but was found lying loose and dry, between two wall-plates which extended through the

greater part of the west front ; the roof which they carried not being older than the time of Henry VIII., (see woodcut). It is certainly a head-covering, perhaps too small for a male adult, and how could such an article find its way amongst the Benedictine nuns ? Was it used in any way as a penitential infliction ? ”

Although of rather diminutive proportions, as observed by Mr. Willement,—the height of the cap being $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; the brim $1\frac{1}{2}$; the diameter of the opening for the head, about 6 inches,—yet this curious object is undoubtedly a “ privy



Section of Wall. Davington Priory.

(Scale, 1 inch to a foot.)

- A. Gutter-plate between the Gables.
- B. Outside plate,—Fir.
- C. Inside plate,—Oak.
- D. West wall.

- E. Head-piece as found folded on the top of the wall.
- F. Front edge of the Gable.

cap of fence,” armour for the head. We may safely assign its date to the XVIth century, and regard it as destined to be worn within the low-crowned, narrow-brimmed hat, in vogue in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. The form occurs frequently in the spirited woodcuts of Jost Amman, of the same period. Such a defence was obviously not suited to the perilous emergencies of actual warfare ; as a protection in a fray or skirmish, in travelling or in nightly adventure, it may have been found an effectual expedient. It is formed, as shown in the accompanying representation, of several rows of small octagonal plates of iron, overlapping each other : the brim being composed of a single row of plates of rather larger size than those used in other parts of the cap. These plates are laid between stout canvas, and quilted together, so to speak, by fine twine stitched around the plates, and through the oilet-holes in the centre of each of them. The “ privy cap,” thus ingeniously compacted,

possessed considerable flexibility; and when removed from the hat it might be folded up in small compass, and carried about the person as a precaution against any sudden emergency, with almost as much facility as the skeleton cap of fence in Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith's collection, figured in this Journal, vol. vii., p. 229, where notices of other examples may be found.

No allusion to the *secrette* formed of plates, such as the curious specimen before us, appears to have been found in the writers or inventories of the period. These caps were sometimes formed with mail, and with horn, the latter being used probably in like manner as the whalebone, *baleine*, at an earlier period. In the Inventory of effects of Sir John Fastolf, who died in 1459, occur—"xxiiiij. cappes stuffyd with horne and sum withe mayle. Item, j. Jakke of blakke lynen clothe stuffyd with mayle. Item, vj. Jakkes stuffyd with horne." (Archaeologia, vol. xxi., p. 270.) We find in Palsgrave's "Eclaircissement de la Langue Francoyse," 1530,—“Cappe of fence, *secrette de maille*.” Florio, in his Italian Dictionary, renders “*Secréta*, a thin steele cap or close skull worne under a hat.” Sir John Smithe, in his “Instructions, Observations and Orders Mylitarie, &c, composed 1591,” speaks of the imperfect equipment of light horsemen, “armed with red or pied cappes and steele sculles within them;” and he recommends that the mounted archers should use “deepe steele sculles in very narrow brimd hattes, well stuffed for the easines of their heades,” and either jacks of mail, “or else light and easie brigandines, or at least ilet-holed doublets, verie easie and well fitted to their bodies; their sleeves chained within with maile, or else with certen narrow stripes of serecloth betwixt the lining and outside of their sleeves for the easines of their armes.”¹

Although no other example of the cap quilted with iron plates has hitherto occurred, several brigandine doublets, of precisely similar construction to that of the *secrette* in Mr. Willement's possession, have been preserved. Examples may be seen in the Tower Armory, part of the old Tudor stores, as I am informed by Mr. Hewitt, and one of these has been figured in Grose's "Ancient Armour," pl. xxvi. There is one in the Armory at Goodrich Court, which once

¹ Instructions, &c. pp. 198, 204.

belonged to a Kentish bowman, and is described by the late Sir S. Meyrick as a Brigandine Jacket. It is figured by Skelton, vol. i., pl. 34. In the museum formed in 1856, during the Meeting of the Institute in Edinburgh, another was produced by Mr. W. B. Johnstone, Treasurer of the Royal Scottish Academy. In this last, the form and dimensions of the oiled-holed iron plates, the mode in which they are quilted within the canvas by external cords in straight and diagonal lines, passing through those perforations, and the general aspect of the workmanship, so closely resemble those of the head-piece from Davington, that we might suppose both to have been produced by the same artificer.² On the other hand, the fashion of the doublet enables us to ascertain the date of both these defences. The peculiar "peasecod bellied" form, as it is designated by Bulwer, a fashion first introduced in the breast-plate of armour in the reign of Edward VI., may suffice to fix the age as the later half of the XVIth century. Sir S. Meyrick assigned a date as late as 1590 to the doublet in his collection. Such brigandine jackets, he observes, were in the reign of Elizabeth appropriated to the bowmen. It is obvious that their comparative flexibility rendered them well suited for that purpose; and Sutcliffe, who produced his "Practice of Armes" in 1593, observes, that some now-a-days little esteem the bow, "yet, if our archers were armed with plated jackes as in time past, neither shotte could abide them in even ground, nor pikes without shotte."³

The precise distinction between various defences used as substitutes for the more ponderous armour of plate is often obscure, and I hope on some future occasion to give a more extended notice of their peculiarities. We trust that Mr. Hewitt will be enabled to complete his useful treatise on "Ancient Armour and Weapons in Europe." He will doubtless throw as much light on the difficulties which occur in our investigations of the armour of the XVIth century, as he has upon that of the earlier periods.

ALBERT WAY.

² It has been suggested, with much probability, that the term "Ilet holed doublets," used by Sir John Smithe, pp. 185, 204, may have been assigned to brigandine jackets of this description.

³ Sutcliffe, *ut supra*, p. 163. At p.

23, likewise he mentions "Jackets of male and plated doublets;" and, p. 188, he recommends that some light troops should be armed "onelic with light targets and plated doublets sufficient to beare the thrust of a sword."

Original Documents.

CERTIFICATE BY THE BLACK PRINCE REGARDING THOMAS DE PRAYERS, OF BARTHOMLEY, CHESHIRE, DATED 1343.

For permission to publish the document which follows we are indebted to Mr. Thomas W. Jones, of Nantwich. It was exhibited in the Temporary Museum at Chester during the meeting of the Institute in that city. Having proceeded from the Black Prince as Earl of Chester, it was an appropriate contribution to that collection; while the nature of the instrument and the seal attached give it a more extensive interest. It is in effect a certificate by the Prince, that Thomas de Prayers of Barthomley, as the name of the place is now spelt, who had, no doubt, shown some signs of eccentricity as well as prodigality, was on examination found to be of sane mind and capable of managing his own affairs. We print it with the contractions extended.

Edward, eisnez filz au noble Roi Dengleterre et de France, Prince de Gales, Dues de Cornewaille, et Counte de Cestre, a touz ceux qe cestes lettres verront ou orront, salut : Por ce qe done nous estoit a entendre, qe Thomas de Prayers de Bertonleghe de nostre Countee de Cestre estoit folnastre,¹ et en sa folie aliena graunt partie de ses terres a graunt damage de lui et de nous; sur quoi nous lui feismes venir devant nous pur estre examine, et lui feismes examiner pur gentz de nostre conseil et auters sages de ley; sur quele examinacion treve est, qil est homme de bone seine memoire, et tiel qi se poet mesmes et ses terres gouverner en manere assez convenable, a ce qe nous fumes enfourmez de ceux qi lont examinez. En tesmoignance de quele chose nous avoms fait faire cestes nos lettres overtes. Done souz nostre prive Seal a nostre manoir de Kenyngtone le xvj. jour de May, lan du regne nostre trescher seigneur et piere le Roi Dengleterre dis et septisme et de France quart. (l. s.)

The Cheshire family of Prayers or Praers, de Pratis, Pratellis, Prateriis, or Praeriis, was probably of Norman extraction. The name being one that was likely to distinguish different persons, several families so designated might be expected to be found both here and in Normandy. In the latter country it took the forms of Pres, Preaux, and Presles. The words Praeria and Praria, derived from Prateria and Prataria (signifying according to Du Cange "pratorum series"), by the *t* being dropped analogously to the change of *pater* and *frater* into *père* and *frère*, were the Latin forms of Prairie; which, though now considered peculiarly American, was and still is a French term, and was occasionally used in this country. An instance of it we remember to have seen in an English deed of the XVIIth century, relating to lands in Cheshire. This family appears to have been settled

¹ For *folastre*: Guill. Guiart uses the word *folnatre*, of which Roquefort gives the following explanation:—"On croit que ce mot a pu signifier archi-fou."

in that county since the beginning of the XIIth century.² It seems not improbable that one of them, not mentioned by Ormerod, was in the service of the last Ranulph, Earl of Chester, in Normandy; for in 1180 we find a Ranulph de Praeriis, as the deputy to the Earl of Chester, rendered an account for the *præposituræ* of S. Jacques de Beuvron and of Avranches; ³ and the same person was apparently a witness to a confirmation by that Earl of some donations to the Priory of Plessis-Grimould; ⁴ and he may have been the Renaud de Prairie, who, with his son Hasculf, granted to the Abbey of S. André en Gouffern two acres of land at Prairie; for D'Anisy has sometimes rendered de Praeriis by de Preaux, and sometimes by de Prairie.⁵ The Thomas de Prayers named in the above instrument was the son of Richard de Prayers by Joan his wife, the eldest of the three co-heiresses of Crewe, and succeeded to Barthomley and other estates in the county, in 6 Edward III. after the death of the widow of his elder brother Ranulph, as his heir. Those estates were held of the Earl of Chester by knight service. This Thomas died in 23 Edward III., about six years after the date of the document, leaving a daughter Elizabeth his sole heiress; who married Sir Robert Fulleshurst, one of the Esquires of James Lord Audley at the battle of Poitiers. The passage, mentioning that the alienations by Thomas de Prayers "en sa folie" had been prejudicial to the Prince as well as to himself, may have had reference to the tenure of the estates. It was not, however, we conceive, as the lord of whom they were held that the Prince had him examined in regard to his sanity, but as being invested with the royal authority in this County Palatine. One branch of the prerogative of the Crown was, to have the custody of lunatics and their estates, providing for the maintenance of them and their families out of the profits, and reserving the surplus for their use in the event of recovery; a right which was confirmed, if it were not conferred on the crown, by the statute of 17 Edw. II. *Prærogativa Regis*. To carry this into effect, an examination and inquiry into the state of the supposed lunatic took place; and if he were found *non compos mentis*, the King took charge of his person and estates, and committed them to the custody of some nominee of his own, who, though liable to account, often derived no small advantage from the appointment. Any grants previously made by the lunatic while in that state were void, and the lands granted were resumed for his benefit. In the present case, had Thomas de Prayers been found to be *non compos*, and to have been so when he alienated some of his estates, the Prince, in exercise of this branch of his *regalia*, would, no doubt, have set aside those alienations, and taken possession of the estates, that he might commit them, together with those that remained unalienated, and also the person of his lunatic tenant and subject, to some one on his behalf. It will be remarked that in this point of view such alienations were to the prejudice of the Prince, as well as of Thomas de Prayers himself. It should seem to have been part of the duty of the escheator to look after matters of this kind; and to him or the sheriff was the writ of inquiry usually directed. If any certificate similar to this has been previously published, it has escaped our notice.

W. S. W.

² Ormerod's Cheshire, iii. p. 161.

³ Rot. Scac. Norm. i. 40, and Pref. xci et seq.

⁴ D'Anisy's Archives du Calvados, ii. pp. 88, 143.

⁵ *Ibid.* and p. 142, and ii. p. 452.

The privy seal of Edward the Black Prince, an impression of which, on bright red wax, is appended to the foregoing document, had not previously fallen under our observation. It is not included in the series of seals described by the late Sir N. Harris Nicolas in his Memoir "On the Badge and Mottoes of the Prince of Wales," *Archæologia*, Vol. xxxi., p. 361; and we have sought in vain for any notice of it elsewhere. The impression, as will be seen by the woodcut, has suffered some injury, and the legend is unfortunately imperfect. The seal, in its perfect state, measured about 1 inch and $\frac{3}{8}$ in diameter. It bears an escutcheon of the arms of England, differenced by a label of three points: the escutcheon is placed within an eight-cusped panel of very elegant design, the cuspings being pierced with tracery, and the small intervening spaces in the field of the seal are filled up with foliated ornaments at the sides, and a diminutive demi-lioncel rampant introduced in the centre at the top of the escutcheon. The following portion only of the legend can be deciphered:— . . . EDWARDI PRIMO I REGI The whole in all probability read as follows:—s' EDWARDI PRIMOGENITI REGIS ANGLIE, as these words occur on another seal (engraved by Sandford, p. 125). In that example the continuation of the legend runs thus:—& : franc' : principis : Wall' : ducis : cornub' : & : comit' : cestr'. All these titles could, however, scarcely have been introduced within the space afforded on the seal here figured, even with the aid of contractions.



Privy Seal of Edward the Black Prince, 17 Edw. III. 1343. Original size.

The label borne as a mark of cadency by Edward the Black Prince appears to have been either of five, or of three points, indiscriminately. In many instances, such as the escutcheon on the tomb of Bishop Burghersh in Lincoln Minster, figured in this Journal (Vol. VII., p. 162, in the Memoir "On some Marks of Cadency borne by the sons of King Edward III.") the label has five points. On a large seal of the Black Prince, on which he appears mounted on horseback (turned to the left) the shield on his arm, his surecoat, the trappings of the horse, and a large escutcheon on the reverse of the seal, all display the arms of England, differenced with a label of five points. In this example the Prince wears ailettes. On a seal, in the Augmentation Office, closely resembling in general design that above figured, but of somewhat larger dimensions, and probably the Prince's seal for the Earldom of Chester, being inscribed:—* Sigill' Edwardi Fil' Regis Angl' Comitis Cestr', the escutcheon bears the arms of England with a label of five points. On another large seal with a mounted figure (turned to the right, no

ailettes) the shield on the Prince's arm and the trappings of the horse display England with a label of three points only, whilst the escutcheon on the reverse has one of five points.⁶ On the other hand, the jupon of the Prince's effigy on his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral, the enamelled escutcheons affixed to the sides of the tomb, the seal for the Duchy of Aquitaine, and another seal figured by Sandford, as also five other seals of smaller dimensions, all of them bearing France and England quarterly, supply examples of the use of the label with three points only.

Amongst the charters entrusted to us by the Corporation of Chester for exhibition in the Temporary Museum, there was one to which is appended the seal of the Black Prince, already noticed as preserved in the Augmentation Office (described by Sir N. Harris Nicolas, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxi. p. 361), and attached to a document dated July 16, 28 Ed. III. 1354. The impression produced at Chester is perfect, but not in equally good condition as that moulded by the late Mr. Doubleday in the Augmentation Office. It is appended to a charter of Edward, Prince of Wales, dated at Chester March 9, "anno regni patris nostri Anglie xxvij., et Francie xv." (1354). This seal has been imperfectly figured in the "Remarks on the History of Seals," by the late Rev. W. H. Massie (*Journal of the Chester Archæological and Historic Society*, vol. i. p. 176).⁷ Mr. Massie gives it as "the Exchequer Seal of the Palatinate, in 1371;" the document to which it is appended being dated at Chester, May 6, 44 Edw. III., and stated to be sealed "sigillo scaccarii nostri." It is preserved amongst the documents belonging to the Cordwainers of Chester.

The various seals used by the Black Prince are well deserving of more minute attention than they have hitherto received, and we hope, on some future occasion, to place before our readers a more detailed enumeration of them than can conveniently be comprised within the limits of our present subject.

A. W.

⁶ This is the seal, No. 1, noticed by Sir Harris Nicolas, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxi. p. 361, and obtained by Mr. Doubleday from the Archives at the Hotel Soubise, Paris. The description there given is not strictly accurate, and the statement that the label has five points on

the obverse as well as the reverse, appears on close examination questionable.

⁷ The seal is figured on the page of seals facing p. 164; fig. 4. Facsimiles of the various seals of the Black Prince may be obtained from Mr. R. Ready, High Street, Lowestoft.

Proceedings at the Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

June 5, 1857.

The Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

IN accordance with the announcement made at the previous meeting an extensive collection of portraits of Mary, Queen of Scots, was brought before the Society. The noble President, in opening the proceedings, observed that in consequence of the high degree of interest with which the proposed formation of such an exhibition had been received, and the liberal readiness with which various portraits of essential value in the series had been promised by private collectors and public institutions, the requisite arrangements would still occupy some time before these numerous memorials of the ill-fated Queen could be suitably displayed. Lord Talbot felt the highest gratification in announcing the gracious condescension shown by Her Majesty and by the Prince Consort, on the present occasion. His Royal Highness, who had been recently pleased to extend the distinction of his Patronage to the Institute, had signified his approbation of the undertaking now contemplated; and the permission had been graciously conceded that the series should be enriched by the valuable portraiture of Mary Stuart in the Royal Collections.

Mr. EDWARD FREEMAN discoursed on the architectural peculiarities of a picturesque church in Monmouthshire, an example of the fourteenth century,—St. Mellons, situated between Newport and Cardiff. It presents some features of remarkable if not unique character; of these a detailed description will be found in the Memoir subsequently published by Mr. Freeman, in the “*Archæologia Cambrensis*.” (Third Series, vol. iii., p. 265.)

Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P., offered some observations on the progress of the art of watchmaking, as exemplified in a most attractive manner by the collection formed by him, and which he brought before the Society on this occasion. He traced the characteristic peculiarities in their construction, from the earliest pocket-clocks, as they were termed, produced at Nuremberg about 1510. Before that period the motion had been given to the mechanism by weights alone; the ingenuity of the German artificer, Peter Hele, devised a new moving power by means of a coiled spring, and produced small orloges which might be carried about, as a contemporary writer Cocclæus observes, “*etiam in sinu marsupiove*.” Mr. Morgan pointed out examples of the successive improvements in the mechanism of watches, more especially in the earlier periods, as illustrated by the remarkable series in his possession. He has given a valuable memoir on this subject in the “*Archæologia*,” vol. xxxiii., p. 84. He remarked, in allusion to the memorials of the ill-fated Queen of Scots, to which the

attention of the Society had been invited, that no personage of her times, if tradition may be believed, had possessed so many watches as Mary Stuart; and amongst the innumerable specimens attributed to her there were doubtless some of high interest and authenticity, as associated with her history. The celebrated watch in the form of a human skull, of which Mr. Morgan had found a drawing amongst the collections of the Society of Antiquaries, was, probably, an authentic relic of her times. Miss Agnes Strickland, who was present on this occasion, remarked that in her "Life of Mary Stuart" mention would be found of several watches which might be regarded as having undoubtedly belonged to that Queen; and amongst these she might specially call the attention of the Society to the watch given by the Queen to Knox, by whose biographer, Dr. McCrie, it is described as in the possession of Mr. Thompson of Aberdeen. The very curious *memento mori* mentioned by Mr. Morgan, had been the gift of Mary to her maid of honour, Mary Seton, and belonged to the late Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Bart.¹ The maker's name is Moyses, of Blois. Another of the Queen's watches now belongs to Sir Peter Murray Threipland, Bart.; it is of crystal, in the form of a coffin.

Professor BUCKMAN, of Cirencester, related the following particulars in regard to the progress of the Museum of local antiquities recently established at that place:—

"Knowing the kind interest the Institute has ever taken in our antiquarian proceedings at *Corinium*, I have much pleasure in furnishing you with the following report upon the Museum. You are aware that a good building was erected by the Earl Bathurst for the accommodation of our fine pavements, and in this the tessellated floors have been most successfully relaid. The plan for carrying out this operation, which I had the pleasure of communicating to the Institute on a former occasion,² has proved to be most effective and successful, as every particle of the design remains intact; and with our method of cleaning the pavements, their general effect is, I am happy to say, increasing in brilliancy. The plan adopted has been to give an occasional rubbing with a Bath brick, wiping the pavements over afterwards with milk.

"The substantial oak and glass cases arranged round the Museum are full of ancient relics of the most curious description; the collection is particularly rich in personal ornaments and domestic appliances; much of this instructive collection was obtained in the extensive diggings, which I carried on at the Leases gardens, and in which I was so kindly assisted in the matter of expense by several members of the Institute.

"Amongst our ornaments of Roman workmanship may be mentioned the large collection of armillæ and fibulæ, many of very beautiful design, as may be seen from the wood-cuts by Delamotte, accompanying the account which I have given in the 'Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester.' Some of these, with other interesting relics are now in the Art Treasures Collection at Manchester, where they will fill up in part the earlier details of the history of art-manufactures in Britain. In pottery, we have three rare objects, namely, a funnel, a *colum*, or colander, and an infant's feeding-bottle—all of interest, as illustrative of home manners. The collection of cutlery is very large, and a very perfect

¹ This curious watch has been figured in Smith's "Historical Curiosities."

² Archæol. Journal, vol. xiii. p. 183.

counterpart of the modern oyster-knife, with a jet haft and bronze guard, shows us that our present implement of that description is no new invention.

“ However, without being tedious in describing our local curiosities in detail, the Society will be pleased to hear that I have succeeded in bringing together about fifteen hundred objects, which are now in progress of being numbered and catalogued, with a view to the publication of an Illustrative Guide to the Museum. Such a work is required, not only for the instruction of our numerous visitors, but as a means of reference for the antiquary, enabling him to compare the results of observations at different Roman stations.

“ As an illustration of the interest taken in this collection, you will be gratified to learn that the visitors’ book contains more than one thousand names in nine months; and as the head of a party often enters only his own name, and many persons avail themselves of the perfect ease and freedom of admission for repeated visits, it will be seen that this collection is exciting a degree of attention highly gratifying to the noble Earl who has been its founder, as I assure you it is to myself to witness that a permanent and convenient depository has been provided for these remains.

“ I may further remind you that most of the specimens have been brought together by myself within a period of five years: this I mention to show how important it is for our antiquarian studies that such collections should, as far as possible, be secured by some one locally interested, with the view of forming a permanent Museum. We can only hope that the wishes of those who may so attend to researches of this kind may be as cordially encouraged as my own have ever been by the Institute, and by the liberality evinced in providing for the permanent preservation of these collections in so commodious and suitable a structure.

“ It will, I am sure, be most gratifying to the Institute to know that since this Museum has been opened, much that would otherwise have been lost is constantly added to the collection. However, we have still to regret that some exquisite architectural remains, which would form a noble feature in the *Corinium* Museum, remain built up as a kind of rock-work in a private ground, where few persons can ever see them, and which, in that position, can never present the same instructive and interesting character with which they become invested when surrounded by other vestiges of the same period.”

Capt. EDWARD HOARE, of Cork, communicated notices and representations of two ancient relics found in Ireland, and now in his collection. One of them, a penannular gold ring of unusual form, is here figured. It was found in December, 1855, in the neighbourhood of Rathfarnham, co. Dublin, and is described by Capt. Hoare as an unique variety of the ancient Celtic gold Ring-money of Ireland, formed like seven rings joined together. The weight is 6 dwts. This type of ring does not appear to have occurred previously in Ireland, and it is not found among the numerous varieties described by Sir W. Betham, and other writers on the so-called ‘ Celtic Ring-money.’³ Two gold rings, of similar appearance in their general fashion, were communicated to the Institute by the Rev. C. Bingham; one of them (weight twenty-three grains) was described as an “ open grooved ring,” according to the statement given in this Journal, vol. vi. p. 57. They were found in Dorsetshire. (See wood-cuts). The other ancient object, of which Capt. Hoare presented a lithograph, is a silver ornament described as the

³ See Sir W. Betham’s Memoir, Trans. Roy. Irish Acad., vol. xvii. p. 91.

bracelet of a bishop, and bearing his seal. It was found in November, 1855, at a depth of several feet, in a garden at Rathmines, near Dublin, amongst ruins, apparently of a building, and some of the mortar still adheres to the ornament. The weight is 4 oz. 7 dwt. Capt. Hoare stated that there are certain cavities, in which gems or imitative pastes had probably been set. This relic, the true intention of which is very uncertain, was accidentally broken into three pieces, measuring in length, when joined together, about $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. A portion has, however, been lost. It is highly enriched with foliated ornaments and a kind of coarsely-formed filigree; in its general fashion it bears some resemblance to a bracelet; it has been conjectured also, that it may be part of the ornamental fastenings of a MS. volume, a chartulary, or a pontifical. The principal feature is a cast in metal from a very fine episcopal seal, measuring about 3 in. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.; it is of rich design and in most perfect preservation, displaying within an elaborate piece of tabernacle-work an episcopal figure, holding a crosier, the right hand upraised in benediction. This probably represents a patron saint, although no nimbus is apparent. In a little arched com-



Gold Ring, found in co. Dublin. Orig. size.



Gold Rings found in Dorset. Orig. size.



partment beneath is seen a demi-figure of a bishop in the attitude of prayer. The legend (in black letter) is as follows: *S'*: *thome*: *dei*: *gracia*: *episcopi*: *mannensis*. The usual designation of the bishops of Sodor and Man was "Sodorensis;" they were called, however, "Episcopi Manniæ et Insularum," and "Æbudarum." There can be little doubt that this casting was taken from a seal of a bishop of Man. The last bishop appointed by the Scotch was named Thomas; he occurs about 1334 and died in 1348; a period too early for the design of the seal, which seems to belong to the earlier part of the XVth century. Thomas Burton held the see till his death 1457-8; and another bishop Thomas, previously abbot of Vale Royal, Cheshire, was elected his successor June 21, 1458. He died in 1480.⁴ It is remarkable that, among certain Irish antiquities contributed to the Exhibition at Manchester, a second fragment, bearing a similar seal in silver or mixed white metal, was produced. The workmanship was precisely similar: a few of the fictitious gems remained in the settings. The form was slightly different, the seal being the same. This ornament, and that in Mr. Hoare's possession, may have originally been united; or they may have formed a pair of clasps for a book, a casket, or some object pertaining to Bishop Thomas.

Mr. FREELAND, of Chichester, gave a short account of the remains of a conduit-pipe, supposed to be of the Roman period, recently found on his property on the north side of Chichester, in the direction of the extensive earthworks known as "The Broil" (*Bruillum*, Fr. *bruil*, a

⁴ Le Neve's Fasti, edit. Hardy, vol. iii. p. 326. In Keith, no mention is made of any bishop of the Isles named Thomas, in the XVth century.

wood or copse, a chase: see Dueange). Various Roman remains and coins constantly occur in the neighbourhood of the spot where the conduit was found, at a depth of about three feet. The terra-cotta pipes are of unusual length, each joint measuring about four feet; they are not straight, but formed with a slight waving curve. About fifteen of the pipes were found. Mr. Neville and other antiquaries, familiar with remains of the Roman age, concurred in assigning the conduit to that period.⁵

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Hon. RICHARD NEVILLE.—A stone implement of an uncommon type, found in a gravel pit about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile south of Audley End, and 150 yards from the Cam; a large cinerary urn was found at the same time. The stone object resembles a small club or maul, but had doubtless served as a pestle for tritulating grain or other substances at an early period, length 9 inches, girth of largest part $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch. A stone muller of similar fashion was found in Holyhead Island, near the western shore. Another, found near tumuli at Pulborough, Sussex, is in the Chichester Museum. Mr. Neville brought also a choice selection from his collection of Rings, consisting of recent valuable additions to the series, including several examples attributed to the Saxon period, with others of great beauty of workmanship. He presented to the Institute the privately printed catalogue of his valuable *Dactylothecca*, comprising 180 rings of various periods.

By Mr. ROLLS.—A bronze spear-head, of very peculiar form, found in the parish of Pendoylan, near Cardiff. It lay at a depth of three feet in a peaty soil on gravel. It bears considerable resemblance in form to that found in the bed of the Severn, about a quarter of a mile below Kempsey Ferry, as described in this Journal, vol. iii. p. 354, and figured vol. ii. p. 187. It was in the collection of Worcestershire antiquities belonging to the late Mr. Allics. The blade in both examples is barbed, and of considerable breadth: that last mentioned measures $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the breadth $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, whilst the specimen exhibited measures only 7 inches in length, breadth at the barbs $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches. The socket is oval, pierced on one side for a rivet to fasten it to the haft. It has been supposed that these barbed weapons may have been intended for use as fishing-spears.

By the DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.—A gold ring found at Corbridge, near the line of the Roman Wall: the head or bezil is engraved with a little animal, in intaglio, somewhat indistinct, the surface being worn away; the head of the ring is rectangular, with a globule of gold affixed to each angle.—Three matrices of seals of the Percy family; the most ancient is of lead, found in the Thames about 1846; it bears an armed figure on horseback · SIGILL · HENRICI DE PERCY · Diameter 2 inches, date XIIth century.⁶ Mr. Hylton Longstaffe supposes this to have been the seal of Henry de Percy, son of Josceline de Louvaine.—A silver matrix of the close of the XVIth or early part of the XVIIth century; it bears an escutcheon, surmounted by an earl's coronet, and placed within a garter. Diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. As the last of the numerous quarterings is the coat of Nevill, this was probably the seal of Henry Percy, ninth Earl, who succeeded in 1585, was elected K.G. 1593, and died 1632. Henry Percy,

⁵ A detailed account of this vestige of the ancient *Regnum*, will it is hoped be given by Mr. Freeland in the "Sussex

Archæological Collections."

⁶ Figured in Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc. vol. i. p. 154.

his father, married the eldest daughter and co-heir of John Nevill, baron Latimer.—Silver matrix in two pieces, obverse and reverse, the adjustment of which was by means of four pins in one piece, passing through four corresponding holes in the other; an arrangement which seems to have been commonly adopted for the Great Seals, official, and other large matrices.⁷ Obverse, an armed figure on horseback, in unusually high relief: the sea and ships in the distance, in the field, a crescent within a garter, surmounted by an Earl's coronet. Reverse, a boldly designed achievement of 16 quarterings within a garter, with supporters, crest on an helm, lambrequins, &c.—SIGILLVM ALGERNONI COMITIS NORTHUMBRIÆ DECIMI. Diameter 3 inches. Algernon, tenth Earl, succeeded in 1632; he was elected K.G. 1635; constituted Lord High Admiral of England, 1637, 13 Car. I.; Captain General of the Army, 1639; and died 1668. This fine seal has been regarded as the work of Thomas Simon, by whom it may probably have been engraved for the Earl at the period of his appointment as Generalissimo by Charles I. Simon had previously engraved the official seal when the Earl became Lord High Admiral.—“The first specimen,” (Vertue observes) “of Simon's curious Works, in seal-engraving, which I have seen, with T. S., the initial letters of his name, is that *Broad Seal* with his Majesty's Royal Ship, for the Admiralty, when Algernon Piercy, Earl of Northumberland, was made Lord High Admiral, anno 1636. Which seal, for its Curiosity was much admired.” Vertue has not engraved this Admiralty Seal, but he describes it as of the same dimensions and design as that subsequently executed by Simon for James, Duke of York, as Lord High Admiral, 1660; the legend, arms, and other *insignia*, of course excepted: this seal measured $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter.⁸—A miniature portrait of the Duke of Buckingham, by Baltazar Gerbier, probably one of his finest productions. It bears the date 1618, and represents the Duke on horseback, in superb costume: in the distance appear James I. and his suite. Gerbier was the *protégé* of the Duke of Buckingham, and attended him in his mission to Spain. This exquisite miniature, which is mounted in an elaborately enamelled case, is probably the identical portrait painted for the Duchess, in accordance with the request made in her letter to her husband, at that time in Spain. “I pray you, if you have any idle time, sit to Gerbier for your picture, that I may have it well done in little.”

By Mr. HOWARD, of Greystoke Castle.—A miniature of Queen Elizabeth, by Isaac Oliver, formerly in the collection of Charles I., and retaining its original ivory case. It bears the date 1588. The features had been greatly injured: the costume is remarkably rich, and delicately finished.

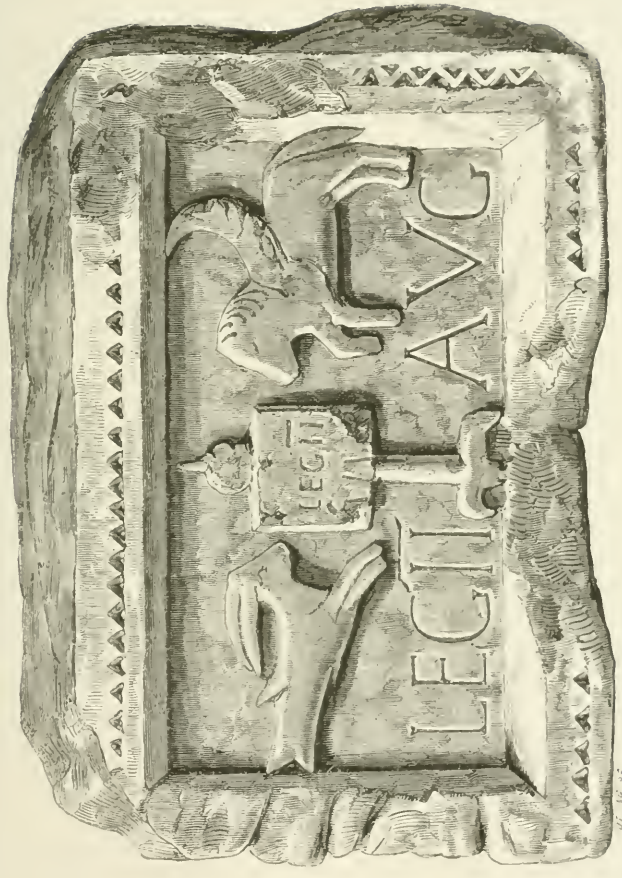
By Mr. LE KEUX.—Tracings from numerous sketches of Roman inscriptions and antiquities, chiefly from the Roman Wall, drawn by John Carter, when he was sent by the Society of Antiquaries about 1795, to prepare drawings of Durham Cathedral. They formed part of the Topographical Collections of the late Mr. Britton. The sketches comprised the large series of inscriptions from Lanchester, Ebchester, Corbridge, &c., chiefly collected by Warburton, now in the Cathedral Library at Durham. Also, two fragments fixed into the wall at the inn at Walwick; a pedestal or base of a

⁷ See the more full description of such adjustment in this volume, p. 56, *ante*.

⁸ Medals, Coins, Great Seals, &c., by

Thomas Simon, engraved by Vertue, 1753; pl. xxxvii. pp. 60, 63.

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS FOUND IN GREAT BRITAIN.



Inscribed Tablet found at Borewell, with the Carrion and Pegasus, symbols of the Legion. See p. 10.
Augustus. Now in the British Museum.

Dimensions, 13 in. by 10.



column; and a rude sculpture, displaying the Pegasus and Capricorn, legionary symbols," now removed to Mr. Clayton's Museum at Chesters. Another sketch is of value as serving to identify an inscribed tablet actually in the British Museum, where its origin however was unknown.* On Carter's sketch, dated 1795, it is described as "a stone taken out of the Roman Wall, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in the possession of the Rev. Mr. B." This was Brand; and a figure of the stone, which was found at Benwell, may be seen in his "History of Newcastle," p. 606. Although damaged it is of interest, as will be seen by the woodcut here given. It displays the legionary symbols, Capricorn and Pegasus, with a vexillum inscribed *LEG. II.*, and the inscription repeated beneath, *LEG. II. AVG.* These devices of the second Legion, styled Augusta, occur on other sculptures. Horsley gives three found in Northumberland, and one from Cumberland. Other examples are figured in Gordon's Hist. Sept., pl. 10; Stuart's Caledonia Romana, pl. 8; Lee's Caerleon, pl. 21. The capricorn, cognizance of the second Legion, occurs on coins of Carausius. On a metal plate figured by Buonarrotti ("Osservazioni sopra alcuni medaglioni") and relating to the second and twentieth Legions, the capricorn and the boar appear on the standards. We are indebted to Mr. C. Roach Smith for calling attention to this curious plate in his "Richborough," p. 25.

Mr. Le Keux exhibited also a selection of drawings in water-colours, from the collection of the late John Britton, executed by some of our earliest topographical and architectural draftsmen, "worthy men and artists," as Mr. Le Keux observed, "all of them now gone from amongst us, leaving such memorials of their ability as are now placed before our members." Amongst the drawings exhibited were the following:—By John Webber, who was the appointed draftsman in Captain Cook's voyage, and went round the globe with the expedition:—view of Chepstow Castle in 1788.—By William Alexander, the draftsman to the embassy to China under Lord Macartney, and engaged in making drawings for architectural publications fifty years ago:—Leighton Buzzard Cross; and a Market Cross which formerly stood in the town of Maidstone, the only view of it known to Mr. Le Keux.—By Sir H. Englefield:—view of a Cross at Wells (now demolished?).—By Edward Dayes, who instructed Turner in drawing: view of Buildwas Abbey, Salop.—By J. M. W. Turner. R.A.:—view at Barnsley-upon-Don, Yorkshire, dated 1806.—By John Carter:—Ely Cathedral, dated 1787.—By Samuel Prout:—Launceston, for the engraving published in 1808; also, a view of St. Leonard's Church, Stamford.—By Thomas Stothard: part of a Great Seal of Edward VI.—By John S. Cotman: Cromlech in Wiltshire, known as "The Devil's Den."—By Thomas Baxter, a very accurate draftsman: monument of Bishop Bingham, and drawings of three effigies, Salisbury Cathedral.—By Thomas Hearne:—the singular stones in Penrith churchyard.—By W. H. Pyne: two views at Laycock Abbey; also, drawings by Joseph Gandy, Rickman, Pugin, J. A. Repton (Maekenzie's master), Frederick Mackenzie, Dewint, and William Bartlett.

By Mr. ALBERT WAY.—Facsimiles of the Hunterston Brooch, most skilfully taken in sulphur and in gutta percha, by Mr. Henry Laing, 3, Elder Street, Edinburgh, from whom they may be purchased. This brooch is figured on a reduced scale in Dr. Wilson's "Prehistoric Annals of Scot-

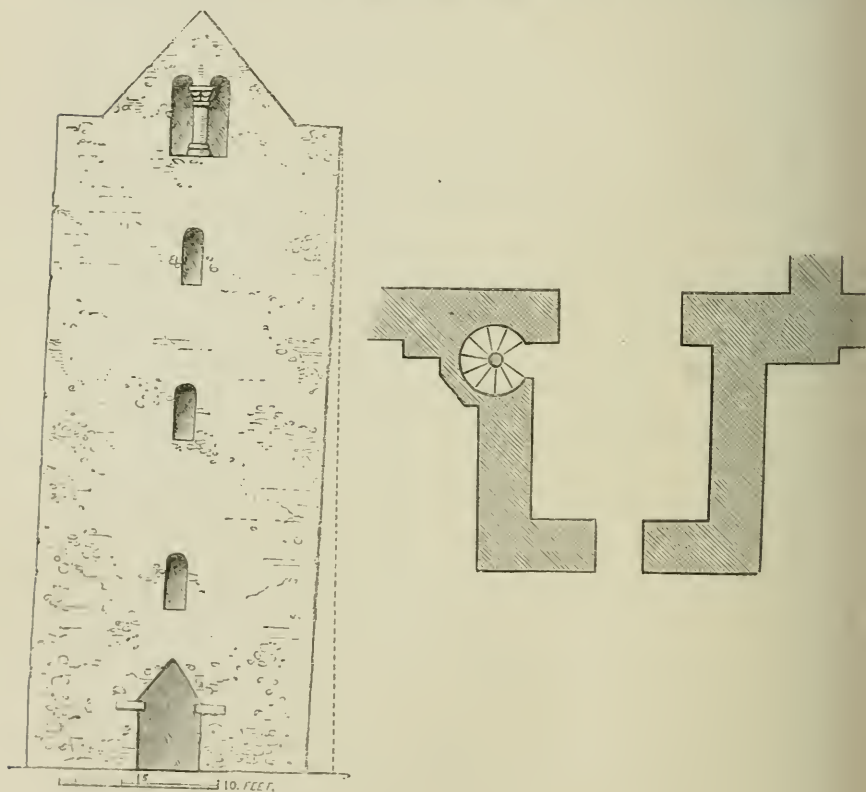
* See some notices of Legionary Symbols, Arch. Journ. vol. xii. p. 194.

† Described in the "Townley Gal-

lery," vol. ii. p. 284; nothing being stated of the facts regarding its discovery.

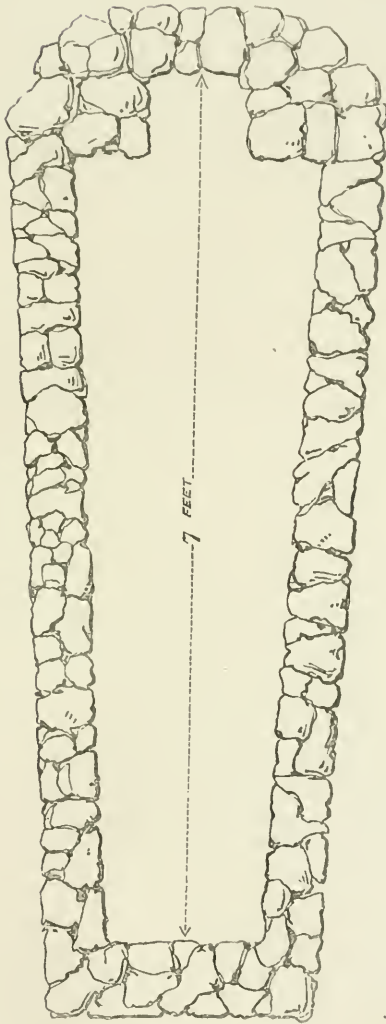
land," (described p. 524, and see the preface, p. xxiv.). It is remarkable not only as the most richly decorated ornament of its age found in North Britain, but also as bearing an inscription in Runes, hitherto not satisfactorily explained, and which appear distinctly on the facsimiles ingeniously executed by Mr. Laing. The brooch, which by the kindness of Mr. Robert Hunter, of Hunterston, had been exhibited in the museum of the Institute at the meeting in Edinburgh, was found near the sea in Ayrshire, at a spot where a conflict is believed to have occurred, shortly before the defeat of King Haco and the Norsemen at Largs in 1263.

Mr. SALVIN communicated a notice of some interesting details of early architectural construction, and of a singular interment recently discovered at Flixton Church, Suffolk, during the demolition of the Tower, which leaned over to the south, and being wholly constructed of flint, with the exception only of the belfry window, was considered to be in imminent



Ground-plan and elevation of the west front of the Tower of Flixton Church Suffolk, demolished in 1856.

danger. The character of the building may be seen in the woodcut which represents the west side. The height of the tower to the top of the battlements, as recently existing, was 51 feet 6 inches; the width



Ancient Grave constructed of Rubble. Found within the Tower, Flixton Church, Suffolk, lately rebuilt under the direction of Anthony Salvin, Esq.

at the base, 17 feet 6 inches; the inclination out of the perpendicular, at the upper part of the tower, 2 feet 11½ inches. Remains were found at the upper corners proving that the tower had four gables. The west doorway was worthy of observation, being formed with an angular head, constructed in the flint-work of which the walls are built, and having no jambs or facing-stones resting on the imposts and leaning together, in lieu of an arch, as at Barnack and Brigstock churches, Northamptonshire. The imposts, it will be seen, were plain slabs of no great thickness, built into the side walls. There were three small round-headed windows of a single opening, and above these one of two lights divided by a short shaft with base and double cushion capital. Within the tower, in the middle of the area, which measured 11 feet each way, the curiously constructed grave was discovered, as here represented: it was built of rubble, internal measurement 7 feet, the cavity shaped to the head and shoulders of the corpse, the bones of which extended through the whole length, and the scull fitted tightly to the space formed for it. The side walls were about 15 inches in height, and nearly four feet of soil lay over the grave. This grave of rag-masonry as a substitute for a solid stone coffin was doubtless so formed from the want of other material in the locality; graves constructed with rude pieces of ashlar set on their edges have been more frequently found. Several very curious "kistvaens" of rough thin stones, set edgewise, and covered over with rough slabs, were found in the churchyard at Pytchley, Northamptonshire, as described in this Journal, vol. iii. p. 106. These rude coffins were mostly formed in cavities excavated in a friable stratum; they were considered to be "British," but were possibly of a comparatively late period, to which also the grave discovered at Flixton may be assigned.

Capt. OAKES presented several beautiful photographs of architectural examples, recently taken by himself in Norfolk, and forming a valuable addition to the series of photographs with which he had previously enriched the collection of the Institute. The subjects now presented by Captain Oakes comprised views of Castle Rising, Pentney Abbey, and its picturesque gateway; Middleton Tower; the South front of St. Nicholas' Church at Lynn, and the South Gate of that town.

By Mr. WEBB.—Two remarkable sculptures in ivory, of the Carolingian period; the decoration presenting various features of classical ornament, whilst the treatment, as observed by Mr. Westwood, has a very Byzantine character. Also a "palimpsest" ivory, having originally as it appeared formed part of the cover of a MS.; the subject of the Last Judgment appears in this sculpture, treated in a style of design unlike any object of this class known to Mr. Westwood, who pointed out a singular feature in the details, that the spirits of the deceased are represented as doves descending towards the reanimated corpses emerging from the graves. Also a fine example, early XIVth century. Mr. Westwood observed that casts in perfect imitation of ivory might now be obtained of the sculptured book-covers and numerous valuable examples in the Museum at Darmstadt, and in other collections in Germany. A catalogue of these "fictile ivories" had been published at Francfort.

By Mr. WESTWOOD.—A portrait of Shakspeare, probably painted in the XVIIth century, and bearing a strong resemblance in the features to the celebrated Chandos portrait recently purchased for the National Portrait Gallery.

MEDIEVAL SEALS.—By Mr. ARTHUR TROLLOPE.—Impression from a brass matrix found at Lincoln during the previous month. Parts of the face of the matrix have been defaced violently, probably with the intention of cancelling the seal.¹ The device is a seated figure under a canopy, the head tonsured, and before him is a desk or lectern, upon which is a large open book.—s' · cōMISSARI · OFFIC' · LINCOLN'. The form is pointed oval, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch. Date, XIVth century. This matrix is now in the possession of Mr. Hayward of Lincoln. The Commissary was an Official of a Bishop, that exercised for him ecclesiastical jurisdiction in remote or outlying parts of the Diocese. (See Law Dict. Cowel and Blount, ed. 1727, *in voce*).—Impression from a matrix of pointed-oval form, dug up near Peterborough. The device is a lion in conflict with a dragon, the tail of the latter terminates in the head of an animal.—*LEO PVGNAT · CUM DRACONE. The matrix measures nearly $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch by $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch. Date, XIVth century. This is a seal designed with much spirit, and of unusually skilful workmanship.

By Mr. JOSEPH FAIRLESS, of Hexham.—Impressions from a brass seal, possibly not an original matrix, but one of the numerous casts in brass, fabricated from impressions of genuine seals. The specimen in question is from a seal of the Hospital of the Holy Ghost at Rome. It is of pointed-oval form, 3 in. by $1\frac{7}{8}$ in., the device is a patriarchal cross, fitchy: the Dove descends towards the cross, around which are twelve heads with *nimbi*, representing the Apostles. In the field are certain letters, commencing near the first pair of heads; dexter side P. (? Petrus); sinister, A. (? Andreas) Near the upper bar of the Cross, S—P. (? Spiritus Paraclitus), and between the bars the Greek characters Alpha and Omega. Lower down, B—M and G—D, which have been explained—Beata Maria Genitrix Dei. Inscription.—*s. CAPITVL. HOSPITALIS. SANCTI. SPIRITVS. IN. SAXIA. DE. VRBE. The hospital of *Santo Spirito* at Rome is of vast extent; receiving 1620 patients and upwards of 3000 foundling children. It was founded in 1198 by Innocent III. and styled *Santa Maria in Sassia*, or *Ripæ Sassiensis*, being placed with consent of John, king of England, in the locality occupied by the School or *Hospitium*, the foundation of which is attributed to Ina, king of Wessex, A.D. 728.² The *Schola Saxonum* obtained many benefits through Offa, Ethelwulf, Alfred and Canute. In the "Recueil de la Société de Sphragistique de Paris," tom. iv. p. 225, there is a memoir by M. Germer-Durand, describing a collection of Seals connected with this hospital; the matrices were obtained in Italy by Séguier, and bequeathed to the library at Nismes, his native town. The seal above described is not of the number. An impression of one of earlier date, similar in design and probably its prototype, is noticed, appended to an instrument dated 1311, but known only by a drawing in Dom Calmelet's MS. History of the Hôpital du Saint-Esprit at Dijon. The motive of the design, as regards the heads of the Apostles, is traced to the silver chasing on the binding of an ancient MS. Rule of the Order still preserved at Rome, and in which a similar "orle" of heads is introduced.³

¹ It has been conjectured that the matrix may have been thus defaced and cancelled on account of its having been fraudulently imitated.

² Matt. Westm. Flores, ad ann. 717. Harpsfield, Hist. Ecel.

³ Recueil, Soc. de Sphrag. tom. iv. pp. 226, 242.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1857, HELD AT CHESTER.

JULY 21 TO 29.

THE proceedings of the Annual Meeting, for which the ancient city of *Deva* had been selected, when the Society bid farewell to Edinburgh at their last yearly gathering, commenced under very encouraging auspices on Tuesday, July 21. The Lord Bishop of Chester not only favoured the meeting by becoming its Patron, but consented likewise to take the part of President in the section of History; the President of the division of Antiquities being Dr. Guest, Master of Caius and Gonville College, Cambridge; whilst the section of Architecture was under the efficient direction of Sir Stephen R. Glynne, Bart., unrivalled in the minute accuracy of his Ecclesiological knowledge.

The opening meeting took place at the Town Hall, the entire accommodation of which had been freely placed at the disposal of the Institute by the Mayor and Corporation. The members of the Town Council met at noon in the Assembly Room, where Lord Talbot de Malahide, accompanied by the Lord Bishop of Chester, the Lord Bishop of Oxford, Sir Charles Anderson, Bart., the Rev. Canon Slade, and several influential members of the Chester Archaeological Society, were introduced to the Mayor, Peter Eaton, Esq., who wore his insignia of office on the occasion. The noble President was then conducted by the Mayor and Corporation into the Town Hall, and the following address, which was read by the Deputy Town-Clerk, John Walker, Esq., was formally presented by the Mayor:—

“To the Right Honourable Lord Talbot de Malahide and the Members of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

“My Lords and Gentlemen—We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the city and borough of Chester, in Council assembled, beg to offer to the members of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland our sincere congratulation on the selection of this ancient city as the place at which to hold their annual meeting for the present year. Associated as you, my lords and gentlemen, are, for the intelligent investigation of the history and remains of past ages, we venture to express a belief that the many remarkable antiquities and interesting memorials of former days with which Chester and the adjacent district abound, will be found worthy of your examination and illustration; and in the prosecution of your researches you may confidently rely on our assistance and co-operation. Assuring you of our anxious desire to render your visit to this city as agreeable and interesting as those which the Institute has previously enjoyed at other municipal boroughs, we trust that you will receive with favour this official expression of congratulation and welcome, and that Chester may obtain a record in your Proceedings suggestive, not only of historical associations, but of pleasant and friendly reminiscences; in the confident hope of which result, we heartily wish you every success and gratification in the promotion of your important and learned pursuits.”

Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE rose to express his cordial acknowledgment of this gratifying address from the Corporation. “On behalf of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,” said the noble

President, "I tender you our thanks for the kind manner in which you have given us a welcome to this city. It is a source of great gratification that we find such influential bodies as the corporations of our country rallying round our standard and expressing sympathy with our views. Since the Archaeological Institute has existed it has visited many places of historical interest and presenting a rich variety of monuments of ancient art, but I may venture to assert that no place at which it has met will have afforded the members greater gratification than the City of Chester and its neighbourhood. We all know what an important part this city has taken in the history of the country, and we all know that for a long succession of years it has given a name to a royal prince. At all times it has been distinguished for its loyalty to the throne and its attachment to the liberties of the subject. I beg leave, gentlemen, to return you my sincerest thanks for the honour you have conferred on the members of the Institute."

The LORD BISHOP OF CHESTER then addressed the assembly:—"My Lord Talbot and gentlemen; my name having been associated with those of distinguished persons as patrons of this meeting, I wish that the duty devolving on me could have been placed in more able hands. It has fallen to my lot, to bid you and the members of your society, a cordial welcome, assuring you that we earnestly adopt those sentiments so well expressed in the address which the Mayor of Chester has just now presented to you. It is with very great satisfaction that I am enabled to welcome the noble President of the Institute as my guest on this occasion, having feared that private anxieties might have detained him on the continent, whence he has hastened hither to-day, with the earnest desire to take his place amongst us at the very outset of the present proceedings. I hope that Chester may fully realise the anticipations formed when you conferred on us the honour of selecting this city as the scene of your annual assembly. There is scarcely any town more interesting than this, when we consider the part it has taken in the history of our country. From the time of the Romans and through the mediæval ages, the struggles of the Reformation, and the stirring scenes of the Civil Wars, our hearts warm at the gallant deeds of our ancestors, and we can scarce determine which to prefer, chivalry or liberty. With such historical recollections and with such features of interest connected with this ancient city, I heartily bid you welcome to Chester."

The REV. CANON SLADE then said,—“My Lord Talbot de Malahide, in the absence of the Dean his duties on the present occasion devolve upon me, and I have much pleasure, as he would have were he present, in inviting your Lordship and the members of the Society to the investigation of our venerable cathedral. The exterior is not attractive, but its interior possesses features of great archaeological and architectural interest. I scarcely know any cathedral which possesses so many remarkable features in the variety of styles and details. I hope that as a result of this meeting we shall be favoured with a more perfect Architectural history of our cathedral than any we have yet seen. The King's School, the ancient refectory of the abbey, has been placed at the disposal of the Society for their temporary Museum; and every facility will be afforded to the members of the Institute during their visit."

Mr. HICKLIN next addressed the meeting as follows:—"I have the honour and pleasure of appearing, at the request of my friends, as the official representative of the Chester Archaeological and Historic Society

to welcome the arrival of the Institute, and to assure you of every assistance which it is in our power to render. With full appreciation of the special value and advantage of the pursuits in which you engage, we are ready and anxious to extend the study of Archaeology, and to recognise its influence, as awakening an intelligent spirit of inquiry—illustrating the history of the past—stimulating the progress of improvement—causing, as it were, forgotten generations to live again, and gathering from the wisdom and errors of former years, materials for the instruction of the present age. In Chester and the adjacent districts, you will doubtless find much to investigate with advantage; the walls of Chester have echoed to the tramp of the legions of Rome; here the raven standards of the Danes floated amidst scenes of carnage and tumult; here the Barons of the Norman Court have displayed all the pageantry of chivalry; here, as our reverend diocesan has reminded us, loyalty has vindicated by its heroism its claim to the gratitude of the Crown and the approbation of the country. Here, in ancient days, a persecuted faith found a sanctuary, freedom a home, and Chester became the centre of religious knowledge, and the seat of many important institutions which it has always been its glory to foster and support. Amidst the relics of the past, and on spots which revive so many historical associations, we sincerely offer you our congratulations and our ready aid during the time of your sojourn, that your investigations may be pleasant and instructive, and your visit to Chester agreeable and memorable. I may also state, on behalf of another local body, the members of the Mechanics' Institute, their kindly readiness to place at the service of the Institute their library, and their museum in the Water Tower, which will be found to contain many objects of interest and relics of bygone times, not unworthy of your examination."

The noble PRESIDENT expressed the gratification with which these kind assurances of friendly feeling must be esteemed. "In the first place (Lord Talbot observed), I cannot but be grateful for the kind expressions which have been used by my friend the Lord Bishop of the diocese. And I can sincerely assure you that he only does justice to my feelings in stating to you that it was a source of great anxiety to me to be able to be present here amongst my friends this day. I am heartily sensible of the kind feeling expressed in the absence of the Dean by the reverend dignitary who represents the authorities of the Cathedral; as also by Mr. Hicklin on behalf of the local societies. To all these institutions we feel deeply indebted for their welcome and for the sympathy expressed in the objects of our Society. These sympathies are calculated to give a fresh and stimulative impulse to our proceedings, and I trust that our visit to Chester will be conducive to that purpose. In conclusion, I beg to offer our warm acknowledgements to the local societies of Chester, to the Architectural and Archaeological society which has done much for science, much to revive and maintain the study of the National monuments of the Palatinate. I am aware of the valuable publications issued under their auspices, and of the great loss sustained by the death of our talented friend the Rev. W. Massie. I had the pleasure on several occasions to meet that lamented gentleman—besides the knowledge I obtained of his exertions in connexion with the local institutions kindred to our own—and I know that his loss will be difficult to replace. I trust, however, that there are many active members remaining in the society who will be stimulated to pursue the investigations in which Mr. Massie was so efficient a guide."

The Lord Bishop of OXFORD addressed the meeting, and said that "upon behalf of himself and those who were associated around him, and as an old member of the Institute, he begged to return thanks to the Lord Bishop of Chester, the Very Rev. the Dean, and the Canons of the Cathedral who formed the Chapter, for the very kind welcome which had been given them by his Rev. friend Canon Slade. He was sure that every member would gladly join in the acknowledgment, and that they would not only be bad men but very bad archaeologists if they did not distinctly and very clearly acknowledge such a welcome from such a body; because, amongst all the different institutions which marked their common country, and which embodied the peculiar character of England, in which it differed so markedly from every other country, was, that instead of building the present upon the past, as an ancient worn-out débris, hiding it underground as a foundation, and showing to the present eye nothing but what is new; instead of doing this, a very special characteristic of this country was that it conserved the old, and more than any other country invented and adopted new, and by the practical ability of the people kept the old in a state of perfect preservation, and yet was very much ahead of other nations in the newest of the new. It seemed to him that the Cathedral Chapter was a sort of thermometer, exhibiting the natural tendency of the nation; because, on the one hand, it was one of the oldest institutions in the land, and on the other, it came forward and welcomed a body such as the one they represented. He fully believed the Chapter did well in thus coming forward, and that his Right Rev. brother, the Bishop of Chester, felt that he was doing well in welcoming such a Society; because, after all, there was far more than the mere gratification of a somewhat idle curiosity by groping in the dust of antiquity in such pursuits. It was carrying out the great plan of the Creator and ruler of this world, who had so ordered the affairs of men that things returned again in a perpetual cycle, the past reproducing itself in the present, with only slight external alterations; but really and truly in the kernel the same which was before. And, therefore, when people did set themselves to study thoroughly the past, not to get a mere superficial acquaintance with it, but see it as it lived and moved, and breathed and had its being, to understand it in its temper, in its circumstances, and in its inward life, those persons did get a certain sort of prescience for the future from their acquaintance with the past. It was so in everything. It was so in religious matters; old heresies were perpetually turning up their dishonoured heads in some new form in the Church. They knew in the history of men, that political events were continually gyrating in the old struggles between liberty and authority; the one running into tyranny and licence on the one side, and being capable of producing the most blessed fruits on the other hand, if only guided aright; therefore, the man who thoroughly understands the past, would be the man who could most perfectly forecast the future, according to those trite lines of the poet, that such a man was the one in whom

Old experience did attain
To something of prophetic strain;

the understanding of the past giving him, as it were, the power of prophecy regarding the future. But in this, as in everything else, accuracy was all important. Take it in this way—in the returning cycle some social danger is threatened; but the power of estimating the danger depended upon the accuracy with which we could distinguish its effects in the past, when

we should be able to separate between the good and the bad. To the vulgar eye this was the old error, and they said, 'Put it down ;' but the discerning eye says, 'Yes, there is the old error ; but the old error must have had some truth to grow upon ;' and if we could find the old truth and cut off the growth of error, then we should be bringing a blessing upon all around us, and providing for the future development of our race."

Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE said, that "after the speeches he had heard, he should be unwarrantably intruding on the meeting were he to indulge in any lengthened remarks. Whether the object of the orator was to carry his audience with him on the more engrossing topics of the day, or to call up the recollection of the past, and inculcate the advantage of seeking in the past for examples to guide us in the present, no one could discourse with greater spirit, none with a greater power of enchaining his audience, than his Right Rev. friend the Bishop of Oxford. The speech of his Lordship would render it a work of supererogation to enter into any of the details of the objects of the Archaeological Institute. Their study was not a mere dull and dry pursuit, but was fraught with good and instruction to the public. He might confidently state that, so far as the study of archaeology was concerned, many practical objects were gained by institutions like that now assembled. The Society, he might also observe, had done much to arrest the threatened destruction of national monuments. Only a few days since, he had visited the Castle of Dover, with which so many associations interesting to the country were connected—similar to those with which the city of Chester was invested—memorials from the old Roman time to the Saxon, from the mediæval ages down to the present. Unfortunately, as many of his hearers knew, there were a short time since engineering projects which would have interfered with some interesting features of the fortress ; but he (Lord Talbot) was proud to say, it was in great measure due to the exertions of the Society, that these alterations had been arrested, and, he believed, the authorities at present were fully impressed with the necessity of maintaining the interesting details of that noble building. It would be in the power of every one present to know individual instances in which a zealous and judicious archaeologist, by the exercise of taste and judgment, could often be of great service. It had come to their knowledge a few days since, that a very interesting monument of antiquity—he would not name the place, but it was one of the most venerable castles in the south of England—had been doomed to destruction ; but through the personal exertions of a well-known antiquary, the design was completely arrested. These two instances were sufficient to convince the most sceptical that every antiquary had a good deal in his power, if he availed himself of the opportunities which come under his influence, in order to maintain and save our national monuments. There was another subject in reference to the preservation of monuments and memorials of the times of old, which he had several times before alluded to ; but he regretted to say that the evil was still unredressed, and it might not be inexpedient to advert to the matter in a few words now. He alluded to the question of 'Treasure Trove.' The meeting were aware that, according to the present state of the law, any article of value composed of the precious metals found was the property of the Crown or of the grantee of the Crown. The consequence was, that in a great number of instances, the most valuable articles discovered had found their way to the crucible instead of to the British Museum, or some local collection. This matter was found to be a grievance

elsewhere as well as in England; and in Denmark, where there was one of the best museums in Europe, the laws had been altered to meet that grievance. They had given to the party finding, a right to certain compensation, at the same time reserving to the State the right of pre-emption on giving such compensation. He was convinced that such a change was desirable in England, and that it could be made without violating those rights of property which he would be the last to interfere with. There would thus be a vast accession to our museums, and at the same time no party could complain of injury. It was a matter of such importance that, for some time, he had endeavoured to urge his friends connected with the Houses of Parliament to take it up. There was, however, a lukewarmness on the subject; and he was so impressed with the importance of the question, that unless brought forward by some more influential member of the House of Lords, he would move that a Committee be appointed to inquire into it; and he hoped that members of the Institute, and archaeologists of every kindred institution, would be prepared to come forward with facts to prove the evil, and also be prepared with a remedy for the grievance. The inquiry must not end in declamation, but an array of facts must be produced such as would speak for themselves. He was not aware of any other subject that called for remark. He hoped there would be a good provision of memoirs, as the scientific portion of the proceedings must not be forgotten. The business of the Institute must not be confined to the study of archaeology by means of hospitable entertainments, however pleasant to many that course might be, but the scientific department, however dry or tedious, should be strictly followed up. Much instruction had resulted from various memoirs, which had sustained the character of their former meetings, and he trusted that, on the present occasion, further benefits would arise in the extension of those purposes which they should ever keep in view."

Mr. MARKLAND, as an early friend and supporter of the Institute, desired to express his warm concurrence in the expressions of those distinguished members of the Society who had preceded him. He adverted to some of the advantageous results by which the annual visits to various localities had for some time past been accompanied, and commended the judicious selection of Chester for the present year.

A vote of thanks to the noble Chairman, proposed by Sir CHARLES ANDERSON, Bart., and seconded by the Rev. HUGH JONES, D.D., was carried with acclamation.

The meeting then adjourned; the museum of the Institute was opened in the ancient refectory of the abbey. Amongst the collections were an extensive assemblage of relics of Roman occupation at Chester, inscriptions, personal ornaments, pottery, &c., contributed chiefly by the Chester Archaeological Society, Mr. F. Potts, Mr. Gardener, Mr. Edwards, Mr. T. Brushfield, and Mr. John Lowe. The Marquis of Westminster sent the gold tore found near Holywell, and some gold ornaments of still more uncommon type were brought by Mr. Mayer. A large collection of the minor relics of all periods found at Hoylelake were contributed by Mr. Mayer, the Lancashire Historic Society, the Rev. Dr. Hume, and Mr. Ecroyd Smith. Sir Philip de Grey Egerton, Bart., contributed the gold armlets found at Malpas, and several bronze weapons of interest, found at Broxton. Some very uncommon types of stone antiquities and many objects of later periods were contributed by the Warrington Museum, Dr. Robson, and Dr. Kendrick.

The Viscount Combermere sent the original grant by Henry VIII. of the Abbey of Combermere to Sir George Cotton; and numerous documents of local importance were produced by the corporation of Chester, Sir Philip de Grey Egerton, Bart., Mr. T. W. Jones of Nantwich, and Mr. Warburton. Mr. Jones produced also the knife and fork, part of the effects, as it believed, of Milton's third wife, and which had possibly belonged to the poet. They are described in this volume, p. 89. Amongst the chief contributors of works of mediæval art were Sir Stephen Glynne, Bart., the Right Hon. W. Gladstone, Major Egerton Leigh, Mr. C. Kynaston Mainwaring, and Mr. Farrer. The Hon. R. Neville brought his precious collection of rings, including his most recent acquisitions, and some silver ornaments of unique type, found in his excavations near Audley End. Miss Ffarington sent many interesting objects; the antiquities lately found in Penwortham Castle Hill, near Preston; a large series of impressions of seals, from her family muniments; some curious ancient plate, &c. The Rev. W. Marsden sent an ancient portrait of Henry VII. on panel. A collection of early antiquities from various localities was sent by Mr. Brackstone; some Saxon remains from Norfolk, by the Rev. J. Lee Warner; and numerous relics of various periods were produced, not connected with Cheshire, forming an instructive series. The striking interest, however, of the museum arose from the extent and variety of the local collections. Amongst these must be mentioned the illustrations of Chester in olden times, contributed by Mr. T. Hughes, Mr. Topham, Dr. Davies, &c., and by the numerous possessors of delicately finished drawings with the pen, the work of Thomas Musgrave, an engraver living at Chester about fifty years ago, whose accurate views of the old buildings in that city are in very high estimation.

In the afternoon a general exploration of the Roman remains, the ancient buildings, the churches, city walls, and objects of interest in Chester took place, under the guidance of Mr. Wynne Ffoulkes, Mr. T. Hughes, and other members of the Chester Archaeological Society.

At the evening meeting the chair was taken by the Bishop of CHESTER.

A Memoir was read, communicated by Mr. WILLIAM SALT, F.S.A., "On the Visits of Henry III. to Chester, Shropshire, and Staffordshire."

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22.

The Meetings of Sections commenced at ten o'clock at the Town Hall.

In the Section of Antiquities, the chair was taken by the President, Dr. GUEST, Master of Caius and Gonville College, Cambridge.

A Memoir was read by the Rev. J. EARLE, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, "On Local Names in the neighbourhood of Chester; with the view of illustrating the evidence in regard to the ancient occupation of various parts of Britain by various races, as traced through the names by which the various localities are known."

In the Section of Architecture, the chair was taken by Sir STEPHEN R. GLYNNE, Bart.

Mr. J. H. PARKER, F.S.A., read a paper "On St. John's Church, Chester," and he has kindly supplied the following abstract of his observations:—

"The collegiate church of St. John the Baptist, in the city of Chester, existed in the Saxon period; but the present structure was entirely refounded in the time of Peter, the first Norman bishop of the united dioceses of Chester, Coventry, and Lichfield, who was consecrated in 1067.

His successor, Robert de Limesey, translated the seat of the bishopric to Coventry in 1095. We have, therefore, the foundations of a large cathedral; and the work was carried on for about twenty years, but left very incomplete, and the funds of the priory were very inadequate to its completion. Of this early Norman period we have remaining the massive piers and round arches of the nave and of the central tower, the first bay of the choir and its eastern arch, and at the west end of the nave the foundations of the two great western towers, the northern of which was completed up to the first story, of the southern the foundations only remain, and had only now been brought to light by excavations under the direction of Mr. Parker. During the XIIth century the monks had completed the choir, now destroyed; and quite at the end of that century they built, upon the old arches of the nave, the very beautiful triforium and clerestory of transition Norman character. But the two western bays of the nave, as well as the western towers, being left incomplete, they despaired of completing the original plan, and therefore built up a massive square buttress to resist the thrust of the arcade at the north-west corner, and connected this by a wall with the existing tower; in this wall is a late Norman window, opening into what would have been the nave, if the plan of completing it had not been abandoned. The other Norman apsidal chapel at the east end of the choir was entirely rebuilt in the XIIIth and XIVth centuries, and probably the choir itself was partly rebuilt also: but all this part of the church is in ruins, with hardly enough remaining to indicate what it has been. Two of the Norman windows of the south aisle of the choir remain, one of them turned into a doorway with very rich work on the exterior face; this window-doorway opens into a building of the XIIIth century, with a vaulted substructure of the Early English style, probably the vestibule of the chapter-house, which has been destroyed or was never completed. The central tower fell down in the time of Elizabeth, and crushed the remains of the choir, from which the lead of the roof had been sold in the time of Edward VI. The present north-west tower, half detached as it stands, was completed in the time of Henry VII. or Henry VIII. In the west face of the tower there is a figure of St. Giles, abbot, in a niche of well-designed work, with his usual emblem, a stag, in his hand, to which the tradition of the white hind has been applied."

In the afternoon a meeting of the Section of Antiquities was held at the Town Hall, Dr. GUEST presiding.

Mr. GEORGE SCHARF, jun., read an interesting communication from Mr. Waring, to whom had been entrusted the arrangement of the Mediæval portion of the Art-Treasures Exhibition at Manchester, giving an account of the mode in which the collections had been brought together, and noticing the more remarkable features of the series. Mr. Waring expressed his full appreciation of the assistance which had been rendered to him by the Archaeological Institute. He hoped that the Society might find many objects of interest among the treasures that had been brought together, and that they might derive pleasure and instruction from the proposed visit on the following day.

Mr. SCHARF then delivered an address on the "Gallery of Ancient Masters in the Manchester Exhibition," the formation of which had been wholly due to his exertions; and he reviewed with much ability the various schools of Art, and the peculiar merits of the examples which had been so liberally contributed. He noticed the unprecedented opportunity which the Institute

would now enjoy of viewing in one continuous series the productions of the most eminent painters of all countries, from the earliest period; as also a portrait gallery of unrivalled interest, arranged by Mr. Peter Cunningham, and which he trusted might be the prototype of the National Portrait Gallery.

The meeting then adjourned; and at six o'clock the annual dinner of the Institute took place in the Music Hall, Lord Talbot presiding, supported by the Bishop of Chester and Mrs. Graham, Sir Philip de Grey Egerton, Bart., Sir Stephen R. Glynne, Bart., Lady Anderson, the Master of Caius College, Major Egerton Leigh, the Rev. Canon Slade and Mrs. Slade, the Hon. R. C. Neville, the Mayor of Shrewsbury, and Mr. Markland. At the close of an evening passed with much good feeling and cordiality, the company, at the kind invitation of the Bishop of Chester, proceeded to the palace, where a very hospitable reception awaited them.

THURSDAY, JULY 23.

At an early hour a large party of members and visitors proceeded by special train to the Art-Treasures Exhibition at Manchester. A general feeling of satisfaction was evinced by the assembled archaeologists, in having an opportunity of examining the choicer portions of the "Faussett Collection," which was secured in so spirited and patriotic a manner by Mr. Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., as an addition to his extensive Museum at Liverpool. Great regret was expressed that objects of such beauty and interest should have been lost to the National Collection through the inexcusable negligence of the Trustees of the British Museum. The inspection of the scanty commencement of the series of Celtic and other early antiquities, brought forcibly to the remembrance of many members present the severe loss which Archaeology had so recently sustained in the untimely death of Mr. Kemble, and the consequent failure of the extensive display of national antiquities which he had here proposed to achieve.

On the return from Manchester, the members were received by Mr. Williams, of the Old Bank, at his house in Chester, and the evening passed with much satisfaction.

FRIDAY, JULY 24.

The Historical Section assembled at the Town Hall, the Bishop of CHESTER in the Chair. The following Memoirs were read:—

"The History of St. John's Church, Chester." By the Rev. FRANCIS GROSVENOR.¹

"On the Ancient Inventories of the Library of Winchester College from the time of Richard II. to that of Henry VI." By the Rev. W. H. GUNNER, M.A.

"Illustrations of Magic in the Middle Ages, extracted from the Documents in the Archbishopial Registry at York." By the Rev. JAMES RAINE, jun.

"On the Allelujah Victory, and the state of England in the Fifth Century." By JOHN ROBSON, M.D. (Printed in this Volume, p. 320.)

¹ Printed in the "Gentleman's Magazine," Nov., 1857.

In the Section of Antiquities the chair was taken by Dr. GUEST.

The first paper was read by J. A. PIETON, Esq., late President of the Liverpool Architectural and Archæological Society, "On the Primitive Condition and Early Settlement of South Lancashire and North Cheshire, with the Physical Changes which have taken place." The locality referred to is that one which extends for some distance on each side the Mersey. Geologically this tract belongs to the new red sandstone series. In no place do any of the eminences rise 300 feet above the sea-level. In the uplands the sandstone comes to the surface, and generally the soil is a tenacious clay. In the neighbourhood of the sea that clay is covered by drift-sand, and more inland by peat moss. Little is known of the condition of the locality during the occupation of the Romans. When they penetrated into the district in the reign of Claudius, the county of Chester was occupied by the Cornavii, comparatively a peaceful race. Roads were constructed and settlements were made, of which Chester was the chief. The north side of the Mersey was in the hands of the Brigantes, a fierce tribe, who were continually in rebellion. The Mersey at all times seems to have been a great barrier to the union of the inhabitants of its opposite shores, and the men of Lancashire and Yorkshire are more similar than those of Lancashire and Cheshire. In the district under consideration some of the names of the rivers and places are of Celtic origin; others, without doubt, are of Danish derivation; but the majority are Saxon. Great physical changes had taken place in the district from cultivation and other causes; and in the hundred of Wirral, where it once was said—

From Birkenhead to Hilbree
A squirrel might hop from tree to tree,

it had become difficult to find shelter from the westerly blasts sweeping over that locality. Mr. Pieton proceeded to show that forests must have existed on the site now occupied by the docks at Liverpool; since far below high-water mark huge stumps of oak trees have been found with roots extending so widely as to prove that the trees had originally flourished there. Mr. Pieton concluded an interesting discourse by a reference to the spread of civilization and commerce, as shown in Liverpool, which would, he trusted, continue to benefit the present and future generations.

The Rev. J. H. MARSDEN, Disneian Professor of Archaeology at Cambridge, read a Memoir "On the Altar with a Greek Inscription, found in 1851, behind the Exchange in Chester."

The Section of Architecture resumed its proceedings in the Council Chamber, Sir S. R. GLYNNE, Bart., presiding. A discourse "On the Architecture of Chester Cathedral" was delivered by Mr. JOHN HENRY PARKER, F.S.A., who invited his auditors to accompany him in visiting the cathedral after the evening service. We are indebted to Mr. Parker for the following abstract of his Lecture:—

"The abbey church of St. Werburgh, now the Cathedral, was commenced soon after the abbey was founded, or refounded, by Hugh Lupus, the first Earl of Chester, assisted by St. Anselm, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. The body of the founder was 'translated' to the chapter-house in 1128 by Ralph, the third Earl, which shows that the original fabric was then in a great degree completed; and this Earl granted more land for the enlargement of the abbey buildings. Of the early Norman period we have remaining the lower part of the north-west tower (now part of the bishop's

palace), the lower part of the north wall of the nave, the four great piers of the central tower (partly cased with work of the XVth century), and the two eastern grand piers of the choir (although cased with work of the XIIIth century), and the whole of the north transept. We have, therefore, enough to show that the dimensions of the Norman church were nearly the same as at present. At the end of the XIIth century the church is described in the Red Book of the abbey as being in a deplorable state; and, in 1205, letters, appealing for funds, were sent out by several bishops on behalf of this abbey. These appeals were liberally responded to, and the work of rebuilding was commenced vigorously; and, in 1211, the choir is stated to have been entirely completed, but this is probably an exaggeration. Of this period we have the two eastern bays of the choir, the Lady Chapel, and the jambs of the windows of the choir aisle, with the vaulting shafts and springers of the vault, both of the choir and aisles. In 1281, some important lawsuits, in which the abbey had been long engaged, were decided in its favour, and the work of rebuilding then proceeded again with vigour, and venison was supplied to the monks engaged in the building, from the adjacent royal forests. To this period belong the western part of the choir and the vaulting of the lady chapel. Thomas de Burcheles, the fourteenth abbot, was buried in the choir, in 1323, which marks that it was then completed. The south transept was rebuilt in the XIVth century, and much enlarged, to serve as St. Oswald's parish church, the aisles and the windows of one aisle are of this period, but it was not finished, and was much altered in the XVth century, at the same time as the nave. The nave is of so many periods, and the styles are so mixed together, that it is difficult to describe it in an intelligible manner. The arches and pillars are of the XIVth century, with vaulting shafts attached to the face of each pillar, cutting through the capital, and reaching up to the springing of the vault of fan tracery—begun, but never completed. On the north side some capitals were also introduced at the same time as the vaulting shafts by Simon Ripley in the time of Henry VII. The two eastern arches of the nave belong to the tower, and are earlier than the rest; the piers square, probably Norman, altered in the XIVth century. The whole of the exterior of the church was newly cased with stone, and the perpendicular tracery introduced into the windows in the time of Henry VII. and VIII. Of the other abbey buildings, the abbot's house has been rebuilt, and is now the bishop's palace; the Norman passage to it from the cloister remains; the substructure of the Dormitory on the west side of the cloisters remains—it is early Norman work of about 1100, and corresponds with what is often commonly called the Ambulatory; it was divided by wooden partitions into various convenient offices connected with the Refectory, such as the bakehouse, salting house, buttery, and pantry. The dormitory over it has been destroyed. The Norman substructures join on to the 'screens,' or passage to the west end of the Refectory, which occupied the whole of the north side of the cloister; the western part of it has been destroyed, but it is still a fine Early English hall, with an elegant pulpit and passage to it. On the eastern side of the cloister is the chapter-house, which is fine Early English work with lancet windows of about 1220. The vestibule to it is of the same period. There are no capitals to the pillars of the vestibule, the mouldings of the ribs being continued to the bosses, which is more usual in France than in England. The vaulted passage on the north side

of this vestibule led from the cloisters to the Infirmary, now destroyed. The straight stone staircase, with the Early English doorway and windows, led to a smaller hall or chamber, probably the strangers' hall. Under this are some vaulted chambers of the thirteenth century, one of which has been turned into a kitchen. The wall which encloses the Close and the gate-house are of about 1380, the license to crenellate the abbey having been obtained in 1377. The repairs which have been made recently, such as the vault of the choir and the doorway of the chapter-house from the cloisters, have been carefully and judiciously done, and it is to be hoped that they will be continued."

The Rev. CHARLES HARTSHORNE read a paper on "Carnarvon Castle, with reference to Flint, and other Castles in Wales." In the month of July, 1277, Edward I. first turned his course towards the Principality, and arrived at Chester on the 16th. He passed four days in camp at Basingwerk at the close of the month. From the 18th to the 23rd of August, he was at the same place, and at Rhuddlan on the 25th, where he remained until the 15th of October, proceeding on the following day to Shrewsbury. We find him again at Rhuddlan from the 9th of November until the 16th. In the tenth year of his reign (1282) he reached Chester on the 6th of June, continued there till the 28th of the same month, when he went to the encampment of his army at Newton for two days, returning to Chester on the 1st of July, and leaving it again in a week for Flint. On the 8th of July, he fixed himself before Rhuddlan and continued there, with only a very few days' absence in the neighbourhood, till the 11th of March, 1283—a period of eight months. On the 13th, he took up his quarters at Conway, and remained there and in the immediate vicinity till the 16th of June, when he again came to Rhuddlan. On the 1st of July, he left it for Conway, on his route to Carnarvon; he reached that place on the 12th, and continued there till the close of the month. Criccaeth and Harlech were subsequently visited by him. He paid a short visit to Rhuddlan again at the close of December, 1283. In March, 1284, the twelfth year of his reign, he came to it on the 8th of March, dividing the early part of the month between that place and Chester. On the 24th, he left it for Conway, and on the 1st of April, arrived at Carnarvon. At Carnarvon he stayed through the whole of April and until the 6th of June, not being absent a day. On April 10th, he was at Harlech; on the 23rd, at Criccaeth, and returned again to Carnarvon on the 25th, staying there till the 8th of June, when he took up his residence at Baladentilyn till the 3rd of July. The whole of the remainder of the month was spent at Carnarvon. On the 2nd of the month of August, he visited the island of Bardsey, and subsequently Porthleyn, Carnarvon, Aber Conway, Rhuddlan, Flint, and Chester, where he returned on the 10th of September. There he remained for a week. On the 8th of October, we find the King at Conway for four days, on his route to Carnarvon, which he reached on the 12th, and remained till the 24th, going thence, by way of Criccaeth and Harlech, to Castle-y-Berio, or Bere, and Lampeter, in South Wales. It was not until the twenty-third year of Edward's reign that he is again found on the borders of the Principality; in 1294, he visited Chester on the 4th of December, sojourning there for four or five days. It was his last visit to Chester. He was now on his road to Conway, which he reached by making a diversion from the direct line on the 25th of December, no doubt spending his Christmas in that beautiful residence, for he was there through the whole of January, February, and

March, and through the first week of April, 1295. He continued in different parts of Anglesea and Merionethshire through May and June; was once more at Conway the five first days of July; at Carnarvon on the 7th, 8th, and 9th, when he finally left that part of his dominions. Mr. Hartshorne then stated the order in which Edward I. built his castles in North Wales, commencing at Flint and Rhuddlan, in the eleventh year of his reign, 1283, then carrying on his works at Conway. He stated that there were no accounts of the expenses of erecting the former, and those of Conway Castle were simply set down on the Great Roll of the Pipe, with the accounts for Carnarvon, Criccaeth, and Harlech. Nor are there any accounts for building Beaumaris Castle. Upon Conway, he remarked that Edward I. came there on March 13th, 1283, and remained till August 28th. During his residence he sent writs to the sheriff of Rutlandshire for twenty expert masons, and to the sheriff of Shropshire for carpenters, and two hundred soldiers to guard them on their journey. Llewellyn's Hall was commenced in 1286, and took four years to complete, at the cost of 48*l.* 13*s* 11*d.*, the round-headed window being the work of Elias de Burton and William de Walton. The town walls were constructed in 1284.

Having stated other facts regarding the movements and actions of Edward I., Mr. Hartshorne proceeded to state some facts relating to the close of his life. The King, he said, came to Lanercost about the last day of September, 1306, and remained there throughout October, November, December, and through January and February in the following year. In the commencement of March, he went to Carlisle, staying there until the 5th of July, the latest day the royal writs were there attested; he expired on the 7th, at Burgh-upon-Sands. Mr. Hartshorne then adverted to the last days of the King, giving an account of his illness and sojourn at Lanercost. He stated the charges for medicines during Edward's illness, and the expenses of preparations for the King's embalment, as they appear in the wardrobe accounts of his reign. The detailed particulars of the remedies employed under the direction of the royal physician, Nicholas de Tingewick, are given in this volume, p. 270. Ten days after his death, an inventory was taken at Burgh-upon-Sands, in which we find the following items. Amongst the relics was a purse, which had been the Earl of Cornwall's, containing a thorn from the crown of Christ; part of the wood of the Holy Cross, and many relics of the blessed Edward the Confessor; bones from the head of St. Lawrence; a bone of St. James of Galicia; part of the arm of St. Maurice; two fragments of bones of St. Blaise and St. Christina; a small bottle of silver, with milk of the blessed Virgin, also part of the sponge which our Lord received; a tooth of a saint, efficacious against thunder and lightning; also a small purse, containing some of the vestment and hood of the Virgin Mary and St. Gregory; one of the nails of the cross of our Lord, and part of his sepulchre; an arm of silver gilt, with relics of St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew; also a bone from the arm of St. Osith; the arm of St. David; the arm of St. Richard of Leicester; the arm of St. William of York; and a little silver ship gilt, containing many bones of the 11,000 virgins.

In the afternoon, LORD TALBOT and a numerous party assembled at the Cathedral, and were conducted through the edifice by the Bishop of Chester, the Rev. Canon Slade, and the Rev. F. Grosvenor. The principal features of architectural interest were pointed out by Mr. Parker.

In the evening there was a meeting in the Music Hall, the LORD BISHOP

OF CHESTER presiding, and Mr. HICKLIN gave a Lecture, entitled "A Walk round the walls of Chester." In his imaginary walk, he pointed out, as he proceeded, the objects of historical interest, which were marked on an enlarged plan of the city. The more striking incidents connected with each structure, and the associations which they suggested, presented a subject of great and varied interest. In the course of his observations he introduced a series of manuscripts, illustrative of the siege of Chester during the reign of Charles the First, lent to him for the purpose by Mr. Hawkins, of the British Museum. The lecture included notices of the most important historical and local vestiges of the city, from the period of its occupation by the Romans to comparatively modern times.

The BISHOP of CHESTER considered the occasion presented by Mr. Hicklin's lecture very suitable for establishing some definite conclusion with respect to the origin of the walls. He was surprised that their Roman origin should have been doubted; the remarks made by Mr. Hicklin with respect to that question appeared to him quite conclusive.

The Rev. C. HARTSHORNE thought Mr. Hicklin's argument was perfectly decisive; the question must be set at rest for ever. In addition, there was ample evidence afforded by the moulding to be found on the walls between the Northgate and the Phoenix Tower, and, also, of that of the old Ship Gate, which was near the Old Bridge, and which originally led to a ford across the river. Of these and numerous features of interest, as illustrations of the vestiges of *Deva* in olden times, a series of striking drawings were produced by Mr. Hicklin.

SATURDAY, JULY 25.

On this day a visit was made, on the cordial invitation of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, to Liverpool. The arrangements were intrusted to the Rev. Dr. Hume and Mr. Joseph Mayer, through whose admirable management and courtesy an excursion, replete with varied attractions and features of novel interest, was achieved with entire satisfaction.

On their course by special train from Chester, the noble President, with a numerous suite of archaeologists, stopped to examine the remains of Birkenhead Priory, and they reached the shore of the Mersey at eleven, where, through the kindness of the Cunard Company, a steamer awaited them, which had been placed at the disposal of the Historic Society for the accommodation of their guests during the day. After a very agreeable cruise, with the gratification of witnessing the departure of the royal mail steamer *Persia*, and visiting the American ships, the *Niagara* and *Susquehanna*, the vessel proceeded to Garston, the most convenient point of landing for Speke Hall, in accordance with the hospitable invitation of Mr. Watt to visit one of the most interesting examples of ancient Domestic architecture existing in the Counties Palatine. His carriages awaited the arrival of Lord Talbot and the party at their landing, and on reaching the Stone Bridge and picturesque entrance gate of Speke Hall, Mr. and Mrs. Watt received them with hearty welcome and hospitalities worthy of the most generous days of Old English festivity. The curious features of the old moated mansion, the gardens and demesne, having been examined, the archaeologists took their leave, highly gratified by the courtesy and kind feeling which had marked all the arrangements for the visit of the Institute.

On returning to Liverpool, the excursion party proceeded to inspect the

various objects of interest in that city, especially St. George's Hall, the public buildings of chief note, and the extensive Museum formed by Mr. Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., including the Faussett Collections, which were viewed with fresh regret at the deplorable indifference of the Trustees of the British Museum to the acquisition of such an invaluable mass of evidence in illustration of the obscure earlier periods of our history. The liberality and good taste of Mr Mayer in rescuing these treasures of antiquity, and in throwing open his extensive collections for public instruction, excited a general feeling of gratification. After a collation, provided at the Adelphi Hotel, the visitors proceeded to the brilliant conversazione to which they had been invited by the Historic Society of Lancashire, and which took place in the Town Hall, through the kind permission of the Mayor of Liverpool. The arrangements presented the fullest evidence of the considerate forethought on the part of Dr. Hume and his colleagues, for the gratification of their guests, which was so amply evinced throughout the proceedings of this memorable day; and towards the close of a very social evening, Mr. Mayer, in the name of the Historic Society, presented to the noble President of the Institute an interesting appropriate memorial, in the form of a "Mazer Bowl," banded with silver, and bearing an inscription commemorative of the occasion. In placing in Lord Talbot's hands this gratifying token of their friendly sympathy in the objects of the Institute, Mr. Mayer thus addressed the President:—

"As Honorary Curator of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, whose guest you are this night, I have the honour to present this bowl, made from one of the roof-timbers of the house used as head-quarters by Prince Rupert, when he besieged Liverpool. In doing so, I have the more pleasure, as the offering is made to one not distinguished for classic attainments only, but for steady encouragement of those studies, which are indispensably requisite for the historian and the philosopher; for, surely, it is a high point of philosophy to study the character, habits, manners and customs of the different races, who have successively occupied these islands, and whose descendants we are. The study of National Antiquities has, by your influence, and the stimulus which you have given to other ardent followers in the same pursuit, been raised from the degraded position it once held, when it was regarded as merely a trifling amusement, into a higher position, in which it is now acknowledged worthy of being ranked as a science. It is, my lord, from the encouragement given by you and kindred spirits to this noble and loyal feeling for the sources whence our National Institutions spring, that young societies, struggling on through difficulties, receive fresh energy and perseverance to meet the local discouragement that often besets them. Assuring you, my lord, of the high appreciation my colleagues have of your efforts in a cause in which we feel so hearty an interest, and of the honour you have done us this day by coming amongst us, I conclude with the assurance of our hope that you may, for many years to come, on looking at this bowl, think of the good wishes and cordial sympathy in all your high and intellectual purposes, which we are desirous now to express, and that your successors may drink from this cup, and continue for generations to come to do honour to the cause in which you have so nobly engaged."

Lord TALBOT responded to this address, expressing his sense of the high compliment thus paid to himself, and to the Institute: and with the most hearty acknowledgment of all the kind feeling and attentions which had

rendered this day one long to be remembered amidst the annual progresses of the Society, he took his leave, and the party returned by special train to Chester.

MONDAY, July 27.

This day was devoted to an Excursion to the Castles of Caernarvon and Conway, and a numerous party of members of the Chester Archaeological Society accompanied their friends of the Institute on the occasion. The train reached Caernarvon about noon, and the party proceeded to the Castle, where they were met by Mr. Turner and other inhabitants, who showed them every courtesy.

The Rev. C. H. HARTSHORNE delivered a short address on the History of the Castle, respecting which his researches have thrown considerable doubt upon opinions generally received. After mentioning the Castles at Flint, Rhuddlan, and Conway, which had been seen in the course of their journey that day, and which were built before that of Caernarvon, he proceeded to observe that Edward I. was at Caernarvon for the first time on April 1st, 1284: that his son Edward was born April 25th in that year; that three days after the birth of the Prince, writs for building the Castle were first issued. Consequently, the assertion that Queen Eleanor was at Caernarvon Castle at the period of Prince Edward's birth, is contradicted by the public records. On Nov. 12th, the King issued writs for workmen to proceed from Rutland to Caernarvon, and sent 200 soldiers to guard them; and similar orders were issued for masons and carpenters, to proceed from Nottinghamshire and Salop. Two years afterwards payments occur for lead to cover the Castles of Criccaeth, Carnarvon, Harlech, and Conway; and the Castle of Caernarvon was completed in 1291, at a cost, as appears from the sheriff's accounts, of 3,528*l*. The town walls were built in 1286. During the revolt of Madoc in 1295, when Edward was much engaged in his foreign wars, Caernarvon Castle was razed to the ground. In the 23rd year of his reign Edward made his last visit to Caernarvon, and before his death the works for rebuilding the Castle had been carried on to a great extent; they were continued and completed by Edward II., the result being one of the most magnificent military structures in any part of the world. One hundred masons were sent from Chester to assist in building the Castle, and Mr. Hartshorne pointed out in the portion of the work erected in the reign of Edward II., its similarity to that of the Water Tower in Chester, as marked by the mouldings and other indications. The works seem to have been commenced at the north-east tower, and to have been carried round in the direction of the river. Edward II., if he did not commence his operations at a more advanced point in the works, certainly began at the curtain wall, south-east of the Eagle Tower. The Eagle Tower was roofed over in November, 1316; and floored in February, 1317. The eagle was placed on the summit the first week of March, 1317, and the effigy of the King fixed over the gateway on the last week of April, 1320. Mr. Hartshorne proceeded to verify his statements by extracts from public records. He afterwards conducted the party through the ruins, which have been put into perfect repair under the direction of Anthony Salvin, Esq., at the cost of the Crown; and he pointed out the peculiar characteristics of the architecture in the interior arrangements and external features.

A discussion ensued in which Mr. Hicklin, Sir Stephen Glynne, and

other Archaeologists took part, and Mr. Hartshorne observed that it appears certain that Edward II., if not actually born in Caernarvon, was at that place in very early age. In the Wardrobe Accounts, a payment occurs of half a mark, given as alms by the king's own hands at Porchester to Margaret Attewode, who stated that for a certain time she had nursed him at Caernarvon.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Hartshorne having been proposed by Sir Stephen Glynne, the visitors returned by railway to Treborth, and inspected the Tubular Bridge and the Menai Bridge. They thence proceeded to Conway Castle, where they were met by Lady Erskine, by whom the castle is held by lease from the Crown, and who with very kind attention had made every arrangement for the gratification of the numerous visitors. Mr. Hartshorne gave some historical notices of the structure, the building of which commenced in 1283, and the noble fabric known as Llewelyn's Hall, in 1303. We may refer to Mr. Hartshorne's memoir in the *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, vol. v., New Series, p. 1, for details relating to the castle which he has designated as the most perfect example of the Edwardian type. After examining Plas-Mawr, the town walls, the curious gate-towers of Conway and the church, the party returned to Chester.

TUESDAY, JULY 28.

The Architectural section assembled in the Council Chamber, under the Presidency of Sir STEPHEN GLYNNE, Bart., and a memoir was read by the Rev. J. L. PETIT, on Nantwich Church. The fabric, Mr. Petit observed, is of the fourteenth century, although the original work was much earlier; it is a cruciform church of striking character, with a central octagonal tower. The recent restorations under Mr. Gilbert Scott's direction had not introduced many material changes with the exception of the West window. Mr. Petit made special mention of the beautiful stone pulpit, enriched with perpendicular panelling, as also of the sculptured wooden stalls of the church, actually in a decayed condition; and he expressed his wish to record his opinion of the great architectural value of that part of the building, an example of late Decorated character, in the hope "that should it ever fall into the hands of the restorer, it may be dealt with mercifully and tenderly." Mr. Petit's discourse was admirably illustrated by a series of his beautiful and artistic drawings.

A paper was then read, communicated by the Rev. JOHN MAUGHAN, Rector of Bewcastle, Cumberland, entitled "An Attempt to Allocate by Etymology the Stations *per lineam Valli* in Cumberland."

At the close of the proceedings, an excursion was arranged for the purpose of visiting Nantwich Church, under Mr. Petit's kind guidance; as also Beeston Castle, and other remains of antiquarian interest.

In the evening a *conversazione* took place at the Museum of the Institute, in the ancient Refectory, now the King's School. A large number of visitors, residents in Chester and the neighbourhood, were invited to participate in this agreeable assembly. In the course of the explanatory observations offered regarding the various ancient remains which composed the collection, those more especially of local interest, the wish having been generally expressed for some details regarding the extensive display of relics found at Hoylelake, and the remarkable discoveries there, on which no memoir had been communicated, particulars were related by the Rev. Dr.

Hume. His account of those curious remains, read at the meeting of the Institute at York, in 1846, will be remembered by many of our readers.

“As early as the year 1845, (Dr. Hume observed) his attention was drawn to the curious objects found at Hoyleake, on the Northern shore of the Hundred of Wirrell, at the mouth of the Dee, and it was then ascertained that they had been found at intervals during eighteen years, though no collection had been made. At that time he purchased all he could procure, and in 1847 his essay on the subject was published. Since that time there had been numerous collectors, and thousands of objects had been recovered. These were chiefly in possession of Mr. Mayer, Mrs. Longueville, of Eccleston, Mr. Ecroyd Smith, Mrs. Fluit, Mr. C. B. Robinson, Mr. Shawe, of Arrowse, the Historic Society of Lancashire, and himself. He had presented upwards of a hundred objects to the Society, yet still had four or five hundred remaining. There were scarcely any gold objects, one coin, and some small articles, being the only exceptions known to him; but there were several in silver, and many in bronze, copper, and brass. Latterly, iron instruments, such as ancient knives, pheons, cross-bow bolts, prick spurs, javelin heads, &c., had been brought to light; but formerly these were not cared for. There were perhaps twenty different kinds of keys, and he thought that eighty or ninety forms of buckles might be arranged from three various collections, no two of which were alike. The form and construction of various objects were explained, including needles, spindle wheels, coins, spoons, rings, fibulæ, tags or pendants of girdles, handles of small caskets, &c.; and the character of the coast, with its submarine forest, was traced for about two hundred years. Dr. Hume next noticed the theories respecting the articles in metal and in stone. One is, that the place is the site of a town, of which all the more perishable evidences have long since passed away; and another, that none of the relics were deposited at this spot, but that they were carried down from Chester, Hilbre, and other points, by the tide, and deposited in the smooth water along with other heavy substances. It would probably be found, after all, that an extensive burying place had existed there, in the shadow of the great forest trees, and that the sea, which could not restore its dead, gave forth these relics which are the evidence of their former existence. The disintegration of the soil, which the Abbé Cochet, Dr. Faussett, the Hon. Richard Neville, Mr. Lukis, and others, performed by the spade and mattock, was here effected by natural causes; and thus the relics of populations extending over a period of fifteen centuries were found side by side, to the astonishment and perplexity of the antiquary.” Dr. Hume added that he had in preparation a treatise on the whole subject, which he hoped to issue in the ensuing autumn, or early in the winter.

An expression of thanks to Dr. Hume for these interesting remarks, delivered on the impulse of the moment, was proposed by the Rev. Canon Slade and Mr. Charles Tucker, and unanimously adopted. The numerous concourse of visitors then dispersed.

WEDNESDAY, July 29.

The Annual Meeting of the Members took place at half-past nine, at the Town Hall. In the absence of Lord Talbot, who had been summoned to Ireland on pressing business, the Chair was taken by the Treasurer, Mr. Hawkins.

The Report of the Auditors for the previous year (printed page 181, *ante*) was read, as also the following Annual Report of the Central Committee, and both were unanimously adopted.

The Committee of the Institute, in submitting their customary Report of the proceedings of the Society, and of the advance of Archaeological science during the year that has elapsed since the highly gratifying meeting at Edinburgh, viewed with renewed encouragement the progress which has been achieved, and the hopeful promise for the future. There had been no diminution either in the zeal or the unanimity of purpose, evinced by their fellow-labourers in the field of Archaeological research, or in the abundant harvest of information by which their exertions have constantly been rewarded. On the present occasion the Committee had to congratulate the Members of the Institute on an event which they confidently believe will be of great importance in giving a fresh impulse to the operations of the Society. His Royal Highness the PRINCE CONSORT, who had on previous occasions evinced his favourable consideration, has very graciously been pleased to become the permanent Patron of the Institute. The distinction which His Royal Highness conferred on the Society in honouring the meeting at Cambridge with his presence, and thus showing in a marked manner in that ancient seat of learning his cordial encouragement of the study of Archaeology, is fresh in our grateful recollection. The Prince Chancellor, we may venture to hope, has condescended to bear in mind with favour the proceedings in which he then participated, and to recognise their utility as a means of public instruction, not unworthy of the distinction now conferred in his Patronage. The gracious condescension of Her Majesty had likewise been evinced from time to time in enriching with the choicest relics of ancient art in her possession the temporary collections formed during the annual meetings of the Institute. The Committee desired to record their grateful sense of the Royal favour shown during the past year, on the occasion of the Exhibition of portraits of Mary Queen of Scots, displayed in the apartments of the Institute in London. That remarkable collection of paintings, engravings, miniatures and historical relics connected with the history of Mary Stuart, derived its greatest attraction through the permission so graciously conceded, that the series should be enriched by the whole of the portraits and miniatures of the Queen of Scots, preserved in the Royal Galleries at Windsor Castle, St. James's Palace, Hampton Court, and also in the Queen's private collection. These evidences of the distinguished favor of Her Majesty were accompanied by the most gratifying encouragement on the part of the Prince Consort, who visited the Stuart Exhibition, accompanied by Prince Frederic of Prussia, and his Royal Highness was pleased to contribute from his own collections at Osborne House a very interesting portrait of Queen Mary, in token of his approval and interest in the undertaking. It were needless here to recall the liberality shown by many distinguished persons, possessed of portraits and of authentic relics of Mary Stuart's times; or to describe the enthusiasm with which the results of the endeavour to throw light on the identification of a very interesting series of historical portraits were universally received.

The progress of archaeological investigation, and the continued supply of interesting facts or discoveries communicated at the meetings of the Society

in London, have fully equalled the results which the Committee has recognised in former years. They have been duly registered in your Journal; and amongst these special researches may be mentioned excavations of considerable interest prosecuted by Mr. Neville, with his accustomed energy; as also those which have been recently carried out in Gloucestershire and in Buckinghamshire, under the direction of Mr. Akerman, and in various sites of Anglo-Saxon occupation, which have proved productive of numerous ornaments, arms, and other remains of instructive character. Those who have taken part in our meetings in London will not fail to remember the cordial interest with which the project of the Art-Treasures Exhibition at Manchester was viewed by the members of the Institute, and the readiness with which they rendered their co-operation towards bringing together that unrivalled collection of examples of the Decorative Arts in the Middle Ages, which has been there formed under the direction of Mr. Waring. The success with which his exertions have been repaid may doubtless be in no trifling degree attributed to facilities of access to scattered treasures of art which had been brought to light from all quarters of the land in the temporary museums at the meetings of the Institute, or produced at our monthly meetings in the metropolis, and their existence and possessors placed on record in our publications. It will be remembered, moreover, that our lamented friend, Mr. Kemble, had proposed, with his accustomed intelligence and enthusiasm, a project of the most important character in its bearing on archæological science, in connection with the Manchester Exhibition. The Executive Committee assented to his views, and the Committee had for a moment confidently anticipated the realisation of Mr. Kemble's proposal to combine in chronological classification an assemblage of antiquities of the Celtic and earlier periods, on a scale and to an extent never hitherto contemplated. Such an adjunct to the Exhibition at Manchester, tracing the growth of arts and manufactures from the earliest examples, would doubtless, under Mr. Kemble's auspices, had his life been spared, have presented a series unequalled in its instructive character. The deficiencies, moreover, of our National Museum, and of any extensive display of our earlier antiquities, would have been more strikingly apparent, had this great archæological enterprise been carried out. We might, indeed, have cherished the hope of some permanent benefit in the demonstration of the essential value of national antiquities, for the purposes of public instruction, which such a series as had been contemplated by Mr. Kemble would have placed before the Trustees of the British Museum. In the midst of his most promising efforts for the extension of science, and surrounded by the materials which, with his wonted earnestness of purpose, he had succeeded in bringing together for this important object, Mr. Kemble was suddenly taken from that career of intellectual exertion in which few have been his equals.

Whilst adverting to this, the greatest loss which the Institute has sustained for some years past, the Committee recalled with sincere regret some now no more, whose friendly participation in our meetings, and the general progress of the Society, had for some years been familiar to all. Amongst those to whose memory the tribute of heartfelt respect was due on the present occasion, especial mention must be made of the late Sir Richard Westmacott, one of the earliest members of the Committee, and at all times a most friendly and liberal supporter of the Institute, as also a contributor to the Publications.

In the number of other distinguished members, deceased during the past year, must be named the Earl of Ellesmere, to whom archaeological science is indebted for the earliest detailed manual of Scandinavian antiquities, translated from the Danish language; the Viscount Downe, also, who, at an early period of the career of the Society, was enrolled on its lists, and by his exertions and influence materially contributed to the success of the Annual Meeting at York. The Society had to regret the loss of a warm friend and accomplished archaeologist in the late Miss Anna Gurney, the translator of the Saxon Chronicle,—the zealous observer of all that might illustrate local customs and traditions, or the remarkable dialects of East Anglia. The late Dean of Canterbury, Dr. Lyall, Honorary Member of the Central Committee, had from an early time joined in the proceedings of the Society, and was always friendly to its exertions. Amongst those by whose hospitalities or co-operation in various parts of England the gratification and success attending the Annual Meetings had been promoted, the Committee desired to make honorable record of the late Sir Hugh Richard Hoare, who with great kindness welcomed the Society at Stourhead, on the occasion of their meeting at Salisbury, and permitted the numerous visitors to examine those invaluable collections of British and Roman Antiquity, the fruits of the long and indefatigable researches of that distinguished archaeologist, who laid the foundation of a scientific knowledge of the vestiges of the earlier races in Wiltshire. The memory also of Mr. Wyndham, and of Mr. Corbet, of Sundorne Castle, whose reception of the Institute within the venerable walls of Haughmond Abbey, is fresh in remembrance, claimed the tribute of respect. During the past year, the ranks of archaeology have sustained a severe loss in the death of the veteran *Emeritus*, John Britton, whose career has closed at an advanced age, and who must ever be held in honored remembrance, as having given a strong impulse by his publications, and his energetic investigations to the taste for architectural researches. Mr. Britton frequently rendered his friendly assistance at the Meetings of the Institute, and contributed to the Annual volumes. Nor must two names of high distinction amongst the Honorary Members of the Institute be forgotten. The Père Martin, whose great knowledge of Mediæval antiquities and exquisite skill in delineating the characteristic features of Christian Art, were perhaps unequalled. He took part in the Meeting of the Society at Salisbury; and the detailed examination of the painted glass in the Cathedral at that place, which he had at that time occasion to make, caused the publication of some admirable illustrations of those examples of Art. The Père Martin fell a victim to his devotion to our science, having sunk under to the unhealthy climate of Ravenna, where he was engaged in carrying out his researches. The sudden and untimely death of another archaeologist of the highest attainments, who had been more recently numbered amongst the foreign members of the Institute, must also be sincerely lamented,—the Commendatore Canina—so well known by his important architectural publications, and not less by his cultivated taste and proficiency in Art. He honoured the meeting at Edinburgh with his presence, and had his life been spared, his friendly interest in the purposes of the Institute would doubtless have secured most valuable co-operation in Italy.

In drawing to a close this tribute to the memory of the lamented friends and supporters whose loss they have now to record, the Committee could not omit to recur once more to the heaviest of those losses, and which all the

archaeologists of Europe must deplore, the distinguished historian and Saxon scholar, Kemble, who has fallen a sacrifice to his zealous devotion to the cause he had for many years so eminently promoted.

The following lists of members of the Central Committee retiring in annual course, and of members of the Society nominated to fill the vacancies, were then proposed to the meeting, and adopted unanimously.

Members retiring from the Committee :—W. W. E. Wynne, Esq., M.P., *Vice-President*; W. H. Bayley, Esq.; Talbot Bury, Esq.; William Burges, Esq.; R. R. Caton, Esq.; Sir S. M. Peto, Bart.; J. O. Westwood, Esq. The following members being elected to fill the vacancies :—The Lord Londesborough, K.C.H., *Vice-President*; Henry Cheney, Esq.; C. R. Cockerell, Esq., Professor of Architecture, R.A.; John Henderson, Esq.; Charles Edward Long, Esq.; the Rev. Walter Sneyd, M.A.; and Sydney G. R. Strong, Esq. Also, as Auditors, William Parker Hamond, Esq., and James E. Nightingale, Esq.

The attention of the members was then called to the choice of the place of meeting for the ensuing year. Invitations had been received from various cathedral towns and localities presenting many attractions to the Society; communications of very encouraging character had been made from Peterborough, Hereford, Cirencester, and Southampton. The desire had been expressed by several influential friends of the Society that a meeting should take place at Carlisle, and the following highly gratifying invitation had been addressed to the Secretary on the part of the municipal authorities of that city.

“ Carlisle, 28th July, 1857.

“ Sir,—I beg to inform you that at a Special Meeting of the Corporation of this city, held this day, it was unanimously resolved that I should forward an invitation to the President and Members of the Institute to hold their Annual Meeting for 1859 at Carlisle. Should the Society do us the honour of visiting this city and neighbourhood, I have no doubt they will receive a most welcome and kind reception.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.,

“ G. MOUNSEY, *Mayor.*”

The most cordial requisitions had also been received from Bath, and from the kindred Institutions in that city :—the Bath Literary Club; the Philosophical Society, and from the Somerset Archaeological Society, with every promise of friendly co-operation, in the event of a meeting being held in that city. The following Resolution was read, which had been received by the Central Committee :—

“ At a meeting of the Council of the City and Borough of Bath, held on the 23rd day of June, 1857, it was Resolved, that a cordial invitation be forwarded by the Mayor on behalf of the Corporation and citizens of Bath to the members of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, to hold their Annual Meeting for the year 1858 in the City of Bath; and that the rooms in the Town-hall, available for public purposes, be granted to the Institute for its meetings.”

After a short discussion, in which the fullest assurances of cordial welcome and of hearty assistance in carrying out the purposes of the Institute were expressed by the Rev. H. M. Searth, it was unanimously determined that the Meeting for the ensuing year should be held at Bath.

At twelve o'clock the Concluding Meeting was held in the Town-hall.

The Lord BISHOP of CHESTER presided, and opened the Proceedings with the most kind expressions of satisfaction in the results of the visit of the Institute, and in the scientific as well as social gratification by which the proceedings of the week had been characterised.

The customary acknowledgments were then moved, and cordially responded to. Sir Charles Anderson, Bart., moved a vote of thanks to the Mayor and Corporation; Sir Philip de Grey Egerton, Bart., proposed thanks to the Dean and Chapter, for the valuable facilities they had given in promoting the objects of the Institute, and for permitting the King's School to be used as the Museum. Thanks were moved by Mr. Hawkins to the Chester Archaeological and Historical Society, and especially to Mr. Wynne Ffoulkes, Mr. Hicklin, Mr. Thomas Hughes, Mr. James Harrison, and other active members of that body who had been unwearied in friendly co-operation. By the Rev. J. L. Petit, to the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society, to the Mayor of Liverpool, to Mr. Watt, who had with such marked kindness and hospitality welcomed the Institute at Speke Hall; more especially, however, to Dr. Hume and Mr. Mayer, by whom on behalf of the Historic Society the arrangements for the agreeable excursion to Liverpool had been combined so highly to the gratification of their numerous guests.

The Rev. Dr. Hume, in acknowledging the compliment, expressed the satisfaction which the Historic Society had experienced in the occasion of tendering fraternal welcome to so many distinguished visitors, devoted to purposes kindred to their own. He concluded by proposing thanks to the contributors of Memoirs during the meeting of the Institute, mentioning especially Mr. Hicklin, Mr. J. H. Parker, and the Rev. F. Grosvenor, whose communications had illustrated subjects of great local interest. Mr. Hicklin responded in a speech of much ability and kind feeling; and he proposed thanks to the Contributors to the Museum of the Institute, naming especially Viscount Combermere, Sir Philip de Grey Egerton, Sir Stephen Glynne, Major Egerton Leigh, with several antiquaries and collectors resident in Chester.

Sir Charles Anderson, Bart., then proposed the grateful acknowledgments of the Institute to the Bishop of Chester, the Patron of their Meeting, and who had consented with great kindness and courtesy to take the part of President in the Historical Section. The vote was seconded by Mr. E. G. Salisbury, M.P., and carried with general acclamation.

The LORD BISHOP desired to assure the meeting of the sincere gratification with which he received this warm acknowledgment of his endeavours to promote the objects of the Institute, during their visit to Chester. He certainly felt that he had little claim to such expressions of their thanks, unless, indeed, for the cordial goodwill towards the purpose for which the Society had been instituted, and to those by whom its proceedings were carried out, in a manner so highly conducive to public instruction, and the general gratification of all who were brought within their influence. He concluded by expressing the pleasure he had experienced in receiving under his roof the Noble President of the Institute, as also in offering any attentions and hospitalities in his power to those who had been attracted on the present occasion to the ancient city of Chester. With a kind acknowledgment to the officers of the Society, and of their efforts to render these periodical assemblies as attractive and pleasant as possible, the Bishop bade the Institute a hearty farewell, and the meeting terminated.

The Central Committee desire to acknowledge the following Donations, received during the Chester Meeting:—The Marquis of Westminster, 10*l.*; The Earl Grosvenor, 5*l.*; Sir Philip de Grey Egerton, Bart., 10*l.*; H. Raikes, Esq., 10*l.*; Philip S. Humberston, Esq., 5*l.*; the Bishop of St. Asaph, 5*l.*; Sir John Boileau, Bart., 5*l.*; R. E. E. Warburton, Esq., 5*l.*; Edwin Guest, Esq., 5*l.*; Major Egerton Leigh, 5*l.*; Edward Walker, Esq., 2*l.*; R. Barker, Esq., 2*l.*; Frederick Potts, Esq., 2*l.*; C. W. Potts, Esq., 2*l.*; Charles Barnard, Esq., 2*l.*; W. Beamont, Esq., 2*l.*, 2*s.*; W. Wardell, Esq., 5*l.*; Thomas Brassey, Esq., 5*l.*; James Nicholson, Esq., 2*l.*, 2*s.*; William Hall, Esq., 2*l.*; F. Maddock, Esq., 2*l.*; A. Potts, Esq., 1*l.*; Thomas Topham, Esq., 1*l.*; J. Ashton, Esq., 2*l.*, 2*s.*; J. F. Marsh, Esq., 2*l.*, 2*s.*; W. N. Welsby, Esq., 2*l.*; J. Woodcock, Esq., 1*l.*, 1*s.*; J. H. Spiers, Esq., 1*l.*, 1*s.*; James Dearden, Esq., 1*l.*; R. Platt, Esq., 3*l.*, 3*s.*; the Rev. Hugh Jones, D.D. 1*l.*; William Ayrton, Esq., 1*l.*, 1*s.*; A. Ayrton, Esq., 1*l.*, 1*s.*; Thomas N. Brushfield, Esq., 1*l.*, 1*s.*; Charles Parry, Esq., 1*l.*, 1*s.*; Edward Evans, Esq., 10*s.*; Albert Way, Esq., 2*l.*, 2*s.*; A. W. Franks, Esq., 5*l.*; the Rev. J. M. Traherne, 2*l.*, 2*s.*; the Rev. J. Davies, 10*s.*, 6*d.*; Hugh Roberts, Esq., 10*s.* The whole amount being 129*l.*, 13*s.*

Notices of Archæological Publications.

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY. Part I. Containing the articles of Stone, Earthen, and Vegetable Materials. By W. R. WILDE, M.R.I.A., Secretary of Foreign Correspondence to the Academy. Dublin: printed for the Academy. 1857, 8vo. Illustrated with 159 Engravings on Wood.

THE important character of the collections formed in Ireland under the auspices of the Royal Irish Academy, was comparatively unknown to the English Archæologist, previously to the attractive display made in connexion with the great Industrial Exhibition at Dublin, in 1853. The members of the Institute who may have taken interest in the undertaking so advantageously prosecuted at that time, more especially those English antiquaries who were so fortunate as to avail themselves of the opportunity then presented, will recall that our President, Lord Talbot, with that earnest desire—so familiar to us—to promote the interests of Archæological science, originated and achieved with the happiest results an exhibition of National Antiquities of the most instructive and interesting description.¹ It was doubtless through the combination of examples of Mediæval Art in 1850, under the joint auspices of our Society and of the Society of Arts, that public attention was first called to the great advantages accruing from such extended and scientifically classified collections. Their value had moreover been abundantly proved, when carried out more exclusively with the purpose of illustrating the obscure Prehistoric periods, and the origin of the earlier races by whom the British Islands were occupied. Large collections of materials of extreme value in ethnological enquiries, had been brought together at the Meeting of the British Association in Belfast, as likewise at Annual Meetings of our own Society. These collections, however, interesting as they may have been, were comparatively of slight influence in the promotion of archæological science, owing to their temporary duration.

The publication of a *Conspectus* of the varied remains of the earlier periods occurring in the sister kingdom has for some years been hopefully anticipated by the English antiquary. The types of form are remarkable in their variety; the examples more abundant, and generally in more perfect preservation than in England; most striking, in many instances, through the precious quality of the material, as presented to us in the extraordinary series of golden ornaments; as, also, in objects of other metals, elaborate in design or in decoration, and not less deserving of careful observation for their characteristic peculiarities, than for the evidence which they frequently present of singular skill in manufacture, and knowledge of artistic processes. Productions of the early periods to which many of these relics must be attributed, are not merely matters of curiosity; their great interest, unquestionably, is to be found in the evidence which

¹ See the notice of the Archaeological Collections at Dublin in 1853 in this Journal, vol. ix. p. 396.

they may supply of the state of civilisation at certain remote periods. Their classification, therefore, and their comparison with the antiquities of analogous character in other countries of Europe, becomes the more important, on account of the great multiplicity of types which an extensive collection of the Prehistoric remains in Ireland presents to the antiquary.

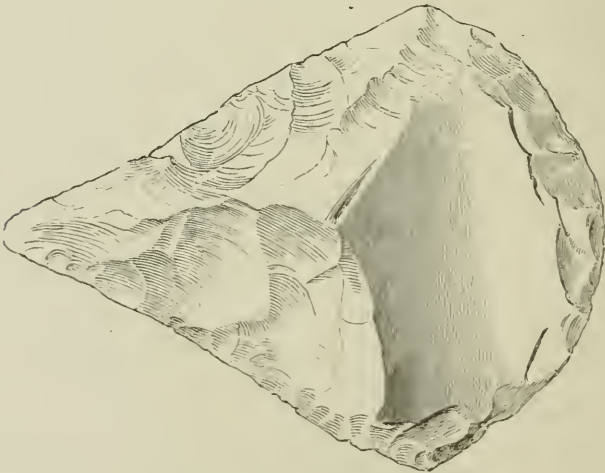
In the work under consideration, a mass of information is supplied by Mr. Wilde, not merely available to the casual visitor of the Academy's Museum, to aid his examination of the treasures there preserved. This Catalogue, unlike many compilations of its kind, may be regarded as a valuable accession to Archæological literature, which deserves to find a place amongst works of reference in the library of all students of National Antiquities. The system adopted by the author and the scheme of the arrangement have not, as we believe, been approved by all our brother antiquaries in Ireland. The perplexing difficulties, however, which encompass all our endeavours to establish a satisfactory classification of the earlier remains found in these islands, and the inconvenience which must follow any premature attempt to introduce a system based on no sufficient principles, have, as we apprehend, been justly viewed by Mr. Wilde as cogent arguments in determining the basis of his general arrangement. But in regard to this *vexata questio*, we must hear our author's own explanation.

“All attempts at an arrangement of objects of Antique Art must, to a certain extent, be arbitrary and artificial; and as, in the present state of antiquarian knowledge, a chronological classification could not be fully carried out, the simplest and most obvious mode which suggests itself is that according to *Material*. Such has, therefore, been adopted as the basis or primary division of the present arrangement of the Museum of Antiquities belonging to the Royal Irish Academy.” After stating certain exceptions to this principle, especially in regard to “Finds,” or groups of antiquities found together under peculiar circumstances, as in the case of “Crannoges,” or dwellings constructed on piles in various lakes in Ireland, Mr. Wilde proceeds thus—“The secondary division is that according to *Use*. The classification and arrangement usually employed in Natural History according to Class, Order, Species, and Variety, has, for the sake of convenience, been adopted.” He then gives a scheme, for which we must refer our readers to the work itself. It will suffice to state that the principal classes consist of Stone—Earthen—Vegetable—Animal (bone, horn, &c.),—and Metallic Materials. The Species, according to use, comprise Weapons—Tools—Food—Implements—Household Economy—Dress and personal Decorations—Amusements—Music—Money, and a few others. The classification on this principle, it is observed, is capable of including every object to be found in the Collection. It may be questioned whether any other principle, in the existing state of science, could have been found equally comprehensive.

The volume before us, it may be noticed, is only the first part of the contemplated Catalogue. We shall await with anxious expectation the completion of the work, more especially as the sequel is destined to comprise the remarkable antiquities of metal; the innumerable and occasionally unique relics of bronze and of gold; the local “finds,” which are replete with curious ethnological evidence, and the ecclesiastical antiquities. In the Part now given to the public will be found only the antiquities of stone, flint, or crystal; pottery and relics formed of clay, glass, &c.; and those

formed of wood, amber or jet. In the first of these classes, the objects formed of stone, the Museum of the Academy is probably unrivalled; the enumeration of the various types, illustrated by woodcuts of characteristic examples, is accompanied by a detailed investigation of the materials employed in the formation of the objects usually designated as celts, of which the Museum contains not less than five hundred and twelve examples. "Upon the composition and lithological characters of these stone celts (Mr. Wilde observes), Professor Haughton, having carefully examined every specimen in the Collection, has furnished much valuable information, of a kind that has not heretofore been associated with antiquarian researches." The materials appear to have been recognised as obtained in Ireland, and it is (as here observed) apparent that the knowledge of the stones best suited for the purpose,—“the pure felsestone or petrosilex” of the county Wicklow and other localities being preferred, as also the formation of tools and weapons, was a special art, and that there was a trade in celts from one district to another. We must refer to the work itself for some very interesting observations in regard to stone celts and their uses, as indicated by the mention, in ancient Irish annals, of the “warrior’s stone,”—“the champion’s hand-stone,” and the like, from which it may be surmised that such celts were occasionally thrown with the hand. Stones were used in battle in Ireland as late as the tenth century; at the battle of Hastings, however, according to the relation of William of Poitiers, some Anglo-Saxons wielded weapons of this class—“*lignis imposita saxa.*”

The limits of the present notice will not admit of any detailed examination of the types of stone weapons which are noticed in very great variety. Arrow-heads and spear-heads, knives, daggers, chisels, tools apparently for



Truncated Spear. No. 860. Original size.

mechanical purposes, and a multiplicity of other objects of great rarity or wholly unknown in England, are described and figured. We are permitted, by the author’s kindness, to place before our readers some of the woodcuts. The flint spear-head (No. 860) is formed with extreme care,

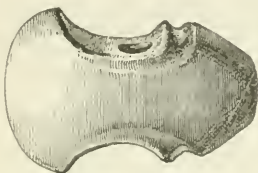
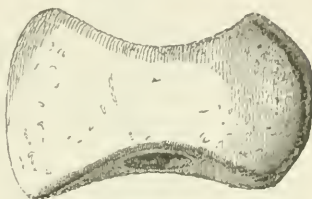
and has a sharp edge all round. It is given as a specimen of the highest perfection in manufacture, and whether it was used as a knife, arrow, spear, or axe, it was an implement which exhibits great skill and beauty of form. Its greatest thickness is about half an inch.

An object of red sand-stone of very singular fashion is here figured, two-thirds of the actual size, which might be fixed in a handle and used either as dirk or knife. It had been originally polished. (No. 8.) These weapons, as also swords of stone, are unknown amongst the small gatherings, which so inadequately exemplify the antiquities of stone discovered in England, in our National and Provincial Museums.

The hammers and axe-heads of stone appear to present few varieties of marked peculiarity in type. One of these weapons, however, here figured (No. 21), is



No. 8.

No. 21. 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. by 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.No. 18. Of serpentine. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 5 in.

justly characterised as "one of the most beautiful specimens, both in design and execution, of the stone battle-axe which has been found in the British Isles. It is composed of fine-grained hornblende syenite, and is highly polished all over, including even the sides of the aperture. It is 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. in length, and 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. broad at the widest portion." Stone weapons thus elaborately wrought are of the highest rarity, and this specimen was pointed out by our late lamented friend Mr. Kemble, as incomparable in the skill and perfection of its workmanship. Axe-heads in some slight degree resembling it have occurred in North Britain.

The whetstones, burnishers, touchstones, and many other objects of



No. 115

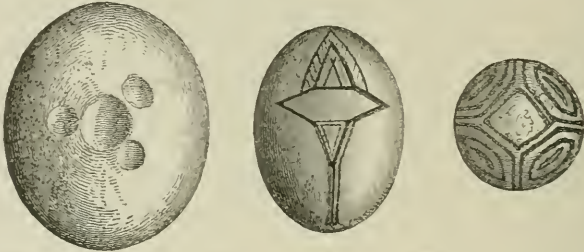


No. 98.

Oval tool-stones.

mechanical use form a large class in the Museum of the Academy. A curious group of relics is presented by the "Oval tool-stones," measuring from 4 to 5 inches in the longer diameter, and more or less indented on

one or both surfaces. Their use has not been ascertained. This is the *Tilhugger-steen* of the Northern antiquaries, who consider such relics chippers of flint or stone, being held between the finger and thumb applied to the side cavities. Compare Worsaae, *Afbildninger*, figs. 9, 10. These ovoidal objects must not be confounded with another class, probably of



No. 3. Length 4½ in. No. 6. Length 4 in. No. 7. Length 2½ in.

a much later age, Nos. 6, 7, and quite different in their intention. These are smooth pebbles, occasionally ornamented and engraved, described by Dr. Petrie as held in very high veneration, having belonged to the founders of churches: they were placed upon the base of a cross, or near a holy well, and used for various superstitious purposes, taking oaths, &c. The examples here given are of sandstone and shale. Hallowed stones of a similar description were likewise regarded in the western parts of Scotland with singular veneration; such was the *Egg of St. Molios*, the first missionary to Arran, now lost, but the legendary tales of its remarkable efficacy in healing diseases and as a talisman of victory in battle, have been recorded by Martin in his "*Western Isles*," and they are still rife amongst the peasantry of Arran.

There occur also in Ireland stones of another kind, described by our author as *Sling-stones*, of which he gives three examples. (See wood-cuts.) They measure about 3 inches by 2½ inches, and are formed with great



No. 3.

No. 1.

No. 5.

care, evidently for some precise object, whether to be projected by hand or with a sling. The early legends of Ireland notice the "*slaughter-dealing stone*," and the skill with which round stones were thrown in conflict.

Amongst the relics of stone, none, probably, are more deserving of attention than the moulds for casting weapons and implements of metal. Several objects of this description have been found in Great Britain, and are

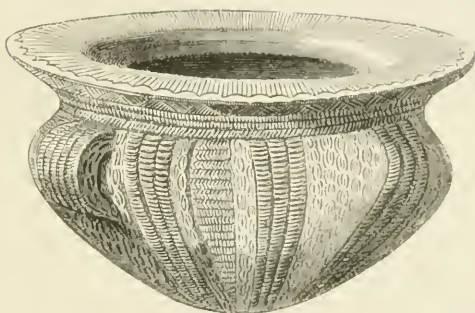
COLLECTION OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.



No. 21. Height, 5½ in.

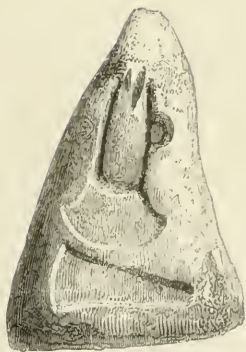


No. 23. Height, 6½ in.

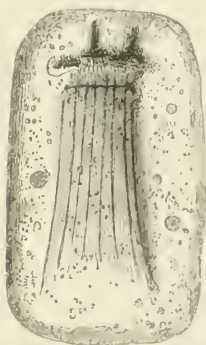


No. 14. Height, 2½ in. diam. 3½ in.

Sepulchral Urns found in Ireland.



No. 83. 7½ in. by 5½ in.



No. 73. 6 in. by 4 in.



No. 98. Length, 3 in.

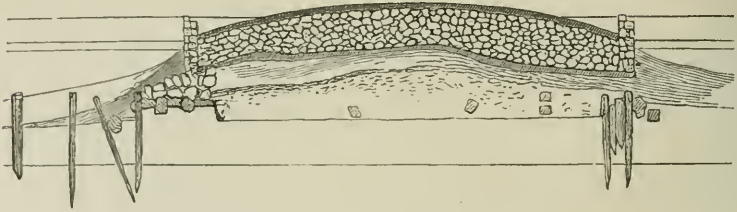
Stone Moulds for casting Bronze Weapons. Found in Ireland.

noticed in this Journal, especially in Mr. Du Noyer's valuable Memoir on Celt-Moulds, vol. iv., p. 335, and in the "Archæologia Cambrensis," vol. ii., third series, p. 125. We are enabled, by Mr. Wilde's kindness, to place before our readers a representation of a stone mould, No. 83, found in co. Leitrim; of another for socketed celts, No. 85; and of one which is remarkable as having moulds on three of its sides, the face here presented being formed for casting looped arrow-heads. See No. 90. The moiety of a stone mould found in Anglesea, and first published in this Journal, has moulds on each of its sides, serving for the fabrication of weapons of four various types. These moulds claim special notice as evidences of the actual manufacture of Celts and other bronze antiquities in the British Islands.

The sepulchral urns found in Ireland are unusually elaborate in decoration and well formed, presenting great diversity of pattern: the zig-zag as also oblique and corded markings being those of most frequent occurrence. The general observations on these ancient *scythia* in Mr. Wilde's chapter on Sepulture will be read with much interest. The examples here figured may illustrate the more usual fashion of such urns. No. 14, however, found in a small stone chamber in co. Carlow, in constructing a railway, is the most beautiful mortuary vessel hitherto brought to light. It contained incinerated bones, supposed to be the remains of an infant, and it was imbedded in an urn of larger size, filled with fragments of adult human bones. Possibly, these may have been the remains of a mother and child. These particulars recall to us the interesting discovery by the Hon. W. O. Stanley on the shores of Holyhead Island, related in this Journal, vol. vi., p. 226. The general facts, it may be remembered, were the same in both instances: the smaller urn, there figured, was very elaborately ornamented, but it is surpassed by the example in the Museum of the Academy.

We must refrain from adverting here to many subjects of interest—the exquisite beads of vitreous paste, the seals of Oriental porcelain, the Ogham inscriptions, the canoes, tools, and numerous domestic appliances formed of wood, with other curious matters of investigation brought before us in this Catalogue. Before closing, however, these imperfect notices, we must invite attention to the observations on the highly curious insulated dwellings, termed Crannoges, which were brought under the consideration of the Institute some years ago by Mr. Evelyn P. Shirley, and of which many notices will be found in his "Dominion of Farney." The stockaded islands, frequently brought to light during the recent extensive works of drainage in Ireland, have attracted considerable notice, and they assume a fresh interest as compared with similar remains lately found in the lakes of Switzerland, and described in the Transactions of the Antiquaries of Zurich. Examples have been likewise discovered more recently in North Britain, and we may anticipate a full illustration of their remarkable character from our friend Mr. Joseph Robertson. The annexed diagram presents a section of a good specimen of the Crannoge; it was found in Ardakillin Lough, co. Roscommon, and was constructed with both stones and oak piling. The top line shows the former highest water level, the lowest that of the ordinary winter flood; and the third line that of the ordinary summer water. The upper layer was formed of loose stones surrounded by an inclosing wall, supported in part by piling. Several other illustrations of the construction of these primitive dwellings, the natural resource of the inhabitants of districts abounding in lakes or frequently submerged, will be found in

Mr. Wilde's Catalogue. The antiquities, which have been disinterred in profusion around the stockades of these singular strongholds, form a large



Section of a Crannoge. (Ardakillin Lough.)

class of the Collections of the Academy, and the circumstances connected with their discovery are well deserving of consideration.

We hope that Mr. Wilde may speedily complete the laborious undertaking entrusted to him by the Irish Academy. The publication of such a Synopsis will be of great advantage in supplying materials and evidence towards establishing in scientific system that Chronological Classification of our earlier antiquities which we trust may be hereafter achieved. That Classification is alone wanting in order to give to Archaeological Investigation its true and highest aim as an auxiliary to Historical and Ethnological inquiries.

Archaeological Intelligence.

MR. PAPWORTH has announced his intention of immediately going to press with his "Ordinary of Arms," having obtained the number of subscribers that will enable him to commence issuing it in Parts. We have already noticed the prospectus of this useful work, which has long been a desideratum to archaeologists. It purposes to furnish an answer to the oft-repeated inquiry—"Whose arms are these?" The coats of arms will be alphabetically arranged under the charges, so to be consulted with all the facility of a Dictionary; this simple arrangement will render the work far more useful than the costly volumes of Edmondson or other writers. To all local antiquaries, ecclesiologists, and lovers of old monuments, seals, or other relics of the past on which the symbols of heraldry so often appear, this work will be of daily utility. By the terms of the subscription, no copies are to be disposed of by the author for at least five years after the publication is terminated except at double the price. As the manuscript is ready there can be no delay in speedily completing the work if it should meet with adequate support. Mr. Papworth's labours and success in the "Dictionary of Architecture" fully entitle him to our confidence. Any of our members who should wish to possess the "Ordinary of Arms" would do well to forward their names without delay to Mr. J. W. Papworth, 14A, Great Marlborough Street, London, from whom a prospectus may be obtained.



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