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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 8. The example of an escutcheon affixed to the canail, as represented on a monumental effigy in this country, occurs on one of the sepulchral figures in Ashborne Church, Derbyshire. This sculpture is said to portray Edmund Cockaine, *temp.* Henry IV. It is figured in the Journal of the Brit. Archaeol. Association, vol. vii. p. 375. We are indebted to Mr. Blore for the information that another illustration of the fashion of attaching such an escutcheon to the canail is to be seen in the church of Penmon in Anglesea.

Page 24. In the memoir on a diminutive effigy of a bishop at Abbey Dore, we neglected to express acknowledgment of the renewed mark of Mr. Blore's kind and liberal encouragement of this Journal. The woodcut, prepared from Mr. Blore's drawing executed on the spot, has been presented by him to the Institute.

Page 79, line 2, after "January," add "3rd."

Page 79. See in *Gent. Mag.*, Jan. 1797, p. 75, a detailed account of the fall of one of the trilithons at Stonehenge, to which allusion is here made. It was that most westerly in the group, and for some time previously the uprights had taken an oblique inclination: the fall occurred on Jan. 3, in the year above mentioned, and was supposed to have been caused by a rapid thaw succeeding an unusually severe frost.

Page 90. The interesting memoir by Capt. Windus, F.S.A., here briefly mentioned, has been published subsequently in the Journal of the United Service Institution: an abstract of the curious particulars narrated may also be found in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, Second Series, vol. i. p. 347.

Page 182. The interesting Roman relics found in Leicestershire, as here related, have subsequently been described by Mr. Thompson and figured in the Transactions of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society, vol. i. part i. p. 74.

Page 282. In the account of an enamelled shrine in possession of Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, for "Toldenshaw Hall," read "Iddenshaw." It was found in draining a pit which had become filled with water. It is figured in Boutell's Manual of Archaeology.

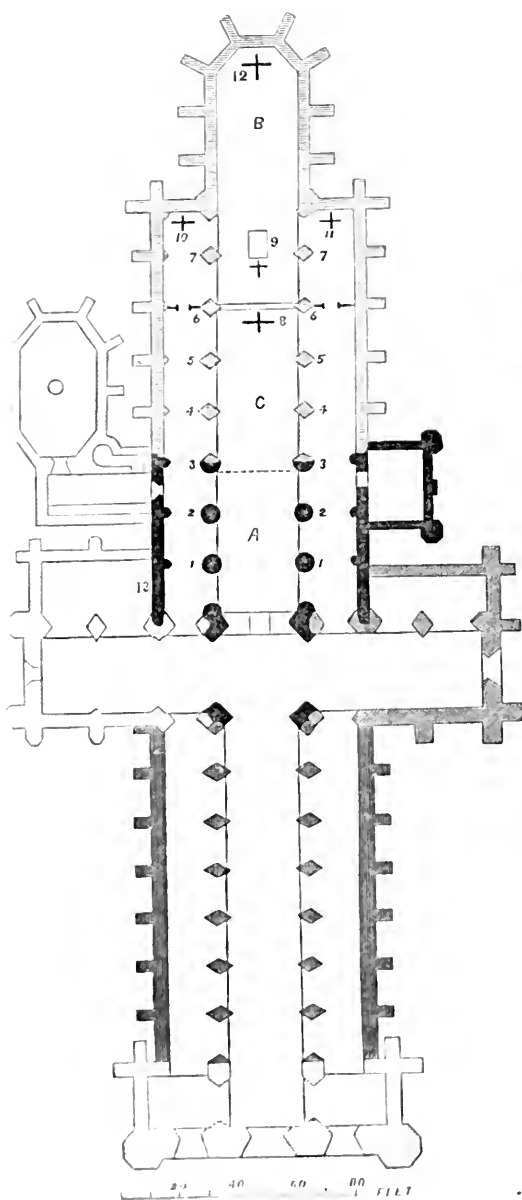


Fig. 1. Historical Plan of Lichfield Cathedral

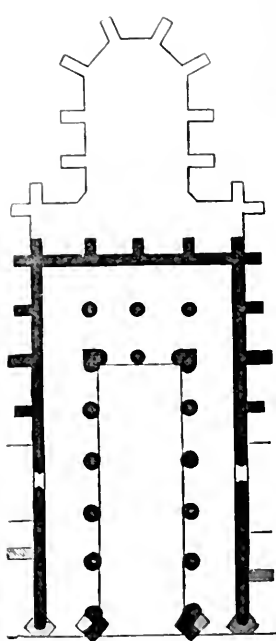


Fig. 2. Original Termination of the Presbytery.

- Choir (A) . . . c. 1200
- S. Transept . . . c. 1220
- N. Transept and Chapter House c. 1210
- Nave . . . c. 1250
- West Front . . . c. 1275
- Lady Chapel (a) c. 1300
- Presbytery (c) c. 1325

The Archaeological Journal.

MARCH, 1862.

NOTICE OF A REMARKABLE MONUMENTAL EFFIGY PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC LIBRARY AT ZÜRICH.

From facts communicated by Dr. FERDINAND KELLER,
President of the Society of Antiquaries of Zürich, Hon. F.S.A., Hon. Foreign Correspondent
of the Archaeological Institute.

AMONGST many noble families whose names occur in the chronicles of the middle ages in Thurgovia, now the Cantons of Thurgau and Zürich, one of the most ancient and remarkable is that of the Barons von Klingen.¹ At as early a period as the tenth century we find St. Wiborada, who dwelt many years, as it is stated, in the neighbourhood of St. Gall, as an anchorite or recluse (*inclusa*), and who finally perished by the sword of the Hungarian invader in May, A. D. 925: she appears to have borne the patronymic of Klingen. The family became numerous and of considerable note in the thirteenth century, and was divided into several branches; they enjoyed rich possessions situated between Constance and the Black Forest in Aargovia, and in the plain of Baar in Swabia, being connected by marriage and friendship with the most powerful of their neighbours. In the year 1200 Henry von Klingen was elected abbot of the great monastery of St. Gall, to which history records that he was a benefactor; he was a faithful and valiant partizan of Philip of Swabia, in his contest with Otho of Brunswick for the crowns of Germany and Italy.

¹ See in regard to this family Mone's Journal, vol. i. p. 455; vol. ii. p. 214; Wackernagel, Walther de Klingen, 1845; and the Regesta of the Archives of the Swiss Confederation, vol. ii. Convents of Thurgovia.

A generation later, to the two ancient residences (*Herrnsitze*), where the family von Klingen was seated, namely, Altenklingen, between Constance and Wyl, a small town in the Canton of St. Gall, and the castle of Hohenklingen, near Stein, situated on the Rhine at the extremity of the Lake of Constance, a third dwelling-place was added. Herr Ulrich von Klingen founded, in the year 1240, the castle and town of Klingnau on the Aar, having obtained the site by exchange with the convent of St. Blaise for other lands. Ulrich died about 1251, leaving by his wife Ita three sons, Ulrich, Walther, and Ulrich-Walther. The three brothers united, March 1, 1254, in granting a large extent of land to the convent of nuns of the Cistercian order at Feldbach, near Steckborn. The elder son, Walther von Klingen, is well known in history as the troubadour (*Minnesänger*), the poet friend of Rodolph of Hapsbourg. He died in the year 1285. In 1273 he had founded at Basle the convent of nuns called Klingenthal.

In bringing under the notice of English antiquaries the remarkable sepulchral portraiture of a knightly personage of this noble house, these historical details may, I hope, not prove unacceptable. There may doubtless be found members of the Archaeological Institute amongst numerous visitors of the picturesque sites in the Swiss Cantons,—the convents and castles fraught with stirring memories of bygone times and deeds of valor, whose attention may be arrested in their summer tours by the vestiges and historical traditions associated with one of the most powerful ancient families in Thurgovia.

The effigy—of which a faithful representation, engraved from a drawing by Herr Græter, whose pencil has for several years been engaged in the service of the Society of Antiquaries of Zürich, accompanies this notice—formerly existed in the conventual church of Feldbach. As an example of monumental sculpture, and as a very curious illustration of military costume, differing in many respects from the customary equipment of the warlike baron in England, France, or Italy, in the fourteenth century, this curious figure will not prove unwelcome, it is hoped, to the readers of the *Archæological Journal*, amongst whom must, doubtless, be found some who take interest in details of arms and armour, and recognise the value of careful comparison of



Sepulchral Effigy, as supposed, of Walther von Altenklingen, date about A.D. 1400

In the Wasserkirche, now the Public Library at Zürich.

medieval costume in various countries of Europe, as an auxiliary in the investigation of Art.

The Cistercian convent of Feldbach appears in some manner to have been under the patronage of the family von Klingen. In the year 1252 the nuns of Constance, designated "de Ponte," removed to that place, where they had purchased the estate of a certain knight, Cuno von Feldbach, vassal of the lords von Klingen, with whose sanction also they there established themselves. Thus arose the conventual house which thenceforward appears to have enjoyed the favor of the family. The site is an agreeable one on the left shore of the lake of Constance, or rather the *Untersee*, as the lower part of the lake is termed, on a promontory covered with vineyards and cultivation; the convent stood close to the shore, at a short distance from the small town of Steckborn. During the Reformation the nuns quitted the convent, but they resumed possession after the unfortunate issue of the battle of Cappel, in 1531, and remained in undisturbed enjoyment until the year 1848, when their possessions were sequestrated, and the convent was suppressed. The buildings subsequently became private property, and the society of antiquaries of Zürich, in 1857, solicited the authorities of Thurgovia to permit the removal to Zürich of the sepulchral memorial which is the subject of the present memoir, in order to ensure the preservation of so remarkable a sculpture. It may now be seen, placed in an erect position, near the entrance door on the ground floor of the building appropriated to the Public Library of the city of Zürich.

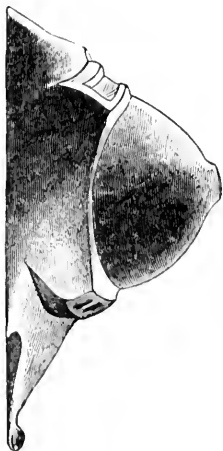
As no inscription accompanies this effigy, some difficulty occurs in identifying the personage commemorated. The tradition which formerly assigned the tomb to Cuno von Feldbach, who lived in the thirteenth century, is obviously erroneous, since the arms upon the shield at the left side of the figure are, as hereafter shown, those of Klingen. The costume, moreover, would indicate the fourteenth century as the date of the memorial; it may portray Walther von Altenklingen, whose name occurs on July 20, 1391, in the history of the convent of Feldbach, in connexion with certain payments to be made by him to the nuns. The conventual church consisted of three aisles of nearly equal width, the central aisle having a polygonal prolongation eastward, in which

the high altar was placed: the tomb was formed in the wall which separated the choir from the south aisle, namely, on the left hand in approaching the altar placed at the eastern extremity of the aisle. It is possible that the deceased, in selecting this as the place of his sepulture, may have founded a chantry, or bequeathed some endowment for services for the repose of his soul.

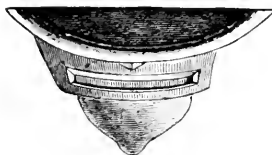
We will now, however, proceed to examine the peculiarities of military costume by which this effigy, the dimensions of which are rather more than life-size, is characterised. It is sculptured, somewhat rudely, in a coarse-grained sandstone: the knightly figure measures in height, the lofty-peaked helm included, nearly eight feet. The proportions of the figure are imperfectly preserved, the neck and shoulders especially being exaggerated in size, whilst the lower extremities are disproportionately small, as if the sculptor, having first elaborated the upper portion, had found the block of stone insufficient in dimensions to complete his work on the same scale. The gauntleted hands more particularly are of unnatural size, whilst the feet, with long-peaked toes à *poulaines*, are proportionably diminutive. The figure presents, however, with sufficient accuracy, several curious features of costume, which form its chief interest to the antiquary. The head is protected by a large, lofty-peaked, visored bacinet, with a camail: in order to show the features, however, the sculptor has ingeniously had recourse to the expedient of representing the visor as removed from the bacinet, and placed at the right side of the pillow, now in great part cut away, on which the head of the effigy rests. The form of this curious visor will be better understood by the annexed representation, as it is seen in profile, with another, as viewed from above: in these the *ocularium* or aperture for sight, the head of the wearer being lowered so as to bring his adversary into view, and also the row of small apertures, or breathing-holes, below the projecting face-guard, are distinctly shown. On the sides of the bacinet itself may be perceived the hinge and staple by which the visor was attached to it, and easily removed by withdrawing a connecting pin on each side, when occasion required. At the lower extremity of the visor may be noticed a small knob, which at first sight might appear to be merely an ornament; it was doubtless

intended, however, for the purpose of fastening down the visor, by means of a little loop or ring attached to the camail on the throat; by this contrivance the visor, which

Visor. Effigy at Zurich.



Profile view.



View from above.

would otherwise have swung to and fro in the heat of action, would be firmly retained in place.² The camail is of padded or gamboised work, but it is possible that chain-mail may have been enclosed within the *gamboiserie*, and a vandyked margin of mail is seen appended to it. On the breast is attached a small armorial escutcheon—a token by which, when the visor was lowered, the knight might be recognised. Examples of heraldic cognizances thus worn are not wanting; in the *ordonnances* for the Order of the Star, instituted by John, King of France, in 1351, the knights are directed to wear a *fermail* or brooch ornamented with a star, “et en l’armure pour guerre ils porteront le dit fremail en *leur camail*, ou en leur cote à armer, ou là où il leur plaira, apparemment.”³

² Compare other forms of the visor, in the curious representations of German effigies in Heffner’s *Traecten*. Occasionally a lappet of mail, furnished with a plate for the nose, was attached to the camail at the chin, and when turned up it was fixed by a staple and pin upon the brow of the bacinet. See the figure of Gunther of Schwarzburg, 1349, Heffner, second division, pl. 27. See also pl. 49, *ib.*

and other examples of the visor. A very fine original bacinet with its visor of the most perfect and elaborate kind is figured *ibid.* pl. 50. Mr. Hewitt’s observations on the visored bacinet with a camail give much information on the subject. *Armour and Weapons*, vol. ii. p. 207.

³ *Recueil des Ordonnances*, t. ii., cited by Mr. Hewitt, *Armour and Weapons*, &c., vol. ii., p. 211.

In the curious effigy before us the body-armour is a gamboised garment, padded like the *caMAIL* in broad longitudinal ribs; the sleeves are wide and buttoned at the wrists; this gamboison was probably buttoned from the neck downwards, but the buttons are shown only in the skirt; the upper part, however, which is covered by a globular *plastron* or breast of plate, may possibly have been laced. In this plate may be noticed an oblong aperture on the right breast (nearly five inches in length), in which there appears in the original sculpture to be a lance-rest, attached by a hinge, and shown as closed or turned back. Around the hips is a *cingulum* with massive quatrefoiled ornaments, and a large buckle on the left side; the long pendant extremity of this girdle is doubled back in a loop, hanging on the left thigh. In front is appended a dagger, in a very inconvenient position. There are some indications of a small knife having been shown as inserted in the sheath, besides the dagger; this part of the sculpture has suffered some injury; in a drawing of the figure made about sixty years since, the form of the dagger is thus shown. (See woodcut.)



The vandyked margin of a skirt of chain-mail is seen below the gamboised garment. The legs are protected by *cuissarts*, *genouillères*,

and *jambeaux* of plate, the straps and buckles, rivets and other details, being indicated with a degree of minuteness which leads us to conclude that the sculptor worked from an actual suit of armour. The coverings of the feet, with toes *à la poulaine* of extravagant length, may have been of leather; the sculpture here appearing to represent some material not of a rigid nature, like plate or *cuirbouilli*. The fashion of the spurs cannot now be ascertained; they were probably roweled. These and other minute details now lost may have been indicated by color or gilding: it is probable that the effigy was painted, according to the fashion of the period; at the present time a small portion only of red color may be discerned in the ribs of the gamboised skirt, near the buckle on the left hip. Under the feet of the figure are two dogs crouching.

The gauntlets, it will be observed, are of massive proportions, wide at the wrists, and ribbed on the backs of the hands. To each is attached a loop, probably of leather, by

which they might be suspended when not in use ; occasionally the gauntlets were carried hanging on the cross-guard of the sword, or on the dagger. On the tomb of Albrecht von Hohenlohe, who died in 1319, figured by Hefner, Div. ii. pl. 87, the gauntlets laid at the side of the figure are furnished with such loops. See Hefner, *Costume du Moyen Age*, div. ii. pl. 165 and 180. The knight's right hand rests upon his sword, detached from his side : this weapon is of large dimensions, as usual at the period in Germany and other European countries, and the long handle might almost permit of its being wielded with both hands. In front, as if placed over the sword, appears the heaulme, with its crest, mantling, and lambrequins. The crest is the upper part of a lion crowned, executed with spirit, and the sculptor has represented the fierce creature as firmly resting its paws against the right cuissart of the knight. It has moreover a curious heraldic appendage, a sort of embattled fan, semé of billets, taken from the coat-armour of the knight. The projections, however, giving this embattled appearance, were doubtless, as will be seen hereafter, peacocks' feathers represented thereon in color. This striking appendage of the crest does not appear to have been used commonly in England or in France, as in Germany and some other countries. The heaulme, it may be noticed, which was worn on certain occasions over the bacinet, the visor of the latter having been withdrawn, has an *ocularium* ; the lower part, which covered the chin and throat, was apparently moveable, and affixed by hinges or staples ; the back-straps are shown, by which, when closed, this portion was kept securely in place.

In the left hand the knight holds his shield by the *guige*, the strap occasionally passed over the neck. On the shield are boldly carved the bearings of the family von Klingen. In the curious emblazoned Roll of Arms preserved in the Public Library at Zürich, and published in fac-simile by the Society of Antiquaries of that city in 1860, the arms of "Clingen" occur (see *taf.* vi. no. 138). They are *sable*

CLINGEN



billey or a lion *argent* crowned *or*; crest on a helm, a demi-lion *argent* crowned *or*, with a fan or wing-shaped appendage at the back of the head and neck, *sable* billey or, and fringed with peacocks' feathers. The remarkable record of the heraldic bearings of the principal dynastic and noble families of Europe, by aid of which the coat of the von Klingen family has thus been satisfactorily ascertained, is a roll of the earlier part of the fourteenth century. It contains not less than 559 coats of arms, with 28 banners, and may be cited as one of the most important heraldic authorities in existence. A portion (72 coats) was published in 1853, in the Transactions (*Mittheilungen*) of the Antiquaries of Zürich, vol. vi., accompanied by a memoir from the pen of the learned Dr. Friedrich v. Wyss.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

The curious example of costume, which, through the kindness of our learned and valued correspondent, Dr. Keller, we have been enabled to bring under the notice of our readers, presents certain features of interest in monumental sculpture, to which attention has been invited in the foregoing observations. Of these peculiarities, one, which may claim a short additional notice, is the armorial escutcheon occurring upon the breast of the effigy. We are assured by a friend, who has devoted much attention to such details, that an example of such heraldic cognizance affixed to the camail occurs on an effigy in our own country; we regret that after many inquiries we are unable to point out where it is to be found. In the Netherlands the effigy of Sir Jacob Breidels, who died 1395, formerly in the church of St. Walburge at Bruges, may be cited as showing the escutcheon worn upon the camail (De Vigne, *Vade Mecum*, vol. ii., pl. 66); also the contemporary figure of Frans von Halen, lord of Lillo, at Malines (*ibid.*, pl. 18), in which the peculiarity occurs, that the escutcheon affixed to the camail is charged, not with his personal bearing, but with the arms of the lordship of Lillo. A good illustration of an escutcheon worn on the breast, but not accompanying military equipment, occurs on the robed effigy of Diether, count of Katzenelnbogen, 1315, now at Wiesbaden. (Hefner, *div. ii*, pl. 118). In one instance may be noticed two escutcheons attached to the camail (Hefner, *ib.*, pl. 90). The escutcheon worn as an appendage to the *cingulum* may be seen in De Vigne's *Vade Mecum*, vol. ii., pl. 71; also a like ornament on the cap, from the Weiss-Kunig, *ib.*, pl. 86. Numerous illustrations might be cited of its use as the insignia of the herald or pursuivant.

Mr. Anderson has kindly brought under our notice a remarkable escutcheon of copper gilded and admirably enameled, displaying the bearing of the Guelfic Confederation of Florence, or an eagle *gu.* seizing in its claws a dragon *vert*, over the head of the eagle a fleur-de-lys of the second. This object, a work of the fourteenth century, had doubtless been intended to be worn upon the dress or armour, and it is precisely suited to be used as a cognizance upon the camail, in like manner as seen on the remarkable effigy at Zürich, communicated by Dr. Keller.

NOTICES OF COLLECTIONS OF GLYPHIC ART EXHIBITED BY THE
ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE IN JUNE, 1861.

BY THE REV. CHARLES W. KING, M.A., Senior Fellow of Trin. Coll., Cambridge.

(Continued from Arch. Journ. vol. xviii, p. 324.)

THE ARUNDEL COLLECTION.

I AM compelled here to describe the most note-worthy gems according to the order in which they stand at present in the cases, without reference (for the most part) to the numbering of the Catalogue, which has been entirely superseded during some later re-arrangement. The original classification appears to have been made according to the subjects, commencing with the Egyptian.

CASE I.—(Containing seventeen rings in each row).

1st Row.—Gorgon's Head, a Roman cameo in flat relief, the face in pure white, the hair and attributes transparent: a singular work in this style.

Bust of Venus, recognised by the cestus falling across her breast, and her locks partly twisted about her head, partly flowing down her neck; an intaglio worked out with the diamond-point in a peculiar style (later Greek?), of which I have not observed another instance, on a large jacinth $\frac{7}{8}$ inch high.

A splendid intaglio in the perfect Greek style, Hermes walking as he tunes his lyre, on a most beautiful sard, but unmercifully repolished, even to the effacing of the drapery, which at first sight gives a suspicious look to the surface of the gem. But upon examination the work of the intaglio exhibits every mark of the finest antique hand. Of this there is a modern copy on amethyst in the same collection.

Diana, a head with Egyptian profile, in shallow intaglio, on a large, brown sard. A remarkable work, exceeded in point of antiquity by few amongst our gems.

Most graceful, and in the rarely found early style, is the cameo of the seated Cupid playing the lyre, in opaque white upon black.

2nd Row.—A seated Achilles contemplating a helmet held up in his right hand. A charming old Greek intaglio, within a border, on a bright yellow sard.

Apollo Agyieus standing and holding forth an arrow with his right (in sign of amity), in his left hand a strung bow. His hair is bound by a fillet. A finely finished work in the old Greek style, and interesting as much for its remote antiquity, as for its perfect execution.

The Infant Bacchus riding upon a panther which seems to exult under its divine burden. Greek cameo of first-rate execution, the relief in opaque white upon black. None of the camei in this case exceed the size of ring-stones, as which they are all set. The extreme rarity of camei of such small dimensions (more especially those anterior to the Imperial

epoch) has been already remarked. Certain it is that in recently formed collections no other class of gems is so uncommon.

A Greek group, somewhat more recent in manner, but perhaps superior in point of art to the "Priam before Achilles," described above (Besborough Coll. 160). The subject is Chiron instructing the young Achilles on the lyre; the Centaur reclines, his pupil stands before him, a Cupid behind stands in a listening attitude. A deeply-cut intaglio, grandly treated, and displaying much of the manner of Phidias; one of the choicest gems of the whole cabinet. The sard also magnificent in colour.

3rd Row.—This well-known "Semiramis" is a ridiculous misnomer, being most unmistakably a bust of Cleo holding the historic papyrus-roll: a large and noble Greek intaglio in shallow cutting upon sard. The treatment of the hair, upon which the exclusive use of the diamond is plainly discernible, and the entire *mechanique* of the work is identical with that of a head of Melpomene, known to me, indicating the same engraver for both.

Priestess hastening onwards, holding aloft the *cista mystica*, a flambeau in the field, in allusion to the Dionysiac nocturnal rites, is a spirited design upon a good guarnaccino.

This subject, described as "Antiochus announcing the death of Patroclus to Achilles," appears rather, from the unconcerned attitude of the persons, to represent two warriors in amicable conversation, one leaning on his spear, the other seated—more probably Pylades and Orestes. A fine Roman *intaglio*, the figures very well designed. Sard.

Cameo in a fine early style; two Fauns attempting to raise up the drunken Silenus, in white on black; the head of Silenus destroyed.

The famous Hercules Bibax, by "ΑΔΜΩΝ,"¹ of bold drawing and squat, massy limbs, wielding a club, or rather rough-hewn tree-trunk, of most exaggerated proportions. A work equal to its reputation; on a dull sard, somewhat *en cabochon*. This *intaglio* differs much in manner from the numerous copies, even from those apparently of Roman date.

This so-called "Sappho" is merely a portrait of some lady in the 16th century, as the hair-dress and the plaited under-tunic plainly demonstrate. It is cut in high relief upon a ruby-coloured sard, presenting naturally a curious white patch, which has been taken advantage of for the face, or else this part has been artificially blanched to produce the strong contrast.

4th Row.—Sol standing, a full length figure; a fine Roman *intaglio* upon a brilliant Venus hair stone, a crystal full of long filaments of titanium.²

Apollo walking and tuning his lyre, originally an admirable Greek work in very shallow *intaglio*, but repolished to its ruin. The sard of the finest quality, to exhibit which was the evident motive of this suicidal procedure.

A Nymph, running and blowing the double flute, a hound by her side;

¹ This name, being cut in such large and obtrusive lettering, Dr. Brunn takes away from the artist to whom it has been so long assigned, to restore it to the owner of the signet, and with justice.

² Exactly answering to the description in Orpheus:

"Two gems, they teach, are sacred to the sun,

Alike divine, and wonderful each one:
In each embodied Sol's bright rays appear,
Ranged in straight lines like his far streaming hair:
Different their hues; one like the crystal bright;
The other verges on the chrysolite.
But for the rays, a chrysolite it were."

chiefly remarkable for the stone itself, a spinel or else an almandine of uncommon brilliancy.

Cameo of the highest merit: an Amazon raising her companion, wounded and fallen from her horse, which stands by as if sympathising; a group of miraculous perfection. The helmet of the first figure is made out in a transparent sard, the bodies in the purest white relieved upon black.

Amulet against the colic, as prescribed by Alexander of Tralles, a red jasper engraved with Hercules strangling the lion: on the reverse and the legend **ΘWBAPPABPYAPYHCC.** ↗
K ↘

Bacchic scene, where Hercules, reclined on a spread pard-skin, blows the flute, to the sound of which dances a thyrsus-bearing Cupid; a seated nymph behind beats time with her hands. A deeply-cut Greek *intaglio* of vast spirit, within a granulated border. A singular exception to the shallow sinking of *intaglio* work universally obtaining in this style. A most important piece, and in my estimation the chief *intaglio* of the collection, though only the larger portion of a gem of unusual extent, apparently somewhat more than the half of the original, but fortunately preserving the more important portions of the design.

A half-figure of the youthful Bacchus reclining with his arm around the neck of Ariadne, both seen in front face; a Cupid's head appears below, as if supporting the god. A work beyond all praise for its vigour of outline, as well as for the softness of moulding in the bodies, the expression of which in this piece I have rarely seen equalled. The *intaglio* is sunk to an unusual depth. In the field is the name **ΥΛΛΟΥΥ**, a genuine antique artist's signature in minute carelessly cut letters. Doubtless a work of the best times of the empire, and on a most beautiful sard.³

Mercury standing, a front figure; upon an altar at his side is a crab—Cancer, the Sign, Mercury in Cancer being a most fortunate horoscope. Roman on fine ruby sard.

Early Greek *intaglio* of unusual size for this class of signet stones: Bacchus seated, and holding forth his cantharus; at his knee appears a front face of the pard; inclosed within a guilloche border. An admirable and rare example of the archaic style. Sard partially blanché by fire.

The "Priapus Etruscus" is rather a drunken Silenus, the thyrsus over his shoulder, balancing himself as best he may, and pulling up his robe in a very natural but somewhat rarely represented attitude. Minute old Greek work within a border, on a small tri-coloured agate. This holds a high place amongst the best gems of the collection.

A most perfect composition, and of the highest finish; the subject, a fallen archer extracting the arrow from his side (Paris shot by Philoctetes?), a warrior armed with spear and sword appears hastening to his defence. The *intaglio* of slight depth on a clear prase.

Hercules wrestling with Antæus, cut on a wonderfully fine *lapis lazuli*; but the engraving itself of ordinary Roman work. Worthy of special notice is the elegant ring which bears two *fleur-de-lys* enameled in white on the inside. The arabesques in black, of entwined vine branches (in the same style as the jewel of Clement VII.), which cover the whole ring, would

³ This gem is not known to Dr. Brunn, Titon (not in the collection), who quotes instead of it a Nymph and

lead me to attribute this ornament to some one of the Valois kings as the original possessor.

Faun's head in profile, a bunch of ivy leaves behind the ear, a most vigorous work; the face full of a bold, rude vitality; executed in the grandest Greek manner, and apparently of Alexander's age. Upon a dark amethyst. This is the best of the numerous repetitions of the same idea in this collection, or, indeed, of any others within my knowledge.

A singular design: Theseus resting on his club contemplates the slain Minotaur, who is seen half falling through an arch of the labyrinth. A modern work of very considerable merit; a copy of the gem signed Philemon, in the Vienna Collection.

6th Row.—A beautifully finished head of the young Aurelius, as Mercury; the stone, a curiously mottled sard.

Mercury leaning against a column, holds his caduceus downwards; in the field is the Sign Scorpio.⁴ Extraordinary fine work, on a brilliant sard. Another astrological device of unusual merit.

A small cameo, most minutely finished (but probably modern), gives a sacrifice to the Bearded Bacchus, a terminal figure. In this group of four Cupids, one holds the goat, another crowns the goblet placed on the ground, a third beats the timbrel, and the fourth sings. The prettiest amongst these minute works.

Cupid riding on a pard-marine; the god is most graceful in pose, and equally so the fantastic composition of the monster he bestrides. The sardonix, of five layers, has been most skilfully employed in this cameo, the different tints coming in with wonderful appropriateness for the flesh of the Cupid, the spotted hide and fishy termination of the sea monster.

The best *intaglio* in sapphire that I have ever met with, and of the purest Greek style: a Medusa's head, in front face, the treatment of the features and the curling snake's tresses spirited to a degree, and every part most highly finished. The engraving, if on the commonest stone, would have attracted attention by its artistic excellence; but this, coupled with the extreme rarity of the material on which it appears, renders it one of the most precious *intagli* in existence. This sapphire is of a fine sky-blue shade, and set in one of those enameled Cinque Cento rings before alluded to, the sign of Venus ♀ is repeated twice under the head. The usual arabesques in black, twining vine foliage, cover the shank.

A small Canopus, delicately worked: with the owner's name, ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. A brown and white onyx, *en cabochon*, much repolished.

A most perfect antique cameo, admirable in design, exquisite in finish, a bearded Greek warrior in a biga, Victory holding the reins, another Victory, but wingless (symbolising her permanence), crowns him. The Catalogue absurdly calls this (though so much too pure in style for the age) "The Triumph of Antoninus Pius."⁵ The figures are in flat relief in white upon the richest sard. The name ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ is cut in *intaglio* letters in the exergue, but yet to all appearance is antique though later.

7th Row.—Bust of Pallas, very minute work, in the scratchy style of L. Sicis, the probable author, upon yellow sard, set into a moulded frame

⁴ The horoscope of one destined to be handsome, fond of dress, and liberal, says Firmicus.

⁵ Better known as the "Triumph of a Barbarian King." Even Köhler admits

and praises the antique beauty of the work, but maintains the legend to be a modern addition, in which he is doubtless partly right; the letters being incised are "damning evidence" in themselves.

of white onyx, a customary addition of his, intended to augment the curiosity of the material.

Four Cupids, one with a lyre, another with Pan's pipes, the third with a large conch-shell, the fourth clapping his hands; arranged around the convex face of a cameo, in white on a grey ground: a singular and antique work.

Sol standing; on the reverse **CEMECEIAM**. The only instance I have met with of this epithet applied to the Roman deity, in contradistinction to his Alexandrian equivalent, Chnuphis, or Abraxas. Yellow jasper, late Roman.

Bacchus, seen in front, leaning upon his thyrsus and holding out the cantharus; fine work on blue beryl, or pale sapphire.

Silenus stooping regards intently the earth, on which a young faun, bearing a thyrsus, is pouring out a libation from a pitcher; a matchless example of old Greek work, enclosed in a border, the stone a dark red sard, black on the surface.

Female face of great beauty, wearing a helmet composed of two most spirited Silenus masks. The finest of such caprices that has ever come under my notice. Sard, large and of extraordinary lustre, like a carbuncle.

Nemesis (wrongly called Psyche), in the archaic manner, with the curious inscription **TO ΔΩΠΟΝ ΝΥΝΧΗΝ**. Sard slightly burnt.

Sth Row.—Cameo, a fragment of a large group, Silenus, three-quarters of his figure preserved, is pushed along by a Faun: both figures full of spirit. A Greek work in very flat relief, in opaque white on rich sard-colour; the surface much worn.

A Seated Faun meditating, a double flute by his side, inscribed in Roman letters with the owner's name, **NICOMAC** "Nicomachus." From a good Roman work, but a modern paste. (There is another paste from the same mold also in dark blue glass in Case VII. I cannot ascertain where the original now exists.⁶)

Serapis enthroned between Isis and Pallas; the group in the centre of the Zodiac, which is supported by Atlas. Curious late Roman or Renaissance. Calcedony.

9th Row.—Head of Libera (Ariadne), ivy-crowned; a noble Greek work, deeply cut on sard. A work of uncommon merit, perhaps the first in the class of female heads.

Apollo Musagetes, an excellent early Greek work in shallow *intaglio*; but much damaged by the repolishing. Sard.

Nymph in flowing robes, advancing with rapid steps (Spring), in front is a smaller female figure; behind, appears a tree in full leaf, evidently introduced as an explanatory symbol. The picture of Lucretius, "It ver et Venus," seems illustrated by this gem, which is most graceful, especially in the treatment of the drapery. Sard.

Pan seated on a rock contemplating a comic mask; a perfect Greek work. Wonderfully well drawn are the head and the mask, and most skilful the treatment of the half-human divinity's shaggy goat's legs. Deep cut on brownish sard.

A Kneeling Warrior, the cognizance of his buckler is a Gorgon's head;

⁶ There is good reason to suspect that this proceeded direct from the fabrique of Baron Stosch, without any antique

parent (an origin assigned by Köbler to many of his *signed* gems) and is the actual one quoted by Clarac.

probably the wounded Achilles. Archaic work, very stiff, but in singularly deep *intaglio*. Sard.

Bust of Abundantia, *intaglio* on *magnet*, unusually good work for this material, and in the style of the Early Empire.

CASE II.

1st Row.—Melpomene holding out a mask, in the field a falchion, which attributes have absurdly induced the catalogue-maker to explain it as Queen Tomyris contemplating the head of Cyrus. Plasma.

Homer, a head in a grand Greek style, especially to be praised in the beard and hair. The earliest portrait of the poet I have seen. Sard.

Mask, a full face of the Bearded Bacchus, most benignant in expression, with ivy-berries in the hair, the beard spread out like a fan; fine Greek in the early style. The head so treated as to fill a circular sard.

Hannibal (called, most erroneously, "Pyrrhus"), a helmeted head in three-quarter face, deeply cut in a grand manner, apparently Sicilian work of his own age, on a beautiful sard.

Augustus, a profile head, a most spirited portrait of him, perhaps the best of all in the collection. Ruby sard.

A large oblong sard ($1\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{5}{8}$ inch), engraved with Alexander and Bucephalus; the hero, a nude helmeted figure, of excellent design and beautiful finish, standing by the side of the horse, which, however, is very incorrect in drawing. Worked in shallow *intaglio*. Later Greek.

M. Agrippa, an excellent, deeply-cut, contemporary portrait. Yellow sard.

Mæcenas, a deeply-cut, vigorous portrait, agreeing exactly with that by Solon; a gem of singular interest for subject and style. Splendid ruby sard, somewhat broken.

Plato, a magnificent Greek head, the counterpart of the one facing Socrates on the Besborough almandine. Brown sard.

Horse of spirited design; on the off-side stands a youth (the groom). Archaic Greek; a very shallow *intaglio* within a border, on a ruby sard traversed across its width by an exact heraldic chevron in opaque white. An unique variety of the stone, and doubtless highly appreciated therefore in antiquity.⁷

2nd Row.—Two Infants rolling along the ground, by means of strings two large balls or disks (*ruzzuoli*, the modern Italian toy?). Pretty Roman style and unique subject. Nicolo.

Three masks of various characters, or else heads of Hercules, Apollo and Bacchus, arranged side by side, a *pedum* beneath. Splendid sard. Perhaps symbolising the tragic, comic, and satyric drama, it may have been the signet of an actor distinguished in all three. Fine Roman.

Hunter, with game slung on a stick over his shoulder, hares behind, cocks and other birds before (Winter?), as in the type of "Quattuor Tempora" on coins. Neat Roman work, deeply cut on nicolo.

⁷ Such a configuration of the layers in a sard seems to have been regarded by the Greeks as bearing upon matters

equestrian; in my own collection is a Sagittarius, in the same early style, on a similar material.

This "Pompey" seems rather the head of his younger son, but is evidently a work of his times, somewhat rude, but bold and full of character. Sard.

Regulus, a helmeted head in three-quarter face, inscribed M. RE. ATI., seems a Renaissance work, and from the same hand as the "Marius," a profile head, with the legend COS. VII., both in a scratchy style on sard.³

A Discobolus, an elongated Roman figure, set in a seal elaborately enameled in blue in the Rococo style, with fleur-de-lys on the sides; a relic of some Bourbon prince.

3rd Row.—Girl's head, her hair dressed in the fashion of Faustina Mater, facing a boy's (infant), with long flowing locks; perhaps Lucilla and Annus Verus. Prettily cut on red jasper.

Galba, calcedony in one of the massy enameled rings of Cinque Cento design before noticed. A good likeness, and very rare.

Henri IV., well executed in flat relief on sapphire; a contemporary bust.

"The dying Epaminondas, supported by two warriors" (as the Catalogue hath it), is certainly not that historical scene, but with better reason may be regarded as the busts of the Three Horatii. They are given in full face and three quarter lengths, in deeply-sunk and careful Roman work. On the shield of the principal figure is the device, a gryphon devouring a stag. The manner of this intaglio resembles that of the Eneas and Anchises in this Collection. Sard.⁴

Two busts, conjugated, certainly an imperial pair of the lower Empire, on a small yellow sard, seem intended for Maximin and Paulina, but have little individuality to guide us to a precise identification. Interesting for the setting, a mediæval ring of a quaint but elegant form.

4th Row. A most rare and interesting intaglio: two busts facing each other; the female one unmistakably that of Annia Faustina; the male, bloated and beardless, probably Elagabalus, though (it must be confessed) somewhat too elderly in aspect. These heads are marked by wonderful individuality, and are very carefully executed in somewhat shallow intaglio on a large brownish sard, nearly square. So singular is the merit of this work, if we take into account the lateness of its date, that it may be justly supposed an express commission given to the best engraver then surviving, on the occasion of the marriage, and designed to be worn by the emperor himself.

Fine bust, intaglio in amethyst, called Crispina, but in an earlier style, and moreover a prettier profile, than owned by the harsh features of that empress.

Augustus or Caligula, fine work in beryl or pale sapphire: set in a massy mediæval ring with an extremely bossy head.

Hadrian, a fine head in garnet.

A curious antique cameo, a seated poodle,⁵ preserving to us the rare breed of the Roman lap-dog.

³ These are apparently due to the taste stimulated by F. Ursinus, late in the Cinque Cento, of collecting "Virorum Illustrium Imagines;" a large supply of such in genus being manufactured to supply the demand of the uncritical learned of the age.

⁴ In the Imprunte Gemmarie is a cast from an antique paste of this identical subject, but the figures full length, there numbered amongst the Roman historical, perhaps the famed Triplet, the Horatii.

⁵ The Canis Meliteusis.

5th Row. A most singular intaglio, the "Head of a Lombard king," represented in full face and wearing a crown, ornamented apparently with three fleur-de-lys: deeply cut in a fine spinel-ruby nearly square, $\frac{3}{8}$ inch high. This head is without character, very gothic in design, and strongly resembling the usual conventional portraits of William the Conqueror. It possibly may be what it is described, and the work of some Byzantine engraver. Set in a massy gold ring, ribbed and engraved with flowers in the taste that prevailed after the middle of the 15th century, or the latest mediæval period. Around the bizzel is the motto (reversed), *tel * il * nest*. The valuable setting makes it questionable in my mind whether the intaglio itself be not of the same date, one of earliest essays of the Quattro-Cento in the art,⁶ and the likeness of some French prince (Charles VIII. ?) The fleur-de-lys ornamenting the crown mark a mediæval origin, for the Gothic and Lombard kings of Italy retained the plain circlet, imitated from the late Roman diadem.⁷ This ruby, therefore, presents a most difficult problem in the history of gem-engraving.

Socrates, a matchless head in the finest Roman style: by far the best of this philosopher's portraits that I have met with. A broad, somewhat shallow intaglio. Black jasper.

Bull butting, a sard of Roman date, of merely fair execution, but mounted in a massy ring of most elegant design, the shank formed out of two vme-stems tied together, in the taste of the last century.

Proserpine, a head distinguished by the wheat-ears over the brow; a pretty sard. This is set the same style of ring, enameled with black arabesques, as the many others already noted: but this is distinguished by the letters D. I. \ddot{H} . S. under the setting of the stone. These initials may supply a clue to discover the original collection whence came this set of rings which, though much varied in shape, yet have all the same general form and character, and clearly were all made by the same jeweler.

6th Row. Two horses, one drinking from a trough; worked out in precisely the same style and material as the group by Alpheus above described: and equally to be signaled out for its rare perfection.

Claudius, a head in flat relief, a wonderful gem, and far distinguished by its spirit above the general mediocrity of these small imperial portrait-camei; in a massy enameled ring as before.

An aged emperor standing between two females, to the right a trophy, to the left a youth sacrificing upon an altar; a truly ancient cameo of minute work in white upon black, the onyx only $\frac{3}{8}$ inch wide. This also is mounted in the usual style of massy enameled ring.

⁶ Gem engraving is supposed to have been revived in Italy by the fugitive Greek artists from Constantinople, after its fall in 1453, but nothing is known to exist either in cameo or intaglio that can with certainty be referred to an earlier date than the days of Lorenzo di Medici, and those exclusively camei. Gio. dello Carnole is the earliest recorded Italian gem engraver, but Vasari mentions that he learned the art from "masters of different countries," summoned to Florence by Lorenzo and Piero dei Medici. Hence it must have been

cultivated elsewhere for some time previously; in fact Vasari speaks of the first steps towards improvement, such as appearing in the times of Martin V. and Paul II. (1417 and 1464), and hence, it may be inferred, at Rome.

⁷ Our Saxon kings, however (Edgar), appear with this precise crown, for which they must have had a continental precedent.

⁸ The sacred monogram leads me to suspect that the Proserpine of the gem had been interpreted as a Madonna by the piety of the owner.

7th Row. The lower half of a female bust, known as the "Julia Titi," but more probably that of a Ptolemaic queen, to judge from the full chin and form of the neck, with a long necklace⁹ falling over the throat. The fragment is in a very grand manner, and certainly not Roman, above all not that of Domitian's age. In the field is the signature ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΕΠΘΙΕΙ in minute letters, cut in with bold, careless, strokes, and, beyond all suspicion, genuine. The stone, either a jacinth extremely deep in tint, or an uncommonly rich brown sard,¹ somewhat convex, was, before the fracture, 1½ inch in height, an oval; the missing portion has been restored in gold after the portraits of the Julia, to whom it is now assigned, in defiance of the earlier style of the work, and it is difficult to imagine upon what grounds.²

Head, with curly locks, a barbarous piece of work, perhaps early in the Revival, and the portrait of the wearer. It is, however, on the finest sardonyx of blue and brown layers, and set in a more than commonly massive ring of the often-mentioned pattern, a circumstance that supports the suspicion of its being a contemporary work.

8th Row. Caius Cæsar (Augusti nepos), a life-like head in very flat relief upon a ruby-sard; the finest cameo in this set of small portraits, and more singular from the material chosen.

Charles V. (the Emperor), a carefully worked cameo, displaying much taste and skill.

CASE III.—(Of *Cumei* exclusively).

279. Commodus ("Aelius"), a good but stiff bust in flat relief, enclosed in a rim reserved in the upper stratum of a superb sardonyx of black, bluish white, and brown, 2½ inches high. On the reverse the figure of Iao-Abraxas most rudely worked out in shallow intaglio, in order to convert the stone into an amulet at a much later period. Around runs in large letters, ΑΡΔΟΥ . ΓΕΝΝΑΙ . ΟΔΕΜΕΝΙ . ΒΑΚΙΛΙΚΩΣ.

280. A magnificent gem: Antonia, a head laureated, executed in flat relief and a broad style, but perfectly finished, and to be reckoned amongst the best imperial portraits. The flesh in opaque white, the ground a rich brown, in which last colour too the wreath is rendered. The stone 1½ inch high.

281. Ariadne, a bust, a splendid modern work, in Marchant's style: the flesh given in white, the garland of vine leaves around the head, and the ground in lake colour: the onyx itself furnishing this remarkable contrast.

282. Ceres seated holding a large cornucopia, Triptolemus (or Bonus Eventus), standing before her, proffers to her a bunch of wheat-ears, and leans upon his two-pronged mattock (*bidens*³). In the midst is a column supporting an urn. Livia and Germanicus being frequently represented

⁹ A single row of large pearls, and differing much from that worn by the Julia of Evodus.

¹ The species has greatly puzzled all describers, some calling it an amethyst, some a hyacinth.

² Dr. Brunn, having had merely the cast to go by, bestows very undeserved

censures upon the work, which apply indeed to the restored portion, but certainly not to the antique, than which we have scarcely anything in a grander manner.

³ Or "rutrum," a symbol, says Festus, that marked the figure of Bonus Eventus.

under these characters, it is possible that this cameo (in the style of their times may, from the introduction of the sepulchral monument, contain by an elegant flattery an allusion to the deification of the latter lamented prince. The figures are in mezzo relievo, white on a brown ground and of very good work : the stone $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch high.

283. Livia, her bust as Ceres, veiled and in front face ; a bold design in very high relief ; opaque white upon a sard field, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch high.

284. Bust with long flowing hair crowned with bay, called an Agrippina Mater, but seems rather an Apollo. The execution is of the highest beauty ; the stone fine, composed of white, and a dark sard, in which latter is given the robe and the garland : but the relief appears to have been entirely re-touched upon an antique original, of which traces may here and there be still detected.

288. This may be pronounced without hesitation the finest cameo of the entire collection, and perhaps the finest in existence. The subject, a Victory in a *biga*, executed in the highest relief : the goddess and the near horse being nearly in full relief, the off horse in half. Incomparable is the spirit of these horses, one of which actually appears bounding forth from the field of the gem. The boldness of the drawing, coupled with the minute execution of the details especially remarkable in the heads of Victory and of her steeds, in the manes, and the folds of the drapery, are beyond all praise. The steeds appear to fly along ; the near one rearing up, turns his head to the spectator, which has, owing to its excessive projection, been destroyed, an irreparable loss in such a masterpiece of Greek art. Singularly enough an irrefragable proof of the genuine antiquity of the work (did its true Greek spirit require any correlative testimony) is to be found in the bronze stud introduced to represent the nave of the wheel. This, though unquestionably the first cameo for beauty, is far from being such in dimensions, which measure but $1\frac{1}{2}$ - $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch. The relief in opaque white upon a yellow sard ground. It is worthy of remark that camei anterior to the Augustan age, like this, appear invariably to have been executed in stones of but two layers (the onyx of Theophrastus).

291. This "Livia," or rather a portrait of some lady of the sixteenth century as a Venus, of small size, is only remarkable for the frame, made out of a thick garland of innumerable flowers, tulips, roses, &c., bound up into a massy wreath and enameled in the natural colours. This *chef d'œuvre* of the art is perfectly executed in spite of almost insuperable difficulties presented by the nature of the operation.

294. This "Poppaea," or rather Ceres crowned with poppies and veiled, is a magnificent work in the highest relief, and in a manner far beyond that of the Neronian age. The hair is rendered in an opaque brown layer ; the flesh in pearly white : evidently of the Greek school, and apparently Sicilian.

295. An incomparable example of the best Roman period, a head of Augustus, radiated ; the likeness taken at the close of his life, and executed, as the crown shows, after his deification. This may be judged the first amongst the numerous heads of this emperor. In low relief, opaque white upon rich brown sard on an oval stone $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches high. Mounted in a narrow frame of the most elaborate Cinque Cento chiseling, enriched with enamel of highly finished work, but chiefly thrown away upon the back of the setting, where it most ingeniously represents a chain with different colored links.

297. A wonderful gem, the profile head of Mæcenas, in half-relief in brownish white upon black. The expression of the features, most life-like and of the finest antique work. The mounting, a richly chiseled frame in a pure Renaissance style, set with table rubies, bears in itself testimony to the genuine antiquity of the stone, for its style is totally dissimilar to that of the Cinque Cento camei: though that of the imitators of the antique in the last century approaches closely to it. This is certainly the most valuable cameo-portrait that any cabinet can boast of, for the drawing agrees exactly with that of the famous intaglio by Solon, and probably this also is one of his works.

301. Bust of Claudius as Jove, oak-crowned, with ægis covering the shoulders; worked out in a flat lifeless manner showing a great falling off from that of the Augustan school. A noble sardonyx, $2\frac{2}{3}$ inches high, of two shades of brown and pearly white. In each of the first are given the wreath and the ground, the bust itself in the latter. The very elaborate Renaissance frame has a back of open work enameled, in which the design appears to be a *fleur-de-lys* within a spreading *M.* (the Florentine *giglio*, and initial of the Medici?).

302. This "Lombard King," a small, rude cameo of the Lower Empire, more probably gives us the bust of some petty Syrian or Armenian prince of those times (Vabalathus?). He has curly hair, a radiated crown and ear-rings: the design utterly barbarous and in very flat relief. The stone, however, is unique in quality, exhibiting layers of black, flesh colour, brown and transparent.

303. Galba, the head only (fragment of a large cameo), done with unusual spirit in white upon brown: for execution as well as rarity of subject, a priceless gem. It far exceeds any of the portraits, numerous as they are, of his two predecessors.

306. A master-piece of Cinque Cento work, Horatius Cocles defending the bridge against Porsenna; Mars hovering above him in the sky, with numerous figures, assailants, Romans breaking down the arch, the river-god Tiber. Of microscopic accuracy, all within an oval of one inch wide. This piece rivals in exact drawing and surpasses in complexity, the "Sacrifice to Bacchus" above described, in the same miniature style (Besborough Coll. 196).

307. Elagabalus, a young head, rudely cut, but an unmistakeable likeness, on a small calcedony of two shades of blue.

309. A Council of the Gods met upon Mount Olympus, remarkable for the complexity of the grouping (so rare in antique compositions), as well as the excellence of the work. Jove reclining on his eagle converses with Neptune seated upon a rock, Diana standing behind lifts her bow. In the centre stands Apollo striking the lyre. At his right another group, Venus standing with Cupid at her knee, holds sweet converse with the seated Mars, whilst Mercury in the back-ground looks on, thus forming a balance to the group of Jove, Neptune and Diana on the other side. The figures in white on a black ground: a small stone.

311. Antonia the Elder; another master-piece of the Augustan age, in which both work and material claim equal admiration. The face, full of expression, is rendered in the bluish-white, the hair looped up on the neck (as in her medals) in a rich dark brown, the ground black. The relief of the whole has been kept somewhat flat to take advantage of the appropriate colour of the strata. This perfect sardonyx, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch high, is mounted in a

Renaissance locket, enameled in black with elegant arabesques in a manner worthy of the gem.

313. Another superb sardonyx, 2 inches in diameter (and of the same quality as 311), bears the head of a deified aged princess of the Lower Empire, but with more than usual absurdity designated a "Livia" in the Catalogue. The head is veiled, and she holds a sceptre, the profile mean, nose and long upper lip (Julia Mæsa ?) all worked out in the flattest relief within a reserved rim of the upper stratum.

315. Most unaccountably styled "Dionysius," is a head of Ariadne ivy-crowned, but the individuality of the features bespeaks the personification of some Grecian queen under this disguise. This head is very carefully treated in a somewhat archaic manner, particularly observable in the vast circular convolutions of the hair, whilst the relief is extremely flat. The head is inclosed within a rim reserved in the same pale yellow layer as the wreath, the flesh is white upon a yellow ground. It deserves a careful study on account of its numerous peculiarities; one of which, the enclosing rim, we could not expect to find in a work so early in its manner. The whole surface seems to have been slightly and carefully repolished, but without impairing the original relief.

316. Another bust of Claudius, oak-crowned, but done in a still more spiritless manner than 301; on an oval sardonyx 2 inches high. Here the head has been left in a transparent patch passing through the two brown strata which furnish the wreath and the ground.

317. This magnificent bust of Pallas, in high relief of the deepest brown upon white, is betrayed by its treatment, especially in the grotesque character of the helmet, to be a choice production of the best times of the Revival.

But there is in Case VI. a work that before all others arrests the passing glance, both from its enormous magnitude and the beauty of the material employed, the grand cameo known as the "busts of Didius Julianus and Manlia Scantilla," one of the most important monuments extant of Roman glyptic art. The attribution to the names engraved upon the mounting is evidently wrong; the male head is quite youthful, with but a nascent beard, certainly not that of the ambitious sexagenarian Didius, who appears on his medals with a beard ample and philosophic, but rather that of Commodus at the commencement of his reign, the features bearing a strong resemblance also to his father's, when yet only Cæsar. The lady seems to be the Empress Crispina, in the character of Juno, as her husband similarly is figured as Jove.⁴ The two busts are regardant, sculptured in a bold manner, with little attempt at finish, yet highly effective. The surface of the relief is kept quite flat, because the strata are so. The artist has most skillfully availed himself of their rich colors to

⁴ It is far from certain what deities are intended in these personifications. His head is encircled by the oak wreath of the Dodonian Jove, but he also has the horn of Ammon springing from the temple; whilst the empress's wreath is formed of the same oak leaf intermixed with wheat-ears, poppy heads, and a round fruit, attributes of Pallas and Ceres. Are they supposed to combine respectively the characters of two bene-

ficent, civilising divinities in one person; or does the horn allude to the character of Bacchus as another form of the sun-god? Bacchus, Cybele, Libera, and Ceres are the characters usually assumed in these monuments by imperial personages. In my own Collection is an admirable head of Commodus wearing the rays of Phoebus, the modius of Serapis, and the horn of Ammon.

give effect to the design. The female bust is superior to the other both in drawing and execution, but both are equal to the best of the cameo posterior to the Augustan age in these respects. But the artistic value of this work, great though it be, is insignificant compared with that of the substance on which it is sculptured, a sardonyx of the finest quality, an oblong somewhat curved above the heads, and of the extraordinary dimensions of eight inches wide by six in height; thus in point of size it ranks next to the "Gemma Augustea" at Vienna, and hence in this respect is the fourth of any in Europe; moreover, in beauty of strata it surpasses that famous cameo⁵ (of only two strata). Amongst the shades is a purple which I have never before observed in a sardonyx. The slab has been broken across its depth, but carefully restored so as to complete the ægis and bust of⁶ the emperor. Whence obtained for this Collection, or by whom, there is no record preserved in the Catalogue, it seems to have passed from the Fontesian into Lord Arundel's hands.

339. The most charming composition ever embodied upon the onyx is the well-known "Marriage of Cupid and Psyche." It is indeed superior to its reputation, such inimitable grace is there in the design, such softness in the treatment of the rounded infantine limbs of the little deities, led in bonds by Hymen and his attendant genii, Anteros and the other who places on their heads the *rannus mystica*. The perfect accuracy of the finish observable in every part, and the unimpaired polish of the field, inspires at first that creature of suspicions, the gem amateur, with some uneasy feelings as to the antiquity of the work, augmented by that evident forgery, so conspicuously thrust before the eye, ΤΡΥΦΩΝ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ, the letters cut in intaglio, in itself a conclusive proof of being supposititious. But our confidence returns on contemplating the truly antique character of the whole, the softness of the modeling in the figures, and the dead opacity of the cacholong forming the relief. No artist of the Renaissance could have conceived such a group, or treated it in that style.⁷ The imitators of the antique in the last century could have come nearer to these points, but fortunately the ascertained history of the stone (traceable much further back) entirely excludes such a theory as to its origin. It was first published, says Dr. Brunn, by Pirro Ligorio, *i. e.* early in the Cinque Cento. Dr. Brunn, after highly lauding the beauty of the composition, points out sundry anachronisms in it, such as the figures moving in two parallel lines, the veil over the faces of the pair, the bond tying them together, the dove clasped to the bosom, the absence of the indispensable symbol from the *rannus*, and he attributes the design to Raffaello, or some one of his school. The objection raised against its antiquity on the score of the story of Cupid and Psyche has, when looked into, no weight whatever; it certainly was a fatal one when this cameo was regarded as the actual work of Tryphon, the contemporary of the

⁵ Yet Rudolph II. purchased *that* for 12,000 ducats (6000*l.*), more on account of its mineralogical than artistic value.

⁶ It is framed in a massy border and back of silver gilt, the latter occupied by this inscription in large raised letters.

"Ingens anaglyphicum opus olim Sannesium Ducum nunc vero pretio acquisitum in Fontesiano cimelio asservatum."

The country of these "Duces Sannesium" is a problem to me, but the "Fontesian" cabinet suggests "Fuentes" as the name of the amateur, who has thus recorded the acquisition of this crowning-piece to his aspirations; probably some Spanish or Neapolitan grandee of two centuries back, to judge from the ornamentation of the frame.

⁷ The mechanical part of the work

Ptolemies, but falls entirely to the ground if we assume it to be the production of the luxurious age of art, that of Hadrian,* when every branch of the art of engraving flourished in its acme, as far as Rome was concerned, and the fable here depicted was the most popular in the spiritualising mythology of the times. Apuleius, in his charming story, did no more than put together and embellish allegories long before existing;† we see a proof of this in the fresco at Pompeii, where Cupids and Psyche are engaged in weaving garlands. The same age produced the innumerable intagli where Cupid and his bride figured in every variety of group, embodying the ideas of separation, torture, penance, reunion, beatification, all alluding to the same constant allegory. The relief is in opaque white (like the head of Mæcenas, 297), upon a ground of the richest brown sard, which probably, after the never sufficiently to be reprobated practice of the last century, has been repolished. This small cameo is mounted in a very broad *rococo* frame of open work, set with several large table garnets, which by their obtrusive lustre greatly mar the effect of the relief.

The famous and genuine work of Aulus (of whose signature here no suspicions can arise, so unmistakeable is the antiquity of the lettering) gives us a Cupid most admirably depicted in his efforts to sustain in an upright position a huge cornucopia, much taller than himself, planted upon the earth. An unique idea. Intaglio in a crystal of some magnitude, and of a pale yellow colour.

The Mercury of Dioscorides is also authentic in the same degree. It is a gem of which the history can be traced back to an unusual distance, being first made known by Montfiosieu, in 1589, in his "*Gallus Romæ Hospes*," and then belonging to Fulvius Ursinus. It afterwards came into the hands of Stosch, who sold it to Lord Holderness, the father-in-law of the Duke of Leeds, who, as a note in the MS. Catalogue tells us, bequeathed it to the present cabinet, in itself a truly ducal legacy, for in the last century its value may have been estimated at £1000. F. Ursinus is known to have paid 100 zeechins for the Diana of Apollonius, and Lauthier 200 for the signet of Michael Angelo; larger sums than this, taking into account the value of money in their respective centuries. Mercury here appears as a traveller standing with the chlamys hanging down over his arm, the figure in front face; the actual execution very peculiar, especially in the drapery, which is entirely scratched in with the diamond. An intaglio worthy of its reputation, but which has suffered from the improving hand of some "thrice-double ass" (only Shakspeare can supply an epithet of sufficient force for such absurdity), who to display the beauty of the sard has repolished the surface nearly to the obliteration of the signature, cut in somewhat large, slight, characters. This suicidal proceeding has however supplied a convincing proof of the antiquity of the inscription, showing that

differs altogether from the overpolished bossy relief of the Renaissance artists; in the curling terminations of the wings more especially is the true antique touch conspicuous.

* Renke ridicules the idea of Aulus being the contemporary of King Polemo, and even sets him down among the Byzantine epigrammatists.

† This is, placed beyond all doubt by

a cast in the *Impronte Gemmarie*, taken from a large intaglio in the most perfect Greek style, and long anterior to anything Roman in the Glyptic art, where Psyche, as usually depicted, is seated under a tree with the little Cupid sleeping on her lap. The early date of this gem is evident; besides the wonderful purity of the outlines, it is surrounded by a neatly executed Etruscan border.

it still existed there after the original surface had been destroyed by time and rough usage. Had it been a forgery it would have been placed upon the newly polished surface to enhance its value.

The youthful head of some Greek prince, a cameo in flat relief, and a pure elegant style, is highly interesting both as an example of a very early cameo, and still more so for its material, a fine blue turquoise, which displays every mark of antiquity, and is much corroded on the reverse. Perhaps the first authentic instance that has come under my notice of ancient work in the true turquoise "de la Vielle Roche."

A singular relic of Greco-Egyptian art, an *intaglio* in execution only second to the Ptolemy of the Hertz Collection, which however it far surpasses in historical interest, and multiplicity of details, is the profile portrait of Cleopatra, with the head attire, the skin and feathers of the Sacred Vulture, and other ornaments of an ancient Egyptian queen, the profile exactly agreeing with that upon her coins, being of an exaggerated Jewish type. Though Egyptian pure and unmixed, of the ancient monumental character in its design, yet the Greek hand shows itself in the vigour and precision with which it is sunk into the stone, an opaque sap-green jasper,¹ a rare variety on which I have only met with one other engraving, and that the head of a Cyrenaic king, crowned with usual Chinese-looking hat² (in the Bale Collection). On the reverse of the stone is the bust of a female deity full-faced, her hair in two huge folds over the shoulders, within a shrine, perhaps the hieratic representation of her patroness and prototype Isis, a stroke of flattery couched in this juxtaposition, sunk to a still greater depth in the jasper. A work unique of its kind, and figured in Plate I. of Tassie's Catalogue.

But amongst the modern gems in the whole series, nothing can be compared to the Head of Ganymede (with the eagle in front), by Bureh, than which ancient or modern times have produced nothing finer, perhaps nothing equal in beauty or in execution. The sardonyx in which this *intaglio* is engraved is, for vividness of colour, and clearness of strata, as much a miracle of nature as the work that ennobles it is of art. It must have been an antique stone from which the engraving has been effaced to make way for the present.

The Rape of the Palladium, the celebrated work of Felix, upon a thin piece of sard (dark coloured), is a most singular gem. Diomede, with one foot raised upon the plinth, contemplates the Palladium elevated on a column. On the latter is the inscription, ΦΗΛΙΞ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ; in the field above ΚΑΛΠΟΥΡΝΙΟΥ ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟΥ, the owner's name. The *intaglio* is in very shallow cutting, but of most careful execution. Dr. Brunn is probably correct in terming this a copy by Sirletti; he points out that in the original the entire legend is in the exergue.

¹ Only found in India now, and probably in her times also imported from that country.

² Which Arcesilaus is figured wearing

in the "Silphium Merchants," upon the famous vase from Vulci (Welcker's Alte Denkmäler).

(To be continued.)

ON A DIMINUTIVE EFFIGY OF A BISHOP AT ABBEY DORE,
HEREFORDSHIRE.

ON the western bank of the Dore, Herefordshire, about three miles from its confluence with the Monow, a few miles above Monmouth, stands the church of Abbey Dore. The abbey, which was of the Cistercian order, was founded in the twelfth century by Robert Ewyas, who derived his surname from the adjoining parish or lordship so called, where he had a castle, of which no other traces than some mounds now remain. The church was a spacious Early English building, and several distinguished people of the neighbourhood were buried there. It has long ago lost its nave, and now the transepts and chancel form the parish church of Dore or Abbey Dore. A brief notice of it was published in 1727, in a small quarto, intitled "A View of the ancient and present state of the Churches of Door, Home-Lacy, and Hempsted, . . . by Matthew Gibson, M.A., Rector of Door." The other monastic buildings have all disappeared. In a recess in the north wall of the north aisle of the chancel of this church lies a small effigy of a bishop, in stone, $15\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, by $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches at the head, and $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the feet, as the slab slightly tapers. It is evidently out of its proper place, the recess being large enough for an effigy of the ordinary size. Of this effigy a woodcut is given from a drawing by the faithful pencil of Mr. Blore. Some years ago the late Dean of Hereford, Dr. Merewether, presented a cast of it to the Institute. The figure is very much defaced. It appears, however, to have represented a bishop in eucharistic vestments with his mitre on his head; his crosier lay on his left side, apparently under the arm and over the shoulder. The hands are gone, and it is not clear what was their position. They may have held a heart; and most probably there was some animal at the feet. An inscription on the upper surface of the slab, at the sides of the effigy, is defective. The



Diminutive effigy of a Bishop at Abbey Dere, Herefordshire.

author of the work above mentioned, after quoting from Leland's Itinerary¹ that John Bruton, Knight, and his wife, father to John Bruton, Bishop of Hereford, were buried at Dore, adds "and that the heart of this John Bruton, or Breton, or Briton, the famous English lawyer, was buried here, I conjecture from a little hewn stone a foot long and nine inches broad, with the defaced figure of a bishop in his robes; and only this inscription remaining legible upon it, viz. :—

. PONTIFICIS COR
 XPISTE IOHANNIS." ²

These words, in what are called Lombardic characters, still remain entire, except that the R in COR has been broken off, and also the s and part of the latter i of IOHIS, the contracted form of the last word. Before PONTIFICIS may also be read, the letters DA, as if they were the last syllable of the preceding word. The portions of the inscription quoted by Gibson might be the terminations of two hexameters; but the space on the slab shows there could never have been more than one hexameter. Though the stone may have been shortened a trifle at the feet, there is no reason to think there were ever any words at the head or feet of the effigy. The word XPISTE makes it evident that the line was a prayer or invocation, and could hardly have been, as Gibson and others have supposed, a record of the interment of the bishop's heart. Some years ago, after I had seen the cast, I suggested that the missing words were probably *Munda*, and *Breton* in some one of its various spellings; which words would exactly fill the respective spaces, and make the entire line read as follows :—

Munda Pontificis cor Breton, Christe, Johannes.

After a careful re-examination of the cast I am a little doubtful as to *Breton*. The space that word is supposed to have occupied would admit six full-sized letters of the kind used in the inscription; and about the middle of this space are faint traces of parts of two, probably the third and fourth letters, which are only visible in a very favorable light. Of these the former may have been an E, and the latter may have been a T, though it has also some resemblance to the upper part of a Lombardic U or C. The name Breton was accustomed to be spelt in so many different ways that it is not

¹ Vol. viii. fo. 84 b.

² Pp. 22, 23.

easy to conjecture which of them may have been there used. Assuming, as I think we safely may, that the missing word was a surname, it is remarkable that the interment indicated by this inscription is not in any way noticed by Leland. The word, however, may have been Breton, but illegible in his day; in which case it is most likely he would have passed over an inscription commemorative of an unknown bishop. The names of John Breton's father and his wife Leland probably learned from some inscription that was then existing in Dore church; for many of his notices of interments read as if they were taken from monuments.

A prayer on a sepulchral monument, to the effect of the line when completed as I have suggested, was not unknown in mediæval usage, though such language seems more appropriate for the living than the dead. On a brass representing a monk, in St. Alban's Abbey Church, a list issues from the mouth, upon which are the words *Cor mundum crea in me Deus*.

Though the inscription does not record an interment of a heart, it is not improbable that the stone may have covered the heart of a bishop of Hereford, and that he may have been John Breton, who died in 1275. The size of the stone makes it hardly credible that it was ever designed to be placed over an entire body.² Even the supposition of a boy-bishop would not account for so small an effigy as this. It is more likely to have covered a small portion only of a body; and though the bowels were sometimes buried separately, this more frequently fell to the lot of hearts. In the neighbourhood of Abbey Dore heart interments should seem not to have been rare about the period to which this effigy may be referred. Margaret, widow of Walter de Clifford, by a deed dated in 1260, directed her heart to be buried in the priory church of Aconbury.³ Her husband's family had been benefactors to that priory and also to Abbey Dore. A very remarkable instance of such an interment was lately discovered in the church of Ewyas Harold, an adjoining parish to Dore; where there is an effigy of a lady, nearly life size, holding between the hands, which rest on the breast, such a vessel as might be supposed to contain

² The subject of Diminutive Effigies p. 231.
was noticed in vol. iii. of this Journal, ³ Mon. Ang. vi. p. 499.

a heart. Its date appears to be about 1300 or a little later. On opening this tomb in October, 1861, in the presence of the vicar, the Rev. W. C. Fowle, and others, there was found, under the hands and only a few inches below the effigy, a flat stone covered by an intervening flat stone of larger size, on which lay some rubble and then the effigy; and in the lower of these two stones was a hemispherical cavity, about 5 inches in diameter, in which were fragments of a metal vessel, that seemed to have been lined with a woven fabric and probably had contained a heart. Immediately over this cavity, on the under side of the stone that covered it, was painted in white the form of a vessel suitable for inclosing a heart, and such as might have been, and probably was, deposited in the cavity.⁴ No trace was discovered of the body: that most likely was interred elsewhere. It is not known who the lady was, but there is some reason to suppose she was Clarice, the elder daughter of John de Tregoz, who held by barony the castle at Ewyas Harold, and died about 1300. She died a short time before or after him, having married Roger de la Warr, by whom she left a son, who became one of her father's co-heirs, her sister Sibyl, wife of William de Grandison, having been the other.⁵ This Sibyl and her husband were, according to Leland,⁶ buried at Abbey Dore; but the place of Clarice's interment is, I believe, unknown. The De la Warr family was of Sussex and Gloucestershire. The son of Clarice, John de la Warr, succeeded his grandfather at Ewyas Harold, and it would have been in accordance with the usage of the age, if her heart were there buried and he erected that monument to her memory. At Abergavenny, only a few miles distant, is an effigy of a lady holding a heart between her hands. It may be referred to the time of Edward I. Who this lady was is not quite clear, but, judging by a shield of arms (3 fleurs de lis) represented as lying on the body, she was either by birth, or by marriage a Cantilupe, and not improbably Eva, one of the co-heiresses of Braose, that married William de Cantilupe, who became in her right Lord of Abergavenny. There are two effigies of John Breton's immediate predecessor, Peter de Aigueblanche (or Aiguebelle), who died

⁴ I am indebted for this information to the Rev. W. C. Fowle. A particular account of the discovery will be pub-

lished by the Society of Antiquaries.

⁵ See Dugd. Bar. i. p. 616, ii. p. 15.

⁶ Itinerary, viii. fo. 84 b.

bishop of Hereford in 1268 ; one at Hereford, the other in a collegiate church founded by him at Aiguebelle, in Savoy, where he was born ; these are both of life size. In Godwin⁷ it is stated, on the authority of the inscription upon the latter monument, that his heart was buried there ; which seemed not improbable, as he died in England. But the late Mr. Kerrieh published in the *Archæologia*⁸ a description of that effigy, and also a copy of the inscription, which, so far from showing that the bishop's heart was buried there, commences thus :—“ *Hic jacet venerabilis Pater Dominus Petrus Herefordensis quondam Episcopus, Fundator, Structor, et Dotator hujus Ecclesiæ.*” &c., as if his body was interred beneath the effigy. If this monument, which is of bronze and was cast by Henry of Cologne (de Colonia), were prepared in the bishop's lifetime with the intention of his body being taken to Aiguebelle, the inscription was completed after his death ; for the day of his decease is stated. Though the small effigy which covered a heart sometimes holds a heart in the hands, as at Cuberley, Gloucestershire, the absence of such an indication of the design of the monument is not conclusive that a heart was not deposited under a diminutive effigy.

If the small effigy at Abbey Dore commemorated any Bishop of Hereford, it was most likely John Breton ; for he was the only John that died bishop of that see till the death of John Trilleck in 1360 ; to whose memory there remains a fine brass in the Cathedral. We have seen that, according to Leland, who probably obtained his information from some monument in the church, John Breton's father, if not his mother also, was buried at Abbey Dore. This might account for his heart having been deposited there, though his body was buried in his cathedral. Of his family very little is known. He is generally believed to have been a judge of the Court of Common Pleas before he was a bishop. According to Mr. Foss, he was the son of William le Breton or Brito, a justice in eyre ;⁹ but the record he quotes as his authority for this does not state, or give us any sufficient reason to believe, that the John Breton there mentioned was either a judge or a bishop. The name of Breton was not uncommon

⁷ De Pre-sulis, Richardson's edition, p. 186.

⁸ Vol. xviii. p. 189.

⁹ Foss, Judges ii. p. 259.

in the thirteenth century, and there were at that time several with the christian name of John. One of this name was sheriff of Herefordshire, and also *custos* of the manor of Abergavenny and the three castles,¹ meaning doubtless White Castle, Scenfreth, and Grosmont. He appears to have witnessed a grant to Abbey Dore by Roger de Clifford who died in 48 Henry III. (1264).² Leland assumes this to have been the bishop; but he is more likely to have been the father. The bishop does not appear to have been a judge before 1266; and until he was appointed to the see of Hereford, which was in December, 1268, he was not of any importance in the county. There was a John le Breton who, in August, 1268 (52 Henry III.), was associated with several bishops and barons as envoys of the king to treat of a peace between him and Llewellyn Prince of Wales.³ This may have been the John Breton in question while he was one of the judges. Whether the bishop was the author of the well-known law treatise that goes by the name of "Britton," has been much discussed, but by no means satisfactorily settled. That he was a common lawyer and one of the judges, has been more readily admitted; and it seems highly probable, since John Breton, the judge, disappears from the records when the bishop of that name was consecrated. That the bishop was the author of the treatise, is stated in *Flores Historiarum*, under the year 1275, the writer of which was most likely living in 1307, when that chronicle terminates. This statement was generally credited till Selden⁴ called it in question. His objection is that two statutes are quoted in the work, which were not passed till after the supposed author's death. The statutes are the 6th Edw. I., and the 13th Edw. I. In order to give validity to this objection we must assume that they were referred to in the MS. as he left it: whereas I believe we have no copy of the work earlier than the fourteenth century. It is not improbable that some additions were made to the original after his decease, and that it is only with those additions any copies have come down to us. The treatise commences with the style of King Edward, like a charter or letters patent, and runs in the name of the king throughout; and Prisot, a judge under

¹ Leland's Itin. viii. f. 87 b.

² Mon. Ang. v. p. 555; Dugl. Bar. i. pp. 336, 337.

³ Rymer, i. p. 477.

⁴ Notes to Hengham; Ad Fletam disertatio, c. 2.

Henry VI., speaks of a book that was written by the order of Edward I. (most probably this treatise), and published in the fifth year of his reign ;⁵ which was two years after John Breton's death. In the sixth and thirteenth years of that king some very important statutes were enacted, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that in the subsequent copies of the treatise reference was made to these amendments of the law. Selden⁶ adduces a record in 51 Henry III., to show that John Breton was then one of the judges. Doubtless he was ; but this was in 1267, more than twelve months before the bishop was appointed to his see. Mr. Foss⁷ has noticed this question of authorship in his memoir of the judge, and has adopted the objection of Selden, and also an opinion which is mentioned by him and by Reeve,⁸ that the treatise is little more than an abridgment of Bracton (another law treatise of the thirteenth century), with the addition of the subsequent alterations of the law ; the probability of which Mr. Foss says "acquires greater weight when it is remembered that Bracton's name was sometimes written Britton or Bretton." The legal reader will remember that Henry Bracton and John Breton were contemporaries. That these surnames should have been occasionally confounded is not surprising ; since, though the similarity in sound is not great, by misreading, as so frequently happens, *t* for *c* or *c* for *t*, Bracton becomes Bratton, or Bretton becomes Breeton. But it appears strange that any one at all conversant with the contents of the two books should have taken Britton for an abridgment of Bracton's work. For though, as both are general treatises on the laws of England, they of necessity have much in common, they differ not only in language, one being in Latin and the other in French, but also materially in their arrangement and in the mode of treating the subject. No mere abridgment of Bracton would be like Britton ; for, besides the diversities just mentioned, Bracton is not written in the king's name, but like works of the kind in general, without any royal sanction appearing.

It is quite consistent with what we know of the life of John Breton the bishop, that the work in question may have been written by him at the request or by the order of the

Year Book, 35 Hen. VI. fo. 12.
Notes to Henham.

• A. D. II. p. 260.

⁵ Notes to Henham ; Reeve's History
of English Law, ii. p. 280.

king after his retirement to his see of Hereford. Though that was remote from the court, he was most likely occasionally in attendance on the king, especially as he appears to have held the office of Keeper of the Wardrobe ; which fact Leland mentions⁹ when speaking of his interment, as if that office had been held by him while bishop, if not at his death.

It may be well to add, that there was another bishop named John, whose parents were buried at Abbey Dore, viz., John de Grandison, Bishop of Exeter from 1327 to 1369, who was the son of the above-mentioned William de Grandison and Sibyl de Tregoz ; but, besides that his will¹ gives no reason to suppose his body or any portion of it was there interred, the space in the inscription, which I suggest was occupied by the word Breton, would not admit the word Grandison ; and its shorter form, Granson, would not accord with the existing remains of letters ; to say nothing of the probable date of the effigy.²

W. S. WALFORD.

⁹ Itinerary, viii. fo. 86 b.

¹ Printed in Appendix to Oliver's Lives of the Bishops of Exeter, p. 444.

² A woodcut of this effigy, and a few

words descriptive of it were published in the Journal of the Brit. Arch. Association, vol ii. p. 361.

THE HISTORY AND CHARTERS OF INGULFUS CONSIDERED.¹

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PART I.

IT is a singular coincidence, that the doubt and mystery which have prevailed for the last one hundred and seventy years in reference to the origin of the *History* and Charters of Ingulfus, have been added to, in no small degree, by the misfortunes which, in the last two centuries, have befallen such few early manuscripts of the work as have been known to exist.

The Manuscripts of the *History* of Ingulfus, which we find mentioned by previous writers, are five in number :—

I. The so-called “Autograph” of Abbot Ingulfus, mentioned by Selden in his Notes to *Eadmer* (1623) as then existing at Croyland (or Crowland), in Lincolnshire. He had endeavoured, he tells us, to gain a sight of it, but in vain. Sir Henry Spelman, more fortunate in this respect, did obtain permission to consult the “Autograph”; and from it he has extracted five Chapters of the Laws of William the Conqueror, inserted in Vol. I., p. 623, of his *Concilia* (1639). This manuscript he speaks of as being “very ancient,” and preserved by the churchwardens, under three keys, in the church there. It seems to have disappeared about the middle of the seventeenth century, and all traces of it are lost.

II. A Manuscript from which Selden extracted the copy of the Laws of the Conqueror, given in his Notes to *Eadmer*; and which he speaks of as then (A. D. 1623) being apparently two centuries old. It is identical probably with the manuscript mentioned by Camden, in the Dedicatory Epistle to his reprint of Asser (1603), as containing the whole work

¹ Communicated to the Historical Section at the meeting of the Institute in Peterborough, July, 1861. The present Paper is founded, to some extent, on an article by the same hand in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1857. The

opinions, however, there stated as to the possibility of some portions of the *History* of Ingulfus being genuine, are, on a closer examination, no longer considered tenable.

of Ingulfus and the *Continuation* of Peter of Blois ; and is generally supposed to have been the Cottonian Manuscript of Ingulfus, which was totally destroyed in the fire of 1731.

III. A Manuscript formerly belonging to Sir John Marsham ; and from which Fulman printed his edition of the *History* of Ingulfus, in Vol. I. of the *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores Veteres*, Oxford, 1684. In a Letter of Bishop Gibson, preserved in the Ballard Collection in the Bodleian, it is asserted that this manuscript had been borrowed from Sir John Marsham by Obadiah Walker, the Roman Catholic Master of University College, Oxford, and never returned. Be this as it may, it is now neither in the Library of University College nor in the hands of the representatives of Sir J. Marsham ; and what has become of it seems to be unknown. It could not have been identical with the so-called "Autograph ;" as there are no less than thirty-four variations between its text and that of the Autograph, in the five short Chapters of the Laws of the Conqueror which Spelman has given in the *Concilia*.

IV. The Manuscript from which Sir Henry Savile printed the First Edition of the *History* of Ingulfus, in his *Scriptores post Bedam* (1596). No information is given by Savile in reference to this manuscript, and what has become of it is unknown. It was imperfect however, breaking off immediately before the Laws of the Conqueror, and omitting the latter portion of the *History*.

V. The Arundel Manuscript, No. 178, in the British Museum ; written in a hand of the latter part of the sixteenth century. It breaks off at the same point as the manuscript used by Sir Henry Savile, but differs considerably from his text in the spelling of the proper names.

This last—which, as an authority, is of course worthless—is the only manuscript of the *History* of Ingulfus now known to exist.

For several ages the genuineness of the Charters contained in the *History* of Ingulfus seems to have been unsuspected ; and from the *Second Continuation* (also printed in Fulman's volume) we learn that on one occasion they were received as evidences of title,—a fact which, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, will be not undeserving of our future consideration. In Gough's Second Appendix to his *History of Croyland* we find a short account of the place, intituled

“*Croyland’s Chronicle*, collected and compiled by Sir John Harrington, Knight, a learned lawyer and antiquary, Steward of Croyland, and nephew to the Reverend Father Philip Everard, Abbot there in the time of King Henry VII. and King Henry VIII.” This writer makes free use of the Charters as found in Ingulf’s *History*, and, though in all probability he may have seen some at least of the so-called originals, seems to have entertained as little doubt as to their genuineness as his predecessors, both lawyers and laymen, had during the preceding century and a half. Dr. Caius, in his learned work upon *The Antiquity of the University of Cambridge* (1568), is the first probably who has quoted Ingulf’s *History* as an authority; which he does unsuspectingly, and without reserve.

For many years after the opinions of the learned upon these Charters had been more strongly challenged by the publication of the *History* of Ingulfus, there seems to have been no expression of a suspicion that either the work itself, or the so-called *Charters* inserted in it, were not, what they respectively represented themselves to be, memorials of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman times. Sir Henry Savile and Fulman, the editors, do not appear to have entertained any doubts on the subject; and these Charters, as well as the Ingulfan version of the *Laws* of William the Conqueror, are unhesitatingly quoted as genuine by Sir Henry Spelman in his *Councils*, and by Sir William Dugdale in the *Monasticon*. Archbishop Nicolson suggests no doubts in his *British Historical Library*, and Selden and Stillingfleet rely upon the authority of the work with confidence. At the close even of the last century, Gough, the antiquary, though aware of the doubts that were *then* entertained as to the Charters, does not appear to have shared in them, and, in the Second Appendix to his *History of Croyland*, inserts them all as genuine documents; though, somewhat singularly, and, as though doubting his own judgment, while he upholds the genuineness of Ingulf’s *History*, he is ready to admit that Ingulf himself may have been sufficiently unscrupulous to be capable of forging the Charters;—“for Ingulf,” he says, “does not hesitate to tell us what artifice he used in the return of the property of his house to the surveyors of *Domesday*.—and Ingulf probably, like many others of his rank, produced forged charters to support his claims.”

Among the first, if indeed not the very first, to express a doubt on the genuineness of these documents, was the indefatigable Henry Wharton. In his Latin *History of the Bishops and Deans of London and St. Asaph* (London, 1695), he speaks of the Charters of Ethelbald (A.D. 716), Wichtlaf (A.D. 833), Bertulph (A.D. 851), and Beorred (A.D. 868), as almost satisfactorily proved to be fictitious, by certain anachronisms which his research had detected in the respective attestations thereof. He finds, for example, that the Charter of Ethelbald is attested by Wynfrid and Aldwin, Bishops of Mercia and Lichfield; that of Wichtlaf by Godwin, Bishop of Rochester; that of Bertulph by the same Godwin; and that of Beorred by Alwin, Bishop of Winchester, at times when none of those prelates were filling the sees respectively assigned to them.

From Humphrey Wanley, the antiquary, we learn that doubts were extensively entertained in his time—the earlier part of the eighteenth century—as to the genuineness of these documents. Among the Harleian MSS. there is a letter written by him to Lord Oxford, in which he says—“As to Ingulfus, I humbly beg leave to observe that some learned men do not think the History bearing his name, or at least a great part of it, to be his; and many Charters cited in that book are vehemently suspected to be spurious. One I can particularly mention, the *Foundation Charter of Croyland Abbey*; which was, or seems to have been, taken from one in being, and not much older, if any at all, than Henry the Second’s time.”

The so-called original, it may be here remarked, of this alleged Foundation Charter was, according to Dean Hiekes, in 1705, in the possession of Dr. Thomas Guidot, a physician at Bath; and would appear to have been the same document that is mentioned by Gough (Preface, p. viii.), as being in 1734 the property of Robert Hunter, Esq., lord of the manor of Croyland; in which year it was exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries. It seems not improbable, however, that there was at least one duplicate of this Charter; which, we are told, was kept in a box at Croyland during the seventeenth century, but was afterwards² lost. The

² It seems quite possible, however, that these two documents may have been identical.

spurious character of this document, formerly known to the learned as the "*Golden Charter*," will be the subject of further notice.

In the passage above quoted, it is not improbable that Wanley alludes to the opinions strongly entertained on this subject by his friend, the learned Hickes. In the First Volume of that writer's *Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium*, he has devoted a considerable portion of the Preface and of his *Dissertatio Epistolaris* to the proof, that these Charters bear strong internal evidence of an origin posterior to the times of our Saxon kings. In p. 62 of the latter treatise, he points out the use in Æthelbald's Charter, A.D. 716 (pp. 2—4 of Fulman's Edition) of the word *leuca*, "a league" (or rather, measure of 1500 paces), it having in reality been introduced, some centuries later, by the Normans. He also instances such suspicious words as *chirographo patenti*, "chirograph patent;" *sewera*, "drain;" *seisonis*, "seasons;" and *libras legalis monete*, "pounds of lawful money;" expressions betraying most undoubtedly a Norman, or Gallie, origin. He further remarks upon the mention of the Benedictines as *Nigri Monachi*, "Black Monks," a name by which it is generally supposed they were not then known, in this country at least; and in support of his position refers to the enactments of the Synod of Cloveshoe, A.D. 743, some time after the reign of Æthelbald, in reference to the monastic dress. In the same work, he has given a facsimile of a portion of the *Golden Charter* of Æthelbald, and has called attention to the lateness of the character in which it is written, and the fantastic shapes and elaborate gilding of the crosses, the latter in especial not being in accordance with the Saxon usage. To his list of objections, we may parenthetically remark, Hickes might have added the employment of the phrase *separalis piscaria*, "several fishery," a purely legal term belonging to a date some centuries later than the reign of Æthelbald. The fanciful and varying subscriptions, too, of the attesting witnesses to this charter are such as are never found in charters of so early a date, but only in documents of the early part of the tenth century and upwards. The same remark will also apply to the attestations of the Charters attributed to Offa, A.D. 793 (p. 6), and to Kenulf, King of Mercia, A.D. 806 (pp. 6, 7); which latter is also blemished with such anachronisms as *passagium*, "passage," or "escu-

age," a feudal term; and *miles meus*, "my knight," also an expression of feudal times.

Though not remarked by Hickes, the Charter of Wichtlaf, King of Mercia, A.D. 833 (pp. 8—11), bears equal marks of spuriousness. Like that of Kenulph, it makes mention of Langtoft, Aswyktoft, Badby, Holbecke, and Pyncebek, many years before the terminations "toft," "by," and "beck," had been introduced by Danish settlers into that part of England, (unless indeed we are ready to give our assent to the unsupported assertion of Gaimar, the Trouvère, that the Danes were established and ruling in this country in the reign immediately succeeding King Arthur's day). The words, too, *ballivus*, "a bailiff," and *advocatio*, "an advowson," found in this Charter, are anachronisms; and while the mention in it of Jews in England, dealing in money, at so early a date, is exceedingly suspicious, the varying subscriptions of the attesting witnesses would alone suffice to condemn it. Earl Algar's Charter too, A.D. 810 (p. 95), is proved by the attestations to be fictitious.

In his Preface to the *Thesaurus*, Hickes expresses himself as fully assured that the Charter of Bertulph, A.D. 851 (pp. 12—15), is equally spurious with that of Ethelbald. He objects to the mention in it of "knights," at a time when knighthood did not exist here; of *feudi*, "fees" or "feuds," long before the feudal system was introduced; and to the use of such words as *quarentena*, a lineal measure, a term of purely Norman origin; and *feria*, as meaning a day of the week, a sense in which, in the Saxon Charters, it is but very rarely to be found. By the extravagance, too, of its varying attestations, this Charter is additionally condemned.

The Charter of Beorred (or Burghred), King of Mercia, A.D. 868 (pp. 18—20), is equally proved to be fictitious; as well by the attestations as by the anachronisms involved in the mention of *miles meus*, "my knight"; *manerium*, "a manor," a term first introduced with the feudal system; *feodum*, "a feud" or "fee," and *advocatio*, "an advowson." Of the spurious character of that of Edred (pp. 32—36) we may, with Hickes, feel equally assured. He calls attention to the mention in it of grant of "waif and stray," a purely Norman right; *maneria*, "manors"; *secta in schyris*, "suit of court of shires," a right claimed under the feudal system; *advocatio ecclesie*, "advowson of a church"; *affidare suos*

nativos, "to claim on oath one's natives," or "serfs," an expression connected with feudal usages; and *catallis*, "with their chattels," a term introduced by the Normans.

The fictitious character of Edgar's Charter (pp. 42—44) is equally apparent. Hickes has noticed such expressions as *communam pasturam*, "common of pasture," and *tenentes suos*, "their tenants;" to which, "wail and stray," and *separalis piscaria*, "several piscary," may be added. The mention, too, of the "Triangular Bridge," at Croyland, in the Charters of Edred and Edgar, documents professing to belong to the tenth century, is at least suspicious; as, at the earliest, it was a century later before the pointed arch was introduced into England; and the triangular bridge as it now stands, with its arches of that form, is not of earlier construction than the thirteenth century. It is just possible, however, that a bridge of somewhat similar conformation, as to triangularity, may have preceded it. In these two Charters, also, it deserves remark that Edred and Edgar are styled "kings," not "of the whole of Britain," as in genuine charters of those sovereigns, but "of Great Britain"; many centuries before that title was heard of.

The Ecclesiastical Censure (p. 44), professing to have been composed by Archbishops Dunstan and Osketul, A.D. 966, to ensure the future possession of the lands and property of the Abbey of Croyland, is condemned as fictitious by the mention in it of "archdeacons" and "archidiaconal rights," 110 years before their introduction into this country by Archbishop Lanfranc.

Cnut's short Charter of Confirmation (p. 58) is equally fictitious. The word *restaurator*, "a restorer" is in reality not to be found in use, until probably some centuries later; and goes far toward proving that this Charter, as well as that of Edward the Confessor (p. 64), is a forgery.

In the Charter of Thorold, A.D. 1051 (pp. 86, 87), Hickes remarks upon several words of Norman origin which had led him to consider it equally fictitious with the others; and he decidedly objects to a gift by a Saxon official, in Saxon times, *in liberam elemosquam*, "in frankalmoigne," a term introduced by the Normans. The common people, too, at this date, had no double names, such being a usage of Norman introduction; and we must regard Thorold's dependants, "Gunter Liniet," "Outy Grimkelson," "Turstan Dubbe,"

“Gouse Gamelson,” and “Besi Tuk,” as the creatures of an inventive imagination, and no more.

The deeds alleged to have been executed by Abbot Ingulf to Oger the Priest, Simon of Baston, William the Miller, and others (pp. 101—103), are equally spurious; witness the expressions *manerium*, “a manor;” *in feudo* and *in feudum*, “in fee;” *heredibus et assignatis*, “to his heirs and assigns;” and *sewera*, “a drain,” all belonging to a later date.

From the Charters we now turn to the *History* of Ingulfus itself, which Hicke, and several other writers who have condemned the Charters, have been by no means equally ready to condemn as having no pretensions to be considered genuine. We will deal first with the *internal* evidences which it seems to afford of its spuriousness.

The contents of p. 16 are founded solely upon the peculiar language of the ridiculous subscriptions by the attesting witnesses to Bertulph’s Charter; and if those subscriptions fall to the ground as forgeries, which they assuredly must, this attempted explanation of them must of necessity fall to the ground as well.

We shall have occasion to shew in the sequel that this History is based, in all probability, upon certain passages in the Fourth Book of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Ordericus Vitalis, who paid a visit to Croyland in the early part of the twelfth century. Vitalis mentions Kenulf, the first Abbot, and then is silent as to any intervening Abbots to the time of Turketul, a distance of about two hundred and thirty years. To fill up this hiatus, four Abbots are named by the compilers of the *History*, three of whose names are introduced into the fictitious Charters as well; and to the rule of these first five Abbots (Kenulf included) a period is allotted of no less than two hundred and thirty-two years. The rule of the next nine Abbots, on the other hand, who are all mentioned by Ordericus Vitalis, occupies but one hundred and sixty-one years, a comparatively rational space of time. Of the first five Abbots, the names of Theodore and Godric are probably borrowed from the *Chronicle* of John of Peterborough, compiled in the fourteenth century.

The story of the Sempeets, or five senior monks, dying in the time of King Edgar at the respective ages of 168, 142, 115, and (probably) 120 years, is evidently an account of a coincidence too marvellous not to be fabulous. Vitalis says

that the Abbey was laid waste by Inguar, Guthrum, and other Danish chiefs, and that its possessions fell into the hands of laymen; implying also that it remained in this state of ruin and desolation until the days of King Edred, a period of nearly eighty years. These five venerable personages therefore, there can be little doubt, are an invention of the compilers for the purpose of tiding over the dark period between the ruin of the Abbey by the Danes and the election of Abbot Turketul, A.D. 948; a period as to which, we may conclude from the narrative of Vitalis, there were no historical abbey memorials in existence. To meet this well-known difficulty, as well as the obvious circumstance that no other memorials were likely to exist, relative to the Abbey, between the time of its foundation by Ethelbald, A.D. 716, and its destruction by the Danes, A.D. 870, the writers have created these long-lived Sempects with the express object of placing upon them (pp. 48, 50, and 107), the responsibility of the narrative from the time of the first foundation, until the desolation of the Abbey by the Danes, as is stated in one place (p. 107); or until the fourteenth year of King Edgar, as they say, somewhat seriously contradicting themselves, in another (p. 48).

The Abbey of Croyland is represented (p. 30) as having had the name *Curteys*, "courteous," given to it by reason of the courtesy shown by its inmates to Turketul in the days of King Edred. From other sources, we know that at a later period this monastery really had—in consequence, probably, of its great wealth and its unbounded hospitality—the complimentary epithet of "*Courteous Croyland*" bestowed upon it; but we leave it to the inventors of this clumsy explanation to shew why it should have received a purely French appellation in purely Saxon times.

Turketul, the King's Chancellor, is represented (p. 36) as being the agent through whose advice seven Bishoprics were conferred on one day; whereas, in reality, the Synod at which these prelaties were conferred was held A.D. 905, two years before the date at which, according to Ingulf's own narrative (p. 52), Turketul was born. Dynewulf too, who is represented as the Bishop of Winchester at whose death Turketul refused the see (p. 36), in reality died when Turketul was three years of age. Again, Frithestan, who is styled (p. 36) Turketul's foster-brother (*collocatus*), is

immediately after made to succeed to the see of Winchester at a period which was two years before the alleged date of Turketul's birth; though in reality he succeeded A.D. 910, three years after the year in which Turketul is here represented to have been born.

Otho I., Emperor of Germany, married Eadgyth, Athelstan's sister, A.D. 924; so that this marriage could not, as represented in the *History* (p. 37), have been *consequent* upon the fame gained by Athelstan at the battle of Brunenburgh, A.D. 937; nor could the³ Emperor Henry I., as there represented, have sent an embassy to Athelstan *after* that battle, seeing that he died the year before. The statement also (pp. 29, 37) that Constantine, King of Scotland, was slain in the battle of Brunenburgh, is erroneous; it being his son who lost his life there, Constantine himself embracing a monastic life seven years later.

Again, Hugh,⁴ "King of the Franks," is named (pp. 38 and 51) as existing A.D. 937. There was no such personage then in existence. Hugh Capet was not crowned until A.D. 987; and the compilers may possibly have been led into the error by mistaking the numerals of the one date for the other.

The alleged exaction of 2000 marks by King Sweyn, within three months, from the Monastery of Croyland (p. 56) is undoubtedly a fable. The amount itself is beyond all belief, as on the same occasion a sum of no more than 48,000 pounds was exacted from the whole of England. The story is founded, there seems reason for supposing, upon the account given by Florence of Worcester of the martyrdom of Archbishop Elphege, by the Danes, upon his refusal to pay an exorbitant sum by way of ransom.

In page 57 we read of a demise of the manor of Baddeby, A.D. 1013 (a period, be it remarked, when manors did not exist in England), for a term of 100 years, at a yearly rent of one peppercorn; the fact being, that a demise for a term

³ [The *History* styles him "Emperor of Germany" and "Emperor of the Romans," the latter being a title to which in reality he had no claim. William of Malmesbury (*Hist.* § 126) calls him "Emperor of Germany."]

⁴ [William of Malmesbury, it has been remarked, since the above was written, makes the same mistake (*Hist.* § 135);

but he does not commit the additional error into which the *History* has fallen, of saying that King Hugh sent for Athelstan's sister (Eadchild) for the purpose of giving her in marriage to his son; whereas, in reality, Hugh "Duke of the Franks," married her himself, and that, eleven years before the battle of Brunenburgh was fought.]

of years was unknown in England before the Conquest, and a reservation of a peppercorn rent a thing equally unheard of. Another singular circumstance, too, is the assertion (p. 57) that through the agency of Earl Leofric, the manor of Baddeby had come into the hands of the Abbey of Evesham, "and is still retained by it, *though the term has expired*"; the fact being, that the *History* purports to have been written A.D. 1091, 2, or 3; and that Abbot Ingulf died A.D. 1109, four years before A.D. 1113, the end of the term of 100 years. On the other hand again, in page 85 we find it stated that there are still *twenty years of the lease* to run, and an attempt is made to explain why the manor is described in Domesday as still being in the actual possession of the monks of Croyland. In the so-called *First Continuation* of Ingulf's *History*, attributed to Peter of Blois, we find an account of the unsuccessful attempts made by Abbot Geoffrey, Ingulf's successor, to recover the manor of Baddeby shortly after the expiration of the 100 years. The purpose may perhaps be divined for which these clumsy forgeries about this locality were fabricated, but the real facts of the case will probably remain for ever unknown.

The account of Abbot Turketul (attributed to Abbot Egelric the Younger in page 107, but apparently to the Sempeets in page 48) bears abundant marks of a fanciful and spurious origin. It is founded, there can be little doubt, on the comparatively meagre narrative of Vitalis, who mentions Turketul as merely a clerk, and of the royal race. In the present narrative, however, he is expanded into King Edred's Chancellor; an officer who, as the late Sir Francis Palgrave has remarked (vol. xxxiv., of the *Quarterly Review*), "if he did exist among the other officers of the Anglo-Saxon Court, was nothing more than a notary or scribe, entirely destitute of the high authority which Ingulf bestows upon him." With the same writer, we must of necessity agree in rejecting the puerile account (p. 37) of Turketul's prowess at the Battle of Brunenburgh. A story, which relates how that he penetrated the hostile ranks, struck down the enemy right and left, and, amid torrents of blood, reached the king of the Scots; and then immediately stultifies itself by telling us, that in after-times, when he had assumed the monastic garb, he "esteemed himself happy and fortunate in that he had never slain a man, nor even wounded one," surely

cannot have been penned by a person who really knew anything about Turketul, and is evidently deserving of no serious attention from any one in possession of his senses. The whole story of the birth, education, promotion, fortunes, and deeds of Abbot Ingulf, there can be little doubt, with the exception of the slight foundation afforded by the pages of Vitalis, is as unsubstantial and fictitious as the narrative in reference to Turketul. "The passage respecting the education of Ingulfus (at Oxford)," remarks Sir F. Palgrave, "long since roused the suspicion of Gibbon, and it still remains to be proved that Aristotle formed part of the course of education at the University of Oxford at a time when his works were studied in no part of Christendom." It seems not improbable that this story of Ingulf's education at Oxford owes its existence to the fact, of the *History* having been compiled at a period when the scholastic dispute began to run high in reference to the comparative antiquity of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

In narrating the particulars of his journey to the East, Ingulf tells us that he first visited the court of Alexius, Emperor of Constantinople, and immediately afterwards was welcomed by Sophronius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem (p. 74). These assertions are quite irreconcilable; for Sophronius died A.D. 1059, and the first Emperor named "Alexius" did not ascend the throne until A.D. 1081.

Radulph, or Ralph, Earl of Hereford, was the *son* of Goda, sister of Edward the Confessor; whereas the compilers of the present narrative (p. 67) represent him as being her husband, a mistake which a contemporary certainly would not have made.

The stories told (pp. 70, 98) as to the Saxon mode of signing charters with golden crosses, and decorating them with paintings of a splendid and costly description, is utterly unfounded; and there can be little doubt that, in the real ignorance of the forgers as to the Saxon usage, they were penned with the view of supporting the Croyland Charters when the so-called originals should come to be proffered in court. The remarks of Sir F. Palgrave on this subject are much to the purpose: "It is familiarly known," he says, "that the Anglo-Saxons confirmed their deeds by subscribing the sign of the Cross, and that the Charters themselves are fairly, but plainly, engrossed on parchment. But instead of

imitating these unostentatious instruments, the elaborate forgers often endeavoured to obtain respect for their fabrications by investing them with as much splendour as possible; and those grand crosses of vermilion and azure which dazzled the eyes and deceived the judgment of the Court when produced before a bench of simple and unsuspecting lawyers, now reveal the secret fraud to the lynx-eyed antiquary. The Charter of Ethelbald, called the '*Golden Charter*,' bears the impress of falsity."

Vitalis tells us that Abbot Ingulf ruled the monastery twenty-four years, and that his successor Geoffrey was appointed A.D. 1109; thus making the year of Ingulf's nomination to be A.D. 1085. In the present narrative, on the other hand, Ingulf makes himself to have been appointed Abbot immediately on the deposition of Abbot Wulketul; an event which took place A.D. 1075 (pp. 73, 79, 94), ten years in fact before the date given by Vitalis. The earlier date, however, is assigned to Ingulf's nomination in the Peterborough Chronicle, already mentioned. A very suspicious fact, too, is the assertion that, on his deposition in 1075, Abbot Wulketul was placed in the custody (p. 73) of Thurstan, the Norman "Abbot of Glastonbury;" while in reality, as we learn from William of Malmesbury's *Antiquities of Glastonbury*, Thurstan (or Turstin) did not receive that appointment until A.D. 1081.

The alleged sitting (p. 77) of the "King's Justiciars" at Stamford A.D. 1075, for the trial of causes, is an anachronism. Such a thing was unheard of until about a century later, at the earliest.

The assertion is risked (pp. 79, 80) that King Alfred had compiled a roll, very similar to *Domesday*, the whole country being marked out in it by counties, hundreds, and tithings. In reference to this passage Sir Henry Ellis has remarked (*General Introd. to Domesday*, vol. i. p. 1, ed. 1833), that the formation of such a survey in the time of Alfred may be more than doubted, as we have not a solitary authority for its existence; and the most diligent investigation has not been able to discover, among the records either of Saxon or of later times, the slightest indication that such a survey was ever known. The separation into counties is also known to have taken place long before the days of Alfred. Had the writer too of Ingulf's *History* really been a Norman

monk, he would never have fallen into the error of asserting (p. 82) that the French *leuca* at the time of the Conquest was equal to two English miles ; the fact being that it only contained twelve furlongs, or one English mile and a half.

As to the assertion risked also (p. 83) that "Philip" was a *very common* name in France in the eleventh century, Du Cange has remarked (*Glossary, s. v. Philippi*) that, so far from such being the case, the name is scarcely ever to be found before the time of Henry I. of France, who was contemporary with Ingulf.

Mention is again made (p. 95) of the "King's Justices in the County," meaning, to all appearance, sitting in Eyre ; and this about a century, as already noticed, before the sittings in Eyre were instituted.

In p. 104 we find the double names, "Harald Gower" and "Roller Quater," represented as belonging to dependents of the convent ; at a period, in fact, when as yet double names were not given to persons of that class.

The *vicarius*, or "vicar," of Wedlongbure, is mentioned A.D. 1091 (p. 105) ; whereas, in reality, vicars of churches were unknown here until about a century after that date.

Another and most convincing proof of the spurious character of this History, is afforded through the agency of the copy of the Laws of William the Conqueror which it professes to give. Selden, in his Notes to *Eadmer* (published A.D. 1623), has printed a transcript of these Laws from a manuscript of Ingulfus, which appeared to him at that date to be about two centuries old, and which, not improbably, was identical with the Cottonian copy, now lost ; while, at the same time, he informs us that he had attempted, but in vain, to get a sight of the (so-called) "Autograph" of Ingulfus. Another copy of these Laws, also in French, is printed by Fulman, in his edition (pp. 88—91), from Sir John Marsham's manuscript of Ingulfus, which seems to have been neither the Cottonian MS. nor the Autograph. Sir Henry Spelman, in his *Concilia* (published A.D. 1639), remarks (vol. i. p. 623) upon the comparative incorrectness of Selden's version, and, after informing us that he himself had gained access to the original (*archetypum*), then preserved, "under three keys," in the church at Croyland, gives five Chapters of these Laws, most carefully transcribed by himself from the original, by way of specimen. Now, of

course, if this manuscript had really been of Abbot Ingulf's time, and penned in 1091, 2, or 3, the laws would have been found to be written in the Norman language of that period. So far, however, from this being the fact, on examination of this specimen, and minute comparison of it with the text of the Holkham Manuscript, of about the thirteenth century, from which Mr. Thorp has printed these Laws in pp. 201—210 of his *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, we find that the French of the so-called "Autograph," satisfactory though it may have been to Sir Henry Spelman, is greatly more corrupt and more unlike pure Norman than that of the manuscript of the thirteenth century. In proof of this, on close inspection—the results of which are given in detail in the note⁵ annexed—we find no less than four-

- ⁵ *sout* (are) Autogr.—*sunt*, Holkham. *sout*, is Picard and Burgundian ; *sunt*, is pure Norman.
- grauntat* (granted) Autogr.—*grantat*, Holkham. *grauntat*, is a Picard and Burgundian form ; *grantat*, Norman.
- conquest* (conquest) Autogr.—*cunquest*, Holkham. *conquest*, is Picard and Burgundian ; *cunquest*, Norman.
- le reis* (the king) Autogr.—*li reis*, Holkham. *le*, is late Picard ; *li*, is Norman.
- son* (his, twice) Autogr.—*sun*, Holkham. *son*, is Picard and Burgundian ; *sun*, Norman.
- cosin* (kinsman) Autogr.—*cusin*, Holkham. *cosin*, is Picard and Burgundian ; *cusin*, Norman.
- saverir* (to know) Autogr.—*saver*, Holkham. *saverir*, is a form that belongs to the mixed dialects ; *saver*, is pure Norman. (But see below.)
- saint* (holy) Autogr.—*seinte*, Holkham. *saint*, is a Picard and Burgundian form ; *seinte*, Norman.
- yglice* (church, fire times) Autogr.—*iglice*, Holkham. *yglice*, is a late form, Anglo-Norman, and perhaps Picard ; *iglice*, is the early form.
- forfait* (offence) Autogr.—*forfeit*, Holkham. *forfait*, is a Picard and Burgundian form ; *forfeit*, Norman.
- se* (if) Autogr.—*si*, Holkham. *se*, is a late general form, after the beginning of the thirteenth century ; *si*, is the early general form.
- religion* (religion) Autogr.—*relighin*, Holkham. *religion*, is Picard and Burgundian ; *relighin*, Norman.
- enfrcint* (breaks) Autogr.—*enfrcint*, Holkham. *enfrcint*, is a Picard and Burgundian form ; *enfrcint*, Norman.
- per* (by) Autogr.—*par*, Holkham. *per*, is the Burgundian form ; *par*, is Norman and Picard.
- home* (man, three times) Autogr.—*hume*, Holkham. *home*, is a form of the mixed dialects ; *hume*, is early Norman.
- escoudire* (to exculpate, twice) Autogr.—*escoudire*, Holkham. *escoudire*, is Picard and Burgundian ; *escoudire*, the Norman form.
- savoir* (to know) Autogr.—*saverir*, Holkham. *saverir*, belongs to the mixed dialects ; *savoir*, to Burgundy and the south of Picardy.

and-thirty instances in which, in lieu of pure Norman, late Anglo-Norman forms of words are to be found in this small but valuable sample of the asserted Autograph; convincingly proving that, instead of having been penned in the days of William Rufus, it had been written by careless and ignorant scribes, whose only acquaintance with the French language was in the corrupt form which it had assumed in this country, in the fourteenth and early part of the fifteenth centuries, as a mixture of the Picard, Norman, Burgundian, and Walloon dialects, and who, in transcribing from an earlier copy of these Laws, had inadvertently given their transcript a tinge of their own period. The Laws of the Conqueror, we may therefore conclude, though even *there* incorrectly transcribed to some extent, are to be read in a state much more closely approaching their original purity, in the Holkham MS., of a date two centuries posterior to the days of the Conqueror, than they would have been in the so-called "Autograph" of his contemporary, Abbot Ingulf, had it fortunately survived to our times.

Another somewhat suspicious circumstance which remains to be noticed, with reference alike to the Charters and the *History* of Ingulfus, is the fact that the names of all localities around, or in any way connected with, Croyland, are there to be found spelt, in the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, almost exactly the same as, from pp. 502—512 of the *Second Continuation*, we know they were at the beginning of the fifteenth century: a lapse of 700 years seems to have made the very smallest difference in this respect.

forfaiture (penalty) Autogr.—*forfeiture*, Holkham. *forfaiture*, is a Picard and Burgundian form; *forfeiture*, Norman.

lui ("the," sing. nom.) Autogr.—*li*, Holkham. *lui*, is probably a Walloon form; *li*, is Norman, Picard, and Burgundian.

le ("the," sing. nom.) Autogr.—*li*, Holkham. *le*, is Picard; *li*, Picard, Burgundian, or Norman.

baron (baron) Autogr.—*barun*, Holkham. *baron*, is a form of the mixed dialects; *barun*, is Norman.

doner (to give) Autogr.—*duner*, Holkham. *doner*, is Picard and Burgundian; *duner*, Norman.

demaïne (demesue) Autogr.—*demeïne*, Holkham. *demaïne*, is a Picard and Burgundian form; *demeïne*, Norman.

Three other instances are omitted. On the other hand, there are but six instances in the so-called "Autograph," in which forms are found that have the appearance of being purer Norman than the corresponding words in the Holkham Manuscript. Into the question of the *genuineness* of these "Laws of the Conqueror" we do not profess to enter.

We propose to conclude this branch of our enquiry by subjecting the *History* of Ingulfus to the same test to which the Charters have been already subjected: the detection of errors and anachronisms in the use of words and expressions, implied to have been used at a time when in reality they were unknown. The list, however, might probably be very considerably extended.

Vastum, "waste;" *catalla*, "chattels;" *latomus*, "a mason;" and *argenti trecentas libras*, "three hundred pounds of silver" (p. 4), are expressions that were never used, as asserted, by a poet of the eighth century, we may safely say. *Loquutorium*, "a parlour" of a convent (p. 23), is a suspicious term in an account of the ravages of the Danes, purporting to have been penned in the tenth century. *Pinguissima prebenda*, "a very fat prebend" (p. 30), is an expression savouring of a much later age than that of the Sempeets or the Younger Egelric, who are represented as living in the tenth century. *Theoricum verbum*, "the word of God," is a phrase probably not to be found before the time of John of Genoa, whose Glossary was written in the thirteenth century. Hickes has remarked that the Ordinances of Abbot Turketul are drawn up too much in accordance with Norman notions to be genuine; and instances such words as *garcio*, "servant," *pitantarius*, "pittancer," and *froccus*, "frock," which are there to be found, as being of purely Gallic origin. *Armiger*, "an esquire" (p. 49), is another word too, not very likely to be met with in a code of regulations made by a Saxon Abbot in the tenth century. *Indentura*, "indented list," a word employed (p. 51) in the account of the disposition of his property by Abbot Turketul, is in reality not to be found in use until the reign of King John or Henry III.

Cariare, "to carry" (p. 52), and *bracinum*, "a brewery" (p. 53), are words which, there can be little doubt, belong to a period some two centuries later than the time of Ingulf; a remark which also applies to the use of *secta*, as meaning "a suit of clothes," in p. 54. *Miles*, "a knight," and *manerium*, "a manor" (p. 63), are equally out of place; and the employment of the word *justitarius*, "a justiciar" (p. 63), is a signal anachronism—once or twice repeated in the work—that word being nowhere else to be found until about the middle of the eleventh century. "*Justitia*" is

the term universally employed to signify a "justice," or "judge," by writers contemporary with William the Conqueror. *Panis secundarius*, "second bread" (p. 66), is an expression of later date than the days of the Conqueror by probably two or three centuries; and we certainly cannot but be taken by surprise at the mention (p. 68) of *corium coctum*, "boiled leather," or *cuir bouilli*, being used for defensive armour by the troops of Earl Harold, in the days of Edward the Confessor!

In p. 78 we meet with the legal word *separalis*, "several," or "separate," which, although introduced also into the fictitious Charters of Edred and Edgar, is not to be met with probably before the beginning of the thirteenth century; and the expression in the following page, *ejus venerabilem personam*, "his venerable person," has the appearance of belonging to a still more recent date. *Portiforium*, "a breviary" (p. 79), is a word not to be found elsewhere till the close of the thirteenth century; *copia*, "a copy" (p. 92), was not so early in use probably by two centuries; and *quindena*, "a quinzaine," or "fortnight" (p. 95), is probably nowhere else to be found until near a century and a half after Ingulf's day.

Conquassare, "to crush" (p. 97), is a word first found in use probably some two centuries later; so too is the form *corrodiarius*, "a corodier," or "pensioner" (pp. 97, 98); while the word *carcosium*, "a carcase," it is presumed, is not to be met with elsewhere before the thirteenth century. *Nativus*, as meaning "a serf" or "bondman" (p. 101), belongs probably to the thirteenth century; and *campanile*, "a belfry," is not a word of Ingulf's age. *Serjantia*, "a serjeanty" (pp. 103, 104), and *publicum parliamentum*, "a public parliament" or "sitting" (pp. 103, 131), are expressions not to be found elsewhere until nearly one hundred years later; while such appellations as *serviens cissor* and *serviens sutor*, "serjeant-tailor" and "serjeant-shoemaker" (p. 103), belong to the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The phrase too, *in tabulis*, "in boards" (p. 104), as applied to the sides of a book, hardly seems to belong to the days of William the Conqueror or his son. *Sewera*, "a drain," in the closing page (107), is undoubtedly a word unknown till a century or more after that date.

(To be continued.)

TRACES OF HISTORY AND ETHNOLOGY IN THE LOCAL NAMES
OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE—(*Continued*).¹

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IN the early part of the Saxon period, previous to the comprehensive dominion of Wessex, the political relations of this district appear very precarious, and subject to the vicissitudes incidental to border-lands.

If the valley of the Severn was overrun by Wessex in the sixth century, it was not a permanent conquest, for in the course of the ensuing century this district fell under the growing power of Mercia. From the latter end of the seventh century we begin to have some details of Hwiccia, as the *biet* of the Severn was then called; and it constantly appears as subordinate to Mercia. It had a king of its own, but he is spoken of as a dependent king, under Æthelred of Mercia. “Hwiccorum subregulus Osherus, vir multum laudabilis. Hwicciam, cui dignitate præsidebat regiâ, &c.” (Florence Chron., Appendix, v. Hwiccia.)

HWICCIA was one of the five *parochia*, or dioceses, into which Mercia was divided in the time of Archbishop Theodore, A.D. 680. The see of this diocese was fixed at Worcester, as the ancient capital of Hwiccia and Magesiania, the one in the lower, and the other in the upper Severn-biet. Thus we get a rough definition of ancient Hwiccia; viz., the southern half of the old diocese of Worcester. This will correspond to a large extent with the present county of Gloucestershire. A passage in Florence, *anno* 879, describes Cirencester as being situate “in meridianâ parte Wiccorum.”

Certainly Hwiccia formed part of the dominions of the Mercian King Offa—the “rex formidolosus Offa”—who fills

¹ Of this Memoir, communicated at the Annual Meeting of the Institute at Gloucester, July, 1869, the preceding

portion has been given in this Journal, vol. xviii. p. 342.

the view nearly throughout the second half of the eighth century. In his time there is no question who sways Hwiccia ; the debateable land is transferred to the other bank of the Severn. It is the country between the Severn and the Wye which is now in a state of agitation, and we can hardly doubt that under Offa it was finally annexed to the English territory. This land bears manifest traces of having been settled by the English in early times, and the reign of Offa will agree well with all the data. The Welsh chronicles, somewhat indistinctly, represent a conquest by Offa, secured by his Dyke, but afterwards partially lost again ; the Welsh having destroyed his first Dyke, and having compelled him to be satisfied with a less ambitious boundary line.² The Gloucestershire portion of Offa's Dyke has been studiously investigated by Dr. Ormerod, of Sedbury Park, and the results are printed in his "Strigulensia," pp. 50—59.

Florence notices the succession of Hwiccian bishops with a marked regularity. He was a monk of Worcester, and had the catalogue at hand.

HWICCIA is a name to rouse curiosity what its origin may have been. Rudder associates it with another problematical word, viz., "wich." He supposes that Hwiccia was so called from the "many briny wells, which the ancient English in their language called 'wiches,' whence with little trouble they made salt."

Another query which might interest us about this name, is whether, being itself extinct, it has left any derivatives behind it ? The names of districts are apt to reproduce themselves in two opposite directions. The first and most obvious is, at the capital city. The chief towns of France offer a familiar illustration of this propagation of the name of an ancient tribe or district. Thus the ancient nation of the *Treviri* is still represented in the name of *Treves* ; that of *Bituriges* in *Bourges* ; of the *Redones* in *Rennes* ; and that of the *Parisii* in *Paris*. This has not been so much the case in our island. Here the district name has reproduced itself more generally on the confines. For instance, on the western boundary line of Gloucestershire, which is also the line of division between England and Wales, we have the names of England and Wales reproduced adjectively in "English

² *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1856, p. 152.

Bicknor" and "Welsh Bicknor." It would not be unprecedented if the names of England and Wales were to pass into oblivion, while "English Bicknor" and "Welsh Bicknor"—one or both—retained their position on the map. The antiquarian of the remote future, retracing the limits of England and Wales, would hail with a cry of joy these village names, which would be to him as a beacon. Similarly, I venture to greet the name of Wychwood, as a relic of ancient Hwiccia. "Wychwood Forest" is in Oxfordshire, but it extends within a short distance of the borders of Gloucestershire, occupying the watershed between Severn and Thames, the presumed verge of Hwiccia; and in a document bearing the date of Christmas-day, A.D. 841, it is spelt "Hwiccewudu."³ All this points to the conclusion that in this name we have a memorial of the ancient Huiccas. The fair which is, or was, annually held in Wychwood Forest, may contain a tradition of the time when stranger-nations met there, as on a neutral territory, to exchange their respective commodities. Further north, near the confines of three counties,—Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Warwickshire,—we have another possible offset of Hwiccia, in the name Whichford.

One thing is plain. It was in the times when "Hwiccia" was a living designation that the bulk of the Gloucestershire names were formed, and this must be my excuse for dwelling so long upon it. This name retained its activity down to the ninth century, and there are few names on the map of Gloucestershire which had not come into existence by that date.

The usual Saxon names occur in this county, but the *tous* are vastly in the majority. *Wicks* and *worths* are comparatively numerous, but the *tous* are to either of these as ten to one. This throws Gloucestershire into the same category with the country west of the Parrett, especially Devonshire, and indicates (probably) that there was an active influx of West Saxon settlers in the ninth century.

That remarkable line of kings which begins with the accession of Egberht, in the year 809, was attended with its natural consequence, that the population of Wessex overflowed its ancient boundaries, and swarmed forth in search

³ Kemble, Cod. Dipl. No. 217.

of new settlements. The Walas had to retire beyond the Tamar, or be content to have the Saxon for a neighbour and a lord. The same causes may have led to an infusion of fresh Saxon blood into the Anglian (or mostly Anglian) Hwiccia. The prevalence of a Wessex strain of names, interspersed with occasional peculiarities of the Anglian, invites this supposition. But I dare not advance the pretension of being able to distinguish Anglian names from Saxon, with a certainty strong enough to sustain the weight of an historical deduction. It is not only on observation of the names that I rest the opinion of such an influx from Wessex. The records contain, not indeed an explicit statement to this effect, but a very stimulating suggestion of its probability. The year 800 is marked by the event which after-times recognized as highly important, the accession of Egberht. But before time had unfolded all that was involved in that event, the year and the day of Egberht's accession received its lustre from a propitious incident which happened on the border. On that very day the Hwiccian commandant made a foray over the border, *i.e.*, over the Thames, into Wiltshire. The commandant of Wiltshire promptly met the invader; the parties engaged, both leaders fell, but the prowess of the men of Wiltshire secured victory for Wessex. Can we suppose—does history allow us any opening to imagine, even if we were so inclined—that the warlike Egberht let this insult pass without further notice. If such had been the case, I believe it would never have figured in the Annals at all. Our annals at that early date are very meagre, but perhaps they contain more than has yet been extracted. They are contemporary in one sense, and yet not in the rigid sense of having been penned journal-wise, year by year. The selection of recorded events is not so arbitrary or accidental as it seems. In short, I believe that this raid of Egberht's accession day was well remembered, and, before that generation passed away, securely scored in the annal, just because it was fruitful in consequences, and because it was well revenged. Add to this the consideration, that either by fear or favour, Hwiccia must have been pacified towards Wessex before Egberht set out on his Northumbrian expedition, and I think we have data enough to warrant the acceptance of the probable inference, that by Egberht, Hwiccia was thrown open to

emigrants and adventurers from the swarming bee-hive of Wessex.

If the above reasoning has smoothed the way for a Saxon immigration into Hwiccia in the ninth century, we have an explanation of the preponderance of *toms* and the large proportion of *hamptons*, and generally, of the *Saxon* complexion of the naming of Gloucestershire. But here I imagine an objection occurring to the reader. If we accept the construction which Dr. Guest has put on certain notices of the sixth century, this brings the Saxon triumphantly up the Severn, and would seem to offer a deeper ground for any Saxonisms observable in the nomenclature of Gloucestershire. But to this there is a double answer. First, from history. It has been shown above that if Hwiccia was conquered by Wessex arms in the sixth century, it did not continue permanently subject to the throne of Wessex. We have glanced at two hundred years of Mercian,—*i.e.*, Anglian,—dominion over Hwiccia. Even if the Wessex success was ever consolidated as a conquest, which has not been made to appear, and if there was a Saxon colony or colonies settled in the district (which is still less likely), they must have been soon absorbed in the Anglian population; and, isolated from Wessex, they must have lost all their distinctive Saxon character. This is the first answer to the supposed objection, taken from a view of the history. The second answer arises from the philological view. We find tangible marks of Anglian dialect in such a name, for instance, as “Yate,” which I interpret as the Anglian form of the Saxon “Gate.” But on this point of the Anglian complexion of ancient Gloucestershire, we may gather evidence from a term which has been noticed as a curiosity in Domesday, and which is found (with one single exception) only in the Severn district.¹ This is the *Radchenistres*, sometimes called *Radmans*. They are mentioned three times in Gloucestershire, *viz.*, at Berchelai, Teodechesberie, Derheste; three times in Herefordshire, twice in Worcestershire, and through all the other counties only once, *viz.*, at Gosei (Berks). They are understood to have been freemen who performed certain military services on horseback. The Rad-man, so clumsily pluralified into Rad-mans, is simply a “riding-man.” Appa-

¹ Sir H. Ellis, “Introduction to Domesday,” vol. i., p. 72.

rently they were needed as a kind of mounted constabulary in the neighbourhood of the Welsh border.

But the strange word *Rad-chenistres* demands a little attention. This is one of the cases in which the Norman education of the surveyors is of use to us. As they were unacquainted with the literary forms of the Saxon language, we get from their hand, not a conventional, but a phonetic spelling. This *chenistres* is just what would have been spelt by the Saxon who could write—*cnihitas*, and corresponds etymologically to our *knights*, or the German *knechte*; meaning, at the time we speak of, simply *serving-men*, and hardly so much as *soldiers*. Now there is a great difference between the word *chenistres* and the word *cnihitas*, and it is a difference which is capable of specification under three heads. First, there is the “che-” instead of the “c-,” *i.e.*, k-sound; secondly, there is the sibilant “s” in place of the dry guttural “h;” and, thirdly, there is the insertion of an “r” in the syllable which is formative of the plural. The two latter were probably features of the Anglian dialect, as well as the Y for G which has been noticed above. We may bracket the two cases together by a comparison with a German *patois*. In some parts of Germany the peasants, instead of *Guten Morgen—wo gehen sie hin?* say, *Yuten Moryen—wo yehen sie hin?* and, at the same time, instead of *welcher* they say *welsher*. Very like this are the peculiarities which we here attribute to the Anglian. Nearly a century later we have an opportunity of comparing how they spelt this *cnihit* at Winchester. In the *Liber Winton*, of which the date is 1148, we find at fol. 531 b, the following entry: “Et ibi de justa (-near) fuit Chenietehalla, ubi chenietes potabant Gildam suam, et eam liberè tenebant de rege Edwardo.” And again at 533 a., “Chenietes tenebant la chenietahalla liberè de Rege Edwardo.” Here, in the centre of Saxondom, though we find the CH-, yet there is no S in the middle, nor any R in the termination. This R must be Anglian. We are familiar with one instance in which the letter R enters into the formation of a plural, in the case of, singular, *child*; plural, *children*. But in the Danish language this is *the* letter (as S with us) which is formative of the plural. In Danish, “king” is *kong*, and “kings” is *konger*. The Anglian was a nearer neighbour to the Scandinavian languages (in the original continental

settlements), and it appears to have been permanently affected by them.

A few other peculiar forms which are found in this county I venture to attribute to Anglicism. There are three parishes of the name of Sodbury, a simple name, meaning "South bury," and yet not occurring anywhere else. There are in various parts of England names in which the word "South" appears in the form of Sud—*e.g.*, Sudborne, Sudbury (Suffolk), Sudborough (Northants), Sudbrook (Line.), Sudbury (Derby); but these are confined to the Anglian or Danish parts, and I find none in Saxondom Proper. Gloucestershire adds to the list Sudeley-Manor, near Winchcombe. It is well known that the Anglians differed markedly from the Saxon by using D for Ð, and *vice versa*.

Coaley (near Dursley) is a singular name, apparently an Anglicism for the familiar Saxon "Cowley."

The Anglians appear to have shared with the Danes a tendency to ignore the initial W in such words as "wool," "wolf," "wood," "week," &c. Accordingly I would explain the singular name of "Olveston" as being "wolf-stone," like "Wolfstein" in Bavaria. Probably the name "Owlpen" belongs to the same set. I do not find any name elsewhere that begins with "Owl,"—but in the Anglo-Danish districts there are three places of the name of Oulton. I suppose the first syllables in these two cases to have one origin, namely, the Anglian form of the word which we call *wool*, but which they sounded without the W.

But distinctions between Anglian and Saxon are rather too minute and uncertain for us to build much upon them. I will merely notice one or two more forms which belong to this period, and then pass on to the Danes. A form which bears a local stamp is *lode* or *lode*. We find St. Mary Lode, Abload, Evenlode, Framilode, Cricklade, Lechlade.

This word *lode* or *lade* (A.S. *gelad*), signifies the passage or course of a journey by land or by sea, but in these names it is employed for a passage or ferry across a river. Lechlade is the passage over the Thames at the mouth of the river Leach. Cricklade is the passage over the Thames at the spot known either by a remarkable stone (*cerriq*), or, what is more probable, by its paved or stony character; so that this word is equivalent to Stamford, both meaning "stony-ford." This name Cricklade has figured both in political

and in literary history. It held a prominent position in Saxon times, as one of the chief gates of connection between Wessex and Mercia. In the Chronicles, anno 905, it is distinctly so recognised. The Danish army ravaged Mercia *till they came to Cricklade* (oð hie comon to Creccagelade), whence they crossed into Wessex. Reversely, in 1016, Cnut crossed over the Thames into Mercia at Cricklade (ofer Temese into Myrcan æt Cræcilade). We perceive that the lapse of years between 905 and 1016 had told upon the form of Creccagelad, and reduced it to a convenient shape for the etymological experiments that were to be practised upon it. Brompton, towards the close of the fourteenth century, writes thus: "Secundum quosdam fuerunt duo studia in Anglia, unum de Latino, et aliud de Græco, quorum unum Græci posuerunt apud *Greglade*, quæ modo dicitur *Kirkelade*, et ibidem linguam Græcam pro tempore docuerunt, &c." Lechlade was the other school, which was devoted to Latin studies. It should be observed that Brompton lived in Yorkshire, and may be excused for misrepresenting the name, as he does, by spelling it Greglade, unless he did it to enhance the plausibility of his etymon. Whether it was ever called Kirkelade or not, there is no inherent improbability in it, as we find it written "Crikelade" and "Criklade," and a slight metathesis would have transformed it into *Kirkelade*. But Gibson (A.D. 1692) cannot tolerate such ignorance on the part of Brompton.—"Verum commentum istud merito tribuunt alii eorum imperitiæ, utpote qui ne linguam quidem vernaculam suam intellexerint." And having thus spoken, the indignant scholar proceeds to clear it up for present and future generations. "*Crecca* enim Saxonice est *amnis, torrens in majorem fluvium labens, et ladian, purgare, exonerare*; unde non dubium est quin vocabulum profluxit; cum eo loci in fluvium *Tamesin* sese aquæ exonerant." The Abbot of Jervaux Abbey is avenged.

The name of "Yate" has been noticed above. It is a dialectic form of "gate," and this place is written as "Giete" in Domesday. There seems to be some local partiality for names in *-gate*. Two of the Hundreds are called Rapsgate and Kiftsgate. The old meaning of this word was not as now, an opening to pass through, or the moveable barrier which closes such opening, but a *road, way*, or means of *going*,

for it springs from the verb to *go*. And this may, perhaps, have been the sense of the word in the street-names in Gloucester—Northgate, Southgate, Eastgate, Westgate.

Descending in historical order, we next come to the Danes. It will have been seen above that I have attributed to Anglian idiom several forms which might have been pressed into this part. But it does not appear to me that history favours the idea of colonies of Danes settling in Gloucestershire. If, however, this difficulty could be removed, it would not be impossible to collect a respectable little list of names in connection with them. Besides much of what has been called Anglian, others might be found of a Danish complexion, one or two ending in *-trop* or *-throp*, as Addlestrop, Southrop, but especially the former. For this modified form of the more usual “-thorpe,” (German, “Dorf,”) approaches closely to the form “-trup” with which the map of Denmark is thickly studded. And it is by no means impossible that a few Danish hamlets may have been formed in Gloucestershire, but these few scattered data do not warrant us in concluding so, unless we are sure that the presence of the Anglian element is insufficient to account for them. It has been shown that “Dean” Forest is not to be associated with the Danes. There is, however, another name in the county which seems to challenge such an association, and that is the name “Daneway,” near Stroud. This name obtains increased importance from the fact that the Danes did on one *recorded* occasion ascend the Thames, and from the Upper Thames cross over into the Severn. In such a transit, Daneway, near Stroud, might seem to fall in very well with the line required. And if, as is likely, the Danes effected this movement not once only, but had established a track between the Thames and Severn, to complete the communication between the two great estuaries which they haunted, such a relic as the name of Daneway might well survive upon that track. Yet, with all this amount of probability, I am not sanguine that the name has so historical an origin. I can only judge of the ground by the Ordnance Map, but that seems to countenance the humbler interpretation of “low or hollow way.” Moreover, it may be doubted whether the pirates would choose so northerly a course. There is another question of topography, which, if it could be determined, would help in this inquiry. At the

time of the transit referred to, viz., A.D. 894, the Danes are followed to Buttington, on the Severn, and are there besieged by the Saxons. Now there are two Buttingtons on the Severn, one in Gloucestershire, the other in Montgomeryshire. The latter has generally been identified with the events of 894, chiefly because the text states that on arriving at the Severn the Danes went *up the Severn* to Buttington. Now, although this would seem to apply more readily to the Buttington in Montgomeryshire, yet it is not impossible that the course of the Danes from the Thames might have taken so southward a bearing as to bring them to the Severn below Buttington near Chepstow. Dr. Ormerod, who lives in that neighbourhood, is strongly in favour of this view. Much may be said on either side; but if the laurels of Buttington be given to Gloucestershire, it makes an argument against the connection of Daneway with the Danes.

We must now pass on to the Domesday Survey. From the list of Gloucestershire names which that record exhibits, we see how early the spots of human habitation were fixed upon, and how completely their present names belong to a by-gone era of our language.

The following lists are arranged according to the Hundreds as they were in 1066. In the present day there are 28 Hundreds, but in 1066 there appears to have been 42.

I am indebted for many of the identifications to my friend and colleague the Rev. Athelstan Corbet, whose keen and acute research I have much pleasure in acknowledging.

DOMESDAY

BACHESTANES II^d

Actone	<i>Iron Acton</i>	Wichen	? <i>Wickwar</i>
Torteword	<i>Tortworth</i>	Cirvelde	<i>Charfield</i>

BEGEBERIE II^d

Aldesorde

BERCHELAI II^d (BERKELEY II^d)

Hilla	<i>Hill</i>	Euuelege	<i>Uley</i>
Almintune	<i>Elmington</i>	Nimdesielle	<i>Nimpsfield</i>
Hinctune	<i>Hinton House</i>	Vutune	<i>Wootton-under-Edge</i>
Camma	<i>Cam</i>	Sinnondeshale	<i>Symond's Hall</i>
Gosintune	<i>Gossington Hall</i>	Chingescote	<i>Kingscote</i>
Dersilege	<i>Dursley</i>	Beurestane	<i>Beverstone</i>
Coulege	<i>Couley</i>	Osleuorde	<i>Ozleworth</i>

Almondsberie . . .	<i>Almondsbury</i>	Cromhal . . .	<i>Cromhall</i>
Horefelle . . .	<i>Horfield</i>	Heslinbruge . . .	
Westone . . .	<i>King's Weston</i>	Clanhangare . . .	
Elberton . . .	<i>Elberton</i>	Hirslege . . .	
Cromale . . .	<i>Cromhall</i>	Neueton . . .	
Erlingeham . . .	<i>Arvingham</i>	Nesse . . .	<i>Sharp Ness Point</i>
Eseleuorde . . .	<i>Ashleworth</i>		

BERNTONE II^d

Bernintone . . .		Svintone . . .	
Wemie . . .		Achelle . . .	
Stratone . . .			

BERNINTREV II^d

Hvesberie . . .	<i>Wistbury</i>	Bristow . . .	<i>Bristol</i>
Henberie . . .	<i>Honbury</i>	Austreliue . . .	<i>Aust</i>
Redeniche . . .	<i>Redwick</i>	Contone . . .	<i>Compton</i>
Stoche . . .	<i>Stoke Gifford</i>	Iectune . . .	<i>Stone</i>
Giete . . .	<i>Yate</i>		

BISELEGE II^d (BISLEY II^d)

B-selege . . .	<i>Bisley</i>	Modiete . . .	
Westone . . .		Tedcham . . .	
Troham . . .	<i>Througham or Druif-</i> <i>ham</i>	Sapletonne . . .	<i>Salperton</i>
Wiche . . .	<i>Paloswick</i>	Grenhamstede . . .	
Egesworde . . .	<i>Edgworth</i>	Winestane . . .	<i>Winston</i>

BLACELAVVES II^d

Froweestre . . .	<i>Frocester</i>	Fridorne . . .	<i>Frotherne Saul</i>
Stanhus . . .	<i>Standish</i>	Widecestre . . .	<i>Woolchester</i>
Stanlege . . .	<i>Stanby, King's</i>	Witenhert . . .	<i>Whatchurst</i>
Frantone . . .	<i>Frampton</i>	Alerintone . . .	
Stantone . . .			

BLITESLAV II^d (BLIDESLOE II^d)

Avre . . .		Peritune . . .	<i>Purton</i>
Nest . . .	<i>Nass</i>	Lindenee . . .	<i>Lydney</i>
Pontune . . .			

BOTELAV II^d (BOTLOE II^d)

Dinock . . .	<i>Dinock</i>	Tatinton . . .	<i>Tatyton</i>
Lodene . . .	<i>River Loddon</i>	Chenepelei . . .	<i>Kempley</i>
Noent . . .	<i>Nawent</i>	Horsenehal . . .	
Telbiston . . .	<i>Tilberton</i>	Crasowel . . .	
Huntelei . . .	<i>Huntley</i>	Brynneberge . . .	<i>Broomsbarrow</i>
Tatinton . . .		Rydeford . . .	<i>Rudford</i>

BRADELEGE II^d (BRADLEY II^d)

Leage . . .	<i>North Leach</i>	Hantone . . .	
Statonella . . .	<i>Stowell</i>	Turchedene . . .	<i>Turkdean</i>
Cubberlege . . .	<i>Cubberley</i>	Salpretone . . .	<i>Salperton</i>
Tormentone . . .		Winestone . . .	<i>Winston</i>
Cyntone . . .	<i>Compton</i>	Hasedene . . .	<i>Haslton</i>
Turghedene . . .	<i>Turkdean</i>	Teneorde . . .	

Giuingtone	Contone
Hasefelle <i>Haresfield</i>	Praeston <i>Praeston-on-Stour</i>
Lemningtove	Welleford <i>Welford</i>
Hochinton	Olsendone
Staruenton <i>Staverton</i>	Lalege
Colne <i>Coln St. Dennis</i>	Valton
Caldecot <i>Calcotts</i>	Cameberton

DYDESTAN II^d (DUDSTONE and KING'S BARTON II^d)

Hersefel <i>Haresfield</i>	Berneude
Athelai <i>Hatherley</i>	Tullege
Saumer <i>Sundhurst</i>	Merenuent
Hersecome <i>Harscomb</i>	Beiewrde
Brostorp <i>Brockrupp</i>	Vletone
Hechanestele	Connicote
Ylceestre <i>Woodchester</i>	Brocowarding <i>Brocworth</i>
Bertvne	Bevvrne

DVNESTANE II^d

Wadvne	Vtone
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EDREDESTANE II^d

Meresfelle <i>Marshfield</i>	Sopeberie
Bertone	Dodintone <i>Doddington</i>
Bristov <i>Bristol</i>	Tormentone
Manegodesfelle <i>Mangetsfield</i>	

GERSDON II^d

Omenel	Esbroe
Omenie <i>Ampney Crucis</i>	Cernei
Hantone	Omenie <i>Down Ampney</i>
Omenie <i>Ampney St. Peter</i>	Omenie <i>Ampney Knowl</i>
Drifelle <i>Driffield</i>	Esthroe
Harchille <i>Harnhill</i>	Omenie <i>Ampney Riding</i>
Omenie <i>Ampney St. Mary</i>	Wenrie
Cernei <i>South Cerney</i>	

GRETESTANES II^d

Tveninge <i>Twining</i>	Litentone
Frodantvne	Heile <i>Hayles</i>
Alhantone <i>Alderton</i>	Wermeton <i>Wormington</i>
Niwertone <i>Narinton</i>	Wicvne <i>Child's Wickham</i>
Stantone <i>Stratton</i>	Litvne
Charleton <i>Charlton Abbots</i>	Estvne
Dumbentone <i>Dunblton</i>	Poteslepe <i>Postlip</i>

GRIMBOLDESTOWES II^d (GRIMBALD'S ASH II^d)

Boxwelle <i>Boxwell</i>	Aldeberie <i>Oldbury-on-the-Hill</i>
Hawchesherie <i>Hawkesbury</i>	Machmintvne <i>Badminton</i>
Sopeberie <i>Sodbury</i>	Achetone
Draham <i>Dryham</i>	Alreio
Hazelone <i>Horton</i>	Hildeslei
De Inartone <i>Dudnorton</i>	

HOLEFORDES II^d

Snawesille	<i>Snowhill</i>	Getinge	<i>Lower Guiting</i>
Kawelle	<i>Rowell</i>	Hallinge	<i>Hawling</i>
Ferneecote		Getinge	
Getinge	<i>Upp. Guiting</i>	Pignoesine	
Cateslat	<i>Castlett</i>		

LANGEBRIGE II^d

Lessedvne	Morcote
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LANGELEI II^d (LANGLEY and SWINESHEAD II^d)

Alwestan	<i>Alveston</i>	Liteltone	<i>Littleton</i>
Tvrnberie	<i>Thorbury</i>	Rochemptone	<i>Rockhampton</i>
Herdicote	<i>Erthcott</i>	Frantone	<i>Frampton Cotterell</i>
Alvestone	<i>Olveston</i>		

LANGENEI II^d

Tochintune

LANGETREV II^d (LONGTREE II^d)

Aveninge	<i>Arving</i>	Westone	<i>Weston Birt</i>
Vdecestre	<i>Woodchester</i>	Teteberie	<i>Tatbury</i>
Hantone		Vptone	<i>Upton Grove</i>
Horselei	<i>Horseley</i>	Cvlcortorne	<i>Culkerton</i>
Redmerton	<i>Rodmarton</i>	Hasedene	
Lesseberge	<i>Lusboro</i>	Cerintone	<i>Cherington</i>
Sciptone		Sciptone	<i>Skipton Moyne</i>
Scireuold			

LEDENEI II^d

Alvredestone	Ledenei
Wigheiete	Hiwoldestone

LETBERGE II^d

Lega	Stoche
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PVLCRECERCE II^d (PUCKLECHURCH II^d)

Didintone	<i>Doddington</i>	Escetone	
Wapelle	<i>Wapley</i>	Sistone	<i>Siston</i>

RESPIGET II^d (RAPSGATE II^d)

Cedeorde	<i>Chidworth</i>	Bardintone	
Cernei		Cernei	<i>North Cerney</i>
Cylesborne	<i>Colesbourne</i>	Rindecome	<i>Rendcomb</i>
Aicote		Side	<i>Syde</i>
Begeberie		Dantesborne	<i>Duntsborne Abbots</i>
Kvlege		Pantelie	
Tantesborne		Chilcote	
Coherleie	<i>Cowley</i>	Chitiford	
Brimesfelde	<i>Brimpsfield</i>	Ilege	
Aldeberie		Dantesborne	<i>Duntsborne Rouse</i>

SALEMANESBERIE II^d (SLAUGHTER II^d)

Sclostre	<i>Slaughter</i>	Ailewrd	
Westberie	<i>Westcote</i>	Icumbe	<i>Icomb</i>
Chistone		Riselvne	<i>Risington Wick</i>
Noent	<i>Naunton</i>	Ievbe	<i>Icumbe</i>
Chingestune	<i>Kington</i>	Svelle	<i>Lower Swell</i>
Otintone	<i>Oddington</i>	Risendone	<i>Gr. Risington</i>
Condicote	<i>Condicote</i>	Risendvno	<i>Little Risington</i>
Scirebyrne	<i>Sherborne</i>	Niwetone	
Bladinton	<i>Bladdington</i>	Elewrd	
Malgeresberie	<i>Mauversbury</i>	Hvrford	
Telestrop	<i>Adlestrop</i>	Icombe	
Bortvne	<i>Bourton</i>	Aiforde	<i>Ayford</i>
Bradewelle	<i>Broadwell</i>	Lechetone	
Svelle	<i>Upper Swell</i>	Niwetone	
Callicote			

SVINHEVE II^d (LANGLEY and SWINESHEAD II^d)

Betone		Estoch	
Wajel-i	<i>Wapley</i>	Hanvu	
Wintreborne	<i>Winterborne</i>	Sudlege	
Aldehude		Todintvn	
Hambroe		Betone	

TEDBOLDESTAN II^d (TIBALDSTONE II)

Beceford	<i>Beckford</i>	Sapleton	
Estone	<i>Ashton-under-Hill</i>	Godrinton	
Clive		Stoches	
Surham		Hinctvne	<i>Hinton-on-the-Green</i>

TEDENHAM - II^d

Tedenham	<i>Tidenham</i>
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TOLANGEBRIGES II^d

Hamme	Prestetvne
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TVIFERDE II^d

Modiete	Tideham	<i>Tiddlenham</i>
Oldelaveston	<i>Alverston, Olverston,</i>	<i>or Alveston</i>

WACRESCVMBE II^d

Scipetone	Witetvne
Hagepine	Scipetvne
Wulindvne	Sciptvne
Hagenepene	

WESTBERIES II^d (WESTBURY II^d)

Hamme	Bicunofre	
Mortong	Bene	<i>Mitchel Dean</i>
Hope	Bylelege	<i>Bulley</i>
Stavne	Rodele	<i>Ruddle</i>
Nevneham	<i>Nunham</i>	

WIDELES II^d

Bechelende	
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WITELAI II^d

Condicote	<i>Condicut</i>	Stoch	<i>Stoke</i>
Contone	<i>Compton Abdale</i>	Hedecote	<i>Hilcote</i>
Fuscote		Cäpeden	<i>Cumpton</i>
Colesburne		Langeberge	<i>Longborough</i>
Willecote		Wenecote	
Dodesuuelle	<i>Dowdswell</i>	Bristentvne	
Peclesurde		Chevringavrde	
Nategrave	<i>Notgrove</i>	Chesnecote	
Estone	<i>Aston Subedge</i>	Cheiscote	
Svvelle	<i>Swell</i>	Swineberie	
Willersei	<i>Willersey</i>	Beceshore	
Westvne	<i>Weston Subedge</i>	Cheisnecot	

WITESTAN II^d (WHITSTON II^d)

Stanedis	Mortvne
Hersfeld	Langenei

The comparison of the ancient with the modern forms suggests lines of reflection which space forbids us to follow out at present. I shall close this paper with a few special remarks on particular names.

MARSHFIELD.—The line between Gloucestershire and Somersetshire is a very ancient line of demarcation, or rather, perhaps, an open neutral border land. The name of "Marshfield" seems to be due to this circumstance. It has nothing to do with *Marsh, palus*, but rather with *March*, in the sense of border land, *quasi* Marchfield. So, at Moreton-in-the-Marsh, there is no *marsh*, but the confines of the counties of Oxfordshire, Worcestershire, and Gloucestershire. The word "March" was an adjectival formation from the old technical "mere," a boundary; and this is a word which is found as a local name on borders of counties, as "Mere," on the south verge of Somersetshire, and also on the south verge of Cheshire.

OMENIE is a form found in Domesday, but it no longer exists in this form as a local name. The name of the place has been modified to Ampney, but the earlier form had been adopted as a family name, and is preserved in comparative purity in the form of Ommannev. And here we have a curious example of the way in which local names travel and reproduce themselves on other parts of the globe. From being a family name, the form Ommannev has passed into a second stage of local existence in the name of Cape Ommannev in Russian America, at the entrance to Chatham Sound.

STANDISH (*Stanhus* D.) is an exceptional name, which has been made classical by Longfellow. In the last century it was used as a common noun, in the signification of ink-stand.

Gloucestershire is rich in names which invite special attention. Besides the ordinary classifiable names in -bury, -ton, -worth, -wick, &c., there are a number of anomalous forms which defy classification, unless anomaly constitutes a ground for classification. Such are the following :—

EAST GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

Coates.	Miserdine.	Stanley Pontlarge.	Guiting Power.
Hales.	Roel.	Swell.	Weston Birt.
Hampnett.	Saul.	Syde.	Windrush.
Hartpury.	Slaughter.	Temple Guiting	
Higginam.	Standish.	and	

WEST GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

Awre.	Cana.	Dymock.	Aust.
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In this class of names lies the greatest amount of etymological difficulty which the philologist has to contend with, in treating the local names of a district. Classification is a main step towards elucidation, and words that cannot be classified can seldom be explained. But this fact does not render them philologically useless. They exhibit the extreme form of local alteration or modification, and in this way they help to suggest what has been the nature of the local modifying influence. In these more obstinate cases, no less than in those which are easy of solution, the change has taken place according to certain definite laws. If we cannot trace the pedigree of those forms in a manner consistent with history and science, we had better abandon the attempt. Philological speculation is no longer a province of the imagination. The steed of the philologist is no longer a winged Pegasus, but a plodding roadster. His journey is now so regular and monotonous that it is a relief if a bird fly across his path. With a fascinated eye he follows the capricious movements of the happy creature, and reverts in thought to his own buoyant youth, when his neck had not felt the yoke, and his movements were not confined to a thoroughfare.

It is not often that a genial thought crosses the dusty path of the philologist. Yet it does sometimes happen that those who are tracing the action of law, meet with objects stimulating to the fancy. Such an object I find in

the name of *Langhope*. I have not seen the ground, but, to judge by the name, it should be a long, crane-like, expectant neck of a promontory, running off high ground, and gradually losing itself in the plain.¹ Such an idea was anciently conveyed in the word *hope*, which has since been promoted to represent the most consolatory of our mental emotions. Its physical sense is now dead, and is preserved only in local names.

¹ In the discussion which followed, Mr. Lee Warner confirmed, from his late inspection, this presumed conformation of Langhope.

Original Documents.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PIPE ROLL OF THE EXCHEQUER, 27 EDW.
III. (A. D. 1353), RELATING TO THE EARLY USE OF GUNS AND
GUNPOWDER IN THE ENGLISH ARMY.

By JOSEPH BURTT,

One of the Assistant Keepers of the Public Records.

IN a memoir communicated to the Society of Antiquaries in 1848, and entitled "Proofs of the early use of Gunpowder in England" (*Archæologia*, vol. xxxii., p. 379), the late Mr. Hunter showed conclusively, from some records in a department of the Exchequer, not only that persons called gunners (*gunnarii*), and engines of war called guns, were certainly used in the campaign of Cressy, but also that gunpowder was supplied for them. At the present day it seems a work of supererogation to attempt to prove that gunpowder was used for the propulsion of heavy substances, in the place of those machines of various degrees of strength that were worked by torsion and the lever. But it was not so in the fourteenth century. There were then many circumstances which rendered the use of gunpowder, as it has been since applied, almost impossible; and it was not for a considerable period of time that it was considered superior to other means of destruction, even in sieges.

The most probable etymology of the word gun seems to be from *mangona*, and may in early writings have referred to engines for casting stones by means of slings and weights. So also the word cannon, derived from *canna*, may have first designated the tube by which the Greek fire was directed. What were called cannon by the French were called "gones" by the English.

In the memoir by Mr. Hunter to which I have referred it was shown that a supply of saltpetre and quick sulphur (*sulphur vivum*) was included among the munitions of war furnished to the army of Edward III., in 1346, when he commenced the campaign in France, terminated by the capture of Calais, and in which the great battle of Cressy was fought.

No evidence has ever been adduced of the use of guns in English warfare before the expedition of 1346, although there are several notices of their earlier use on the Continent. The documents which furnished Mr. Hunter with his materials describe the circumstances relating to the articles supplied with great particularity, and they certainly do not show beyond dispute that the powder then furnished was an explosive powder. Saltpetre and sulphur alone are mentioned, with the exception of one entry of "*pulvis pro igneis.*" This, however, is not said to have been for the guns, and is separated from the entries relating to the ingredients which I have named. It need scarcely be said that without charcoal, saltpetre and sulphur would not make gunpowder, as we now understand it; that is, an

explosive compound powerful enough to propel heavy substances. The objection that it was a weapon which could be used alike by the weak and the strong, and therefore opposed to the true spirit of chivalry, had been urged against the cross-bow, and was soon to be urged with still greater force against guns.

The difficulty of ascertaining with precision the period of the introduction of engines from which missiles were propelled by means of gunpowder arises chiefly from the circumstance that the term gun was doubtless used to designate some kind of warlike engine, long before the use of gunpowder. Mr. Douce, in a curious note on Kyng Alisaunder, line 3268, where, as he observes, the earliest mention occurs of "gonnes," remarks that it must not be concluded that they were used with gunpowder; they may originally have been engines of the catapult kind. See Weber, *Metr. Rom. notes* in vol. iii., p. 306. The same observation applies to the passage, where we read that King Aragus, besieged in his castle,—

—“Ordeyned hym ful well
With gomes, and grete stones rounde
Were throwen downe to the grounde.”

Syr Tryamouré, v. 955.

In the “Avowyng of Kyng Arther” a “gunne” is mentioned, the effect of which is compared to lightning; but still it may be questioned whether the term implies a projectile impelled by any explosive compound, or merely filled therewith;—

—“there came fiand a gunne,
And lemet as the leuyn.”—Ed. by Mr. Robson, st. 65.

It may be conjectured that the missile here intended was a tube filled with some of the marvellous compounds known as Greek fire, wild-fire, or *feu volant*. The nature and composition of these appliances of ancient warfare, regarded with such dire apprehension, may be found detailed in the treatise *Du Feu Grégeois*, by MM. Reinaud and Favé, and the essay on the same subject by M. Lalanne. The most complete dissertation, however, on the invention and prototypes of gunpowder and of artillery is to be found in the remarkable work by H. M. the Emperor of the French, entitled *Études sur le passé et l'avenir de l'Artillerie*.

Before we dismiss the curious subject of investigation to which we have thus briefly adverted, we may invite attention to the curious evidence supplied by an English author, whose writings are contemporary, or nearly so, with the subjoined documents. John Arderne, a skilful surgeon in the time of Edward III., gives us, in his *Practica*, various directions for compounding “*fewes Grégeois*,” and “*fewe volant*,” the latter being a sort of oleaginous mixture with which a pipe being filled, and ignited by a match, would fly in any direction. A marginal representation of such a missile is given. In the following passage he describes another kind of “*fewe volant*,” being in fact gunpowder, and apparently intended to be used as in our own times. His recipe is as follows:—“Pérez j. lib. de soufre vif, de charbones de saux (*i. weloghe*) ij. lib., de salpêtre vj. lib. Si les fetez bien et sotelment moudre sur un piere de marbre, puis bultez le poudre parmy un sotille coverchief. Cest poudre vault à gettere pelotes de fer, ou

de plom, ou dareyne, ove un instrument qe lem appelle *gonne*." See Sloane MSS. 335, 795.¹

It may be questioned to what extent, and until how late a period, even subsequently to the invention of gunpowder, any of the compounds designated Greek fire, or wild-fire, were used in European warfare. Certain it is that as late as the siege of Breteuil, ten years after the battle of Cressy, the besieged, as we learn from Froissart, were provided with "*canons jetant feu*," and it is said "*Le feu, qui estoit gregois, se prit au toit de ce beffroy*."

To return to the campaign of Cressy. In the previously published documents there is nothing to show the provision of any peculiar kind of missile in connection with the guns,—another doubtful circumstance as to the explosive character of the powder supplied.

The documents which have been already noticed in the *Archæologia* (vol. xxxii. p. 380—387) could, however, have been but a small portion of the vouchers relating to the great war which were furnished to the Exchequer. They are full of minute particulars, but do not extend over the whole period. While engaged upon another object of inquiry I have very recently met with entries which seem to furnish a complete but condensed account of the supplies for the campaign of 1346. This *comptus* does not seem to have been rendered till eight years afterwards, a circumstance which may account for its having hitherto escaped notice. It is entered upon that valuable and complete series of rolls which are the earliest of any known class of public documents, the Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer; and it recites that by virtue of a writ under the Great Seal directed to the barons of the Exchequer, 28 Jan. *anno regni* 27 (A. D. 1353), Robert de Mildenhale, keeper of the king's wardrobe, had furnished his account of all his receipts and expenses between the 17th Oct. *anno regni* 18 (A. D. 1344) and 29 Sept. *anno regni* 25 (A. D. 1351). It gives the summary of the documents first noticed by Mr. Hunter, and of others relating to similar supplies of stores for the king's war in France, the originals of which do not now exist. In these entries I think that we obtain two very important connecting links in the chain of evidence, which appears to have been all but complete. We meet with entries for the repair and supply of arms and munitions of various kinds, "*Gunnis cum sagittis et pelletis*" included, barrels for packing them; in another place, "*Gunnis cum pelletis et pulvere pro eisdem gunnis*;" also "*x. gunnis cum telar*" (guns with tillers or handles); *vj. pecie plumbi, v. barelli pulveris, et c. magn' pelot' plumbi pro eisdem gunnis*."

It may be noticed also that of the ten guns two were large,—"*unde ij. gross*," and after the entry of the saltpetre and sulphur occurs "*et alio pulvere pro dictis gunnis*," which may have been the complete compound, such as would now be termed gunpowder, or pulverised charcoal, possibly, for mixing with the other materials.

These entries appear most conclusive that the powder used must have been explosive, and that shot or pellets were discharged by it. In another entry of the stores supplied are "*xl. quarter' carbon*"—40 quarters of charcoal, the other ingredient required to complete the manufacture of the powder proper. This, however, appears to have been provided for the smiths.

¹ See Mr. Albert Way's notes, in the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, on the word "*Gonne, Petrotet, wanyouth, gonne*,"

p. 218, and on "*Wyylde fyrr, S. artus, ignis Pelagus vel Grecus*," p. 527.

I would also, in conclusion, call attention to the word "*telar*," which repeatedly occurs in the following accounts, in connection both with cross-bows and with guns. This somewhat obscure term has been noticed in a former volume of this Journal, in the Accounts of the Constables of Dover Castle, *t.* Edw. III., in which are found, amongst armour and arms, "*xxiv. arc de corn saunz teilers;*" in another account, "*xxiv. arcus pro balistis sine tellur.*" Arch. Journ. vol. xi., p. 385. In connection with the guns, as we find the term in the following document, this word probably signifies stocks of wood to which they were doubtless attached, from a very early period of their use, for convenience in handling them; hence, possibly, we find such appliances of war designated by Monstrelet and by other ancient writers *bastons à pouldre*, or *à feu*.

Towards the close of the following documents will be found an extract relating to very different matters, which, however, I have thought of sufficient interest to be placed before our readers. Under the head of the Ornaments of the King's Chapel, amongst vestments, &c., we here find mention of a number of books of diverse romances, delivered by the keeper of the wardrobe, by order of the king, to John de Padbury, to be distributed in the manner directed by the king himself. It is much to be regretted that the subjects of these books of romance are not stated. There is also mention of *xxvj. quaterni* of various writings, and of four bags containing rolls and memoranda of accounts, remaining with certain books of romance in the custody of the keeper of the wardrobe.

It should be observed that the following extracts comprise only a small portion of the entry upon the Roll.

Among the Records in the custody of the Master of the Rolls, deposited in the Public Record Office, to wit, Pipe Roll, indorsed—"Mag. Rot. 27 Edw. III.," it is thus contained:—

Comptus Roberti de Mildenhale custodis garderobe Regis infra Turrim London' de receptis, misis et expensis' empcion' et liberat' diversarum rerum per ipsum in officio suo ejusdem garderobe factis per breve Regis et per aliud breve Regis de predicto [magno] sigillo directum Thesaurario et Baronibus hujus scaccarii, datum xxvij. die Januarii anno xxvij^{mo}, per quod Rex mandavit eisdem Thesaurario et Baronibus quod cum eodem Roberto, tam de omnibus pecuniarum summis per ipsum ad receptam scaccarii predicti et alibi a predicto decimo septimo die Octobris, anno xvij^o, usque xxix^{mo} diem Septembris, anno xxv^{to}, de prestito receptis, quam de empcione arcuum, sagittarum, cordarum pro arcubus, et omnium aliorum necessariorum per ipsum ad opus Regis provisorum, et liberatione eorundem, necnon de armaturis et omnibus aliis rebus Regis que in custodia ejusdem Roberti in Turri predicta medio tempore extiterunt, una cum aliis custubus et expensis super custodiam premisorum omnium per ipsum factis, computarent, et super comptum suum predictum debitas allocaciones, juxta vim et effectum mandatorum Regis, tam sub privato et secreto sigill' Regis quam sub sigillo de Griffon¹ ei directorum, fieri facerent.

¹ We are not aware that any impression of the seal of the griffin, used by Edward III., has been described. In

Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 1076, edit. Caley, a document is given from Cloe Roll 13 Edw. III. 1339—"de litteris sub

EXPENSE.

Et in ij. incedibus, ij. paribus suffocallium, viij. martellis grossis et minutis, ij. bicorn', j. grynston cum le wynehe, ij. touyrnes,² mm. libris ferri, xx. garbis asseris, et xl. quarteriis carbonum pro officio et operationibus fabrorum, xl. lignis vocatis cost' pro balistis inde faciendis, xl. lignis pro telar'³ balistarum, xij. libris nervorum, xx. libris visei, xx. libris grossi fili, xl. paribus stirop' et clav' pro balistis predictis, l. nockes pro telar', xij. paribus hamorum, firmaculorum, et anulorum pro baudric', cxx. clavis vocatis somernailes pro telar', iiij. libris vernish, j. corio equino, c. cornubus pro dictis balistis, iiij.^r libris cere et cod',¹ c. boces pro telar', ij. peccis balon', ij. patellis encis pro viseo calefaciendo, l. skynons, de. parvis clavis et takett', vj. paribus passuum de cornu cervorum pro telar', ij. pellibus vocatis hundeflisskynnes, ere pro braeles telar', pergameno pro balistis, et ij. cistis pro officio et opere balistariorum emptis per dictum tempus hujus computus.—xx. li. xv. s. iiij. d., per breve Regis de sigillo Griffon' datum x^o die Junii, anno xix^o, per quod Rex mandavit eidem custodi quod de illis xx. li. xiiij. s. per ipsum de Waltero de Wotewange receptis instrumenta pro fabris et balistariis pro passagio Regis ordinata emi, et eadem instrumenta pro fabris Johanni Lyghtfot, et pro balistariis magistro Roberto Lalblast' et Simoni Vernynghowe, per indenturam liberare faceret. De quibus instrumentis et rebus prescriptis respondet infra, sicut continetur ibidem Et in defectibus arcuum, balistarum, sagittarum, et quarell' reparandis et emendandis per diversas vices, una cum cera, vernish, cepo, cornubus, nockes, hundflisskynnes, hamis, cordis, carbonibus, alis uucarum, et aliis diversis rebus pro reparacione predicta, necnon barellis pro armaturis fraiandis, clavis ferri, oleo, furfure, coreo, diversis coloribus pro reparacione et emendacione diversorum armorum, baudric', firmaculis

secreto sigillo Regis, vocato Griffoun, factis, ad seaccarium adlocandis," whereby the king directs the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer to recognise "litteras de secreto sigillo nostro vocato Griffoun," as of force and effect in regard to deliveries or payments made in virtue thereof by stewards, receivers, or bailiffs, &c., of manors, lands, and tenements, "ad cameram nostram reservatorum." The like will be found repeated in 1341, *ibid.* p. 1152. We hope to give on some future occasion a full notice of the various privy seals and *secreta* used by Edward III.

² Probably tewel irons, or tewels, the technical name for a small iron tube at the back of a forge, through which the wind from the bellows is conveyed to the fire.

³ The *telar'*, as has been observed previously, were probably stocks for crossbows or guns; the term occurs also in another part of this account in connection with the latter; here we find nails, *romerels*, *h. c.*, *braeles*, with various other things required for the *telar'*, the uses of which we are unable to explain. The *nocks* to receive the cords of the

crossbow when in a state of tension are likewise described as appertaining to the *telar'*; the *baudric'* were probably some portions of the apparatus for bending the bow, which was done by aid of a stirrup-shaped iron attached to the end of the stock, as shown in Skelton's Illustrations of the Goodrich Court Armoury, pl. xciv. The *hami*, hooks, here mentioned with other articles, were for drawing the cord, as shown in the apparatus there figured. "Tiller" properly signified the stock, but sometimes the entire crossbow. Nares gives "Tiller, a steel bow or crossbow." The long handle of a rudder, which bears a certain analogy of form, is likewise called a tiller, and in Suffolk, according to Moor's Glossary, the handle of a farm shovel, &c., is so termed.

⁴ Code is explained in the Promptorium Parvulorum to be cobbler's wax. "Code, scowters wax; *Coresina*." It may have been used for waxing the bowstrings. In a receipt for a good "entreet," or plaster for wounds, in Sloane MS. 100, f. 17, "Spaynisch code" occurs with resin, grease, and other substances.

ferr' pro eisdem, meremio pro telar' balistarum, bordis pro coffris faciendis ad arcus, et doleis ad balistas, sagittas, cordas, et armaturas imponendas et trussandas ad traducendum versus parte(s) Francie pro gnerra Regis, simul cum stipendiis diversorum operariorum premissa reparancium, ac eciam batellagio, cariagio, et portagio rerum earundem per diversas vices et diversa tempora, infra predictum tempus hujus computus,—xxxij. li. xij. s. x. d., per predictum breve Regis annotatum supra in titulo hujus computus, et per aliud breve Regis de predicto sigillo Griffon' datum primo die Februarii, anno xix^o, per quod Rex mandavit eidem eustodi quod omnes arcus, sagittas, balistas, baudie' (*sic*) quarell', haucepes, armaturas, gunnis cum sagittis et pelletis, reparare, et coffras (et) dolia pro eis imponendis et trussandis providere et emere, et ea in manibus pro passagio Regis eskippare faceret, sicut continetur ibidem Et in centum minutis ingeniis vocatis Ribald',⁵ pro passagio Regis versus Normanniam et alias partes transmarinas, faciendis, bordis et alio meremio, rotis, axibus, clavis, lanceis' ferr' ascerat', cordis et aliis minutis necessariis pro eisdem emptis, una cum cariagio dictarum bordarum, rotarum, et aliarum rerum premissarum de diversis locis ubi empta fuerunt et provisae usque predictam Turrim Regis, ac eciam stipendiis carpentariorum ingenia illa faciencium, per diversas vices dicto anno xix^o.—cxvij. li. ix. s. ij. d. ob., per breve Regis de predicto sigillo datum primo die Octobris dicto anno xix^o, per quod Rex mandavit eidem eustodi quod centum Ribald' pro gnerra Regi(s) fieri faceret, sicut continetur ibidem. De quibus Ribald' respondet infra. Et in defectibus xxxij. pavillonum Regis majorum et minorum reparandis et emendandis, pannis de Worstede et Card' de Lunibardia, filo diversi coloris, corda grossa et minuta, coreis bovinis tannatis, meremio pro post' et cavill',⁶ pannis cilicenis, et saccis, ollis, et elavis ferri, et aliis minutis necessariis pro reparacione et emendacione dictorum pavillonum emptis, et in eisdem reparacione et emendacione expensis, preter card', linum, telam, filum et cordam recepta de Johanne Coke, unde respondet infra, una cum vadiis et stipendiis quorundam pavillonariorum et aliorum operariorum circa reparacionem et emendacionem predictas existencium, necnon cariagio eorum pavillonum de predicta Turri Regis London. usque ad pratium extra Bermoundesey ad erigendum et siccandum, et de pratis illis usque predictam Turrim, et aliis minutis expensis circa premissa factis per diversas vices et tempora diversa predicto anno xx^{mo}.—xxj. li. ij. s. ij. d., per breve Regis de sigillo predicto datum iij. die Marcii eodem anno, per quod Rex mandavit eidem eustodi quod omnes pavillones, arcus, sagittas, balistas, baudie', haucepes,⁷ armaturas, gunnis (*sic*) cum pelletis et pulvere pro eisdem gunnis, et omnes alias res Regis garderobam suam tangentes, tam in custodia ejusdem eustodis quam in custodia Thome de Rolleston clerici Regis existentes, pro passagio ipsius Regis ordinatas, reparari et emendari, et pavillones, arcus, sagittas, armaturas, et alias res premissas eskippari et prefato

⁵ *Ribaudequin*, in Latin *Ribaudequinus* (Ducange), an engine of war, being a little platform sometimes on wheels carrying a powerful bow which threw javelins five or six feet in length with great force. See Roquefort's Glossary, and Felix De Vigne's *Vade Mecum du Peintre*, vol. ii. pl. A. p. 41. The name has been derived from the *Ribauds*, the soldiery by whom these

engines were worked.

⁶ *Curilla*, or *curile*, a peg or pin either of wood or of iron, according to Ducange, *in v.*; in French *cheville*.

⁷ *Haussepied*! probably the *ped* de *chevre*, or lever for bending the crossbow. See Skelton's *Illustrations of the Goodrich Court Armoury*, pl. xciv. The word occurs before, written *haucepes*.

Thome pro predicto passagio Regis liberare faceret, et per quod breve Rex vult quod de vadis, misis, et expensis aliis circa premissa per ipsum custodem factis, idem custos debitam habeat allocationem, sicut continetur ibidem. . . . Et in magno ingenio in predicta Turri disjungendo et eodem simul cum aliis ij. ingeniis ibidem tractando usque le Watergate ad ij. shout' ibidem provis' pro ingeniis illis ducendis ad naves Regis in la Pole et apud Grenewych, pro eisdem et aliis rebus infrascriptis ducendis usque Calcis ad Regem provisas, et eciam portagio x. gunn' cum telar', ix. coffiarum cum armaturis, vj. peciarum plumbi, v. barellorum pulveris, et c. magnorum pelot' plumbi pro eisdem gunn' usque dict' shout', iiij. bord' pro j. coffr' ad cavillas predictorum ingeniurum imponendas inde facienda, clavis ferri pro eodem, et ij. cabul' pro dictis ingeniis emptis, una cum conducione predict' ij. shout', et vadiis et stipendiis carpentariurum et portitorum diversorum circa premissa laborancium, per diversas vices—xiiij. li. iiij. s. xj. d., per breve Regis de privato sigillo datum primo die Septembris predicto anno xx^o. per quod Rex mandavit eidem custodi quod omnia ingenia et gunn' cum eorum apparatu in Turri Regis predicta, et alia diversa, scilicet meremium, bord' de Estriche, elavos, cabul', pelles equinos et hovinos, pelot', barellos, et salpetre, et pulver', et omnimodas res alias ad ingenia et gunn' illis (*sic*) spectantes eskippiari et ij. cabul' nav' pro navi Regis vocato la Rodecog', et dolia et coffras pro arcubus, sagittis et cordis trussandis emi, necnon omnes arcus et cordas sagitt' in custodia ipsius custodis existentes trussatos similiter eskippiari, et ea omnia Waltero de Westone et Thome de Copham clericis Regis adducenda ad Regem apud Calesiam liberari faceret, sicut continetur ibidem.

ORNAMENTA CAPELLE REGIS.

. . . . Idem computat liberatos Johanni de Padbury x. libros de diversis romane' ad faciendam inde voluntatem Regis, et modo quo Rex ipsum assignavit per breve Regis de sigillo Griffon' datum xv^o die Septembris, anno xix^o, per quod Rex mandavit eidem custodi quod ipse x. libros diversarum romane' prefato Johanni ad faciendum inde voluntatem ipsius Regis, modo quo ipse Rex eundem Johannem assignavit; et Johanni de Lovedale duos libros romane', Thome de Colleye j. librum romane', de dono Regis, liberare faceret, sicut continetur ibidem; et Johanni de Lovedale duos libros de romane', et Thome de Colleye j. librum de romane', de dono Regis, per idem breve Regis, sicut continetur ibidem. Et remanent ij. superpellicia, v. libri de romane', xxvj. quaterni de diversis scriptis, et iiij. bag' cum rotulis et memorandis de diversis computibus. . . .

INGENIA ET INSTRUMENTA FABRICUM ET BALISTARIORUM.

Idem reddit computum de ij. ingeniis cum apparatu, x. gunnis cum telar'

* A shoute, a boat, *Schuyt* in Flemish and Dutch, is a term not uncommonly used by old writers, and in some of the fen districts: a flat bottomed boat used in duck-hoating is still called a shout. In the *computus* of William de Kellesey, Clerk of the Royal Works, 2 Edw. I. among miscellaneous records of the Queen's Exchequer, are payments for constructing the wooden bridge at Westminster, an engine to drive piles, &c., and

for the hire of a boat—"una navicula vocata shoute." So also we find in Parl. Rolls, vol. iv. p. 345, in the year 1429, mention of "merchandise carried on the Severn as far as Salop in trowes, botes, coldes, and slutes." The navy in which Richard I. conveyed his army to Palestine is described as consisting of "cogges and dromoundes, many galeye, berges, schoutes, trayeres fele." Richard Coer de Lion, v. 4785.

unde ij. gross', v. parvis barellis cum salpêtre, sulphure vivo et alio pulvere pro dictis gunnis, lxxij. pellet' plumbi grossis, xxxj. parvis pellet', vj. peccis plumbi, ij. inaudibus, viij. martellis, vj. paribus tenellarum, x. garbis asceris, de. libris ferri Ispann', ij. paribus suffocallium, ij. bicorn', et ij. touyrnes, simul receptis de predicto Thoma de Hattefeld in garderoba predicta per diversas vices infra dictum tempus hujus compotus, sicut continetur in dicto rotulo de particulis Et missis Regi usque Calesiam, inter alias armaturas et res Regis ibidem missas per Clementem Atte Merke valettum camere sue, ij. ingeniis cum apparatu, x. gunnū (*sic*) cum telar', quorum ij. gross', v. parvis barellis cum salpêtre et sulphure vivo, lxxij. pellet' plumbi grossis, xxxj. parvis pellet', et vj. peccis plumbi pro gunnis predictis, per duo brevía Regis, quorum j. datum primo die Septembris, et aliud secundo die Septembris, anno xx^o, allocatis supra in particula liberacionum armaturarum et indentura predicti Clementis alloc' ibidem de receptis, sicut continetur ibidem. De quibus idem Clemens debet respondere, et respondet infra. Et eq.⁹

⁹ In printing the foregoing document the contractions have been extended, except in numerous cases where some doubt occurred as to the correct reading. We may remark in particular, as regards the word "gunnis," that it is invariably written thus, or "gunn," with a horizontal line over the last letter; with one exception only "gunnu," with a line over the u. As we find this mode of contrac-

tion elsewhere in the record, as in the expression "ijj. shout," with a line over the t, we conclude that "gunnis" is the plural of the English word gun. Mr. Hunter, in a document of the same period, given in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii., p. 386, has printed, "—xxix. gunn' ferr',—ijj. gunner' ferr', j. gunner' de laton."

Proceedings at Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

December 6, 1861.

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

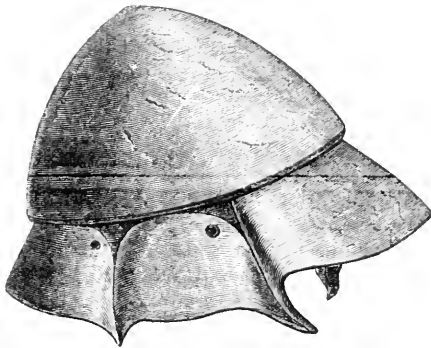
At the commencement of the proceedings of another session Mr. Morgan offered some remarks on the encouraging progress of the Institute during the year, alluding especially to the gratification which had been afforded by occasional exhibitions of works of ancient art at the meetings in the previous season in London, and to the agreeable meeting held at Peterborough. For the ensuing year a great display of mediæval art had been proposed at the South Kensington Museum, on occasion of the International Exhibition. The Central Committee of the Institute contemplated the formation, of one special exhibition only in the coming year, to be arranged for the monthly meeting of the Society in June; the subjects selected being Enamel and Niello, with the view of presenting a more complete illustration, than heretofore attempted, of the history and progress of those remarkable Decorative Arts, in all countries, and especially in England, from the earliest periods. Mr. Morgan alluded to the cheering prospects of the Annual Meeting, which had been fixed for the ensuing year at Worcester, where the Institute had found very cordial encouragement; a very pleasant and instructive gathering would doubtless take place in a locality so full of interesting objects.

A copy of the recent publication by Mr. Hayley Mason, of Chichester, was brought before the meeting, consisting of the Architectural History of Chichester Cathedral, by Professor Willis, accompanied by an essay on the recent fall of the spire; also memoirs, on Boxgrove Priory, by the Rev. J. L. Petit, and on Shoreham Church, by Edmund Sharpe, Esq., read at the Meeting of the Institute at Chichester in 1853.

MR. M. HOLBECHÉ BLOXAM communicated an account of a Greek helmet, found in the River Tigris, and which he kindly sent for examination. This valuable object had been exhibited at a previous meeting, in April, 1856, as noticed in this Journal, vol. xiii. p. 273. We are indebted to Mr. Bloxam's kindness for the following particulars relating to this very interesting discovery, as detailed by him at a Meeting of the Northampton Architectural Society, in October, 1856. In June, 1854, Mr. Richard Banner Oakeley, of Oswaldkirk Hall, Yorkshire, by whom the helmet was presented to Mr. Bloxam, being on a tour in the East, visited Trebizond, and proceeded to Diabeker on the Tigris. Here he obtained a raft, the usual mode of transit down the river, to convey him to Mosul; on arriving below the town of Til, the point where the river Sert, the ancient Centrites, joins the Tigris, the raft was drifting near the shore into shallow water, when one of the men pushed his boat-hook into the stream to thrust the raft off from the shore, and on lifting it out of the water the bronze helmet

was brought up by the hook. Mr. Oakley purchased it for a few piastres, about a shilling sterling. The spot where it was found is one of interest, it may be remembered, in connexion with the history of the Ten Thousand Greeks, who, after the defeat and death of Cyrus the Younger at Cunaxa, B.C. 401, refusing to enter the service of Artaxerxes his successor, commenced the memorable retreat recorded by Xenophon. After several conflicts with the tribes bordering on the Tigris, they arrived at last at the Centrites, one of its principal tributaries, a stream 200 ft. in breadth, and here found a large force drawn up on the opposite shore to oppose their passage. Guides, however, and a ford were found; the enemy were thrown off their guard by a manœuvre, and the Greeks succeeded in crossing the river with small loss, at a spot, as it is supposed, about two miles distant from its junction with the Tigris, where the town of Til is situated, and where the remarkable helmet now in Mr. Bloxam's possession was recovered from the bed of the river by the singular chance above stated. Thence the Ten Thousand continued their retreat by Trebizond and the Southern shore of the Euxine.

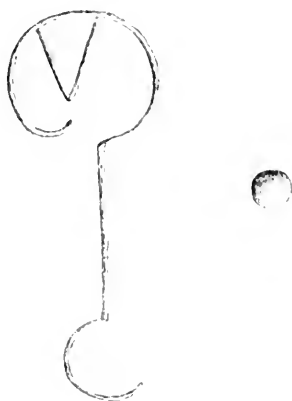
The helmet, although, as will be seen by the accompanying woodcut, differing materially in form from the Greek type occurring in sculpture, or on antique vases and coins, &c., and also from numerous existing specimens, is neither an Assyrian nor a Persian head-piece, and may be regarded as one



of the brazen casques mentioned by Xenophon in his account of the accoutrements of the Greek stipendiaries in the army of Cyrus. The bronze helmets with which we are most familiar are either skull caps, or of the usual nasal type. An example, bearing considerable similarity to this helmet occurs on a scarce coin of one of the Greco-Bactrian monarchs, Eucratides II., who succeeded B.C. 140. Whilst, from the circumstances above stated, there appear strong grounds for the supposition that the helmet here represented had been lost in the retreat of the Ten Thousand, it must be admitted that possibly it may have belonged to one of the soldiers of Alexander the Great, who, about 330 B.C., traversed the countries bordering on the Euphrates and the Tigris, and comprised in his conquest the kingdom of Bactria. In either case it must be regarded as a relic of remarkable interest.

The following notice of an incised marking or symbol recently observed on one of the stones of Stonehenge, was then communicated by Dr. GEORGE

R. TATE, M.D. Royal Artillery.—“ On February 16th 1861, I visited Stonehenge, one of my principal objects being to search for inscriptions or sculpturing on the stones of which that monument is formed. I had repeatedly examined the very singular incised markings on the rocks at



Routin Linn, Old Bewick, and Doddington Moors in Northumberland, and I had been informed that some incised symbol or concentric circles of a similar character had been found on Long Meg in Cumberland.¹ I therefore hoped to discover some sculpturing of a like kind at Stonehenge. After long examination, both of the standing and the fallen stones, I was delighted to catch a glimpse of some symbol or character on the under surface of the fallen impost of one of the great triliths of the inner circle. One of the stones of this trilith is still standing, but the other and the impost fell about one hundred years ago. The inscription is on the under surface of the impost, and occupies a position midway between the mortices. It is about 9 in. in length, and is incised, but, being encrusted with lichens, and weather-worn, it must be viewed in a particular light to trace its form, which, however, under favorable circumstances, is distinct enough to an eye accustomed to read water-worn sculpturings. Its form is here shown (see woodcut). About 3 in. from it is a hollow $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch in diameter, similar to those which are seen associated with the remarkable markings on rocks in Northumberland.²

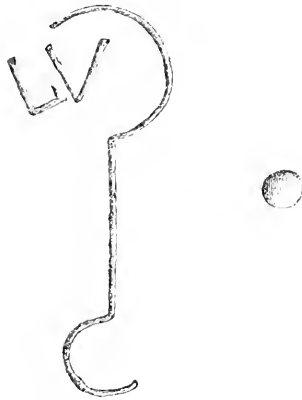
I believe this incised character to be archaic, probably coeval with the erection of the Stonehenge circle; it has the same weather-worn appearance as the Northumberland sculpturings, which doubtless were the work of ancient British people. Beyond generally expressing an opinion as to the antiquity of the curious mark or symbol now first noticed at Stonehenge, I do not attempt to speculate on its origin or meaning.”

On comparing the sketches, for which we are indebted to Dr. Tate's kindness, with the groundplan and views of Stonehenge given by Sir

¹ It is represented amongst the illustrations of Sir Gardner Wilkinson's memoir on British remains, Journal Brit. Arch. A. ser. 1860, p. 118.

² Some of these have been figured in Sir Gardner Wilkinson's Memoir, at *supra*, plate 10.

Richard Colt Hoare in his *Ancient Wilts*, vol. i., pp. 145, 153, it appears that the impost in question is not that of the trilithon which fell on January, 1797, a catastrophe of which an account, accompanied by two views, was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. Maton, and published in the *Archæologia*, vol. xiii., p. 103. That trilithon is marked E. in the plan given by Sir R. C. Hoare, from a careful survey taken in 1810. Its impost (E. 3), now lies near the verge of the outer circle, on the N.W. side of the group. The impost to which Dr. Tate's curious communication relates, appears to be nearly in the centre of the circle, being that marked D 3, in the ground plan, and it lies across the so-called altar stone, described in *Ancient Wilts*, *ut supra*, p. 149. The precise period when this trilithon fell does not seem to have been recorded; it was prostrate at the time when Stukeley's views were taken in 1722. Attention having been excited by Dr. Tate's discovery, the impost bearing the incised marking was subsequently examined by an Archæologist resident in Wiltshire, Dr. Thurnam, of whose skill and accuracy in the investigation of ancient remains we have had frequent experience; the interest of the subject renders it desirable to place his independent testimony before our readers.—“The markings (Dr. Thurnam states) are comparatively sharply cut,



Incised mark, Stonchengo.—Scale, one-fourth original length.

but, though now covered with lichens and time-stains, may I believe have been made in modern times since the fall of the stone about 1620. I was curious to ascertain whether there are any similar markings in a corresponding position on the under surface of the impost of the adjoining trilith, which fell in 1797, but there is nothing of the kind. The markings do not exactly correspond with Dr. Tate's drawing; that which I send is I believe accurate. (See woodcut). The Roman V is very distinct, and the L only slightly less so. I should suppose the whole to have been the work of some casual visitor to the spot, possibly soon after the fall of the stone; by whatever hand the markings were made, considerable time must have been spent in the operation. They are very nearly in the centre of the stone and mid-way between the two mortices." Having thus given the various readings of these remarkable characters or symbols, the question must be left to further investigation; it is scarcely needful to point out how strong

an argument in favor of the more remote antiquity of the markings may, as we apprehend, be drawn not less from their having become so thickly encrusted with lichen as to have escaped the notice of many keen observers, but also from the improbability that characters could have been thus carefully incised on so hard a material by any "casual visitor."

The following report of the progress of the excavations at Uriconium was received from Henry Johnson, Esq., M.D., Secretary of the Excavations' Committee at Shrewsbury, accompanied by a photograph of an inscribed monument recently brought to light.—"About the middle of September last we began to dig in the cemetery just outside the city walls on the East, and adjacent to the Watling Street. Very shortly a massive inscribed stone was found, on the upper part of which were remains of a sculptured figure, to which it had apparently served as a base, but the feet only of the figure remain. The inscription has not hitherto been satisfactorily deciphered.² We have trenched all over the field called the cemetery, or at least that part, in which, being near the Watling Street, it was thought that probably some remains might be brought to light, and numerous cinerary urns of various sizes and forms have been found, some of them quite entire. The largest, unfortunately broken, had measured about 24 inches in diameter. Some of the urns are of the usual fashion of sepulchral *olla* found in England, and these generally contain burnt human bones, but by no means the whole of the skeleton. There are also vases with a neck, or earthen bottles. With the fragments of bone we have found several small flask-shaped phials of green glass, of the kind usually called lachrymatories, but probably used to contain perfume or unguent, and, in the sand with which they are mostly filled, I have noticed occasionally some admixture of carbonaceous matter, which may be the result of the action of fire upon some resinous or oleaginous substance which they originally contained. Some have evidently been exposed to such a degree of heat that the glass has been softened or partially fused. The fragments of two glass bowls, objects of much greater rarity, have also been disinterred. Two small fictile lamps have been found, one of them marked with the potter's name *MODES*, on the underside. Both the lamps and glass bottles have been found either within the urns or very near them. In one or two places we have noticed a stratum of charcoal, possibly the site of the funereal fire. No bones of animals have occurred, as so commonly found in the previous diggings, and no human or other bones unburnt. Some rude foundations were uncovered in one part of the field, possibly remains of a tomb; a modern land-drain had been carried through them, and no signs of interment appeared. Two coins only have been met with in the cemetery; one of them I believe has been identified as a coin of Commodus. The examination of the cemetery having been completed the workmen were employed on garden ground at Norton, on the North side of the city, possibly part of the ancient *neecropolis* of Uriconium; at a depth of three feet in clay a large cinerary urn was found, broken in pieces; it had been placed on two tiles cemented together, with a second brass coin of Trajan imbedded in the cement. The deposit was surrounded by traces of cremation. We now propose to commence operations on the other side (the North) of the Watling Street. I

² It has been figured, with other Roman relics lately found at Wroxeter, *Genl. Mag.* April, 1862, p. 401.

have very lately recovered a bronze statuette of Mercury formerly found at Wroxeter, and purchased for half-a-crown by a young man, assistant to a chemist at Shrewsbury. He had emigrated to Africa, and the Roman *lar* was, as I feared, for ever lost to our country; but within the last few days he returned, and has given it to the Museum, where I hope soon to see another like relic, a statuette of Diana, now in the possession of a farmer near Wroxeter. The right leg of the goddess has unfortunately been broken off.³ Antique sculptures and images, it is believed, were frequently mutilated through a certain superstitious notion, to destroy their supposed physical or magical power.”

Mr. HILLARY DAVIES, who had kindly presented to the Institute a copy of his accurate Survey of the previous excavations at Wroxeter, now sent a detailed plan of the Roman cemetery, with indications of the spots where the relics noticed by Dr. Johnson had occurred. A special vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Davies, for this interesting memorial of the late investigations. It is hoped that the friendly contributions of those who give attention to Roman remains in this country will speedily enable the Committee at Shrewsbury to extend their field of operation.

A memoir by Mr. GEORGE PETRIE, of Kirkwall, Corresponding Member of the Institute, was read, describing the recent excavation of the tumulus in Orkney, known as Maes-How. (Published in this Journal, vol. xviii., p. 353.) Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, who came to the meeting, on arriving from Ireland, shortly after the proceedings had commenced, called attention to the remarkable analogy which appears between that curious chambered tumulus and certain ancient remains of the same class in the sister kingdom, especially New Grange. He pointed out that the singularly contracted dimensions of the entrance passage precluded the possibility that such structures could have served, as had been conjectured, as habitations.

Mr. HEWITT gave a notice of a gauntlet of buff leather lately added to the Tower Collection, and also of some rare kinds of armour formed of scales and small round plates.

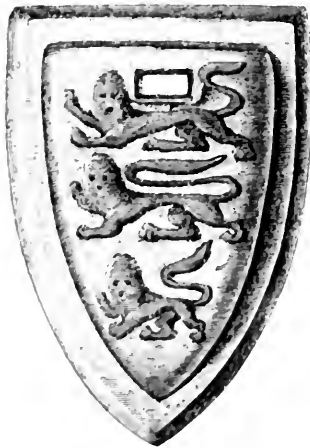
Mr. ROBERT FITCH communicated a short account of a beautiful mural painting lately brought to light at the west end of the north aisle in St. Gregory's Church, Norwich. He exhibited an admirable drawing of this curious relic of art, executed with great care by Mr. Winter, of Norwich. The costume and armour, and details of architecture, are very curious; the date of the painting may be assigned to about 1450. Mr. Fitch's description was as follows:—“During the progress of the restoration of St. Gregory's Church, Norwich, in July last, the workmen discovered a remarkably fine mural painting, representing St. George and the Dragon; the portions which time and the original obliterators have left, are as fresh in color and as distinct as if they had been executed only a few years since. The figures of the horse and St. George, who was tutelary saint of the city, are as large as life, and not only is the combat represented, but evidently the story attendant on the encounter has been figured in the back ground. The dragon is on the ground, a portion of the spear appears within its open jaws, but the weapon seems to have been broken, for between the hind legs of the horse and the tail of the dragon is seen the broken spear, leading to the conclusion that St. George had failed in overcoming the monster

³ This statuette is figured, *Gent. Mag.* April, 1862, p. 401.

with his lance; this view is borne out by the circumstance that the champion is represented as having drawn his sword, and he is preparing to deal a heavy blow with it. The ornamentation is profuse, the red cross of St. George glows on the breast of the saint, and a series of small shields with the same device are apparent. The Libyan Princess Cleodolinda kneels on a rock to the right holding a lamb by a ribbon. In a cavern underneath her are seen the progeny of the scaly monster, issuing forth as if eagerly looking for its return with the expected prey. At the top of the picture appear the King and Queen of Selene, her parents, as if looking out from a tower within the city. The upper part of the picture is more perfect than the lower. The battlements and roofs of the houses within the walls have lost little of their early colouring. Beneath the painting is part of an inscription,—Pray for the soul of ——— which may have recorded the death of the donor, but it is to be regretted that the name is now irrecoverably lost; a member probably of the far-famed St. George's Company, and one who regarded the saint with the highest veneration. I had forgotten to mention that the painting was discovered on the removal of the organ, which occupied the west end of the north aisle, for the purpose of cleaning the walls. I may add that it is not a fresco but an oil painting. The extreme height is 17 ft. and the width 9 ft. 9½ in. This remarkable example of ancient art will be preserved, but I regret to state that the parish authorities have thought fit to oil and "restore" it by repainting some portions."

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Col. LEFROY, R.A., through Mr. Hewitt.—A singular little relic of



bronze, stated to have been found in railway excavations between Basingstoke and Andover. It appears to represent a *labrum*, such as were used by the ancients in their baths. It is a diminutive, shallow, circular basin, about 2¼ in. in diameter, with a low seat all around within, upon which are seated small figures, about 1½ in. in height, apparently representing naked boys, or bathers disporting themselves in the water. In the centre of the basin is a small circular pedestal upon which some object has been affixed, probably a statuette, the jet of a fountain throwing water into the *labrum*, or the like. This curious object is supposed to be of the Roman period.

By BERIAR BOTTFIELD, Esq., M.P.—A bronze weight obtained in July last at Croyland, on occasion of the visit of the Institute to that place during the annual meeting at Peterborough. It was stated to have been found in or near the site of the monastery. We are indebted to Mr. Botfield's kindness for the accompanying woodcuts. It will be seen that it is in form of an escutcheon, charged with the arms of England, possibly



FIG. 1. BRONZE WEIGHT.

denoting that it was a standard weight, or at least adjusted by the *pondus Regis*. It weighs 4 oz., or a quarter of a pound; the date may be as early as the fourteenth century. A bronze weight of similar form, and of later date, has been figured in this Journal, vol. xvii., p. 165, with notices of other examples, in which, however, the perforation, intended probably for facility of conveyance or of suspension, is towards the lower extremity of the shield. A leaden heater-shaped weight with the royal arms is in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries; around the edge is the Angelic Salutation—*Ave Maria*. It was found with another like weight in Wharfedale, Yorkshire, as stated in the Catalogue of the Society's Collection, p. 24.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—Three powder-flasks or touch-boxes, date the sixteenth century, one of them of steel, with engraved ornaments, German work; another of wood inlaid with ivory, representing a stag-hunt; the third of wood, inlaid with bone, &c., and brass studs arranged in concentric and interlacing circles; the mounting of steel. The various fashions of objects of this class are well shown in Skelton's Illustrations of the Goodrich Court Armoury, vol. ii. plates 123—126.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—A Chinese personal seal, of agate, engraved with an inscription in the ancient characters which occur on Chinese seals of metal, crystal, wood, &c., and also on the small seals of white porcelain found frequently in Ireland, to which the specimen exhibited is somewhat similar in fashion.

By Miss FARINGTON.—A collection of ancient documents, seals, and family memorials; also several specimens of embroidery, a portion of the orfray of a vestment, displaying figures of saints; date sixteenth century; and a curious representation of Flora, surrounded by animals, flowers, &c., worked in gold and silver.

By Dr. KELLER, President of the Society of Antiquaries of Zürich.—A photograph of a singular object in the museum of the Society, being a hollow dodecahedron of bronze, with a ball attached to each of the angles. Each of the pentagonal sides is pierced with a circular opening, and no two of these perforations are of equal diameter. A similar relic, found near St. Peter's Church, Carmarthen, is in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries. See Catalogue, p. 24, where other examples are noticed.

By Mr. DANIEL GURNEY, F.S.A.—Two interesting portraits, date sixteenth century, one of them supposed to represent Prince Arthur, elder brother of Henry VIII. It may be, however, an early portrait of that sovereign, being apparently that of a person in more advanced years than Prince Arthur, who died in 1502, aged only sixteen. This portrait is on panel, representing a young man in the prime of life, three quarters to the right; without beard or moustaches; the hair short; a flat bonnet with the brim turned up and fastened with an *enseigne* or medallion over the right brow. He wears a furred crimson gown, a rich pendant jewel, collar of pearls and gems, and holds in his right hand a red and white rose. This curious painting bears much resemblance to that at Windsor, formerly in possession of Charles I., and considered by Mr. Scharf to portray Prince Arthur. The second portrait is inscribed *Henricus Dominus Darnley, Rex Scotorum*, 1562; it is a painting of his time, on panel, presenting features of strong similarity to the supposed portraits of the Consort of Mary Stuart. In his left hand he holds an hour-glass, inscribed, *Cogita mori—Anno 1562*. The hair, beard and moustaches, are light brown; the general aspect is

that of a young man of twenty-five to thirty. It may be remembered that two years subsequently to the date occurring on this portrait, Sir James Melville, in his account of his memorable interview with Elizabeth, describes Darnley, whose age at that time (in 1564) was only eighteen, as "like a woman than a man, for he was lovely, beardless, and lady-faced." The inscription giving Darnley's name is probably a recent addition, and Melville's account seems to prove that the painting cannot be received as a portrait of that prince.

January 10, 1862.

WILLIAM TITE, Esq., M.P., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

PREVIOUSLY to commencing the ordinary proceedings of the meeting Mr. Tite observed, that since they had last assembled together an event had taken place which had filled all hearts with the deepest sorrow. In the absence of their President, Lord Talbot de Malahide, the painful duty had devolved upon him (Mr. Tite) to express, on this their first meeting of the new year, the sense of deep regret with which the Institute, in common with all classes of Her Majesty's loyal subjects, must regard the lamentable bereavement which she had recently sustained in the untimely decease of the Prince Consort. Every member of the Society, Mr. Tite felt assured, would share in heartfelt sorrow at such a national calamity; all must deplore the loss of the enlightened and beneficent Patron who had for some years graciously favored the Society with his encouragement, and by his personal participation in their proceedings. The Prince had with most kind condescension repeatedly exerted his influence in obtaining the gracious permission of the Queen, by which objects of very choice and precious character, preserved in the royal collections, had been entrusted to the Society, to which he had so generously extended his patronage. Mr. Tite could not refrain from bearing his heartfelt tribute, not only to the condescension of the Prince on many occasions, but to his high attainments, and to the constant devotion of his time and thoughts to the promotion of the Arts, and of all the interests of National advancement or cultivation. The loss of so beneficent and accomplished a Patron must be a cause of sadness and most heartfelt condolence, not only to all members of the Institute, but to all who had experienced with them that kindly encouragement with which the lamented Prince had constantly fostered every effort associated with the progress of National refinement and intelligence. He (Mr. Tite) would venture to express the hope, that their gracious Queen, in this her great trial and extremity of sorrow, might find in the deep sympathy of her loyal subjects some slight balm of consolation.

The following address of loyal condolence was then read, which had been laid before Her Majesty by the President, on behalf of the Institute, as an humble expression of deep sorrow and sympathy in so great a calamity:—

The Humble Address of the Members of the Archaeological Institute
of Great Britain and Ireland:—

May it please your Majesty,

We beg leave to approach your presence in order to express our sorrow for the sad bereavement which your Majesty has sustained in the death of your Royal Consort. In common with all your subjects, we feel the blow which has fallen on a family—the chief ornament and pride of our country.

As one of the many Societies in the land, whose objects are the investi-

gation of its National Monuments, and the promotion of the Fine Arts, we lament the loss of one who spent his life and used his exalted position not only in the advancement of all the Arts of Peace, and in the foundation of one of the most distinguished Schools of Art, but in the improvement of the condition of the poor and the afflicted, and in the solution of the great social problems of the day.

And we also ask leave to express to your Majesty our more particular sorrow at the loss of our kind Patron, who honored our meetings with his presence; who aided us with his enlightened counsel; and who obtained for us your Majesty's permission on several occasions to exhibit choice specimens of Art in the possession of the Crown.

Words cannot express what we feel on this occasion. May God, in His mercy, vouchsafe to your Majesty the necessary strength to bear up under this your heavy affliction, and preserve you for many years to your affectionate people.

In the name of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,
(Signed) TALBOT DE MALAHIDE.

Mr. GEORGE PETRIE, of Kirkwall, Corresponding Member of the Institute, communicated an account, with illustrative drawings, of the remains of a circular church at Orphir in Orkney (printed in this Journal, vol. xviii. p. 227.) This, as it is believed, is the only example in North Britain of a type which occurs not unfrequently in some parts of Northern Europe. Mr. Tite observed that he had recently visited one of the most interesting specimens of this class of churches existing in England, the Round Church at Northampton, which had suffered much from neglect and decay; it was proposed to connect its restoration, now entrusted to Mr. Gilbert Scott, with the purpose of a memorial to the late Marquis of Northampton, formerly President of the Institute, whose kind and generous encouragement was doubtless gratefully remembered by many present.

A memoir was then read, addressed by one of the foreign Honorary Corresponding Members of the Institute, the Count CONSTANTINE TYSZKIEWICZ, a distinguished archæologist, brother of the President of the Society of Antiquaries at Wilna. His communication was illustrated by numerous careful ground plans and representations of entrenched works, hill-fortresses, and other remains of early antiquity in Lithuania, presenting apparently features of analogy with vestiges of a like description in Great Britain. In common with other parts of Northern Europe, he observed, Lithuania presents none of those traces of Roman occupation which occur in other localities. The country had been traversed by the various nations who had migrated from Asia, probably, to the Southward and Westward regions of Europe. The traces are chiefly tumuli and entrenchments. The Count proposed to divide these remains into four classes;—forts constructed at the meeting of streams, or on the banks of rivers;—entrenched places of worship, usually on the summits of isolated hills; on these sites are frequently noticed small cavities full of ashes with traces of cremation, indicating, as it is supposed, places of sacrifice;—the third class consisting of large enclosed spaces, designed, as believed, for holding councils or for the administration of justice;—and, lastly, the numerous tumuli, called in Polish *kurhany*. These last the Count proposed to distinguish by the uses for which they appear to have been raised. Some seem to have been posts of observation raised around camps; others may have marked the lines of

migration of ancient races; others, again, are sepulchral, containing objects of stone, bronze, and iron, similar, for the most part, to those of the same period found in England and in Europe generally. Ornaments of female attire have been found also in abundance, such as objects of glass and stone, and, near the coast, ornaments made of amber.

Mr. E. LLOYD delivered an elaborate disquisition on the landing of Julius Cæsar in Britain. His views do not concur with those of the Astronomer Royal, or of Mr. Lewin. Mr. Lloyd stated that, availing himself of facilities of observation during a prolonged residence at Ramsgate, he had devoted much time to exploring the localities in question. He had arrived at the conclusion that Cæsar had set forth on his first voyage to Britain from Wissant; he had landed in *Cantium*, a name which Mr. Lloyd maintained belonged to that portion of Kent now called the Isle of Thanet; it might have extended to Dover and Canterbury, but there appears to be no ground for the supposition that it applied to the district as far to the westward as Romney Marsh, or to the coast west of Dover, where, according to some authorities, Cæsar's landing had taken place. Mr. Lloyd, from careful examination of the coast, was inclined to believe that Shoulden, behind Deal, may have been the spot where Cæsar landed; and he stated some conjectures on the state of the tide at the time of his arrival, in confirmation of that opinion. He moreover alluded to the discovery of certain flat-bottomed boats of great antiquity at a spot where, as he thought possible, Cæsar's fleet may have been drawn up on the shore for security. Referring to the fact that, at that period, *Rutupie* was an island, he called attention to the great changes which had taken place on the coast, and especially to that which had left dry the estuary by which the Isle of Thanet had been formerly divided from the mainland. These changes Mr. Lloyd is disposed to attribute to the gradual deepening of the channel in the straits of Dover.

Mr. WILLIAM CLAYTON communicated a photograph of the base or ground-work of a very curious relic of Roman occupation at Dover, accompanied by some notices of the discovery, during the last summer, of these remains, supposed to mark the sight of a pharos upon the Western Heights, and formerly known as the Bredenstone. It is believed that the earliest mention of this vestige of some Roman structure in that position occurs in Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*, published in 1596, where it is stated, p. 158,—“there standeth yett upon the high cliff betweene the towne and the peere (as it were) not farre from that which was the house of the Templars, some remaine of a tower, now called Bredenstone.” This portion of ancient masonry, and also the ruins of the circular church of the Templars, doubtless the scene of the memorable interview between King John and the legate from the Holy See, are represented, it has been supposed, in the curious view of Dover, as it appeared in the time of Henry VIII., preserved amongst the Cott. MSS. in the British Museum, and of which a reduced copy was published a few years ago at Dover. The Bredenstone was doubtless the object mentioned by Montfaucon, *Antiqu. Expl. Supp.* tom. iv. p. 137, as a “grand monceau de mazures de pierres et de chaux, qu'on voit auprès de Douvre, que les gens du pays appellent la goutte du Diable,” regarded, it is observed, by some persons as the remains of a Roman pharos, but distinct from the well-known pharos-tower at the Castle, of which Montfaucon (*ibid.* p. 51) gives a good representation from a drawing sent to him in 1721 by the Archbishop of

Canterbury (Wake). In the History of Dover Castle by Darell, chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, and published in 1786, the Bredenstone or "the Devil's Drop," called by him "*Ara Cæsaris*," is given as a vignette headpiece. At that time it seems to have been a shapeless mass of masonry, about ten feet in height. It may be supposed that the popular name originated in a notion, of which many other instances occur, that the huge mass had been dropped on the heights by supernatural agency; but the word was inadvertently rendered by the learned French antiquary, above cited, as if it had signified a liquid drop—"goutte du Diable." In 1693, Lord Sydney, on his appointment as Lord Warden, summoned the Grand Court of Shepway to meet upon "Braidenstone Hill," where he had been told that three of his predecessors were sworn into office. The Historian of Kent, Hasted, mentions Bredenstone Hill on the S.W. side of Dover, opposite to the Castle, and that there the ancient court of Shepway "is now kept," and the Lords Warden sworn in. Again, he observes that the hill on the S.W. of the town, called Bredenstone Hill, on which the ruin of the ancient Roman pharos remained, is within the lordship of Bredon, in the liberty of Dover, and that it once belonged to the Commandery of Swynfield, &c. The site of the Templars' church mentioned by Leland and other writers, and already noticed as situated on the same Heights, was brought to light by the sappers in 1806; it was cleared from *débris* and again exposed to view in 1854 by Col. Fitzherbert Grant. In the course of the works at the period first named, when the Heights were strongly fortified, the Bredenstone had been buried under an accumulation of chalk and soil thrown out of a trench then cut near the spot, but, in digging foundations for barracks last summer the platform, described as hexagonal, on which the structure had been erected was laid open, and the Roman character of the masonry distinctly recognised. The remains were about 20 feet in length, as shown in the photograph sent by Mr. Clayton; they consisted of ordinary Roman walling, with a few plain tiles, and presented the appearance of a rough mass of conglomerate. A cavity full of charred wood and ashes was noticed, supposed to be a vestige of the original purpose for which the erection had been designed, as a pharos on the Western side of the harbour of the ancient *Dubris*. The remains were forthwith in part removed, and a portion has been so preserved in the construction of the barrack-wall that it remains visible, projecting a few inches from the face of the wall, and marking the site where an object of so much interest to the Cinque Ports stood. A detailed description of the masonry, and of the circumstances of its discovery, is given by Mr. Knoeker, Town Clerk of Dover, &c., in his "Account of the Grand Court of Shepway, holden on the Bredenstone Hill, for the Installation of the Viscount Palmerston as Warden of the Cinque Ports, &c., August 28, 1861." In that interesting volume a conjectural representation of *Dubris* with its two multangular light-towers is given, and also a copy of the view of Darell's "*Ara Cæsaris*," as it appeared when his History was published, towards the close of the last century.

Mr. JOSEPH BURTT presented to the Institute the Catalogue of their Library, prepared by him in accordance with a plan approved by the Central Committee. The inconvenience arising from the want of a systematic Catalogue had long, Mr. Burt observed, been a cause of complaint; the library, although deficient in general works of reference, contained a rare and valuable series of transactions of Archæological and Historical

Societies, especially on the Continent; for this the Institute had been chiefly indebted to the exertions of their lamented friend Mr. Kemble. It also included numerous monographs and memoirs, topographical and antiquarian, of comparatively rare occurrence. He (Mr. Burt) had pleasure in now offering to the Society the result of his endeavors to contribute to their satisfaction, and to enhance the utility of the Library.

A special vote of thanks to Mr. Burt for so valuable a service, at no slight sacrifice of time, was very cordially carried. Mr. Tite alluded to the circumstance that the Society of Antiquaries were likewise on the point of issuing a List of their Library. Of that extensive collection of books, however, a Catalogue, although incomplete, was previously in the hands of the Fellows; Mr. Burt had with great kindness undertaken the task of supplying, for the first time, a deficiency long felt by the members of the Institute.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Miss FARRINGTON.—A celt or axe-head of cherty flint, streaked with brown, found in 1859 in a field near Honiton, Devon. It is a good example of an ordinary type, with a cutting edge at one extremity only.

By Mr. FITCH.—Two bronze torque rings, found during the previous month in a chalk pit near Norwich. They are encrusted with bright green patina, and measure, in diameter, about $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch. The extremities are disunited, so that the rings might be termed penannular, but the ends may have been originally soldered together. These relics are supposed to be of Anglo-Saxon date; a specimen precisely similar in fashion and size was found by Mr. Wylie at the Anglo-Saxon cemetery investigated by him in Gloucestershire; it is figured, Fairford Graves, pl. IX. At the spot where the rings sent by Mr. Fitch were found, a leaden coffin was brought to light on Dec. 2, *ult.*, it had been enclosed in a coffin of wood, and contained portions of a human skeleton. This interment lay at a depth of about 4 ft. in a bank of sand and brick clay, adjoining the chalk pits at Stone Hills; the locality was formerly known as Heigham Heath. The coffin, which has been considered Roman, is without ornament, of simple construction, formed of a sheet of lead cut to the desired shape and then doubled over at the ends and sides, the cover being also formed in like manner; no solder apparently had been used. The dimensions are, length 56 in., width, at the head 14 in., at the feet 13 in., depth 10 in. Remains of mortar-like cement were noticed near the coffin. A full account of the discovery will be given in the Publications of the Norfolk Archaeological Society.

By Mr. WEBB.—A remarkable ivory casket, sculptured with mythological subjects, foliage, and ornamentation of early classical character. On the lid is a singular representation of Europa; a group of Cretans in very spirited action appear to impede her landing on their shores, by throwing stones. At one end of the coffer is sculptured young Bacchus in a car drawn by leopards, at the other a man mounted on a triton; there are also eminent Bacchanalian subjects, centaurs, a figure playing on a lyre, &c. This fine example was recently obtained from the Treasury of the Cathedral of Veroli in the Pontifical States. Dimensions, $15\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $6\frac{1}{2}$ in.; height 4 in.

By Mr. R. M. MILLS.—A diminutive ivory devotional folding tablet, stated to have been found, in 1802, in a leaden coffin at Chichester Cathed-

dral. It came to the present possessor from Mr. F. Daniell, of Knowle House, Devon. The dimensions of each leaf of this little tablet are about $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. in each direction; upon one leaf is a sculptured figure of the B. V. Mary with the infant Saviour, standing between St. Peter and St. Paul; on the other appear St. John the Baptist, St. James the Less, and St. Catharine. The figures are placed under crocketed canopies. Date, early fifteenth century.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—A conical helmet of Oriental character, with a sliding nasal-bar; at the side of the face, on the left side, is a small tube, which may have been intended to receive a plume. The lofty conical peak terminates in a small knob. This curious head-piece is from the Arsenal at Constantinople, and is stamped with the curious Cufic mark or monogram occurring on various objects thence obtained.—Also a pair of shoes covered with chain-mail, from the same Arsenal; the soles are of leather, with short brass peaks at the toes.—Two portions of russet-armour engraved with foliage, trophies, &c., and partly gilded; probably of Spanish work, sixteenth century. One of them appears to be the back of a war-saddle.

By the Rev. C. Y. CRAWLEY.—A drawing of the sumptuous golden chalice and salver, at Matson Church, Gloucestershire; the former measures, in height, 9 in., the salver, used as a paten, 9 in. in diameter. On a scroll around the base of the chalice is the following inscription,—“Taken out of a church at the Havana by the Earl of Albemarle, and given to George Augustus Selwyn, Esquire, by whom it was given to the church of Matson.” George, third Earl of Albemarle, aide-de-camp to the Duke of Cumberland at Fontenoy, was commander-in-chief at the reduction of the Havana in 1762.

By Mr. W. PARKER HAMOND.—A French jeton found at Croydon; on one side is Henry IV. on horseback, on the other the arms of France and Navarre. The counters struck at Nuremberg by Hans Kranwinckel and Wolfgang Laufer, for use in France, are numerous, and some of the types have an historical interest. Examples, of the time of Henry IV., are given by Snelling, J. de Fontenay, and other writers on jetons.

February 7, 1862.

PROFESSOR DONALDSON in the Chair.

A very interesting account was given by Professor WESTWOOD of his visit to Treves during the previous summer, with notices of objects in the museum and library at that place, especially a very remarkable sculpture in ivory representing, as supposed, St. Helena, to whom the foundation of the cathedral is attributed, and who is represented receiving a solemn procession, on the arrival probably of some holy relics at Treves. It will be given with the continuation of Professor Westwood's *Archæological Notes on the Continent*, of which the first portion has already appeared in this Journal.

Mr. FRANKS observed that the highly valuable example of sculpture in ivory, to which Professor Westwood had called attention, may probably be assigned to the time of Charlemagne.

Captain WINDUS, of the Indian Navy, read a memoir on a carrack or war-galley, fitted out by the Knights of St. John, as related by Bosio, the historian of the Order, and remarkable not less on account of its great size

and equipment, than as having been sheathed with lead for defence against artillery. The vessel was built at Nice, in 1530, and formed part of the great Squadron dispatched by the Emperor Charles V. in 1535 against Tunis, to aid the dethroned Muley Hassan against Barbarossa. The fleet consisted of about 500 vessels, chiefly Genoese, under the command of the celebrated Andrea Doria. The carrack, named the *Santa Anna*, took a prominent part in the conflict, and in a few days Tunis was captured. The huge ship was the wonder of the age; she had six decks, with coulevrines and numerous heavy artillery; the crew consisted of 300 men; she had a spacious chapel, hall of reception, and an armoury for equipping 500 men; on the poop were planted trees; it is recorded that she was provided with ovens and a baker, who supplied fresh bread daily in abundance. But the singular feature of her construction was the leaden sheathing, attached with brass bolts, a precaution to which Bosio attributes perfect security against shot, so that although often engaged she had never been pierced below the bulwarks. Captain Windus, having pointed out various points of advancement in technical skill shown in the construction of this remarkable carrack, observed how remarkable is the fact, that whilst the merits of plated ships and invulnerable rams are so keenly canvassed in this and other countries, and the question of iron *versus* wood is the grand topic of interest in connexion with naval warfare, a vessel of huge dimensions should have existed more than three centuries ago, not only provided with appliances usually regarded as inventions of much later times, but have been actually in advance of modern ingenuity, in being secured against cannon-shot by a metal sheathing, as effectual probably against the projectiles of the period as it is believed that "La Gloire," or the "Warrior" may prove against more powerful artillery. The use of brass bolts, Captain Windus remarked, shows a singular advance in technical details. When metal sheathing was introduced in this country 250 years later, it was affixed by iron bolts, and the advantage of using copper fastenings was only recognised at a comparatively recent time. The "*Santa Anna*" probably resembled the celebrated "*Henri Grâce de Dieu*," of 1000 tons, built at Erith, perhaps on an Italian model, in the reign of Henry VIII. There exists, however, it is believed, in the Refectory of the palace of the Order of St. John at Rome a painting of the carrack, which may supply a precise notion of its curious details and proportions. Captain Windus concluded by observing that to the Knights of St. John the merit must be given of having constructed the first metal-plated vessel of war upon record.⁴ Captain Windus alluded to some experiments which he had recently made in regard to the value of lead as a protection against rifle-shot; the results have shown, however, that it is of no avail against modern artillery.

Mr. W. BURGESS then read a notice of the interesting sepulchral memorial and effigy of the Bailly of Amerigo, of Narbonne, which he had lately noticed in the cloister of Sta. Maria dell' Annunziata at Florence. This warlike personage is portrayed on horseback; he fell at the fight of Campaldino in 1089; Dante was engaged on that occasion. Mr. Burgess has promised a full account and accurate representations of this very curious example of military costume. The effigy is figured in Mr.

⁴ Mr. Waterton has subsequently informed us that there is a model of the *Santa Anna*, as he believes, in a gallery

at the Palazzo di Malta at Rome; and also a painting in the House of the Priory on the Aventine.

Hewitt's Manual of Arms and Armour in Europe, vol. i. p. 244, from a drawing by the late Mr. Kerrieh.

Mr. R. G. P. MINTY, of Petersfield, called the attention of the Institute to the neglected condition of two tombs of the Caryll family at Harting Church, Sussex, formerly in a monumental chapel adjacent to the south side of the chancel. The church had undergone restoration in 1853, under the care of Mr. Gilbert Scott, and at the expense of Lady Fetherston; in 1854 the restoration of the chancel was entrusted by the Vicar to Mr. Ferrey; a new east window was given by Lady Fetherston in 1858; and, in 1860, the chapel which had contained the monuments in question, being somewhat out of repair, was removed, so as to open to view a window on the south side of the chancel. Mr. Minty exhibited photographs of the church before and after the demolition of the Caryll Chapel, and also of the monuments and effigies, apparently well sculptured; they are now exposed to the weather and mischievous injuries. These tombs commemorated Sir Edward Caryll, of Harting, who died 1609, and Sir Richard Caryll, his third son, who died 1616. Mr. Minty stated that one of the monuments is of stone, the other of marble; the canopies had been destroyed, and the figures are now in damaged condition. The Caryll family, resident formerly at West Grinstead, and at Ladyholt Park, Sussex, now the property of Lady Fetherston, were of note in the county, and allied with some of the chief families. They were loyal adherents to Charles I., and suffered in the Revolution. Dallaway in his History of Sussex gives their pedigree, and the inscriptions on the tombs. Mr. Minty expressed regret that these memorials should not be suitably protected from further decay. He exhibited also drawings of mural paintings of the fourteenth century, formerly to be seen in Harting Church, but now concealed. They represented apparently St. Helena, St. Anne, and St. Lawrence.

Mr. E. W. GODWIN communicated a short notice of the tower of St. Philip's Church, Bristol, which presents some interesting architectural features; date thirteenth century. It is now in very neglected and damaged condition. Drawings of the lower portion of the structure were sent for examination. Some interest had been excited about seven years ago, and contributions collected for its conservation, but nothing had been effected. It now serves as a place of deposit for lumber.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

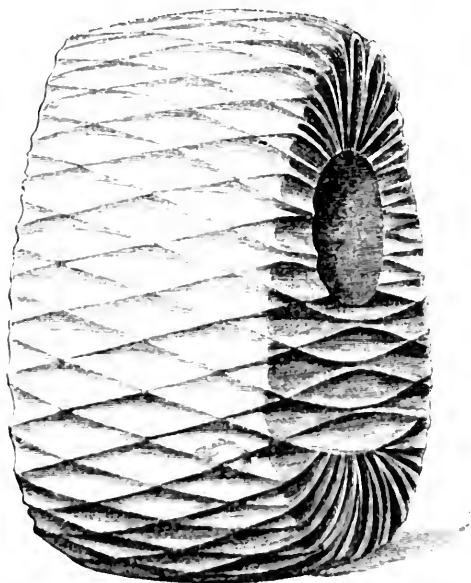
By Mr. FRANKS.—A fine bronze sword, length $27\frac{1}{4}$ inches, presenting this unusual peculiarity, that beyond the end of the hilt there projects a flat tang, about 1 inch in length, and $\frac{5}{8}$ inch in breadth, possibly produced by the neck or orifice of the mould, and not cut off after the casting was made. This weapon was found in the lower part of the river Lea, in Herts.—Also a small bronze swan found in the Thames; it had probably been an accompaniment of a statuette of Leda.—A flat circular *fibula*, originally enameled, and ornamented with concentric circles at intervals.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—A bronze blade of comparatively uncommon type, found in Lincolnshire; length $16\frac{5}{8}$ inches. The hilt was of more simple adjustment than is usual in bronze swords, and formed with four rivets only.—Three Oriental weapons, a fine sword with hilt and scabbard-mounts of solid silver, chased and engraved with entwined serpents;

and two daggers of the form called *Jumbea*—one of them has the silver mounts of its sheath of delicately pierced work, representing flowers.

By the Rev. G. B. MELLOR, through Dr. Kendrick of Warrington.—Three stone celts of unusual fashion lately found in the North of Ireland. They are rudely wrought, without regularity of form, and very obtusely rounded at their extremities. One of them, 9 inches in length, lay about 3 feet deep in a bog; there are numerous cairns and ancient vestiges in the locality, and querns, wooden "methers," iron weapons, &c., occur there, indicating extensive occupation of the spot in ancient times.

By the Rev. C. L. BARNWELL.—An unique stone hammer or manl-head, found at Maesmore near Corwen, Merionethshire, about 1840, in grubbing up a wood. This remarkable object was made known through the advantageous influence of local Archaeological meetings, having come into the possession of Mr. Barnwell not long previously to the Cambrian Congress at Bangor, where it was shown by him in 1860.² The material has been described as dusky white chalcedony, so hard that a steel point produces no effect on the surface. The weight is 10½ oz. The accompanying woodcut is of the same size as the original. The reticulated ornamentation is worked with great precision, and must have cost great labor; the perforation for the haft is formed with singular symmetry and perfection; the lozenge grooved decoration covering the entire surface is remarkably sym-



metrical and skilfully finished. It is difficult to comprehend by what means the results so admirably produced upon such a hard material could have been effected. We are much indebted to Mr. Barnwell for the use of the woodcut, which accurately represents this very curious object of which he is now the possessor.

² *Journal Camb. Arch. Assoc.*, third series, vol. vi. pp. 307, 376.

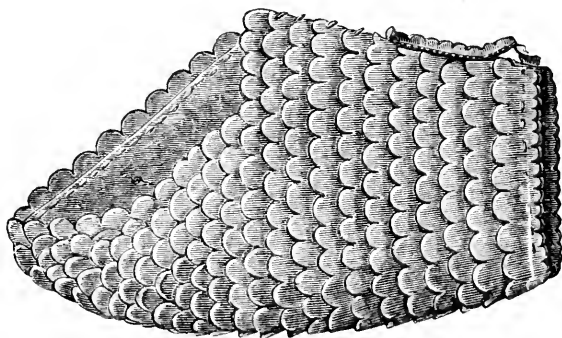
The Archaeological Journal.

JUNE, 1862.

NOTICE OF SOME EXAMPLES OF BUFF ARMOUR AND OF DEFENCES FORMED WITH SCALES OF LEATHER OR OF PLATE.

By J. HEWITT.

I HAVE great pleasure in bringing under the notice of those archaeologists who take interest in warlike defences and costume a very rare example of horseman's armour of the time of Charles I., a vambrace of buff-leather used as a defence for the bridle-arm. I recently noticed this interesting relic in the Rotunda at Woolwich, and it has now been deposited in the Tower Armory. Beneath the outer covering of scales is a padding, formed of six sheets of

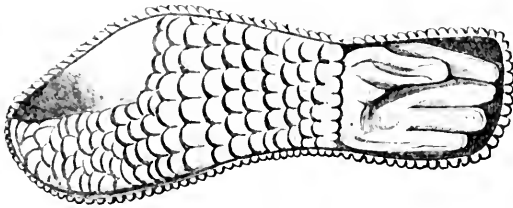


Vambrace of buff leather, *t.* Charles I. Tower Armory.

soft paper overlying each other, not pasted together so as to form a hard substance, but lying loosely, so as to deaden

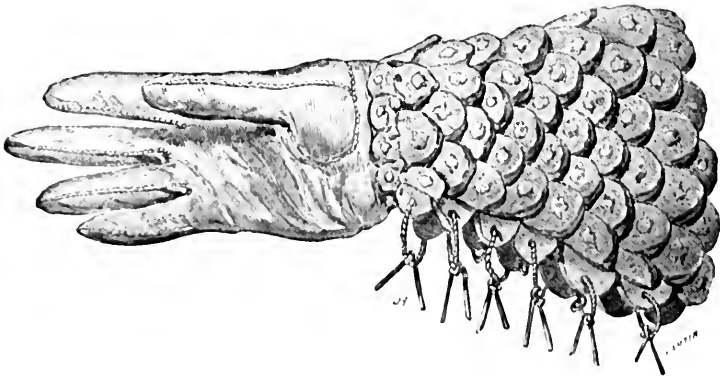
the blow of an adversary's weapon. The whole has a lining of soft leather.

A somewhat similar example is figured by Grose in Plate 39 of his "Ancient Armour." In that, the defence of scale-work is continued over the back of the hand, and a buff glove is attached to it. In the example before us there is some appearance of a similar hand-defence having once existed. The gauntlet in Grose (here figured) is described as "a buff covering for the left arm, contrived to answer the purpose of a shield, being composed of three skins of leather,



Buff leather gauntlet, from Balborough Hall, Derbyshire. Length 25 inches.

with one of cartoon or paste-board." He further tells us that it was part of a defence "worn in the time of Charles I. by Sir Francis Rhodes, Bart., of Balborough Hall, Derbyshire." It is now in the collection at Goodrich Court¹ (See Skelton's



Buff glove of scale-work, formerly in the Bryn y pys collection. Tower Armory.

Illustrations, vol. ii, pl. 79). In the Tower there is a buff gauntlet of scale-work (here figured) ; this, however, is for the *right* hand. I purchased it from the collection at Bryn-y-pys

¹ See Meyrick's Crit. Enqu. vol. iii, p. 87, note.

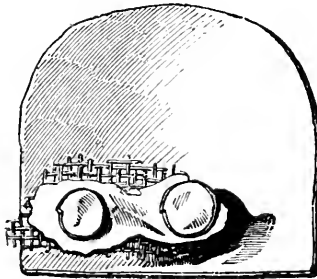
in North Wales, but have since transferred it to the Tower. It has been described in the eighth volume of this Journal, p. 301.

Armour of scale-work made of steel was also used at this time. The suit in the Tower, called the armour of Count Hector Oddi, of Padua, has a culet of this fashion ; a portion of this rich suit, of which the scales are decorated with the double-headed eagle crowned, is here figured. Each



Portion of scale-armour, from the suit of Count Oddi, Tower Armory. (Original size.)

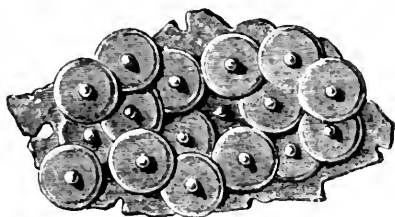
scale is fastened by two rivets to a foundation of canvas and leather, the canvas next the metal. The woodcut annexed gives a view of the reverse of one of the scales, showing the



rivets passing through the lining. The scales, it will be observed, overlap from below, so that the pointed weapon of

an enemy might glance off, instead of finding its way between the interstices of the metal. Recently I was fortunate enough to procure for the Tower collection another example of a culet of steel scale-work. In both specimens, each scale is engraved with an heraldic device.

In lieu of scales, discs of metal were sometimes employed for defensive equipment at this period. A portion of such a fabric, called "penny-plate armour," is here represented.



In the Tower is a culet of this description, formerly shown as "part of a horse armour." The plates are about the size of a penny-piece (old coinage), and are fixed upon leather.

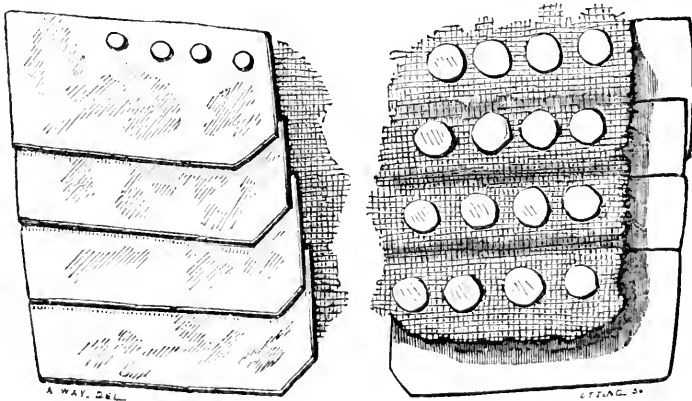
There is a specimen of similar armour at Warwick Castle, in better preservation. The term, by which defences of this description are designated, occurs in an inventory of the effects of the Earl of Shrewsbury at Grafton, Worcestershire, in 1570, 12 Eliz., including, "corselettes, almon ryvettes &c., one old peny platt cotte." Likewise, in an inventory of the armour, &c. of Edward Littleton, of Longford, Salop, 1591, 34 Eliz. (orig. roll, Library of Soc. of Antiqu.), "My armorie, blacke armor of proufe; item ij. peny platt coates, and ij. privye coates; item iiij. jackes, and ij. privie coates to weare under armore; item, a sleve layde with male and a payre of hose layde with male." Possibly, as it has been conjectured, the "pyne doublet" or "secret," of which we read in the narrative of Gowrie's conspiracy, was identical with the "peny platt cotte." (See Jamieson's Dictionary, under Pyne doublet.)

The bridle-arm defence was also, at a somewhat later period in the seventeenth century, formed of continuous plate. Many specimens of the so-called "long armed gauntlets" are to be found in the Tower. The portion beyond the wrists was made of scales, and a bull's glove was fixed

under the finger-strips of steel. Grose has engraved one of these vambraces in his 26th Plate, but has inadvertently shown it as a defence for the *right* hand.

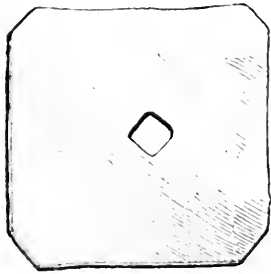
An analogous armour is that figured by Grose in his 35th plate, also of the Stuart period, and described by him as “a covering for the left arm, curiously stuffed and quilted, intended to answer the use of a shield. It is covered with a cinnamon-coloured silk.” And, in the suit of John Sobieski, King of Poland, engraved by Reibisch, from the Dresden Collection, we have the same form of vambrace for both arms, the material being steel plate. Other portions of Sobieski’s armour are formed of steel scale-work; and in this case, as in those already noticed, every scale is engraved with an emblem. The emblem here is a golden cross.

The various kinds of flexible armour, formed with plates or scale of metal, are well deserving of attention; their distinctive character does not appear to have been accurately defined. In the richest kind of brigandine the plates were nailed together, the gilt nail-heads appearing on the external surface of a velvet covering, by which the overlapping scales were concealed. A fine example is preserved in the museum of the Duke of Darmstadt (Hefner, *Trachten*, div. ii., pl. 62; *Armour and Arms in Europe*, p. 551; see also Grose, pl. 30; and Skelton’s *Illust. Goodrich Court Armory*, pl. 16).



An interesting portion of scale-armour of this description is here figured (orig. size). The overlapping plates of iron are riveted on two thicknesses of canvas. Date sixteenth

cent. In another variety of brigandine, the plates were stitched or quilted into the garment, the plates being perforated; and the small cords used in the operation are seen in straight and diagonal lines knotted at their intersections on the outside.



One of the perforated iron plates, as thick as a sixpence, for lining the foot-soldier's brigandine, date sixteenth century, is here represented (original size). These plates are slightly convex. A very curious brigandine head-piece, found at Davington Priory, Kent, has been figured in a former volume of this Journal (vol. xiv., p. 345). An example of the brigandine jacket is in the Goodrich Court Armory (Skelton, pl. xxxiv.); another, in very perfect preservation, is in the possession of Mr. W. B. Johnstone, Treasurer of the Royal Scottish Academy. In scale-armour proper, the laminated plates appear upon the surface, as shown in the remarkable suit from Padua, previously noticed.

NOTE.—We may take this occasion to point out that defences designated *Jazerant* were doubtless of mail, and not of scales; from Ital. *Ghiazzerino*, as Meyrick says, from “its resemblance to a clinker-built boat.” Crit. Enq. Glossary, *in v.* Skelton's Illustr. pl. 16. The evidence of the Romances, Inventories, &c., appears conclusive. We read of “aubere *jaserant*, qui ot le maille blanche et sierré et tirant.”—Rom. d'Alexandre. Amongst mailed defences in the armour of Louis X. in 1316, occur “un pans et uns bras de *jazeran* d'acier:—coleretes Pizaines de *jazeran* d'acier:—une couverture de *jazeran* de fer.” Ducange *v.* *Armatura*. The horse-armour (*couverture*) must at least have been of mail; we never see it formed of scales. We read in Cuvelier, “chascun ot cheval couvert de *jazerant*.” Nicot (Thresor de la langue Frane.) explains “*Jaseran*—une sorte d'habillement de guerre fait de grosses et larges mailles de fer laseées et jointes estroitement de couche ensemble:—on peut juger que le *Jaseran* soit le mesme habillement de guerre qu'on nomme à present Jaques de Maille;” adding that a chain of gold or silver, “qui est de grosses mailles,” is likewise called *Jazeran*. See Roquefort *in v.* So also in Spanish, *Jacrina* signifies mail. The French antiquaries use the term as designating mail, not scale-armour. See Catal. Mus. de l'Artill. Paris, p. 35.

NOTICES OF COLLECTIONS OF GLYPTIC ART EXHIBITED BY THE
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BY THE REV. CHARLES W. KING, M.A., Senior Fellow of Trin. Coll., Cambridge.

THE ARUNDEL COLLECTION (*continued from p. 23*).

CASE IV.—(*Of Camei exclusively*).

320. Bust of an Ecclesiastic, the head tonsured; a life-like portrait in the best manner of the Cinque Cento (greatly in J. da Trezzo's style). The relief somewhat flat, in white upon light brown. Can this be the famous Ippolito dei Medici?

322. An admirable Bacchic scene, perhaps the finest example which the Cinque Cento, in this, its favourite department, ever produced. A group of three figures; the centre a nymph reclining on a panther's skin, another, seated motionless, holds a tambourine; a faun bends forward, supported on his crook, as if conversing with her, thus balancing the composition on the opposite side; on the ground lie scattered various drinking vessels. The grouping is that of a perfect picture; the drawing of the bodies and rounded softness of the limbs have rarely been equalled. The relief somewhat flat, in a beautiful material of porcelain white upon sard, a reserved rim inclosing the whole.

325. Julia Titi, neatly finished flat work, in brown on white; an early Cinque Cento copy. The work done with the diamond point, and within a rim, a finish usually marking the first productions of the Florentine school.

326. Head of Bacchus, a grand antique, most effective in its bold, slightly finished treatment. High relief on an exquisite sardonyx, giving the ivy wreath in dark brown, the flesh in bluish-white, the ground sard, of the same quality as the Antonia (311), showing a large perforation through the axis, Pliny's criterion of the true Indian stone.

330. The escape of Æneas from Diomedes, a cameo copy of the *intaglio* (Besborough, 149), same size as the original, signed **ΥΔΡΟΥ**: the sole cameo of Natter's that I have seen, the work bossy, exactly that of the middle Cinque Cento. Clever use has been made of the strongly contrasting shades of the sardonyx, to give a picture-like coloring to the actors and the accessories, in red, white, and black.

332. Another of the miniature battle scenes, in which the Cinque Cento engravers delighted to exhibit their microscopic skill, done with much spirit but less delicacy than some in the same line noticed above. Probably the Battle of Pharsalia, as one of the banners bears "S.P.Q.R.," the other an elephant, the cognizance of Julius Cæsar, and the rebus (in Punice) of his name, and therefore the most frequent device upon his denarii.

333. Fragments of a Bacchic scene, a finished antique work, whereof a Faun only is left assisting to carry the reclined and drunken Silenus, whilst a Maned, seen in front, stands clashing the cymbals, and quite absorbed in their melody. The drawing excellent, and the finish of every part to match, especially as regards the expression shewn on the visage of the drunken old demigod, and the rapt attitude of the motionless Bacchante. This

piece, fractured in every direction, must have belonged to one of large extent, probably a panel of a *cista mystica* in gold. As in all these early works the relief is quite flat, and in very opaque white on sard ground.

335. Bust of a veiled negress, admirably finished in the early Cinque Cento manner, entirely diamond-point work, within a rim, on a dark brown layer of a large onyx. I have noticed before the connexion of the sable beauty with the Medici family that brought these negress' heads into vogue.

336. Veiled female bust (Cleopatra), perhaps a Ceres, in almost full relief, in amethyst. A noble work, grand in its treatment, and to be placed first amongst similar relies here; in fact I have never met with a statuette bust in this material or manner, that can be compared to this in its grandiose treatment, which seems far beyond the Roman, even of the Augustan school; but greatly mutilated, the nose struck off, and the cheek splintered. So peculiar is the polish, where unimpaired, that the entire piece feels as if cast in purple glass, not cut out of a hard stone.

337. Julia Donna, a noble work in flat relief, in white upon a dappled sard ground, an oval onyx, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. A most important cameo this, being beyond all suspicion contemporary with that empress, and though worked out with great care in a laborious manner, stiff and almost mediæval in the outline. Few imperial portraits surpass this in dimensions.

341. Caligula, in flat relief in white upon sard, done in the same stiff, lifeless manner as those of Claudius already noticed. A very important gem for the size of the onyx, an oval, 3 inches high.

342. Fragment, a small relie remaining from the centre of a large and perfect Augustan historie monument. It preserves no more than a portion of a quadriga, whence hangs a trophy of the huge, oblong shields, peculiar to the Germans.³ A trumpeter precedes the car; on the ground is seated a weeping female tearing her hair (Germania personified). The attributes, as well as the excellent style of the relief (which is quite flat), almost prove that this piece commemorated, when entire, the famous triumph of Drusus the Elder (9 B.C.) over the Germans, after having subjugated that region up to the Elbe, whence the surname of his son, whose victories are similarly immortalised in the Paris cameo.

345. Harpocrates seated, holding a cornucopia. A charming antique work in the highest relief, the attitude full of infantine gracefulness, the roundness of the body and limbs fully equal the best ivory carvings in the same style by Piammingo. The softness of the treatment emulates the finest modelling in white wax, which this upper stratum of the material greatly resembles in surface. Set in an enamel stud of early pattern, a testimony in itself to the genuineness of the relief, the style of which is besides too free for that of the Renaissance; and if not antique, could only have been produced by the school of Pichler.

347. Silenus, a full-faced mask, ivy-crowned, a most vigorous example; perhaps superior to any of the same subject in the collection, in semi-relief and *intaglio* combined, but on a vile material—brown flint, which I have never seen employed for ancient work but in this instance.

352. Jupiter Anxur, or a full length figure of the beardless Jove, as he stands with his *ægis* wrapped round his loins, resting on his sceptre; the eagle at his feet: worked out very low, in consequence of the extreme

³ A late Roman *intaglio* of my own represents a wounded German cavalier thus equipped.

tenuity of the strata furnished by this sardonyx, and within a rim, in a beautiful sardonyx of brown, bluish-white, and black, 2 inches high. A magnificent early imperial monument, careful in details.⁴

353. Magnificent bust, in nearly full relief (not Cleopatra, but a Juno), in the purest calcedony, of considerable dimensions; a modern performance of unusual merit. A singularity is the decoration of the diadem with real pearls let into the stone.

354. A fine imperial bust, with ægis on the breast—perhaps Trajan, but not very like his usual portraits; the Gorgoneion on the cuirass proves decidedly (according to the usual rule of acceptation) that this represents an imperial personage, otherwise I should have taken it for a portrait of some contemporary general; in light brown, and flat relief.

355. Said to be a *replica* of the famous Phocion of Alessandro Il Greco, signed Pyrgoteles, now in the Florence Cabinet, pronounced by M. Angelo to be the *ne plus ultra* of the art, and certainly a wonderful performance from the life and energy that fill its strongly marked features. Why termed Phocion, is a question beyond my powers. Any antique bust of that Athenian worthy that could have come under Cæsaris's eyes, must have been bearded after the universal fashion of his day; this, on the contrary, is closely shaven, and has all the appearance of the likeness of a living person. This is done in a peculiar flat manner, in a light brown opaque layer on a transparent base. The setting demands particular notice as a masterpiece of Italian goldsmiths' work; a kind of open garland of considerable width surmounted by a vase of flowers in enamel; other flowers, amongst which a daisy,⁵ at the bottom, is conspicuous, are placed at intervals upon the frame.

357. Bust, the head laureated, seen in front face; not Nerva, but certainly a Julius Cæsar. A magnificent but probably a Renaissance piece, in nearly full relief, entirely in rich golden sard, somewhat hollowed out behind the relief to give lustre to the stone. As far as the execution is concerned, this noble little sculpture might well belong to the times of Augustus, only the surface does not exhibit the necessary impression of so many centuries upon its polish.

358. Perseus leaning against a column, regards the reflection of the Gorgon's head, held aloft in his right, in a steel buckler lying at his feet. Apparently a production of the age of Lorenzo dei Medici, being executed (mechanically) quite as the antique examples, and kept flat within a reserved rim; a beautiful sardonyx. The subject in itself directs us towards the true date of the work, somewhat rare in antique examples, but an especial favorite with the artists of the Revival in every branch.

CASE V.—(*Larger Intagli and Camei set as Medallions, &c.*)

360. An entire ring with polygonal shank, cut out of one huge pale sapphire, and lined with a massive flat hoop of gold, enameled on the

⁴ This nearly agrees with the famous Orleans intaglio signed Nisus, which represents the young Augustus under the figure of the juvenile divinity.

⁵ If really a daisy, its introduction so

conspicuously would warrant a conjecture that this medallion was destined to be a present to Marguerite de Valois, that flower being her *rebus*.

edge. An extraordinary example of labour in so hard a substance, and in the opinion of an eminent mineralogist, such as could only have been done in India. On the signet part, a modern Italian hand has cut with much elegance a head of Faustina the Elder. There can be little doubt that the original device, a Persian legend, has been ground out to make way for this intaglio, a fraudulent substitution intended to convert the whole into an unique relic of antiquity; a trick of which other examples, in the common oriental calcedony rings, have occurred to me.

361. Large intaglio on sard, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long. Very deeply cut and probably Roman, though somewhat late, as the entire work lacks finish, though vigorously sketched out. A faun seated before a Priapus—Herme is pouring wine into a scyphus out of a wine skin, a panther's head and skin spread out on the ground form his couch. Opposite to him stands a vast crater on the other side of the Priapus, as a balance to his figure in the group. The stone, of fine quality, is obscured by the backing; being mounted in a box-setting most delicately enameled with tulips, having two flat loops attached through which a band passing connected it with several others in this collection so as to form a bracelet, which shall be noticed as they occur.

364. Lion passant, a grand antique cameo, in dark tawny upon white, with the surface so treated as to give the effect of the hairy skin. The finest *animal* amongst all the camei in the collection. Set in exactly the same style as 362, the two forming a pair of most massy jewels: fastenings for a sword belt?

366. Philip II.; his bust in half relief upon a large yellow crystal of remarkable purity and lustre, a perfectly finished and most life-like portrait of the monarch in early manhood; a *chef d'œuvre* amongst the Cinque Cento portrait camei, and worthy of the fame of his own engraver, J. da Trezzo. The youthful appearance may perhaps induce those better acquainted with historical portraits than myself, to assign the likeness with more probability to his son Don Carlos, who also was a patron of this engraver.

368. Julius Caesar, a large, coarse Cinque Cento intaglio, displaying the usual exaggeration of the period in the rendering of the harsh features of the Dictator, utterly differing from the noble treatment of the same head in 357, which, though perhaps not antique, has all the spirit of some antique original.⁶

369. Another of the subjects in which the painful industry of the Renaissance Italians revelled, the "Triumph of Bacchus," riding victoriously in a car drawn by oxen, a composition of 30 figures, besides various Dionysiac animals and attributes most artistically grouped, upon a small oval shell.

371. The Madonna of the Assumption, surrounded by cherubs, in the bossy manner of the middle of the sixteenth century. The frame alone deserves notice, the setting of the cameo being encircled by two bare branches on which are stuck vine leaves at close intervals, probably the armorial cognizance of the wearer. The ornamentation is certainly not mere fancy-work, from the very conspicuous way in which it is employed. The whole in fine gold, designed for a pendant medallion.

372. The celebrated "Phryne," a lightly draped female figure, a three-quarter length intaglio of slight depth, on a magnificent dark brown sard,

⁶ It is a curious fact that antique gem portraits of the Dictator are extremely

rare, a strange contrast with the frequency of those of his successor.

shaded in waves, 2½ inches high. The face full of individuality, and having strongly marked, by no means regular, features, is indubitably a portrait of some lady in the age of Hadrian, the grand epoch of Roman art. The spear placed so conspicuously in front, added to the somewhat Amazonian character of the outline, both of profile and bust, proves that she here figures as a Venus Victrix, the spear being the distinctive attribute of the goddess under that title. Had this been remarked in the last century, then coupled with Dio's record as to Cæsar's taking such a figure of his ancestral goddess for his own signet, this gem would surely have been celebrated as the identical seal of the Dictator. It is an inexplicable enigma to me for what reason the name of "Phryne" should have been given to this portrait. If an attribution might be ventured, Marcia suggests herself with infinitely greater plausibility; Spartian recording that her portrait (*en amazone*) was the favourite seal of her lover Commodus, and his age was still capable of executing such a gem. There is wonderful freedom in the treatment of the short unkempt locks of this masculine head, and of the lucidity manifesting the thin texture of the light robe, partly veiling her bust. The surface has been repolished, but without damage to the work, though at first sight giving to the whole a somewhat suspiciously recent appearance; but the antiquity of the intaglio will bear the closest scrutiny.

373. A noble and large antique cameo, the head of an Empress, having the abundant hair arranged in the fashion prevailing about the beginning of the third century, certainly not a "Livia," but perhaps Mammæa or Soemias, though unfortunately the artist has infused but little character into the profile whereby to identify it. His chief care has been given to the rendering naturally the massy folds of the flowing locks (in which he has been most successful) in the upper layer of the onyx, a perfect jet, opaque and lustrous, as is also the ground of the stone.

374. Intaglio in the grandest Sicilian style, in a sard of unusual dimensions for that early date; the bust of a Bacchante with head, ivy crowned, displaying in every part a singular union of boldness of design with the most careful finish. Mounted in a manner worthy of the gem in the enameled backing above described, but with the addition of a border set with numerous perfect turquois, *de la vieille roche*, which mark this gem as selected, with justice, to form the centre of the entire suite when arranged for wearing.

375. A most singular specimen of the inscription cameo (the keepsake) of the fourth century. A hand, with long attenuated fingers in the true Byzantine style, pinches an ear, the seat of memory, as the ancients held, "Cynthia aurem vellit, et admonuit." Over this, in a curve, hangs an inexplicable symbol, somewhat like a double thong, tied at intervals into four knots (*nodus amicitie*?) "lacs d'amour;" perhaps, indeed, the first and simple form of the true love's knot, for the thong is evidently double. Or can it be the "Herculeus nodus," symbol of safe custody. Around runs the fixed formula that always accompanies this primitive "Forget-me-not," in large letters, very neatly cut, ΜΗΜΟΝΕΥΕ ΜΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΛΗΣ ΨΥΧΗΣ ΕΥΤΥΧΙ ΩΦΡΟΝΙ—"Remember me, your pretty life⁷ (darling); prosperity to you Sophronius!" all kept down very flat in the greenish layer of an onyx 1½ inch high.

⁷ ψυχη, common term of endearment, "Ζωη και ψυχη," "modo sub lodice relictis."
—JUV.

376. A noble Greek intaglio of the age of Alexander, in a pure and grand style, pale sard, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch high. The head, not "Pallas," but of a youthful hero, perhaps Mars, covered by an Attic helm of the simplest form. Its unusual dimensions render an intaglio of this early class an almost unique rarity. The setting appears antique, though much more recent than the stone; the intaglio being held in a simple collet, clipped round by a corded edge, formed by twisting a thin wire round another of considerable substance, and so soldered on to the border. It has a ring for suspension. Its rudeness proves it a bit of jewelry of the Lower Empire, and designed for an amulet: perhaps the head then passed for Alexander's, a charm at that period in the highest repute.

378. A square, green jasper amulet, presenting a singular union of the Mithraic and Abraxas worship, the sole instance of such a combination that has ever fallen in my way. The obverse shows Mithras slaughtering the bull, surrounded by various sacred animals: the reverse has the well-known figure of the serpent-legged Abraxas. This intaglio is infinitely superior to the generality of these talismans, and is certainly of the time of Basilides (reign of Hadrian) when the lao religion began to invade the territories of the before universal Mithraic worship.

380. Helmed head of Alexander, a bold but rude cameo of late Roman work, perhaps of the times of his admirer, Alexander Severus, who is said, by Trebellius Pollio, to have greatly multiplied portraits of his namesake. This sardonyx, of large extent and circular, is remarkable for its beauty; the helmet being in fine brown, the flesh porcelain white, the ground dark sard. A modern hand has enriched the helmet with a most enigmatical composition, where a youth in a car drawn by gryphons, seizes by the hair and is about to decapitate an aged bearded figure (Apollo combating the Giants?). The execution of this embellishment, spirited in design and delicately worked out, singularly contrasts with the bold rudeness of the original relief, proving it to be an addition of the Revival, to which some clever hand was tempted by the beautiful material.

381. A Cupid's head in full relief in the most lustrous calcedony imaginable, a charming work of some Cinque Cento master, in imitation of the ruder antique heads similar (so frequent under the Lower Empire as phalerae-ornaments or buttons). It, however, is not improbable that this head, originally presenting such a design, though in the accustomed barbarous style, has been carefully retouched and corrected by some skilful Italian attracted by the unusual lustre of the girasol, for the original perforation traversing its substance is still apparent. By the addition of a pair of folded wings in gold, and an elegant open-work border, this has been fashioned into the most tasteful pendant, converted into a cherub's head, that ever adorned the neck of a Medicean princess.

382. A singular conversion of a huge cat's-eye, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch high, into a lion's head in full relief, of magnificent work. The play of colours impart to this grim mask a vivid appearance of life and fury, rendering it, doubtless, a most successful achievement in the age, the Cinque Cento, that produced it, whose taste, ever tintured by the love of the grotesque, delighted in the rare and monstrosities.

383. Supposed to be the likeness of Alathen Talbot,* wife of Lord

* Recognised from its resemblance to a portrait of that lady; the costume seems much in the style of Charles the First's reign.

Arundel. Her bust, in high relief, much undercut, and well done, especially as to the hair and the drapery, both rendered in different shades of lake. The costume seems half a century earlier, however, than the times of Charles II., so the Lord Arundel, her husband, could not have been the collector of this cabinet; probably the medallion came to him as an heirloom. This onyx is rich in colours; besides the lakes, it affords a white for the flesh, and for the ground an opaque black. In the setting are placed, equidistantly, ten clasped hands (called by the Italians, *fedi*), cut in relief upon garnet, showing that this medallion was designed for a betrothal present, to hang from the neck chain of the accepted suitor. On the back is enameled in azure the *treasure* of the family of Maltravers.

384. A nude male figure of Herculean proportions, advancing with one arm extended, the other raised to his head; called "an Athlete moving to the attack," and no better explanation than this unsatisfactory one occurs to me. This *intaglio*, an excellent Greek work, has been nearly polished out, in the giving a new surface to the sardonyx, and which shows two strata of extraordinary beauty; the top a bright sard, the lower a true girasol calcedony. Set in tulip-enameled back as part of the bracelet above mentioned.

386. A Cinque Cento reproduction of that horoscope, so often repeated even in ancient times. It certainly represents a nativity of the highest destiny, perhaps that of Rome; for cities, like men, had their proper nativities. That of Rome had been cast by Tarrutius, Varro's friend. The original of this is probably the one described by Raspe as in the Paris Cabinet. Admirably cut on a large, circular sard are figures of Jove between Mars and Mercury, the former enthroned upon an arch under which Neptune appears half rising from his waves. The circle of the zodiac forms a frame to the whole. The setting, a splendid piece of Florentine chasing, is enriched with large table diamonds and spinels. On the backing is enameled in azure a pelican, the cognizance of the original owner.

387. A most interesting work of some artist patronised at the Valois court. Obverse, a bust of Diana of Poitiers in cameo, scraped out in flat relief in the antique manner. She appears in the elaborate costume of the age, but a quiver upon her shoulder sufficiently indicates the person intended. The reverse gives an *intaglio* of Venus and Cupid; a pretty group, the cutting finished off with the excess of polish that marks the *intagli* of this school. Stone, a sard of two shades, the more opaque of which furnishes a stratum of sufficient density to make the cameo cut in it contrast as required with the transparent ground.

388. A lovely Greek group of three Cupids disporting with a dolphin besridden by the centre figure. In white, somewhat raised, upon black. Their perfectly rounded limbs and infantine grace strongly remind one of the style of "Tryphon." But the value of the antique gem is altogether eclipsed by the unique magnificence of its broad border, perhaps the most beautiful, certainly the most elaborate, performance of the kind ever produced in the Florentine *atelier*. Of considerable relative width and composed of intricate festoons in bold carved work, it encloses spirited figurines almost microscopic, of Cupids mounted on sea-horses, all exquisitely enameled, and struggling upwards to the top of the frame, where Neptune and Amphitrite sit enthroned beneath the suspending loop. At intervals are set square table rubies in elevated collets.

397. Antique cameo, unique in subject: an elephant, represented with

much vigour, presses down with one knee and gores with his tusks a monstrous fish, much resembling a shark, upon which he stands. Does this depict the mortal combat between the elephant and the giant-eels of the Indian rivers, described by the voracious Ctesias?—or with the dragon?—the result of which, says Pliny, is dragon's blood, the drug. There is great truth both in the figure and action of the beast, which is cut in yellowish-white upon a transparent ground. This cameo perhaps formed a part of a Bacchic series; the elephant figures conspicuously in the Indian triumphs of Bacchus.

389. *Intaglio*; for merit as well as dimensions the first in this collection, if not in any, certainly surpassing any head that I have met with elsewhere. The bust of Antinous, as Achilles, the personification indicated by the spear across his shoulder, sunk deeply in the stone with indescribable vigour, yet finished with miraculous softness. The portion of the legend **ANTI** remains; for the gem, a dark sard, has been fractured in every direction, yet is still two inches wide. Fortunately the important portions of the design have escaped all damage.

392. A glorious antique cameo, of the best times: the bust of a Bacchante, in high relief, on a perfect sardonyx, much resembling in treatment that noticed above. But here the shades of the gem being yet brighter and more contrasted have permitted a most effective employment of the colours, the ivy leaves of the garland being in black, the flesh in porcelain white, and the ground of the deepest sard.

393. A magnificent Greek *intaglio* on a sard, 1½ inches high. The subject, worked out in the shallow manner peculiar to the best period of Greek engraving, is of doubtful interpretation. A female is seated on a rock, by the side of a stream, in converse with a youth who stands before her with a slight drapery over one shoulder, and holding a pedum; the sole accessory to the scene that can afford any clue to its significance.⁹ From this pastoral emblem we may venture to discover here a scene in the loves of the most famous shepherd of Greek fable, Paris and the nymph *Œnone*, the status of the latter indicated by the rocks and fount,

“*Pagasis Œnone Phrygiis celeberrima sylvis.*”

396. Large *intaglio* on sard: a full-faced mask bald-headed and with huge streaming beard, with an exaggerated expression of grotesque fury in every feature; a cord fastening some bunches of ivy leaves crosses the forehead. The face at first suggests the favourite Silenus, though the violence of the gesture, coupled with the absence of one eye, proves that we have here a genuine likeness of the “pastor Cyclops,” such as Horace used to see him dancing upon the stage, and which his ill-favoured travelling companion, Messius Cicirrus, was qualified by nature to personate without aid of a mask. The brutal vigour and life embodied in this *intaglio* is absolutely miraculous.

398. A cavalier charging at full speed; a glorious large *intaglio* of the best period, and interesting from the exact details it affords of the manage-

⁹ The catalogue designates the copy of this by Natter as “*Sappho and Phaon*,” but nothing marks the poetess, and Phaon was certainly anything but a shepherd. The female figure here is

nude, though flowing drapery forms her seat; Sappho, on the contrary, is always depicted in ancient monuments in the full robes of a Muse, and never without her Lesbian lyre.

ment of the lance and round buckler. On a circular brown and white onyx. Surface, as usual, repolished.

399. An unique Asiatic-Greek *intaglio* in a very bold style, on a large yellow crystal. Venus winged, and androgynous (probably the deity so represented at Amathus under the masculine appellation of Aphroditus), stands in the centre, on one side flanked by Vulcan, a smaller figure, at his anvil, on the other by Cupid. The work deep cut, vigorous, but without any finish.

401. A splendid and large pyrope, on which an Italian artist of the same period has skilfully depicted the modern embodiment of the oriental idea, the Mithraic Combat of the Two Principles, representing in the most spirited manner "Michaelen in virtute conterentem Zabulum."

403. Vulcan's forge, with numerous figures, in the usual exaggerated Italian manner. The last of the set mounted in tulip-enamel. *Intaglio* on a fine sard. I suspect that the date of this *intaglio* exactly coincides with that of the setting. The enameling of various flowers, but principally tulips, is very peculiar, and the petals are penciled with uncommon delicacy. The style appears to me (though quite ignorant of the history of this art) as being later than the 16th century.

CASE VI.—(Containing small gems, with the grand cameo of Didius Julianus and Manlia Scantilla placed in the centre.)

2. Aged Mask, and boar's head conjoined, and facing opposite ways, inscribed **ΘΙΕ**, perhaps intended for the Greek numerals 9, 10, 5: a legend as enigmatical as the device itself. Red jasper.

8. A good late Egyptian representation of Horus, seated upon the lotus in the sacred boat of the Nile, adored by Anubis. Boldly cut in red jasper.

9. Cameo, legend in two lines **EYTVXI-BEPONIKH**, interesting from the spelling of the name, thus Latinised into Veronica.

10. A large rude sard *intaglio* in the exaggerated manner of the Renaissance, a nymph performing her devotions upon the symbol of the horticultural god of fecundity, whilst a Satyr accompanies the ceremony upon his pipes.

11. A subject of most difficult explanation. A man seated on a throne, half draped, holds, slanting downwards from his mouth a slender rod, somewhat wavy (like a vine-shoot), and terminating in small knobs at each end. Had this wand been curved, the figure would pass well for an augur taking the auspices; but the actual form leaves the true significance dubious. Boldly cut in an early Roman manner upon dark sard.

12. Spirited heads of a goat, horse, and boar conjoined; perhaps the united attributes of Bacchus, Neptune, and Hercules. Sard.

13. Leda and the Swan; an exquisite *intaglio*, but treated with all the luxuriance of modern art, widely differing from the modest reticence distinguishing all truly antique representations of this subject.

2nd Row.—2. A Ram; the *intaglio* internally burnt, to represent the fleece. A singular example of such treatment in a genuine antique stone.

4. A microscopic picture, *intaglio*, on yellow sard. A warrior and female joining hands in a landscape: in the exergue L. S. Hence the work of Louis Siries, a Frenchman established at Florence about 1740, and

praised without reason by Mariette for his predilection for similar *difficiles nage*, "his endeavours to achieve the impossible in his art," which have no merit whatever. the design being necessarily a mere series of rough scratches. The small circular sard is set into a frame of neatly moulded white agate, like the minute Pallas head noted above, probably due to the same hand. I have met with another example of a minute portrait thus encircled. It would seem that such a border is a necessary adjunct to all the performances of this microscopic artist.

3rd Row.—2. Mercury Criophorus resting against a cippus; a perfect figure, though of extreme minuteness, of the best Roman age. Sard.

4. A singular and early cameo, a lion pulling down a bull; the former worked out on the brown, the latter in the porcelain white, of an Indian sardonyx perforated through the axis, and having a hole also drilled through the field. The bull is admirably designed, and scraped out in the flattest relief, affording a most instructive illustration of the antique process.

5. Antinous; a noble head, though of much smaller dimensions than 389, executed with incredible force, and which would pass for an Apollo but for the legend, **ANTINOOC** cut at the side in letters evidently coeval with the intaglio. On the reverse, in large coarse letters of a later age, in two lines, **ΛΑΙ-ΛΙΑ**, "Lælia," some female worshipper of the divine beauty on the other side. The stone a sard of unique excellence, carbuncle-coloured, shaded with yellow.

4th Row.—2. Young female bust, surrounded by the legend, **ΕΥΠΟΡΙ ΑΙΕΙ ΠΩΤΙΑ**, "Ever prosper, Potia;" a new year's gift to a lady.

3. A Bacchante bending down before a Priapus Herme; a figure good in the drawing and with much elegance in the attitude, a work in the early Roman style strongly contrasting in its treatment with the coarse version of the same idea just noticed.

5th Row.—Youth, nude, bearing a cornucopia and holding forth an Ibis, symbol of the Moon, seems an Egyptian work (perhaps the Deus Lunus; Thoth, besides his character of Hermes, sometimes assumes that of the Moon, a male deity with the Egyptians), of the age of Hadrian. Fairly done in the heavy manner of the Alexandrian engravers.

2. Hand grasping a wheat-car; done with great precision, the fingers long and attenuated. A rare material, the finest bloodstone, the Heliotropium so potent in magic, and which duly prepared conferred the gift of invisibility.

4. Head of Proserpine covered by the mitra; a perfect Greek intaglio of indescribable merit on a bluish beryl; the profile remarkable for its fine outline, and the execution of the whole extremely careful.

6th Row.—2. Hippocampus; a glorious intaglio on a large beryl, pale blue, but more lustrous than any sapphire, the Beryllus Hyacinthizon of the ancients.

3. Spirited head of some young prince of the Augustine family (probably Marcellus), a nascent beard on the cheek. This head much resembles the elegant Marcellus by Marchant, closing this list. Sard.

7th Row.—2. The fore-quarters of a Pegasus; having the wings represented as curling backwards to the head in a dumpy curve, as in the Pegasus upon the most ancient Corinthian medals, and doubtless contemporary with them. Hence a gem that supplies a fixed point for the determination of the period exhibiting this style in its intagli. A singular and archaic Greek intaglio slightly sunk. Jacinth.

4. A remarkable cameo of the very earliest period, a head of Diana, recognisable by the knotted curls on the top of head (the *κρωβυλος*), the hair in black, face in opaque white. The relief kept quite flat, and as much as possible in one plane.

8th Row.—4. Cameo (Italian), representing a marmoset monkey in the natural colours of black, white, and grey, curiously and exactly rendering the colours of the pet's whiskers and bushy tail.

5. Julia Titi, a small head on a most choice plasma, almost an emerald; the work mediocre and perhaps contemporary with her.

9th Row.—2. A Medusa's head in profile: a noble cameo in the purest Greek taste, the relief appearing as if modeled by the fingers in some plastic substance, so softly rounded is it, in the dull opaque white upon sard.

4. Head of a Roman (called C. Antius Restio), somewhat advanced in years; deeply cut in sard, inscribed with the artist's name, **ΚΚΥΛΛΑΚΟ**,¹ but neither gem nor legend antique; perhaps one of Natter's copies. Or can the Italian name, Del Cane, lie hid under the puppy's-skin of Seylax?

5. Few portraits in the collection equal this in historic interest or *rarity*: a life-like portrait of M. Antony, cut by some skilful Greek hand of his times, perhaps during his residence in Egypt. The intaglio somewhat deep sunk in a beautiful golden sard; evidently the Triumvir's own signet.

7. A winged genius, or Death, slumbering on a spread out drapery upon clouds: under his head lies a crushed butterfly, or life extinct. An elegant Roman intaglio on sapphirine.

8. Ulysses in his usual costume, skull-cap and mantle, seated upon a round object (the bag of Æolus?), which having been mistaken for a cask by some later possessor, he has cut round the figure in later (but still antique) letters the name of the famed tub-inhabitant **ΔΙΟΓΗΝΕΣ**, curiously misplacing the two last vowels. Good Roman work on nicolo: small.

11. Cigala perched upon the caduceus (union of the attributes of Apollo and Hermes), the appropriate signet of a man of letters. Extremely neat work, probably Greek, on a clear jacinth (or cinnamon-stone).

13. Fortuna, a stiff late Roman intaglio, or a large and exquisite sardonix, the finest specimen of the stone anywhere to be seen.

14. A singular coincidence both in subject, "Athlete advancing," and in material, with 384, the sole difference being the lesser size of *this*. The sardonix, though much roughened by wear, exhibits the same fine quality as the former.

Lying loose are two extraordinary treasures, one of antique, the other of Italian art. The first, the principal half of an intaglio on a brown sard, 2 inches wide, and originally 3 high, a head of Augustus in profile, a slightly sunk intaglio in the purest Greek style, and admirably finished in every detail: a caduceus in the field insinuates a flattering comparison between him and Hermes the giver of prosperity to men (*ἐπιωνιος Ερμης*). Certain marks in the stone, probably natural, suggest at first sight the idea of an inscription afterwards erased. This is noted in the catalogue as once the property of Winckelmann. The other, a Medusa full face, a good Roman cameo, is honoured with the most elaborate setting as a ring ever designed,

¹ Quoted as genuine in all catalogues of ancient artists' names.

by the curious ingenuity of the Florentine *orefice*, for Medicæan Duke or Cardinal. It is extremely massy, the sides and shoulders carved out in intricate scrolls and strap-work, from amidst which glare two savage masks upon the shoulders, and two lions' heads upon the sides of the setting. These minute masks are in their way master-pieces of sculpture. The design is relieved by touches of enamel.

CASE VII.—(*Of small gems, and the additions of the last collector.*)

1st. Row. Alexander, a beautiful cameo signed ΠΙΧΛΕΡ, which might be taken for antique; as well as its fine sardonyx, which is of the true ancient quality, and probably had borne some ruder antique cameo transformed by Pichler into the present: by far the best of his camei that I have met with.

2. The same signature claims for this great artist this Minerva Promachos, an owl in brown upon her shield; but here the design betrays the taste of his own age.

5. A singular signet if antique. A medallion, the conjugated heads of Augustus and Livia with the same *incuse* on its reverse, revolves on an axis within a gold bizzel, neatly granulated and moulded, set upon an iron finger-ring, the shoulders also decorated with three-cornered foliage chased in gold. The pattern of the last leads me to pronounce the medallion a cast made in Renaissance times, and with its gold frame superadded to an antique ring of iron, to augment the colour of antiquity. The medallion shows upon the *incuse* part that it was produced by casting: the relief has been neatly tooled up.

10. Isis seated on a throne suckling Horus (the exact Madonna and Child of the Trecentisti), a microscopic intaglio of the second century, cut on the narrow field of a splendid sardonyx, which is beveled off nearly to a point to display its shades of rich brown, blue, and black. Set in a ring of elegant pattern, the bizzel surrounded by an open work scalloped border: a novelty in the style: made in the last century.

11. Silenus-mask, full-face, a bold early cameo of great merit; flat work in opaque white.

2nd Row. A Bacchante dancing to the sound of the cymbals she clashes. Spirited antique on a fine coloured plasma, rivalling an Oriental emerald, and repolished; a testimony to the genuineness of the engraving.

3. A full-faced tragic mask, itself well done, but notable more for the quality of the stone, a hemi-spherical tricoloured agate, the highest division whereof is a true jacinth in lustre. The most splendid example of this stone extant.

5. Gryllus, giving the outline of an Ibis, carrying a myrtle branch in its beak. This is a fine work presenting some peculiarities; the usual Silenus-mask forming the breast being here replaced by a head of Jove, and the stone a beryl instead of the accustomed red jasper. It seems to execution considerably earlier than the generality of these caprices: perhaps has an astrological import, combining as it does Jupiter and Aries in one body, and exhibiting the symbol of Venus over all.

7. Psyche, a lovely bust, the character defined by the butterfly so perched on her bosom that the wings appear part of herself. The careless skeleton drawing of the raised hand, one of those singular negligences that mark the true antique, and so difficult to account for, is sufficient testimony of the

genuineness of the intaglio: perhaps the most truly graceful, and pleasing of all the idealised heads here treasured.

8. Deities of evil omen, and rarely figured, save on objects connected with the tomb. Pluto seated on his massy throne of iron, holding his ebony sceptre, and conversing with Proserpine (recognised by the wheat-ear in her hair), who stands before him. Bold and early work, the technique of which exhibits much that is peculiar (Sicilian?) deeply sunk in a fine golden sard.

9. The "Bellerophon watering Pegasus," quoted by Clarea: falsely ascribed to Sostratus; but (as far as the legend guides us) the work of some freedman rejoicing in the "comfortable" and Roman name, Otiaus. Altogether of dubious authenticity, both intaglio and material—perhaps early Florentine, and copied from the bas-relief of the Villa Spada.

3rd Row.—3. Jupiter, a head, forcible in expression, cut in hæmatite, all repolished internally as well as on both surfaces, if actually antique; as the work would indicate. The second instance in this collection (and quite a surprise to me) of a good intaglio upon this base material, usually reserved for the amulets of the East.

4. A most extraordinary sard, equal in richness of colour to the pyrope, cut in relief as a bald-headed comic mask, of most irate mien, apt personification of some churlish father of the New Comedy, the very stone looking irascible, the face slightly turned to one side. Perfect in execution.

6. Apollo, a head of the finest old Greek work, surpassed by none here; having all the hair falling in long spiral curls, and confined by a fillet: dark sard. This intaglio is deeper cut than usual in this style, and probably is coeval with Phidias; although the hair retains the archaic arrangement still regarded as essential to the type of the deity, the face is full of expression and truly divine.

7. Still more remarkable for rarity (and of equal perfection) is this most early cameo, a head of Ganymede, covered by the Phrygian bonnet; molded, as it were, in the pure opaque white of an agate-onyx. A work of the best period of Greek sculpture. The relief kept low and entirely in one plane.

4th Row.—Mercury standing, holds forth the Infant Bacchus on his outstretched hand, in the other wields his caduceus. Or the minute figure may represent the disembodied soul, and Hermes here stand in his capacity of Psychopompos. The design of the principal figure, in its slight and elegant proportions, and the attitude full of grace, strikingly resembles those given to this deity in the acknowledged works of Dioscorides: points which, on examination, furnish almost sufficient grounds for assigning to him this masterly intaglio, by no means unworthy of his reputation. The stone is a quite unique material, lucid and jet black, either black quartz or obsidian, the latter we know, from Pliny's remark, first came into fashion at Rome for ring stones in the Augustan age. The sombre colour probably chosen as analogous to the subject (a circumstance in favour of the second interpretation of the intention) as representing a deity whose office lay in the shades.

3. Clasped hands, in relief upon what is either a large occidental turquoise, or more likely ivory recently stained to that colour, as the osseous structure is plainly visible. A note informs us that "it was purchased of Mr. L'Avocat shortly before his death very cheap;" doubtless, therefore, for a genuine piece "de la vieille roche;" but actually of no value whatever,

whether a recent or a fossil fragment of ivory saturated with sulphate of copper. A brilliant is set in the centre, evidently a betrothal ring.

5. An admirable head of a youthful Cæsar, (Marcellus?) a speaking face, and in every part worthy of the highest commendation. The exquisite delicacy of the technique, as well as the intact polish, prove it beyond a doubt due to one of the first masters of the last century, perhaps Fichler, for it displays too much boldness of treatment to be given to Natter. The material also greatly enhances its effect; the relief, very high, being in an opaque drab colour, most suitably backed by the slate-coloured ground.

5th Row.—2. Hercules restoring Alceſtis to her husband, a large intaglio on sard, the most important of Marchant's signed works. On the reverse is cut PRINCEPS SAXONIAE DONI MEMOR, an inscription explained by a note in the Catalogue that this intaglio was an express commission from the Elector of Saxony to the artist at Rome, in order to be given to the Duke in return for a presentation-copy of his "Gems." A princely acknowledgment of the gift, considering Marchant's reputation then, and the large amount that was deemed the equivalent for his labours. I have seen a work of his of far less importance, a group of only two figures, for which he was paid two hundred guineas.

Fragment of a large cameo, a Medusa's Head, belonging to the very earliest times of Greek anaglyphic art. The profile which, though wretchedly mutilated, still retains much of its original severe beauty, is given in opaque white, the hair in two shades of brown, and with great effect. An important relic of a very rare class. Original diameter nearly two inches.

7. Hebe, a most graceful figure, *intaglio* in jacinth: "a copy by Marchant, from an Etruscan bas-relief in the British Museum."

5. Ganymede borne aloft by the eagle (after the bronze of Leochares), signed KOINOY, an excellent *intaglio* on a singular variety of opaque sard, of fine dark red, slightly translucent. Probably by Natter, who often, according to his own confession, adopted the above signature.

7th Row.—Matidia (not Sabina), an *intaglio* never surpassed in excellence, in a large jacinth-like sard. "Copy by Bureh," from an antique.

8. Antinous, signed "Marchant"; a copy from the bas relief of the Villa Albani—the head so often seen on Roman shell camei—on a large brown sard.

9. A head of similar character, deeply cut in a ruby sard; "copy by Marchant, from the Genius of Hadrian's Villa."

11. Marcellus, an exquisite *intaglio* on a jacinth of incomparable beauty. "A copy by Marchant, of the Marcellus," *i.e.* the large cameo above noticed.

A wretched modern paste,² from an equally vile Cinque Cento gem, representing the Triumph of an Emperor. In the exergue a legend of matchless impudence, ludicrous in its audacity, ΤΡΥΦΩΝΕΠΟΙΕΙ. The admission of this piece amongst such treasures is quite an enigma.

Briefly to record certain observations that have occurred to me in my pleasant pilgrimage through this Aladdin's Garden, whose fruits are precious stones, and of still higher rarity than any of the mere nature's treasures that attracted *his* admiration. Certain classes of engraved stones, so abundant in collections of our day, have not in this a single

² This is copied by Clarac, and proved how early the Italian forgery usurped

Tryphon's name, on the hint supplied by the Anthology.

representative, there not being amongst the whole number one scarabæus of either Egyptian or Etruscan origin, nor an oriental cylinder, nor a Sassanian seal or ring stone, and only two or three out of the countless host of Mithraic or Gnostic talismans. Beauty alone, either of the art or of the material, was the sole object kept in view by the several contributors to this magnificent monument of the taste of the three last centuries, and hence works of mere erudition do not encounter us here. But, fortunately, as *their* great desideratum and historical interest are so frequently combined in the same relic, we meet here with the numerous incomparable productions of the Greeks in every age of the arts, and of the Romans in the best times, pointed out in the preceding notices. In these particular departments the Collection stands very high on the list of those existing in Europe, as far, at least, as my own knowledge of them extends, not excepting those formed under royal auspices. Thus it surpasses the Farnese of the Neapolitan Bourbons, the Berlin, and that of the Hague, in the importance of the *intagli* it contains, and the two latter in the article of camei also, although necessarily falling short of the extent and value of those at Vienna, Paris, and Florence. But none can compare with it in the variety and rarity of the specimens of Renaissance goldsmiths' work, which form one of its most distinguishing features. I cannot conclude without expressing my gratitude to the noble owner who, with the greatest liberality, in the view of promoting the study of my favorite art, by placing at the command of all similarly interested, the fresh, almost unlimited, resources contained in this collection, had made arrangements whereby the opportunity was afforded to me of carefully examining it under the most favorable conditions, and of making notes, without any limitation as to time, upon the entire extent of the collection. To such opportunities I have been far from able to do justice; but the above rough sketch will suffice to give the experienced amateur some notion of the value of this famous, hitherto inaccessible treasure, to describe which duly would require volumes, as the mineralogist would find here as wide a field for his labours as the artist or the antiquary.

THE HISTORY AND CHARTERS OF INGULFUS CONSIDERED.

By HENRY THOMAS RILEY, M.A. Cambridge.

PART II.¹

ENOUGH, it is presumed, has now been stated to shew that neither the Charters nor the *History* of Ingulfus have any fair pretensions to be considered what they profess to be; but that, on the contrary, they are forgeries of a period much more recent than the close of the eleventh century. The question then remains to be solved, at what date these compilations were fabricated, for what purpose, and by whom?—points of some interest, and in reference to which (so far, more especially, as the Charters are concerned) there have been conflicting opinions among the learned.

Speaking of the *Golden Charter* of King Ethelbald, to which allusion has previously been made, Hickes (p. 66 of the *Dissertatio Epistolaris*) states it as his opinion, that “the Convent of Croyland found it necessary to forge this Charter, in order that they might preserve the lands which had been given to them without deed, or of which the deeds had been lost, from the Normans, who would hardly allow the monasteries any just right of holding lands, except by deed;” and asserts that he is “almost compelled either to believe that Ingulf was the forger and corrupter of these Charters, or else that the Convent of Croyland, in an unlearned age, palmed off the *History* upon the world under the authority of his name.” In another passage of the *Dissertatio* he says,—“I have given a portion of the Charter of Ethelbald, the founder of Croyland, which I have so often had occasion to condemn. In the original it appears resplendent with gold, the manufacture of some Croylandian forger, perhaps Ingulf himself. This Charter, by means of which that knave cajoled King William, is sufficiently proved to have been fictitious.”

Mr. Hoblitch, in his *History of Croyland Abbey*, published

¹ Continued from page 49.

in 1816, suggests that after the fire at Croyland in 1091, "Ingulph may have borne the principal part of the Charters sufficiently in mind to set down their contents as we see : they run in a form which assists the memory, and their separate particulars are few. Copies of these Charters were made under the direction of Ingulph, and replaced in their archives : even these might be afterwards destroyed, when the Abbey was burnt again, not quite sixty years afterwards, and they might be reproduced in a similar manner. There were violent disputes in the time of Ingulph, between him and Tailbois, a relation of the Conqueror, who was lord of Hoyland, and resident at Spalding ; and it was feared that the burning of the Charters would be fatal to the issue of these suits, on the part of the Croylanders. On this account, Ingulph made haste to replace them. In a word, the Charters contain internal evidence of their modern date, and it is even probable that some of them have been made in times still later."

We have already seen that Gough was quite willing to believe that, if there was forgery in the case, Ingulf was the forger. Sir Francis Palgrave again, while considering the Charters to be palpable forgeries, expresses strong doubts whether the compilation (both *History* and Charters) is of much older date than the age of the manuscript said, in the early part of the seventeenth century, to have been the Autograph of Ingulfus ; that is to say, the end, in his opinion, of the thirteenth or first half of the fourteenth century.

A close examination of the *First* and *Second Continuations of the History of Croyland*, also printed in Fulman's volume, will perhaps afford some clue to a solution of this question, by suggesting for what purpose, and consequently, at what period, it is probable that at least the greater part of these Charters were compiled ; and so tend to remove the obloquy which, from the time of Hicke, has been somewhat unsparingly thrown upon the name and memory of Abbot Ingulf.

The fact seems not to have attracted the notice of previous writers on this subject, but it nevertheless is the fact, that neither in the *History of Croyland*, as contained in Fulman's volume, nor indeed in any other account of Croyland, is any mention made, or the slightest hint given, of the then existence of any one of these Mercian and Saxon

Charters during the period between A.D. 1093 and A.D. 1413, a space of 320 years. Two of them, as will be seen in the sequel, are mentioned elsewhere at a somewhat earlier date than the end of the 14th century.

In the Charter granted by Henry I., mention certainly is made of a Charter of Edred; but only by way of reference, it having been mentioned in a previous Charter of William the Conqueror, of which that of Henry is a confirmation. In 1114, admittedly for want of these very Charters, we find the Convent submitting to the loss of the manor of Baddeby, and, nearly at the same time, of its cell at Spalding. In 1153, King Stephen grants another Charter of Confirmation, but no allusion is made in it, or in that of Henry II., to those of the Mercian or Saxon kings. In 1189, Abbot Robert de Redinges is engaged in a suit with the Prior of Spalding, and in a case drawn up by him, probably for legal purposes, he says (p. 453): "The Abbey of Croyland is of the proper alius of the Kings of England, having been granted by their especial donation from the ancient times of the English, when it was so founded by King Ethelbald, who gave the marsh in which it is situate, *as we find in the 'Life of Saint Guthlac,'* which was formerly written." Had the *Golden Charter* of Ethelbald, or the Charters of the other Mercian and Saxon kings, been then known to be in existence, there can be little doubt that the Abbot would have been at least as likely to refer to them in support of his title, as to the meagre "*Life of Saint Guthlac,*" written by Felix. The same Abbot, when before the King's Justiciars, shews them the Charter of King Henry II., "which sets forth by name the boundaries of the marsh;" but not a word does he say about the Saxon Charters, which, if the same as those in Ingulf's *History*, would have been found to set them forth much more fully and distinctly than that granted by King Henry.

In 1191, Abbot Henry de Longchamp produces the Charter of Richard I. before the King's Justiciars, as his best evidence of the limits of his marshes, but no mention is made of the Saxon Charters, and he is finally adjudged, on a legal quibble, to lose seisin of a marsh. Without delay, the Abbot proceeds to wait upon King Richard, then a prisoner at Spires in Germany, lays before him his complaints, and produces in support of his claim, not the lengthy

and circumstantial grants made by the Saxon kings, but the comparatively concise Charter that had been granted by King Henry, his father. So again, in the Charter of King John, granted in 1202, no allusion is made to any grants of the Mercian or Saxon kings.

Proceeding with the narrative, we next find the Abbot of Croyland defeated in his claims to the soil of the marsh of Alderland, and forced to make such concessions as he surely would never have been called upon to make, if the Charters, as set forth in Ingulf's *History*, had been among the archives of his house. In the Charter of Henry III., granted in 1226, no mention is made, and no hint given, of the existence of Charters dating before the Conquest.

We are now somewhat interrupted in our enquiry by the mutilated state of the *Second Continuation*; but in 1327 we catch a glimpse of Sir Thomas Wake claiming demesne rights against the Convent of Croyland in the marsh of Goggisland, or Gowksland, and of Abbot Henry de Caswyk manfully opposing him; but we do not find the Abbot relying upon any alleged Saxon Charters as his weapons; though, had they been in existence, he would most probably, like his successors eighty-eight years later, have availed himself of their assistance.

In volumes xliii. and xlv. of the Cole MSS. in the British Museum, there are to be found nearly two hundred closely written folio pages, filled with abstracts from the Registers of Croyland, of lawsuits carried on by the Convent (the inmates of which seem to have lived in quite an atmosphere of litigation), grants of corodies to the King's servants, fines, conveyances, and other memoranda relative to the community. Careful search has been made in these pages, in the few extracts of Registers among the Harleian MSS., in the documents connected with Croyland that are printed in Gough's First and Second Appendix, as also in most of those referred to in Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, but not a syllable is there to be found to lead us to believe that between the periods above-mentioned these so-called Charters (with the two exceptions before alluded to) were in existence. In p. 76 of vol. xlv. of the Cole MSS. we find a plaint made by Thomas Wake, that Abbot Henry and three of his monks had been fishing at East Depyng, and that *vi et armis* they had broken down his dyke, or embank-

ment. To this the Abbot makes answer, not basing his right upon any grants of the Mercian and Saxon kings, and offering to produce his deeds in support of that right, but merely to the effect that—"of all the waters of the Welland he and all his predecessors have been seised time out of mind, as also of free piscary therein, and that the place mentioned is within the precincts of their manor." Again, on another occasion, in p. 105, we find the Abbot making *profert* of the Charters of King John, Henry III., and Edward I., when those of the Mercian and Saxon kings, had they existed, would certainly, as evidences, have materially promoted the success of his suit. In a plaint made to Edward III. (vol. xlv. p. 53), the monks of Croyland allege that the Abbey had been founded by King Ethelbald 500 years before the Conquest. This they would have hardly dared to assert, if they had had at that moment among their archives such a deed as the Foundation Charter given in Ingulf's *History*, shewing that Ethelbald founded the Abbey A.D. 716, exactly 350 years before the Conquest, and no more. In fact, it is pretty clear, as Cole has added in a Note, that in those days they did not in reality know when their Abbey was founded.

For a moment we must now step out of the History of Croyland, as given in the *Second Continuation* in Fulman's volume.

The 7th of July, 1393, is the earliest date at which we can trace the existence, in the hands of the Convent of Croyland, of any of the Charters contained in the *History* of Ingulfus; for at that date, as we learn from the Patent Rolls now preserved in the Public Record Office, a Charter of Inspecimus and Confirmation was granted by the unsuspecting officials of King Richard II., reciting the Charters of Ethelbald and Edred in exactly the same terms that are set forth in that History. No Inspecimus of a prior sovereign is there mentioned; and at that moment, and with the object of obtaining that confirmation, these two Charters were fabricated, there can hardly be a doubt. For what immediate purpose this step was *then* taken will probably remain for ever unknown; as the fact of this Inspecimus being then granted is not taken the slightest notice of in the *Second Continuation*; no record of the transaction, for obvious reasons, having been kept. It was left perhaps for these so-called Charters to bear their very profitable

fruits some twenty years later, and not before; for then it is that, for the first time, we hear of them being applied to any practical use, and then, not improbably, with the exception of the two just mentioned, the Charters and the *History* of Ingulfus were called into existence.

To return to the narrative of the *Second Continuation*. We learn that during the latter years of Abbot Thomas Overton, who was afflicted with blindness, Prior Richard Upton had the management of the Convent. In 1413, being at a loss (p. 501) how to prevent the encroachments of the people of Spalding and Multon (to which, we may remark, the Croylanders had had to submit very often before), he determined "to unsheathe against them the sword of ecclesiastical censure, which had been specially granted by the most holy father Dunstan," and had been "laid up with singular care among the treasures of the place;" in conformity with which resolution, "he publicly and solemnly fulminated sentence of excommunication, at the doors of the church, against all persons who should infringe the liberties of the Church of Saint Guthlac." Perhaps it is not an unwarranted assumption to believe, that if the Convent had had this "*sword*" of Saint Dunstan for so many centuries in its possession, it would not have been now unsheathed for the first time.

Not content with thus brandishing the sword of excommunication, and responsible to no one but the bedridden Abbot, Prior Richard seems to have employed his energies in forging still other and sharper swords for the people of Multon and Spalding; for (p. 501) "he resorted to the temporal arm and the laws of the realm, and, taking with him the muniments of the illustrious Kings, Ethelbald, Edred, and Edgar, hastened to London, to prosecute his cause against both parties;" this being *the first time*, be it remarked, that the fact of the existence of these Charters is noticed, in the Annals of Croyland, for a period of three hundred and twenty years.

From the *Second Continuation* of the *History* (pp. 501, 502), which, there seems every reason to believe, is a faithful and trustworthy chronicle of events connected with the Abbey of Croyland in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, we learn that on his arrival in London Prior Richard was detained there "*nearly two years before he*

could bring matters to the desired conclusion." or, in other words, make arrangements for coming to trial. The blame of this delay is certainly laid (p. 501) upon the shoulders of the Duke of Lancaster, the alleged supporter of the Spalding people, and the lords of the villis of Multon and Weston. Unfortunately, however, for the accuracy of the story which Prior Richard seems to have told to the outer world who were not in his confidence, there happened to be at that time no "Duke of Lancaster" in existence, and it seems anything but improbable that these two years (or thereabouts) were, in reality, very profitably expended upon completing the fabrication of the long list of Charters which were so essentially to minister to the discomfiture of his antagonists at Multon and Spalding, and in compiling the original manuscript of the *History* of Ingulfus, afterwards known at Croyland as the "Autograph," in support of them. This explanation too will sufficiently account for the singularly large outlay upon these law proceedings of no less a sum than "500 *ponnds*" (p. 513), equal in value to many thousands of our day : for compilers and scribes, clever enough to fabricate a circumstantial abbey history, and to concoct a series of Charters thickly spread over 350 years or more, would at any time require to be handsomely paid for their labours, and be not unlikely, upon such an occasion as this more especially, to make their own terms in the way of remuneration. The forgery of ecclesiastical and other documents, there seems reason to believe, had, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, become an established trade in the metropolis ; and it was only a few years after this period—namely, A.D. 1430—that the Prior of Barnwell, in Cambridgeshire, acting as delegate for Pope Martin the Fifth, through the agency of a skillful notary-public whose name has come down to us, admitted as valid (and with a guilty knowledge, it has been surmised), the forged Bulls of Popes Honorius I. and Sergius I., which remain still inscribed on the Great Register of the University of Cambridge.

Upon this supposition, and knowing what effects a guilty conscience, the fear of failure, and the dread of detection, are not unlikely to produce, we are not surprised to learn from the *Second Continuation* (p. 501), that "Prior Richard, seeing that his business now lay at the mercy of the cast of a die, and that it was far from being likely to prosper

according to his wishes, but daily looked worse and worse, fell into so deplorable a state of ill health, that the physicians even despaired of his recovery ; his stomach, in its indignation, refusing to retain anything that was offered to it."

The most singular part of this story, however, remains to be told. The Prior would seem not to have been the sole contriver of this plan for defeating the enemy ; but to have had a partner alike in his schemes and in the disquietude which they entailed. To continue, in the words of the narrative (p. 502)—“ A certain Serjeant-at-law, who was of counsel for the Prior, William Ludyngton by name, acted as his agent in this business, and as his most trusty advocate. While he was in bed one night, kept awake by extreme sadness and disquietude, and revolving many matters in his mind, he found himself unable to sleep. Suddenly, however, a gentle slumber seeming to steal upon him, he had reposed for a short time, when behold ! a venerable personage, arrayed in the garb of an anchorite, stood near and uttered words to this effect :—‘ Why, amid the fluctuations of thy mind, art thou in fear as to the prosecution of thy suit, and why pass the night in sleeplessness, as thoughts crowd upon thee from every side ? Come now, rest a while, and relax thy limbs in repose ; for to-morrow morning everything shall succeed to thy utmost wish, and the matters which have hitherto seemed to thee to wear an adverse aspect, will benignly smile upon thee at thy will and pleasure.’ So saying, the vision disappeared. Rising early in the morning, and his mind restored to tranquillity by the oracle which had undoubtedly been revealed to him from heaven through Saint Guthlac, he at once began to entertain better hopes. Accordingly, he immediately hastened to the Court, and after holding a short conference on the subject with those who were of counsel for the other parties, at last brought the whole matter to this issue ; that each party at once agreed readily and willingly, putting an end to trouble and expense, that arbitrators should be chosen for coming to a righteous decision upon the matter in dispute. As for the Prior, who was still there, as already mentioned, lying on a bed of sickness, upon hearing that an outlet was about to be found to this most intricate labyrinth of agonizing toil, and that such an expensive source of litigation was about to be soon set at rest, he was greatly rejoiced

thereat ; and now, breathing more freely, returned abundant thanksgiving to God for the divine consolation which had been granted to him from above."

The sequel is soon told. This consolatory vision must have been vouchsafed by Saint Guthlac to Serjeant Ludyngton, the Prior's more than ordinary counsel, in the first half of the year 1415 ; for in June of that year, as we learn from other sources, he was created a Justiciar of the Court of Common Pleas ; a piece of promotion which, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, must have gladdened Prior Richard's heart as much, or even more, than Saint Guthlac's opportune appearance in the worthy Serjeant's dream. In the latter half of the same year, arbitrators were appointed in the suit between the Abbot of Croyland and the people of Multon and Weston, and in that between the Abbot and the people of Spalding. In the first suit two umpires were chosen as well ; and, strange to say, one of them, no other than the self-same judge, William Ludyngton, who a few months before had been the Prior's agent and adviser, and the sympathizing sharer of his woes. In the second suit again, that with the Spalding people, but one assessor, or umpire, was chosen, a character in which we find Judge Ludyngton once more presenting himself. After such clever management on the part of the Convent as this, there could of course be little doubt as to its ultimate success. To the entire satisfaction of both umpires and arbitrators, the spurious Charters of Ethelbald and Edred were produced in Court, as well as the genuine ones of the Norman and early Plantagenet Kings, and the *Inspeximus* recently obtained under the Great Seal of Richard II.

Immediately upon the production of this to them most novel and unlooked-for evidence, endorsed too by the approbation of the learned and dignified umpires, the people of Multon and Spalding appear to have been panic-stricken, and not to have had a word more to say in their respective behalves ; whereupon, both arbitrators and umpires pronounced their decisions entirely in favour of the Convent of Croyland, and awarding it rights and privileges almost commensurate with the fullest scope of the so-called Mercian and Saxon Charters : and thus did the monks of Croyland, the first time apparently for centuries, gain a complete legal victory over their troublesome neighbours of Multon, Weston, and Spalding.

William Ludyngton (or Lodington, as the name is now spelt), we may add, the counsel and judge who acted so conspicuous a part in this suspicious transaction, died A.D. 1419, and lies buried at Gunby, in Lincolnshire, where a brass to his memory still exists. If Lodington in Northamptonshire was the place of his birth, as seems not improbable, we may the more readily account for his evident participation in the most secret counsels of his near neighbours at Croyland, and the interest that he appears to have manifested *per fas et nefas* in the support of their claims.

Vague and meagre as were the genuine title-deeds of the Abbey, and limited perhaps to the Charters of the Norman and early Plantagenet kings, we can fully understand why the ten or twelve lines of the *History* of Vitalis (B. iv., c. 17), in which he states that King Ethelbald founded the Abbey of Croyland, made a grant to it of lands, and conferred upon it a Charter, signed by him in presence of his bishops and great men, were with avidity made available for the purposes of the Inspecimus of 1393, and amplified into the circumstantial details of the *Golden Charter*; why such care was taken, in almost every succeeding fabrication down to the so-called Charters of Edred and Edgar, to make especial reference to the original grant of Ethelbald; these last two Charters being carefully ratified by name in equally fictitious Charters of Cnut and Edward the Confessor; why the reader is so particularly informed in the *History* (p. 22), that upon the destruction of the Monastery A.D. 870, "the Charter of Foundation of King Ethelbald, and the Confirmations thereof by other kings," were saved from the ravages of the enemy; why we are so circumstantially (p. 85) made acquainted with the fact that Abbot Ingulf took with him to London the Charters of Ethelbald and the other Mercian Kings, as well as those of Edred and Edgar, and that the same "were publicly read and carefully examined in presence of the renowned King William and his Council, and adjudged by all, with acclamation, to be most worthy of the royal confirmation;" why these Charters are filled *ad nauseam* with fulminations of wrath, censure, and excommunication, against all who should dare to question them, or to subtract from the possessions, privileges, or immunities, of the Abbey of Croyland; why the hint of Vitalis was ingeniously improved upon, and the Ecclesiastical Censure of Archbishops Dunstan and Osketul was fabricated;

and why, too, the story of the wicked Asford was devised (pp. 76, 77), who, as a judgment for withholding from the Monastery the Manor of Helieston, fell from his horse, while riding to meet the King's Justiciars at Stamford, and broke his neck, "and so was sent to hell the soul of him who was going in his pride to oppose the Lord."

Even the passage inserted in the *History* (p. 79), to the effect that the surveyors for *Domesday* "shewed a kind and benevolent feeling towards the Monastery, and did not value it at its true revenue, nor yet at its exact extent; and so, compassionately took due precautions against future royal exactions and other burdens, and with the most attentive kindness made provision for its welfare,"—there can be little doubt was fabricated to serve a purpose. The forgers knew that it was quite within the limits of possibility that their fictitious Charters, with their outrageous pretensions to circumstantiality as to the extent of the Abbey lands, might come to be placed before a judicial tribunal in juxtaposition with the pages of *Domesday*: and the present passage, it is far from improbable, was inserted with the view of meeting any objections to discrepancies that might possibly arise.

That they themselves resorted to the *Book of Domesday*, then preserved in the Exchequer, there can be no doubt; and hence the copious extracts in the *History* which Abbot Ingulf is represented as having made during his sojourn in London, on his visit to the Court of William the Conqueror. The transcribers, however, in their ignorance, have executed their task in a manner that Abbot Ingulf himself would never have tolerated. For example, they were not aware that "*Ellor* (properly 'Ellohe') *wapp*" signifies "the Wapentake of Elloe," but have absurdly converted it into "Ellowarp" (p. 80), as the name of a place. In the same manner too, the Wapentake of Kirketon (Chirchetone) is represented as "*Kirketona Warp*." Other material misstatements are made; in addition to which, the *Domesday* contraction for *modo*, "now," is almost uniformly lengthened into *moneta*, "of money"; the word *carucata*, "carucate," or "ploughland," is sometimes confounded with *caruca*, "plough"; and, in one instance, "V," standing for *quinque*, "five," is interpreted as *voro*, "but."

The fabricators too of the *History*, finding a passage in *Domesday* to the effect that, "from the time of King Ethel-

red, the seat of the abbacy has been quit and free of all secular services," have laboured (p. 84) to make it incidentally subservient to their design. Ethelred the Unready, son of Edgar, is no doubt the sovereign meant; but they would suggest that it is just as probable that Ethelred, King of Mercia, and afterwards Abbot of Bardene in Lincolnshire, is the personage alluded to; drawing attention, at the same time, to the fact that his name is subscribed as an attesting witness to Ethelbald's Charter; a locality in which the Abbey authorities who had shortly before obtained the Inspecimus and Confirmation of Richard II., themselves had taken care to have it placed.

Another suspicious circumstance calls for remark. Vitalis says that, in the days of Abbot Ingulf, part of the Abbey Church of Croyland, with the sacristy, books, and many other articles, was suddenly consumed by fire. This was too tempting a statement not to be made capital of by the forgers: availing themselves of it with skill, they would be armed against every contingency in reference to their Saxon and Mercian Charters in a court of law. We are accordingly told (p. 98) that the flames reaching their *cartaria*, or muniment-room, *all* their muniments, charters, and privileges granted by the Mercian Kings, both great and small, nearly 400 in number, were destroyed. Then again, we are informed (p. 98) that Abbot Ingulf had, some years before, taken from the muniment-room many Charters written in Saxon characters; and that, having duplicates of them, and in some instances triplicates, he had put them in the hands of the præcentor, to instruct the juniors therefrom in a knowledge of the Saxon characters, which had then become neglected and nearly obsolete. These, the *History* tells us, being kept in the cloisters, were saved, "and now form our principal and especial muniments." Again, in another place (p. 86), Ingulf is represented as saying that, in spite of the grant by deed of the vill of Spalding, A.D. 1051, by Sheriff Thorold, he was deprived thereof through the enmity of Ivo Tailbois; at the same time advising his successors, when desirous to regain the same, especially to rely on the Charter of Thorold, "the other Charters being *for certain reasons* concealed," he having learned from the lawyers that *that Charter* would prove much more efficacious for the assertion of their rights than the rest. At a later period again, and after the destruction of the

Monastery by fire in A.D. 1091, Abbot Ingulf is made to say (p. 107), that though Tailbois imagined that *all* their Charters were destroyed, he showed him in Court that such was not the case; but, on the contrary, produced by the hands of Brother Trig, his proctor, the Charters of Sheriff Thorold and the Earls Algar, whole and unburnt. This trial concluded, Abbot Ingulf further says (p. 107)—“I took our Charters and placed them in such safe custody that, so long as my life lasts, neither fire shall consume nor adversary steal them; our Lord Jesus Christ and our blessed patron, the most holy Guthlae, showing themselves propitious, and, as I firmly believe, extending their protection to their servants.”

Again, it was by the same hands, there can be little doubt, that the statement was inserted in the so-called “*Continuation by Peter of Blois*” (part, at least, of which is certainly quite as spurious as the *History* of Ingulfus, and equally founded on the narrative of Vitalis), that (p. 124) “although the original Charters of the Abbey had been burnt, and Abbot Geoffrey (Ingulf’s successor) *was at a loss to know in what place Edred’s Charter of Restoration had been deposited* by his predecessor, Abbot Ingulf,” still he “proceeded to Evesham, and produced there *a copy* of the Charter of Restoration (or Refoundation) of his Abbey;” but, for want of the original, failed in the object of his mission.

Though, at first sight, these contradictions may seem puzzling, yet, upon consideration, the reasons for the insertion of them in the pretended *History* would seem to be pretty obvious. It would of course occur to the authorities at Croyland, that the people of Multon, Weston, and Spalding, might very possibly question the genuineness of the Charters now proffered by them in evidence, for the first time. If they themselves should be able to convince the Court that they were genuine, of course all would be well and good, and their purpose would be answered. Should, however, on the other hand, their spurious character be detected upon a close scrutiny by the Court, it would then be in their power to produce in their own exculpation Ingulf’s *History*, penned more than three centuries before, to show that the original Charters really had been burnt, that contemporary duplicates had been saved, and that, if these were not the identical copies mentioned by Ingulf, it was no fault of theirs; that they had proffered them just as they had de-

scended into their hands from their predecessors ; and that, if forgeries they really were, they must have been forged by some of those predecessors—who alone were the guilty parties—for the purpose of tallying with the narrative of the *History*.

Again, it would be not unlikely that inquiry would be made, how it was that these Charters had never been proffered in Court during the repeated litigations of the preceding three hundred years. The story of the safe concealment of them by Abbot Ingulf was accordingly invented, in order that an excuse might be afforded, in case one should be needed, for the sudden and unexpected appearance of them after so long a lapse of time, during which the fact of their existence had been unknown.

In reference to the so-called “ Charter of Restoration ” of King Edred, it deserves remark that a Charter of privileges granted by that King is mentioned in the Charter of William the Conqueror (p. 86), and that Charters both of Edred and of William are referred to in that of Henry I., dated A.D. 1114, and inserted (p. 121) in the so-called *Continuation* of Peter of Blois. The Charter of William—which, as is usual with the fabricated Saxon Charters, forbids “ that any person under his rule shall presume rashly to molest the monks of Croyland, lest he perish by the sword of excommunication, and, for such violation of ecclesiastical rights, suffer the torments of hell ”—is probably as fictitious as its predecessors ; but as that of Henry I., which mentions Charters of Edred and William, has apparently some fair pretensions to be considered genuine, it seems not improbable that Charters of Edred and William once *did* exist : and, perhaps, equally within the limits of probability, that a copy of Edred’s Charter, falling into the hands of the compilers of the *History*, served as a basis for the enlarged Charter of Edred as there set forth.

The more effectually, to all appearance, to disarm suspicion, the compilers have placed in juxtaposition with the Charters of Edred and Edgar, though it has nothing whatever to do with the context, that of Edgar to the Abbey of Medeshamsted, or Peterborough ; a document which we *know for certain* to have been subjected to the self-same treatment which we have just suggested that a genuine Charter of Edred may possibly have undergone. This Charter, as it appears in Ingulf’s *History*, and in one of the Peterborough

Chronicles, is so replete with allusions and expressions peculiar to the feudal times, that the learned Hickes (*Thesaurus*, Pref., p. xxix.) is inclined to condemn it as fictitious; and, therefore,—a thing we should hardly expect in *his* case, of all men,—must have been unaware of the fact that the nucleus of it is preserved in the *Saxon Chronicle* (pp. 392, 393, *Monumenta Histor. Brit.*); genuine, no doubt, but divested of its grandiloquent recitals, and its allusions to usages of a later age. The mention in it of “Courts Christian,” and of “parsons,” and the fact that the sovereign is, in no less than six instances, made to speak in the plural number (a mode of expression not to be found before the time of Richard I.), indicate clearly enough that it has been tampered with; though probably by other hands than the fabricators of the Charters and History of Ingulfus. The first eleven attestations given in the *History* of Ingulfus correspond with those in the *Saxon Chronicle*; the additional nineteen, to all appearance, are spurious.

It now only remains for us to inquire, what are the sources from which such portions of Ingulf's *History*, as bear any marks of borrowed authenticity, are compiled? a question which, without the expenditure of an amount of research which it would hardly seem to deserve, it would be impossible to answer satisfactorily in every respect.

The basis of the *History of Ingulfus* throughout, there can be little doubt, is Chapter 17 of the Fourth Book of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Ordericus Vitalis; not a line hardly of whose narrative—the result of a visit paid by him to the Abbey of Croyland early in the twelfth century—has not been carefully made available by the fabricators; and, in combination therewith, the *Chronicle* of Florence of Worcester. To these sources may be added, in all probability, the *Life of Saint Guthlac*, by the Monk Felix; William of Malmesbury's *History of the Kings*; the *Life of Edward the Confessor*, by Ailred of Rievaulx; the *Chronicle* of Simeon of Durham; the *History of the English*, by Henry of Huntingdon; the *Chronicon Angliæ* of John of Peterborough; *Domesday Book*; and, possibly, the *Gesta Herwardi*. The minute details of abbey life and descriptions of conventual buildings and usages, with which the work abounds, are probably derived from the *Rules of Saint Benedict*, and those of other religious Orders; while, for several of their more uncommon

words, the compilers seem to have been indebted to the *Catholicon* of John of Genoa, an important Glossary of the latter part of the thirteenth century.

To descend, however, to somewhat of detail ; so far as our restricted limits, and a comparatively cursory examination of Ingulf's narrative, will permit.—

The Proœmium (p. 1) is of course the composition of the compilers, the remainder of the page being occupied by a summary from the early chroniclers. The story of Ethelbald and Saint Guthlac is an amplification of the narrative of Vitalis, and perhaps of the *Life of Saint Guthlac*, by Felix. The poetry in page 4 is evidently of the average execution of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries ; the latter part of the page, in reference to the derivation of the name Croyland, or Crowland, which Hickes (*Thesaurus*, Pref., p. viii.) has somewhat singularly suggested to be spurious, being borrowed almost *verbatim* from Vitalis. The Charter of Ethelbald, as already mentioned, was in all probability suggested by the narrative of Vitalis. The immediately succeeding pages, when not occupied by the Charters, are, no doubt, a compilation from the chronicles ; the compilers taking good care (as indeed is asserted in page 20) that their context should be able to receive confirmation therefrom. Accordingly, we find the mention (pp. 18, 19) of King Burghred being at Nottingham in A.D. 868 (where he is represented as signing his Charter to Croyland), confirmed by the Saxon Chronicle, by Simeon of Durham, and by Florence of Worcester.

The basis of the story of the Danish ravages at Croyland, A.D. 870 (pp. 20—24), is probably to be found in the account of the destruction of the Monastery of Medeshamsted, given in the *Chronicle* attributed by Sparke to Abbot John of Peterborough ; considerable additions being made, the inventions, in all probability, of the compilers. Among these additions is the mention of the body and scourge of Saint Guthlac as being saved ; also, the saving of the gifts of King Wichtlaf, and, most important of all, of the Charters of Ethelbald and the other Kings ; together with all the minute particulars of the destruction of Croyland by the Danes—nearly every word, in fact, of page 22. Brother Turgar, who, in Ingulf's *History*, is made to be an inmate of Croyland and a child ten years of age, and is then reserved to figure as one of the Sempects and to die at the age of 115 years, is in reality a monk of

Medeshamsted, as shown by a passage in the Peterborough *Chronicle*, which the Croyland compilers have thought proper to omit. A considerable portion of pages 23, 24, also giving an account of the barbarities inflicted upon certain of the Croyland monks, by name, is equally a fiction, invented by the compilers, no doubt, and interpolated by them in the extract thus borrowed from the Peterborough *Chronicle*.

For the story of Saint Cuthbert's appearance to Alfred, the compilers, to all appearance, are indebted to William of Malmesbury; the same too with reference to the account of Alfred's visit to the Danish camp in disguise; which is told by Malmesbury alike of Alfred and (§ 131) of Olaf's visit to Athelstan's tent, in a minstrel's garb.

Turketul is made to be a kinsman not only of King Edred (p. 30), but of Osketul, Archbishop of York (p. 41); both in conformity with the account of Vitalis. The names of the six manors given by Turketul to Croyland are the same as those mentioned by Vitalis: who also draws attention to Edgar's Charter of Confirmation (p. 42), and the fact of Dunstan having denounced those who should deprive the Church of Croyland of its possessions.

Eilward, or Ethelward (pp. 30, 36), brother of Edward the Elder, is adopted by the compilers as the father of Turketul. He is mentioned by Florence of Worcester, and from him probably the name is borrowed: his relationship to Turketul is a fabrication, no doubt. The account of the Battle of Brunford (p. 37), or Brunenburgh, from the striking resemblance in magniloquence of style, is apparently an amplification of the narrative of Henry of Huntingdon, who equally expatiates upon the prowess of the men of Mercia and of Wessex.

The great intimacy (p. 41) that existed between Dunstan and Turketul, is also mentioned in the narrative of Vitalis.

The use of the out-of-the-way word "*Sempetra*" (p. 49), as applied to a monk of the Convent when past the fiftieth year of his profession, was in all probability suggested to the compilers by the occurrence of it in the *History* of Vitalis (B. viii., c. 11); though in what sense, it seems difficult exactly to determine. It is also to be found, under the form "*synpacta*," as applied to a class of monks, in the *Rules of Saint Benedict*; and an early use of it, though apparently in

another sense, is to be met with in the *Lausiac History* of the Eastern Solitaries, by Palladius, a Christian Bishop.

The succession of the Elder Egelric (p. 52), on the death of Turketul, and his relationship to the deceased Abbot (pp. 32, 51), are mentioned by Vitalis. The same too with the succession of the Younger Egelric (p. 53), and his relationship (p. 40) to the Elder Egelric, his predecessor.

The story of the removal of the relics of Saint Neot to Croyland (p. 55) from Elnophesbyry (or Eynesbury), in Huntingdonshire, is also related by Vitalis; though the compilers have added the fact, that the body had been exposed there to the ravages of the Danes.

The successions of Abbots Osketul (p. 54) and Godric (p. 55) are probably borrowed from Vitalis; and the story of the atrocities committed by Sweyn, father of Cnut (p. 56), is, to all appearance, closely copied from the narrative of Florence of Worcester.

The mention (p. 57) of Norman, brother of Earl Leofric, as the "greatest of the satellites" of Duke Edric Streona, there can be little doubt is suggested by the pages of Florence, who implies as much; though the assertion that Edric's body was thrown into the Thames is borrowed from another source—William of Malmesbury, or, possibly, Roger of Wendover.

The story also (p. 57) of Leofric having replaced his brother Norman, and of his being in high favour with Cnut, is probably borrowed from Florence of Worcester; the mention of him being inserted merely for the purpose of showing, why the Manor of Baddeby was not in the possession of the Abbey of Croyland at the time of the compilation of *Domesday* (pp. 57, 85).

The succession of Abbot Brithmer (p. 58) is apparently derived from Vitalis; and in the next page the compilers have followed the Saxon Chronicle, Florence of Worcester, and others of our early chroniclers, in erroneously placing the visit of Cnut to Rome in A.D. 1031, instead of 1027, as correctly stated by Wippo. Cnut's Letter to the Prelates and People of England (pp. 59—61) is probably copied from the pages of Florence.

The account (p. 61) of Cnut's landing at Sandwich, A.D. 1032, on his return from Rome, is a fiction evidently; and equally so, no doubt, is the story of Abbot Brithmer has-

tening thither to present him with three palfreys. The fiction is apparently based upon the narrative of the *Saxon Chronicle*, which *implies* that Cnut landed at Sandwich, A.D. 1029; upon which occasion he bestowed certain privileges upon Christ Church at Canterbury.

The succession of Wulgat (pp. 62, 63), Abbot of Pegeland, to the Abbey of Croyland, on the death of Brithmer, and the story of his sufferings, are apparently a fanciful amplification of the narrative of Vitalis.

The mention (p. 64) of the earthquake in 1048 is derived probably from Simeon of Durham, or from Florence of Worcester; but a clerical error has been committed in substituting the "Calends of March," for the "Calends of May."

The attesting witnesses to Edward the Confessor's spurious Charter of Confirmation (p. 64) are Archbishops Edsy and Alfric, and Earls Godwin, Leofric, and Siward. The whole of these five identical personages, and no others, are named together by Simeon of Durham and Florence of Worcester, *s. a.* 1043.

The succession of Wulketul, a monk of Peterborough, to the Abbey of Croyland (p. 65), is probably derived from Vitalis.

The words (p. 66) "*per vim suum Comitatum recuperavit*," in reference to Earl Algar's outlawry and return, are identical with those given in their account of the same transaction by Simeon of Durham and Florence of Worcester.

The Latin Leonine lines (p. 68), on the Comet that appeared A.D. 1066, are probably borrowed from Simeon of Durham or Henry of Huntingdon; as they are not to be found in Florence of Worcester. The account of the Battle of Hastings (p. 69), on the other hand, would seem to be abbreviated from Florence of Worcester, or Simeon of Durham.

The account of Earl Waltheof's execution (p. 72), though expanded, closely follows that of Vitalis; who also mentions his gift to the Abbey, here noticed, of the vill of Barnack, in Northamptonshire.

The story of the deprivation of Abbot Wulketul, A.D. 1075 (pp. 73, 79), is probably borrowed from Vitalis; who merely states, however, that he was deposed, and confined at Glastonbury. The improvement upon his narrative, in reference to Abbot Thurstan, has been already noticed.

The notion of the pilgrimage of Ingulf to Jerusalem (p. 74) is probably borrowed from the account of that of Theodoric, first Abbot of Saint Evroult, in the *History* of Vitalis (B. iii., c. 4); the "Bishop of Mayence," whom Ingulf is represented as accompanying, representing the "Chief Bishop of the Bavarians," in whose train Theodoric travelled.

The story of Ingulf exercising his influence with King William in behalf of Wulketul (pp. 78, 79), is probably amplified from the account of Vitalis, who briefly states to the same effect. The narratives vary, however, as to the day of the month on which Wulketul died.

The account (p. 102) of the translation of the body of Earl Waltheof from the Chapter-house to the Church of Croyland is related, to a considerable extent, in the very words that are used by Vitalis in narrating the same transaction.

As already mentioned, these enquiries might probably be considerably extended, with equally satisfactory results, in proof that, as a compilation of a comparatively late period, the *History* of Ingulfus has no pretensions to genuineness or authenticity whatever. Enough, however, has perhaps been said to leave little room for doubt, in the minds even of the most credulous, that such is the fact.

Had the object of this "pious fraud" been really a harmless one, other in fact than it undoubtedly was, the compilers might have deserved some, perhaps considerable, commendation for the research and inventiveness displayed in the fabrication of their romance, and for the skill which, in the days of typography even, for at least a century succeeded in hoodwinking the eyes of the learned. There is too abundant proof, however, that under the transparent veil of promoting the cause of religion, their purpose was selfish, and their conduct, oppressive and mendacious. Stripped of its pretensions, their plausible and by no means uninteresting compilation must be content to take its humble place among the items of our later medieval literature, as nothing more than the "Story of the Pseudo-Ingulf."

ON THE EFFIGIES AND MONUMENTAL REMAINS IN
PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.¹

By MATTHEW HOLBECHÉ BLOXAM.

THE ancient conventual church of Peterborough, now the Cathedral, was never remarkable either for the number or stateliness of the sepulchral monuments it contained.

The sculptured memorials of this class now existing are confined, with one exception, to a few ancient recumbent effigies of abbots, not one of which, it is believed, occupies its original position, nor are there inscriptions to inform us, with certainty, of what particular abbots we have the representations. We are left to appropriate these effigies as we best may; and in a conjectural appropriation there is doubtless much room for diversity of opinion. It is, under these circumstances, that I would endeavour to describe, and to assign, according to my own opinion, with all deference to that of others conversant with monumental remains, that series of ancient sepulchral effigies, six in number, contained within those hallowed walls, which have been preserved from the destruction to which other monuments have been subjected.

Five of these effigies are of dark-colored marble, a material in which many early monumental effigies—for instance, those in the Temple church, London—are sculptured, and in relief more or less bold. The most ancient of these I should ascribe to the latter part of the twelfth century, the other four to different periods in the thirteenth century. The sixth effigy, sculptured in chunch or chalk-stone, is, I think that I shall be able to show, of the early part of the sixteenth century. From the material, however, in which it is sculptured, it is far more mutilated than any of the earlier effigies.

Although not one of these monuments occupies the posi-

¹ Communicated to the Section of Antiquities at the Annual Meeting of the Institute at Peterborough, July, 1861.

tion in which it was originally placed, but each appears to have been removed, some, as we are told by Gunton, from the Chapter-house, one probably from the Lady Chapel, and they are not arranged in chronological order, I shall commence with that which I consider the earliest, and so describe them, not as they are now placed, but in order of supposed date.

In the retro-choir, at the back of the high altar, or to speak more in accordance with our own church discipline, the holy table, on a coffin-shaped slab of dark-colored marble, is the effigy, in somewhat low relief, of one of the abbots. He is represented as bareheaded, with the face close shaven, vested in an alb, (the long linen garment with close sleeves, reaching to the feet), and chasuble. The chasuble is ornamented with the orphrey, attached to it in front, in form resembling the archiepiscopal pall. Beneath the lower part of the chasuble appear the extremities of the stole, which coming over each shoulder crossed the breast in front, and was then passed under the girdle of the alb, over which it was worn, the two extremities falling perpendicularly downwards. The amice is represented about the neck. The pastoral staff is placed in a diagonal position across the body, and is held in the right hand, the crook, which is simply curved and turned outwards, appears on the right side of the head; the ferule of the staff, on the left side of the left foot, is thrust into the jaws of a two-headed dragon, the winged serpent of fabulous tradition, sculptured at the feet of the effigy, which, as it is also represented at the feet of other early sepulchral effigies of ecclesiastics, seems allusive to that verse in the Psalms,—“Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder, the young lion and dragon shalt thou trample under foot.” The left hand is represented holding a book. Over the head of the effigy is a flat canopy, consisting of a plain semicircular trefoil, surmounted by the representation of a Norman arcaded building, finished with a conical roof such as we find on towers of the twelfth century, represented in illuminated manuscripts and on seals. This, which I consider to be the most ancient of the sepulchral effigies, may, I think, be attributed either to Abbot Benedict, who died in 1193, or to Abbot Andrew, who died in 1199. As the former is said to have built the nave of the church, I am rather inclined to assign this monument to him. It is

engraved in Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, but he does not venture an opinion as to whose effigy it was supposed to be.

The second monumental effigy, taking them in chronological order, is that now placed second from the west end of the south aisle of the choir, and probably one of those three which Gunton tells us were removed from the chapter house on the suppression of the monastery. This, with the coffin-shaped slab on which it rests, is sculptured out of one block of dark-colored Purbeck or Forest marble. It is the effigy of an abbot in bold but somewhat low relief; the head is represented as bare, reposing on a lozenge-shaped pillow, within an Early English circular trefoiled arch, springing from two lateral shafts, with sculptured foliage on the capitals, and surmounted by a kind of architectural design. This effigy is somewhat abraded on the surface, but the chin of the face appears to have been covered with a beard. The abbot is represented with the amice about his neck, vested in the alb and chasuble, between which appear the extremities of the stole. The feet do not rest against any animal. The pastoral staff is held in the right hand, whilst in the left appears a book. This is evidently a monument of the early part of the thirteenth century, and, as the architectural details agree with those of the west front of the Cathedral, I am not perhaps far from being correct when I assign this memorial to Abbot Robert de Lyndeseye, who is said to have erected the west front, and to have died in 1222. This effigy is engraved in Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, and assigned to Abbot Martin de Vecti, who died in 1155. It is figured, from a drawing by Mr. Blore, in Britton's Peterborough Cathedral, plate xii.

The third monumental effigy in chronological order is also the third from the west end, and was probably one of the three said to have been removed from the chapter-house. Like the two effigies I have described, this, together with the coffin-shaped slab on which it lies, is sculptured out of one block of dark-colored marble. The abbot, of whom this is the effigy, is represented bareheaded, with a curled beard reaching from ear to ear. He appears vested in the alb, with an ornamented parure or apparel in front at the feet; over the alb is worn the tunic, and over that the chasuble. The pastoral staff is headed with a simple crook, turned

inwards towards the effigy, and is held in the right hand. In the left hand appears a book. The maniple is suspended over the left wrist. The feet rest against a dragon, into the jaws of which the ferule of the pastoral staff is thrust. This effigy is in low relief, but un mutilated. Over the head appears a pointed cinquefoiled canopy or arch, springing from lateral shafts, with capitals, sculptured with foliage. The arch is surmounted by the representation of a building. This monument appears in date to be of about the middle of the thirteenth century, and I am inclined to ascribe it either to Abbot Walter de St. Edmund, who died in 1245, or to Abbot William de Hotot, his successor, who died in 1249, shortly after he had resigned the rule of this monastery, and was buried in this conventual church before the altar of St. Benedict. This effigy is ascribed by Gough to John of Salisbury, who died in 1125, but it is not of so early a date. (Figured in Britton's Peterborough Cathedral, plate xii.)

The fourth effigy, in chronological order, is that disposed first at the west end of the south aisle of the choir. This, like the three effigies already described, is, with the coffin-shaped slab on which the effigy appears, sculptured in somewhat bold relief out of a block of black or dark-colored English marble. The effigy of the abbot is represented with the face closely shaven, and the body vested in the alb, the parure or apparel of which in front at the feet is richly worked. Over the alb is worn the tunic, or dalmatic, and over that the chasuble, the folds of the latter coming down to a point in front, heater-shaped. This chasuble is richly ornamented with foliage. On the right side is the pastoral staff, the head or crook of which is gone, but the ferule of the staff is inserted into the jaws of a dragon, sculptured beneath the feet of the effigy. In the left hand, somewhat upraised on the breast, is a book. The amice, like a hood, partly covers the head, which is supported by the mutilated figures of two angels. This monument, which is assigned by Gough, in whose work it is engraved, to Abbot Andrew, who died in 1199, may, I think, more properly be ascribed to Abbot John de Caletto, who died in 1262, and was buried in the south aisle of the choir of this conventual church.

The fifth recumbent effigy, in chronological order, is the most eastward of the series, lying under or adjoining to the south wall of the south aisle of the choir. Unlike the effigies

already described, the sepulchral effigy of the abbot here represented, is placed on a raised tomb of black marble, the north side of which has been divided by plain cylindrical shafts, with bases and capitals, into four compartments, each containing a plain quatrefoiled circle; at the lower end is a single compartment similarly filled with a quatrefoiled circle. The shape of the tomb at the head is semi-hexagonal. This tomb appears to have been removed from some other place and is not altogether perfect; the lower part is broken, and one-half of a quatrefoiled circle is gone. It is, therefore, in its present state somewhat shorter than it was originally. On this tomb, sculptured in the same kind of marble, lies the recumbent effigy of an abbot, the head apparently that of an aged man, with the face bearded from ear to ear, but the feet are gone, probably destroyed with the lower portion of the tomb beneath. The vestments which are visible consist of the alb, over the skirt of which appear the extremities of the stole, above this is the chasuble, and about the neck is worn the amice. The pastoral staff is gone, but a book is held in the left hand. Over the head is a canopy, consisting of a pointed trefoil, enriched above with Early English foliage stiffly designed, and much abraded, perhaps from violence. This monument is, I think, of a later date than the four previously described; the workmanship is better and of a more advanced period in art. There is also a greater attempt at freedom in the arrangement of the drapery. Gough assigns this monument, as he has described another, to Martin de Vecti, who died in 1155; I should, however, consider it to be that of Abbot Richard de London, who died in 1295, at the advanced age of 82 years. This would accord not only with the architectural details of the tomb and style of the sculptured foliage, but also with the face of the effigy, which is that of an aged man.²

These effigies differ from early episcopal sepulchral effigies in that the latter are generally represented with the right hand upraised, with certain of the fingers extended, in the act of benediction, which is not the case with any one of

² Since this paper was read, I have ascertained that this monument, within which is a stone coffin containing the remains of an abbot, was removed to its present position in the year 1639, when it was discovered on the north side of the choir. With the remains in the

coffin was an oblong piece of lead four inches long, with the words *ABBAS ALEXAND'* inscribed upon it. This abbot Alexander died in 1226. The difference of date, nearly seventy years, shows how far I was wrong in my conjectural ascription.

these, and also in the absence of the mitre, the wearing of which had not as yet been granted to the abbot of this monastery. But these form perhaps the most interesting series of recumbent effigies of ecclesiastics of abbatical rank anywhere to be found in this country.

The sixth and last of the sepulchral effigies of the abbots is that placed on the floor of the south aisle of the choir, near the east end, but on the north side of the aisle. It has evidently been removed thither from the place it originally occupied, and was formerly, probably, elevated on a raised tomb. It is much mutilated, far more so than the earlier effigies I have noticed, from the material being of clunch or chalk stone, not of marble. It is also undoubtedly of a much later period than the other effigies. The abbot, here represented in a recumbent position, appears vested in the alb with its apparels, tunic, dalmatic, stole, and chasuble, with the amice about the neck; and on the head is worn, though now much mutilated, the mitre, *mitra pretiosa*. The head reposes on a double cushion supported by two angels, which are much defaced. There is no appearance of any pastoral staff.

This effigy is neither engraved by Gough nor assigned to any particular abbot, but as it is that of a mitred abbot, there are only two to whom it can be ascribed. William Genge, the 40th abbot, elected in 1396, is said by Gunton to have been the first mitred abbot of this monastery. The same writer states, that this abbot had a brass for his monument. This disappeared in the general devastation by the parliamentary troops in 1643. John Deeping, the 41st abbot, elected in 1408, had also, as Gunton informs us, a brass for his monument, which fared as the former in 1643. Richard Ashton, the 42nd abbot, surrendered his office in 1471. William Ramsey, the 43rd abbot, was elected in 1471, and having been abbot for 25 years died, and was buried at the upper end of the body of the church, "under (says Gunton) a fair marble which of late was plentifully adorned with brass, but disrobed thereof with the rest."

Robert Kirton, the 44th abbot, elected in 1496, built much, says Gunton, especially "that goodly building at the east end of the church." "He also set up the gate leading to the deanry, which is yet standing, and retaineth the memory of the builder in his hieroglyphick of a crosier with

the letter R, and a church or kirk placed upon a tun, which must be construed with the allusion thus, Abbot Robert Kirk Tun, and so Kir-ton." Thus far Gunton, and when, as that writer informs us, he, Robert Kirton, had been abbot 32 years (that is in 1528), he was buried in the Lady Chapel or Chapel of St. Mary, now demolished, which he had contributed to beautify. "His monument was in the year 1651 levelled with the ground, above which it was erected some four foot and placed upon an hollow arch, where his body lay, and at the head thereof was a fair stone lying even with the pavement, which covered a pair of stairs going down into the sepulchre."

To Abbot Robert Kirton, then, the last who died abbot of this monastery, I am inclined to assign this effigy, evidently removed from a tomb in some other part of the church.

I must not omit to state, however, that John Chambers, the 45th and last abbot, elected in 1528, was in 1541 nominated and consecrated the first bishop of this now Cathedral church. He continued bishop about the space of 15 years, to the year 1556, and he had, Gunton tells us, two monuments in the church, one "made of white chalk stone with his statue excellently carved lying on the top, which was demolished in 1643." Some may think that this effigy represented Bishop Chambers, but I am inclined to attribute it to Abbot Kirton. The style of workmanship is rather that of his period than of his successor, in whose time, at least during the reign of Edward the Sixth, a change had occurred in the episcopal vestments, and, although in the reign of Mary the old ecclesiastical habits had been reverted to, he would probably have been represented, like Bishop Goldwell at Norwich, in the cope rather than the chasuble. I also doubt whether this bishop had two monuments in this church, as stated by Gunton.

The only monument of a bishop worthy of notice appears to have been that of Bishop Dove, who died in 1630, and was buried in the north transept. Gunton states that "over his body was erected a very comely monument of a long quadrangular form, having four corner pilasters supporting a fair table of black marble, and, within, the pourtraiture of the bishop lying in his episcopal habit." That would consist of the rochet with the chimere worn over it. But this monument was, in the year 1643, leveled with the ground.

In the same year all the inlaid effigies of brass of persons of any distinction, buried within this church, including those of the abbots Genge, Deeping, and Ramsey, were torn away from the slabs by the parliamentary troops. Some of the sepulchral slabs, thus despoiled, may yet be seen forming part of the pavement in the vestibule or porch at the west end of the Cathedral. From the matrices of these, one appears to have borne a cross fleury, with a shield on the middle of the stem; another bore the effigy of a person in the habit of a layman, with his wife, being apparently of the fifteenth century; a third bore the effigy of a knight or esquire clad in armour, with his wife, of the latter part of the fifteenth century, and a fourth, that of a layman and his wife, with a group of children beneath them.

I can find only one sculptured monument, worthy of notice, placed in the Cathedral since the devastation committed in the middle of the seventeenth century. This is the monument, in the retro-choir, of Thomas Deacon, Esquire, some time sheriff of the county of Northampton, who died in 1721, aged 70 years. This consists of a high tomb of white and variegated marble of common-place design, having an inscribed tablet, and surmounted by a divided segmental pediment springing from fluted pilasters of the Corinthian order. Between the two portions of the pediment is an escutcheon, and on each portion is an urn. Above the inscribed tablet are heads of cherubs, issuing from clouds on marble representing drapery.

On the tomb thus described is the sculptured effigy, in white marble, of Thomas Deacon. He is represented as reclining on his left side, his left elbow being supported by a cushion, and his left hand resting on a skull; his right arm and hand are stretched out. He appears habited in the costume of his time; on his head is a long flowing wig, a falling cravat is tied about his neck, and he wears a single-breasted coat. A mass of loose drapery envelopes the lower limbs down to the feet, on which are high-heeled square-toed shoes. This effigy is fairly executed: it is one of a class of monumental effigies not uncommon in the early part of the eighteenth century, in which the ordinary costume of the day is adhered to, whilst in some of the monumental effigies then executed the persons commemorated are represented in the costume of Roman warriors, or in an imaginary garb.

On this monument the sculptor has recorded his name,—
 “Robertus Taylor, civis Londinensis, fecit et exculpavit.”

It may appear strange that I have not noticed earlier the ridged and sculptured monument in the retro-choir, the most remarkable relic of ancient sculpture, doubtless, now to be seen in Peterborough Cathedral. It measures 3 ft. 6 in. in length, 2 ft. 4 in. in height, and 12 inches in width; it is plain at both ends, but the sides are covered with arcades of six arches each, beneath which are figures sculptured in relief, twelve in all, with a nimbus round the head of each. Whether this relie is sepulchral or otherwise is a question for consideration.

The Saxon Chronicle states, *sub* A. D. 870, “This year the army” (*i. e.* the heathen army or that of the Danes) “rode across Mercia into East Anglia, and took up their winter quarters at Thetford, and the same winter King Edmund fought against them, and the Danes got the victory and slew the king, and subdued all the land, and destroyed all the minsters which they came to. The names of their chiefs who slew the king were Hingwair and Hubba. At that time they came to Medeshamstede, and burnt and beat it down, slew abbat and monks, and all that they found there. And that place which before was full rich they reduced to nothing.”

In the work known as the History of Ingulf, said to have been written by Ingulf, abbot of Croyland, who died A.D. 1109, a longer and more particular account is given of the destruction by the Danes in 870 of the church and monastery of Medeshamsted, when “the venerable father, lord Hedda, the abbot, as well as all his monks, and the whole of their countrymen, were put to the sword.” The writer of this work, whoever he was, then goes on to inform us that “Godric, abbot of Croyland, which monastery had also been devastated, went to Medeshamsted to commit to Christian burial the corpses of the abbot Hedda and his brethren, which were still lying unburied, and, after all the corpses of the monks of the said monastery had with great labour been carried into the midst of the cemetery of the said monastery, he buried them there over against that which was formerly the east front of the church, in one very large tomb prepared for the purpose, on the festival of the virgin St. Cecilia. Over the body of the abbot, who lay in the centre of his

sons, Godric placed a pyramidal stone, three feet in height, three in length, and one in breadth, having the images of the abbot with his monks standing round engraved upon it. This, in memory of the monastery which had been destroyed, he commanded thenceforth to be called Medeshamstead, and every year, so long as he lived, he paid a visit to the place, and, pitching his tent over the stone, he, with a constant devotion for two days, celebrated mass for the souls of those who were buried there."

This account would seem to be a decided answer to any question as to the appropriation of this ancient sculpture, but the authenticity of the History of the pseudo Ingulf, as to its having been the work of Abbot Ingulf, or indeed of his period, that is of the latter part of the eleventh and early part of the twelfth century, has been much questioned. No early MS. of this history is known to exist, and the not unreasonable supposition has been advanced, that it is a production of the fourteenth century, a work of fiction rather than an history.

On carefully examining this sculptured stone we can hardly attribute the date of its execution to so early a period as the History of the pseudo Ingulf would, if true, lead us to assign to it. My own opinion is that it is at least two centuries later than the time, A.D. 870, at which the abbot and monks are said to have been massacred. For I think that the sculpture and details are of a far more advanced period, not executed hastily, but with care, and that the figures on the sides do not represent monks, but Our Lord and eleven of the Apostles. The sculptured work rather agrees with that on the curious Norman monument in Wirksworth church, Derbyshire, and that at Conisborough church, Yorkshire, figured in this Journal, vol. I., p. 354, than with the ruder Saxon monuments at Dewsbury, Yorkshire (with which this has been compared); Heysham in Lancashire, and Hexham in Northumberland; or with a monument discovered in the foundations of the old church of St. Alkmund at Derby, when it was demolished preparatory to the erection of a new church.

I may observe that in the spandrels formed by the arches of the arcades on the sides of this ancient sculpture is a double foliation issuing from a stem. We hardly look for this carefully worked detail in Anglo-Saxon sculpture. The

ridge or roof is divided on each side into four compartments containing interlaced knot-work much abraded on the surface, as if from exposure to the weather. There is a woodcut of this monument in Britton's *Picturesque Antiquities of the English Cities*, p. 22. See also Carter's *Ancient Sculpture and Painting*, second edit., pl. xlv., p. 108.

Dismissing then the account of the pseudo Ingulf, to what period may we assign this work, and to what purpose was it appropriated? With deference to the opinion of others, I am inclined to assign the date of this interesting sculpture to the close of the eleventh or to the early part of the twelfth century, and I would moreover suggest that it was not what we generally understand to be a mere sepulchral memorial, but that it was, or formed part of, some ancient Norman shrine. Now Gunton tells us that in the time of Elsinus, the tenth abbot, who died A.D. 1055, having been elected fifty years before, the bodies of St. Kynceburga and St. Kyneswitha were translated from the church of Castre, and the body of St. Tibba from Rihale, to Peterborough. The pseudo Ingulf speaks of them indeed as being there, and trampled under foot in the devastation committed by the Danes, A.D. 870.

The abbot Elsinus is said also to have enriched this monastery with a large number of relics, of which Gunton gives us the enumeration. (*Hist. of Peterb.* p. 13). Over some or all of these it is not improbable that this sculptured monument may have been placed.

I would not be too positive on the matter; the antiquity and original destination of this stone may be left to further investigation. I should, however, mention that at Fletton church, about a mile from Peterborough, inserted in the wall of the Norman chancel, are two sculptured bas-reliefs of single figures with nimbs round the heads, and some interlaced knot-work with other sculptured details, precisely similar to, and executed I have no doubt by the same hand as, this sculptured relic at Peterborough.

Thus far of the monuments in the Cathedral, which contains no architectural or sculptured sepulchral memorial of either of the two Queens, Catherine of Aragon, and Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, or of either of the Archbishops of York, Elfricus and Kyusius, who died in the middle of the eleventh century, and were buried at Peterborough.

In a niche of the gateway of the bishop's palace, south-west of the Cathedral, is the statue of a monk in the costume of the Benedictine order, well worthy of attention, for all the effigies of the abbots which I have noticed above, represent them as vested for the mass, not in monastic costume. This effigy, which was probably intended to represent the founder of the order, St. Benedict, appears in a long loose garment with the *caputium* or hood partly drawn over the head. As a specimen of sculpture of the thirteenth century, it is treated with great simplicity and breadth. It is noticed in Flaxman's lectures on sculpture, where an engraving of it appears. A cast of it is in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham : why it should there bear the name of St. Luke I know not.

It is remarkable that very few sepulchral effigies in monastic costume exist in our churches. Those few are mostly well known. They consist of the recumbent effigy of a Benedictine in Hexham church, Northumberland ; the recumbent effigy of, as I conceive it to be, a monk of the Cistercian order, at Orton-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire ; and the recumbent effigy of an abbess of the Benedictine order, in Polesworth church, Warwickshire. The recumbent effigy of a knight with a friar's weed, that of a Franciscan, the *cappa manicata*, girt with a knotted cord, and worn over a hooded hawberk of mail, may be seen in Conington church, Huntingdonshire, and has been described in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. V., p. 146, where also mention is made of an incised brass in Sawtry All Saints church, Huntingdonshire, near Conington, where the demi-figure of a friar is represented in the *cappa manicata* or sleeved garment, with the *caputium* or hood drawn over the head, and holding in the hands a whip with knotted cords. In Standish church, Lancashire, is said to be an effigy in the garb of a Franciscan, of late date. These, with the brass of an abbess in Elstow church, Bedfordshire, represented in a long gown with wide sleeves, mantle, veil, and wimple or gorget, and that of Agnes Jordan, abbess of Syon, in Denham church, Bucks, are (exclusive of minor effigies on the sides of tombs) all that I recall in simple monastic costume, the sepulchral effigies of abbots and priors, of which there are several, being sculptured in the mass vestments.

NOTICE OF A JEWELLED ORNAMENT PRESENTED TO QUEEN
ELIZABETH BY MATTHEW PARKER, ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY.

IN the investigation of usages and manners in olden times, and of details of daily life which, however apparently trivial, may contribute in no slight degree to illustrate the feeling and spirit of the age, our readers must have had occasion to observe the elaborate variety, the quaint designs, the curiously mingled character of the personal appliances and decorations of the sixteenth century. Many relics of earlier mediæval taste have been preserved, in which we cannot fail to admire a very high degree of artistic perfection,—for example in metal-work, in enamels, and in sculptures in ivory or wood. Amongst productions of a later time, however, in the Tudor Period, or the Elizabethan, when the tasteful influence of the cinque-cento period had become diffused even to the remote countries of Europe, numerous highly interesting objects are to be found, more especially interesting when they may be associated with names of personages distinguished in the eventful history of the times.

During the reign of Henry VIII. a taste for costly objects of luxury, personal ornaments, sumptuous costume, curious plate or jewelry, with numerous other precious accessories of daily life, became rapidly developed. It continued in a remarkable degree, during the prosperity and the extended intercourse with distant lands, which accompanied the sway of Elizabeth. The precious objects of these periods, which have been preserved to our times, are comparatively few, but chronicles and inventories supply abundant evidence of their costly variety, unequalled perhaps in any subsequent reign. The curious lists of gifts presented by the courtiers of the Maiden Queen, at the commencement of each New Year, and also of the marks of royal favor bestowed by her in return, may be cited as illustrating, in a very remarkable degree, the arts and manners of the age.



Jewel



Impression.



Profile.

Jeweled Ornament presented to Queen Elizabeth by Matthew Parker,
Archbishop of Canterbury.

(Original size.)

It is obvious that we can rarely expect to meet with costly ornaments,—objects of small dimension and considerable intrinsic value, even of times comparatively so recent as the sixteenth century, preserved in their intact originality. The relic, therefore, which is the subject of the present notice, must be regarded with no slight interest, having unquestionably been in the possession of Elizabeth, from whose times it has happily been handed down, apparently without change or injury. This remarkable personal ornament, exemplifying in a striking degree the peculiar and quaint sentiment of the age, has been preserved at Hardwicke Court, Gloucestershire, the residence of T. Lloyd Barwick Baker, Esq. It is not precisely known at what period, or by what means, it came into the possession of his family. It was sent amongst objects of value liberally contributed to the Temporary Museum formed during the meeting of the Institute at Gloucester, in July, 1860, and it has been briefly noticed in the Catalogue of that collection.¹ By the kindness of Mrs. Barwick Baker, I have now been permitted to place before our readers the accompanying representations of this unique Elizabethan relic.

The ornament under consideration, specially deserving of notice as having been presented to the Queen by Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, is an oval pendant, formed of an intaglio on jasper agate, set in a slight corded rim of metal, to which is attached a loop for suspension, so that the gem might conveniently be worn on the neck, appended by a riband or a chain. The gem is convex on both sides, as shown in the profile view (see woodcuts, of the same dimensions as the original), one side only being engraved. The subject is Vulcan seated at his anvil, and engaged in fashioning a helmet; in the background is seen Venus standing; in front of the goddess is Cupid holding a torch, towards which she extends one of her hands, and in the other, upraised, she holds the bow and quiver which she appears to have taken away from the God of Love. This intaglio is of cinque-cento work; the design is, however, possibly taken from an antique gem. The subject has been frequently repeated, with some slight variations, and it has

¹ Gloucester and Gloucestershire Antiquities; a Catalogue of the Museum, &c. Gloucester, Lea, Westgate Street, p. 28.

been explained as representing Venus obtaining from Vulcan armour for Æneas.

A remarkable example of this subject occurs in the Arundel Collection, liberally submitted to our examination by the Duke of Marlborough in June, 1861. This is described by Mr. King, in his notices of the collections then exhibited, as an unique Asiatic-Greek intaglio, in a very bold style, on a large yellow crystal; Venus in this instance is winged and androgynous, possibly the deity so represented under the masculine appellation of Aphroditus. Vulcan appears at his anvil on one side, on the other is seen Cupid.²

Mariette has engraved an intaglio with the same subject, on red jasper, in the celebrated "Cabinet du Roi;" the group in that instance is differently treated, Venus is seated, and the figure of Cupid is concealed behind the anvil.³ Several other examples might be cited; it was a favorite subject amongst the artists of the cinque-cento and sei-cento periods. It occurs likewise upon a Majolica plate in the choice Collection formed by Mr. Henderson; this specimen of Italian pottery bears the date 1538 on the reverse.

I am indebted to the kindness of our accomplished guide in the difficult study of Antique Gems, Mr. King,⁴ for the following observations on the remarkable example of art now for the first time published:—"Little can be ascertained as to the date and subject of this noble intaglio. The design is purely in the taste of the cinque-cento, for in the antique it is Minerva, not Venus, who assists Vulcan with her advice in the operations of his forge, a partnership of which Stosch's Catalogue gives four examples, whilst of this group he has not one, for his No. 607, where the centre group is somewhat similar, except that here Cupid blows the fire, has all the other gods assembled around; and, from the remark of Winckelman as to its large size, it is probably a *renaissance* work. Hence it seems apparent that there can be no antique prototype for the intaglio in question. There

² See Mr. King's Notices of Collections of Glyptic Art, in this volume, *ante*, p. 107.

³ Mariette, *Traité des Pierres Gravées*, tom. i., pl. 21. Several other gems with this subject, variously treated, are described in Rejczak's Catalogue of Tessier's casts, vol. i. p. 372.

⁴ We are indebted to Mr. King for a

most valuable manual, by which the investigation of Glyptic Art has received a fresh impulse. His work, *Antique Gems, their Origin, Uses, and Value as Interpreters of Ancient History* (London, Murray, 1860, 8vo.) ranks amongst the most important accessions to our archaeological literature.

can be little doubt that Vulcan is supposed to be at work on the arms of Æneas (in fact he has a helmet upon the anvil), for Virgil or Ovid exclusively furnished subjects to those early Italian engravers, when not employed upon Scriptural pieces. It is, however, difficult to imagine on what errand Venus is despatching Cupid with the flaming torch, or what bearing it is intended to have upon the main design. The treatment of the body of Vulcan reminds me much of a Hercules of the same period, and of some of the signed works of Giovanni del Castel Bolognese. The great masters of this period, the first half of the sixteenth century, generally signed, or at least put their initials upon their more important works, and it would be an unwarranted assumption to assign this gem to that skilful artist merely on the evidence of the style, which doubtless was to a great extent common to all the good intagli of that epoch."

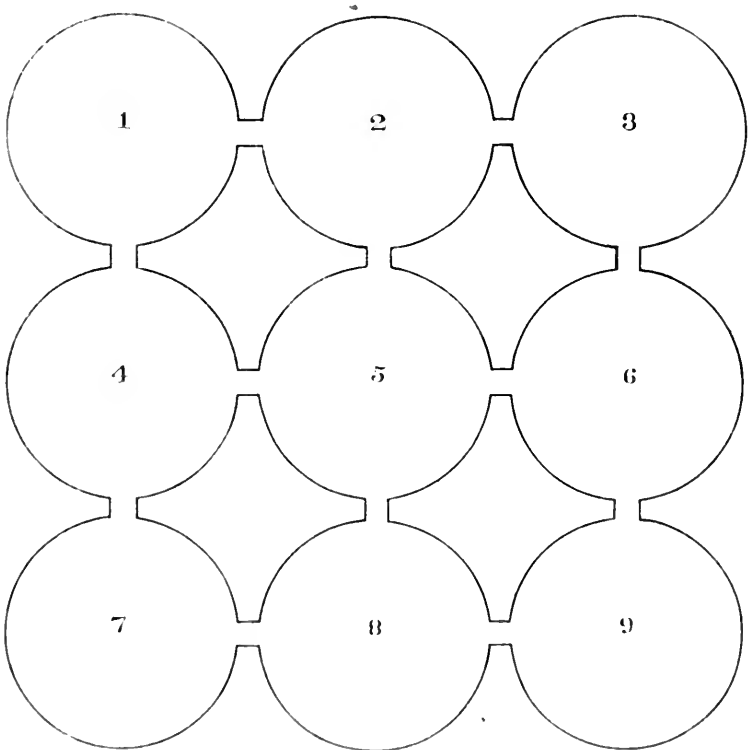
The opinion of so distinguished an authority in questions of glyptic art is decisive as regards the period to which the intaglio preserved at Hardwicke Court should be assigned, and the school of art in which it was produced; I may, however, add that my friend Mr. Rhodes, the tasteful possessor of the Praun Collection,⁵ concurs with Mr. King, and observes that the subject may be Venus restraining Cupid from carrying out some mischievous project, laying her hand upon him and depriving him of his arms, whilst Vulcan is busily engaged in his vocation. It is possibly taken (as suggested by Mr. Rhodes) from Lucian's Dialogue between Venus and Diana, where Venus tells Diana that more than once she had threatened to break Cupid's bow, and to chasten him for his tricks.

I will now, however, proceed to notice the very curious accessories by which the gift of the Primate to Queen Elizabeth is accompanied. It has been preserved in a beautiful ivory box, supposed to be of English workmanship, and doubtless the original receptacle in which this singular token of the Archbishop's homage was offered to his sovereign. Upon the lid of this box, an exquisite masterpiece of skill in turning, is an expanded rose, the delicate deeply-cut petals of

⁵ See a short notice of the Praun, or Mertens-Schaafhausen Collection, in this Journal, vol. xviii. p. 302, and also in Mr. King's *Antique Gems*, p. liii. Mr. Rhodes

informs me that he possessed a cameo the subject of which was nearly the same as that of Mr. Barwick Baker's gem, but that he does not know any *replica* of it.

which, closely resembling the natural forms, are produced by the lathe alone. On the bottom of the box is wrought another rose in much less prominent relief; the box itself being admirably fashioned by the lathe so as to represent open basket-work, finished with most perfect precision. It measures, externally, about 2 inches in diameter. Within, accompanying the pendant ornament, there is a piece of fine parchment, consisting of nine circles, a small portion of the parchment being left between the circles, so that the whole may be folded up, fitting exactly into the box. Upon these circles, the arrangement of which is shown by the annexed diagram on a reduced scale, the diameter of each circle in the original being about $1\frac{3}{8}$ in., are inscriptions explanatory of the virtues of the gift, which was manifestly regarded as



endued with certain talismanic or phylacteric properties; a miniature figure of St. George within a garter is painted on the central circle, and, on that immediately beneath,

is seen portrayed an exquisite little miniature of the Queen in profile to the left.

The inscriptions are admirable specimens of calligraphy, the writing being moreover curiously varied in the different circles. The arrangement is as follows. Upon the three upper circles (Nos. 1, 2, 3, in the diagram) are these words, *Plinius—De Acathe—Dioscorides*, respectively. In these circles is written a curious account of the stone called *acathe*, the localities whence it is derived, and the properties ascribed to it by Pliny, Isidore, and Dioscorides. This account, which is in French, as follows, commences immediately under the heading *Plinius*, in circle No. 1.

Acathe est une Pierre noire, qui a en soy blanches veines. Et est appellé Acathe pource quelle fut premier trouee en vne riuere de Cecile qui est nommee Acathe, si comme dit Isidore. Mais on la trouue maintenant en plusieurs autres Regions si comme est lisle de Crete ou on les trouue et ont couleur de fer. Et en Inde ou elles ont plusieurs couleurs, *(here the writing is carried on to circle No. 2)* leurs, et si ont gouttes rouges parmy ainsi comme de sang. Le premiere de ces pierres vault aux enchauteurs qui usent de mauuaise art car per *(sic)* ceste pierre ils esmeuent les tempestes et arrestent les riuieres, si comme dit Dioscorides, et si vault a entendre les choses que on voit en songes. Les Acathe *(here carried on to circle No. 3)* de Crete valent a escheuer les peryles et font la personne qui la porte agreable, et plaisante, et bien parlante, et si lui donne force, et celles qui sont trouees en Inde confortent a la veue, et ostent la soif et valent contre le venin, et quand on la met au feu elle donne moult bonne odeur, si comme dit Dioscorides.

Many of the magical and medicinal virtues attributed to the agate in ancient times, as here detailed, are to be found in Pliny's Natural History, from which they have been copied by old writers.⁶ In circles Nos. 4, 6, 7, and 9, we find the following inscriptions, partly citations, somewhat modified, of Pliny's own words :

(Circle No. 4.) *ACHATES guttis aureis sapphiri modo distincta qualis copiosissima in Creta sacra appellatur. Putant eam contra araneorum et Scorpionum ictus prodesse. Spectasse etiam prodest oculis, sitimque sedat.*

(Circle No. 6.) *Maximum in rebus humanis inter gemmas pretium habet Adamas, et eidem inter gemmas primum locum authoritatis attribuit Plinius. Martialis post Adamantem ponit Achatem, sub specie albi coloris, et hoc quia licet sit lapis niger maxime tamen quidam probant si habeat vitream perspicuitatem.*⁷

⁶ Pliny, Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvii. c. 10; Dr. Holland's Translation, vol. ii. p. 623. See also Marbodei de gemmis, in the pas-

sage relating to Achates, s. 2.

⁷ Compare Pliny, *ibid.*, c. 4, Holland's Translation, p. 609.

(Circle No. 7.) TRANITUR Achates a greca voce ἄχος .i. cura animi, acerbitas, sollicitudo, quod sollicitudo (teste Servio) semper regum sit comes. Fuit etiam proprium nomen fidelis comitis Æneæ.⁸

(Circle No. 9.) Insignem Achatem Pyrrus Epirotarum Rex qui versus Romanos bellum gessit habuisse traditur, in qua novem musæ et Apollo citharam tenens spectabatur, non arte sed nature solertia, ita discurrentibus maculis ut musis quoque singulis sua redderentur insignia.⁹

I now proceed to the most interesting features of this curious relic, namely the illuminated miniature portrait of Queen Elizabeth, introduced in the lower circle, No. 8, and the figure of St. George, in the central circle, No. 5, accompanied by an inscription showing that the precious gift had been presented to that Queen by the Primate, Matthew Parker. The portrait, a diminutive oval medallion painted in blue *grisaille*, represents Elizabeth, apparently in early life, seen in profile to the left; around this miniature are the following inscriptions, in three concentric circles, commencing at the top of the circle,—+ AVDIENS SAPIENS SAPIENTIOR ERIT ET INTELLIGENS GVBERNACVLA POSSIDEBIT.¹ + HEI MIHI QVOD TANTO VIRTVS PERVSA DECORE,—after which is drawn a dexter hand, the forefinger pointing to the following word, commencing the third and interior circle of this inscription,—+ NON HABET HIC STABILES INVIOLATA DIES.

On the central circle (No. 5) there is a delicate limning, St. George, colored in *grisaille* on a bright blue ground, within the garter inscribed with the usual motto. Around the margin of the circle is the following distich,—

+ REGNI ἄχος ELIZABETHA GERIT MATTHEVVS ACHATEN
CANTVAR. EI DONAT FIDVS DVM VIVET ACHATES.

which may be thus rendered,—Elizabeth bears the cares of the state: Matthew (Archbishop) of Canterbury, her faithful Achates so long as life may endure, presents to her this agate. The quaint play on the words *Achates*, the precious stone, and Achates, the name of the faithful follower of Æneas, is sufficiently obvious. No one, I apprehend, can question the probability of the conclusion that the beautiful

⁸ The observation of Servius, Æn. l. v. 178, 316, relates, not to the stone called Achates, but to the name of the companion of Æneas, so called from the

Greek, as given above.

⁹ Pliny, *ut supra*, c. i. Holland, p. 601.

¹ Proverbs, ch. i. v. 5.

pendant ornament or talisman, accompanied by the exquisite relic of calligraphy explanatory of the virtues of the gift, and recording the homage of the giver, was presented to the Virgin Queen by the learned prelate on one of the frequent occasions when he was honored with a royal visitation.

I regret that hitherto I have been unable to ascertain at what special season the agate now preserved at Hardwicke Court, without any tradition of its previous history, may have been received by Elizabeth. Several lists have been found of the costly New Year's gifts of the courtiers, and of the valuable presents received from the Queen by them in return. One of these curious rolls was in Astle's possession, and may now exist with the Stowe MSS. in Lord Ashburnham's library; another was in the hands of Mr. Herrick, of Beaumanor, Leicestershire; a third is amongst the Sloane MSS. From these records ample extracts have been given in Nichols' Progresses of Elizabeth, but I have failed to find the gift of this agate intaglio by Matthew Parker. His presents on occasion of the New Year were frequently in money. In the fourth year of her reign, he offered a red silk purse containing, in "dimy sovereigns," 40*l.*; the Archbishop of York giving on the same occasion specie to the amount of 30*l.*; each of the bishops 20*l.* or 10*l.*, &c. The primate received in return a covered cup, gilt, weighing 40 oz. There were, however, many occasions on which, according to the custom of the period, such a gift as that under consideration may have been offered. In March, 1573, for instance, Elizabeth honored the Primate with a visit at Lambeth, during two days, and in September of the same year she conferred upon her "fidus Achates" the somewhat onerous distinction of a visit at Canterbury. Sir Henry Ellis has printed, in his valuable collection of Original Letters illustrative of English History, the Archbishop's letter to Burghley, written in August of that year, in anxious anticipation of the royal favor.² The thought had struck the good primate that he might make the Queen's visit subservient to the promotion of the Protestant religion. In a contemporary narrative, given in some copies of the Latin life of M. Parker, the following description is found of his sumptuous gift to the Queen at the banquet given on the occasion.—

² Ellis' Orig. Letters, First Series, vol. ii. p. 267.

“ Atque, præter hoc magnificentum ac sumptuosum convivium, archiepiscopus insignia quædam dona Reginæ dedit, salsarium videlicet, ex auro afflabre factum ; in ejus coopertorio *achates* gemma, divum Georgium draconem trucidantem, cum Gallicis versibus in Regis insigniis consuetis, continens, intexitur ; in orbe autem sive concavio ejusdem alter *achates* includebatur, in quo vera Reginæ imago in albo achate incisa fuit, in coopertorii autem summo aurea navicula adamantem oblongum tenuit.”³ However inappropriate we may now consider the intaglio of Venus and Vulcan, as a token of the homage of a grave and pious prelate to his sovereign, it must be remembered that at that period objects of such description had recently, through the introduction of the arts from Italy and France, and the taste for the elaborate productions of antique or renaissance workmanship, become highly esteemed and eagerly sought after. We find many such precious objects amongst royal gifts at this period. In 1576, Lady Burghley presented to Elizabeth “ a juell of golde, being an agathe of Neptune ” set with rubys, diamonds, and pearls. Mrs. Blanche Parry offered “ a juell being a cristall in gold, with twoe storyes appeering on bothe sides,” namely, as we may suppose, two subjects, being historical or allegorical devices. In 1578, Sir Henry Sydney, lord-Deputy of Ireland, presented a fair jewel of gold, with Diana, fully garnished with diamonds, rubys, and pearls. About the same time, in Christmas week, some of the courtiers, disguised as maskers, gave to the Queen “ a flower of golde garnished with sparecks of diamonds, rubyes, and ophales, with an agathe of her Majestis phisnamy and a perle pendante, with devices painted in it.” It is remarkable that we so frequently find the Queen’s own portrait selected as an offering acceptable to her ; in this last instance we might almost conjecture that amongst the disguised Christmas maskers might have been the bold aspirant for royal favor, the Earl of Leicester ; and that the costly jeweled flower was enriched with that inestimable “ phisnamy ” of the Queen, the cameo-portrait attributed to Col-doré, which, by the kindness of the Duke of Devonshire, the

³ Nichols’ Progresses of Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 350. In the list of gifts received during Progress time in that year we find “ Item, one suit of agth garnished

with golde with a cover having in the top a galle in the middle thereof is a lozanged diamonde. Given by th’ Archbishop of Caunterberie, xi oz. qua.”

members of the Institute had the gratification of inspecting at the exhibition of Glyptic Art in June, 1861. The "devices painted in it," according to the description above cited, may have included the concealed portrait of the Earl by Hilliard, still to be seen in that remarkable ornament of the diadem, part of the celebrated Granville *parure*.

It was not only to win or to retain the smiles of the capricious Elizabeth, at the New Year or on other seasonable occasions, that such presents were offered by her courtiers at the shrine of royal favor. In a letter, singularly characteristic of the manners of the period, John Harrington, father of the celebrated Sir John Harrington, writing confidentially of a certain suit then pending for the recovery of an estate, says, "I will venture to give her Majesty five hundred pounds in money, and some pretty jewell or garment as you shall advyse, onlie praying her Majestie to further my suite with some of her lernede Counsel." And he proceeds to observe, "This some hold as a dangerous adventure, but five and twentie manors do well warrant my trying it."⁴

Allusion has been made to the medicinal or phylacteric virtues attributed to the agate, and also to other precious stones, and the belief in such efficacy was still rife in the sixteenth century. Stow relates that on an occasion when Elizabeth went to hear a sermon at Paul's Cross, she received a present of a "crapon or toadstone" set in gold. This was a jewel held, according to popular credence, to which Shakspeare has made allusion, as of singular virtue; we are informed that some toads that breed in Italy and about Naples have in their heads a stone called a *crapo*, formerly "much worn, and used in ringes, as the forewarning against venime."⁵ In a remarkable portrait of Queen Elizabeth formerly in the late Lord Northwick's collection, and exhibited by the kindness of Mr. Graves in the Temporary Museum formed in 1861, during the meeting of the Institute at Peterborough, the Queen appears wearing a plain translucent oval gem, in form and dimensions precisely similar to that given to her by Matthew Parker, and suspended by a small black riband round her neck. The setting is perfectly plain; there is no

⁴ Progresses of Elizab. vol. ii. p. 261.

⁵ Bartholomeus de propr. rerum; see

also Douce's Illustrations of Shakspeare,

As You Like it, act ii. sc. i.

appearance of intaglio work upon the stone, which very probably, its simple character being much at variance with the splendor of her costume, was an object worn rather as an amulet supposed to possess certain physical virtues, than merely as an ornament.

In concluding these notices of the interesting relic of the Elizabethan age kindly entrusted to us by Mrs. Barwick Baker, it may be observed, that although, from the great convexity of the surface on which the intaglio occurs, it is improbable that this gem was actually intended to be used for sealing, it may perhaps be properly classed with certain personal seals, of which numerous examples have fallen under our observation. The sphragistic relics in question, used in ancient times in this country as *secreta* or privy seals, consist of antique or later intagli, mounted in mediæval settings invariably formed, as in the case of Matthew Parker's gift to Elizabeth, with a loop for suspension, so that they might conveniently be worn about the person. The settings are of silver, with the exception of one fine specimen found in Ireland, which is of gold; they bear some motto or inscription, for the most part allusive to their being intended to serve as privy seals. Several *secreta* of this description have been noticed in this Journal,⁶ and impressions of a large series of examples have been figured by Mr. Roach Smith in his *Collectanea Antiqua*.⁷ It is well known that in mediæval times various physical or phylacteric properties were ascribed to ancient gems; a code or inventory of such qualities, as indicated by the various subjects engraved upon them, has been given by Mr. Thomas Wright in the *Archæologia*, from a MS. in the British Museum.⁸ It is probable that antique gems mounted in inscribed rims or settings of metal as above described, with loops for suspension, may originally have been thus adapted

⁶ See the description of several specimens, *Arch. Journ.* vol. iii. p. 76.

⁷ Vol. iv. p. 65; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass.* vol. iii. p. 330, &c. It is scarcely needful to remind those readers who take interest in sphragistic art that the prototype of the peculiar privy seals in question may possibly be sought in the seals of the Carlovingian and early imperial series, displaying antique heads and other subjects, as described by Sir

Frederick Madden in this Journal, vol. xi. p. 266. Charlemagne occasionally used as a seal a gem engraved with the head of Jupiter Serapis, and Pepin le Bref's seal exhibits the Indian Bacchus. An impression of the seal of Charles le Gros, A.D. 881, shews the indent of a little ring at the upper margin for suspension; this example is not enriched with a gem.

⁸ *Archæologia*, vol. xxx. p. 419.

so as to be worn as amulets. Subsequently the intaglio thus habitually used as a personal ornament may have been conveniently employed as a *secretum* or counterseal. Amongst early examples of gems thus used in this country may be mentioned one found on the obverse of impressions of the great seal of King John; it is a small antique head with the legend + SECRETVM IOHANNIS.⁹ An earlier and remarkable illustration of the use of the looped *secretum* is supplied in Mr. Laing's valuable Catalogue of Scottish Seals. This is the earliest seal of the Stuart family, namely, that of Walter Fitzalan, appended to one of the Melrose charters dated 1170. The counterseal is an antique, a warrior leaning against a column, his horse prancing at his side.¹

I have received from our friendly correspondent at Zürich, Dr. Ferdinand Keller, the President of the Society of Antiquaries in that city, a curious illustration of the class of objects under consideration. It is here figured from a drawing (of the same dimensions as the original) executed by Herr Græter, to whose skilful pencil we have repeatedly been indebted. It will be seen that this little object, which bears much general resemblance in form to the *secreta* so frequently occurring in this country, is adapted to



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be worn as a personal ornament or amulet, but, from its extremely convex form, almost conical, it could scarcely serve as a seal. It is set with a small green-colored gem, engraved probably with a lion, now indistinct. On the silver setting

⁹ Figured in Sandford's *Geneal. Hist.* p. 55. A very curious example of the use of antique intagli on seals is given in the notes on Upton de Stud. Mil. p. 68, being the seal of Stephen Fitzhamon, on which three small gems are introduced.

¹ *Catal. of Scottish Seals*, by Henry

Laing, 1850, p. 126, plate iii. A Supplement to this interesting volume is ready for the press, when sufficient encouragement may have been obtained by Messrs. Edmonston, Edinburgh, by whom subscribers' names are received.

is an inscription, which it will be observed is to be read from the outside; this I presume was intended for *Ira regia, etc.*, being the purport of part of the twelfth verse of Proverbs, c. xix., thus rendered in the Vulgate—"Sicut fremitus leonis ita et regis ira." The legend may probably have been taken from an earlier version.

It may be observed, in connexion with this singular little ornament, that the symbol of a lion appears to have been in much repute in mediæval times; some mysterious significance or phylacteric virtue, probably as a zodiacal sign, was ascribed to it whether used as a personal ornament, or as the device of a seal. In the curious "*Livre Techel des philosophes et des Indois, dit estre des enfans d'Israel,*" from which we learn the reputed virtues and properties of precious stones, it is said—"en quelque maniere de pierre que tu trouveras entaillé à l'ymaige du mouton, ou du lyon, ou du sagittaire, elles sont consacrées du signe du ciel. Elles sont très vertueuses, car elles rendent l'omme amyable et gracieulx à tous; elles resistent aux fievres cothidianes, quartaines, et autres de froide nature. Elles guerrissent les ydropiques et les palatiques, et aguissent l'engin, et rendent beau parler, et font estre seur en tous lieux, et acroist honneur à celluy qui la porte, especialement l'ymage du lyon."² The mystic notions relating to this animal may be seen in "*Le Bestiaire Divin,*" edited by M. Hippeau in the *Memoirs of the Antiquaries of Normandy*. An intaglio of a lion with his paw on a bull's head occurs on a looped seal found at Luddesdown, Kent; the silver setting is thus inscribed—*SVM LEO QOVIS EO NON NISI VERA VEO.*

Some mysterious import doubtless is also concealed under the strange device frequently found on small personal seals of the fourteenth century, a lion couching under a tree, with the legend—*WAKE ME NO MAN.* Occasionally we find this associated with a symbol of the Precursor, the efficacy of whose intercession was most highly esteemed against epilepsy and other disorders. The head of St. John the Baptist in a charger, a very favorite device, and doubtless phylacteric, occurs accompanied by that of the sleeping lion which I have described. According to mediæval traditions the king of the forests when asleep never closed his eyes; as stated in the *Bestiaire*—"quant il dort, li oil li veille."

ALBERT WAY.

² Le Lapidare en Francois, par Messire Jehan de Mandeville, See Le Roux de

Lincy, livre des Legendes, cited by Mr. T. Wright, *Archæologia*, vol. xxx. p. 454.

Original Documents.

THE ARMOUR AND ARMS BELONGING TO HENRY BOWET, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, DECEASED IN 1423, FROM THE ROLL OF HIS EXECUTORS' ACCOUNTS.

THE voluminous Roll of Accounts of the executors of Henry Bowet, Archbishop of York in the reigns of Henry IV. and Henry V., comprises a minute Inventory of the valuable effects in every department of his establishment, and shows, in a most striking manner, the princely state with which all the appointments of his household were ordered. This enumeration of costly possessions of every description presents a singular contrast to the humility which marks the expressions of his will, made two years previously to his decease, with the directions that his funeral should be performed with the least possible pomp, consistent with decency.¹ The whole of this remarkable *Computus*, measuring many yards in length, and preserved at York in the Registry of the Dean and Chapter, well deserves to be printed. It is replete with illustrations of manners and customs, of language and local dialect; the curious picture of domestic magnificence which it presents is fully in accordance with the stately order for the "Service to the Baron-bishop within the close of Yorke," preserved by Hearne.²

Much interesting information regarding sacred usages might be gained from the long description of precious objects, under the head *Capella*. An item occurring in this section deserves mention. The executors accounted "pro pare de spectakeles de argento, et deaurat," valued at twenty shillings. I am not aware that any earlier occurrence of the term has been noticed. Ducange cites various passages in ancient writers under the word *Berillus*,—*conspicillum*, in French, *besicle*, in which, however, it may be doubtful whether the optical appliances now designated spectacles were intended, or rather some object used in divination and mysterious arts. In the first Latin-English dictionary,—the *Ortus Vocabulorum*, we find the word—"Berillus, speculum presbyteriorum." Horman says, in his curious *Vulgaria*, 1519, "They that be hooke-nosed have this advantage, that theyr spectacles (*conspicilla*) shall not lightly fal fro them." William Bee, clerk and brother of the priory of Mountgrace in Cleveland, bequeathed in 1551 to the Prior of that house "two pare of Spektacles of syluer."—Wills and Inventories, Surtees Soc. Publ., part i., p. 136.

The most curious portion, however, of the document, perhaps, is the inventory of the archiepiscopal Armory, occurring under the head *Garderoba*. Such detailed descriptions are of rare occurrence.

It need not be regarded as surprising that such an assemblage of muni-

¹ It is dated Sept. 9, 1421, and was proved Oct. 26, 1423. Printed by the

Surtees Society, Testam. Ebor. i. 399.

² Leland's Coll. Append. vol. vi. p. 7.

tions of war should have been found in the palace of the deceased prelate. It may be supposed, indeed, that many, if not the whole of the objects here enumerated, and described as *multum debiles*, may have been handed down from the times of his predecessors in the see, since they appear to be of the fashions of a period considerably prior to the reign of Henry IV., when Henry Bowet was translated, in October, 1407, from the see of Bath and Wells to that of York.

The terms relating to armour and arms enumerated in the following extract present points of interest to those who investigate the details of military costume; and a few explanatory notes may not be unacceptable. The first object in the list, a "jake defence," was a military garment, as we are informed by Mr. Hewitt in his useful *Manual of Ancient Armour and Weapons in Europe* (vol. i., p. 131), of four kinds; viz., it was a quilted coat, or it was pourpointed of leather and canvas in many folds, or it was formed of mail, or of small plates like brigandine armour. In the document before us it appears to have been of red camlet, and provided with three gilt straps, by which doubtless it was fastened at the back or side. I have collected numerous particulars in a note on the word—"jakke of defence" (jak of fence, in one MS.), in the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, p. 256, from which the nature of this garment may be understood. Occasionally it had a more costly covering; in 1391, Margery, widow of Sir William de Aldenburgh, bequeaths to her son "unum jak defencionis opertum nigro velveto."—*Testam. Ebor.* vol. i. p. 150.

The articles next enumerated consist of various defences of mail; amongst these may particularly be noticed "qwyssehewes," namely *cuisse*s, armour for the thighs; also a "paunce," with other objects described as "de mayle rotundo," of round mail. This appears to designate a distinct peculiarity in the form of the rings of which such defences were composed; the rings may have been occasionally of elliptical or other form. In the *Inventory of the Armour of Louis X., King of France, in 1316*, we find—"uns pans et uns bras de rondes mailles de haute cloïeure: Item uns pans et uns bras d'acier plus fons de mailles rondes de haute cloïeure:—Item une couverture de mailles rondes demy cloïées: Item une testiere de haute cloïeure de maille ronde."—See *Ducange Gloss. v. Armatura*. At an earlier period the legs and thighs had been protected wholly by *chausses* of interlaced mail, but, after the use of jacked leather or iron plate for the defence of the knees and shins, *chaussons* or *cuisse*s of mail were still retained for the thighs, which were occasionally encased in cuir bouilli or in metal plate. We find in the document under consideration a pair of "qwyssehewes de plate, de antiqua forma;" and, amongst the armour of Roger Mortimer, in 1331, occur three pair "de quisseux de quir boile." *Kal. of the Exch.*, vol. iii., p. 165. These articles were sometimes of gambouised work; the list of armour of Louis X., before cited, includes "un cui-siaux gamboisez." Of this nature, probably, were the defences often seen in sepulchral brasses of the fourteenth century, representing the armour of the thighs as powdered with quatrefoils or small bezanty ornaments.

We find mention of a small "paunce,"³ described as in feeble condition

³ Mr. Hewitt suggests that the "paunce," in the Roll of the Army before Calais in 1346, were so named from the

armour they wore, the paunce or panzar. *Anc. Armour*, ii. 25.

and valued only at 20*l.*; it was formed like the hauberk, aventaille, and other armour here enumerated, of round mail. The paunce was doubtless a defence for the abdomen; called *panciera* by the Italians, *Panzer* by the Germans;—the armour for the *pancia*, in French, *panse*, the paunch.—See Ducange v. Pancerea, Panserica, Panzeria, &c. It was either of mail or of plate. In a French and Latin vocabulary with English glosses, Harl. MS. 229, f. 151, occur—“*Peitryne*, a breastplate. *Pesse de mael*, a paunce.” So also in the Inventory of armour of Sir Simon Burley, beheaded 1388 (MS. in possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps, at Middle Hill) occur—“*j. pancher de mayl covere de drap noir: j. doublet blanc stuffe de un herbegone.*” Edward Duke of York, grandson of Edward III., bequeaths his “*petite cote de maille; le piece de plate que Mons’ seignour le Prince ma donna apelle brest-plate; le pance qe fuist a mon seignour mon pere, qe Dieu assoill.*” Nichols’ Royal Wills, p. 221. This piece of armour, when formed of polished steel, was probably the “*paunce de alwite*” (white or bright ⁴) mentioned amongst the “*armature de optimo*” belonging to William Bowes, a merchant of York, 1439.—Coll. Top., vol. ii., p. 150. In a curious alliterative Poem, for which we are indebted to the editorial care of Sir Frederick Madden, Syr Gawayn, written about the time of Richard II., the following description occurs of the knight equipping himself for the fight,—

“*Fyrst he clad hym in his clothez the colde for to were,
And sythen his other barnays that holdely watz keped,
Bothe his paunce and his platez piked ful clene,
The rynges rokked of the roust of his riche brumy.*”—v. 2015.

Amongst the armour in the roll of Archbishop Bowet’s effects we find three ventayles, or *aventailles*, which in this instance were of round mail; they are described as *pro galle*, possibly, as has been suggested, implying *pro galea*, or *galeis*, for the helm. I am not aware that evidence has previously been found of the use of mail for any of these appendages serving for the protection of the face. A “*bordoure*” jagged with latten, or brass, may have been a variety of the camail, or of the collar called at a later period a standard of mail, the margin of which was frequently vandyked with a fringe of rings of yellow metal, forming an ornamental contrast to the steel. A specimen thus decorated, found in London, is figured by Mr. Roach Smith in the Catalogue of his Collection of Antiquities now in the British Museum; see p. 150. The term “*bordour*” occurs, Romance of Golagros and Gawane, v. 938, 977.

The item which follows relates to a pair of “*schynbaldes, alias vamplattes, pro tebiis virorum,*” namely, defences for the legs, below the knee, greaves or “*jambeux,*” possibly as designated by Chaucer; some, however, have made a distinction between greaves covering the front of the leg (thence, it may be supposed, here called vamplates), and defences of the whole leg, properly called “*peires de jambers.*” In the Indenture relating to stores in Dover Castle, 35 Edw. III., 1361, we find, with body-armour of mail and plate, gauntlets, &c., “*j. brustplate pour justes, deux arant-plates,*” &c.—Arch. Journ., vol. xi., p. 384. “*Schynbalde*” is a term of rare occurrence, which I have found only in the Awntyrs of Arthure, xxxi., 5, where it is written “*schynbawdes,*” printed by Pinkerton “*schynbandes;*” and also in the alliterative Morte Arthur, where the effects of a

⁴ So in the Tourney Book of René d’Anjou,—“*harnoyz blanc.*”

wound are described, by which the blood, running down on the knight's shank, "schewed one his schwnbawde that was schire burneste."—See Sir F. Madden's Glossary, *Syr Gawayn, in r.*

We may next notice a "*pectorale*, alias breastplate, in ij. partibus, cum ij. wynghes," with buckles and pendants, and "barres" of silver gilt, namely the transverse metal ornaments of a strap or belt, sometimes richly chased, and through which the tongue of the buckle usually passed. We are scarcely justified in the conjecture that the "wynghes" may have been of the nature of those singular appendages designated *ailettes*, attached by laces to the shoulders, a fashion of a much earlier period, introduced towards the close of the thirteenth century, and much in vogue during the reign of Edward III.⁵ It may, however, deserve notice, if the possibility that *ailettes* are intended can be admitted, that the armour described in the curious Inventory before us is, for the most part, such as had been in use long before the date of the document (A.D. 1421). The pair of plates, of which mention is made by Chaucer, had come into use about 1350; the term continued long in use to designate body-armour composed of two portions, breast and back; and, although the defence described in the inventory may seem limited to the former, yet the expression "*in ij. partibus*" suggests the probability that it was a pair of plates in the usual sense of the term.⁶ The wings may have been ornamental roundels or epaulettes, which succeeded the *ailettes* and occur in a great variety of forms during the latter part of the fourteenth century. The item following gives us the rest of the defences for the arm, namely, the vambraces, for the fore-arm, and the rerebraces, extending from the elbow to the shoulder.

The palet is comparatively of rare occurrence in lists of the numerous defences for the head used during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. I have cited, in my notes in the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, p. 378, the principal instances of the use of this term by mediæval writers, and in inventories, &c. In that curious Dictionary it occurs thus:—"Palet, armowre for the heed; *Pelliris, Galerus*." It was properly a head-piece of leather or cuir-bouilli, and thence its name was doubtless derived;—"galea ex corco et pelle," as *pelliris* is explained in the *Catholicon*. The term, however, was occasionally extended to analogous defences formed of metal.⁷ In the present instance we find the palet described as "closs' cum j. umberelle," and a good bordure of mail. The latter has been already noticed; from the term *close* (*clauso*), it may be supposed that this headpiece was so formed as to protect the face, whilst it was provided with an "umberelle," which may have been a projecting brim, such as is seen in one of the figures on the brass of Sir John de Hastings at Elsing, Norfolk, 1347.⁸ In the Dover Inventory in 1361, however, *Archæol. Journal*, vol. xi. p. 384, bacinets occurred "ove umbres," probably visors. In the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, p. 375, we find—"Owmbre of bacenet; *Umbraculum*;" and, in Palsgrave's "*Eclaircissement de la Langue*

⁵ See Mr. Hewitt's detailed notices of *ailettes*, *Armour and Weapons in Europe*, vol. i. p. 245; vol. ii. p. 175. The late examples occur about 1330.

⁶ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 119. The pectoral in two parts may doubtless have been a

breast with the addition of a placcato overlying it.

⁷ *Ibid.* vol. ii. 222.

⁸ Cotman's *Sep. Brasses*, vol. i. pl. i. See notices of the wide rimmed head-piece, Hewitt's *Armour*, vol. ii. p. 213.

Françoise," 1530, "Umbrell of an heed pece, *visière*." I have thought the term, comparatively of rare occurrence, deserving of notice, especially as it is not clear in what respect the umber and umberelle differed from the visor. In the relation given by Stowe of the combat before Henry VI., in 1442, between John de Astley and a knight of Aragon, it is said that the latter struck his adversary on his bacinet, "brast up his umbar three times," and would fain have smitten him in the face with his dagger. In the narrative of this affair in Stowe's Survey of London this word is printed erroneously "uniber."

A pair of gauntlets is described in the next item, of ancient fashion, and with brass knuckles (*condolis de latone*). Examples are not wanting of representations of gauntlets thus ornamented in monumental portraitures, such as the effigy of John de Montacute in Salisbury Cathedral; he died in 1388.⁹ In a *Computus* of the Treasurer of the Dauphin, in 1333, a payment occurs for "guantis lattunatis;"—for a pair "de caligis de latono," &c. These may, however, have been gauntlets wholly of brass, such as those still suspended over the tomb of the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral.

In the Inventory of munitions at Dover Castle, in 1344, we noticed formerly the item—"j. barelle pro armaturis rollandis" (Arch. Journ. vol. xi. pp. 382, 386), and pointed out some other evidences of the practice of cleaning mail-armor by rolling it in a barrel, probably with sand. Here we find 20 d. "pro j. barelle cum suis pertinentiis ad purgandas loricas et alia arma de mayle." In the passage from Syr Gawayn above cited the hauberk is said to have been cleaned of rust by being "rokked." Froissart, in 1372, describes the soldiers hastening to furbish their armour, "à rouler leurs cottes de fer." So again we find, amongst effects at Winchester College after the death of Warden Thurnberne, 4 Hen. V., "j. barelle pro loriceis purgandis." In the Howard Household Book a payment of 9d. is found, in 1467, "to an Armerer at Pawles Cheyne for an harneys barelle." (Domestic Expen. in Eng. p. 416.) A notice of such a process occurs as late as 1603, in the Inventory of the Armory at Hengrave—"Item, one barrel to make clean the shirt of maile and gorgetts," a single shirt of mail being found there, and 22 gorgets. The leathern sacks mentioned in the roll of Ministers' Accounts, 23 and 24 Edw. I. (Duchy of Lane.), were possibly for a like purpose. The entry is as follows—"in xx. s. xj. d. in duobus saecis de coreo pro armatura Comitit."

Mr. Burt, in his interesting notices of the first use of guns and gunpowder in the English army, during the campaign of Edward III. in which the memorable battle of Cressy was fought, A.D. 1346, has lately brought before us certain entries relating to the stocks for guns at that early period;—the *telar*' or tiller, to which the tube termed a "gonne" was affixed. (See pp. 71, 72, note, *ante*.) Amongst the warlike munitions in the *Garderoba* of Archbishop Bowet we here find, with old lances and battle-axes, two "stokgunnes de ferro," much decayed, valued at 13s. 4d. These may have been some of the earliest hand-guns known in the northern counties.

It is remarkable that in the curious list of ancient warlike appliances to which I have been desirous to invite attention, as a sample of the evidences of this description preserved in the Treasury at York, we find

⁹ Stothard's Monumental Effigies.

chiefly objects of a much earlier period than the date of the document, and described also as *veteres, maxime, or multum debiles, or de antiqua forma*. They include items which those who are versed in military costume might be disposed to ascribe to times a century previous to the decease of the Archbishop, and to be regarded possibly as the ancient munitions of the stately archiepiscopal palace at Cawood Castle, of that at Bishopthorpe, or of the magnificent residence formerly existing in the Cathedral Close at York.

Archbishop Bowet died at Cawood, Oct. 20, 1423; his will, dated Sept. 9, 1421, and proved Oct. 26, 1423, has been published for the Surtees Society in the *Testamenta Eboracensia*, Part I., p. 398, under the editorial care of the late Rev. James Raine. The executors, constituted by his will, were Henry Bowet, Archdeacon of Richmond, Thomas Wyot, *succentor* of the church of York, Henry Soulby and Robert Penreth, *domicelli*, probably domestic attendants in the household of the deceased prelate.¹ The Archbishop's Register is preserved at York; his tomb, with its lofty, graceful canopy, may be seen in the Minster near the east end; this remarkable example of its period has been figured in Britton's *History of the Cathedral*, Pl. xxvi. Our readers need not be reminded of the valuable services rendered by my lamented friend, the historian of Durham, to the cause of archaeology and topography in the North; the completion of purposes long cherished by him has fallen into the hands of a son worthy to succeed such a father. Mr. Raine, now resident at York, and by whom the *Fabric Rolls of the Minster* have recently been edited for the Surtees Society, has in preparation detailed memoirs of the prelates and dignitaries of that see, from the rich store of evidence there preserved in the Treasury. In his forthcoming work I hope that the valuable illustrations of ancient manners to be derived from documents of the class to which it has been my object, in the following short extract, to invite attention, will be brought as they deserve under the notice of those who study our national history and antiquities.

ALBERT WAY.

EXTRACT FROM THE COMPUTUS ROLL OF THE EXECUTORS OF HENRY BOWET,
ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, DECEASED OCT. 20, 1423.

GARDEROBA.

Respondent executores—de xx. s. receiptis pro j. Jake deffence de chamlet rubeo, cum iij. legulis deauratis. Et de iij. s. iiij. d. receiptis pro uno pare de quyschewes de mayle rotund' pro defencione erurum. Et de iij. s. iiij. d. receiptis pro una lorica debili de mayle rotund'. Et de vj. s. viij. d. receiptis pro una lorica vetere de mayle rotund'. Et de xx. d. receiptis pro uno parvo pannee, maxime debili, de mayle rotund'. Et de xx. d. pro uno parvo ventayle vetere de mayle rotund'. Et de ij. d. receiptis pro uno ventayle vetere pro gall' de mayle rotund'. Et de vj. d. receiptis pro uno ventayle vetere et valde debuli (*sic*) pro gall' de mayle rotund'. Et de vj. d. receiptis pro altere ventayle vetere et multum debili pro gall' de mayle rotund'. Et de vj. d. receiptis pro uno bordoure de mayle rotund' jaggyde cum latone pro gall'. Et de ij. s. receiptis pro uno pare de schynbaldes al' vamplattes, pro tebiis (*sic*) virorum. Et de iij. s. iiij. d.

¹ See Ducange, *in v.*

receptis pro uno pare de qwyssehewes de plate, de antiqua forma. Et de xvj. s. receptis pro uno pectorali alias brestplate in ij. partibus, cum ij. wynghes, cum iij. bokeles, et quinque pendandes cum x. barres de argento et deaurat'. Et de iij. s. iiij. d. receptis pro uno pare de vambrace et rerebrace, in quatuor peciis. Et de xij. s. iiij. d. receptis pro uno palet closs' cum j. umberelle, cum j. bono bordoure de mayle. Et de ij. s. receptis pro uno pare eirothecarum cum condolis de latone, de antiqua forma. Et de lxxiiij. s. receptis pro omnibus aliis armis existentibus in garderoba, simul sic appreciatis. Et de xx. d. receptis pro j. babelle cum suis pertinentiis, ad purgandas loricas et alia arma de mayle. Et de xx. d. receptis pro una cista vetere in qua ponuntur omnia arma predicta custodiendum. Et de x. s. receptis pro viij. lanciis veteribus, cum sex capitibus de antiqua forma, et ij. schaftet'² pro baner' et pensil.³ Et de xij. s. iiij. d. receptis pro ij. stokgunnes de ferro multum debilibus. Et de ij. s. iiij. d. receptis pro quatuor batelle axe multum debilibus.

² The contraction should probably be read schaftetes, or schaftetis. A question might occur whether this word signifies shafts, or shaft-heads with some contrivance for the attachment of the banner and penoncel. As, however, of the eight lauces enumerated six appear to have

had heads of the old fashion, it appears probable that the term in question describes the heads of the remaining pair.

³ This word is somewhat indistinct in the MS. Roll.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

March 7, 1862.

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

IN opening the proceedings Mr. MORGAN observed, that since their last monthly meeting a valuable addition had been made to Archaeological literature, which the members of the Institute could not fail to regard with special satisfaction as the production of one who for many years had taken so active and friendly a part in their proceedings. He alluded to the important work by Mr. Charles Newton, on the Antiquities of Halicarnassus and the Tomb of Mausolus, just published. Their noble President, Lord Talbot, had kindly united with a few members of the Institute, who were desirous to contribute a copy of Mr. Newton's publication to the library of the Society. Mr. Morgan wished, on their behalf, to present this interesting record of the researches and excavations carried out by Mr. Newton, whose efficient co-operation as their Honorary Secretary in former years had materially aided the establishment of the Institute. He recalled also with gratification the kindness of Mr. Newton, who shortly after his return had taken the earliest occasion to bring before the Society the results of his discoveries, and had delivered at their Meeting at Carlisle two discourses of great interest.¹ Mr. Morgan invited attention also to a cast, now exhibited, of the bust of a statue of Ceres, a production of a very high class of ancient Art, brought to light by Mr. Newton on the site of the Temenos, or temple of that goddess at Cnidus.

Professor DONALDSON, having offered some remarks on the value of the services rendered to archaeology by their talented friend Mr. Newton, now holding a distinguished position in the Department of Antiquities at the British Museum, proposed thanks to Lord Talbot and the members of the Institute, by whom the library had been enriched with so desirable an accession to the literature of ancient Art.

Dr. MACGOWAN, who has resided many years in China, and, through his intimate knowledge of the language and usages of that country, has enjoyed unusual advantages in exploring localities almost inaccessible to Europeans, then gave an account of an ancient inscribed slab of basalt at Si-gan-Fou, the capital of the Province Chen-Si, described as commemorating Yu, called *Ta-Yu*, or the Great, the founder of one of the early dynasties in China, about *n.c.* 2205. The Chinese, Dr. Macgowan observed, are remarkably partial to antiquarian researches, and delight to collect relics of olden times; many learned scholars amongst them devote special attention to archaeology, and voluminous treatises exist on ancient

¹ See Arch. Journ. vol. xvi. pp. 276, 280.

vases of bronze, on porcelain, early inscriptions, &c. He exhibited a fac-simile, or rubbing, of the slab supposed to record the great deeds of Yu, and now for the first time brought to Europe. A copy or drawing of the inscription by some native artist had been obtained in France, and it was published in Paris in 1802, by a German Orientalist, Joseph Hager, with an interpretation.² Considerable doubt had, however, been entertained in regard to the authenticity or antiquity of the memorial; the slab in question being in fact an ancient copy of the original inscription, believed to have been engraved on certain rocks in a remote district of China, and accidentally brought to light by a land-slip, which exposed the inscribed surface. The copy, of which a fac-simile was shown, is in archaic characters, now quite obsolete; an interpretation or interlinear gloss in the ordinary letters had long since been inscribed by some Chinese scholar, with a statement of the circumstances which caused the discovery. The interpretation, first published by the learned Jesuit, Père Amiot, sets forth that Yu had attained to great renown by his skill as an engineer, having been commissioned by the Emperor to check the devastation caused by a deluge, which during nine years covered the face of the country. Yu devised means to remedy the evil, of which this ancient record describes the ravages, his arduous exertions, and the success of his skilful management. He ultimately was elevated to the imperial sway, which continued in his family for 439 years. Dr. Maegowan had been the first to ascertain the existence of his tomb, which is in the custody of his descendants of the hundred and eighty-third generation, by whom annual offerings are made to his memory in their ancestral temple. The family had been recognised by all successive dynasties as deriving their origin from *Ta-Yu*, but the preservation of his sepulchre was not hitherto known. The great antiquity attributed by the Chinese to the inscription exhibited on this occasion may doubtless be questioned; it bears much analogy to the account of *Yu* given in the Collections of Confucius; it is only a copy, although made at a remote period, of the writing on the rock at Heng-Chan, one of the mountains on which the emperors offered annual sacrifices to the Supreme Being, to which no European, it is believed, has had access. It has, however, always been recognised by Chinese scholars as an historical monument of important character, amongst the numerous inscriptions of great antiquity preserved in the country. Of these, one, comparatively well-known to European antiquaries, is the remarkable memorial of the mission of the Nestorian Christians in China in the seventh century. Dr. Maegowan remarked that he had been desirous to avail himself of the opportunity to invite the attention of English archæologists to the interest of ancient monuments and vestiges in China, heretofore unapproachable, but which recent events had rendered comparatively easy of access, and he expressed very kindly his readiness to render, on his return to the East, any assistance to those who might desire to prosecute inquiries regarding the arts and manners, and the History of that remarkable country.

An account of the recent discoveries on the site of Chertsey Abbey was then read by Mr. M. SHURLOCK. He described the successive excavations

² Monument de Yu ou la plus ancienne Inscription de la Chine; suivie de trente-deux formes d'anciens caractères chinois; par Joseph Hager. Paris, an. x. folio.

Hager had found the inscription in a work printed in Japan, and also in a MS. in the Père Amiot's collections in the Imperial Library.

by which the plan of the conventual church, with the chapter-house, and the chapel of the infirmary had been traced. The first researches were made in 1855; a notice of these was communicated to the Institute by Mr. Westwood. See Arch. Journ., vol. xii., pp. 96, 199. A detailed notice of the discoveries of curious interments also, the remains of beautiful decorative pavements, &c., was given by Mr. Peacock and Mr. Shurlock, at the meeting of the Surrey Archæological Society at Chertsey, in April, 1855. It is printed with groundplans and other illustrations in the Surrey Archæological Collections, published by the Society, vol. i. pp. 107, 121. The floor tiles, which display singular beauty of design, have been skilfully reproduced in colors by Mr. Henry Shaw, F.S.A., in his Specimens of Tile Pavements drawn from existing authorities. Increasing interest having been aroused in the exploration of the remains, the site was purchased by Mr. T. Bartrop, Hon. Sec. at Chertsey of the Surrey Society, and extensive excavations were carried out under direction of Mr. S. Angell, an architect resident within the ancient precincts of the monastery. The aid of the Surrey Society was readily given, and also that of the authorities of the South Kensington Museum, where great part of the beautiful pavement tiles, exhibited through their kindness on the present occasion, have been deposited. The requisite funds were supplied by various persons interested in the undertaking, and especially by Mr. Henderson, whose family formerly possessed the estate, and also by a contribution from the Society of Antiquaries. On October 5, *ult.*, a gathering of the Surrey archæologists and their friends took place at Chertsey, to inspect the discoveries now described by Mr. Shurlock. He exhibited a large ground-plan of the church, from careful measurements by Mr. Angell, and a series of interesting drawings executed by that gentleman and by Mr. R. Druce, illustrative of the architectural fragments, richly sculptured capitals of Purbeck marble, the curious interments, also miscellaneous relics, painted glass, considered by Mr. Winston to be of *t.* Edward I., and a metal chalice and paten found in a stone coffin containing the body, as supposed, of one of the abbots; they were deposited near the left shoulder. Amongst the tiles he pointed out numerous small examples, each bearing a letter, and intended to form inscriptions in the pavement; also some very spirited representations of the signs of the zodiac, the occupations of the seasons, with subjects also of Romance, in which the name of *Tristram* repeatedly occurs; numerous details are to be noticed on these tiles, which supply artistic illustrations of armour and costume in the twelfth century. A cordial expression of thanks having been offered to Mr. Shurlock and Mr. Angell by Mr. Morgan, they courteously invited the members of the Institute to visit the excavations, with the kind promise to take the part of *ciceroni* on any future occasion.⁴

Dr. ERNEST WILKINS, F.G.S., of Newport, Isle of Wight, communicated some notes on Roman remains lately found near that town. In the formation of the railway a cutting was required through an elevated piece of meadow land, on the north of Newport, towards the Honey Hill tollgate; it is the highest ground in that direction, and forms a considerable hill above the level of the Medina, by which it is partly surrounded. The first discovery took place in excavating on its southern slope, three or four

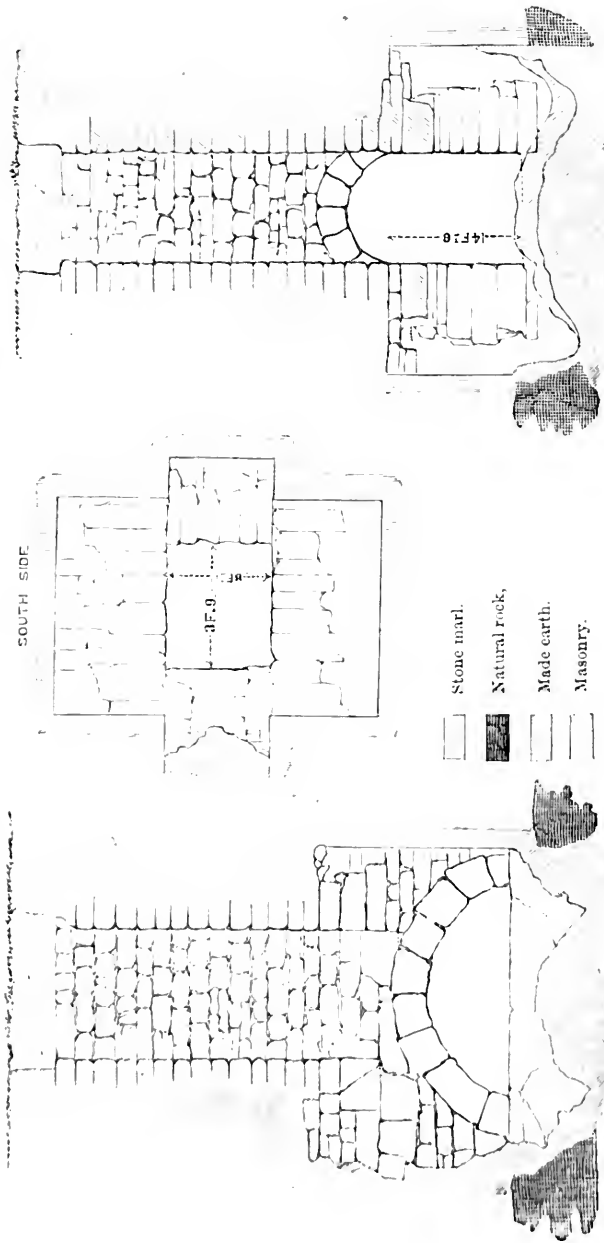
⁴ Mr. Angell has recently published an interesting memoir on the Excavations, accompanied by a ground plan of

the abbey church. It was read at a meeting at Chertsey, January 1862, and printed there by R. Larkin. 8vo.

Roman urns of coarse brownish-red ware being disinterred ; they were unfortunately destroyed before Dr. Wilkins received information of the discovery, but he was assured that they were entire when found ; he was unable to ascertain that they contained any burned bones. As the cutting advanced northward a series of lines of deposits of Roman pottery was disclosed, which appeared to indicate a succession of trenches in which the remains had been deposited. There were five of these trenches, at intervals of from twelve to sixteen paces, in which the ware occurred in greatest abundance, whilst between these principal trenches others intervened containing pottery in much smaller quantities, and occasionally their course was indicated only by black wood-ashes. These trenches were in the direction from E. to W. and were cut through obliquely by the railway ; the examination of their contents extended only to the width of the cutting, or about nine yards. The pottery consisted chiefly of sepulchral urns and amphoræ ; the former were a dark colored ware, almost black, and were deposited at intervals in the trenches. They contained burned human bones, with wood-ashes in abundance, both amongst the bones and surrounding the deposits. Some of these urns resembled those first discovered, but for the most part they were of a thinner ware. In one instance the clay on which the urn lay was burnt harder even than brick, and Dr. Wilkins supposed that the vase was baked on the spot, the ashes still remaining with it. Wood-ashes abounded throughout the excavation. Not a single perfect urn was obtained. The fragments of *amphoræ* were in remarkable abundance. These were of the usual form, of coarse ware, with two handles, and terminating at bottom in a point ; they had been capable of holding about 9 gallons, and measured about 38 inches in height, diameter at the widest part 30 inches, diameter of the neck, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; greatest thickness at the sides 1 inch. These amphoræ appeared to have been of two kinds of ware, dingy cream-colored, and pale red, the latter being the most abundant. In form these amphoræ resemble those found at Chesterford, figured Arch. Journ., vol. xvii., p. 126, but the apex at the bottom is much more pointed. The collection of pottery found in the excavations, and presented by Dr. Wilkins to the Newport Museum, includes not less than sixteen of the pointed terminations of such amphoræ, also necks and handles in abundance. Of urns there may have been twenty or upwards ; also some fragments of Samian, and of pateræ of black ware. Dr. Wilkins observed that the bones and teeth of the horse, ox, hog, &c., were met with ; many of the metacarpal bones of the ox, anciently used as skates ; also portions of a bridle-bit and of a horse-shoe, and oyster shells in large quantities. In regard to vestiges of Roman occupation in the Isle of Wight, of which his notice affords fresh evidence, Dr. Wilkins observed that further investigations made by Mr. W. Stratton at Newbarn, Calbourn, mentioned in Dr. Wilkins's Topography and Antiquities of the Isle of Wight, p. 59, have proved that the site was once occupied by Roman buildings.

Mr. ARTHUR TROLLOPE sent a short account of a singular shaft at Lincoln, supposed to be of Roman construction. An extensive tract of land at the upper part of the city has been undermined in excavations for obtaining stone, either, as some suppose, during the period of the Roman colony at *Lindum*, or possibly in mediæval times. The galleries here run in various directions, as it is believed, for many miles, but the passages have been mostly choked up by the fall of stones and by *débris*. Persons, however, had assured Mr. Trollope that formerly they had penetrated into these galleries

REMAINS, ASCRIBED TO THE PERIOD OF ROMAN OCCUPATION AT LINCOLN.



Section showing the South arch; the North arch is nearly identical.

Section showing the West arch; the East arch is broken.

Plan and Sections of a Shaft, supposed to be of Roman Construction, found at Lincoln, Jan. 1862, on the North side of Eastgate.

to a long distance, and that although usually of narrow dimensions they occasionally open into chambers or spacious caverns. He had recently explored a shaft which had been found in the garden of Mr. Dudding's house, now occupied by J. W. Danby, Esq., on the north side of East Gate, and adjoining Mr. Trollope's residence. This shaft is four-sided, regularly steepled or lined with ashlar; at the bottom there are arches on three of the sides; on the fourth, the arch having been broken down, the superincumbent wall is supported by a large lintel-stone. The shaft, which measures 3 feet 1 inch by 3 feet 9 inches, appears to lead down to the natural rock, as far as can be ascertained, the bottom of the pit being now filled up with mould; the depth, from the springing of the larger arches shown in the annexed section, to the surface of the garden above, is 14 feet 6 inches. Mr. Trollope supposes it to have been an approach to subterranean quarries; this, however, can only be proved by clearing the pit and passage leading from it apparently on the east side only. On the other three sides the masonry is perfect, but neither of the arches seems to have opened into any passage or gallery beyond, the natural stone-marl, apparently undisturbed, forming the back of each of these three arched recesses. The intention of this singular shaft and of the cavity, which at first view suggested the notion that it might have been a sepulchral *columbarium*, must be left for further investigation. The general character of the masonry is considered to be Roman. In the numerous shafts (not steepled) formerly examined by Mr. Trollope in the high ground on the north-east side of Lincoln, Roman pottery and relics of every description were found in abundance. In the accompanying diagrams the plan of the shaft is given at the springing of the large arches, showing the soffits of the arch-stones. The sections show the masonry of the shaft, the upper portion of which passes through made earth, or the surface mould; the lower and arched part appears to be formed in the natural stone-marl which overlies the rock.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By PROFESSOR DONALDSON.—Two sepulchral urns from the catacombs lately brought to light in forming a railway near Alexandria; also a diagram and plan of the chambers and *columbaria*, received with the urns from Mr. H. T. Rouse, the engineer by whom the works are directed. One of the urns is a *hydria*, height 19 inches, of black ware with ornaments painted in white and partly modeled in relief; the other is of pale red ware, 13 inches in height, this urn is still closed with cement, and the incinerated contents have not been disturbed.

By Mr. S. P. FREEMAN.—Three gold medallions with Bacchanalian subjects, personal ornaments obtained near Athens. They are formed of thin plates, hammered up and finished with the tool; on the reverse are loops probably for attachment to the dress. On one is represented a female, dancing and playing on the double pipe; her floating drapery is designed with much spirit and grace; before her is a *canistrum*, from which issues a serpent. On the second appears Pan, or a faun, leaping in Bacchanalian frenzy, and vigorously blowing into the *syrinx*; below is seen a *pedum*. The third medallion represents young Bacchus standing on one foot, and raising aloft a serpent in his right hand, a panther leaping up at his

side. These chasings, apparently of late Greek workmanship, according to the opinion of the skilful artist, Signor Castellani, are of beautiful design, in low relief, and highly finished. Diameter $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

By Mr. WILLIAM TITE, M.P., F.S.A.—A small bronze box in form of the head of a faun, bald, with a small beard and moustaches; there are several warty excreescences on the forehead and cheeks, and the entire surface is much patinated. The under side presents an oblong opening, closed by a sliding lid. This little Roman relie is of spirited design: it was found in excavations in the City of London. Dimensions, about $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. An object of the like fashion, but representing a female head, is preserved in the British Museum.—Four finger-rings of gold, likewise found in the City; two of them are Roman, of these one is set with an oval intaglio on nicolo, a *grullus* or monster, the head and upper part of the figure human with a lyre in the hands; the body is formed of a ram's head, and has a tail like that of an ostrich, the legs being also those of a bird. This is a very small ring, the hoop eight-sided, including the facet. The second ring, considered to be of Roman work, is formed with nine little bosses



set with uncut gems, emeralds, garnets, and a sapphire; one only, supposed to be a blue spinel, is cut in pyramidal fashion.—The other two are rings of the seventeenth century, one of them is a lady's ring with this posy inscribed within the hoop,—*Let reason rule affection*;—the other is a mourning ring, inscribed within,—*In memory of A. H. obiit 7 Sep. 64.*

By T. J. ROBERTS, Esq., M.P., through the Right Hon. Sir Edmund Head, Bart.—A singular, rudely fashioned image, supposed to be of tin, but apparently of some white mixed-metal; it was found, about 1850, on Bodwen Moor, in the parish of Lanlivery, Cornwall; it lay 7 or 8 feet below the surface, near one of the ancient sites of metallurgical operations, known in that county as "Jews' Houses," the provincial name for a place where tin was anciently cleaned. This extraordinary object measures about 6 inches in height; it appears to represent, very rudely, a regal figure seated on a throne; on the head are projections like horns, which seem to represent a crown, one of these is broken off, and the design is so imperfectly detailed that the object is not less enigmatical whether we seek to fix its date or its intention. Upon the breast are impressed, or cut, three Hebrew letters arranged in a triangle—Nun, Resh, and Shin; upon the left side of the figure is an incised mark of like description, but not to be identified as a letter, and upon the right side is the Hebrew Mem. This grotesque figure seems to be seated in a high-backed elbow chair, the hands resting upon the knees. The workmanship is extremely rude, yet not archaic; the characters have been examined with critical care by a learned Hebraist, Mr. Zedner, but we hope for some more conclusive suggestion than has been hitherto offered, through the Congress for the investigation of Cornish antiquities to be held at Truro, when doubtless this extraordinary relie will be submitted to the learned visitors. It has been conjectured that it may have been a figure cast for some magical purpose, in connection with the mysterious necromantic practices of the Middle Ages, in which Hebraisms were always mixed up in no slight degree.

By Mr. S. WELLES, through Mr. W. S. VAUX.—A Saxon *situla* of wood hooped with bronze, found near Louth in Lincolnshire. Numerous examples of these curious Saxon vessels are figured in the late Lord Braybrooke's

work on Saxon Obsequies, and good specimens may be seen in the illustrations of a memoir by him in this Journal, vol. xi., p. 96.

By Mr. W. BURGESS.—An iron spear-head found in the river Lea, at Bow Bridge, Essex, probably Saxon; also several mediæval weapons, daggers, knives, spurs, &c., found in the Thames, near Westminster Bridge, in forming the foundations of the Houses of Parliament.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—A singular steel mask or visor, supposed to be Spanish, date sixteenth century.—A powder-measure, of russet steel inlaid with foliated ornaments in silver. It was purchased at Jaffa, but is possibly of Italian workmanship.—Two spanners for turning the wheel-lock; one of them combined with a powder-measure, date sixteenth century.—A plug bayonet, the haft of horn, with a bone knop and brass mounting. See examples of the *sweyne's feder* and bayonet, Skelton's Illustr. of the Goodrich Court Armory, pl. cxv.

By Mr. EDMUND WATERTON, F.S.A.—A lock for a coffer, probably of Nuremberg work, most intricate in construction and skilfully executed, with its beautiful steel key.—An ancient dagger, and a pistol barrel, found in the lake at Walton Hall, Yorkshire.

By Mr. HENRY C. BOHN.—An oval silver medallion of Mary Queen of Scots, in low relief, three-quarters to the left; *repoussé* work finished with the graver. Around the margin of the oval, measuring, in its largest diameter, ten inches, is twined a wreath of laurel with thistles at the bottom. There is also the inscription MARIA QUEEN OF SCOTS. 1580. It is a work, probably, of the last century; the type of portraiture bears resemblance to that of the painting formerly at St. James' Palace, London, and engraved by Vertue in 1735, representing the Queen of Scots in 1580, æt. 38. It is also very similar, in details of costume and general character, to the portrait now at Hampton Court Palace (No. 667), bearing the same date, a type frequently reproduced, and which appears to have been much in favor with those who sought for portraitures of the ill-fated queen. This possibly supplied the authority from which the Bodleian portrait, as it appeared previously to the removal of the work by the second hand, may have been taken, with certain modifications.

IMPRESSION OF SEALS.—By Mr. J. H. MATHEWS.—Seal of Thomas, Bishop of Man, possibly Thomas Burton, who died March, 1457-8. He was succeeded by Thomas, Abbot of Vale Royal, Cheshire, who died 1480. Le Neve's Fasti, ed. Hardy, vol. iii., p. 326. It is of pointed-oval form, measuring $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $1\frac{3}{4}$. Under a canopy of tabernacle work appears a figure of a bishop in pontificals, with a crosier in his left hand, the right upraised in benediction. There is no nimbus; the figure may, however, be intended as a representation of St. Germanus, ordained Bishop of Man by St. Patrick, and honored as the apostle of the island. In a small panel beneath is a demi-figure of a bishop, his hands joined as if in prayer, a crosier under his left arm. Legend— S : thome : dei : gracia : episcopi : mannensis .—Seal of the Abbey of Louth Park, Lincolnshire, of circular form, diameter nearly $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. Under a trefoiled canopy is seen a figure of the B. V. Mary, with the infant Saviour in her arms; flowers are introduced in the background, and leafy stems at the sides of the central subject. Legend,— S COMMUNE . ABB' IS . ET . CONVENTVS . SC'E . MARIE . DE PARCO . LVDE . Date xiv. cent. It is figured in Carlisle's Grammar Schools, vol. i., p. 835, but it is not stated where the matrix was preserved. Another seal, that of the Abbot of Louth Park, is appended to Harl. Charter,

44, II. 49.—Seal of Sir William Eure, of circular form, diam. $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. It bears an escutcheon,—quarterly on a bend three escallops. Legend,—** ≡ (g)llū · Willm̄i, Eure · militis.* The work is unusually well cut and in very perfect preservation. This was probably the seal of Sir William Eure, who married Maude, d. of Henry Lord Fitzhugh; his son Sir Ralph Eure fell at Towton, 1 Edw. IV.

By Mr. R. T. PRITCHETT, F.S.A.—A panel of German painted glass, from the Bernal collection; in the centre are two escutcheons,—*or* a double-headed eagle *sa.* and *arg.* a cross *sa.* with a chief *gu.* The dexter supporter is a bishop with a crozier, and vested in a cope; a covered cup in his left hand; sinister supporter, a secular figure in a furred gown, holding a sword in one hand, in the other a palm branch; both supporters have nimbs. In the surrounding bordure are introduced curious representations of marksmen shooting with matchlock-guns, attendants twisting the match, cleaning the barrels, &c., with the date 1526.—A six-sided plate of iron, of great strength, ornamented with the royal arms of Portugal, ensigned with a crown. These are chased upon the centre of the plate, which is somewhat concave in form, pierced with two perforations for bolts, by which it may have been affixed to a war-saddle.—A fine specimen of German ironwork, a lock of complicated construction, with its key.—A steel key, of French workmanship, displaying the monograms of Henry II. king of France, with the date 1547.—The mount of an *aulmonière*, of steel exquisitely chased in relief in the style of the period of Cellini; on medallions introduced at intervals appear Minerva, Mars, &c., with other mythological subjects.—Two rapiers with elaborately pierced and chased cup-guards; on the blade of one of them is inscribed, on each side—*+ S · A · R · A · G · V · M · +*, on the blade of the other—*+ CLEMENS · HORS · + ME · FECIT · SOLINGOM. +*. Also two Spanish left-handed stilettoes, with broad recurved guard-plates and very long cross-guards. The guard does not cover the hilt, as in the specimen of later date at Goodrich Court, Skelton, pl. exiii., fig. 17, but curves in the other direction, over the blade. On one of these guards is chased in high relief a double-headed eagle displayed and ensigned with a crown, on its breast is a lozenge-shaped compartment charged with the cross of St. James.—Four specimens of the plug-bayonet; viz., one with the blade serrated on one side, the cross-guard inlaid with gold; another, brass-hilted, the blade inscribed,—*God save King William and Queen Mary*; the third, hafted with horn, is elaborately ornamented, the blade pierced; amongst various monograms and inscriptions upon it is seen the name of Philip V. King of Spain, with the date 1708; also the sacred monograms IHS, and a dial or clock-face, with an arrow pointing to the xii.; the fourth is even more richly decorated, the handle is of ivory *piqué* with silver, the cross-guard of brass, terminating in little statuettes.

By the Rev. J. FULLER RUSSELL, F.S.A.—“*Arnobii Afri Commentarii in Psalmos, per Erasmus Roterod. prolixi. Argent. ad. Jo. Knoblochii, 1522.*” This copy is in the contemporary stamped binding, upon oak boards, displaying on one side the arms of Henry VIII., France and England quarterly with the dragon and greyhound as supporters; above are escutcheons charged with St. George’s Cross, and the arms of the City of London; on the other side is a Tudor rose with scrolls—*Ille rosa*, &c., as described in this Journal, vol. xviii., p. 287. The binder’s or artist’s mark is introduced below, with the initials—*I—N.*

By Sir ROBERT MERCHISON.—Three German miners’ axes, probably

used on occasions of parade, or as the insignia of guilds, in the seventeenth century. The specimens exhibited were from the Museum of Economic Geology; two similar axes are to be seen in the Tower Armory, and several others exist in private collections. The head is in all these examples of peculiar form; the handle is composed mostly of pieces of bone, elaborately engraved, the subjects being partly of a religious character, such as the crucifixion, saints, &c., and partly representations of mining operations, very curious in detail; also the arms of the Elector of Saxony, two swords in saltire, impaling those of Hungary (?) barry of nine. Amongst the quaint devices on these axes occur the dates 1684, 1686, and 1725, respectively. The miners appear in curious garments with wide skirts of leather (?); some holding axes similar to those exhibited, others hold lamps, a forked divining rod, &c. Axes of the like form appear in the sculptures of the so-called miners' pulpit in Freiberg cathedral, as represented by Hefner (*Costumes du Moyen Age*, II. Div. pl. 57); the date of the sculptures is 1546. Hefner observes that the axe there seen is one of parade still in use. Through Mr. Bernhard Smith's exertions six examples, which had been exported to New York and sent back to London, have been obtained for the Museum of Economic Geology; three others have also been added to that collection, ranging in date from 1679 to 1749. It is stated that they are used in Germany, especially at Freiberg in Saxony; such an axe is termed *Steigerhacke*,—the Master-miner's hatchet. We are indebted to Mr. Trenham Reeks for bringing these curious objects under our notice; he has also mentioned the following circumstance, stated by a friend who had occasion to visit Dresden on a metallurgical exploration. The British Minister expressed his surprise at seeing the King conversing on some state occasion with a personage in black and silver uniform bearing such a hatchet. He conjectured that he might be the Chief Executioner, but found out that he was a distinguished official, the *Oberberg Hauptman*, or Chief of the Miners.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—Another like miner's axe; the haft is engraved with curious representations of metallurgical operations, and bears the date 1749.

April 4, 1862.

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

Mr. MORGAN commenced the proceedings by inviting attention to the *Architectural History of Chichester Cathedral*, by Professor Willis, combined with memoirs by the Rev. J. L. Petit and Mr. Sharpe, on Boxgrove Priory Church, Shoreham Church, with other architectural examples in Sussex. A copy of the long expected volume announced for publication at Chichester by Mr. Hayley Mason, and comprising the principal architectural memoirs read at the meeting of the Institute at Chichester in 1853, was now presented to their library. Professor Willis had added to his discourse on the Cathedral a report replete with curious details, relating to the recent destruction of the spire, and the beautiful volume now at length delivered to the subscribers would prove, Mr. Morgan observed, highly acceptable to the student of mediæval architecture.

Mr. EDMUND WATERTON, F.S.A., then read a short dissertation on the art of Niello, with the intention of calling attention to its general features

and the most remarkable existing examples, preliminary to the exhibition announced by the Institute for the June meeting.

Mr. JOSEPH BURTT read a notice of the early use of guns and gunpowder. Printed in this volume, p. 68, *ante*.

Sir FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H., gave a discourse of unusual interest on a charter, formerly supposed to be one of those given to the Monks of Westminster by Edward the Confessor, and to which is appended a genuine impression of the seal of that king, in a bag of rich silken tissue. This document, which had been found by Dugdale in the Hatton Library, now at Eastwell Park, Kent, was printed in the *Monasticon* in 1640, it had never subsequently been submitted to critical examination. It was exhibited on the present occasion by the kindness of the Earl of Winchilsea. Sir Frederic stated that its authenticity had long since been questioned; it is well known that numerous spurious charters exist amongst monastic evidences, some of them fabricated at a very early period, and probably in many cases produced by the monks to supply the place of lost documents, or to assert in more ample terms the immunities and privileges which the monasteries actually enjoyed. Those who are familiar with Mr. Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus* are well aware of the existence of spurious Saxon documents, amongst those relating to Peterborough, Worcester, Croyland, &c., but the monks of Westminster appear to have been singularly addicted to the fabrication of such instruments, and, besides that entrusted for exhibition by the liberality of the Earl of Winchilsea, there exist several in the treasury at Westminster, which are undoubtedly ancient forgeries. Sir Frederic indeed considered that of monastic charters prior to the reign of Henry I. few, if any, are wholly free from suspicion. He entered into a critical investigation of that now exhibited, pointing out the simple character and peculiarities of expression in grants by the Saxon princes, and explaining the points of internal evidence by which the spurious nature of the charter under consideration seems proved beyond question. It was probably executed not long after the Conquest, in order to secure certain immunities and privileges, especially in regard to coronations, and to the right of sanctuary, which appears to rest solely on the fictitious authority of these spurious charters. It is very remarkable that the seal which is attached by silken cords, a mode of sealing unusual in the earlier times, when seals were appended by parchment labels,¹ is undoubtedly genuine, and the impression was made at the time when the charter was written; from circumstances which Sir Frederic pointed out, it could not have been an impression transferred from some other document executed in the lifetime of the Confessor. This curious fact suggests that the matrix of the seal had remained in possession of the monks, and another spurious grant which Sir Frederic had been permitted to examine amongst the Westminster muniments has likewise a genuine seal. It is dated on the same day as that in the Hatton collection, and both appear to be the work of the same scribe.

Mr. ROBERT FERGUSON gave an account of the discovery, during the previous week, of a fragment of Roman sculpture at Carlisle. It was

¹ The Benedictines, in the *Traité de Dipl.*, speak of the use of the silk lines in appending seals, as early as the times of the Confessor, but it must be observed that these spurious charters only were

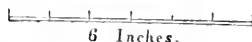
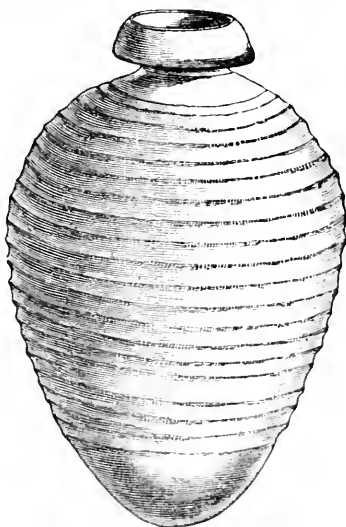
known to them. The earliest example of a seal so attached which had fallen under Sir Frederic's observation, is that of Henry I. in the year 1109.

disinterred in a stratum of black mould, about 300 yards from the town, in the level pasture through which the river Caldey takes its course. It consists of the upper portion of a male figure, the head broken off at the neck, which is apparently encircled by a torque or a rope, to which a crescent-shaped ornament is appended. The left shoulder and hand remain, the latter grasping a staff, and in the right hand appears part of the handle, possibly, of a sword or dagger terminating in a bird's head. In front of the body is an object which recalls the little basket-like receptacle occasionally seen in Roman monumental sculpture. The drapery is rudely represented in narrow parallel folds; the figure, about two-thirds of life size, is in low flat relief; the back of the fragment is smooth with an iron cramp, by which it had been affixed to a wall or other flat surface. Mr. Franks observed that this relic seems to be portion of a sepulchral monument, possibly that of a soldier of one of the auxiliary cohorts quartered *per lineam valli*. A large urn containing ashes, and also a bronze ring of common form lay near this relic, which is coarsely sculptured, and its present fractured state seems to be owing to reckless violence, rather than decay of time.

Mr. LIVOCK communicated a memoir on ancient horticulture, and the decorations of gardens, illustrated by a very curious piece of French tapestry which he exhibited, representing the history of Perseus and Andromeda, date about 1560; the costumes, details of domestic architecture, gardens with *berceaux* and topiary work, &c., were most picturesque and accurately detailed.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. CHARLES TUCKER, F.S.A.—A drawing of an ovoid vase, said to have been found near Crediton, Devon, where numerous Roman remains have been brought to light. It is of coarse gritty ware of dingy white color, and measures nearly 14 inches in height, the circumference of the largest part being 28½ inches; the diameter of the mouth, 3 inches. This vessel was formerly in the possession of the Rev. Samuel Rowe, Vicar of Crediton, author of the "Perambulation of the Ancient Forest of Dartmoor," and well-known by his investigations of antiquities in the West of England. It came from him to Mr. Holden, of Exeter, by whom it was given to Mr. Tucker. An ovoid vessel of similar description, found at Lincoln, is now in the Duke of Northumberland's Museum at Alnwick Castle. It had been ascribed to the Roman period whilst in the collection of its previous possessor, Mr. E. J. Willson, the antiquary of *Lindum*. Another like vase, described by the Comte de



6 Inches.

Caylus as of Roman origin, is preserved in the Museum of Antiquities at the Imperial Library in Paris.

By Mr. W. W. E. WYXNE, M.P.—A devotional folding tablet, sculptured in ivory; on one leaf is the crucifixion, on the other the coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It is probably of English art, fourteenth century, and is believed to have belonged to Vale Crucis Abbey. It was in the possession of the late Mr. Vaughan of Rhûg, Merionethshire, by whom it was given to Mr. Wynne.

By Professor WESTMACOTT, R.A.—Two cases containing a selection of Papal medals. We are indebted to his kindness for the following description of these valuable examples of art. “The specimens exhibited were chosen rather as illustrations of medallie art, of different periods, than for their historical interest, though some of them deserve attention on grounds distinct from their artistic merits. Of this class one large medallion, about 3 in. in diameter, of Pope Paul II. (1464) presiding over a Council or Consistory, with the inscription SACRUM. PUBLICUM. APOSTOLICUM. CONSISTORIUM. PAULUS. VENETUS P. P. II., is both curious and rare. The reverse has a representation of the last judgment. It is the work of T. Bartolomco. A smaller bronze medal gives a characteristic portrait of this pontiff.

The medals were not arranged in order of date. The earliest in the series is one of Eugenius IV. (1431), before which period there are no authentic medallie portraits of the Popes. It is even thought that this commencement can only safely be dated from the time of Paul II., and that those of pontiffs prior to that date have been added at a later time by their successors. This of Eugenius IV. may, therefore, be open to doubt. The reverse of one of his medals bears the curious inscription QUEM. CREANT. ADORANT. Among the earlier examples to be noticed is one of Sixtus IV., in tiara and pluvial. The date of this pontiff was from 1471 to 1484, and the great medallist of the time was a certain Pollajuolo. The reverse of this medal shows a finely designed female figure, and its execution is attributed to this celebrated artist. A very fine reverse was shown of a medal of Innocent VIII. (1484), exhibiting three female figures draped, with the inscription JUSTICIA. PAX. COPIA. The style of this work is very grand, and the workmanship worthy the high reputation of Pollajuolo, who is said to have executed it. This medal evidently was held in much esteem at the time, and when the tomb of Innocent was opened, for its removal to another site in 1606, a medal precisely similar to this was found in it. A medal of Alexander VI. (Borgia) 1492, claims notice for the large and bold character of its execution. It is in bronze, and bears the inscription JUST. PACISQ. CVLTOR.: a title not very consistent with the well-known expression of the Romans ‘that the Emperors taught tyranny, but the Borgias practised it.’ The two next medals deserving of particular notice are of Julius II. (1503). The reverses only of these were shown. One of them is a remarkably striking composition, representing St. Paul struck from his horse, with other figures, and bearing the inscription CONTRA. STIMULUM. NE. CALCITRAS. It is designed in the true spirit of Greek sculpture, and is attributed to the celebrated Raffaello d’Urbino. The execution of the medal was carried out by Caradosso, an eminent artist and a fellow-workman of B. Cellini. The other reverse shows a female figure with a cornucopia, and is inscribed ANNONA. PUBLICA. Three medals of Leo. X. [Medici] 1553, are next to be noticed. Two of these exhibit very high art qualities. One has a victor in a chariot drawn by four spirited horses; a genius, or Victory, bearing a

crown, floats in the upper part of the composition, and below are small pieces of armour, &c. This beautiful work closely resembles the well-known silver Sicilian medallions so highly esteemed by collectors of ancient coins. It is said to be the work of Valerio Valentino, and is a fine example of the art of the time. The second medal referred to, said to have been executed by the same artist, represents three female figures, slightly draped, with the motto *FIAT. PAX. IN. VIRTUTE. TVA.* The design of this medal was furnished by Giulio Romano. A fine and rare silver medal, with twisted rim, of Clement VII. (Medici), in excellent preservation, and exhibiting a characteristic head of that Pope, deserves notice. Another of the same with the reverse representing Moses striking the rock, with the motto *UT. BIBAT. POPULVS.* shows a full composition well treated. It is a work of the celebrated Benvenuto Cellini. Two fine medals, one gilt, the other in bronze, are to be noticed of Paul III. (Farnese) 1534. The first, exhibiting a portrait of the pontiff, is rather scarce; the specimen is in excellent preservation. Under the title *PAVLVS III. PONT. MAX. A. XII.*, is the name of the medallist *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ · ΕΗΘΙΕΙ* in small letters. This refers to Alessandro Cesati, called *il Greco*. A smaller bronze medal is believed by some to be by B. Cellini, but it is probably a work of *il Greco*. It represents a youth, naked, carrying a water-pot, with a motto *ΦΕΡΝΗ · ΖΗΝΟΣ · ΕΥΠΑΙΝΕΙ*. It is an exquisite example of art. The legend is, no doubt, a pun upon the name of this Pope, who was of the house of *Farnese*; *Φερνη Ζηνος* would read *Fernesinos*, easily rendered *Farnesinus*. A large medal of Paul IV., bareheaded, and in the pluvial, and two of Gregory XIII.: one, small, gilt, another, of large size, in bronze, deserve notice. The latter has round the portrait *COLLEG. SOC. JESU. OMNIUM. NATIONUM. GRATIA. FUNDATO. DE. RELIG. ET. LIT. OPT. MER.* This medal has also a fine reverse. Another of this Pontiff has on the reverse the remarkable legend *ΥΓΟΝΟΤΟΡΟΜ. ΣΤΡΑΓΕΣ*, in commemoration of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. A medal, gilt, of Sixtus V. (1585), deserves attention for its character as a portrait and its execution as a work of art. Those of Paul V., Alexander VII., Innocent XI., and Alexander VIII., are also well worthy of notice, for the expression and individuality of the portraits, and, generally, for the style of execution. It is to be regretted that only one side of the medals could be shown, as in many instances both the obverses and reverses have equal claim to admiration. The two reverses shown of those of Alexander VII. and VIII., one representing the monumental tomb of the Pope, and the other a bird's-eye view of the Piazza of St. Peter's, with *FUNDAMENTA. EJUS. IN. MONTIBUS. SACRIS.*, exhibit great merit, of its kind, in the medallic treatment of architectural subjects. It is curious that in the latter design is shown a block of building between the extremities of the two colonnades, as if the original design had contemplated that addition. One large bronze medal of Innocent XI. may be noticed especially. It contains four heads on the obverse; namely, *INNOCENT XI. LEOP. I. IMP. JO. III. REX. PO. M.A. JUS. VE. DUX.* The relief of the first head is very bold, the others recede till that of the Doge is in quite low relief. This curious medal commemorates the treaty entered into by the four potentates after raising the siege of Vienna in 1683. Five remarkably fine medals, two very large, silver and gilt, and three smaller in silver, of Innocent XII., deserve special attention for the bold and grand character of treatment exhibited in them. One of these medals is attributed to Beatrice Hamerami, of a German family celebrated for their talent in this branch of art. A large gilt medal

of Benedict XIII. (1724) is a good example of the skill of the portrait medallists of the time. The reverse of this medal is a spirited composition, finely executed, of St. Luke painting. Two of Clement XII., large, in bronze, one showing the head of the Pope crowned with the tiara, the other, a reverse, with the section of a chapel, inscribed SACELLO. IN. LATERANEN. &c. with date, are good examples of medallie art towards the middle of the eighteenth century. An expressive portrait of Benedict XIV., gilt, and another in silver, showing the reverse, a female figure well designed, with the motto VECTIGALIBVS. REMISSIS., of the same pontiff merit remark. Some valuable examples, both in portraits and reverses, of the pontificate of Clement XIII., exhibit the satisfactory condition of the art from 1769 to 1774. A large and fine medal of its kind, of Gregory XVI., is interesting from its exhibiting on its reverse, in a view of Ripa Grande in Rome, a steamboat with other craft. The first appearance of such an invention on a Papal medal is worthy of notice. Several of the following medals were exhibited chiefly to show the condition of art during the last fifty years, rather than from any particular merit or interest in their designs. Two of Pius VII., with the head of that pontiff, and a reverse with the Colosseum, have, however, considerable merit. The portraits of the later Popes are not of remarkable excellence. Two or three only were shown as specimens. The designs on the reverses of medals of Pius VI., Pius VII. Leo XII., Gregory XVI. and Pius IX. are not without interest, and some of them exhibit considerable artistical power in their respective authors.

A third frame contained medals in gold and silver of St. Luke's Academy in Rome, and of the Academy of the Grand Duke in Florence; also a fine reverse of the celebrated Torso of the Belvedere, a silver medal of the Royal Academy of London."

By Mr. EDMUND WATERTON, F.S.A.—An iron prick spur.—A fine gold ring set with a pointed ruby, and inscribed,—LEXVS. AVTEM. TRANSIENS. PER. MEDIVM. ILLORVM.—between the words are cinquefoils; date, late xiv. cent.—An enameled cross of Maltese work, and a gold ring, device, on a shield *couché*, with helm and crest, two bars in chief three roundels and a label; legend—PREAM D' A. BOART; or PRCAMD' A. BOART. (?) The PR may indicate a name or title.—The steel guard of a sword, of the time of Elizabeth, wrought as if formed of cord.

By Mr. HEWITT.—A lease of land at Brading, in the Isle of Wight, to John Grime, dated 10 April, 11 James I., 1613, with the official seal of the Captain of the Island appended. This recently noticed seal, of which no other impression has been found, is of circular form, the devise being the bust of a queen issuing from a rose. Legend, (last word effaced)—SIGILLVM. OFFICII. INSVLAE. (VECTIS ?) The document, now in the hands of Mr. George Hillier, author of the History of the Isle of Wight in course of publication, declares that "the kinge to one part of the said indentures has caused the seal of the office of the saide Isle to be affixed." It is thus indorsed,—“This was the awntient seale of y^e Island, by and whith which all leases were sealed by the commander.” The lease is signed by Henry Earl of Southampton.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—A Spanish rapier of unusual length and weight, with a barred hilt ornamented with perforated shell-guards. Date late xvi. cent.—A long rapier with a guard formed in imitation of twisted cord, in like fashion as that above noticed exhibited by Mr. Waterton. See also Skelton, Goodrich Court Armory, pl. 103, fig. 13.

By Mr. A. W. FRANKS, Dir.S.A.—A portion of a bamboo walking-staff, or possibly the handle of a fan or some like object, very curiously engraved with subjects of Scripture history, the Prodigal Son, &c., in medallions. At the top is a heart-shaped compartment enclosing a male and a female bust, with the date 1612. At the bottom appear Adam and Eve, with the inscription—*Omnes descendimur (sic).—Don Petrus me fecit in edario hieronimi*; also the motto—*Nobilitas sine virtute cilescit*.

By Mr. W. FIGGE, through Mr. Blaauw.—A delicately finished oval miniature drawn with a plummet on vellum, signed—*J. (or T.) Forster delin.* It has been supposed to be a portrait of the Duke of Marlborough; it represents a gentleman in full-bottomed wig, and long falling band. It was formerly in possession of the Paine family, of Ringmere, Sussex, and had belonged, as stated, to Sir Henry Guillim, of Staplefield Common, whose daughter married one of the Paines. Some miniatures in like style by the same artist have been contributed to the Loan Exhibition recently formed at South Kensington, Catal., Nos. 2122, 2558. No artist of the name is mentioned by Walpole, Pilkington, or Bryan. Mr. Dallaway, *Introd. to Walpole's Arts in England*, vol. v. p. v., gives Ingham Foster amongst the collectors of engraved British Portraits.

By the Rev. JAMES BECK.—Two ancient iron rushlight-holders, used in Sussex for suspending rushes dipped in tallow, a rural substitute for candles, retained until comparatively recent times in that county. A specimen of such appliances is figured, *Arch. Journal*, vol. xiii. p. 193.

By the Rev. GREGORY RHODES.—A silver watch, the movement of which has a regulating-spring, and is believed to have been made under the direction of Dr. Hooke, the celebrated mathematician, to whom the invention of the pendulum spring is attributed. The first idea originated in 1658, but in 1660 the invention was improved, and towards the latter part of the seventeenth century it was skilfully carried out by Thomas Tompion under Dr. Hooke's superintendence. The watch exhibited has been preserved with the family tradition that it was presented by Charles II. to Capt. Nicholas Tattersell, through whose loyalty the king was conveyed to France after the defeat at Worcester in 1651. He was rewarded with a pension continued for three generations; a slab in the old churchyard at Brighton records his death in 1674. Mr. Morgan, who, in his *Observations on Watchmaking*, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiii. p. 93, describes Dr. Hooke's improvements, is of opinion that this watch was made not earlier than 1675, but probably towards the close of the century.

Matrices of seals.—By Mr. EDMUND WATERTON, F.S.A.—Matrix of the seal of Thomas de Rokeby; of silver; circular, diam. 1 inch; device an escutcheon of the arms of Rokeby, a chevron between three rooks; legend (in black letter)—*Sigillum: Thome: de Rokeby*. This may have been the seal of Sir Thomas de Rokeby, of Rokeby and Mortham, Yorkshire, t. Edw. III.; he was distinguished at the battle of Neville's Cross, in 1346.

The seal of Simon Covell; circular, diam. $1\frac{1}{10}$ in., device an escutcheon couché, charged with 3 crescents and a mullet in nombril point, and ensigned with a helm; crest a crescent; legend on a scroll (in black letter) *S: Simonis Covellt*. The design appears to be Flemish, of the later part of the fifteenth century.

May 2, 1862.

Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

Lord TALBOT expressed regret that his engagements in Ireland had for some time prevented his taking part in the meetings of the Institute; he had noticed with gratification the interest of the communications received, and the constant liberality with which valuable objects of antiquity and historical value were entrusted for exhibition. On the present occasion it was with high satisfaction that he was enabled to announce the concession of facilities of access, so long desired, to the depositories of ancient wills. A memorial having been addressed to the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, signed by the Earl Stanhope, President of the Society of Antiquaries, and by influential members of that body, and also of the Institute, their Lordships had recently intimated that they had approved of a proposal submitted to them by the Judge of the Court of Probate to carry out arrangements for the inspection of ancient wills in the registry at Doctors' Commons, under proper restriction and for literary purposes only. Lord Talbot desired also to invite attention to the kind liberality of the Earl of Winchelsea, and to propose a vote of special acknowledgment to the noble possessor of the Hatton collections. At the previous meeting Lord Winchelsea had entrusted for examination a remarkable document preserved at Eastwell Park, and from the same rich depository of historical and archaeological evidence he had now brought for the gratification of the Institute the valuable collection of drawings of effigies, painted glass, and examples of monumental art, in cathedral and other churches, which had been formed by Sir W. Dugdale for Lord Hatton, about 1640; also two sumptuous volumes, one of them comprising transcripts of charters, the other relating to the ancient ceremonials of chivalry. With these, moreover, Lord Winchelsea had most kindly submitted to their examination a roll of the early part of the fifteenth century, which Lord Talbot regarded with unusual interest, being a Norman-French version of the *Modus tenendi Parliamentum*, of which no other copy is known to exist. The formula, long in use in England, as shown in Mr. Duffus Hardy's valuable dissertation, was transmitted to the sister kingdom for the regulation of the two Houses, and the roll now exhibited may have been the identical document used in the Irish Parliament. A curious petition is found endorsed upon it, addressed by Richard, Archbishop of Cashel, to Thomas of Lancaster, son of Henry IV., and Lieutenant of Ireland early in the fifteenth century, the period to which this unique document may be assigned.

Mr. C. STRENGEL GREAVES, Q.C., offered some remarks on the importance of facilities for consulting ancient wills, and the advantages which would thence accrue to the historical student and the archaeologist. He hoped that the promised privilege might be extended in a large and liberal measure, and proposed a vote, which was seconded by Mr. Octavius Morgan, M.P., recognising the great value of the concession which had now been announced by Lord Talbot.

The Rev. J. H. HILL, Rector of Cranoe, Leicestershire, then gave a short account of the recent discovery of Roman relics near that place, on the line of Roman road, which enters the county near Medbourn, where a Roman pavement and other vestiges exist, and crosses the Foss at Leicester. The deposit lay not far from Lord Berner's residence, Keythorpe Hall, and

about a quarter of a mile from the spot where the Saxon remains, described Arch. Journ., vol. xviii. p. 76, were found in May, 1860. Some workmen engaged in draining struck upon a bronze skillet or *trulla*, the handle of which was pierced with a trefoil; with this were disinterred some finely patinated fragments of a bronze *prefericulum*, namely, the trefoil-shaped mouth and the handle, the latter ornamented with a figure of a dancing genius, of spirited design; also the straight spout of a bronze patera, terminating in the head of a ram (compare those found in one of the Bartlow Hills, Archæologia, vol. xxv. pl. 11, fig. 11; vol. xxvi. pl. 33). The spot where the discovery occurred is at the bottom of a hill known as "Ram's Head," and the object last noticed, Mr. Hill observed, had been regarded by the finders with particular curiosity, from a supposed association with the familiar name of the locality. The coincidence, he remarked, although accidental, is certainly singular. With the bronze relics above noticed were fragments of a glass dish, ribbed and formed in a mould; the upper portion of a long-necked bottle of rich deep blue colored glass, with one handle; when perfect this remarkable specimen of antique glass had measured about 12 inches in height (compare one found in the *Ustrinum* at Litlington, Archæologia, vol. xxvi. pl. 45, fig. 7); also four glass *unguentaria*, resembling those found with the remarkable interment in the Bartlow Hills. These relics, unfortunately in very fragmentary condition, had been deposited with a Roman interment, probably in a wooden chest, portions of decayed oak having been noticed. They lay at a depth of about 30 inches. The general features of the interesting discovery described by Mr. Hill correspond closely with those of like sepulchral deposits of the Roman period in other localities, such as the tomb at Shefford, Bedfordshire, the curious contents of which are figured in the Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society (4to series), with a descriptive notice by Sir Henry Dryden, Bart. In that deposit a ribbed dish or saucer of glass, a bronze vessel in perfect state, with a spout terminating in a ram's head, a bronze *prefericulum* with trefoil-shaped mouth, and the handle ornamented with a female figure of fine design, also vases of blue glass, and a bronze skillet were disinterred. Mr. Hill stated that some curious remains had lately been brought to light at St. Martin's, Leicester, of which he promised to give a notice on a future occasion.

Mr. GEORGE TATE, F.G.S., of Alnwick, communicated an account of the examination of ancient remains in Northumberland, in the valley of the Breamish, especially the site of an old town near Linhope, known as Greaves Ash, which Mr. Tate considers to be a vestige of the "Celtic" or ancient British race in Northumberland prior to the Roman invasion. The excavations, of which he described the results, illustrated by a ground-plan from a survey by Mr. Wightman, of Wooler, and diagrams, were carried out during the summer of 1861, preliminary to the Annual Meeting of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, through the liberal assistance and encouragement of the Duke of Northumberland, ever foremost in promoting researches through which the history and antiquities of the county may be elucidated. The work was placed under the superintendence of the veteran explorer, Mr. W. Coulson, of Corbridge, to whose intelligent and zealous direction the extensive excavations made by his Grace's orders at *Bremenium* in Redesdale, in 1852, had been confided. Greaves Ash is an elevated platform on the southern slope of Greenshaw Hill, far up in the Cheviot range; the old town, with the adjoining detached strongholds,

occupy an area of about 20 acres; the ruins consist chiefly of sites of circular dwellings, surrounded by walls or ramparts, the whole formed of dry masonry, the materials employed being blocks of the porphyry of the district, with some water-worn stones obtained from the Breamish or other streams. The outer rampart of the principal work, or town, measures 10 to 12 feet in width, the inner one from 5 to 7 feet. In some places the excavation exposed three or four courses of rude masonry. The area appears to have been occupied by circular huts and a few larger enclosures. The foundations of eighteen huts are visible, the diameter being from 11 to 27 feet; each has a regular entrance, generally towards the east or south-east. The fire-place appeared to have been in the centre. The hut-circles having been cleared, the floors appeared to have been neatly flagged with slabs of porphyry; some portions of pottery were noticed, also part of an armlet of glass. Some curious observations on constructive peculiarities were the result of these explorations; the investigation extended to the adjacent forts or dwellings, connected with the principal cluster of hut-circles by an ancient way. A detailed account of this remarkable site, and also of camp and hut-circles on the neighbouring heights along the course of the river Breamish, is given by Mr. Tate in the Transactions of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, vol. iv. p. 293. The relics discovered supply no conclusive evidence in regard to the period when those dwellings were occupied; besides the fragment of an armlet already mentioned, resembling certain ornaments which have occurred in Scotland and elsewhere, they comprise some rudely-shaped objects of flint, a material not found in Northumberland, also hand-mills formed of syenite and sandstone, and broken pottery presenting no distinctive features. In the fortress known as Brough-law camp, an iron blade was found, resembling the knife usually accompanying interments of the Saxon period. Mr. Tate cited the principal examples of similar hut-circles and vestiges of ancient towns in Cornwall, Somerset, Scotland, and other localities; he offered some curious suggestions in reference to the period and the primitive race, ignorant apparently of the use of metals, to which he is of opinion that these remarkable remains may be assigned. The further and careful exploration of similar works in the Northern Marches, where, from the nature of the country and their inaccessible position, such vestiges are found comparatively well preserved, may, it is hoped, throw light on the obscure ethnological questions connected with these very interesting prehistoric remains.

Mr. LLEWELLYN JEWITT, F.S.A., of Derby, then read a notice of specimens of mediæval vessels, and of pottery-works lately found between Derby and Duffield, on the estates of Lord Scarsdale, by whom Mr. Jewitt's attention had been called to the discovery. Of two mounds, apparently the sites of ancient works, only one had been examined: Mr. Jewitt hoped to bring the subject more fully before the Society hereafter. He exhibited drawings of the curious vessels, some of which are ornamented with horse-shoes in relief, and also with ring-brooches or *fermails*, devices as he believed of the Ferrers family, who from the Conquest possessed the lands where this discovery occurred. He has published subsequently a memoir with representations of the vases described, in his interesting periodical chiefly relating to Derbyshire archaeology, entitled the Reliquary; see vol. ii. p. 216. The vessels, Mr. Jewitt remarked, are such as were cracked in the kiln, or had fallen out of shape; they are partially glazed;

the ornaments were formed in "slip," and affixed to the surface after the vessel was fashioned on the lathe. He considered their date to be about the time of Henry III. He promised a further communication on the subject of fictile manufactures in Derbyshire; a variety of other early specimens had been found at Tickenall, on the site, as he believed, of another ancient manufacture of pottery, and Mr. Jewitt anticipated that he should be enabled to show a continuous series of the products of local industry of this class from the Norman period to the time of the porcelain manufacture at Derby, towards the close of the last century, on the cessation of the works at Chelsea.

Mr. MORGAN, in expressing the thanks of the meeting for this curious communication, adverted to the interest with which, having long devoted attention to the fictile arts in this country, he had welcomed the valuable Memoirs lately given by Mr. Jewitt in the Art Journal. The history of pottery and porcelain had been until recent times a sealed book; Mr. Morgan rejoiced to perceive that so active and intelligent a fellow-labourer in this special subject of research had been enabled to afford that accurate and detailed information, which would be found in the Monographs by Mr. Jewitt, to which he was desirous to invite attention.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

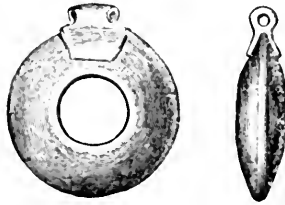
By Mr. ALBERT WAY.—Drawings of two remarkable relics found some years since in Sussex, on the South Downs, probably accompanying an interment, but the circumstances relating to the discovery have not been recorded. It took place on Clayton Hill, about seven miles north of Brighton. One of these objects is the diminutive specimen of ancient pottery here figured on a reduced scale. The original, preserved in the collection of Mrs. Weeks, Hurst Pierpoint, measured $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter. It is of the curious class of urns designated by the late Sir R. Colt Hoare "thuribles," the second division of Celtic pottery in the arrangement proposed by the late Mr. Bateman. See his Ten Years'



Diminutive perforated Urn found on Clayton Hill, Sussex. Diam. of orig. $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.

Diggings, p. 282, and the notice of that work in this Journal, vol. xviii. p. 414, where several examples are enumerated. The lower part of this specimen is formed with diagonal slits; the upper part and inner margin

of the rim being rudely ornamented with impressed corded lines, forming a trellised pattern. The intention of these small perforated vessels is a question well deserving attention in the very limited series of relics of their period. Occasionally they have two small perforations at the side, as if for suspension. They mostly occur enclosed within larger urns, and in interments apparently not of the earliest class. Some examples seem fashioned after a basket-work type; see a curious little urn formed with open work, found on Stanton Moor, Derbyshire, *Archæologia*, vol. viii. pl. 1.



The second object (see woodcut, orig. size), is a little pendant ornament of light blue vitrified paste. It was found within the little vessel above figured. The material appears almost identical with that of which certain Egyptian relics are formed. Two similar objects have been found with early interments in Sussex, on the downs near Brighton; one of these is figured in Horsfield's *History of Lewes*, p. 44, pl. 3, and is now amongst the late Dr. Mantell's collections in the British Museum. These curious relics may have been imported with the glass beads which occur with early British remains.

By Mr. FREDERICK POTTS, of Chester.—Photographs of Roman inscriptions recently found in that city; they have been described and accurately figured in Mr. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi. p. 29. Also the following relics found at Chester.—Portion of a statuette of Venus, in fine white clay, formed in two moulds, and the moieties united together and placed on a pedestal. See specimens in Mr. Roach Smith's *Roman London*, p. 109, and similar types found near Moulins, figured in his *Collectanea*, vol. vi. p. 52. It was found on St. Mary's Hill, Chester.—Portion of a tile bearing the impression of the sole of a *caliga* thickly set with nail-heads, and also the stamp of the twentieth legion, styled *Valeria* and *Victrix*,—LEG. XX V.—A rude leaden stamp with letters in relief, in two lines, the letters inverted, so as to give an impress in their right direction. Mr. Potts proposes the reading *CL. AVG. VIC.*, preceded by the centurial sign.—An iron spear-head, ornamented with gilding, found in 1861.—Medieval ornaments, ear-rings, &c., one of them set with an emerald.

By the EARL OF WINCHELSEA.—Three large volumes, from the Hatton Library, now preserved at Eastwell Park, Kent.—1. A collection of colored drawings of monuments, painted glass, inscriptions, heraldic achievements, &c., existing in cathedral and other churches, about 1640. Sir Christopher, afterwards Lord Hatton, apprehending, as it has been stated, the dreadful devastation threatened by the civil war, despatched Dugdale, at that time *Blanch-lion* pursuivant, and who had been recommended to him by Spelman, to take, with the assistance of William Sedgewick, Dugdale's servant, a skilful *artus* painter, drawings of such memorials as they judged most worthy of attention. These, carefully tricked by Sedgewick, were deposited in the

library formed at Kirby in Northamptonshire by their tasteful and judicious employer. Amongst the curious contents of this sumptuous volume may be cited drawings of heraldry, monuments, &c., in the cathedral churches of St. Paul's, London, Lichfield, Ely, Lincoln, and Peterborough, of the pall and heraldic achievements which were placed on the tomb of Katharine of Aragon, in the latter, and of the funereal achievement marking the spot where the remains of Mary queen of Scots had there first been deposited. Also of monuments and painted glass, at Selby, Hull, Fotheringhay, Newark, Southwell, Bottesford, Sandon, Tamworth, &c., and the very curious painted glass in St. George's church, Stamford, representing Edward III. and twenty-four knights kneeling in their armorial surcoats. Also curious subjects from the legend of St. George, and the portraits of Sir William Brugges, Garter, with his wife and daughters: this remarkable painted glass was placed there by him in the reign of Henry VI. Of numerous drawings of sepulchral memorials now destroyed may be cited that of a brass of a knight in the cross-legged attitude, in St. Mary's church, Chester. The costume presented the rare feature of ailettes, charged with a plain cross; the bearing on the shield being billey with a label.—2. An extensive collection of copies of ancient documents in possession of Henry St. George, Garter *t.* Charles I., John Philipot, Somerset Herald in the same reign, and others. Numerous carefully colored drawings are given of the seals appended.—3. An elaborately illuminated copy of the ceremonies used in creating knights of the Bath. These curious subjects are engraved in the Notes on Upton de Stud. Mil. p. 20, from a MS. in Will. Le Neve's library; also in Dugdale's Warw. p. 531, orig. edit.—4. The roll before mentioned, entitled "La manere de tenir parlement."—5. A facsimile of the grant by Edward the Confessor to Westminster, exhibited by Lord Winchilsea at the previous meeting (see p. 176, *ante*). This exact copy may have been made by the same hand and at the same time as the transcripts of documents comprised in the folio volume above mentioned. Sir Christopher Hatton, a descendant of the Lord Chancellor, *t.* Eliz., was a zealous royalist, and was created Baron Hatton, of Kirby, by Charles I. in 1643. His granddaughter espoused the sixth Earl of Winchilsea, and the bulk of the Hatton estates eventually devolved upon their son.

By Mr. JOHN CARR, of Skipton.—Two original portraits, of which one represents Jane Seymour, painted, probably, before her marriage in 1536. In general character and costume it bears much resemblance to the portrait of that queen in possession of the Duke of Bedford. In both paintings necklaces and jewelry appear in rich variety; in that at Woburn there is a pendant ornament with pearls, which seems to be the sacred monogram of Our Lord's name; in this instance a like pendant is seen, formed of the letters AB, conjoined, and with pearls appended. It has been suggested that this may have been a token of affection given to Jane Seymour by Anne Boleyn. They had been together at the French court in 1514 as maids of honor to Mary, daughter of Henry VII., and consort of Louis XII., and their full length portraits, it is stated, are to be seen in the gallery of portraits at Versailles. It may have been partly due to early friendship at that period that Anne Boleyn, on becoming queen in 1532, made choice of Jane Seymour as one of her own ladies of honor, a distinction attended with such fatal consequences. This portrait is on panel; probably much retouched. Pendant ornaments composed of letters were much in vogue at the period. A beautiful example—R. E.—from a drawing by Holbein, is

given by Mr. Shaw in his *Handbook of Alphabets and Devices*, and it may be seen in this *Journal*, vol. x. p. 89.—The second painting sent by Mr. Carr represented the eminent reformer Hans Zuinglius, of Zürich, probably one of the numerous copies of the portrait by Hans Asper, a painter of considerable merit in that city. He was a contemporary and imitator of Holbein, and died in 1571. His original portraits of Zuinglius and his wife are preserved in the library of the city at Zürich. That exhibited is on a somewhat reduced scale, on panel, profile to the left, and probably of the period.

By Sir THOMAS ROKEWODE GAGE, Bart., through the Very Rev. Canon Rock.—A fine pectoral cross of solid gold, with the figure of our Lord enameled, and bearing over the head a very peculiar nimbus showing the points of the cross darting out beyond the circle of the nimbus itself. From the shape of the letters I. X. R. I. on the *titulus*, and other indications, it would seem that this cross was wrought about the middle of the sixteenth century, very probably by an English hand. Dr. Rock conjectures that it may have been given by Queen Mary, or some other wealthy friend, to the Lady Abbess of Syon Monastery, Isleworth, on the restoration of that house at the beginning of Mary's reign. This cross was presented to Sir Thomas Gage's uncle, that able antiquary, the late John Gage Rokewode, Esq., by the nuns of Syon, as a token of acknowledgment of benefits received through his exertions when they took refuge in England from Lisbon, after the seizure of Portugal by the French. The cross had formed a portion of the curious relics of their English home, borne about with them by the Syon nuns during their various changes of residence; and the Superioress, from whom Mr. Gage Rokewode received this mark of their gratitude, assured him that it had belonged to the sisterhood before they were compelled a second time to leave Syon, under Elizabeth, and quitted England. Within the last few months they have again come back to this country, and are now settled at their new Syon house, Spetisbury, Dorsetshire, never having been broken up entirely as a religious body, since their establishment by Henry V. Sir Thomas Gage exhibited also a precious little book bound in green velvet, worked on both sides with the Prince of Wales's plume in silver, amidst diapering of seed-pearls wrought after a very artistic manner. The book itself is a sort of small peerage, with the shields and crests of sixty-four members of the House of Lords, nicely tricked in their proper colors and metals, by the skilful hand of Esther Inglis, who offered this exquisite little work as a new year's gift to Henry, Prince of Wales, eldest son of James I. On the first leaf, within a fleur-de-lys, powdered with little gilt dots, is this inscription,—“A Book of the Armes of England doone by me Esther Inglis, Januar the first, 1609.” Within a heart formed by a wreath of green leaves and red and gold flowers, surmounted by a hand holding a golden pen, is written the dedication:—“TO THE MOST EXCELLENT PRINCE HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES. SIR—as your Highnes sees heir the figure of a heart and hand, euen so the lively heart and hand of hir who formed it, so long as I breath, ar vowed to your most Excellent Highnes seruice. Receane the sir in good painit this litle mytte doone by your most humble sermand ESTHER INGLIS.” After this follows the skilfully limned portraiture of Esther Inglis dressed in black, with the wide-spreading ruff of the time round her neck, and a jaunty little high-peaked hat overtopping her yellow hair. On a fly leaf, at the beginning of this little volume is the following inscription;—“This book belonged to the Princes of England, Louisa Stuart. Given

by my uncle Edmund Stils to Mama and by her to me Lucy Knight;" and, on a fly leaf at the end is written:—"Lucy Knight to whom this book belonged, was daughter and heiress of Wm. Knight, of Kingerby in Lincolnshire, Esquire, and married in 1746, Sir Thomas Rookwood Gage, Vth Bart. of Hengrave in Suffolk. Lucy Lady Gage died Sept. 3rd 1781, and is interred in Hengrave Church. Her mother was Miss Jennings, 1st the wife of Col. Styles attached to the court at St. Germain, and afterwards married Wm. Knight, Esqr., of Kingerby."

By His EMINENCE CARDINAL WISEMAN.—Two remarkable rings; one of them of silver, date xv. cent., set with a "crapon," or toadstone, formerly much esteemed as an amulet against poison, as noticed in this volume, p. 155, where mention is made of one presented to Queen Elizabeth. The other, date xvi. cent. is set with an intaglio, a head of our Lord, on bloodstone.

By Mr. J. H. LE KEUX.—A dish of Wedgwood's ware, with white medallions on a light blue ground; it is a choice example, and of interest as having been in use at Longwood, during the time of the captivity of the Emperor Napoleon I. in St. Helena.

By Mr. R. G. P. MINTY.—A silver ring found in the sand at Tenby, Pembrokeshire. The hoop wreathed, its shoulders formed like heads of lions at the sides of the bezel, which is engraved with a crowned I. Date xv. cent.

By Mr. EDMUND WATERTON, F.S.A.—A leaden object or perforated weight (?) marked with pellets and radiating lines, a specimen of the curious class of objects noticed Arch. Journ., vol. xvii. pp. 164, 267. It was found early in the present year in the garden of the College of Mount St. Mary's, Derbyshire.—Portrait, probably of the Old Chevalier, worked in tent-stitch, a bust in armour, surrounded by a garland, with crowns and thistles at the corners. Behind the bust is seen Britannia; above is an angel holding a crown; and around is inscribed I Sam, xvi. 62—"Arise, anoint him for this is he."—"Touch not mine anointed." This relic of loyal attachment to the Stuart family has been preserved at Walton Hall.

By the Rev. WALTER SNEYD.—A pair of gloves of fine white leather, sewn with gold thread; the gauntlet cuffs embroidered with flowers, the pink, columbine, fritillary, &c. Date, about 1580.—An Oriental nautilus-shell mounted in silver, and curiously engraved, ornamented also with niello. Date about 1600.—Some interesting embroideries of the sixteenth century.

ANNUAL LONDON MEETING.

May 3, 1862.

The customary Annual Meeting to receive the report of the Auditors of the previous year, with the statement of Receipts and Expenditure during that period, took place at the Rooms of the Institute on Saturday, May 3. In the absence of the President the chair was taken by Charles Sprengel Greaves, Esq., Q.C.

The Balance-sheet, duly signed by the Auditors for the year 1861, was submitted and approved.

Frederic Ouvry, Esq., Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries, and Robert Taylor Pritchett, Esq., F.S.A., were duly proposed and elected Auditors for the current year.

The following abstract of Cash Accounts was ordered to be printed in the Journal.

Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

ABSTRACT OF CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1861.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Balance at the end of 1860	49	6	9
Admission Fees	73	17	0
Subscriptions	1	10	0
Proceeds of Works, Works, &c., belonging to the Institute	3	3	8
Proceeds of Public Lunch Meetings	11	10	0
Donations for	157	1	3
Lunches	65	3	0
Fees	92	8	3
	492	11	8

EXPENDITURE.

Publication Account:	£	s.	d.
Printing Archaeological Journal	539	1	0
Drawing, Engraving, and Printing	126	17	2
Transactions of Newcastle Meeting, copies purchased	8	2	0
Gloucester Catalogue, ditto	2	0	0
	675	0	2
Library Account:			
Books purchased for Library	33	16	0
Household Expenses Account:			
Rent of Premises, including two Quarters' Arrears	219	0	6
Arrears due to late Secretary	14	19	1
Secretary's Salary (four Quarters)	104	0	0
	437	19	7

Petty Cash Disbursements:

Housekeeper's Account	27	14	9
Messengers and Attendance	21	12	6
Postage and delivery of four Nos. of the Journal	17	4	6
Four Coals	4	6	6
Insurance	3	0	0
Expenses of four Special Exhibitions	19	11	5
Repair in Rooms	4	18	3
Peterborough Meeting Account (omitted)	6	11	6
Other Office Expenses, including Stationery, Postage, carriage of Parcels	31	10	5
Balance in hand	9	10	2
	110	0	0
Balance at Bank (December 31, 1861)	14	7	8
in Secretary's hands	58	8	9
	72	16	7
	492	11	8

Submitted to the General Annual London Meeting on the 3rd of May, 1862, and unanimously approved.
 CHAS. S. GREAVES, *Chairman*.

Signed { SAMUEL B. HOWLETT. }
 { ROBERT T. PRITCHETT. }
 Auditors.

Archæological Intelligence.

A quarterly publication has been announced which will doubtless be welcomed by many of our readers, to be entitled the *HERALD and GENEALOGIST*, and devoted to the antiquities of Heraldry, and to those branches of local and family history to which heraldry lends material aid. It has been truly observed, in the announcement of this new serial miscellany, that notwithstanding the frequent appearance of valuable works on family history, genealogy, and heraldry, as now understood, the archæology of the heraldic art is much in arrear of the advance of antiquarian science. That comparative analysis and chronological arrangement, which have recently brought our notions in regard to architecture in this country from confusion into system and order, may, it is hoped, be applied to heraldry with similar success. Communications should be addressed to Mr. John Gough Nichols, F.S.A., 25, Parliament Street. The first number (price two shillings and sixpence) is in the press. This and ensuing numbers will contain enquiries concerning the earliest writers on armory;—a list of Heralds' Visitations of counties;—notices of royal mottoes;—of Gerard Legh's accedens of Armory, with his portrait as Panther Herald;—and some notice of the rolls, pedigrees, and heraldic MSS. collected for exhibition by the Society of Antiquaries in May, 1862, with other cognate matter acceptable to all who take interest in such researches.

Mr. Papworth has just issued Part IX. of his *Dictionary of Arms* belonging to families in Great Britain and Ireland. We are glad to see this truly important work steadily proceeding without any diminution of the care which has distinguished the earlier Parts; though we can but regret that the public encouragement has not been such as to accelerate its issue. A work of this kind stands alone, and must long be without a rival. It will, when complete, be indispensable to every library which makes any pretence to furnish heraldic, genealogical, or archæological information. For such a volume we ought to be able to wait patiently awhile, that it may be well done throughout; though the portion already issued is so extremely useful as to make us wish for the remainder. We may remind those of our readers who are not yet subscribers, that it differs materially from all other dictionaries and ordinaries of arms in its arrangement: while others enable us to find what arms certain persons have borne, this is adapted to supply the great desideratum and enable us to find what persons have borne certain arms, in short, to answer the frequently recurring question "Whose arms are these?" It is remarkable that four-fifths of the heraldic charges, taken alphabetically, fall under the first six letters, A to F inclusive. We are well pleased therefore to see that Part IX. brings us far into "Chevron." All the coats having beasts or birds for the first charge

are already published. As the work is printed for subscribers, and will not be for sale to the public for some years after its completion at less than double the subscription price, archaeological and literary societies, and the possessors of valuable libraries, as well as those persons who take a peculiar interest in the subject of the publication, will do well to become subscribers. The terms may be learned on application to Mr. J. W. Papworth, 14A, Great Marlborough Street, W.

We have pleasure in inviting attention to the recent publication of a beautiful volume,—*Isca Sibirum*, an Illustrated Catalogue of the Museum of Antiquities at Caerleon; by John E. Lee, F.S.A., Hon. Sec. of the Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association. We hope on an early occasion to bring before our readers the series of works produced under the auspices of that Society, and especially to advert more fully to this valuable Catalogue by Mr. Lee, whose former works on Roman vestiges in the same locality have been noticed in this Journal, vol. ii. p. 417; vol. vii. p. 97. His account of inscriptions and relics found at Caerleon, will also be found, *ibid.*, vol. viii. p. 157. The Museum there formed, chiefly through his exertions and intelligence, comprises an assemblage of inscribed Roman memorials, unequalled in interest by any in the southern parts of the kingdom. The advantages which accrue from local museums, such as those at York, Shrewsbury, Bath, Colchester, &c., are comparatively slight, unless aided by the indispensable accompaniment of a good Catalogue. The utility of the desirable volume before us is enhanced by copious illustrations, consisting of fifty-two plates executed by the author. It may be obtained from Messrs. Longman.

An extended edition of the Parochial Antiquities of Devonshire, by the late Rev. Dr. Oliver, author of the Lives of the Bishops of Exeter, and of the History of that city, recently published, has been announced by Mr. Pollard, Exeter (by subscription, One Guinea). It will form a desirable supplement to the author's valuable works relating to the Ecclesiastical and Monastic Antiquities of the Western Counties.

The learned editor of the Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, the most valuable publication perhaps of the late Record Commission, and to whom we have recently been indebted for a carefully revised text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, published in the series, under direction of the Master of the Rolls, has intimated the intention of publishing (by subscription, in one vol. 8vo.) an important collection of documents from the reign of Æthelbert of Kent, A.D. 605, to the Norman Conquest. It will comprise every charter connected with our pre-Norman history to be found in the late Mr. Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, together with many not contained in that collection. All those in Anglo-Saxon will be accompanied by a translation. These ancient historical monuments will be classed under miscellaneous charters, not simple grants of land; wills, almost exclusively in Saxon; articles of constitution of Anglo-Saxon guilds; and certificates of manmission of serfs. Mr. Thorpe proposes to send this volume to press as soon as a sufficient number of subscribers shall have been obtained to defray the cost of printing. A glossary, local index, and some fac similes will be given. Subscribers' names are received by Messrs. Taylor, Red Lion Court, E.C.

THE CONQUEST OF THE SEVERN VALLEY.



The Archaeological Journal.

SEPTEMBER, 1862.

ON THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF THE SEVERN VALLEY.

By EDWIN GUEST, LL.D., Master of Gonvil and Caius College.

PREVIOUSLY to the battle of Deorham, the whole basin of the Severn and a large portion of the Cotswold, that is of the high upland drained by the Thames, were in the possession of the Welshmen. Their great fortress to the eastward was Cirencester, and some of the later battles between them and their English neighbours had been fought on the line of country which lies between that town and Winchester. The marches separating the two races in this part of Britain, though they had been subjected to several changes, still remained on the whole much as they had been settled half a century before. But there is reason to believe that about the year 571 the kings of Wessex received an accession of strength, that enabled them to carry the war into the very heart of the Welsh territory. I do not stop to inquire whence came this increase of strength, but thereby they were enabled in the year last-mentioned to push their inroads as far north as Bedford, and six years afterwards to lead an army into the rich and beautiful valley, the conquest of which forms the subject of the present paper.

The nature of the country and the circumstances of the times enable us to point out with much probability the direction which the expeditionary force must have taken. It must have advanced along the Roman Road leading from Winchester to Cirencester, and then skirting the borders of Braden forest have reached the Fosse. Down this great highway they passed, ravaging or in the

language of the times, *harrying* the country right and left. West of the Fosse, and on a chain of hills which commands magnificent views of the Severn-valley, lies the village of Deorham. Near it is an ancient earthwork, where as we may conjecture the men of the neighbourhood had retreated with their cattle and other valuables, and where our ancestors were preparing to attack them, when the Welshmen came to the rescue, and the battle of Deorham was the result. It is thus commemorated in the Chronicle.

A. 571. Now Cuthwine and Ceawlin fought with the Brits, and three kings they slew, Commagil and Condidan and Farinmagil in the place that is called Deorham, and they took three cities, Gleawan ceaster and Ciren ceaster and Bathan ceaster.

Various conjectures have been hazarded with respect to the three kings, whose deaths are here recorded. Sharon Turner and Villemarqué consider Condidan to be the same person as the Kyndylan whose death is bewailed in an old Welsh *marwnad*, or elegy, which we shall shortly have occasion to notice more particularly. But it appears clearly enough from the elegy that Kyndylan was slain near Shrewsbury, and therefore could not possibly be the Condidan who according to the Chronicle was slain at Deorham in Gloucestershire. Equally unsatisfactory are the attempts which have been made to identify the other two princes Commagil and Farinmagil. But there is one conjecture with respect to these princes which seems to merit attention, though I do not remember to have seen it noticed elsewhere. When we read that three kings were slain at Deorham, and that the three cities of Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath surrendered, it is a natural inference, that the three Welsh princes were lords of the three cities, and that it was together with the men of these cities and of the dependent districts they fought and lost the battle of Deorham. It is matter of some little interest to know, that in all likelihood the last Welshman who bore rule in Gloucester was named Commagil, or—to give the name its latinised form, which may have been to *him* the most familiar—Cumomagulus.

The conquest of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath must have made the whole valley of the Severn, east of the river and south of Arden, English ground. It is clear from exist-

ing remains that during the Roman period Bath was a wealthy and flourishing town; Gloucester, as we know both from Ravennas and from an inscription found at Bath, was a Roman colony; and with respect to Cirencester, there was probably no town at that time in Britain—York, London, and Colchester excepted—which in importance either civil or military could rank before it. These towns must have represented the district. With the exception of some insignificant road-side stations between Bath and the Severn-ferry, there is hardly another place in this part of Britain, whose Roman name has come down to us. It is just possible that one of the *Alaunæ* and one of the *Salinæ* mentioned by Ravennas may have been intended for our modern Alcester and Droitwich, but they must have been places of little note, and quite unequal to stem the flood of invasion that had set in upon them. There was no spot where the poor Welshman could find a shelter till he reached the great forest-district which spread over the modern counties of Warwick and Worcester.

The southern limits of the new conquests may, I think, be defined with much precision,¹ but in the north the limits can only be determined, and that vaguely, by a consideration of the topography and physical conditions of the country. Where there are so many elements of uncertainty it would be idle to discuss the reasons which led me to lay down the boundaries as they appear in the map. But I am well acquainted with the district, and reasons more or less satisfactory can be given for all the apparently strange wanderings of the pencil. They were not the result of mere accident or caprice.

The possession of Gloucester would naturally tempt our ancestors to cross the river. If we may trust Welsh legend, they carried their inroads, even at the early period of which we are treating, as far westward as the Wye. But the history of the English conquests west of the Severn involves questions of great difficulty, and cannot be discussed incidentally. To avoid premature discussion I have in the map marked all the country west of the river as Welsh territory.

Seven years after their first settlement in the Severn-valley our ancestors made another inroad upon the Welsh-

¹ Vid. *Jour. of Arch. Inst.*, vol. xvi. p. 105.

men. This inroad and the battle it led to forms the subject of the following entry.

A. 584. Now Ceawlin and Cutha fought with the Brits in the place that is called *Fethan leag*, and there Cutha was slain, and Ceawlin took many towns and countless booty, and angry he turned him thence to his own country (*to his agenum*).

In their accounts of this battle Ethelwerd, Florence, and Malmsbury merely copy the Chronicle. Huntingdon tells us that Cuthwine (the Cutha of the Chronicle) fell overpowered with numbers, and that the English were defeated and took to flight; but that Ceawlin again brought the army into order, and inspiring them with a stern determination, at length came off the conqueror.²

I know not whence Huntingdon obtained his knowledge of these particulars, but there is so much that is probable in his story, that I would willingly receive it as true. Fordun labours hard to mix up Aidan King of Scots in all the leading events of this period. He makes him the ally of Maelgwn King of Gwynneth at the battle of Fethan leag,³ and the ally of Cadwallon at the battle of Wodensburgh,⁴ when Ceawlin was defeated. Unfortunately for the zealous Scotchman, Maelgwn died⁵ nearly forty years before the battle of Fethan leag, and Cadwallon flourished in the seventh instead of the sixth century. According to Fordun⁶ the battle of Fethan leag was fought at Stanemore in Westmoreland. The motive which led him to fix on this locality is an obvious one. On Stanemore is "the Rie Cross," which certain Scotch writers maintain to be the ancient and proper *limes*⁷ between Scotland and England. It was accordingly selected as a suitable place for a meeting between a Scottish

² — rursus reparato exercitu cum fugam sui abjurassent, tandem prelio victores vicit. Hist. Ang. 2.

³ Scotichron. iii. 28.

⁴ Ib. iii. 29.

⁵ A.D. 547. Ann. Cambrie.

⁶ Scotichron. iii. 28.

⁷ Usher, whose great demerit is the reference he occasionally shows to our historical romancers, after describing the incidents of the battle of Fethan leag as he found them in the Chronicle and Huntingdon, quotes Fordun as his authority for fixing the locality at Stane-

more. Ant. c. 14. Chalmers, whose great object is to bring his Scotchmen as far south as possible, tells us that "coming to the aid of the Cumbrian Britons, Aidan defeated the Saxons at Fethanlea, at Stanemore in 584," and he gives as his authority, not his countryman Fordun, but "Saxon Chron. p. 22, Usher's Princ., pp. 870, 1147, which quotes the English Chronicles." Vid. Caledonia, i. 282. Frauds of the same kind may be found in every third or fourth page of Chalmers' History.

king and the invading Southron. But it would be waste of time to dwell longer on these fables.

Henry and Hume represent Somerset and Devon as the scene of Ceawlin's conquests, and therefore I presume would locate Fethan leag in one or other of these counties; while our later historians,⁸ almost to a man, identify Fethan leag with Fretherne near Gloucester. I know of no reason for fixing on this locality, except the resemblance supposed to exist between the words *Fretherne* and *Fethan*. But who can point out any known process of corruption by which Fethan could be transformed into Fretherne? Moreover, if we suppose Fretherne to be the place of the battle, where can we find room for the "many towns and countless booty" that were taken after the victory? What significance can we give to the statement that "after the battle Ceawlin turned him thence to his own country?" Frithern was situated in the very heart of the district conquered by the English seven years previously. It lay in the midst of the triangle dominated by the three great fortresses of Gloucester, Bath, and Cirencester, and when they fell must necessarily have fallen with them.

Where then must we look for the place which has given rise to so much conflicting statement? Before we answer the question, it will be necessary to notice a law, which prevails very widely in English topography, and to which I have already on more than one occasion called the attention of the reader. Anglo-Saxon names of places are, almost universally, feminine nouns ending in *e* and forming the genitive case in *an*. When connected with other words, they generally appear as genitives, but sometimes combine with these words and form simple compounds. Thus the Welsh *Glou*,⁹ which in Roman geography takes the form of *Glev-um*, was converted by our ancestors, according to the genius of *their* language into *Glew-e*, and they called the town sometimes *Glewan ceaster*, that is, the chester or city of *Glew-e*, and sometimes *Glewe-ceaster*, of which Gloucester is

⁸ Sh. Turner, *H. of Anglo-Saxons*, 1. 3. 5; Lingard, *H. of A. Saxons*, 12; Lapenburg, *Anglo-Saxon Kings*; B. Thorpe, *Flor. Vigorn.* 8, n; *Mon. Hist. Brit. Sax. Chron.*, p. 304, &c. I should mention that the editors of the last mentioned work append a query—"Fritherne?" Mr.

Thorpe, who hesitates about "Deorham in Gloucestershire?" has no difficulty about Fretherne: "the place of the battle was Fretherne in Gloucestershire."

⁹ *Kair. Glou.*, id est, *Gloucecestria*. H. Hunt. lib. i.

the corruption. Now, in Anglo-Saxon topography, the genitive form was used in the great majority of instances, but in modern usage the simple compound prevails almost to its entire exclusion. There are indeed a few names of places which still retain the genitive. Thus Cheltenham is certainly a corruption of *Celtan ham*, the hamlet of the *Celt-e*—*Celt-e* being no doubt the Anglo-Saxon name for the Chelt, the river, or rather brook, which flows through Cheltenham. Instances, however, of these genitive forms are now extremely rare. They have in almost all cases given way to the simple compounds.

The reader will now have little hesitation in recognising a genitive case in the first element of the name *Fethan leag*, and, in considering such name as equivalent to The lea of Feth-e. If we suppose the place still to retain its ancient appellation, the name would according to analogy take the form of a simple compound, Fethe-ley. In certain of our dialects *th* in the middle of a word is often represented by *d*; thus, in the North of England, for *father*, *mother*, *another*, &c. they very commonly say *fader*, *modder*, *anudder*, &c. If the place we are in search of were situated in one of these districts, we might expect to find its name modified accordingly.

Now, just within the borders of Cheshire, at the entrance of the Vale Royal, and some three miles west of Namptwich, is a village called Faddiley. In the neighbourhood of this village I believe the battle of Fethan leag was fought.

Of course identity of name does not necessarily prove identity of place. Let us, then, inquire how far the selection of Faddiley, as the place of this battle will meet the requirements of the story, as they may be gathered from the Chronicle.

If the battle were fought at Faddiley, Ceawlin must have advanced up the Severn valley, and entered Shropshire somewhere in the neighbourhood of Arceley Magna. Thence he must have marched to the Tern, and up the valley of that river to the borders of Cheshire; and crossing the line of watershed, he would, a few miles further on, find himself at Faddiley. Such was the most direct route to Faddiley from the Vale of Gloucester, and such I believe to have been the only practicable route at the time in question. Now the valley of the Tern is the very heart of Shropshire, a district full of rich pastures and peopled villages, and

abounding in ancient remains, both Roman and British, which show that its advantages were as highly appreciated in the sixth as they are in the nineteenth century. Here, then, we have a country, which might readily furnish the "many towns and countless booty" mentioned in the Chronicle; and as Faddiley is some ninety miles distant from Gloucester, the statement that after the battle Ceawlin "turned him thence to his own country," has an appropriate meaning. Even the strange statement that he returned in anger, seems to admit of explanation, on the hypothesis that has been started. If we suppose that in the ardour of success some of his officers pushed on unbidden into the Vale Royal, and so exposed themselves to an attack from Chester, we can understand the anger which Ceawlin must have felt at an act of imprudence, that led to the loss of a brother, and might, but for the energy with which he hurried to the rescue, have led to the destruction of an army.

Let us now see how far the conclusions we have arrived at agree with the revelations which are furnished us by the light of Welsh tradition. Unsubstantial forms they are, but they may nevertheless be the shadows of real and substantial history.

There is extant an old Welsh *marwnad*, or elegy, which bewails the death of a certain Welsh prince named Kyn-dylan. The poem is generally ascribed to Llywarch Hen, who is said to have lived in the sixth century. It was edited by Owen Pugh, chiefly it would seem from the Red Book of Herghest, a MS. of the fourteenth century. now the property of Jesus College,¹ Oxford; and was published by him, first, in the Myvyrian Archæology, and secondly, with a translation in a separate volume, which contains a collection of Llywarch Hen's poems. It was afterwards edited likewise with a translation by Villemarqué, in his "Bardes Brétons," professedly² from the Black Book of Carmarthen,

¹ The courtesy with which this society have at all times made it available for the purposes of literature, is too well known, to need any eulogy from me.

² Comme les autres pièces de Liwarch celle-ci est tirée du Livre noir de Hengwrt, confronté avec le Livre rouge de Herghest. Bardes Brétons, p. 124. The Black Book, generally known as the Black Book of Carmarthen, is the most valuable

of the Hengwrt MSS. This celebrated collection, which formerly belonged to the Vaughan family, is now the property of Mr. Wynne of Peniarth, M.P. for Merionethshire. It is matter of public interest to know that these precious relics are now in the possession of a gentleman, who most thoroughly appreciates their value.

a MS. of the twelfth century. The first editor modernised the orthography, and frequently altered the wording of his MS.; and as one-third of his translation is open to question, these are liberties which a critical reader will be slow to pardon. But if the reader be dissatisfied with Owen Pugh's edition, the edition of Villemarqué is little likely to secure his confidence. The peculiarities of the language must, I should think, arrest the attention of every one that has studied the comparative grammar of the Celtic dialects; and the perplexities they occasioned me were so great, that I was at last driven to take a journey into Merionethshire, with the view of comparing the printed text with its supposed original. I went over the Black Book, page by page, but could find in it *no trace whatever* of the Elegy on Kyn-dylan. There were three poems in the MS. with which the name of Llywarch Hen was connected, but only in occasional stanzas did they exhibit any correspondence with the poems that appear in Villemarqué's volume. I mention the fact, but offer no explanation of it. When I add, that Owen Pugh in his edition of the Marwnad frequently gives us various readings, taken professedly from the Black Book (Llyfyr du), the reader will probably agree with me in thinking, that any attempt to unravel these difficulties had better be postponed to a more fitting opportunity.

As the copy of the poem in the Red Book is the oldest I am acquainted with, I have taken it for my text; and in so doing, have been anxious to give a transcript of the MS., which shall be correct, not merely to the letter, but also as regards the junction of words, and the punctuation, blundered though it may be. The only liberty I have taken has been in ranging the lines rhythmically, whereas the MS. has the lines in each triplet written continuously.

My translation is intended to be *literal*. In the versions of Owen Pugh and Villemarqué we frequently have the second person instead of the third, verbs inserted *ad libitum*, and the rendering in very many cases so loose, that it is impossible to say what construction they have put upon the original. We are sometimes at a loss to know what is the meaning they wish to convey by their translation, and even when the meaning of a triplet taken by itself is tolerably clear, it is often difficult to discover its relevancy, or its connection with the triplet preceding or succeeding. Some

of these difficulties may be inherent in the poem itself, as it has come down to us. We know from Gyraldus Cambrensis, and it might be easily shown from existing MSS., that many of these old Welsh poems were subjected to great alterations at the hands of successive transcribers. Triplets were transposed and interpolated, and it is quite possible that Llywarch Hen would only occasionally recognise his own handywork in the poem before us. Still, however, the transcriber of the fourteenth century must have seen a certain coherency between the several portions of the poem he was copying; and one part of the duty of a translator will be to point out such coherency as far as he is able. I trust that the present translation, literal though it be, will present to the reader a more intelligible and connected story than can be gathered from the preceding ones.

The poem is written in what is termed the *triban milwr*, or soldier's triplet, that is, in the oldest known form of Welsh versification. Its style is essentially lyrical. One of its peculiarities distinguishes all the poems of Llywarch Hen, or rather I would say distinguishes that school of poetry of which Llywarch Hen was the type—I mean the custom of beginning several consecutive stanzas or triplets, sometimes to the number of ten or more, with the same ejaculatory phrase, which forms as it were the key-note of the stanza. The same images often recur, and the same thought is often presented in slightly varying forms in these consecutive triplets, and owing to such parallelism, we may not unfrequently discover the meaning of a line, which might otherwise occasion us much difficulty. Sometimes the sentence proceeds in the second person, "Kyndylan, thou wert, &c.;" but more frequently in the third, "Kyndylan, he was, &c." In many cases no verb whatever can be discovered, and the triplet is made up of mere ejaculations.

I have appended to my translation copious notes explaining the grounds on which it rests, and affording the reader the means of correcting it when erroneous. A translation of one of these old poems without such accompaniment has always seemed to me to be little better than a fraud upon the reader.

In the opening stanzas the aged poet imagines himself escaping with the females of his family from the scene of carnage. He has reached some eminence, and rests awhile

to contemplate the ruin of his country. The mangled body of his slaughtered chieftain first rises to his view; but he shrinks from the image he has conjured up, and chooses rather to picture him at the head of his Welshmen watching the invaders from the mountain's slope, it may be from the sides of the Wrekin, till goaded by the cries and taunts of his injured countrymen, the fiery chief rushes down upon our ancestors, and meets his death at their hands upon the plain.

- Sefych allan vorynnion³ asyllvch werydre 1 Stand forth, maidens, and survey the land
gynydlan : of Kyndylan.
llys benn gvern neut tande : Pengwern's palace, is it not in flames?
gvaec ieuene⁴ acidun brotre. Woe to the youth that longs for good
fellowship!
- Vnprenn agouit⁵ arnav 2 One tree⁵ with the tendril on it
odieine⁷ ys odit : Is escaping it may be—
ae auyuno⁸ duy derffit. But what God shall have willed, let it
come!
- Kyndylan callon iaen gaeaf : 3 Kyndylan, with heart like the ice of
awant tŷrch try y benn : Winter
tu¹⁰ ardeist yr evrvf trenn. With thrust of wild boar⁹ through his
head—
*Thou*¹¹ hast dispensed the ale of Tren!
- Kyndylan callon godeith wannwyn. 4 Kyndylan, with heart like the fire¹² of
ogyflo¹³ yn amgyuyeith.¹⁵ Spring,
yu amwyn tren tref diffeith. By the common oath, in the midst of the
common speech,¹⁴
Defending Tren that wasted town!
- Kyndylan befyrbost kywlat. 5 Kyndylan, bright pillar of his country.
kadvyuave¹⁶ kit¹⁷ dyunyave cat. Chain-bearer, obstinate in fight,
amuces-i¹⁸ tren tref y dat. Protected Tren his father's town!

³ *Morwyn*, W. *ion* pl. The frequent absorption of the *w* is a marked feature in the language of this poem. Vid. *amuces-i*, st. 5, *iv*, st. 15, &c.

⁴ Both O. Pugh and Villemarqué make this a plural noun. But the plural form seems occasionally to have been used with a singular meaning. Vid. *Yfouonc*, Norris' Corn. Voc. The verb is certainly singular.

⁵ That is, himself and family. As Shropshire was an *argued*, or woodland, these similes are characteristic and appropriate. Vid. st. 16, 45.

⁶ O. Pugh, without authority, substituted for this word *gyrdl rid* the wood name, and in so doing is followed by Villemarqué. I take the last syllable of *gyrdl* to be the same as the last syllable of *gyrdl rid*, and *go* to be the diminutive prefix we find in *go-bant*, *go-vron*, &c.

⁷ *dyone*, W. The Breton *o* prefixed to infinitives gives them a participial meaning like the Welsh *yn*.

⁸ *myu-u*, W., 2nd future, 3rd pers. sing.

⁹ That is the English enemy. O. Pugh makes *Tŷrch* a proper name!

¹⁰ This word is not clearly written in the MS. O. Pugh reads *ti*, but without authority. Vid. *peithuac*, st. 28.

Rhoddi, W.

¹¹ The change from the third to the second person is remarkable. It seems to intimate a sudden change of feeling on the part of the poet.

¹² The *goddaiith*, or fire kindled in spring to consume the dried gorse, was subjected to many regulations by the Welsh laws. ¹³ *cyflw*, W.

¹⁴ That is, in the midst of his Welshmen. ¹⁵ *gyfaiith*, W. I have endeavoured to give the force of the prefix *am*.

¹⁶ *cadwgyauy*, W.

¹⁷ The prefix *cyd*; in modern Welsh the compound would take the form of *cyn-dynauy*. This form actually occurs in the next stanza.

¹⁸ *amwieg-aw*, W., to wrap round, to shroud. The *w* is absorbed, vid. st. 1, note 3, and the letters *xy* are transposed.

Kyndylan beurybvyll¹ ovri.²
kadynavc kynddynyave llu :
amaucsci tren lht travu.

Kyndylan callon milgi
pan disgynnei³ ygkymelri⁴ cat :
calaned⁵ aladei.⁶

Kyndylan callon hebave.
buteir⁷ ennwir gyundeiryave.⁸
keneu kyndrvyn kynddynyave.

Kyndylan callon gvythlwhc
pan disgynnei ympriffvch⁹ cat.
kalaned yndcudrvch.

Kyndylan gulhvhc¹¹ gynnificat llev.
blei dilin¹² disgynniat :
nyt atuer¹³ tvrch tref y¹⁴ dat.

Kyndylan lht tra attat yd adei.
y gallon mor wylat :¹⁶
gantav¹⁷ mal y gvrvf¹⁸ y cat.

Kyndylan powis borffor wych yt :
kell esbyt bywyt ior :¹⁹
keneu kyndrvyn kvynitor.

Kyndylan wynn uab kyndrvyn :
ny mat²⁰ wise beraf am y drvyn :
gyr ny bo gwelld no morwyn.

6 Kyndylan, bright intelligence departed,
Clain-bearer, obstinate in the host,
Protected Tren as long as he was living.

7 Kyndylan with heart of greyhound,
When he descended to the turmoil of
battle,
A carnage he carved out.

8 Kyndylan with heart of hawk,
Was the true enraged
Cub of Kyndruyn, the stubborn one.

9 Kyndylan with heart of wild-boar,
When he descended to the onset of
battle,
There was carnage in two heaps.¹⁰

10 Kyndylan, hungry boar, ravager, lion,
Wolf fast-holding of descent—
The wild boar will not give back his
father's town !¹⁵

11 Kyndylan ! while towards thee fled
His heart, 'twas a great festival
With him, like the press of the battle !

12 Kyndylan of the Powis purple gallant
is he !
The strangers' refuge, their life's anchor,
Son of Kyndruyn, the much to be
lamented !

13 Kyndylan, fair son of Kyndruyn,²¹
No fitting garb is the beard about the
nose—
Will a man be no better than a maid ?

¹ *pefyr*, W. *pyyll*, W.

² *obry*, W.

³ *discyn-u*, W.

⁴ *cymhelri*, W. The *g* "eclipses" the *k* in *gkymelri*, as it does the *c* in *gcallon*, st. 17. In like manner we have the *t* eclipsed by *n* in *ntauavt*, st. 46. This orthographical expedient, though now confined to the Irish, was at one time very generally used in other languages. Vid. the author's paper on Orthogr. Expedients, Phil. Trans. vol. iii. p. 1. Before a guttural, *yn* appears to lose its final *n*; *y-gkymelri*, st. 7, *y-goct*, st. 35, &c. Before a labial, *yn* becomes *ym*; vid. *ympriffvch*, st. 9, *ymbed*, st. 22, *ymbronn*, st. 52, &c.

⁵ *clanedd*, W.

⁶ *ladd*, W.

⁷ *byddai'r*, W.

⁸ *cynddviaryng*, W.

⁹ *priffvch*, the first push, the onset; *hwch*, W., a push.

¹⁰ That is, I suppose, right and left. *trwch*, W., means a cut, a thickness, a depth. Perhaps a better rendering would be, in two *swatches*.

¹¹ *goulo*, Bret. empty; *gul* may be a connected word.

¹² I consider this word to be the root

of *dylyn-u*, to cleave to, just as *glyn*, adherent, is the root of *glyn-u*.

¹³ *adver-u*, W.

¹⁴ One difficulty in translating the poems in the Red Book arises from the different words represented by this letter. Here it evidently represents the Welsh *ei*.

¹⁵ Stanzas 7, 8, 9 describe, it would seem, Kyndylan's rush down the mountain. From st. 10 we learn the result: the wild-boar, *i.e.* the English enemy, will not give back, &c.

¹⁶ *gwylad*, W.

¹⁷ *gant*, Bret.

¹⁸ *guryf*, W.

¹⁹ *cor*, Bret. *hear*, W.

²⁰ *mad*, Bret.

²¹ In stanzas 11, 12, the poet describes the large heart and noble sympathies of his chieftain. The two following stanzas, according to my rendering, contain the taunts which Llywarch addressed to Kyndylan, in order to induce him to rush down to his rescue. In stanzas 15, 16, Llywarch's better nature gets the upper hand, and he bids his chief watch for the general welfare, and leave him to his fate. Throughout the poem Llywarch represents himself as the cause of his chief-

Kyndylan kymmyat¹ vyt:
ar meithyd² na bydy lvyt:³
amdrebvll⁴ tvll⁵ dy ysgvyt.

Kynddylan kaedi yriv.
ynyddav⁶ lloegyryws hediv:
angeled am vn nydiv.⁷

Kyndylan kaedi ynenn.
ynyddav lloegyryws drvy dren:
ny elwir coet o vn prenn.

Gan vy geallon i mor dru.⁸
kysylltu ystyllot⁹ dri:
gyym gnawt kyndylan kyngran¹¹ canllu.

14 Kyndylan! a cause of grief thou art—
Set forward will not be the array,
Around the pressure of the covert of thy
shield!

15 Kyndylan, keep thou the slope,
Till the Lloegyryws come to-day,—
Anxiety on account of one is not fitting.

16 Kyndylan, keep thou the top⁸
Till the Lloegyryws come through Tren—
'Tis not called a wood for one tree!

17 My heart has great misery
In joining together the black boards—
Fair is the flesh of Kyndylan, the common
grief of a hundred hosts!

Pengwern, as is well known, was the old Welsh name for Shrewsbury, and accordingly at Shrewsbury we must fix the *Llys Pengwern*. The attempt to identify the town of Tren will raise questions more difficult to answer, and which had better be deferred till we come to consider what is meant by "the White Town," of which we shall find mention made further on in the poem. *Lloegyry* is the Welsh name for England, and that *Lloegyry-ryws* meant the men of England, or in other words our own ancestors, seems clear enough, though even on this point Owen Pugh has contrived to raise a difficulty. In his dictionary he tells us "the English or the inhabitants of modern Lloegyry are always called Saeson and never Lloegyryws after the name of the country." It would be easy to disprove this assertion from other poems which Owen Pugh has edited; but in truth there are always abundant means at hand of setting Owen Pugh at issue with himself. In the preface to his edition of this very poem, he describes the Lloegyryws as "probably Saxons and Roman Britons united;" and Villemarqué, following his lead, calls them "les forces combinées des Saxons et des Logriens." Neither of these writers advances a single argument to show

tain's death. Vid. st. 46, 57, &c. The association which connects the stanzas 13, 14, with the two preceding ones is not very easily traced. The mention of Kyndylan's generosity seems to have reminded the poet of the circumstances under which he last claimed that prince's aid; and the past comes before him with all the vividness of present reality.

¹ *cymharydd*, W.

² I have construed *ar meithyd* as if it were a derivative of *arfuath*. This latter word is compounded of *ar* and *maeth*.

³ *Uydd*, W.

⁴ *trgyryll*, W.

⁵ *tvll*, W.

⁶ *daw*, W. 3rd pers. sing. fut. of *dawed*. The subst. aggr. *lloegyryws* seems here to be put in agreement with a verb singular. Vid. p. 210, n. 10.

⁷ *gwir*, W. Vid. p. 204, n. 3.

⁸ That is, keep your post on the mountain till the enemy attacks you.

⁹ *droy*, Bret.

¹⁰ *estell*, W.

¹¹ *grawn*, W.

there really was any such combination of forces, and I can see no good reason why the Lloegyryws who invaded Shropshire, might not have been as free from Welsh admixture, as their ancestors who landed ninety years before in Southampton water.

The triplets which follow those we have quoted furnish us with the sequel of the tragedy. They bring successively before us the ruined hall, the eagles sailing over the field of battle, the rescue of the body, and the secret burial.

Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno
heb dan heb wely :
wylaf¹ wers,² tawaf³ wedy.

Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno.
heb dan heb gannwyll :
namyn duv pvy⁴ am dryr⁵ pvyll.

Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno.
heb dan heb olenat :⁶
elit⁷ amdav amdanat.

Stauell gyndylan ystywyll y nenn.
gvedy gven gyweithyd :⁸
grae nywna⁹ da aedyud.¹⁰

Stauell gyndylan neut athwyt¹¹ hebwed.
mae imbed¹² dy ysevyt :
hyt tra uu¹³ ny bu doll¹⁴ glvyt.¹⁵

Stauell gyndylan ys dygaryat¹⁶ heno.
gwedy yr neb pienat¹⁷
———¹⁸ a anghau¹⁹ byrr ymgat.²⁰

Stauell gyndylan nyt esmvyth heno.
arben carree hytwyth :
heb ner. heb niner heb amvyth.²²

18 Kyndylan's Hall is dark to-night,
Without fire, without bed !
I'll weep awhile, afterwards I shall be
silent.

19 Kyndylan's Hall is dark to-night,
Without fire, without candle !
God except, who will give me patience !

20 Kyndylan's Hall is dark to night,
Without fire, without light—
Let there come spreading silence around
thee !

21 Kyndylan's Hall ! dark is its roof
After the fair assemblage !
Alas, it makes not well its end !

22 Kyndylan's Hall, art thou not bereft of
seemliness ?
In the grave is thy shield !
As long as he was living, there was no
break in the shingle.

23 Kyndylan's Hall is forlorn to night,
Since there has been no one owning it—
—— ah ! death will not leave me long !

24 Kyndylan's Hall is not pleasant to-night,
On the top of Carree Hytwyth²¹—
Without Lord, without company, without
feast !

¹ gwyl-aw, W.

² gwars, W.

³ taw, W. *tav.* Bret., silence. The
verb seems to be now obsolete in both
languages.

⁴ pwy, W.

⁵ dyro-i, W.

⁶ goleuad, W.

⁷ el-u, W.; imp. mood.

⁸ cyweithydd, W.

⁹ gwn-a, W.

¹⁰ dyfeth, W.

¹¹ ath-u, W.

¹² imbed. Vid. p. 204, n. 4.

¹³ This must be read *uu*, or in Welsh
orthography, *fu*. Generally the *v*'s in

this MS., are to be pronounced as *u*'s,
and the *u*'s as *v*'s.

¹⁴ tawl, W.

¹⁵ clawd, W.

¹⁶ digariad, W.

¹⁷ piaw, W.

¹⁸ I cannot well make this word out.
Villemarqué quotes the Red Book as
reading *wi*. The word may possibly be
gwi.

¹⁹ ankou, Bret. ²⁰ ymgad-u, W.

²¹ This seems to have been the old
Welsh name of the Castle-Hill at Shrews-
bury.

²² ammyth, W.

- Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno.
heb dan heb gerdeu :¹
dygystud² deurud³ dagreu.
- Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno.
_____ ⁴ heb deulu.
hedyl men yt gynnu.⁵
- Stauell gyndylan amgvan⁶ y gvelet.
heb doet⁷ heb dan :
marv vyglyv.⁸ buv⁹ muhuan.¹⁰
- Stauell gyndylan ys peithuac¹¹ heno.
gvedy ketwyr¹² uodave :¹³
eluan kyndylan kaeave.
- Stauell gyndylan ys oergrei¹⁴ heno.
gvedy y parch ambuei :¹⁵
heb wyr heb wraged¹⁶ ac catwei.
- Stauell gyndylan ys araf heno.
gvedy colli y himaf :
y mavr drugauc duv pwnaf.¹⁷
- Stauell gyndylan ystywyll y nenn.
gvedy dyua oloegyrywys :
kyndylan ac eluan powys.
- Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno.
oblaat kyndrwyn :
kynon agviavn agvyn.
- Stauell gyndylan amerwan,¹⁸ pobawr
gvedy mavr ymgynyrdan.¹⁹
aweles ar dy beitan.
- Eryr eli ban ylef²⁰
llewssci²¹ gyvr llynu :
creu callon kyndylan wynu.
- 25 Kyndylan's Hall is gloomy to-night
Without fire, without songs—
Tears are the trouble of my cheeks !
- 26 Kyndylan's Hall is gloomy to-night
_____ ⁴ without family—
- 27 Kyndylan's Hall pierces me to see it,
Without roof, without fire—
Dead is my chief, myself alive !
- 28 Kyndylan's Hall lies waste to-night.
After warrior's contented—
Elvan, Kyndylan, Kaeave !
- 29 Kyndylan's Hall is piercing cold to-night,
After the honor that befell me—
Without the men, without the women it
sheltered !
- 30 Kyndylan's Hall is still to-night,
After the losing of its Elder—
The great — ¹⁷ God ! what shall I do !
- 31 Kyndylan's Hall ! gloomy is its roof,
Since the destruction by the Loegyrywys
Of Kyndylan and Elvan of Powis.
- 32 Kyndylan's Hall is gloomy to-night
On account of the children of Kyndruyn—
Kynon, and Gwianu and Gwyn.
- 33 Kyndylan's Hall pierces me every hour—
After the great gathering din at the fire
Which I saw at thy ²¹ fire-hearth !
- 34 Eli's eagle, loud his cry,
He has swallowed fresh drink,
Heart-blood of Kyndylan fair !

¹ *cerdd*, W. Pl. *cerddi*. Vid. n. 11.² *dygystudd*, W.³ *deurudd*, W.⁴ Some words have been evidently omitted in the MS.⁵ I cannot construe this line.⁶ *gvan-u*, W.⁷ *toet*, W.⁸ *glyw*, W.⁹ *byr*, W.¹⁰ *muhuan*, W.¹¹ *peithiavg*, W. It seems occasionally to take the place of one of the narrow vowels, *i*, *y*, &c. Vid. *muhuan*, n. 27 ; *tu* for *ti*, n. 3 ; *rygerin* for *ri qeriu*, n. 54, &c.¹² *cutwr*, W. *codwyr*, pl.¹³ *loddawg*, W.¹⁴ *oergrei*, W.¹⁵ *huc*, W. The pluperfect tense seems to have been used occasionally with the sense of the perfect. Vid. *llewssci*, n. 34.¹⁶ *gwraig*, W. *gwraigodl*, pl.¹⁷ Owen Pugh reads *drugaravg*, but I do not know on what authority ; and Villemarqué, following him, has *trugarok*. These words of course represent the Welsh, *trugarawg*, merciful. I cannot construe *drugauc*.¹⁸ *gwna*, W.¹⁹ *erwan-u*, W.²⁰ O. Pugh translates this word by "echoing clamour," Villemarqué by "tumulte." *Dyar* means a din ; and supposing this word compounded with *cy* the *d* would be changed to *n*, and we might account for the two middle syllables of *ymgygyrdan* : the prefix *ym* would further give us *ymgygyr*, a surrounding din. The last syllable is I suppose the Welsh *tan*. If so it should be written as a distinct word.²¹ The change of person does not admit of an easy explanation.²² *tlef*, W.²³ *huc-u*, W. ; pluperfect, 3 sing. Vid. *huc*, n. 29.

Eryr eli gorelwi¹ heno
y² gvaet gyvr gvyun novi :³
ef ygoet⁴ trwm hoet ymi.

Eryr eli aglywaf⁶ heno.
croulyt yv nys beidyaf.⁷
ef ygoet trwm⁹ hoet arnaf.

Eryr eli gorthrymet¹⁰ heno.
dyffrynt meissir mygedave :
dir brochuael hir rigodet.¹³

Eryr eli eeheidv¹⁴ myr.
nythreid¹⁵ pyscavt¹⁶ ynebyr.
gelvit¹⁸ gvelit¹⁹ owaet gwyr.

Eryr eli gorymda coet.
kyuore kinyaua :²⁰
ae llavch²¹ llvydit²² ydraha.²³

Eryr penngvern penngarn llvyt.
aruchel yatles.²⁴
eidic amgie.

Eryr penngvern penngarn llvrt.
aruchel y euan.²⁶
eidic amgie²⁷ kyndylan.

Eryr pengvern pengarn llvyt.
aruchel y adaf.²⁸
eidic amgie agaraf.

Eryr pengvern pell galwvnt²⁹ heno.
arwaet gyvr gvylat :³⁰
ry gelwir trenn tref difavt.³¹

35 Eli's eagle screams aloud to-night,
In the blood of fair men he wallows !
He is in the wood³—a heavy' grief to
me !

36 Eli's eagle I hear to-night—
Bloody is he—I defy not⁸—
He is in the wood, a heavy grief to me !

37 Eli's eagle let him afflict to-night
Meissir's¹¹ vale illustrious—
Brochmael's¹² land !—long let him affront
it !

38 Eli's eagle keeps the seas ;
He will not course the fish in the river's
mouth¹⁷—
Let him call—let him look out for the
blood of *men* !

39 Eli's eagle traverses the wood
At dawn to feast—
His greed—may his boldness prosper it !

40 Pengwern's eagle with the grey horn-
beak,
Very loud his echoing voice
Eager for the flesh, &c.²⁵

41 Pengwern's eagle with the grey horn-beak,
Very loud his call of defiance
Eager for Kyndylan's flesh !

42 Pengwern's eagle with the grey horn-beak,
Very loud his clamour.
Eager for the flesh of him I love !

43 Pengwern's eagle ! from afar is his call to
night—
For the blood of men is his look out—
Truly will Tren be called the ruined
town !

¹ *goralw*, W. 3 sing. old form.

² Vid. *ygkymelri*, st. 7.

³ *noji-aw* ; 3 sing. old form.

⁴ Vid. *ygkymelri*, st. 7.

⁵ i.e. in his coffin.

⁶ *clw-ed*, W.

⁷ *beiddliaw*, W.

⁸ This and the 12 following triplets contain, as I construe them, a mere out-pouring of despair. In his prostration, the poet bids welcome to the evils that are overwhelming him.

⁹ I take this to be the same word as *trwm* in st. 35, though with a different orthography.

¹⁰ *gorthrym-u*, W. ; imp. m. 3 sing.

¹¹ *Meissir*, as we gather from the latter part of the poem, was Kyndylan's sister.

¹² This must be the celebrated Brochmael Ysgythrawg, King of Powis.

¹³ *rhigodd-i*, W. ; imp. m. 3 sing.

¹⁴ *cadw*, W.

¹⁵ *treiddiaw*, W.

¹⁶ *pysgod*, W.

¹⁷ The meaning seems to be, usually he keeps the seas, *now* he does not chase the fish, but looks out for the blood of men.

¹⁸ *galw*, W.

¹⁹ *gylaw*, W.

²⁰ *cinlawa*, W.

²¹ *llawg*, W.

²² *lleydd-aw*, W.

²³ *traha*, W.

²⁴ *adlais*, W.

²⁵ Some words are here evidently omitted in the MS.

²⁶ I have construed this word as if it were a derivative of *hew*. O. Pugh, in his edition spells it *icuan*. There is an adjective *icuin*, clamorous.

²⁷ *cig*, W.

²⁸ *adaf*, W., a din ; *adaf* may be a derivative.

²⁹ A derivative of *gale*.

³⁰ A derivative of *gwel-ed*.

³¹ *difocd*, W.

- Evr pennvern pell gelwit heno.
arwaet gyv gvelit:
ry gelwir trenn tref lethrit.¹
- Eglyvysseu bassa yordfwys² heno.
ydlwedd³ ymgynnyys.⁴
eledyr⁵ kat callon argoetwis.
- Eglyvysseu bassa ynt faeth heno.
vyntauavt⁷ ae gvnaeth:⁸
rud ynt vy rwy vy hiraeth.
- Eglyvysseu bassa ynt yng heno.
yctued kyndrvyn:
tir mablan kyndylan wynn.
- Eglyvysseu bassa ynt tirion heno.
ygvnaeth eu meillyon:⁹
rud ynt vy. rvy vyingcallon¹¹
- Eglyvysseu bassa collasant eu breint.¹²
gvedy y dyna o loegyrywys:
kyndylan ac elvan powys.
- Eglyvysseu bassa ynt diua heno.
yehetwyr¹³ ny phara.¹⁴
gyv awyr ami yma.
- Eglyvysseu bassa ynt baruar¹⁵ heno.
aminnu wyf dyar:
nid ynt vy rvy vyggular.¹⁷
- Y dref wem ymbromm y coet.
ysef yv yhefras¹⁸ eiryoct:
ar wyneb y gvelit y gvaet.
- Y dref wen ynythmyr¹⁹
y hefras yglas vyuyr:²¹
y gvaet adan draet y gyv.
- 44 Pengvern's eagle! from afar let him call
to night—
For the blood of men let him look out—
Truly will Tren be called the town of
flame!
- 45 Bassa's Churches! there rests to night—
There ends—there shrinks within him-
self,
He, that was the Shelter in battle—
Heart of the men of Argoet!⁶
- 46 Bassa's churches are enriched to-night—
My tongue hath done it!
Ruddy⁹ are they, overflowing my grief!
- 47 Bassa's churches are close neighbouring
to-night
To the heir of Kyndrvyn—
Grave-yard of Kyndylan fair!
- 48 Bassa's churches are lovely to-night—
Their clover hath made them so—
Ruddy are they, overflowing my heart!
- 49 Bassa's churches have lost their privilege
Since the destruction by the Loegyrywys
Of Kyndylan and Elvan of Powys.
- 50 Bassa's churches are to make an end to
night—
The warriors are not to continue—
He knows who knoweth all things, and I
here know.
- 51 Bassa's churches are still to-night—
And I am to cry!
They¹⁶ are not—overflowing is my lament.
- 52 The White Town in the bosom of the
wood!
There has ever been of its lustyhood,
On the surface of the grass, the blood!
- 53 The White Town in the country-side!
Its lustyhood—its grey thoughtfulness—²⁰
The blood under the feet of its warriors!

¹ *Peth id.*, W.² *gyffwys*, W.³ *dlwedd-u*, W.⁴ *ymgynnyys-ar*, W.⁵ *clawr*, W.

The Welsh seem to have given to Shropshire the name of Argoed, or Woodland.

⁷ *tafauwl*, W. The *t* is here eclipsed by the *a*.⁸ *gva*, W.; pret.⁹ That is, with blood.¹¹ *yingcallon*, W.; subst. aggr. *Vid.* st. 15, *gyngwas*.¹² Here *ny* eclipses the *e* of *collas*.¹³ *brant*, W.¹⁴ *cal-u*, W.; *colwy*, pl.¹⁵ *par-u*, W.¹⁶ *paruar*, W.¹⁶ That is, the warriors mentioned in the preceding stanza.¹⁷ *gular*, W.¹⁸ *cefas*, W., means plump; and in his Dictionary O. Pugh makes the word a substantive on the authority of the passage in the text. He there defines it the "plumpness of youth." Villemarqué reads *gyfras*, but I believe without any authority.¹⁹ *nythmyr*, W., properly means one's native district.²⁰ That is, its grey-headed seniors. O. Pugh construes "its blue sons of contemplation;" and supposes that the bards are meant!²¹ *myfyr*, W.

Y dref weñ ynydyfflynt llbawen yvyeir ¹ vrth gyvanrud ² kat : vgverin ³ neurderynt.	54 The White Town in the valley ! Joyful its troop with the common spoil of battle— Its people are they not gone ?
Y dref wenn rvng trenn athrodwyd. Oed gnodach ysgwyt tonn : yndyuot o gat nogyt ych yechwyd.	55 The White Town between Tren and Trodywd ! More common was the broken shield Coming from battle, than the evening ox. ⁴
Y dref wenn rvng trenn athraual. Oed gnodach y gaut : ⁵ Ar wyneb gvclit noc credie brynar. ⁶	56 The White Town between Tren and Traval ! More common was the blood On the surface of the grass, than the ploughed fallow !
Gvynn yvyt ⁷ freuer mor yv diheint. ⁸ heno gvedy colli keuneint : ⁹ oanffavt ¹⁰ vyntauavt ¹¹ yt lesseint.	57 Alas ! Freur ! how sad is it, to-night After the loss of kindred ! By the mishap of my tongue were they slain ! &c.

Freur, as we learn from the latter part of the poem, was Kyndylan's sister. I do not, however, intend to trace out the various members of this chieftain's family ; nor shall I speculate as to the rank or power they possessed among their countrymen. All that we can know on these matters must be gathered from the poem ; and, as we have no means of comparison, we have no sure ground whereon to base any critical inference. Such inquiries moreover would throw but little light on the subject immediately before us. Indeed the latter part of the poem contains so little that is of historical interest, that it would hardly repay us for the time and trouble which must be spent in unravelling its difficulties. I shall not therefore proceed further with my translation.

Bassa's Churches were no doubt a group of small churches, such as we find at Glendalough and other places in Ireland. The hallowed spot where the last Welsh Lord of Pengwern received a hurried and a blood-stained burial, may probably be recognised in Baschurch, a small town or, rather, village lying some seven miles north of Shrewsbury. Names of places on the Welsh border appear to be in many cases little more than loose translations of the Welsh names that pre-

¹ *byddair*, W.

² *anrhaeth*, W., spoil ; *cyfanrhaeth*, common or public spoil. O. Pugh and Villemarqué give us *cyvamug*, but I do not know on what authority.

³ *v* seems to be the same word as is generally found spelled *y* in the MS.

⁴ That is, returning from pasture.

⁵ This is evidently the same word as

is elsewhere spelt *gvact* or *gvact*.

⁶ *bracnar*, W.

⁷ *gvyn ei fyð* is still used as an adverbial expression in Welsh.

⁸ *diheint*, W.

⁹ *cyfnai*, W.; *cyfneiaint*, pl.

¹⁰ *anffawd*, W.

¹¹ *taffawd*, W.; the *t* is eclipsed by the *n*.

ceded them, and Baschurch renders with sufficient precision the Welsh phrase *Eglwysau Bassa*.

It may help us to fix the locality of the "White Town," if we first ascertain what meaning was generally given to the phrase in the early times of which we are now treating. Whithorn in Galloway, where St. Ninia the Welsh apostle of the Southern Piets fixed his episcopal seat in the fourth century, was by our Saxon ancestors termed *hwit ærn* or White Cell. Bede tells us that the place was commonly called "Ad candidam casam," because Ninia had there "built a church of stone after a fashion new to the Britons."—Hist. Ecc., c. iv. From this passage it seems probable that the church was called *candida casa* as early as the fourth century, when Ninia built it; and it is clear it was so called when Bede wrote, that is, a little more than a century after Ceawlin's inroad. We may infer that in the sixth and seventh centuries the term *white* was applied to buildings of hewn stone, in contradistinction to houses built of timber or mere dry walling. Now Shropshire was an Argoed,¹ or woodland, and the vast number of wooden houses still to be seen in its towns and villages shows the kind of material which must always have been the most available for constructive purposes. Its ancient towns were no doubt mainly built of timber. There is but one place in the district which we know, or with any show of probability can suppose, to have been built after the Roman fashion; and I believe Uriconium to be the "White Town," whence issued the bands of warriors whose prowess is dwelt upon with such mingled pride and sadness by the poet.

That an ancient highway—either a paved road or a driftway—ran alongside the Severn and entered Worcestershire, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Areley Magna, is almost certain: and equally so is it, that such highway crossed the Tern and passed through Uriconium. Through the same town ran the Watling Street. A traveller therefore from Pengwern, or from the upper part of the valley of the Tern, would pass that river immediately before reaching Uriconium; and when he reached the town might, as his occasions led him, either proceed further south, or pass eastward along the Watling Street. It was probably with reference to the two routes thus open

¹ Vid. p. 45.

to the traveller that the poet uses the phrases, "The White Town between Tren and Trodwyd," "The White Town between Tren and Traval." Traval and Trodwyd may have been noted places on the other side of Uriconium, on the line of these two highways—Trodwyd² being probably some forest-defile. That the poet considered Tren to be the name of a river as well as of a town appears from a triplet in the latter part of the poem, which speaks of the confluence of the Tren and the Tridonwy, that is, as I take it, of the Tern and the Roden.

If the river Tren was our modern Tern, we must look for the town of Tren somewhere in the neighbourhood of this river. In the topography of every country, towns and villages readily take the name of the stream that flows past them; and the reader will easily call to mind some brook that gives its name to more than one village on its banks—epithets such as *great, little, wet, dry, &c.*, being used for distinction's sake. On this very river we have a village called Tern; but it certainly has no pretensions to represent the town of Tren we are now in search of. It is clear that Kyndylan of Shrewsbury must have been lord of the whole surrounding country. His usual place of abode may have been on Carrec Hytwyth, but the great town, "his fathers' town," which figures so largely in the poem under the name of Tren, must have been the capital of his district. There was but one place which in Roman times had any pretensions to be so considered, and I believe that Tren and the "White Town" alike represent the Roman Uriconium.

It may be asked, if Tren and Uriconium be the same place, how can we account for the difference of name? The objection is a very reasonable one, and requires on our part a very careful answer.

Most of our Roman towns have in their neighbourhood earthworks, supposed to be the remains of the more ancient British towns which they supplanted; Colchester has the earthworks at Lexden, Dorchester, the Maiden Camp, Chichester the Brill, and so forth. We are generally told that these Roman towns grew out of the camps which were constructed during the siege of the neighbouring stronghold. I believe this to be a mistake. Temporary camps may some-

Gwydd. (W.), trees; *trawl* (W.), a journey, a passage; hence it would seem *Trodwydd*, the wooded pass.

times be traced near these strongholds, and that they were constructed by the besiegers is very probable. But such camps differ both in their character and in the circumstances of their position from the towns, whose origin we are now investigating. The latter are mostly situated in the valley near the river, and often two or three miles from the scarped heights, which generally represent the British fortress; while the temporary camps, at least such as have fallen under my notice, lie only just beyond flight-shot from the fortress, and were evidently constructed more for the annoyance of the besieged, than with any view to the convenience of the besiegers. The towns were probably erected as the different provinces, one after another, bent the neck to the yoke, and consented to receive the "præsidia castellaque,"³ which the Proprætor for the time being might think necessary to secure their obedience.

For one of these garrison-towns Uriconium seems to have been originally intended; though it was probably inhabited in the sixth century by a population consisting for the most part of Romanised Britons. It lay about a third of a mile from the Tern, near its junction with the Severn, and about three miles from the Wrekin, on or near to which we have reason to believe was a native town, the old British capital of the district. This native town there can be little doubt continued to exist beside the Roman town, till the inroad of Ceawlin involved both in one common ruin.

We must not suppose that the British earthworks or "camps," as they are sometimes called, necessarily included within their circuit the whole of a British settlement. There are instances in which only scanty traces of habitation are found within the ramparts, while outside of them extend lines of hut-circles for a mile or more—showing clearly that the fortress was only used when the presence of an enemy made it necessary. The remains of an earthwork may still be traced on the Wrekin, and they represent no doubt the *dinle wrecon* or stronghold of the Wrekin of which mention is made in the latter part of the poem. It is probable, however, that the greater part of the British town lay at the foot of the hill to the westward, and that the space between it and the Roman town on the banks of the Tern was more

³ Tac. Agric. 29.

or less thickly covered with buildings, cemeteries, tileries, &c., such as we find traces of near other Roman stations, Caister for example. The whole of this space, the Roman town included, seems to have taken the name of the British town, and to have been called Uriconium. But no doubt the people of the neighbourhood made nicer distinctions. As the Londoner distinguishes between London and Westminster, so would they distinguish between the *dinle wrecon* and the Roman town, to which they seem to have given the name of the river beside which it stood. In the British town was no doubt much of the old British rudeness, and much of Italian refinement in its Roman neighbour. The relations between the two may have been very similar to those that exist between the "Irish town" and the "English town" in some of our Irish cities.

A like case of confusion between the general and the special name occurs in the Itinerary. The 5th iter, which proceeds northwards from London, gives the distance between Cæsaromagus and Colonia as twenty-four miles; the 9th iter, which proceeds to London southwards, and according to our ablest antiquaries traverses the same ground as the 5th iter, gives us the distance from Camulodunum to Canonium as eight miles, and from Canonium to Cæsaromagus as twelve—in all twenty miles. That Colchester represents the Colonia of the 5th iter seems to be generally admitted; and that it represents the Camulodunum of Tacitus and of the 9th iter is maintained by writers of so much weight and by arguments so convincing, as to leave little room for doubt upon the subject. To account for the discrepancy of name we must suppose, that the Roman town was specially called Colonia⁴—*the Colony*—because it was the first and the most important colony founded by the Romans in the island; and that the entire settlement took the name of Camulodunum from the British town at Lexden, to which it owed its origin. Some of the difficulties connected with this iter remain to be explained, but the principal ones, and among them we must rank the difference in the distances, may be accounted for on this hypothesis.

⁴ If we might suppose that Colonia took its name from the river on which it stood (the Colne), the case of Camulodunum would be exactly parallel to that

of Uriconium. But on this supposition, I should expect, from analogy, that the town would be called Colonium, or Colinium.

“Penggwern’s eagle” must have been a denizen of the woods, which, we may reasonably suppose, at one time covered the banks of the Severn near Shrewsbury. But the harbourage of “Eli’s eagle” is not so readily discovered. Villemarqué goes in search of it as far as Ireland, but we may, I think, seek for it nearer home with better hopes of success. Bede tells us, that Alcluyth, the old name for Dunbarton, meant the rock of the Clyde. Hist. Ecc., xii.; Helvellen, there is little doubt, meant the yellow mountain, as Rhiw-velen, that name so common in Welsh topography, meant the yellow slope—the different localities deriving their respective names from the yellow bloom of the gorse that covered them. It would seem then that *Al* or *Hel* was used in ancient British topography to denote a rocky height. Now, some twelve miles up the valley of the Tern there is a high and very remarkable ridge of rocks called Hawkstone. It runs towards the river, but dies away at Hodnet, shortly before reaching it. If this ridge were called⁵ the *Hel* or *El*, the strong British fortress in front of it which goes by the name of Bury Walls, might very well, according to analogy,⁶ take the name of Elig, and as the final *g* is dropt in Welsh almost as freely as in English, we at once get the name of Eli. Here then we have two British strongholds, one in the valley of the Severn at Pengwern, some five miles from Uriconium, the other twelve miles distant up the valley of the Tern; and the picture of the two eagles each sailing down his valley to the battle-field seems to me to be no less true to nature, than it is striking as a piece of poetry.

In triplet 37 Kyndylan’s country is styled the land of Brochmael. I think we may conclude that at the time when the events took place which the poem refers to, a

⁵ There is some slight evidence that such was actually the case. Near to Hodnet is a place called Helshaw. We may surmise that of several shaws in the neighbourhood the one which approached nearest to Hawkstone took from it its name, and was called the Helshaw.

⁶ *Elig* would really be an adjective, and would signify belonging to the *El*. But a great many of this class are commonly used both in Welsh and in Breton as substantives denoting place. In the town Welsh Shrewsbury is called *Tref Awgwithig*, the fortified, or the

morry town—Welsh scholars are not agreed as to the etymology—but the important point is that the town is often called *Awgwithig*, without the substantive. Phil. Trans. i. No. 6. Avaricum (Bourges) lay on the river *Arara*, and Autricum (Chartres) on the river which was called *Autura*. Walekenner, i. 399. The connection between the names of the towns and the names of the rivers is obvious, and is noticed by Walekenner, though he does not attempt to explain its nature.

prince named Brochmael held the suzerainty in that part of Britain. There is reason to suppose that he was the same person as the prince of that name who, according to Bede, was present at the Battle of Chester.⁷ This celebrated battle was fought, according to the Saxon Chronicle, in 607, but according both to the *Annales Cambriae* and to Tighernac, in 613, which is probably the true date. If we follow this calculation, thirty-six years must have elapsed between the date of Ceawlin's inroad and Ethelfrith's advance upon Chester; and, though this interval might well be comprised within the reign of one prince, yet it is long enough to make some explanation desirable. The circumstances of the case readily furnish it. The *Annales Cambriae* inform us that Selim, son of Cynan, fell in the battle of Chester. Now Cynan is always represented as the son of Brochmael, and accordingly it would appear that the grandson of Brochmael was engaged in the battle. It is clear, therefore, that the Welsh king must at that time have been a man in advanced life, a circumstance which explains the fact mentioned by Bede, that he took his station with the monks of Bangor, who had come to pray for the success of their countrymen. Brochmael, therefore, may very well have been King of Powis when Ceawlin attacked Uriconium; and it was probably under the leadership of this Welsh king that the Britons succeeded in arresting the further progress of the invaders at the battle of Faddiley.

I trust I have now advanced arguments sufficient to convince the critical reader that it was Ceawlin, King of Wessex, who destroyed Uriconium. He appears to have wasted the whole valley of the Tern, and perhaps we may say the whole of the district to which we now give the name of Shropshire. But the Britons were still powerful enough to prevent his penetrating either into the valley of the Weaver, or into that of the Dee. For thirty-five years after Ceawlin's inroad, the King of Powis kept his hold of Chester, till in the year 613 he suffered at the hands of Ethelfrith the terrible defeat which Bede has commemorated. From that date the marches between North Wales and England have remained, with occasional variations, much as we find them at the present day.

⁷ Hist. Eccl. 2.

Here it was my intention to have brought this paper to a close. But it has been suggested to me that I ought not to pass over without remark certain speculations which have lately obtained a good deal of public notice, and which, it must be confessed, are altogether at variance with the conclusions which I have been endeavouring to establish in the present essay. These speculations were first brought forward by Mr. Thomas Wright, in a paper which appeared in the Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (vol. viii. p. 141), and have since been maintained in other papers published in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. His views have already met with formidable opponents in Mr. Basil Jones and others, and therefore my present notice of them may be the shorter.

According to Mr. Wright, "the popular story that the people who resisted the Saxons was the ancient Celtic population of the island, is a mere fiction." The scanty remains of that population were the serfs who cultivated the land. The "Britons" who resisted our ancestors were "a mixture of races foreign to the island, and lived congregated in towns." After the open country was overrun by the invaders, the towns lying in that part of Britain which is now called England, for the most part yielded "on composition," and still exist as English towns or cities. But in the west of Britain it was otherwise. "The strong town of Deva or Chester held its ground on the north, and Glevum or Gloucester survived, and a Roman town on the site of Worcester may also have been preserved, but the line of strong towns between Gloucester and Chester—Ariconium, Magna, Bravonium, Uriconium, &c.," with the other Roman towns in Wales, were "utterly destroyed." Who then were the people who wrought all this fearful ruin in the West of Britain?

Mr. Wright, in answer to this question, tells us, that Armorica "was never completely Romanised." Its Celtic population, holding "fiercely to their own nationality, were accustomed to navigation and piracy."—were indeed "no less piratical than the Saxons themselves." At the beginning of the fifth century they "resumed their ancient barbarism," and "were the heart and nerve of that formidable Bagauderie which threatened the safety of the Roman government in Gaul." When Ætius to a certain extent re-asserted Roman dominion in Armorica, they fled before him, and invaded

the western coasts of Britain. It was "a fiercer invasion and conquest of the country, and much more destructive than the invasion of the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons in the other parts of the island." The new barbarians exterminated the Romanised inhabitants of the land, destroyed Uriconium, &c., and settling down in the desert they had made, became the ancestors of the modern Welsh—the old story, that the Britons fled to the continent and gave name to Brittany, being of course a fiction.

No authorities are quoted in support of these statements. They are only assertions and inferences, and may be treated accordingly. As far then as our knowledge goes, the people of Armorica had nothing to do with the *bagauderie*—if by this Mr. Wright means the insurrection of the *bagaudæ* or peasants, of which Aurelius Victor and Eutropius make mention; and just as little had they to do with piracy. They exhibited a spirit of turbulence in their relations with the Roman government; but their country was intersected in all directions with Roman roads, and, as we have every reason to believe, was as thoroughly Romanised as the average of the Gallic provinces⁸—certainly as much so as the western parts of Britain. As to the alleged disappearance of the Celtic element from among the British population, I will only remark, that every Briton who is mentioned either by Bede or by the writers in the Chronicle, as an opponent of our ancestors, bears a name of Celtic origin; and though some of them may have been of Roman descent, yet it is clear from the significancy of certain of the names, that the nationality with which they identified themselves was Celtic both in origin and in feeling. Of the circumstances under which the British towns came into possession of our ancestors we know but little. That little, however, directly contradicts Mr. Wright's statements. We know that they wasted many of these towns—Pevensey, Silchester, Verulam, Cambridge, Chester,⁹ &c.—and good reasons may be given for the belief that even London itself for awhile lay desolate and uninhabited. The towns in the west of Britain which bore

⁸ By this phrase I mean the provinces inhabited by the people, to whom Cæsar more especially gives the name of Galli. The inhabitants of Aquitaine, and of the valley of the Rhone, had been long

before distinguished by their adoption of Roman manners and customs.

⁹ According to Mr. Wright, Chester was one of the British towns that were "preserved."

the first brunt of heathen fierceness, were for the most part sacked and burnt : those which lay more to the westward, and which our ancestors reached at a later period—Maridunum, Venta, Segontium, &c.—long continued to be peopled cities. According to Mr. Wright these last-mentioned towns should have been the first destroyed.

I hope that enough has now been advanced on this subject to shew, that Mr. Wright's settlement of its difficulties has made a re-opening of the question neither superfluous nor uncalled for.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES MADE DURING A TOUR IN WESTERN
GERMANY AND FRANCE.¹

By J. O. WESTWOOD, M.A., F.L.S., &c.

COLOGNE possesses numerous pre-gothic objects of interest to the antiquary, which would amply repay him, even if the attractions of its wonderful cathedral did not add their claims to his attention. The famous shrine of the three kings is perhaps the grandest of a class of monuments of the twelfth century, upon which all the art of the period was lavished, and for the decoration of which antique gems and cameos were introduced, which merit more careful examination than has been bestowed upon them. On the Cologne reliquary I noticed a cameo of early date and considerable size, with the head of Christ; it is fixed near the right hand corner of the end of the shrine towards the choir (*i. e.* the west end). Two others, Leda, and Cupid and Psyche, are of smaller size, but appear deserving of examination.

Two of the figures at the east end of the shrine represent St. Gereon and St. Maurice, the patron saints of Cologne, in mail-armor, close over the head, and reaching to the feet; they bear kite-shaped shields. The lower row of the figures is apparently less ancient than the rest of the shrine.

In the treasury of the cathedral are preserved many beautiful objects of the Gothic period, of which I omit the description. A Limoges enameled archiepiscopal cross of the twelfth or thirteenth century, and a staff for the leader of the choir, merit especial attention: the latter is ornamented, near the top, with a small globe of crystal; from this rise three divergent branches, surmounted by a flat cross-bar, above which is placed a group of small statues representing the Virgin and Child, with the three kings, the first of whom kneels before the Saviour, the other two stand behind. Here are also preserved a series of ten elaborate carvings in ivory, but of a comparatively modern (renaissance) date. There are two MSS. preserved in the sacristy

¹ Continued from vol. xviii. p. 225.

bound in embossed gilt covers, also of the renaissance period.

I was much struck with the inscription—*Quod non vides, firmat fides*—over the altar of the Ursuline church to the north of the cathedral.

St. Cunibert's church, the ancient cathedral of Cologne, situated to the north of the cathedral, on the bank of the Rhine, has recently been carefully restored and decorated in polychrome with great effect. The semicircular apse has been painted in imitation of tapestry, with a grand figure of the Saviour in the upper part. The stained glass in this church is considered to be the oldest in this part of Germany.

The church of St. Maria in Capitolio merits a careful examination on account of its many architectural peculiarities. The crypt under the east end of the church may possibly be a portion of the church erected in the eighth century by Queen Plectrudis, wife of Pepin of Herstal, but the upper part dates from about A.D. 1000. The roof of the crypt has been decorated with paintings, amongst which I noticed the Baptism of the Saviour, the Annunciation, and the Burial of the Virgin, all treated in the formal Byzantine style, which was so long prevalent in the east. A figure of Plectrudis, a sculpture in high relief, probably of the eleventh century, is built into the outside of the wall of the apse of the church, at a considerable height from the ground; it is larger than life, the head small, with the wimple drawn close over it, surrounded by an ornamental nimbus like a cockle shell; the right hand open and raised in front of the breast, and the left hand holding a scroll inscribed in Roman capitals—*DOMINE DILEXI DECOREM DOMVS TVE*.—Around the figure, which is placed in a rather deeply sunk oblong area, is a plain raised border inscribed above the head of the figure—*S. PLECTRVDIS REGNA*—which is again surrounded by a foliated border similar to that which is commonly observed surrounding early German sculptured ivories.² The entrance to this curious church is at the north-east angle of the nave, at the extremity of an elevated cloister, and through a large oaken door of the early part of the twelfth century, elaborately carved with scenes of the Life of Christ; these sculptures are of great interest as compared with the

² Figured by Bähr, *enfe*, *Denkm.* t. 8, and Otte, *Handb. d. Kirchl. Kunst. Arch.* p. 184.

representations of the same subjects upon the bronze doors at Hildesheim, Gnesen, &c. Each wing of the door is divided into three large transverse, and ten small square compartments, separated from each other by raised interlaced riband patterns of a very Anglo-Saxon character. In the six large compartments the following subjects are figured:—1, the Salutation and the Annunciation;—2, the Angel appearing to Joseph and the Flight into Egypt;—3, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple and the Baptism of Christ; the Saviour is here represented standing on a dragon—not in water, as usual; the Holy Dove rests upon his head; the Baptist marks his forehead, whilst an Angel on the other side holds his clothing;—4, the Entry into Jerusalem, with Zaccheus in the Tree;—5, the Last Supper; only nine of the Apostles are here present;—6, the Descent of the Holy Ghost; no dove is here represented, only tongues of fire rest on the heads of the *twelve* Apostles; the Blessed Virgin stands on a stool in the midst of them. In the scene of the Agony in the garden of Gethsemane *four* apostles are asleep. In the scene of the Crucifixion, the Saviour is draped round the loins, the head destitute of nimbus, the feet apart; only Longinus and the sponge-bearer appear at the sides of the cross. In the visit of the Holy Women to the Tomb of Christ, which is represented like a temple with a flattened cupola, only *two* Marys are figured; one of them holds a censer like a huge lanthorn. The two soldiers occupy the upper angles of the compartment above the roof of the tomb. The lower compartment is divided into four portions, and contains figures of various saints. An excellent representation of the door is given by Weerth.³

In a chapel, which in a most unusual manner occupies the west end of the church, are preserved twelve early coffin-lids of stone much defaced; some of them are marked with crosses, others with chalices, and on one are figured two pastoral staves. The shrine of Plectrudis is here placed opposite to the recumbent effigy of an abbess, but both are comparatively of a late date.

Around the church are the remains apparently of large conventual buildings, and a gateway on the south side is inscribed—Lichof.

³ Kunst-denkmäler des Christlichen Mittelalters in den Rheinlanden.

St. Ursula's church, with its strange assemblage of skulls and bones, the reputed relics of the 11,000 virgins, may claim to be mentioned, several interesting objects of ancient art being preserved in the sacristy. One of these is an ivory coffer of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, with love-scenes of the kind common on mirror cases, caskets, &c. This coffer is used as the receptacle of the foot of St. Ursula; the remainder of her bones repose in a coffin behind the high altar. A tall vase of Egyptian alabaster is also preserved here, reputed as one of the vessels which held the water turned into wine at the marriage feast of Cana. Of such vessels there are several preserved in various churches in Germany and France; and some interesting notices on the subject will be found in recent volumes of Didron's *Annales Archéologiques*. A curious series of figures of the Apostles, painted on slate in the early part of the thirteenth century, also merit attention at the church of St. Ursula.

The Romanesque churches of the Apostles and St. Gereon are amongst the most interesting erections of that peculiar style to be found in Western Europe. Both are well illustrated in Hope's *Essay on Architecture*. In the sacristy of the former church is preserved a large and curious drawing on canvas of the twelfth or thirteenth century, containing full-length figures of saints, rudely drawn and much discolored. The western entrance and the crypt of St. Gereon's church present many objects of interest. The columns of the western doorway into the church rest upon crouching lions, and over the great door is a very early wall painting of the Saviour. Let into the walls of this enclosed western court are preserved a number of early Roman Christian inscribed tombstones, which merit careful examination, being very similar to those of the catacombs of Rome. I had only time to make fac-similes of a few of these. One, upon a slab measuring 16 in. by 6 in., reads thus,—

HIC JACET PUER NOMEN
E VALENTINIANO QUI
VIXIT ANNO III ET ME
SES ET ·· DIES XVI ET
I ALBIS CVM PACE
RECESSIT

In the middle of this slab is an incised circle, within which is the *labarum*, having the cross bar horizontal, and with the

letters *alpha* and *omega* at its side. Another slab, about a foot square, is also incised with a circle, within which is the monogram—XPI forming the *labarum*, and with the letters M and N at the sides; on each side of the circle a rudely drawn bird is slightly incised, above which is inscribed,—

CRISTE
TV AMA
ANNVS X.

In both inscriptions the letters are debased Roman capitals, slightly rustic in shape, the A having the cross bar angulated, the M with the two outer strokes slanting, the L tall, and with the bottom stroke extending obliquely below the line, the E with the cross bars short and of equal length. Within the noble round body of the church are a number of large rude stone coffins, of a very early fashion, placed along the wall, raised from the ground on short pillars. On one of these is inscribed—b. BR. MAR. V. CORPORA RECONDVNTVR IHC. The chancel is raised very considerably, there are not fewer than 32 steps from the body of the church, with three altars gradually rising in height; beneath the chancel is the large crypt, which is well lighted; in two side chapels of the crypt are remains of tessellated pavements with altar tombs, one with the cross raised saddle-like. The pavement is much broken and displaced, but we read—DOMVM DAVID, and parts of other words; portions of figures were also to be seen, one being the head of a king, with part of a sceptre in the left hand; also the crossed legs of a knight seated, clad in armour; a large right hand holding a globe, &c. Imbedded into the wall on the north side is a very early inscription,—

PRINCEPS MAVRORVM
GREGORIVS ALT APOLŌR
SCANDENS AD MORTEM
DAT SE C SVA . . . MORTE

At the west end of the crypt is an opening approached by a descent of three or four steps, inclosing a very large plain oblong stone coffin, said to be that of St. Gereon. We have therefore in this church probably some relics of the Roman colony, from which the name of the city is derived. The beautiful Baptistry, on the south side of the church, with its great marble font, has been recently renovated and decorated in polychrome.

The Church of the Dominicans, in which the remains of Albertus Magnus, the alchemist, and Provincial of the Dominicans in Germany, were interred, has been destroyed. He died at Cologne in 1280. His chasuble is now preserved in a glass case in one of the side chapels of the Church of St. Andreas, in which is also to be noticed a curious arcade over the inner western entrance to the church.

The museum of Cologne, especially since its removal to a new building, merits careful investigation, containing, besides the collection of early paintings of the Cologne schools, a valuable series of objects ranging from the times of Roman occupation. It is under the charge of M. Ramboux, by whom the extremely interesting collection of drawings at Dusseldorf, representing the master-pieces of Italian Art from the earliest periods, was executed. This museum has increased in interest, and comprises Roman remains, early Christian inscriptions, enamels, reliquaries, carved ivories, illuminations from MSS., coins, &c. One of the small tombstones bears the simple word PAX; another has + K'L IVNIS OB.—inscribed in a cross. The two leaves of an interesting ivory diptych have the four evangelistic symbols finely carved, two on each leaf, with ornamental circles, in a very unusual manner. Another interesting ivory represents the Saviour seated, his feet resting on the earth, his hands extended over the heads of St. Victor and another saint, each of whom holds a palm branch; above are two angels, and below are eighteen heads, forming two rows, nine in each.

On the ivory verso of a book-cover Christ is represented, young and beardless, seated, with the twelve Apostles at the bottom and sides, those at the sides being seated one above another in the Byzantine fashion. Another book-cover is ornamented with a large gilt figure of Christ, with a border formed of ten enamels. A MS. of the Gospel also claims notice; it is illuminated in the style of the period of the Emperor Henry II., the title being written in gold letters on a painted (not stained) purple ground.

There are two very interesting ivory combs here, one large and ornamented with foliated design, with only one row of teeth, the handle wide and deeply notched; the other contains a representation of the Crucifixion, in the style of the Frankish illuminations of the ninth or tenth century.

Another large piece represents the three Marys at the sepulchre, and the Crucifixion. The Birth of Christ, within a walled city, is represented on another ivory, which, with that last mentioned, is evidently by the artist who carved the remarkably fine sculpture of the Ascension in Mr. J. Gough Nichols' collection, as well as two large ivories in Mr. Webb's collection. Two curious ivory boxes are also here, one with two oxen harrowing; the other with birds, fruit, and leaves. Some reliquaries of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries deserve attention, as well as a small and very beautiful enameled cup. There are also two sets of drawings, apparently executed for enamel workers, and copies of the curious fresco-paintings at Brauwilder.

In the small architectural museum recently established on the south side of the cathedral, are several interesting ecclesiastical objects, including a copy of the Gospels, of the eleventh century, from the church of St. Maria, Lyskirchen, the front of the cover bearing a curious contemporary ivory carving of the Crucifixion, of excellent workmanship and very deep relief; as usual, the figure of Christ is of enlarged size, naked, except a cloth tied round the waist. At the foot of the cross is a winged dragon with a long tail; at the sides of the cross appear Longinus and his companion, figures of small size; and adjoining them stand the Blessed Virgin and St. John. A female figure on each side supports one of the arms of the cross, above which are circles containing *Sol* and *Luna*, personified as weeping; the evangelistic symbols occupy the four corners of the piece, which is enclosed within a foliated border. The style of the work resembles that of Mr. J. Gough Nichols' tablet above mentioned, the folds of the drapery not being deeply incised, but marked with rows of punctures. There appears, indeed, to have been an extensive manufactory of carved ivories of this bold class, judging from the collections at Darmstadt, Cologne, Berlin, and other places.

Another ivory represents the Marys at the Sepulchre; the soldiers are seen standing at the sides of a rounded building, and rest on their spears. I remarked also a small sculpture of the Crucifixion of rather curious design, similar to one in the Maskell collection now in the British Museum. Also casts of two of the round ivory pyxes for holding the consecrated wafers, of which several examples occur in the

Rhine district, as at Xanten and Wiesbaden, both with Pagan and Christian subjects.

The *Puppen Theatre*, in which dolls perform the characters in droll farces, as in Italy, the dialogue being spoken by persons behind the scenes in the patois of the country, may also be archaeologically noticeable, as occurring nowhere else in Germany, and being doubtless a relic of the scenic diversifications of the middle ages.

The Roman occupation of the finest part of the Rhine country is testified by the museums established not only at Cologne, but also at Bonn, Andernach, Neuwied, Wiesbaden, and Mayence. At Remagen a curious carved gateway, leading to the Pfarrhof close to the church, on which are sculptured the signs of the zodiac, executed probably at the end of the eleventh century, and some remarkable sculptures on the south and west sides of the great church at Andernach, merit examination. At Mayence the cathedral, a structure commenced in the tenth and finished in the eleventh century, possesses many objects of interest. Here, as at Worms, Spire, and Treves, are two choirs, one at the east and one at the west end of the church; the latter has recently undergone careful restoration, and it has been elaborately painted and gilt. The interior of the church, and also the cloisters on its south side, are rich in monuments of early ecclesiastics, and perhaps nowhere else is heraldry more extensively introduced upon these memorials than in this cathedral. The plain monument and inscription to the memory of Fastrada, third wife of Charlemagne, (A.D. 793,) is to be noticed, as well as the large but plain brass font, executed in 1328, in the eastern lady chapel. The north doors of the cathedral are of brass, and bear the inscription—
✠ WILLIGISVS ARCHIEP̄S EX METALLI SPECIE VALVAS EFFECERAT PRIMVS.—Two large lions' heads in high relief support the knockers of the doors, which bear an inscription by Bishop Adelbert I. (A.D. 1135): it records an edict conferring important privileges on the city.

In the sacristy are preserved two ancient chalices, probably of the tenth century; one, the gift of Archbishop Willigis, is a curious example of Byzantine art.

The Museum is extremely rich both in Roman remains found in the neighbourhood, and also in Pagan-Germanic relics obtained from graves. This part of the museum, by

the care of Herr Lindenschmidt, has attained a national importance; the great mediæval museum of Germany being at Nuremberg. Here are, however, two or three very interesting carved mediæval ivories, one of great age, displaying scenes of hunting upon a curious semicircular frame, and another with a representation of St. George. I observed also a cast of a curious circular pyx, now in the Wiesbaden Museum, and a large piece for the game of draughts, with warriors deeply carved. The extremely valuable series of fac-similes of pagan relics, such as fibulæ, &c., executed by Lindenschmidt, and colored in strict imitation of the originals, deserves the highest praise. It is much to be wished that a series of them should be obtained for our national museum.

The library at Mayence, as may easily be conceived, is very rich in early printed books, but there are no illuminated MSS. of the least importance.

The public library and museum of Frankfort-on-the-Maine is not rich in mediæval antiquities. It can, however, boast of one of the most remarkable early carved ivories in existence. It is $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, and about a foot high, and contains a representation of a priest, with ten attendants officiating at mass; this fine example is affixed to the cover of a tall folio Lectionarium of the thirteenth century. The sculptured ivory itself is evidently several centuries earlier, and is assigned by the late M. Passavant (Keeper of the Library) to the ninth century.* In the centre is the officiating priest, a figure of large size, represented full face, as on the consular diptychs, and standing in front of an altar covered with an ornamental cloth; his hands are raised, and all the fingers stretched out in the act of benediction. On the altar is placed, on each side, an ornamented candlestick. In the centre is a chalice with two handles, at the side of which is a plate with three consecrated wafers of very peculiar form, being flattened rings, or annular discs, produced into an angle on the side nearest the priest. A closed book lies on the gospel side of the altar, whilst on the epistle side is an open volume, thus inscribed in two columns—

✠ TE IGI	SUPPLICES
T(UR) CLEME	TE ROG
NTISSIM	AMUS ET
E PATER	PETIMUS

* See Passavant's Memoir in the Archiv. f. Frankfort Geschichte, I. part i. 1858.

PER IH̄M	UT ACCE
XPM FI	PTA ABE
LIUM TU	AS ET BE
UM DM	NEDICAS
NOSTRUM	ILEC DONA

being the commencement of the canon of the mass, written in letters quite in the Anglo-Saxon (or Irish) uncial character. This inscription is so minute as to require a strong magnifying glass to decipher it. Passavant has given it correctly, but he misreads the letter B in the sixth and seventh lines of the second column for P, making the words *apeas* for *abeas* or *habeas*, and *penedicas* for *benedicas*. The cover of the altar is delicately ornamented with foliated rosettes in small square compartments, over the upper part of which is placed a fine lace cover. Immediately behind the priest are ranged five acolytes, seen in full face, each with a small book in his hand; they have no stoles, and each of the borders of their hanging sleeves is ornamented with three small crosses. Below, with their faces towards the altar, and consequently with their backs to the spectator, stand five priests, in chasubles of the ancient form, singing. Above the acolytes is seen the upper part of a depressed semicircular dome, resting on four Corinthian columns and capitals, which I presume is intended for the *baldaquin*, and at the top on the angles are two full-length winged angels (spectators of the ceremony) with hands outstretched.

Another Lectionarium of the thirteenth century has also ivories on the covers; that on the front is an early work of great merit, containing two full length figures standing, one on each side of a tree; these figures are executed with very great spirit, and although destitute of nimbs, I think that they are probably intended to represent the Saviour and St. John the Baptist. The former stands in a dignified attitude, with the right hand raised, but not in the act of benediction, and the left holding a roll; whilst the figure to the left, holding a rod with a scroll in one hand, points with his right to the feet, or probably sandals, of the other, possibly in allusion to his unworthiness to unloose the latchets of the Saviour's shoes. The attitude of this figure is very spirited. The whole is surrounded by a foliated border, and the date cannot be later than the tenth or eleventh century. Around

MEDLEVAL SCULPTURES IN IVORY.



Part of an Ivory Tablet on the Cover of a MS, in the Public Library,
Frankfort on the Maine.

(Date, about the ninth century.)

the border are arranged nine small scenes of the Nativity, very coarsely executed. On the reverse of the cover is a carving of the Saviour enthroned, with symbols of the four Evangelists, of ordinary style and workmanship.

In the interior of St. Leonard's church are two beautifully ornamented round arches; one of these, on the north side, is inscribed ENGELBERTUS P. and contains within the tympanum a figure of Our Lord seated, in the middle, with St. John and the Virgin Mary, and two saints, at the sides. These arches are not later than the twelfth century, and they merit careful examination.

I may add that it happened to be the great periodical fair of Frankfort during the time of our visit, and as it lasts for three weeks, and is attended from all parts of Germany, the archaeologist may find in such an assembly much to interest him, in the peculiar dresses of various districts, and in objects brought from the more remote parts of the country, where foreign fashions have not yet superseded the national manners and costume.

The library and museum at Darmstadt contain many very important objects of Art of the earlier middle ages. The MS. No. 1948 is a fine copy of the Gospels, which has been ascribed to the ninth century. I prefer, however, to place it at the beginning of the eleventh, considering it rather to have been executed in the school of St. Udalrich. It contains four miniatures of the Evangelists, in the style of the gospels of Charles the Bald's time, such as the Golden Gospels in the British Museum, Harleian MS., No. 2788, but the artist appears rather to have taken these as his models. Each of the Evangelists is accompanied by a page containing verses allusive to the tenor or contents of his gospel; these I have nowhere else met with. There is also a miniature of the Saviour, seated, young and beardless, with very long flowing hair reaching to the breast, the right hand elevated in the act of benediction in the Greek manner, and the left hand holding an open book. The throne has two cushions, with curtains hanging at the back, looped up on each side. This figure is entirely surrounded by a broad circular frame, the ground of which is tessellated. Hefner has given a copy of this figure in his *Trachten Buch*, divis. I., pl. 31, page 49, but by strange misapprehension or oversight has considered it as representing an empress, and he has instituted a

comparison between the costume and that of a female in a contemporary manuscript at Heidelberg. There is also an interesting miniature of a deacon offering a book to St. Peter, who appears seated on a throne (the former copied by Hefner, plate 32); and a seventh miniature of a monk offering a book to a bishop. From the verses attached to the miniature of St. Peter it appears that the scribe's name was Gerhoo: I have not been able to learn that anything is known respecting him. The verses illustrating these different miniatures are as follow:—

ST. MATTHEW.

Matheus ex patribus sumeus exordia primus
 Scripserat Hebraico Christi miracula verbo.
 Primo puerperium, Tria mystica dona magorum,
 Qualiter infantes occidere jussit Herodes,
 Ut Dominus humilis venit ad baptismum Johannis,
 Plurima virtutum memorat miranda suarum;
 Post hæc sponte sua passus ludibria multa,
 Affixusque cruci moriens subvenerat orbi.
 Inter theologos genealogus iste quaternos
 In hominis facie signatur voce prophetæ.

ST. MARK.

Filius almifici Marcus baptismate Petri
 Edidit eloquio Domini magnalia greco,
 Voce prophetali faciens primordia libri,
 Narrat per plebem celebrare lavaera Johannem.
 Dæmonis et fraudes Ihesum devincere scribens,
 Pluribus et signis divino jure patris,
 Ut crucis in Gabalo delevit crimina mundo,
 Quem fera mors sepelit, vivum hunc lux tertia reddit,
 Et sedet a dextris Deus et homo cuncti parentis.
 Formam freudentis tenet iste sophista Leonis.

ST. LUKE.

Lucas Syriacus, Greco sermone peritus,
 Discipulus Pauli, scripsit præconia Christi.
 Que de Zacharia fecit cæpisse propheta
 Commemorat, vero venit ut paranympus ab alto
 Eulogium ietæ de patre ferendo Mariæ.
 Ut pius omnigenis salvator consulit egris,
 Verbis et factis dilatans signa salutis.
 Postremo passum narrat, triduoque sepultum,
 Discipulis visum, cæli super ardua vectum.
 Hic Evangelii scriptor nitet ore juveni.

⁵ In orig. written XII. A few other words written with contractions are printed here *in extenso*.

ST. JOHN.

Cœlitus incipiens sertem symmista Johannes,
 Principio verbum cum patre fuisse coequum
 Asserit, et mundum factum docet esse per ipsum;
 Nominat et hominem missum venisse Johannem,
 Elogium luci verbo perhibere fideli,
 Qui fuit ante ævum testatur tempore natum,
 Gratis et hunc ipsum cruciamina corpore passum,
 Ac cruce suspensum, fossam latus, atque sepultum,
 Surgentemque suis dare maxima gaudia caris.
 Hic aquilam verbo designat in alta volando.

JESUS CHRIST.

Pro summa meriti thronus est æcclesia Christi,
 Qua residens totum placidus regit undique mundum.
 Quattuor hæc solium quæ stant animalia circum
 Constat mysterium totidem signare virorum,
 Quos evangelicos certum est conscribere libros.
 Ex aquilæ celebrem signo cognosce Johannem;
 Per vituli formam debes agnoscere Lucam;
 Marcum si quaeris monstratur in ore leonis;
 Per hominis vultum signanter habeto Mattheum.
 Ex horum scriptis animatur quisque fidelis.

ST. PETER.

Janitor, O celi deus, et lux aurea mundi,
 Princeps æcclesiæ Petrus de nomine petre,
 Creditur terrigenas cui solvere summa potestas
 Vilia queso tui munuscula suscipe servi,
 Nam fero quod potero, non quantum debitor exto
 Hunc ad servitium sanxi tibi ferre libellum,
 Hic in honore tuo maneat quo tempore cuncto.
 Huic illum si quis temerarius auferat hostis,
 Criminis ob culpam domini concurret in iram.
 Janua Petre tuo cæli sit aperta Gerhoo.

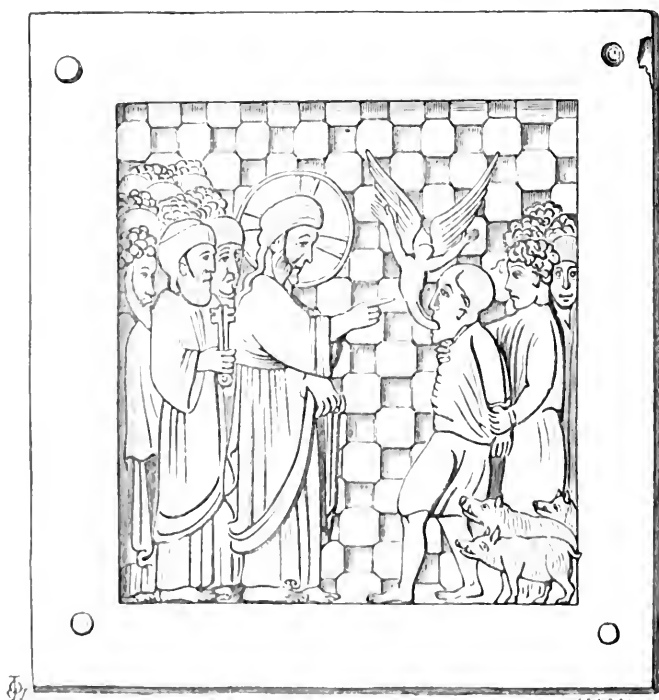
There is also in the Darmstadt Library another MS. copy of the Gospels, of the end of the eleventh or early part of the twelfth century, with many miniatures of inferior execution, but very valuable for the history of the art, and in which the colors are much mixed with strong body-white. The cover, however, of this volume is of higher importance, as it contains one leaf of a consular diptych supposed by Pulszky to be lost. This is the reverse of the diptych of Flavius Asturius (A.D. 449). The consul is seated on a chair of state, holding a sceptre and a scroll, in front of a temple supported by four Corinthian columns and capitals. At each side of the principal figure is an attendant. The

inscription across the upper part of the ivory is as follows,—
MAG. VTRIVSQ. MIL. CONS. OED. [for ORD.] This portion of
the diptych is engraved by Gorius ; the other moiety is now
in the church of St. Jacques at Liege.

This ivory is let into the centre of the metal cover of the
MS., which is ornamented with four large precious stones,
and with the figures of four saints and bishops (thirteenth
century), slightly incised on the plain sides of the metal
covers, the upper and lower portion with foliage similarly
represented. At the angles are four quatre-foiled medallions,
cast in metal, with figures of dragons rudely executed.

The Museum at Darmstadt is rich in mediæval objects ;
amongst these is a curious assemblage of early musical
instruments and enamels. In the collection of ivories is a
large casket, on which appear scenes of the life of Adam,
with Greek inscriptions, similar to a piece in Douce Collec-
tion, figured by Gorius and d'Agincourt ; there is a figure
of Pluto at one end ; Adam is seen working at a forge, and
Eve blows the fire with singular cylindrical bellows. Here
are also very fine figures of the evangelistic symbols, each
with four wings, several smaller sets of the evangelists, &c.
I may particularly notice a circular reliquary in the form
of a temple with a cupola, and with statuettes of saints
along the sides, in the style of those surrounding the large
casket in the Meyrick collection. Of this class similar
examples occur elsewhere. There is also a smaller circular
box of the same character, and a set of oblong pieces, evi-
dently portions of a casket ; the work is deeply undercut,
and with pierced overhanging cupolas, with classical scenes,
of rich Byzantine work. One represents St. George, another
the triumph of Alexander. I noticed also several other
boxes, with small figures of saints in very high relief, in
the style of a curious sculpture in the collection of the Rev.
Walter Sneyd. There are several pieces containing repre-
sentations of Christ seated, surrounded by the evangelistic
symbols ; one is in form of a small temple. There is also
a small piece containing an interesting representation of
the baptism of our Lord. Of many of these no casts have
until now been made, but there are a number of other
equally interesting subjects of which casts were taken
by M. Barrot, and these may be obtained from Herr Keller,
the well-known bookseller of the Zeil, in Frankfort. The

chief of these facsimiles, so valuable to the student of ancient art, are as follows.—The two leaves of a long narrow diptych sculptured with full-length figures of Our Lord and St. Peter, standing under round arches surmounted by tabernacle work, with birds and foliage, and an elegant foliated border. The Christ is young and beardless, in the act of blessing in the Byzantine manner. Date, probably eleventh century.—A somewhat similar diptych, one leaf with Christ seated holding a book inscribed—*DATA EST MIHI OM̄S POTESTAS IN CELO ET IN T̄RA*—and the evangelistic symbols at top and bottom; the other leaf with St. Stephen, (which has been mistaken for Job,) holding a scroll inscribed—*ASPICIENS A LONGE ECCE VIDEO D̄I POTENCIAM* (Acts, vii. 55).—Two angels above support a wreath, within which appears the divine hand. Below



Sculptured Ivory in the Museum at Darmstadt

is a female suckling an infant.—A small square ivory, deeply cut (date tenth century), with the miracle of the cure of a man possessed with an evil spirit, represented in the form

of an angel (the head unfortunately broken off) escaping out of the mouth of the maniac, who is held back from the Saviour by an attendant. The herd of swine is seen at the bottom of this curious sculpture, which may be attributed to the artist by whom the Fejervary ivory representing the woman taken in adultery, and that in the Maskell collection, —the restoration of the widow's son to life by the Saviour, now in the British Museum—were doubtless executed. For comparison with the treatment of the same subject in the nearly contemporary gospels of Archbishop Egbert at Treves,⁶ which will be described in the subsequent part of these notes, an engraving is given of this ivory.—A curious piece representing the Saviour seated, within a double *vesica piscis*; the evangelists being introduced in the corners, and their four symbols in the middle at the sides. The four cross-bars dividing the composition are inscribed—LVX—REX—PAX—LEX.—A sculpture of excellent execution (eleventh century), representing the Crucifixion, of early character, with the Virgin and St. John at the sides, and the evangelistic symbols in the angles. At the foot of the cross is represented the grave of Adam, traditionally supposed to have been at the spot where the cross was planted;⁷ here are also seen a dragon and a cup.—Another sculpture of the Crucifixion; the hand of God is seen over the upper part of the Cross, a large dragon at its foot; the sun and moon are personified as Phœbus and Diana, very deeply cut, and not represented weeping, as usual.—A group of the Virgin and Apostles looking upward, evidently part of the scene of the Ascension, a very spirited work.⁸

(To be continued.)

⁶ The Darmstadt ivory has been ascribed to the year 1500, and described as Armeno-Greek work. The date of this very peculiar artist is satisfactorily proved by a piece from his hand figured by Gorius (vol. iii.), representing the crowning of the Emperor Otho and his Consort by the Saviour. The four pieces by the same hand in the Royal Library of Berlin, described in my former Archæo-

logical Notes made in Prussia (Journal Arch. Inst. vol. xvi. p. 240), merit careful engraving.

⁷ See Dr. Piper's curious article on this subject in his Christian Almanack for 1861, where this ivory is engraved.

⁸ There are about twenty other pieces of which casts may be obtained from Herr Keller, but they are chiefly of fifteenth and sixteenth century work.

THE CATHEDRAL, DIOCESE, AND MONASTERIES OF WORCESTER
IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY.¹

BY THE REV. WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Vicar of Navestock, and Librarian to the
Archbishop of Canterbury.

IN offering the following remarks on the early history of the Cathedral and Diocese of Worcester, I must premise that I do it with much diffidence, and under correction. The case of Worcester differs largely from that of Peterborough: in the latter all the materials for history, which are known to exist, are few in number and need only a little criticism to make them still fewer. The materials for Worcester history, not only are abundant, but have from the earliest times received a scholarlike and critical treatment. In the first place Anglo-Saxon Worcester can boast a series of illustrious and holy bishops whose biographies contain much that throws incidental light on the subject I have proposed to myself: such are S. Egwin, Dunstan, Oswald, and Wulfstan. Again, by the fact that the see of Worcester was frequently held in conjunction with York, it gains illustration from the York biographies, especially in the lives of Aldulf, Wulfstan the Reprobate, and Elfric.

In the second place, Worcester was a school of English history, strongly characterised by sound English feeling. To this we owe probably one existing copy of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle,² and certainly the invaluable *Chronicon ex Chronicis* of Florence. In the third place, the charters of Worcester are exceedingly full, are very little impaired by forgeries, and were codified soon after the Conquest by Hemming. In the last place, the history of Worcester has been handled by Thomas and Green in a sound critical way.

The kingdom of the Hwiccas at the time of its conversion contained Worcestershire and Gloucestershire with the corner

¹ Communicated to the Historical Section at the Annual Meeting of the Institute in Worcester, July, 1862.

² The MS. *Tiberius B. iv.* is called by Josselin, *Chronicon Wigornie*.—it con-

tains many Mercian notices of the 8th century, and is in one hand down to 1016; possibly it owes its origin to Bishop Wulfereth.

of Somersetshire that is north of the Avon. Worcester called itself metropolis.³ A great part of this territory had been conquered from the Britons by the West Saxon Ceawlin, and formed a portion of Wessex from 577 till the date of the extension of Mercia under Penda.⁴ The battle of A.D. 645, which drove Cenwealh into exile, probably fixed the position of this district in Mercia.

The origin of the family which governed it as tributary to the king of Mercia is unknown to us. Judging, however, from the recorded names, we feel inclined to connect it with the royal houses of Northumbria. The names of Eanfrith, Eabba, Oswald, Osric, Oslaf, Osred, are common to both.⁵ Eaba, the wife of Ethelwealh of Sussex, had been baptised in the court of her brothers Eanferth and Eanhere of the Hwiccas :⁶—Eaba, the Abbess of Coldingham, uterine sister of Oswald of Northumbria, had a brother Eanferth, who as son of Ethelfrith and Acha belongs to the pedigrees of both Bernicia and Deira. Without contending that the persons designated by these names are identical, the juxtaposition of them, in connexion with what I am going to say, points to a family relation at least. This is however all that we know of Eanfrith and Eanhere, that they were Christians before the year 661, in which Ethelwealh of Sussex was baptised.

The next king of the Hwiccas was Osric. He is mentioned by Bede as king in 690, and the earliest mention of him in a charter is in 676. It may be worth while to devote a few moments to a consideration of where he came from. Everyone who has read the life of S. Wilfrid of Ripon must have been puzzled by the way in which his devoted friend Alchfrith, the son of Oswiu, and sharer with his father of the Northumbrian throne, disappears from history. We know that he at least was closely connected with Mercia : Kyneburh, the daughter of Penda, was his wife : Peada, the first Christian king of the Middle Angles, and son of Penda, the brother of his wife, the husband of his sister, was brought to Christianity chiefly, as Bede tells us, by Alchfrith's persuasion.

³ Metropolis, C.D. 91.

Bath remained a part of Mercia until it was granted by William Rufus to John of Tours, Bishop of Wells, who removed his See to Bath in 1088 or 1089.

⁵ Eanfrith, Bede, iv. 13, and iii. 1; Eabba, Bede, iv. 13; Oswald, Mon. Angl. i. 541; Osric, Bede, iv. 23; Oslaf, C.D. 34; Osred, C.D. 90; Chr. S. ad 617.

⁶ Bede, iv. 13.

Ethelred, another son of Penda, also brother-in-law of Alchfrith, and the most faithful protector of Wilfrid, was king of Mercia from 675 to 704. It is unnecessary for me to enter here into the minutiae of the politics of Northumbria, but it seems pretty plain that the family of Oswiu was a very divided one, and that one part of it was closely allied with Mercia. From Bede we learn incidentally, that Alchfrith rebelled against his father⁷: there is no mention of his death: but on the death of Oswiu, his son Egfrith succeeded him, nor does the name of Alchfrith appear again in Bede. Osric, however, who succeeded to the Northumbrian throne in 718, as the last of the house of Oswiu, if we may believe Simeon of Durham, was the son of Alchfrith. According to the recorded tradition of the Abbey of Gloucester,⁸ the king of Northumbria, who died in 729, was identical with the king of the Hwiccas who founded Gloucester and Bath. The Gloucester register adds that he had a brother Oswald, the founder of Pershore,⁹ who governed Worcestershire, and a sister Cyneburh, who was the first Abbess of Gloucester; and that the brothers were put in authority by king Ethelred.¹

Putting all these together, I conclude that Alchfrith having forfeited his share in Oswiu's kingdom by rebellion, had fled or sent his children to the protection of his brother-in-law Ethelred, one of whose first acts must have been the elevation of Osric. I have dwelt thus on the probable origin of Osric, not only because he was the founder of the See of Worcester, but because his Northumbrian parentage, if it is a fact, throws some light on the history of the Church in this kingdom.

He was not, however, the converter of Hwiccia; the country had been Christianised as early as 661 under Eanfrith and Eanhere: the people probably contained a fair sprinkling of native British Christians; Worcester itself has been claimed as one of the seven suffragan sees of Caerleon,

⁷ Bede, H. E. iii. 11.

⁸ Mon. Angl. i. 542. Osric died 711, Maii, 729, buried at Gloucester before the altar of S. Petronilla. Chron. Gloucester, Domitian A. 8.

⁹ Oswald, founder of Pershore, for regular clerks, Leland, Coll. i. 283, v. i.; refounded by Beornoth, tem. Cenulf; destroyed by Aelfhere cir. 976; refounded by Ethelward Wada and by Oddo in 983, under Oswald, Abp., and Folcbright,

Abbot.

¹ Kyneburh has a grant at Bradley from Ethelbald, about 723, C.D. 79: her successors at Gloucester were, according to the Annals of Winchleomb and Gloucester in the Cotton MSS. (Mon. Angl. i. 541):

Eadburh, wife of Wulfhere, king of Mercia—succ. 710.

Eala, for 33 years—succ. 735-768.

and as a Roman city may have had a bishop as early as Gloucester, which is mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth as an episcopal city. More certain it is that Augustine passed through the Hwiccas on his way to the meeting with the British Bishops on the boundary of Wessex, Hwiccia, and Wales ; we may if we please apply the story of his curse on the men of Stroud for tying a fish's tail to the back of one of his retinue, to the Gloucestershire town of that name ; for although it is more commonly given to Strood in Kent, Gocelin puts it in Dorsetshire. Gloucestershire might be taken as a mean, and probably the story is as true of the one as of the other.

The foundation charter of Bath, in 676, shows us Osric as a missionary king and founder.² As soon, he says, as the evangelic and apostolic dogmas had been communicated to him after his baptism, he had made it his first resolution to erect an episcopal see and to found monasteries of men and women according to the decree of the synod. Here we have the germ of the See of Worcester. The synod of Hertford, in 673, had by its ninth resolution declared the necessity of an enlarged episcopate. At the moment the movement was suspended, owing, as it is supposed, to the opposition of Winfrith, Bishop of Lichfield. Three years had now elapsed and Winfrith, in 675, had been deposed. Osric and Ethelred were determined to have a bishop at Worcester, and Tatfrith, a monk of Whitby and pupil of S. Hilda, was chosen for the office. Herefordshire had just provided itself with a bishop in the person of Putta, late of Rochester : but the See of Lichfield was not yet divided, and until that was done Tatfrith could not be consecrated. The division was completed in the council of Hatfield in 680, but by this time Tatfrith was dead. Bosel was appointed in his place : he was consecrated to be the first Bishop of Worcester in 680, by Theodore of Canterbury, and retained his See until 691, when he resigned from infirmity. His pontificate coincides with the remaining years of Osric, whose last act seems to have been a share in the appointment of Oftfor, the second bishop. Osric disappears from Hwiccia in the same mysterious way in which he appeared there.

² C. D. 12, d. Nov. 6, 676, Hæt Bathu. Berhtana is Abbess, and it is a *monasterium sanctarum virginum*. Bernguidi and Fole-

burga are mentioned in a Mercian Charter of 681, C. D. 21.

In the year 692, we find Ethelred³ granting lands without mention of a viceroy, but the next year Oshere appears as king. The charters in which Oshere's name occurs, prior to this date, are looked on as spurious; if however they represent, as is possible, real grants, we may suppose that Oshere may have been a son of Oswald, the brother of Osric, and have succeeded to the government of Worcestershire as early as 680. He also was a munificent founder; he granted land at Penitanham⁴ to Earl Cuthberht for a monastery for Abbess Cuthswitha;⁵ at Ripple for a monastery for Abbot Frithowald, and at Withington for Abbess Dunna, of whom I shall have to speak again.

Oshere was succeeded by his sons Æthelric, Æthelheard, and Æthelweard, about 704; but these are no longer kings, only comites, subreguli, and duces; the inheritance of Æthelheard seems to have fallen to Alhferth, who may probably have succeeded to the vicerealty; Alhferth's daughter, Abbess Ethelburga,⁶ is spoken of by Aldred who was viceroy in 777 in a way that leads me to believe her to have been his sister. If she was, then Eanberht, Uhtred, and Aldred⁷ were sons of Alhferth, and held the government conjointly, and as survivors, until 789, or later.⁸ About this time we read of Wigferth duke of the Hwiccas, who with his wife was buried under a cross in the Cathedral cemetery. In 800 Æthelmund appears as Ealdorman; Æthelric, his son, does not seem to have succeeded him, but to have gone on pilgrimage and left his estate to the church. From the contests about his inheritance which followed, I conclude that the family was

³ C. D. 32, Æthelred grants Heanburg to Ofifor: for S. Peter's at Worcester.

⁴ Oshere, Ripple, C. D. 17; Penitanham, C. D. 36.

⁵ Cuthswitha: grant at Ingin from the Viceroys in 704—709, C. D. 53.

⁶ Ethelburga, daughter of Alhferth, C. D. 121 & 116; to be distinguished from Ethelburga, daughter of Olla, C. D. 151, and Alcum, Ep. 59, Ed. Migne: both were Abbesses.

⁷ Aldred left his inheritance to Gloucester: as did Ethelmund certain lands, Mon. Angl. i. 511.

⁸ An attempt at a list of the Viceroys of Hwiccas:

Eanberht and Eanfrith, c. 661, Bede iv. 13. O. r. c. 67a, 692.

Oswald, 671.

Oshere, 692.

Æthelheard, 704, 718, 736, and

Ætheberht, C. D. 55, &c.

Æthelric, 704, 718, 736.

Æthelweard, 704, 716.

Sons of Oshere, C. D. 83.

Eanberht, 757, 759, 757, C. D. 102.

Aldred, 777, 789.

Uhtred, 767, 770.

Alhferth, 781, 798.

Wiferth, 781, 798.

Æthelmund, d. 800—son of Ingeld, C. D. 117, a comes of Uhtred in 767.

Ingeld had been comes to Ethelbald. Lapp. i. 251. Beornheard is comes in C. D. 125.

Æthelric, ff. 804.

now extinct and as I find no more viceroys mentioned, it is probable that the administration of Hwiccia was now merged in that of the sub-kingdom, and at the end of the century in the caldormanship of Mercia.

And I may as well dismiss in this place the subject of the chronology of the bishops. I see no reason to depart from Florence's computation except in the trifling matter which I have noted in my book on the General Chronology of English Bishops.⁹ I will now return to the history of the foundation of the See and Cathedral church. The Worcester annalist who edited the copy of Marianus Scotus, said to be preserved in the Library of C. C. C. Oxford,¹ has added to the account given by Florence of the origin of the See, that Oshere, at the foundation of the Cathedral bestowed lands upon it which were apportioned partly to the bishop, partly to the canons by an act of Archbishop Theodore. This is of course the misrepresentation of a later age: the order of canons *eo nomine* did not exist until many years after this date; it may however be worth while to inquire what sort of a society it was which constituted the germ of the present chapter. The question may seem a trifling one, more especially as the grounds on which we are to seek an answer to it are extremely scanty; as, however, it serves to bring out some few points of interest, the discussion of it may be taken here.

All that we know of the original occupants of the Cathedral Monastery may be comprised in the two facts that their house is called a "monasterium," the Monastery of S. Peter,² and that they were by and by opposed to a society of monks called the Monastery of S. Mary, which emerges to light a very few years after our first hearing of the Monastery of S. Peter, and to whose occupants the canons of S. Peter's were obliged, under Oswald, to give up their property and capitular character.

We learn from Bede that the original "families" of the English bishops were mixed companies of clerks and monks.

⁹ Mon. Angl. i. 607.

¹ I may however notice that it was a practice of the early Worcester Bishops to retire from the administration of the See before their death, *eg.* :

Bosel, F. Wig. 691.

Egwin: "illo superstite, Wilfridus præ-

sulatum suscepit." F. Wig. 717.

Wilferth; signs with Milred. C. D. 95.

² All the principal monasteries in the diocese were dedicated to S. Peter:—Bath. C. D. 193; Gloucester, Mon. Angl. i. 541; Bredon, C. D. 138.

Augustine, the Prior of S. Andrew's at Rome, and first Archbishop of Canterbury, was a monk, and agreeably to the first answer of S. Gregory to his questions, lived monastically with his clergy, having all things in common.

The Irish clergy, to whose agency the north and middle of England were indebted for conversion, were most certainly monks also; and the bishops probably shared, in some measure, the characteristics of the bishops at home, the principal of which was the subordination of the episcopal to the monastic jurisdiction in all matters not touching purely spiritual functions. Not that such a system ever existed in England as it is agreed to have done in Ireland; but that as Bede informs us, was the use at Lindisfarne, the bishop and his clerks, the abbot and his monks lived together in the same monastery, and by the necessary consequence of the inconvenience of such a divided power, the bishop in some churches was not only the head of the clerks but abbot of the monks at the same time. Whether or not we accept the account of the origin of Osric and his family, we know from other sources that the Christianity of Mercia and Hwicca, as included in it, was derived from Northumbria; but it must be remembered that it was not until after the consolidation of the two branches of the Church by Theodore that the Cathedral was founded; whilst, therefore, *à priori*, we are inclined to believe that there was a monastery at Worcester to begin with, in which Bosel and his clerks would be planted, we must not forget to look at Canterbury, from which Theodore would probably take his model for the new cathedrals. What did he find there? Was the double system devised by Augustine pursued by his successors, or were the monks relegated to S. Augustine's Monastery and the seculars left at Christ Church? There is a bull of Pope Boniface of the year 615, which, if it really describes a system that continues seventy years later, proves that it was so: and such a conclusion agrees with the subsequent tradition of Canterbury, which places the extinction of the monks about the year 833. The same also may be inferred from the passage of Bede quoted above, whose silence is a presumptive argument that the system introduced by Augustine did continue in his time. On the other hand, the first authentic notice of the Chapter of Canterbury, about 813, shows that they were not strictly monks. We must

add two further presumptions—first, that as the character of a monk did not at this time at all involve the taking of holy orders, a monastic house, however well qualified to be the bishop's *familia*, could not, as a monastic house, furnish a Chapter, which must consist of priests: secondly, that as no rule for priests living in community yet existed, any such community would be popularly described as a monastery. From the first we understand that all the bishop's advisers might be both priests and monks; and from the second, that the term "monastery" does not exclude the occupancy by secular priests, even without a monk among them.³

Without attempting arbitrarily to decide, we may, I think, feel pretty sure that the Cathedral Society, though it may not have consisted entirely of monks, must have contained considerable monastic elements. Tatfrith, the first person elected to the See, was a monk of S. Hilda; Bosel, the second, is said to have been the same; Otfor, the third, certainly was; S. Egwin, though with no leaven of Scotticism, was a monk also, probably a regular Benedictine.

It is, however, begging the question to say that the monks were Benedictines. It is questioned whether Augustine and his party were so, and it is certain that if they were so, they only introduced the rule of Benedict in that lax and degenerate form in which they had received it at home. Into the north of England an attempt to introduce Benedictinism was made by Wilfrid, but Benedict Biscop really brought it from Lerins, and that too late to introduce it in all its strictness into any existing English foundation. The theory of the true Benedictines was as irreconcilable with an Episcopal monastery as the necessity of a secular Chapter was with monastic vows. Cassian particularises bishops and women as two of the great risks for monks to avoid, and the strictness of monastic life would be diametrically opposed to the true mission work of the ministry. But the exigencies of the conversion of England brought the two together. Wilfrid, a thorough Benedictine, was also a bishop, and presided over several monasteries at once. So did Egwine at Worcester and Evesham; S. Aldhelm at Sherborn, Malmesbury, and Bradford. It was, in fact, the custom of the land, and was

³ In 610, Boniface IV. in a council at Rome condemned those who pretended that monks could not discharge the office

of priest. Hussey's note on Bede, H. E. ii. 4, 11.

carried by Anglo-Saxon missionaries into Germany, the only other country in which monastic cathedrals are known to have existed.

Very early, however, the opposition between episcopal rights and monastic claims resulted in the foundation of another monastery. As at Canterbury, S. Augustine's rose without the walls to rival Christ Church within, as the rival minsters stood side by side at Winchester, as in later times Westminster was to S. Paul's, S. Ouen at Rouen to the Cathedral, S. Martin's at Tours to S. Gatian's—so at Worcester, the Monastery of S. Mary was founded in close proximity to the Cathedral.⁴ It is curious that our first notice of S. Mary's occurs shortly after the Council of Clovesho in 747, in which the rule of S. Benedict was implicitly enforced on all proper monasteries. At the same time Chrodegang instituted the order of Canons, into which the Chapter of Worcester, without following the minutiae of his rule, shortly threw themselves. I think it, then, extremely probable that up to this date, 747, the double system had continued, and that from a separation, ensuing from the acts of the council, between the bishop's clerks and the monks, the origin of the monastic house was derived: in fine, that about 747 the compound society resolved itself into the Secular College of S. Peter and the Monastic Society of S. Mary. They were close together under the eye of the bishop, but so far as I can see they are kept carefully distinct from about 770 to 964, when S. Mary's swallowed up S. Peter's, or as W. Malmsbury more poetically expresses it, the *claviger paradisi* was forced to give way to the *janitrix cœli*.

It appears from a synodal document of S. Wulstan, that the Cathedral was, from time immemorial, the parish church of the city of Worcester, the churches of S. Helen and S. Alban being vicarages or chapels of ease under it. This fact, however, is not at variance with what I have said. Worcester stands in that class of cathedrals which were founded from the beginning in large cities; it is, like Canterbury itself, an instance of a successful missionary establishment attaining its due development. It was not in this case as among the churches founded by the Irish, a bishop setting out with a staff of monks already complete, and fixing his residence in a place

⁴ Can. 24, V. Mabillon, *Acta SS.* i. xxxiii.

adapted as much for retreat as for pastoral care. Nor yet, as in the case of some of the latter sees, Ramsbury, for instance, a bishop set down without a cathedral body at all.⁵ It was not a case like the foundations of Henry I. and Henry VIII., determined only by the fact that in such and such an abbey there were revenues enough to support a bishop : here was a church, the parish church of the city, the city the metropolis of the kingdom ; to such a church a bishop was the necessary complement, the clergy of the parish became the Chapter of the Cathedral.

Whether or not at this early period the monks and clerks used the same church, it would appear almost certain that a new church of S. Mary was built before 770. Possibly one building served the two bodies, the clerks using the choir and the monks the nave ; and this seems almost probable from the fact that the Viceroy Aldred, Uhtred, and Eanberht, in one charter state that their parents were buried in the churchyard of S. Mary's, and in another in that of S. Peter's.⁶ Both charters however bear marks of interpolation ; S. Peter's churchyard was the burial place of the Hwiccan dukes. To suppose that the two churches stood side by side, so that the cemetery belonged to both, is perhaps most reasonable.⁷ The distinction between the two remains to the time of Oswald. The bishopstool belongs to S. Peter's, the monks served God in S. Mary's : under Oswald the bishopstool, though dedicated to S. Peter, is placed in the monastery of S. Mary ; and yet the church of S. Peter continued to the Conquest, for it was repaired in S. Wulstan's time with the stone belonging to the tomb and burial-cross of Wigferth, Duke of the Hwiccas.

I have dwelt at this length on the monastic elements and monastic origin of the cathedral, because it serves to illustrate much of the history of the other monastic establishments in the diocese. In their history as it remains, written for us in the authentic Acts of the Worcester Chartulary, we have exemplifications of almost every stage of the early monastic history of England. The missionary stage may be looked on as exemplified in the Cathedral Minster. Of

⁵ Malmesb. G. P. iii.

⁶ C. D. 102, S. Peter's, spurious ; C. D. 128, S. Mary's, spurious.

⁷ Bede, H. E. ii. 7, says of King Ead-
bald of Kent—"Denique et in monas-

terio beatissimi Apostolorum Principis, ecclesiam sanctæ Dei genetricis fecit, quam consecravit archiepiscopus Mel-
litus."

this enough has been said. All the earliest monasteries were mission stations. When, about the beginning of the eighth century, the missionary field began to narrow, and the missionary spirit to subside or to seek a new field in Germany, a stage supervened which is marked by two decidedly opposite phases. The devotional spirit which had found work in missions now took refuge in an anchoretic asceticism. Such is the origin of Crowland, compared with Peterborough; such, if we may believe the authenticity of the Evesham charters, was Evesham compared with Worcester: such was beyond all doubt the monastery of S. Mary compared with the cathedral of S. Peter. These monasteries or rather the best of them followed the example of S. Augustine's at Canterbury, and the Benedictine rule as amplified by Cassiodorus: they were not only places of devotion and penitentiaries,⁸ but schools of learning. I think that there can be no doubt that this characteristic was owing to Benedictinism—though it may not have been peculiar to it. Certainly both St. Augustine's, the school of the south, and Jarrow and Wearmouth, the home of Bede, the school of the north, were Benedictine by this time. What they were in these parts of England, *Bredon* probably was in Hwiccia: and I shall adduce *Bredon* as a pattern instance of this particular development.

Bredon was founded by Eamulf of Mercia, the cousin of Ethelbald the king, in the year 716. The year is fixed by the fact that it was done by the permission of Ethelbald who began to reign in that year and by the advice of Egwine who died the following year. It was a seminary of useful learning and produced an Archbishop of Canterbury, Tatwin, within seventeen years of its foundation. It was dedicated to S. Peter, as was also the monastery of *Bredon* in Gyrvia which has been confounded with it. Offa, who was the grandson of the founder, was its great benefactor: he gave it lands at Evenlode (to revert to it on the death of Ridda, his wife Buega, and their daughter Heaburge), at Warssetfeld,⁹ Cestune and Wreddehale, at Teddington, Godswell, near the Mons Hwiccorum, Washburn and Northtun. It was still in being in 848 when Beorhtwulf, at the request of Hum-

⁸ Penitentiaries. See Theodore's "Penitential" *pen. can.* c. 9. l. 6. a Thane of King Ethelred, "nunc manet in Dei servitio in civitate que nostratim dicitur

Wegernaeaster," C. D. 34.

⁹ Grants to *Bredon*. Evenlode, C. D. 120; Warssetfeld, &c., 138; Tettington, &c., C. D. 140.

berht, prince of the Tonsets, freed it from imposts, and at this time it is said to have been held by 400 monks. Eanmund is mentioned as being then abbot. This is the last we hear of it; it was probably soon after absorbed into the bishop-stool, to which it had long belonged as a *villa episcopalis* at the time of the Conquest.¹ Eanulf also founded a monastic house at Westbury. Of Evesham I shall say nothing—it would of course require quite separate treatment, and so little is authentically known of its early history, that it would hardly deserve more than a casual mention.

The other development of monasticism or rather pseudo-monasticism is that described by Bede in the letter to Archbishop Egberht. Laymen, unexercised in the use of monastic life, unendowed with the love of it, give money to the kings and buy for themselves, under the pretence of building monasteries, territories in which they may indulge their own licence: they get these grants attested and confirmed by bishops, abbots, and temporal dignities: and there they assemble a number of people, not monks, but persons expelled from other monasteries, their own satellites, their wives and children. Without going so far as to say which of the Worcestershire monasteries exactly represents Bede's description, we shall see that, in a large number, the provision for the family of the founder was a more leading object than any devout purpose. I will adduce, in illustration of this, the monasteries of Fladbury, Sture in Usmere, that of Abbot Headda, and Withington.

1. Fladbury was one of the earliest foundations: it was given to Offor by Ethelred, about 691:²—Egwine exchanged it with Æthelheard the viceroy for Stratford, and from Æthelheard it descended by inheritance to Alfred, and Aldred.³ Aldred gave it to his kinswoman Abbess Ethelburga as a provision, with reversion to the cathedral: on her death it fell in and was confirmed to the bishopstool by Kenulf, in a charter without date.⁴

2. Sture in Usmere,⁵ supposed to be Kidderminster, was

¹ Possibly I am mistaken in distinguishing Bredon from other monasteries of the age by the intention of the founder; it may have owed its protection and aggrandisement to the fact that it became a monastery of royal foundation by the

succession of Offa, the grandson of Eanulf, to the crown of Mercia.

² C. D. 33.

³ C. D. 116.

⁴ C. D. 215.

⁵ Sture, C. D. 80.

founded in 736 by Cyneberht : he made his son Ceolferth, Abbot, who left it with the rest of his estates to the See.⁶

3. In 759, Eanberht, Uhtred, and Aldred,⁷ gave an estate at Onmanford to Abbot Headda. He, in the time of his kinsman, Bishop Heathored, left this and the rest of his property to Worcester, under condition, "quod mei heredes, in mea genealogia, in ecclesiastico gradu de virili sexu percipiant, quamdiu in mea prosapia tam sapiens et præsciens inveniri potest qui rite et monastice ecclesiasticam normam regere queat. et nunquam potestati laicorum subdetur." This condition with all its limitations is very different in spirit from the charge of Benedict Biscop.⁸ It were better that the whole monastery should return to an everlasting wilderness than that his brother should be made Abbot there. Beware of choosing an abbot from regard to his family only.

4. Withington.⁹—This was given by King Oshere to her Abbess Dunna and her daughter Buega, to build a monastery on. Dunna at her death left it to her granddaughter Hrotwari, a minor. Her mother Buega, although disqualified by matrimony, took possession of the monastery as abbess, and when Hrotwari was old enough to take it, declined to surrender ; the Archbishop of Canterbury and the synod of the church were appealed to, Buega was compelled to surrender, and the reversion of the monastery on the death of Hrotwari was secured to Worcester. It fell in during the pontificate of bishop Milred, who gave it for life to Abbess Ethelburga.

The frequent mention of Abbesses in these records leads me to speak of this curious transgression of the Benedictine rule. For these monasteries were not all nunneries, and seem to have been given to abbots or abbesses as suited family arrangement. I have already mentioned Cassian's rule¹ that the monks should particularly avoid bishops and women. Both customs, that of cathedral monks and that of monasteries governed by women, are clearly deducible from Irish precedent. Not to spend time upon it—the French monasteries of the rule of Columbanus, and the English school of Hilda, from which so many bishops proceeded, are instances

⁶ C. D. 127.

⁷ Hebble C. D. 165, 169.

⁸ Bede, *Vita Abbatis*, c. 9.

⁹ Withington, C. D. 82, 124.

¹ Cassian, *V. Gieseler* ii. 19.

in point. Theodore in his "Penitential" has a provision to the effect that it is wrong for women to have monasteries of men and for men to have monasteries of women, but since he found the custom existing in the country he would not abrogate it. The great prevalence of such houses in England is a proof of the extent to which the whole church was leavened with Scottish discipline. This Ethelburga, the daughter of Alfred, has been supposed to be the foundress of S. Mary's Abbey, but this is without authority; she certainly had monasteries at Fladbury and Withington.² These family monasteries were not intended to be permanent: they were founded plainly for the cheap support of a member of the connexion, and the reversion of them to the Mother Church in many cases is provided for: possibly it was a condition on which their immunities were purchased from the pious princes, a cheap way of making the best of both worlds.

All these monasteries, however, whether founded in devotion or in worldly policy, had their relation to the bishopstool. Exempt monasteries, in the later sense of the term, were not yet introduced into England: at least there is no authority for any thing like an exempt jurisdiction: the earliest grant of exemption is to Chertsey about A.D. 680, and next comes the one of Woking, which I brought before the Institute last year;³ these only concern the internal and secular concerns of the house, the spiritual supervision still belongs to the bishop. The bishop is still the representative and head of the whole church in the diocese, has certain rights even in the property⁴ of the monasteries, and a reversion of the property of the extinct is in some cases secured to the See by deed, in many others apparently by lapse. In the latter part of the century the reversions of the houses that had been founded for two or three lives began to fall in, but the cathedral was not suffered to enter on them without a struggle. I will instance two or three of these cases as illustrating other points as well. 1. The great monastery of Bath was still subject to the bishopstool of the

² Another Abbess Eanburga is mentioned by Offa, C. D. 141: the land at Homtun granted to her must have lapsed to Worcester in 781. C. D. 143.

³ Arch. Journ. vol. xviii. pp. 204, 211. The Chertsey privilege has not been printed: it occurs in MS. Cotton. Vitellius A. xiii., probably interpolated.

⁴ *cf.* Bishop Ælhun in 849, C. D. 262, gives to King Berhtwulf lands, which had been given to Bredon by Offa in 780, some of which had been taken from Bishop Heaberht in 840, C. D. 245, and restored. Cf. C. D. 140, 262. Also Offa grants lands to Eanburga on the sole subjection to S. Peter's, Worcester, C. D. 141

metropolis: but by 781 that also had fallen in. Offa laid claim to it, but as he knew the tenacious character of the Bishop Heathored, he thought it advisable to lay claim to a good deal more; he asserted that Bath, Stratford, Kidderminster, and lands at Bredon, Homtun, and Stour, belonged to him as of the inheritance of King Ethelbald. A synod was held at Brentford.⁵ Offa compelled Heathored to give up Bath on condition of having the remaining lands confirmed to him: the compromise is signed by all the bishops of England.

2. Another case is the inheritance of Æthelric,⁶ son of Æthelmund the ealdorman, and Ceolburga, who was probably afterwards Abbess of Berkley. Æthelmund seems to have founded a monastery at Deerhurst, and to have been buried there: he was killed in 800 at the battle of Kempsford. Ethelric, his son, went on pilgrimage to Rome, having before his departure obtained leave of a witenagemot, at Clovesho, to mortgage his property to any one he pleased. On his return he recovered his lands, and in a synod at Aele devised them, some to Deerhurst, some to Gloucester, and some to private individuals, with a reversion to Worcester. Among these was his mother Ceolburga, to whom he gives forty-three *manentes* at Westminster, that was in fact a monastery at Westbury, that she may have as long as she lives a defence and maintenance against the Berlingas, whoever they were. Ceolburga, Abbess of Berkley, died in 805. Ethelric appears to have died before her. In 824, after the death of king Cenwulf, the suit emerges. The monastery of Berkley claimed it against Heaberht the bishop. It seems probable that Abbess Cynedritha, the daughter and heiress of Cenwulf, had some hand in the business. She was an unprincipled woman, had murdered her own brother, and had taken possession of large property belonging to the See of Canterbury which her father had confiscated.⁷ I imagine that she must have succeeded to the Abbacy of Berkley on the death of Ceolburga, but this is not clear. The Berkley family⁸ were obliged to give up their claims, and the bishop proved his right by the oaths of fifty mass priests and ten deacons at

⁵ C. D. 113.

⁶ Inv. of Æthelric, C. D. 186, 218.

⁷ C. D. 220 &c.

⁸ Berkley is an illustration of the family Anabacter.

Tilhere, Abbot of Berkley, was made Bishop of Worcester in 777.

Ceolburga was Abbess in 805.

Ethelhun, Abbot of Berkley, was Bishop in 915.

Westminster, and others, a hundred and eighty altogether. The monastery of Westminster or Westbury, for which this contest was carried on, was afterwards repaired by Oswald, and became the nursery of the abbey of Ramsey.

3. The Abbey of Winchelcomb was founded by Cenulf about 811, probably for his daughter Cynedritha : many years after the extinction of the family a quarrel arose between Worcester and Winchelcomb about parts of the inheritance of Cenulf.⁹ Cynedritha and Ealfleda her successor had made grants which were falling in in 897; in that year duke Æthelwulf directed that, in order to make peace between the two monasteries, certain lands specified should be adjudged to Worcester, “pro renovatione et reconciliatione pacis.” This is a curious glimpse into the dark : we see the Abbey of Winchelcomb, about which nothing else is known, rivalling the Cathedral as residuary legatee of the Mercian prince.¹

The Cathedral of S. Peter grew up, heedless that the younger sister by its side was to supersede it and enter into its labours. The Abbey of S. Mary, to which I have had occasion to refer so often, was founded as I have supposed about 747. In 770, the viceroy Uhtred gave it lands at Stoke,² near Salwarp : about the same time it came in for the reversion of Osred,³ one of the royal family of the Hwiccas, and was bound thereby to pray for the soul of Æthelbald ; at this time Uttel, Bishop of Hereford in 793, seems to have been Abbot. In 777 Aldred the viceroy procured it a grant at Seegesbearwe⁴ from Offa ; and another grant from the same king at Ductune,⁵ bears the same date. Berhtulf⁶ in the next century and the other sub-kings of Mercia follow as benefactors ; in 899 it appears to have had an abbot Cynelm ; in 929 the church is called basilica, it was already aiming at being the Cathedral : the last grant I find made specifically to S. Peter’s is in 930 or 934. From that time all grants are made to the bishopstool without specifying the dedication of the church, and from 964 to S. Mary.

⁹ C. D. 323.

¹ Another suit of inheritance called the inheritance of Hemele and Duda, at Intanbeorg, between Bishop Heathored and Wulfheard, the son of Cussa, was decided in 789, at Celchyth, on condition of its reverting to Worcester on Wulfheard’s death : confirmed by Wulfheard himself to Bishop Deneberht at Clovesho in 803.

C. D. 156, 183.

² C. D. 118.

³ C. D. 90.

⁴ C. D. 131.

⁵ C. D. 134, and there is another grant marked spurious, C. D. 142, 145 ; the monks are mentioned in 779. C. D. 154.

⁶ Beorhtwulf, C. D. 249.

There are many other points of interest which I should have been glad to go into, but I have already exceeded my limits, and I do not wish to go beyond the eighth century. I must however mention, 1st, the synod of Clovesho in 805; there Bishop Deneberht appeared with six priests; Hyseberht, abbot; Thingferth, abbot; Pæga, abbot; Freothomund, abbot; Coenferth and Seleræd, priests. Thingferth was Abbot of Evesham; Hyseberht, as being named, first was perhaps Abbot of S. Mary's; Freothomund seems to have been the Abbot of Westbury in 825; Pæga I cannot identify. There were, however, in the diocese at the time the following monasteries: 7—

Berkley, Blockley, Daylesford, Gloucester, Cliffe, S. Michael, Fladbury, Evesham, Deerhurst, Hanbury, Bredon, Bradley, Kempsey, Pershore, Stratford, Kidderminster, Bath, Ripple, Penitanham, Twining, Wincheleomb, Worcester, Westbury, Withington.

I will only mention in conclusion that the accusation against Oswald of impoverishing the canons of Worcester in order to make way for the monks, drawn from the number of grants to laymen executed by him, falls to the ground if we examine the rules that he has laid down for the tenure of the grants: they are a sort of leaseholds with ample provision reserved for the lords and owners.

⁷ Bath, uts. p. 250.

Bredon, uts. C. D. 120, 133, 140, 248, 261.

Berkley, uts. p. 251.

Blockley, C. D. 278.

Bradley, C. D. 79, 156, 183.

Cliffe, S. Michael's Monastery, C. D. 150, 315.

Daylesford: grant of six cassats by Æthelbald to Begia to build a monastery, in 718, C. D. 69, given by Beorhtulf to Worcester in 811, C. D. 251.

Deerhurst, C. D. 186, 218.

Evesham, Gloucester.

Hanbury: reversion left by Offa to Worcester, C. D. 166; Heanburg monasterium, C. D. 237; and C. D. 32.

Fladbury, uts. p. 213.

Kempsey. Cenulf in 799, C. D. 176, grants lands to Edthun, Abbot of Kempsey, at Hereford; Bishop Deneberht about 802, C. D. 181, grants Beammundeslea to Balthun with reversion to Worcester, Bal-

thun being an old Worcester monk;

and Deneberht also grants land at Hereford, which may have been

Balthun's, to Eanswitha. C. D. 182

Kidderminster, uts. p. 248.

Penitanham, uts. p. 241. C. D. 36.

Pershore: founded 681; refounded, reg. Cenwulf, by Beornoth.

Ripple, uts. p. 211. C. D. 17.

Twining: given by Duke Alfred to Worcester in the time of Henth-

ored; see C. D. 203; surrendered by Worcester to Cenulf.

Stratford: given to Worcester by Berhtwulf in 815, C. D. 258; existing still in 872, C. D. 303.

Wincheleomb, uts. p. 252.

Westbury, uts. p. 251. C. D. 166.

Withington, uts. p. 249.

Cheltenham and Beccanford, had belonged to Hereford. The Council of Clovesho, C. D. 184, decided that the procurations be divided between the Bishops of Worcester and Hereford.

NOTICE OF A DIE FOR STRIKING HELVETIAN OR GAULISH
GOLD COINS; FOUND AT AVENCHES, IN SWITZERLAND.

From communications by Dr. FERDINAND KELLER, President of the Society of Antiquaries
of Zürich, Hon. Corr. Member of the Archaeological Institute.

DURING the last summer, an object of most curious and rare description was found by a peasant at Avenches, anciently the chief city of the Helvetii, and situated in a part of the Canton de Vaud which lies enclosed by that of Fribourg. The site is near the northern extremity of the Lake of Neuchâtel, and at a short distance from the Lake of Morat, memorable in the eventful struggles for Swiss independence.

Avenches, designated by Tacitus "Aventicum gentis caput,"¹ in his relation of its surrender to Cæcina, during the disastrous revolutions which ensued on the murder of Galba (A.D. 69), is not mentioned by Cæsar. He speaks, however, of the Tigurini, one of the four Helvetic *pagi*, and Aventicum originally appears to have been their chief city. In the time of Vespasian it became a Roman colony. Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote towards the later part of the fourth century, mentions "Aventicum, desertam quidem civitatem, sed non ignobilem quondam, ut ædificia semirutata nunc quoque demonstrant."² The ruins of its amphitheatre, its aqueduct, and the walls, which may be traced for a circuit of more than five miles, still testify the ancient importance of the city in Roman times. Numerous valuable inscriptions have been found there at various times. They have been collected by the learned Mommsen, in the Transactions of the Zürich Antiquaries.³

The remarkable relic recently brought to light, to which allusion has been made, was speedily sent by M. Gaspari, conservator of the Museum at Avenches, for the inspection of his friends at Zürich. By his courtesy we are enabled to

¹ Taciti Historia, lib. i., 68.

² Amm. Marc. Gest., lib. xv., c. xi.

³ Inscriptiones Confederationis Helvet. Lat., ed. Theod. Mommsen; Mit-

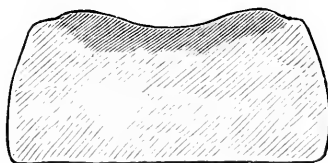
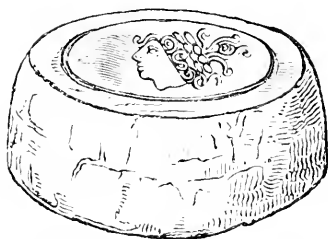
theilungen d. Antiqu. Gesell. in Zürich; vol. x., p. 26, where notices of the early history of Avenches may be found.

call attention to so curious a discovery.⁴ It is a die for striking the obverse of Gaulish or, more correctly speaking, Helvetian imitations of the gold *stater* of Philip II., King of Macedon. This die consists of a cylindrical block of iron, measuring about $1\frac{7}{10}$ in. in diameter, and $\frac{3}{5}$ in. in thickness. On one of its faces is inserted a disk of bronze, slightly elevated above the iron base; diameter about $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. The surface of the bronze is concave, polished, and engraved with a head, profile to the left, beardless, the hair in snake-like locks, encircled by a chaplet or diadem. (See woodcuts.) This head, in slight intaglio, appears to have been executed with a broad-pointed tool, producing strokes of uniform breadth. On the surface of the bronze, although fairly polished, may be perceived in the field, around the head, slight *striae*, indications of a scraping or shaving instrument employed in producing the concavity of the die. The iron portion has been corroded by rust; the bronze insertion, slightly patinated, is so well preserved, that it might now serve to produce coins as distinct, probably, in impression as those originally struck by the Helvetian coiner. The bronze is exceedingly hard, indicating doubtless a comparatively greater proportion of tin in its composition, and its colour is rather lighter than that of ordinary bronze. The thickness of the disk of bronze cannot be ascertained; the cavity formed in the block of iron to receive it appears somewhat irregular, not being perfectly circular, and the bronze has been firmly fixed therein by hammering around the edge of the disk. (See woodcuts. The darker shading of the section indicates the bronze of uncertain thickness.) This mode of construction is extremely ingenious. It was doubtless found that the bronze, when not confined by an iron collar, was subject to expand with use; whilst its being dished had the effect of preventing the *flans*, or pieces of gold prepared for minting, from slipping or rolling out of place. The weight of the die is 278 *grammes*.

The occurrence of any implement for coining, even of comparatively recent periods, is very rare, and the combination of bronze with iron is so singular a constructive feature, that it seems desirable to describe so curious a numismatic relic

⁴ A short notice of the die by Dr. Meyer has appeared in the *Indicateur d'Histoire et d'Antiquités Suisses* for

Aug., 1862, but not accompanied by any representation of the object, which is now figured for the first time.



Die, formed of iron and bronze, for striking Gaulish gold coins, Found at Avenches, in Switzerland.

Preserved in the Museum at Avenches, Canton de Vaud.

Scale—slightly less than the size of the original.

with minuteness of detail which may appear tedious to the general reader. No die of so remote a period as that found at Avenches has come under our observation.⁵ There can, it is believed, be no doubt that the object under consideration was destined for the reproduction of the gold coin of Philip II., King of Macedon, which supplied, as is well known, the prevalent type of the Gaulish gold coinage. After the disastrous invasion of Macedonia by the Gauls, under their chieftain Belgius, in the reign of Ptolemy Ceraunus, and the ignominious death of that king *circa* B.C. 280, the conqueror brought back, it is believed, large quantities of the gold staters of Ptolemy's great predecessor, Philip, son of Amyntas; they speedily passed into general currency in Gaul, and caused the establishment of various mints, producing imitations, for the most part of very rude and unskilful execution, in which it is often difficult to trace any tradition of the Macedonian type,—the head of Apollo, with the *biga* on the reverse. It will be seen by the woodcut that the laureated head of Apollo, as it appears on the die at Avenches, although distinct in all its details, presents no trace of the ideal expression or high quality of Greek art which characterise the admirable coinage of Philip.⁶ The features are devoid of beauty; the hair is arranged with mechanical symmetry, in the conventional style occurring in other types of early Gaulish coinage.⁷

It will be observed that the dimensions of this die are unusually large, as compared with Gaulish coins familiar to the archæologist in other countries. This circumstance is of interest in connection with the early gold coinage of the Helvetii, and the probability suggested by the discovery of the die, that at their chief city, *Arventicum*, the mint may have been established from which the currency of the *pagus* was supplied. The Helvetian imitations of the gold Macedonian

⁵ Dr. Keller writes that he had sought in vain for any notice of such a die known to antiquaries in England, France, or elsewhere. We are indebted to the skilful numismatist, Mr. John Evans, F.S.A., for the assurance that, so far as he is aware, no die of the kind has hitherto been found; in fact, ancient dies are extremely rare. Mr. Evans had seen one only, a die for striking the reverse of coins of Berenice, Queen of Ptolemy Euergetes, *circa* n.c. 247. It was exhibited by Mr. Boecko at a meeting

of the Soc. of Ant., Feb. 2, 1854. Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond., vol. iii. p. 54.

⁶ See numerous coins figured in Lambert's "Essai sur la Numismatique Gauloise," pl. ii., and in other works. The nearest approach to the head on the Avenches die appears to be pl. x., fig. 29, in Leluwel's Atlas, a type, however, which he assigns to the country of the Redones, in Brittany.

⁷ Mr. Evans is disposed to assign to the die a comparatively early date, about n.c. 200.

stater appear to have been of comparatively large module ; in the Museum of the Antiquaries of Zürich four gold pieces are preserved, found in the cantons of Lucerne, Schaffhausen, and Berne, identical with the Avenches die in their large dimension, and in the type of the obverse, namely, the laureated head of Apollo. Gold coins of similar character have been found also repeatedly at Baden (*Aquæ Helvetiorum*), 12 English miles from Zürich ; at Ober Winterthur (*Vitudurum*), and at several other places.⁸ Some coins found in the northern parts of Switzerland are of *electrum*.

The assertion sometimes made, that gold coins of this type were imported into Helvetia, is obviously erroneous ; no indication had previously been noticed of any particular locality where a mint may have existed in early times. The supposition is not improbable that, amongst Gaulish gold coins of other types frequently found in Switzerland, some may have been struck at the capital, *Aventicum*. Strabo⁹ asserts that the country of the Helvetii was rich in gold ; their cupidity, however, being excited by witnessing the great treasure accumulated through pillage by the Cimbri, they joined in the predatory expeditions of the Northmen. Strabo names especially the Tigurini, the tribe before mentioned as named by Cæsar, whose chief city was *Aventicum*, as having taken part with the freebooters. Both the Cimbri and their auxiliaries were reduced to submission by the Romans. Gold is found in Switzerland in several localities, and in beds of rivers ; the Aar and the Emme still transport portions of the precious metal. In the former stream, near Brugg (*Argovia*), the peasantry are accustomed to wash the sands when the rivers have been swelled by heavy rains, and heaps of sand are deposited along the banks ; in these, particles of gold occur. The gold-seekers formerly used only rough boards, but at the present time frames covered with woollen cloth are employed ; and a man sometimes earns as much as five francs in a day. The sands of the Rhine also contain gold, and they are washed for the precious particles beneath Basle, in the territory of the Grand Duke of Baden ; ducats have there been coined, with inscriptions stating that

⁸ A specimen found in a sepulchral tumulus at Horgen near Zürich in 1836, is described in the Transactions of the Antiquaries of that city, vol. iii., and these imitations of the coins of Philip

aro mentioned as occurring in that locality by Gessner, *Numism. Regum Maced. Tiguri*, 1738.

⁹ Lib. iv., c. iii., s. 3, and lib. vii., c. ii., s. 2.

they are of Rhine gold.¹ It is moreover possible, as has been suggested, that the reputation of the golden wealth of the Helvetii, to which Strabo twice alludes, may have received confirmation by the fact, of which evidence has now been adduced, that their coins were of much larger module than the ordinary gold currency of other Gaulish nations. This subject will, however, soon be placed more fully under the consideration of those who devote attention to numismatic researches. A memoir on the Gaulish coins found in Switzerland will shortly be given by Dr. Meyer in the Transactions of the Antiquaries of Zürich. Meanwhile it may not be altogether a vain hope, that further excavations at Avenches may possibly bring to light the counterpart,—the convex moiety of the Gaulish die now described, and upon which the well-known Macedonian charioteer was doubtless represented.

Since the foregoing particulars of a discovery of unusual interest were received from our obliging and learned correspondent, Dr. Keller, we have been favoured by Mr. Birch with the following observations:—

Very few ancient dies are known; the most remarkable are those in the Bibliothèque Impériale, at Paris, described by M. Chabouillet in his "Catalogue Général des Camées," &c., p. 511. They consist of two dies of denarii of Augustus found at Nismes, two of Tiberius, two of Nero, all of bronze; and a pair, obverse and reverse, of iron, united by shanks hinged together, figured in Akerman's Roman Coins, pl. 14; these last are of an *Aureus* of Constantius I., for the Antioch mint. M. Chabouillet remarks that some of these dies may have been fabricated by forgers of monies in ancient times. The late Mr. Burgon affirmed that he had seen a conical bronze die of the reverse of a coin of a Seleucid king; it is mentioned by Mr. Poole in his article on Numismatics, Encycl. Brit. There are three flat bronze disks in the British Museum, apparently blanks for dies, having legends only without any head or subject; these, however, are of questionable antiquity. Coins of the Carisia family, having on the obverse a head with *MONETA*, have on the reverse an anvil, hammer, tongs, and a conical object supposed to be a die. (Figured, Akerman, Rom. Coins, vol. i. p. v.) The cause of the adoption of the type of the *stater* of Philip by the Gauls appears to be this. When Philip discovered the rich gold mines of Mount Pangæum in Macedonia, he issued *staters* in large quantities, and they continued in the reigns of his successors to be the principal gold currency. When Brennus plundered Greece, B.C. 279, it is supposed that he brought back a great treasure of these coins, and they became the gold currency of Gaul. The type was imitated in later times, and became so degraded as to be with difficulty recognised. There is evidence that gold formerly existed in abundance in Gaul and Britain, at a period when there were no mines of silver, and gold seems to have been the most ancient Gaulish currency.

¹ Gold occurs also occasionally at the foot of Mount Calanda, opposite Coire, where small nuggets sometimes fall from the sides of that mountain.

Original Documents.

ON THE TREATISE ENTITLED, "MODUS TENENDI PARLIAMENTUM," WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE UNIQUE FRENCH VERSION BELONGING TO THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA.

By THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, Deputy Keeper of the Public Records.

THE attention of historical and legal scholars cannot be directed to a more interesting subject of inquiry than the origin and early history of our political constitution. Unfortunately, however, few materials, and those of a very meagre character, exist for its elucidation. The page in which is recorded the early history of our legislative assemblies is almost blank. The Rolls of Parliament, commencing in the 18th of Edward I.; the Petitions during the same reign to the king and council in Parliament; the contemporary MS. entitled "Placita Parliamentaria," or Pleas in Parliament, during that and the succeeding reign; together with occasional and incidental notices on the Close, Patent, and other Rolls of the reigns of Henry III., Edward I., and Edward II., are absolutely all the authentic materials we possess for the purpose. These, it is true, would be sufficient did we desire to compile only a parliamentary history of the period to which they relate. But something more than this is required. The student of constitutional history aims at carrying his investigations to an earlier era. He aspires to learn the jurisdiction and constitutional parts of our legislative assemblies anterior to the time when the people of England are said to have been first represented therein, and to have formed an integral part of the legislature of the realm.

When *legal* evidence is so scanty, and *direct* testimony altogether wanting, we must of necessity turn our attention to other means of information, and welcome any document that promises to illustrate the subject of our inquiry.

It is for this reason—as belonging to the class of corre-

lative or cognate testimony—that the famous tract “De Modo tenendi Parliamentum,” regarded by many eminent lawyers to be a precedent of a Parliament holden before the Conquest, is undoubtedly entitled to our consideration.

A treatise bearing this title naturally excited attention when Englishmen began to pursue, with diligence, researches concerning the antiquities of the constitution. That great legal luminary, Lord Chief Justice Coke, seems to have been the first to call public attention to it. In the discussion on the Fitz-Herbert case of privilege, he thus announced it from the chair of the House of Commons:—“At first the two Houses were all one House, and sat together by a precedent, which I have, of a Parliament holden before the Conquest, by Edward the son of Ethelred. For there were Parliaments before the Conquest. This appeareth in a Book which a grave member of this House delivered unto me, which is entitled ‘*Modus tenendi Parliamentum.*’” And, afterwards, in his Fourth Institute (p. 12), when treating of the history and jurisdiction of the High Court of Parliament, he avows his deliberate opinion that “the ‘Modus’ was rehearsed and declared before the Conqueror at the time of the Conquest, and by him approved for England; and accordingly the Conqueror, according to ‘Modus,’ held a Parliament for England, as it appeareth in 21st Edward III., p. 60. After King Henry II. had conquered Ireland, he fitted and transcribed this Modus into Ireland in a parchment roll for holding of Parliaments there, which no doubt Henry II. did by advice of his Judges, being a matter of so great weight, and legal.”

For nearly half a century the dictum of this great lawyer does not appear to have been questioned. Constitutional history had not been studied. Men cared not to know whether the Saxon legislative assembly had an established constitution, whether it had a popular form, or whether it had been derived from ancient German Institutions. And when Coke, as Speaker of the House of Commons, with his head full of his newly discovered “Modus,” announced to Queen Elizabeth, in the presence of her assembled Peers, that “the High Court of Parliament is the greatest and most ancient Court within your realm; for before the Conquest, in the high places of the West Saxons, we read of a Parliament holden; and, since the

Conquest, they have been holden by all your noble progenitors,” he was fully credited by his Royal and noble audience.

In the succeeding century, however, questions touching the Royal Prerogative had arisen, and the rights and antiquity of Parliament were frequent topics of controversy. Selden, Hale, and Prynne entered warmly into the discussion. More than one of the dicta of Coke were disputed, and his panegyric on the “Modus” was derided. Selden and others were content with denying the antiquity of the treatise, but Prynne, who was its greatest opponent, thought no expression too strong, no ridicule too pungent, to be employed against it. Relying on a text both corrupt and interpolated, Prynne is often contradictory and sometimes extremely feeble. His arguments against Coke lose much of their weight by reason of the acrimonious spirit he exhibited; but many of them, nevertheless, are decisive against the reputed antiquity of the “Modus.” He has, however, completely failed to establish his own views on the subject. The true age of the “Modus” was indeed so doubtful, that on one occasion he supposes it to have been compiled between the 27th and 33rd years of the reign of Henry VI., and, at another time, thinks it was written after the 31st year of Henry VIII. In impeaching the authority of the treatise as a true exposition of the mode of holding Parliament in the time of the Saxons, he has permitted himself to be betrayed into a misconception of its true character. He impairs the value of his objections to its authority by his endeavours to destroy its authenticity, not perceiving that a production may be genuine and yet utterly destitute of value as an exponent of facts.

The deduction of Coke, who was no antiquary, and not always a precise logician, as to the age of the treatise, is manifestly erroneous. The words of the proeme, from which he appears to have derived his opinion of its antiquity, clearly prove that it must have been written subsequent to the Conqueror’s time, inasmuch as it professes to describe the manner of holding Parliaments in the reign of William the First, “*and also in those of his successors.*” There is nothing in the words to warrant Coke’s unqualified assertion that he had found a precedent of a Parliament holden before the Conquest. It is no precedent either in the legal or

logical meaning of the word, but simply a narrative describing how certain things therein specified were done at various times past. A scribe writing in the reign of the Conqueror would doubtless be able to tell how Parliaments were holden in his time, or even how they had been holden in the time of that monarch's predecessors; but it would be impossible for him to anticipate events, and give a detailed account of the manner in which they would be holden by William's successors. The proeme moreover is, in this respect, wholly at variance with the body of the treatise, thereby showing it is an addition. It purports to describe how the Parliament used to be holden before the Conquest, in the time of the Conqueror, and in that of his successors: the "Modus" itself—how it ought to be holden.

Since, then, the conclusions of these two eminent lawyers as to the antiquity of the "Modus" are plainly untenable, to what age are we to ascribe its production? With data so few and so indefinite as we possess, it is of course impossible to pronounce a decision which shall be unimpeachable; but inference, and evidence furnished by the treatise itself, will enable us to arrive at an approximation as to the date of its composition, sufficiently near as to satisfy us until something more decisive can be obtained.

We may be sure it was not written later than the year 1404, and probably not earlier than the year 1244.

It was not written later than 1404, since in that year—the sixth, namely, of King Henry IV.—a version of it suited to Ireland was exemplified under the Great Seal of that Kingdom. Besides, several copies of the reign of Richard II. are still extant, and one, at least, of the reign of Edward III.—nor would it be impossible to trace it to a still earlier time. The variations in the arrangement of sections, and in several of the phrases employed in the text of most of the MSS. extant, lead, indeed, to the supposition that they have been altered or adapted from some common and earlier exemplar. It was not written previous to 1244, since the word "Parliamentum," used in the treatise, was never applied to a legislative assembly in England by any *contemporary* writer, or can be found in record before that year. With these two dates to limit our search, we shall be the better able to prosecute the inquiry. The diocesan clergy are described in the "Modus" as represented in Convocation by two

Procurators from each diocese. Now, unless the passage having reference to the subject has been interpolated, the text wherein it occurs must have been written after the seventh year of the reign of Edward I. ; because it was then (A.D. 1279), for the first time, the clergy were so represented. Further, it must have been written before the eleventh year of the reign of Edward III., inasmuch as the only grades of nobility mentioned therein are Earls and Barons ; and there can be no doubt that had the titles of “Duke” and “Marquis” been known to the author they would have been alluded to by him.¹ Lastly, it must have been written before the year 1327, as appears from the fact that in several MSS., as well as in the version for Ireland, the paragraph relating to the Knights of the Shire ends with these words, “*ultra unam marcam per diem ;*” whilst in others there is this addition, “*at nunc per diem octo solidos videlicet, pro quolibet eorum quatuor solidos,*” an explanation that could not have been made earlier than the year mentioned, because it was then that the wages of a Knight of the Shire for attending Parliament were fixed at four shillings per diem.

It is hardly necessary to go further into this question. No positive proof of the age of the treatise can now be produced ; but, from the facts that have been adduced, we may safely assume it to have been written either at the close of the thirteenth or in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The statement it contains that the Barons of the Cinque Ports were paid ten shillings per diem for their attendance in Parliament, has been strongly urged by Prynne against its authenticity, on the ground that the sum was immoderate, and higher even than the Barons of London at any time received. But his objection falls to the ground—as I have shown in the Preface to the “Modus” published for the Government, and need not repeat here—since the Barons of London in A.D. 1296—at the time I suppose the work to have been compiled—received exactly that sum as their Parliamentary wages.

Having spoken of the antiquity of the treatise, it is not necessary to enter on the constitutional questions involved in its consideration, or to examine the source whence it was

¹ The title of Duke was first conferred in the 11th of Ed. III. ; that of Marquis in the 9th of Rich. II.

derived; for to discuss these points fully, and in a manner worthy of their importance, would far exceed the space allotted to these remarks. It remains, however, to say a few words on the present version. All MSS. of this treatise known, are in Latin, with the exception of that belonging to the Earl of Winchilsea, and which, by his lordship's kind permission, is here printed. This, which is in French, and probably unique, is written on a parchment roll, in a handwriting of the early part of the XV. century. It throws no new light either on the history or the age of the treatise. The text agrees very closely with the Latin,² and was probably translated into French for the benefit of some one who was not acquainted with the Latin language. The Roll is now preserved at Eastwell Park, Kent, with numerous documentary treasures, and with the collections formed by Dugdale for Sir Christopher Hatton, in the reign of Charles I., who took warm interest in the preservation of all historical evidences.

Sir Simonds D'Ewes, in his Preface to the "Journals of all the Parliaments during the reign of Elizabeth," states that he had some help from two transcripts, preserved in the Tower of London, of an old treatise entitled "*De Modo tenendi Parliamentum in Anglia tempore Edwardi filii Etheldredi.*" One of these transcripts, he says, was in French, the other being in Latin. If D'Ewes be correct in his statement that he saw a French version at the Tower, it is certain that it was not a Public Record, or it would not have escaped the keen notice of the indefatigable Prynne, who was Keeper of those Records, and who had devoted so much time to the consideration of the treatise. Lambarde, Ryley, and Petyt, each of whom wrote on Parliamentary History, were also Keepers of the same Records, and could hardly have failed to refer to the treatise had it been under their care. Moreover, in none of the ancient Inventories preserved in the Tower (and one of them is as early as the time of Richard II., and another as that of Elizabeth) is there any reference to such a treatise, either in Latin or French. What then are we to conclude? That Sir Simonds D'Ewes did see a French version is not to be questioned. Is

² The chapters follow the order of one or two MSS. which place the chapter "De lez degrees de les Peers de Parle-

ment" at the end, and substantially agree with the best MSS. at present known.

it not more than probable that this French version was the identical Roll belonging to the Earl of Winchilsea, and was shown to him as a great curiosity by Dugdale, when they were both engaged together at the Tower in the year 1640. Dugdale, we know, was then working under the patronage of Sir Christopher Hatton (an ancestor of the Earl of Winchilsea) who possessed a French version of the “Modus;” at any rate it may be stated, with certainty, that if it were not the MS., now under consideration, which D’Ewes saw at the Tower, no other is at the present day known.

On the back of the Roll is a petition to Thomas of Lancaster, the King’s son, Steward of England and Lieutenant of Ireland, from Richard, Archbishop of Cashel, which proves the Roll itself to have been written at least as early as between the years 1406 and 1412. From this circumstance the Roll appears to have had some connection with Ireland, though it differs in some respects from the copy which is said to have been transmitted thither in the time of Henry IV., and exemplified under the Great Seal of that Kingdom, in the sixth year of the King’s reign, when Sir John Talbot of Hallamshire was Lord Lieutenant. That treatise, as exemplified, was, we know, in Latin, having been expressly adapted for Ireland; this, on the other hand, is in French, and relates wholly to England. There is, however, just a possibility that the Roll before us, which originally belonged to Sir Christopher Hatton, is that found with Sir Christopher Preston when he was arrested at Calne, in Ireland,³ and had been by some skilful hand translated into French for the use of Sir Christopher Preston, who, like most of the laity in his day, may have been unacquainted with Latin. This, however, is a mere hypothesis; but it is founded on the fact that the phraseology has all the marks of having been translated from the Latin, while in the Latin text there is no expression or phrase which would lead to the inference that it had been translated from the French.⁴

³ See Notes to the “Modus Tenendi Parliamentum,” printed under direction of the Commissioners of Public Records, 1846, p. xxxiv.

⁴ On the back of the Roll is also written, in a different hand, the pro-

phesy of St. Hillegard concerning the Order of Mendicants, 42 years before its commencement. This vision may be seen in Wolfii Lect. Memorab. under the year 1180. The Roll measures in length 4 ft. 5 in. by 11½ in.

ICI COMENCY LA MANERE DE TENIRE PARLEMENT.

Icy est escript la manere coment le parlement de Roy dengleterre et sez engliez estoit tenuz en temps le Roy Edward fitz Edildrede le Roy, quele manere estoit reheee par les pluz sâgez du Roialme devaunt William due de Normandie conquerour et Roy dengleterre, mesme le conquerour ceo comendant par luy prove, et en souz temps et auxi en temps de sez successours Roys dengleterre uses.

DE SOMONS.

Le semmons de parlement doit procedre le primere jour de parlement par xl. jours.

DE CLERGIE.

A parlement somondre et venire devant par raison de leur tenure toutz et chescounz Erchevesqz Evesqz Abbes Priours et autres grauntez de clergie, queux teignent par Countee ou Baronie par reison de tiele manere tenir, et nullez viendrez si non qe leur presenee et venne par autre voie qe par leur tenure soit requys, sicome sils soient de conseil le Roy en¹ leur presenee necessarie ou profitable a parlement soit dit, et a eux le Roi est tenuz ministrere leur costagez et despensez venaunt et demuraunt a le parlement; et devaunt tiels meyndrez dechargie estre somonez a parlement mes soloit envoier sez briefs a tiels sâgez, priaunt qils voillent estre a souz parlement. Item le Roi soloit envoyer sez somons as Eschevesqs Evesqs et autres exemptz personez, sicome Abbes Priours Deanez et aultres persons de seint esglise qount juridiccions par tielx maneres exemptions et privilegez de parties, quils par chescun deany et erchedeany dengleterre par eux mesmes deanes et archedeaknes ferroient eslier deux sâgez covenables procuratours de leur propre archedeakny venire et estre a parlement a respoundre supportere alowere et faire mesme ceo qe toutz et cheeunz dez personez dez deanyez et archedeaknyez ferroient, sils et leurs toutz et chescun person de mesmes les deanyes et erchedeaknyez estoient personnelment, et qe tiex procuratours viendront ov leur garantz ovesqez lez sealx de leurs souveraignes duple ensealez [ensy] qils custumablement a tiels maners procuraties sunt eluz [et] envoyez, de quex lettres garentz lune serra delivre as elers de parlement a enollere, et lautre demurera devers mesme procuratours; et ensy de southe cez deux maners de sommons doit tout la clergie estre somonez a parlement.

DE LAYES.

Item sommonir et venire devant et chescun Countez Barouns et leurs piers, cestassaver ceux qount terres et rentz a value dune Countee entiere, cestassaver vint fees de chivaliere, chescun fee accomptez a vint liverez, qe font quatre centz livers en tout, ou la value dun Baronye entiere, cestassavoir treze fees et la tierce partie dun fee dun chivalere, et chescun fee accomptez a vint livers, que forme en tout quatre centez marez; et nullez meyndrez leyes ne doivent estre somonez ne venire a parlement par reison de leur tenure, si nonn que leur presenee par autre cause soit profitable ou necessaire a parlement, et donqes deux doit fait estre sicome est dite dez

¹ In the original form of the corresponding passage in the Latin *M. des gives* — "vel."

meyndrez du clergie, quex² par reisoun de leur tenure ne sont tenuz de venire a parlement.

DE BAROONS DE CYNK PORTZ.

Item ley Roy soloit envoier sez briefs a le gardeyne de lez Cynk portz, qil ferroit eslier de chescun porte par mesme le porte deux covenablez et sagez barouns a venire a parlement, a respoudre supporter alowere et faire mesme ceo qe ferroient leur baronyes [si] touz et chescune personelment illoeques estoient, et qe tielx Barouns viendroient ove leur garantz dez lez communcz sealx de leur portez double ensealez, ensy qils soient a ceo custumablement esluz attornez et envoiez par leurz Baronyes; dez quex garantz lune serroit livere as clere de le parlement, et lautre a remeindre devers mesmez le Barouns dez portz, eyauntz counge de le parlement quant ils devont departire; et doucs solient avoir brief de la graunt seale direct a Gardeyne de lez Cynk portz qils ferroit tielx Barouns aver reisonablez eostagez et leur despensez de communalte de leur port, de le primer jour qils vers le parlement alerount tanqe le jour qils a leur propre reviendront, et qe expresse mencion soit faite en la dite brief de la demurge qils ferroient a le parlement, et de leur qils vendroient et avoient conge a retourner; et jadis soloit estre fait mencion en le brief quant tielx Barouns devoient prendre de tielx communaltez par le jour, cestassaver ascunz plus ascuns meyndre solone labilite et honeste et regarde dez personez; et ne soloit estre mys pur deux Barouns par le jour aultre xx. s. cant regard a leur demourge travaillez et despensez, et ne soloient tielx despensez estre mys en certayne par le court pur ascunz personez ensy esluz et envoiez par lez communalteez, si noun leur persones estoient honestez et soy bien eyantz en le parlement.

DE CHIVALERS DEZ COUNTEEZ.

Item le Roy soloit envoier sez briefs a toutz lez viscountez denglitere, qils ferroient eslier chescune de soun Countee dieux chivalers covenablez honestez et sagez, a venire a soun parlement, en mesme la manere qe dit est de Barouns de Cynk portz, et de leur grauntez en mesme la manere, einz pur lez despencez de deux chivalers dune Countee ne soloit estre mys aultre une mare le jour.

DE BURGEYS.

En mesme la manere soloit et devoit estre envoies as Baillifs et prodoms des Burgois, qils de soy et pur soy eslirent deux covenablez honestez et sagez Burgeis, a venire et estre a parlement le Roy en mesme la manere qe dit est de citeseins; eins deux Burgeis ne soloient prendre pur leur despensez pur un jour outre x.s., et a aseune temps outre demy mare, et ceo soloit estre taxee par le courte solone la quantite et poer de le Burgoiez et solone la honeste de persones envoiez.

DE PRINCIPALX CLERCZ DE PARLEMENT.

Deux clerez principals de le parle (*sic*) parlement serroit en le mylieu dez Justices, queux enrrolleront communes plees bo-soignez de parlement; et fait assaver qe mesmez deux clerez ne sont subigeit a qeconqz Justicez,

² The scribe has here written—q'ux, but the contraction over the initial letter may be considered redundant.

et nest aucune Justice dengleterre en parlement, et nomt (*sic*) par soi recorder en parlement [si] noun nouvelle poiara euz soit assigne et done en parlement par le Roy et lez piers du parlement, sicome quant ils ovesques autres suiteurs de parlement sont assignez oier et examiner et terminer aucunez petieious et querelez en le parlement monstrez. Einz sont mesmez deux clerez saunz meisnez subigiz al Roy et soun parlement en commune, si noun serroit un Justice ou deux asseignes a euz examiner et amendre lour enrollementz. quant lez piers de parlement sont asseignez oier et examiner aucunez peticions especialment par soi; donqe come ils serront dune voillaunce et dune acorde en lour jugement a rendre sur tielx peticions reherceront les petieious et lez proces sur euz ciez [et] tendront lour jugement en plein parlement. Et mesmes les rolles soient en la tresorie devaunt le parlement soit departies, ensi qen chescune manere mesme lez rollez soient en la tresorie devaunt processe de parlement ent, save a mesme lez clerez le transcript en countrollement sils le voillent avoir. Et mesmez deux clerez, si noun ils soient en autrez officez ove le Roy et preignent de luy feez ensi qils (*sic*) qils purront ent honestement vivre, ils prendront de Roy par le jour une mare pur lour despensez, par oweles poreious, si noun ils soient a le table le Roy, et donques ils prendront outre lour table forsqe deux marez par le jour par owelez poreious, par tout le parlement.

DE CYNK CLERS DE PARLEMENT.

Le Roy doit assigner eynk clers sagez et approuvez, donne le primer doit ministrer et server Evesques, et le secunde a lez procuratours de clergie, et le tierce as Countees et Barouns, le quart as chivalers de Counteez, le quint as citeseins et Burgus; et cheseun dez ditz clerez, si noun ils soit ove le Roy [et] preigne de luy tiel fee ou tielx gagez quil purroit honestement vivre, il prendra de Roy par le jour deux souldes, si noun ils soient a le table le Roy, et sils sont a le table le Roy donques prendront xij. d. par le jour; queux esriverunt lez dubitacioins et responses queux yferrount a Roy et le parlement, et serrount a leurs conseils en quequonq lieu qils euz voudront avoir, et come ils ne sont occupiez aide tout^a lez clerez principalez a enrollere.

DES CASES ET JUGEMENTZ DOUTOUSES.

Come brige doute ou dure case de pees ou de guerre aveigne en le Royalme ou par de hors, eel cas soit dit et reherce en escript en plein parlement, et soit trete et despute illoeques parentre lez piers du parlement, et si busoigne soit enjoigne par le Roy ou depar le Roy, et si ne Roy y ne soit a cheseun degrec de piers qe cheseun aleit par soi, et soit eel cas livre a lour clere en escript, et en certayne lieu ferrount rehercer devaunt euz eel cas, ensi qils ordeignent et considerent parentre euz en quele meillour et juste manere proced[e]r^r purront en celi cas, si come par (*sic*) la persoun le Roy et lez personez de lour mesmes et pur sez^b personez deux pur quellis personez euz sont presentz, voudront devaunt Dieu respondre, et lour respounsez et avisementz ferrount reportier en escript, qe toutez leurs respounsez conseillez et avisementz ent oiez solone le meillour et plus sain conseille soit procede, et ou nomement la plus greyndre partie de parlement se accorde, si come il soit par di corde parentre le Roy et lez autres graundees, ou parentre

^a *pro*, for. a. l. r. n. r.

^b *Se*, for. lez.

lez graundeez, la peez du roialme soit enfermes ou le pople en le pais, ensi quil avys a Roy et a soum conseil qe soit en esplot, qe tiele bosoigne soit tretee et amende par consideracion de toutz lez piers de soum roialme; ove si par guerre le Roy et le Roialme soit troublez, ou si dure eas aveigne devant le Chaunceller denglitere, ou dure jugement soit a rendre devant Justicez, ou a[u]tre eas semblable, et si par aventure en tiels deliberaciouns touz ou nomement la greindre partie acorder ne purrount, donques le Counte Seneschalle le Comte Constable et le Counte Mareschall, ou deux de eux, vynt et cynk personez de toutz piers de Roialme, cestassaver deux Evesques et treis procuratours pur tout la clergie, deux Countez et treis Barouns cynk chivallers dez counteez cink ceteseins et cynk burgeys, qe fount vynt et cynk, purrount eslier de leur mesmez dusze et condiscendre en eaux, et ils dusze vj. [et] condiscendre en eux, et ils sis unqore treys et condiscendre en eaux, et ils treys en puis poy qe leur mesmez ne purrount condiscendre, si non par licence du Roy, et si le Roy vorroit consentire ils treis purrount en deux, et de eux deux lune puet en lautre condiscendre, et ensi au darreyu estera soum ordenance sur tut le parlement; et ensi condiscendant a vint et a cynk personez tanqe a une soule persoun, si noun le greindre nombre acordero purroit et ordeigner, a darrain une soule persone, si come il est dit, pur toutz ordeigneroit, quel Evesque⁵ soi mesmez discorder ne purroit; save le Roy et soum conseil qils tiels ordeignementz depuis qils serront en escriptz examiner et amender purront [si] faire soient et voidroient, ensi qe ceo soit illoques adonques en plein parlement et ne my derere le parlement.

DE LORDRE DE LA LIVERANCE DEZ BOSOIGNEZ DE PARLEMENT.

Lez bosoignes pur queux le parlement est devont estre liveres solone la Kalendarie et le parlement, et solone lordre de peticiouns liveres et affiez, nulle regard caunt a qeconqe persone einz qe premerment ferroit; en la Kalendarie del parlement serront remembers toutz bosoignes de le parlement soulz tiel ordre; le primer jour guerre, si guerre ne soit, et dautre bosoignes lez personez le Roy et Roigne et de leur enfantz touchauntz; le seconde jour commenez bosoignes du Roialme, sicome de leis a establere encountre defautz de leis originelx et executories dampnis jugement rendutz, qe lez sont lez plus communes busoignes; le tierce jour ferrount remember singulers bosoignes, et ceo solone lordre des filacez dez peticiouns, si come il est dite.

DEZ JOURS ET HOURES DE LE PARLEMENT.

Le parlement ne doit estre tenuz en dymengez eins chescune autre jour, horspris par tout voie treis jours, cestassaver, le jour de toutz seintz, dez almez, et de la Nativite de saint Johan Baptistre, et puet estre tenuz et doit chescun jour commencer a la my heure de Pryme, a quel heure le Roy est tenuz estre en parlement, [et] toutz les piers du Roialme, et devoient tenir le parlement en lieu appert; en autres seyntz jours le parlement doit commencer al heure de Prime pur divine service.

DE LA MANERE DE PARLEMENT.

En primes monstre la fourme en quel manere et en quel temps chescun somouns du parlement doit estre fait, et qi venire devant par somons, et

⁵ The correct reading should probably be—ovesque—as appears by comparison with the Latin *Modus*; “cum se ipsa discordare non potest.”

qi noun ; secundarie qi sont qi par reisoun de lour officez venire devant et estre sont tenuz par tout le parlement sanz somouns, dont il est a considerer qe deux principalx clerez de parlement esluz par le Roy et soun conseil, et autres clerez secundaries de quex et de lour officez serra dit depuis especialment, et le principal erieur dengliture vesque sez south erieurs, et le principal huyslier dengliture, quelx deux offices, cest adire, loffice du erieur et huyslier, soloient a une et mesme chose appartenire ; ceux officers sont tenuz estre en le parlement le primer jour.

Le Chauncellere dengliture et Tresorer Chamberleyns et Barouns de leschekere Justicez et toutz clerez et chivaliers du Roy aux evesque⁶ les sergeantz de ley quex sont du conseil le Roy sont tenuz estre en le parlement le secunde jour, si noun ils eient excusacioun reisonable, et sils ne purront y estre donques devoyere bonez excusaciouns.

LA COMENSEMENT DEL PARLEMENT.

Le Roy serra en my lieu de la greindre bank, et il est tenuz estre primerment en le parlement le vij^{me} jour, et soloient lez Chauncellere Tresorer et Barouns de leschekere et Justicez recordere defautez faitz en le parlement south lordre qensuit ; le primer jour serront appelez Burgeys et Cetezeins de tout Engliture, a quel jour si lez Burgeys ne viendront le Burge serra ameriee a centz marez et la Cite a cent livers ; le secunde jour serront appelez lez chivaliers dez Countees de tout Engliture, a quel jour sils ne viendront le Countee de qoy ils sont serra ameriee a centz liveres ; et le tierce jour serront appelez les Barouns de Cynk portz, et depuis autres Baronez, et depuis Countees ; dont si lez barouns de Cynk portz ne viendront la Baronie de qoi ils sont serra ameriee a centz marez, et Countee a centz livers, et en mesme la manere serra fait dez quex sont piers as Countez et Barouns, cestassaver, ils qount terrez et rentes a la value dnn Countee ou dune Baronie, si come il est avautdit en le tite de somouns ; le quartee jour serront appelez lez procuratours de clergie et sils [ne] viendront leurs Evesques serront ameries par chescun Ercheadeakenie qi fait defait a centz marez ; le quint jour serront appelez Deanez Priours Abbez Evesques, et sils ne viendront chescun Erchevesque serra ameriee a c. li., chescun Evesque qe tient une Barounie entiere a c. marez ; en mesme la manere des Abbez Priours et aultrez.

Le primer jour doit estre fait proclamacioun primerment en la sale ou en le Monstre ou en autre lieu apiert ou le parlement serra tenuz, et de puis appertement en la Citee ou la vile, que toutz ceaux qe peticiouns et querelle deliverer voidront a le parlement, qils eux deliveront de le primer jour de parlement tanqe en cynk jours procheinement ensuauntz.

DE LA PREDICACION DEL PARLEMENT.

Une Erchevesque ou un graunt clere sage et de bele parlance esluz par leschevesque de la provynce en quele le parlement serra tenuz doit prechier un de lez cynk primers jours de parlement et en presence de Roy, et ceo quant le parlement serra pur greindre partie assemblez ; et en soun sermon ensuaunt amoigner a tout le parlement qils ove luy Dieu humblement supplient et luy honorent par le pees et tranquillite du Roy et del Royalme, si come ils serra dite puis especialment en le tite suyant de la proclamation a le parlement.

⁶ Sic, probably for—over p.

DE LA PROMOTEMENT DEL PARLEMENT.

De puis la predicacioun doit le Chauncellere denglitere ou le chief Justice denglitere, cestassaver celuy qi tient plees devaunt le Roy, ou autre Justice convenable honest et de beal parlaunce, ou elerez par mesmez lez Chauncellere et Chief Justice esluz, monstret lez causez de parlement, et primerment en general et en especial esteaunce, et en fait assaver qe toutz de parlement qeconqes ils soient quant ils enparlerunt esteierount, hospris le Roy, ensi qe toutz de le parlement purrount oier celuy qi parle; et sil dit obseurement ou bas parle il dirra autrefoit et parlera pluis en haut, ou un autre parlera pur luy.

DE LA PARLAUNCE DU ROY APRES LE PROMOTEMENT.

Le Roy apres le promotement pur le parlement doit prier elerez et lais en nominant toutz lours degreuz, cestassaver Erchevesques Evesques Abbes Priours Erchediakenes procuratours et autres de clergie, Countez Barouns Chivalers Citeseins Bu[r]geys et autrez laiez, qils diligemment studiosment et eurent travaillerunt atretere et deliverer busoignez de parlement, si come ceo pluis principalement estre endenderont (*sic*) et senterount, primerment a la volunte Dieu, et depuis al a (*sic*) honour et profit du Roy et leur mesmez.

DE LABSENCE DU ROY DE LE PARLEMENT.

Le Roy est tenuz par tout voie estre personelment en le parlement, si noun il soit detenuz par corporale malease, et donqes il poet tenir sa chambre, ensi qil ne gist par de hors la manere ou nomement la ville ou parlement est tenuz; et donqes doit envoyer pur xij. persones dez greindres et meillours qeux sont somouns (*sic*) a le parlement, cestassaver deux Evesques deux Countez deux Barouns deux Chivalers de Countees deux Citeseins et deux Burgeis a voier sa personne et a tesmoigner soum estate, et doit en leur presence committre a lerechevesque de la lieu le Seneschal et soum chief Justice qils ensemble et chesune par soy commenseront le parlement en soum noun, ciauntz en leur commissioun expresse mencioun a ceo de cause de labsence, qe chose doit suffir et monstret lautres grauntz et noblez de parlement ovesque notorie tesmoigne de xij. piers; et la cause est qar clamour et murmure soloiet estre en parlement pur labsence le Roy: car il est chose perilous et damageouse a tout le communalte de le parlement et auxi le Royalme, quant le Roy fuist absente du le parlement, et ne se doit absentier, ne poet si noun sullement en cace suisditz.

DE LIEUX ET SESSIIONS EN LE PARLEMENT.

Primerment, si come il est dite, se[c]rra le Roy en my lieu de la greindre Bank, en sa partie dextre seera lerechevesque de Caunterbirs, et en sa partie senestre seera lerechevesque devwik, (*sic*)⁷ et apres ordeignement Evesques Abbes Priours tout voie par tiele lyne parentre lez degrez suisditz et lours lieux, ensi qe nulle seera si noun parentre sez piers, et a ceo veer est tenuz le Seneschal denglitere, si noun le Roy verroiet un autre a ceo assigner; et a pec dextre du Roy seerunt lez Chaunceller denglitere et sez compaignouns et lours elerez, quelx sont de le parlement; et a soum pec senestre

⁷ Probably for—deverwik, *i. e.* York, the mark of contraction having accidentally been omitted.

serount lez Tresorer Chamberlayns et Barouns de lesehcker Justice[s] del Banke et lour clerez, si aseunz soie[u]t de le parlement.

DE LE HUISSHER EN LE PARLEMENT.

Le principale huissier en parlement estera de deins le grand huys del Monster sale eu^t aultre lieu en le parlement est tenuz, et gardera le huys ensi qe nulle entrera le parlement si noun ecluy qe suyt doit a parlement, ou serra appelle pur busoigne quil pursuera en le parlement; et il est busoigne qe ecluy huissier eit conusaunce dez personez queux entrer devount, si que nulle soit disturbe de soun entre qi a le parlement estre est tenuz, et ecluy huissier poet et doit, si busoigne soit, avoir plusours huissours de southe luy.

DE CRIOUR DE PARLEMENT.

Le crioure del parlement esteera par dehors le huy de parlement, et le huissier luy monstera sez clamaciouns, et le Roy soilet envoyer sez sergeantz darmes a esteier par graunt espace et par dehors le huys de le parlement, et a garder le huys, ensi qe nulle impressiouns ne noise serount faitz entour le huys, par queux le parlement purroit estre desturbez, sur peyne de prise de lour corps; car du droit le huys de parlement no doit estre close cinz par huissours et lez sergeantz darmes et gardez.

DE LEZ PARLANCE QE STEIEROUNT EN PARLEMENT.

Toutz lez piers de le parlement seierount et nul esteira mais quaut il p[ar]lera, et si il p[ar]lera, ensi que chesem de parlement luy purra oier; et nul entrera le parlement, si noun par un soul huys, et toutz lez parlauntez esteierount a qeconqe temps qils parleront aseune chose qe doit estre delivere par le parlement, et la cause est quils serount oiez de lez piers; car toutz les piers sont Jugez et Justieez.

DEL AIDE LE ROY.

Le Roy ne soilet demaundere aide de soun Royalme mais pur guerre osteaunt ou pur sez filez a marier, et donqes devount tielx aidez estre demaundez en plein parlement et estre deliverez en escript a chesem degre de lez piers de le parlement soi consenterount et en escript estre respomez; et fait assaver qe a tielx aidez estre grauntez il busoigne qe toutz piers de le parlement soi consenterount; et fait a entendre qe deux chevalers qe sont venuz a le parlement pur un Comte aient plus graunt vois en le parlement, et en grauntaunt et coundrediaunt, que les plus grauntz Countees denglitere; et en mesme la manere lez proeuratours de clergie dun Evesqe aient plus graunt vois en le parlement, sils touz soient accordez, qe levesqe, et ceo en touz chosez qelex a le parlement devont estre grauntez ou demiez; et ceo appiert car le Roy puet tenir parlement ove la communalte de soun Royalme saunz Evesques Countez et Barouns, si ensi soit qils soient somouns a le parlement, et si nul Evesqe Comte ou Baroun a sez somouns viendra, car jadis nestoit Evesqe ne Comte ne Baroun, et unqore adonqes lez Rois eurent lour parlement eins en autre manere est⁹ en coudre; car si lez communaltez de clergie et layez estoient somouns a le parlement, si come

⁹ *est* is *est* here, and in the context, *est* should probably be read = *ou*. Sic, possibly for = *et*.

de droit ils deverount, et pur ascunes certainz causez venire ne voidroient, si come ils diserent qe le Roy eux ne gouvereroit com il deveroit, et assigneroient especialment en queux articlez eux ne gouvereroit, a donques le parlement serroit pur nul ; et si unqore ensi serroit qe toutz Erchevesques Evesques Countez et Barouns et touz lez piers ou le Roy estoient presentz, et pur ceo il est busoigne et toutz chosez queux devount estre grauntez faitz affirmez ou donez par le parlement, qils soient grauntez par communalte de le parlement quele de trois degreez, cestassaver de procuratours de clergie chivalers de Countez et Burgeys, quelez representent tout le communalte denglitere, et ne mye de lez grandez, car cheseun de eux est est (*sic*) pur sa propre persone en le parlement et ne mye pur cheseun autre.

DE LE DEPARTIER DE LE PARLEMENT.

Le parlement ne doit departire quant ascun petieion est pendaunt nyent discussé, ou ameyns a quelle null respounce ne soit determinez ; et si le Roy fait le contraire il est perjurs ; et nulle soul de touz lez piers de le parlement puet ne doit departier de la parlement si noun il est conge de Roy et de toutz sez piers, et ceo en plein parlement, et qe de tiel conge soit fait remembrance en lez rollez de le parlement ; et si ascunz dez piers duraunt le parlement soit a malease, siqa (*sic*) la parlement venir ne purra, adonques deins le tierce jour envoiera a sez executours a le parlement, a quel jour sil ne veindra soient envoies a luy deux de sez piers a veier et tesmoigner sa maladie, et si ysoit suspecceion soient sez deux piers jureez qils ent dient verite ; et si compiert qil soi feigne soit amerce come pur defaute, et sil ne soi feigne a donques il attornera ascun sufficient devant eux a estre pur luy a le parlement sil veroit, car sain ne puet estre excuse si soit de sayne memorie. A le departier de le parlement ensi doit estre use, primerment doit estre demaunde et erie en apert en le parlement, ou de deinz le pallyse de parlement, si soit ascun qi deliveroit petieion a le parlement, a quel petieion unqore ne soit fait respounce ; et si nul reerie il est a supposer qa a (*sic*) cheseun est fait medicine, ou nomement solone ceo qe poet estre de droit est respounce, et adonques primerment, cestassaver quant nulle ysoit qi petieion deveroit, cellui temps ne reerie nous devons conge a le parlement.

DE LEZ TRANSCRIPTZ DEZ RECORDEZ DE PARLEMENT.

Les clers de le parlement ne deverount a nulli stranscript (*sic*) ne processe einz ceo deliverent a cheseun qi ceo demaunde, et prenderont pur dys lynez denier,¹ pur aventure yserra fait foy de nounpoar, en quele cas ils riens ne prendront : lez Rollez de parlement entieudront en largesse x. poutz ; et le parlement serra tenuz en quel lieu de le Roialme qil pierra a Roy.

DE LEZ DEGREEZ DE LEZ PIERS DE PA(R)LEMENT.

Le Roi est chief de parlement commenciounri (*sic*)² et fyne de mesme le parlement, et ensi il ne ad piere en soun degre et de le Roy soul est le primer degre ; [le secunde degre] est de lez Erchevesques Evesques Abbes et Priours par Baroun[ie]s tenauntz ; le tierce degre est a lez procuratours de clergie ;

¹ A word seems here wanting, possibly—*sinoun*—unless. Compare the Latin *Modus*,—“ nisi forte facta fide de

impotentia,” p. 47.

² Possibly for—commencement—compare the Latin *Modus*, p. 25.

le quart degre est de Countez Barouns et aultrez grauntz gentilez tenauntz a la value de Countee et Baronie, si come il est avauitdit en le title dez laiez; le quint degre est de Chivalers dez Countez; le sisme³ lez dietez cynk degreys; apres le Roy soit absent et nyntmeynez ils toutz soient par resonable somouns de parlement garniz, nientmeynz le parlement est juggez estre playn.

The following petition is endorsed in a contemporary hand upon the Roll:—

A TRESPUISSAUNT SEIGNUR THOMAS DE LANCASTRE, FITZ LE ROY,
SENECHAL DENGleterre ET LIEUTENAUNT DIRLANDE.

Supplie vostre orateur, Richar par la grace de Dieux lerechevesqe de Casselle, qe vous please de vostre tresgracionse seigneurie luy graunter lieens nostre seigneur le Roy pur trefter et enparlet (*sic*) ove Irroiez enemyes nostre seigneur le Roy, et ove lez Engliez rebelx feloms⁴ ouutlagez et autres malfesours deins la terre dirlande, et lez al paes nostre diete seigneur le Roy reformer, et true et salve condut as ditez Irroiez enemies felouns ouutlagez et malfesours manger boier et autres maneres dez vitaillez, durant la diete true et parlement, doner; et qe le diete suppliant hommez, si bien [a] chival come apee, si bien Engliez rebelx come Irroiez enemyez, come felouns et ouutlagez kernes larrons et autres malfesours en le marche dez dietez Counteez en recistantz dez Irroiez enemyez et Engliez rebelx felouns ouutlagez et autres malfesours, es dietez parties et sur lez costagez le diete suppliant et sez tenauntz, demesme purra retenir, et a eux manger boier et autres vitaillez drasez Engliez chivalx amour ceel fere et toutz vitaillez et merchandizis pur lour gagez et retenue en lez ditz marchis purra doner, nient obstantz qe les ditz enemyes et Englisez rebelx felons ouutlagez et autres malfesours soient ouutl(a)gez en lez Counteez nostre seigneur le Roy ou en asenne autres Countees, saunz estre enpechez de nostre seigneur le Roy sez heirs et ministrez qeeonqes en temps avenir, ascunz estatutz ou ordinauncez sez (*sic*) a contrarie ent faitz nient obstantz; pur Dieu et en coure de charite.

³ Some words are doubtless here omitted. Compare the Latin *Modus*, p. 25:

"sexus de civibus et burgensibus; et ita est Parliamentum ex sex gradibus."

⁴ The Rev. James Graves has favoured us with the following observations: "It was treasonable by statute to parley with, to buy and sell, or give aid to Irish enemies or English rebels in Ireland. The diocese of Cashel being at that period infested with both classes, the Archbishop found it necessary to petition the Lord

Lieutenant and Council to grant an exemption. Mr. Graves thinks that the roll was brought over in the time of Thomas of Lancaster's Lieutenancy; and, when the petition came before the Council, it was temporarily endorsed upon it, until it could be regularly enrolled on the Council Roll. Many such petitions are found on the unique Council Roll, 16 Rich. II.

⁵ *Sic*; there is, however, a line through the—1— indicating some contraction.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

June 6, 1862.

Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

The special subjects proposed for illustration, in the series of occasional exhibitions of works of ancient and mediæval art, were on the present occasion Enamel and Niello. The President, in opening the proceedings, expressed satisfaction that it had proved practicable, through the generous support and confidence which the Institute had invariably experienced, to bring together a collection so valuable and instructive in its classification as that now submitted to inspection. Lord Talbot viewed such a result with pleasure and surprise, at a moment when the display of mediæval and renaissance art, lately opened at the South Kensington Museum, had amassed such a precious collection of all that the realm could produce most costly and recondite in every department of mediæval taste. Whilst it was gratifying to experience in so marked a manner the liberality with which their present purpose had been promoted, it must be beyond measure gratifying to all present to perceive, in the assemblage of beautiful objects now before them, the renewed proof of Her Majesty's gracious consideration in enriching that series with the Lennox Jewel, one of the most precious objects in the royal collection, both as regards its historical and its artistic value. The Society would recognise with deep gratitude the gracious encouragement thus conferred on their endeavors, which had been heretofore favored with the patronage of the lamented Prince Consort.

A memoir on the Art of Niello was then read by Mr. EDMUND WATERTON, F.S.A. This valuable monograph will shortly be published in this Journal.

A general essay on the history of the Art of Enamel, chiefly in explanation of the extensive series exhibited, was then read by Mr. Albert Way, who offered a brief sketch in continuation of the observations given in this Journal, vol. II. p. 155. In adverting to the occurrence of any example of true enameling amongst the nations of antiquity, and especially the Egyptians, he read the following valuable information received a few days previously from one who is profoundly and practically versed in all the interesting questions connected with ancient works in the precious metals, Signor Castellani:—"My opinion is that the Greeks and Etruscans did decidedly enamel gold jewels occasionally. Irrefutable specimens of ancient gold enameled ornaments exist in the collections of Europe; for instance, the Greek crown in the Campana collection is enameled. Ear-rings, with enameled swans, were found at Vulci. M. B. Rothschild, of Paris, possesses an ear-ring with a white enameled cock, of the most archaic Etruscan

style. I lately purchased a Greek necklace and bracelet found at Alexandria in Egypt, both of which are enriched with elegant enameled designs. These beautiful ornaments are in the Kensington Museum. The prevailing colors are pale opaque blue and green, but I have seen frequently employed a rich green transparent enamel. These enamels are all affixed to the metal by heat. M. Labarte, a very competent judge, said, on seeing my necklace at Paris a few months ago, that the question whether the ancients had known the art of enameling on gold was henceforth undeniably decided in the affirmative. I could mention other examples of existing ancient enameled jewels. Generally the Greeks and Romans appear to have used enamels in fillagree *cloisonnés* designs; a circumstance which recalls forcibly to my mind the traditional Chinese and Indian practice in the art of enameling."

In a rapid sketch of the transition from the process technically termed *champlevé*, or *en taille d'épargne*, to which his former observations almost exclusively related, Mr. Way endeavoured to point out in the series exhibited, the exemplification of the various progressive changes which have been so well defined and characterised by Mr. Franks, in his preliminary Treatise accompanying the Section of Glass and Enamel, in the sumptuous illustrated memorials of the Manchester Exhibition, by Mr. Waring. The classification of mediæval enamels, which often present very slight variations in the process and manipulation employed, has moreover been greatly elucidated by the accomplished *Conserveur* of the Mediæval treasures in the Louvre, M. De Laborde. His notices of the enamels in the museum at the Louvre, and the accompanying Glossary, are invaluable manuals for the student of the section of art under consideration. To Mr. Franks we are indebted for inviting attention to the characteristic features which distinguish the earlier enamels of Germany, produced probably near Cologne, from the works of Limoges, with which, until very lately, they had been confounded. The most striking German examples in England are the so-called crosier of Ragenfrois, bishop of Chartres, now at Goodrich Court, and the covered ciborium in possession of Mr. Bruce of Kennet, figured in the Catalogue of the Museum formed at the meeting of the Institute in Edinburgh. In the thirteenth century, the goldsmiths of Sienna and the north of Italy originated the beautiful application of transparent color to chased designs in low relief, designated by De Laborde, *émaux de basse taille*. Amongst painted enamels, those of Venice, of which a charming example from Mr. Rohde Hawkins' collection was pointed out, may take precedence, whilst a few rare examples indicate that the process was applied at an early period in Italy to works of higher artistic character as pictorial compositions. It took, however, its chief development at Limoges, towards the latter years of the fifteenth century, and it has been suggested with much probability that the remarkable renewal of the art of Limoges, at that time, may have been mainly promoted by the skill with which glass-painting was practised there at the period. Mr. Franks has proposed a convenient distribution of the numerous painted enamels of the School of Limoges:—1. The early style, 1475 to 1530; the use of small spangles or *paillettes*, glazed over with transparent colors, is mostly prevalent at this period; the designs are usually characterised by a Flemish appearance, and resemble illuminations. 2. The fine style, 1530 to 1580, which doubtless owed its superiority to the influence of Italian art. Vivid colors and *paillettes* were abandoned, and the works of this period

are mostly painted in grisaille, with slightly colored tints. The Penicaut family, Leonard Limousin,—the greatest of French enamellers, Pierre Raymond, Pierre and Jean Courtois, and Jean Court dit Vigier, are amongst those who established the European celebrity of the School of Limoges. 3. The minute style, to about 1630, a period of elaborate finish and glittering effects, produced by the aid of foil glazed with transparent hues, as practised by Susanne Court, the artists named Limousin, who may have been kinsmen of the great Leonard, and several others whose productions are still highly valued. 4. The *Decadence*, to the close of the manufactory in the eighteenth century. The well-known productions of the Nouailhers and the Landins rarely rise above mediocrity, although occasionally even at this late period may be traced some pleasing vestige of that great artistic development, which, during so long a time, threw lustre on the town of Limoges. From the latter part of the seventeenth century commenced the application of enamel to gold, for the enrichment of various personal ornaments, in which Toutin gained so much celebrity. To these succeeded productions of much higher artistic interest, enameled miniatures and goldsmiths' work decorated with exquisite taste. With the exception of Petitot and Bordier, Dinglinger, Boit, and Zincke, our knowledge of the numerous artists of this class is extremely imperfect. The eager desire which prevailed throughout Europe early in the last century to produce porcelain, which might compare with that of China, originated many ingenious inventions and imitative expedients. To that movement probably may be traced the frequent applications of enamel to metal, producing, by comparatively easy manipulation, objects which often successfully imitated the appearance of porcelain. Thus, possibly, grew up the extensive manufacture of enameled wares in Saxony, France, and other countries; also that ephemeral branch of art-industry in England, the enamels of Battersea and Liverpool. Of the Battersea work, established by Alderman Janssen about 1750, the largest assemblage of specimens hitherto brought together was shown on the present occasion. The skilful application of decoration by transfer from copper-plate engravings is, perhaps, the most marked feature of interest in the history of this late class of enamels. In conclusion Mr. Way directed especial attention to the rich display of Chinese enameled vases and ornaments, objects which not many years ago were of great rarity in Europe, but, owing to more extended relations with the East, and the recent war in China, these enamels have been brought abundantly to this country. On no former occasion, however, had so extensive or varied a collection been presented to inspection as in the present exhibition, through the kind liberality of Mr. Henderson, Mr. Morgan, Mr. W. Russell, Mr. Addington, and other collectors, of whose contributions a brief description will be found in subsequent pages. The Chinese enamels frequently bear the mark of the period of their manufacture in the Ming dynasty, the earliest being of the Siouen-te period, 1426-1435, others of the King-tai period, 1450; specimens of considerable perfection and beauty of color also occur, which may be assigned to the Kien-loung period, 1736.

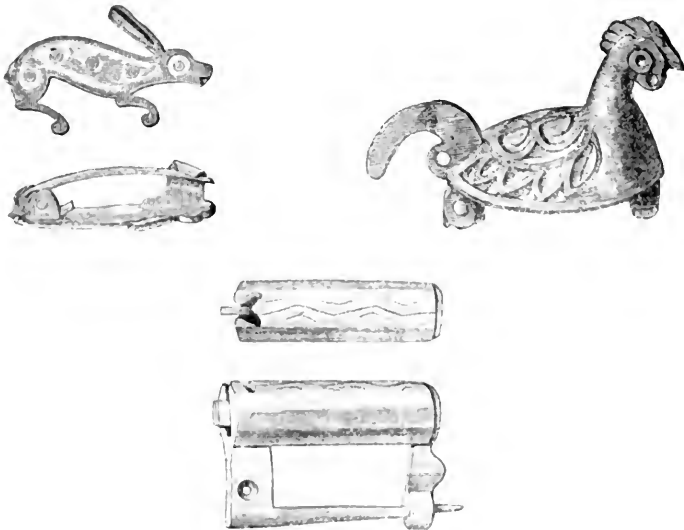
Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Her Most Gracious Majesty THE QUEEN.—The Lennox or Darnley jewel. This exquisite specimen of enameling on gold is supposed to have been made for Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox, in memory of her husband, the

Regent of Scotland, murdered in 1572. It has been minutely described by the late Mr. P. Fraser Tytler, in his Historical Notes of the Lennox Jewel, prepared by Her Majesty's order. A full account of the elaborate details may also be found in the Catalogue of the Museum formed at the meeting of the Institute at Edinburgh, p. 163. The jewel was formerly in Walpole's possession, and it was purchased for Her Majesty on the dispersion of the Strawberry Hill collection in 1842.

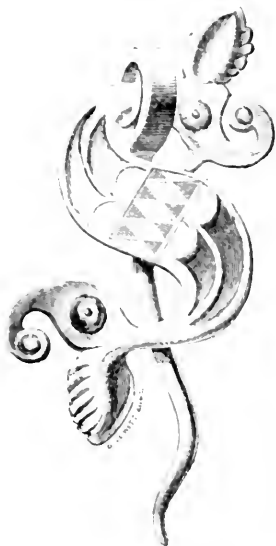
A Russian Book of the Gospels, brought from one of the churches in the Crimea after the campaign of 1854-55. From the Library of Her Majesty at Windsor Castle. The binding is decorated with ornaments of *repoussé* metal-work, and bosses painted with opaque enamels, interesting as examples of late Russo-Greek art. The subjects are, the Ascension of Our Lord, and the four Evangelists.

By Mr. ARTHUR THOLLOPE.—Two Roman enameled fibulæ found at Lincoln in February last, and remarkable as representing animal forms. One, found in the parish of St. Peter in Eastgate, is in the form of a cock; the feathers have been elaborately enriched with red and blue colors; no ornament of this precise type has hitherto been noticed: another, found in the same part of Lincoln, is in form of a hare (see woodcuts, orig. size)

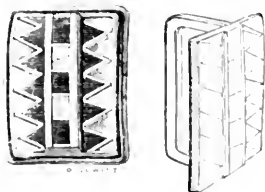


Also a small bronze fibula, of very unusual type, resembling a padlock; it is here figured. Several enameled ornaments of the same period have been found amongst the vestiges of the ancient *Lindum*, and two fibulæ of great beauty, one of which is now in the Duke of Northumberland's Museum at Alwick Castle, are noticed, Catal. Mus. Lincoln Meeting of the Inst., p. 6. See also another fine specimen, Arch. Journ. vol. xvi. p. 209.

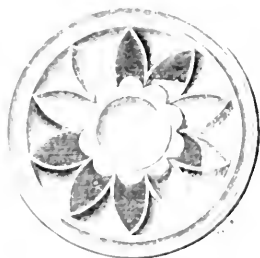
By Mr. W. TWOPENY.—A cast of the Bartlow Vase, elaborately printed in gold and brilliant colors, presenting a precise facsimile of that unique example of Roman enameled work, which unfortunately perished in the



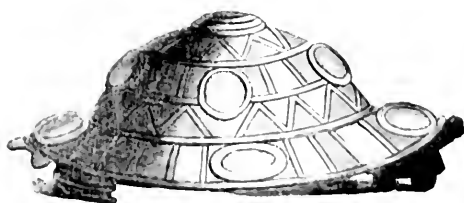
Fibula in form of the *capitata*, found at Malton and Kirkby Thore



Kirkby Thore.



Kirkby Thore



Fibula found at Chester. Enamel's of red, green, and yellow color

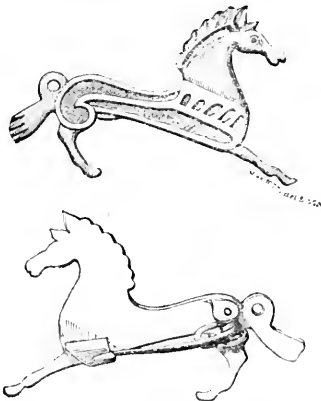
conflagration of Lord Maynard's seat, Easton Lodge, Essex. This precious vase was of bronze, ornamented with blue, red, and green enamels in scroll patterns and foliage; diam. $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. It was found in 1835, with a Roman sepulchral deposit, in the great tumulus at Bartlow, Essex, as described by the late Mr. Gage Rokewode, *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi., pp. 303, 311, pl. 35; it is figured also in this *Journal*, vol. xii., p. 418. Eight facsimiles, painted by Mr. Herbert Smith with the greatest accuracy, were fortunately preserved; one of these is now deposited in the Museum at Alnwick Castle, and others are to be seen at Bowood, Hengrave Hall, Audley End, and in the Museum at Hartlepool.

By Mr. J. E. LEE, F.S.A., from the Caerleon Museum.—Eight beautiful Roman enameled ornaments, mostly found at Caerleon, Monmouthshire, *Isca Silurum*; described and figured in Mr. Lee's excellent Catalogue of the Museum at that place, p. 55, plates 28, 50. They are studs and fibulæ; and are, with one exception, examples of the process termed *champlevé*, so extensively practised in later mediæval times; one, diam. nearly 2 in., is encrusted with a glass mosaic of extreme delicacy, cut in thin slices, and compacted together by partial fusion. It was found at Usk. Another specimen of the same character is figured by Mr. C. Roach Smith, *Collect. Ant.* vol. iii. pl. 35.

By Sir RODERICK MURCHISON, from the Museum of Practical Geology.—A curious specimen of the art of enameling as practised amongst the Romans; it is a diminutive figure of a mounted warrior, found in 1838 at Kirkby Thore, Westmoreland, with numerous coins, ranging from Vespasian to Alexander Severus, accompanied by fibulæ, and various Roman relics. The object exhibited was presented to the Museum by Admiral Smyth, and it is figured in his *Memoir*, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxi., p. 284. Another like relie of the same class, a little enameled horse, is here figured; it was found in Gloucestershire, and is now in possession of the Rev. R. Gordon. The enamels of the Roman period found in Britain are of such rarity, and they form so remarkable a feature of the early history of the Art, that the accompanying series of specimens, formerly given in various earlier volumes of the publications of the Institute, cannot fail to be of interest to our readers in illustration of the special collection here described. (See woodcuts.) It is very probable that some of the enameled relics of this period were actually made in Britain.

By Mr. M. HOLBECHÉ BLOXAM.—A small stud of bronze enameled, found at one of the Stations on the Roman Wall, near Haltwhistle, Northumberland.—A small gold ornament of conical form, set with garnets or red vitreous paste, resembling the work of the Merovingian period. Found at Wibtoft, Leicestershire.

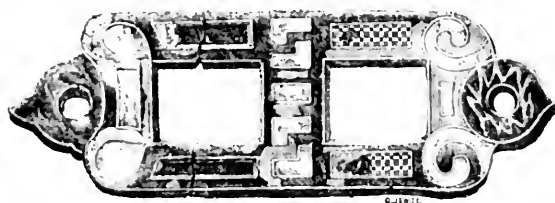
By Mr. A. W. FRANKS, Dir.S.A.—Nine ornaments of metal, enriched with enamel, found in the neighbourhood of Rome, and precisely similar in character to those frequently occurring at Roman sites in this country



Enameled fibula, found at Painswick.
Orig. size.

and also, but comparatively of greater rarity, in France and Germany. It had even been asserted by Italian archæologists that no antique enamels have occurred in Italy; examples, however, exist at the Collegio Romano, very similar in workmanship to the Bartlow vase, and the Rudge cup now at Alnwick Castle.—A drawing of a remarkable enameled circular plate in the *Museo profano* in the Vatican, diam. $3\frac{1}{2}$ in., displaying a head of Neptune surrounded by dolphins. There are also at Rome small pastille-boxes, a triton shaped fibula, &c., precisely resembling objects found with Roman remains in England. The relics of this beautiful class of ancient art are noticed by Caylus as of great rarity; he has given a few specimens, *Recueil*, t. 1, pl. 124, 125, t. iv. pl. 98; he supposed that the process was only employed in the colonies of Gaul, in the latter times of the Empire. M. Labarte, in his “*Recherches sur la peinture en émail*,” pp. 49, 92, has noticed specimens found in the Western and North-Western parts of France.—Drawing of a very remarkable example of enameling in Roman times, now preserved in the British Museum; it is a two-handled bronze vase with a long neck; the entire surface is chased to receive enamel, the process of art being precisely similar to the mediæval *champlevé*. It was found in 1838 at Ambleteuse, on the coast of Normandy, with a number of newly struck coins of Tacitus, which would fix its date as about A.D. 276.

By Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, F.S.A.—Two specimens of enameled work found in Ireland; one is the dilated penannular head of a small brooch, the pin or *acvs* lost (compare ring-brooches in the *Museum Roy. Ir. Acad.*, Wilde’s *Catal.*, pp. 561, 565); the second is here



figured, orig. size. The incrustations upon this curious relic, which is of mixed metal, appear to be in part of the nature of enamel, and partly fine mosaics of blue and white vitreous pastes, affixed by fusion in cavities chased out of the surface of the metal. This kind of ornament occurs on ancient Irish works in metal, closely resembling the decoration of certain Roman relics, of which a good example found at Caerleon was exhibited by Mr. Lec. The two Irish ornaments here noticed were found in 1829, in the remarkable depository at Lagore, co. Meath, described by Lord Talbot in this *Journal*, vol. vi. p. 105. A remarkable specimen of early Irish enamel is preserved in the Museum at St. Columba’s College, near Dublin; figured in Mr. Franks’ *Treatise, Art Examples from the Manchester Exhibition, Glass and Enamels*, pl. 9.

By the Rev. G. H. READE.—A snaffle bridle-bit of bronze, ornamented with enamel; it was found in a bog at Killeevan, near Anmore, co. Monaghan; and is figured in the *Journal of the Kilkenny Archæol. Soc.*, N. S., vol. 1. It is a specimen of the first class of bridle-bits described by Mr. Wilde, *Catalogue of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy*, p. 603, as “the

simple riding snaffle or burdoon, with a strong mouth-piece in two parts, having a well-fitted hinge-stud between, and large cheek-rings, which, as well as the extremities of the bit, are in many specimens highly ornamented, and in some instances jeweled or enameled." See fig. 505. In the example exhibited the cheek-rings measure $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches diam., the entire bit when extended measures nearly 12 inches in length; the rings are flat, breadth $\frac{5}{8}$ in.; the surface drilled out so as to form casements for the reception of enamel, the portions which remain are of rich crimson color. The type of ornament on one of the rings is the simple mæander or embattled fret. —Annular portion of a ring-brooch of yellow bronze, found in the same locality; the pin or *acus* lost; diam. of the ring $2\frac{1}{4}$ in., its flat upper surface is chased in triangular compartments, probably to receive enamel, no trace of which is now to be found. These examples of enameling by the *champlevé* process are valuable; enamel is comparatively of rare occurrence on Irish antiquities not of a sacred or ecclesiastical character.

By the SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, through Mr. Figg.—A small ornament of bronze enameled, probably the curved portion of a buckle, found near Lewes, and preserved in the Society's Museum at the Castle at that place. It is of *champlevé* work, and may be of a very early period.—A portion of a small Russo-Greek devotional folding-table enameled, found at South Malling, near Lewes.

From the MUSEUM OF PRACTICAL GEOLOGY, by the kind permission of the Director, Sir RODERICK MURCHISON, F.R.S.—A gold ring, found in Ireland, set with a small circular ornament of early inlaid or *cloisonné* enamel, the design bearing some analogy to that termed the *triquetra*. —Small gold plate, formerly in the Debruge collection, and stated to have been part of the *Pala d'Oro*, in St. Mark's, Venice; it cannot be regarded, however, as of the original decorations executed at Constantinople, and renewed in the time of the Doge Ordelafò Faliero, A.D. 1105. This little plate has been minutely described by Mr. Franks in this Journal, vol. viii. p. 63. It represents St. Paul, as indicated by his name written in Greek characters. Seven colors, all opaque, are here employed; the process is *cloisonné*, with the peculiarity that the portions intended to be enameled are sunk, probably by the hammer, in the thin plate of gold, and in this casement the metal fillets and the enamels are placed.—A small high-ridged shrine, Limoges work xiii. cent. a good example set with uncut crystals or imitative gems.—Two pryket candlesticks, *champlevé* work, xiii. or xiv. cent., one of them part of a set of seven, in progressive sizes, fitting one into another. On the hexagonal base are several coats of arms.—A processional or archbishop's cross of gilt copper, probably of Florentine work, xiii. cent.; at each extremity of the arms of the cross is a quatrefoiled silver plate, originally covered with translucent enamel on relief; the subjects being the Assumption of the B. V. Mary, St. John the Baptist, St. Peter, St. Paul, and other Saints. In the centre, behind the head of the crucifix, is an eight-cusped plate of opaque enamel, *champlevé*, representing the Pelican in piety; the shaft and arms of the cross are ornamented with quatrefoils enclosing grotesques, birds, &c., on a rich blue ground, the intervening spaces red. Although in damaged condition, this cross is a very instructive specimen of Italian enameling at the period. Height $21\frac{1}{2}$ in., width across the arms 9 in. Obtained in 1839 at Florence; it had been brought from Città di Castello in the Pontifical states.—An interesting devotional folding tablet, painted

in enamel enriched with *paillettes*; the figure of the personage for whom it was made is introduced, and the arms of Estainville, or a cross moline *gules* a label of three points *argent*.—A small portrait by Leonard Limousin, possibly of himself, signed L. L., 1559. It is painted in grisaille on a black ground, with flesh tints; three quarters to the left. He was styled enameleer to the king, and his works are very highly esteemed.—An oval enamel painting in colors, representing the occupations of one of the seasons; Limoges art, late xvi. cent.

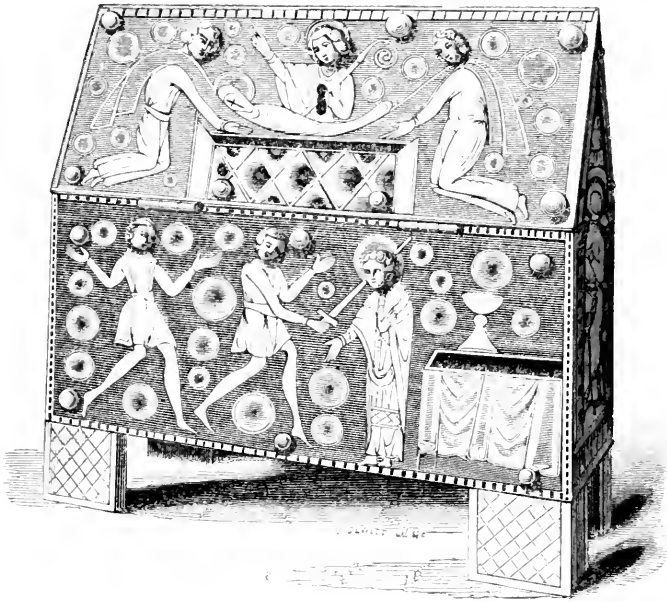
By the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.—A *châsse* or reliquary of copper enameled by the *champlevé* process; Limoges work, date early xiii. cent. Length $8\frac{1}{2}$ in., height 6 in., width $3\frac{7}{10}$ in. The upper part is ridged like the roof of a church; on the lower part of the front is represented the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury; on the upper part is the entombment of the Saint; at each end is an Apostle. The figures are in very low relief, cut out of the metal, the heads in *hauteur relief* and fixed on separately. On the reverse of one of the plates are these words rudely engraved *Αρρε Δι Σαχρηβηχτω*. This remarkable inscription may suggest the supposition that Greek artists were engaged in the production of enamels in Western Europe as late as the xiii. cent., the period to which this reliquary may be assigned. The first word may be synonymous with *armaria*, a chest or coffer, *arcula*; the designation of sacrifice possibly refers to the martyrdom. This valuable specimen was obtained at Naples by Sir W. Hamilton, and presented by him to the Society. Catal. Mus. Soc. Ant. p. 23.; Catal. Special Exh. S. Kensington, 1862, p. 74. Mr. Franks has given a valuable notice of such *cofra*; see Proc. Soc. Ant., N. S. vol. i., p. 150.—Small Greek or Russo-Greek devotional folding tablet of brass with figures in low relief representing Our Lord enthroned, the B. V. Mary, St. John, and other Saints. The back-ground is enrusted with blue enamel. This is probably the object brought before the Society of Antiquaries by Dr. R. Rawlinson, and described as a “portable pocket altar used by the Greek priests in their travels.” Catal. Mus. p. 23.

By SIR PHILIP DE MALPAS GREY EGERTON, Bart.—A small shrine, the upper part ridged like a roof; on the front is represented the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury; above is the entombment. The figures are gilt, with heads in relief, the background enameled blue. Limoges work, xiii. cent. Height $4\frac{3}{8}$ in., length 5 in. This little *châsse* was obtained at Toddenshaw Hall, near Tarporley, Cheshire; it had long served the purpose of a tea-caddy; its origin is unknown. Several other examples of the *cofra* *Limovicensis*, or ridged shrine, have been brought before the Institute on various occasions; their fashion and the general style of their ornamentation is shewn by the accompanying woodcut.—A two-handed cup, painted in colors, a specimen of the later enamels of Limoges, and attributed to one of the Laudin family; xvii. cent. In the centre is seen St. Bruno kneeling, on the underside is a landscape. Height $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., diam. 6 in.

By Mr. ANTHONY.—A shrine, similar in form to that last described, decorated with enamel, and with knops of crystal along the crest of the roof.—Two other examples of *champlevé* enamel, a pyx, and part of a shrine.—A small vase or ewer with a cover, of oriental enameled work.

By the Rev. J. FULLER RUSSELL, F.S.A.—A *plaque* of *champlevé* work, a fine example, date xii. cent. The subject is the presentation in the Temple. Simeon holds the infant Saviour in his hands, which are covered with the folds of his garments; Joseph bears a basket, in

EXAMPLES OF THE ART OF ENAMEL.



Enameled shrine, representing the Martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

(Limoges work, twelfth century.)

Found at Tarporley, Cheshire, and now in possession of Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, Bart., M.P.

which are a pair of turtledoves or pigeons ; on the altar are a veiled chalice, a wafer or paten with a cross on it, a pryket candlestick, and a small cross standing on a foot. The figures are chased in very low relief, the relieve being wholly below the surface of the plaque ; the broader outlines are marked with lines of dots.

By Mr. MAYER, F.S.A.—Twenty-five specimens of the art of enamel, of various periods and schools. Amongst these were plaques of xii. and xiii. cent. work, representing the Crucifixion and other sacred subjects ; a shrine or *cofra* of the work of Limoges ; the upper portion of a richly enameled thurible, of *champlevé* work, xiv. cent.; a pyx with a conical cover, and another pyx of unusually large dimensions; several examples of the later artists of Limoges, a small tazza painted by Pierre Raymond with the Judgment of Paris, and signed P.R.; a salt-cellar, and other enameled works of curious character. Also several later works, French and German ; an enameled gold St. George, set as a brooch ; a curious oval tobacco-box with a portrait of Frederick King of Prussia, and subjects relating to his Black Hussars, to one of whom this object may have belonged.

By Mr. SLADE, F.S.A.—Book cover, in the centre of which is a *champlevé* enameled tablet representing the brazen serpent ; German art, xii. cent. It has an elaborate border of foliage in silver, with colored pastes and gems at intervals, and six small enameled panels, four of them in *cloisonné* work, of same date as the central portion ; the two others and the ornamental border are of the xiv. cent. Dimensions $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $8\frac{5}{8}$ in. Figured in Art Treasures at Manchester ; Vitreous Art, pl. 6.—Two circular plates finely painted in grisaille ; Limoges art, xvi. cent.; one represents Paris and Helen, the other Tarquin.

By the Rev. C. R. MANNING.—A round pyx of gilt metal with a conical cover surmounted by a cross. It is ornamented with demi-angels in circular compartments. *Champlevé* work, xiii. cent.

By Mr. M. HOLBECHE BLOXAM.—An enameled pyx, similar to the last in fashion and character of workmanship.

By Mr. HENDERSON, F.S.A.—Enameled ornament of foliated open work, enameled ; xii. cent.; it may have been one of the ornamental bosses of a service book, or affixed to a shrine ; the subject is a conflict between a man and a wyvern.—An enameled ornament or rosette of gilt metal for the head-stall of a bridle, probably Italian work xvi. cent. The enamels are black, white and blue, laid on the metal in shallow cavities, with arabesques in the intervals of the enameled portions which radiate from the centre like the divisions of a fan. Diam. 4 in.

By Mr. JOHN E. W. ROLLS.—Three tablets of copper, gilt and enameled *champlevé* work, German art, xii. cent. The subjects are, Samson, or possibly Hercules, slaying the lion ; Alexander in a car drawn by gryphons, and a man mounted on a dromedary. Dimensions, 4 in. square. The two first are figured in Art Treasures at Manchester, Vitreous Art, pl. 6.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P., F.S.A.—A tablet similar in dimensions and style of art to those last described ; the subject is Samson carrying the gates of Gaza ; the face is represented in gilt metal engraved, the dress in very rich coloring. German art, xii. cent.—Two semicircular plaques of the same period and work ; one of them represents the setting a mark of a Tau on the foreheads of the Israelites, for their preservation from the destroying angel by whom the Egyptians were smitten ;

the subject on the other is the raising of the brazen serpent by Moses.—Two other semicircular plaques, *champlevé* enamels, xii. cent.; the Sacrifice of Isaac, and St. John the Evangelist.—Two pyxes with conical covers; they are ornamented with *champlevé* enamel; date xii. and xiii. cent.

By Mr. HOLLINGWORTH MAGNIAC.—Two tablets of *champlevé* enameled work; the field gilt; on one is represented a man combating a wyvern, on the other the zodiacal sign Sagittarius; xii. cent.—The two ends of a large high-ridged chaise, the borders ornamented with small plaques of *cloisonné* and *champlevé* enamel; German work, xii. cent., obtained at Cologne, where some enameled pilasters, originally portions of this remarkable shrine, are preserved in the collection of M. Essing.—Ciborium in form of a dove standing on a circular plate; *champlevé* enamel, work of Limoges, xiii. cent. Figured in Shaw's *Decorative Arts*. See also Mr. Robinson's *Notice of the Colworth Collection*, p. 6.—A little casket ornamented with *champlevé* enamel and *repoussé* work; German, xiii. cent.—An ornamented tablet representing the Crucifixion, a very crowded subject, with numerous figures in rich costumes, painted in colors mostly opaque, on a black ground partly diapered with gold stars; many parts are worked up in very low relief. A minute description has been given by Mr. Franks, *Catal. Special Exhib. S. Kens.* p. 378. On a panel at the foot of the cross is inscribed—IOANE AMBROSIO DE LANDRIANO—the name possibly of the person for whom the enamel was executed, not of the artist, but serving to indicate the locality where it was produced, namely, a town midway between Milan and Pavia. Height $14\frac{1}{2}$ in. width $11\frac{1}{4}$ in.—A casket with battle-subjects painted in grisaille, and slightly touched with gold; original mounting of silver-gilt; length $6\frac{1}{2}$ in., width $5\frac{1}{4}$ in., height $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Date about 1550—40. On two of the enamels are the initials I. P., probably the signature of Jean Penicaud, junior. This fine specimen was in the Strawberry Hill Collection. *Catal. Colworth Coll. No. 84*, p. 45.—A casket composed of five enameled plates set in wood; grisaille on a dark ground; the subjects are combats with lions, a unicorn, and other animals, a bull baited by dogs, Hercules and Omphale, &c. These enamels are finely painted and are all marked with the initials PL in gold and crowned, which occur on works of certain artists of the Penicaud family. Mr. Franks observes that they may be attributed to Jean Penicaud, junior. *Catal. Special Exhib. S. Kens.*, p. 150. From the Brunet-Denon and Delessert collections.—A mazer with an enameled roundel set in the boss.—A round plate, representing the Adoration of the Magi, painted in colors, with *paillettes*.—Another round plate, the daughter of Herodias bearing the head of the Baptist before Herod.—Two plates, attributed to Leonard Limosin, Our Lord before Pilate, and the Crucifixion.

By Mr. BERESFORD HOPE.—Several good examples of *champlevé* enamel, including a collar, the lid flat and set with *cathochons* of crystal, the design of the enamels rude and of very early character; two semicircular plaques, xii. cent.; a crucifix figure; and a tripod pyxet candlestick, of good workmanship.—A plate painted in grisaille, representing Eurydice; Limoges art, xvi. cent.—A small gold crucifix, enriched with transparent enamels in the style of the rich Italian jewelry of the time of Cellini.—A curious little figure of *Policinello*, set with pearls and enameled; a work of the same period as the last.

By Mr. GEORGE CHAPMAN.—Casket of copper gilt and enameled; the top and sides decorated with armorial bearings in fretty arrangement; the arms being those of England, Angoulême, Valence, Dreux, Duke of Brittany, Brabant, Lacy, and a coat which occurs once, *azure* a lion rampant *purpure*, which may be an accidental variation of Brabant. The connexion between these coats has been thus explained.—Isabella of Angoulême, widow of King John and mother of Henry III., married Hugh Count de la Marche, by whom she had William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, who died 1296, leaving an only surviving son, Aymer de Valence, who died *s. p.* 1323. Beatrice, daughter of Henry III., and granddaughter of Isabella of Angoulême, married, in 1290, John Duke of Brabant, who died 1312; and Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, who died 1312, was connected with Joan de Monchensi, wife of William de Valence. It thus seems probable that the casket was made for some person who was a connecting link of all these families, probably William de Valence or his son Aymer. Its date may be referred to the period between 1290 and 1305. Length 7 in.; width $5\frac{1}{4}$ in.; height $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. It is figured in Mr. Shaw's Ancient Furniture. It has been suggested that this casket may have been the work of the same enameler, probably an artist of Limoges, who made the tomb of William de Valence in Westminster Abbey, engraved in Stothard's Monumental Effigies. The surface of this altar tomb was covered with enameled plates, displaying the coats of England and Valence alternately, in fretty or lozengy arrangement. They occur also on small escutcheons on the surcoat, and the pillow under the head of the effigy. It deserves notice, that amongst the coats formerly on the tomb were those of Angoulême, Dreux, and Lacy, as shewn by drawings taken in 1610. (Lansd. MS.)

By Mr. J. GREEN WALLER.—Two illustrations of the application of enamel to the decoration of Sepulchral Brasses, being plates from his beautiful work on that class of monumental antiquities. The earliest in date is the effigy of Sir John d'Aubernoun, at Stoke Dabernon, Surrey. He died 1277. The enameled shield on his arm is a separate plate, apparently of copper. It is believed that the brass would not bear the heat requisite to fuse enamels in use at that period. The other example is the memorial of Sir John Say (1478) and his wife, at Broxbourn, Herts. The costume is enriched with color (heraldically); there is, likewise, an atchievement of their arms. Some doubt, however, exists whether the colors in the latter instance are true enamels; and Mr. Waller states that from early times hard colored pastes appear to have been used, which possibly may have differed from enamel in their composition, or have been fusible at a comparatively low heat.

By Mr. HENRY SHAW, F.S.A.—Drawings of several choice examples of mediæval enameled work.—A ciborium of copper overlaid with gold, in the collection of the Hon. Robert Curzon, jun. It is enriched with amethysts, and on the stem are eight nielli, supposed to be of xi. cent., and eight small ornaments of glass, in a style of art of which no other example has been described.—Covered cup of silver-gilt, in possession of the Corporation of Lynn, commonly designated "King John's Cup." It is, however, of much later date, and may be assigned to the reign of Edward III. It is highly decorated with translucent enamel on relief. See Mr. Shaw's Ancient Furniture, plate 67.—Crosier of silver, richly enameled, and a silver covered salt, presented to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, about 1517, by the founder, Thomas Fox, Bishop of Winchester. Shaw's Ancient

Furniture, pl. 65, 68.—Richly jeweled morse or clasp for a mantle, displaying the imperial eagle, surrounded by an enameled quatrefoiled frame. Supposed to have been worn by Charles V.; date about 1530. From the Debruge Collection. Shaw's Dresses, vol. i., pl. 88.—Hour-glass, in a stand exquisitely enameled and set with jewels, xvii. cent. From the Debruge Collection. Shaw's Dresses and Decorations, vol. ii., pl. 94. These exquisitely illuminated drawings by Mr. Shaw supplied valuable illustrations of the application of enamel to the elaborate goldsmith's work of various periods, of which the originals were not attainable.

By Mr. C. WINSTON.—Drawing of the enameled casket, supposed to have been made for Aymer de Valence, exhibited by Mr. Chapman; see the previous page. Also a drawing of an enameled *chasse*, Limoges work, xiii. cent., formerly in the collection of Mr. S. Cox.

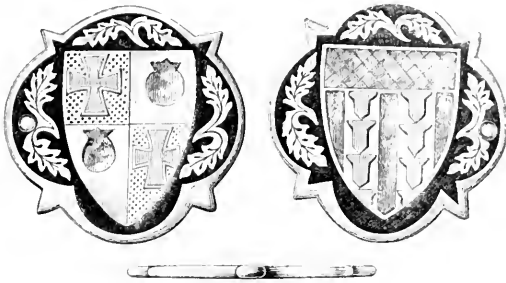
By Mr. EDWARD WATERTON, F.S.A.—A shallow basin of copper, enameled (*champlevé*), with a small spout in form of a lion's head near the rim, for pouring water over the hands after a repast. It is ornamented with festive subjects, such as musicians playing, ladies dancing and tumbling, a gentleman hawking, &c., and bears escutcheons of the arms of Courtenay and of Lusignan. Limoges work, xiii. cent. The use of such vessels in mediæval times is explained by De Laborde in his Glossary, "Notice des émaux, &c., Musée du Louvre, II. partie," under *Bacins*; they were also called *Gemelliones*.

By Mr. J. H. ANDERDON.—An escutcheon of gilt metal, enameled with the arms of the Guelfic confederation of Florence, or an eagle displayed *quils* clutching in its claws a dragon *vert*; over the head of the eagle is a fleur-de-lys *quils*. The metal field is elaborately diapered. Date, xiv. cent. The face of this object is convex, it appears suited to have been affixed to the dress or armour, or it may have been a messenger's badge. An example of an escutcheon attached to the camail has been figured in this volume of the Journal, p. 2; other illustrations of such a fashion are mentioned, *ib.* p. 8. To these may be added the effigy of John Cokaine (1373) at Ashbourne, Derbyshire, figured Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass. vol. vii. p. 375; and that of a knight of the Tudor family in Pennynydd Church, Anglesea. A remarkable bowl of gilt copper, obtained at Bologna, ornamented with rosettes, enameled white, black, and blue. Date xv. cent.—An early painted enamel, a pax, on which are represented the B. V. Mary with the infant Saviour; the black field was powdered with gold stars.—A vase enameled pale blue, with landscapes in compartments, and gilded ornaments in relief; possibly of German work, xvii. cent.

By Mr. WENN.—Three curious specimens of early *champlevé* enamel, remarkable for the skill shown in the delicately shaded tints of the enamel colors; the subjects are two of the Evangelists, and the Apostle Jude (?) disputing with the Greeks.—Several enameled objects of sacred use, two *caloria*, two chalices of Italian work, both of which are ornamented with translucent enamels; on one is an inscription showing that it belonged to the church of St. Paul on the banks of the Arno, at Pisa; an enameled crozier-head, and a little column of beautiful workmanship, part of a shrine, probably; the shaft enriched with various colors arranged like scales; German work, (?) xiv. cent.—A silver plate painted with transparent enamel on relief. The B. V. Mary with the infant Saviour, the metal ground diapered with flowers; the enamel in very rich coloring ($4\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$ in.).

By Mr. W. J. BISHARD SMITH.—An enameled badge with an armorial

bearing on each side; one of these appears to be the arms of Chastillon sur Marne, *gules* two pallets vair a chief *or*; the other is quarterly, 1 and 4, a cross patée *gules*, 2 and 3, an escallop, the color lost. It is not easy to explain the intention of this ornament, which is perforated for attachment



only at one side, as shown by the woodcut (orig. size).—A small Russo-Greek devotional folding tablet of brass enameled, with representations of sacred subjects.—Three mouth-pieces of Turkish pipes, with ornaments richly enameled in bright coloring.

By the Rev. C. R. MANNING.—A circular plate of copper, enameled, with an escutcheon of the following arms, a lion rampant, impaling crusuly a lion rampant crowned (Brewse); another circular plate originally enameled, diam. $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.; a pair of wings conjoined, possibly for Wingfield, xv. cent.; an enameled lozenge-shaped ornament of copper adjusted so as to revolve like the vane of a weathercock; on one side is a griffin *arg.* armed and winged *gu.* on the other a lion rampant *gu.* Length 2 in., breadth of the lozenge $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.: date xv. cent.—Also an enameled plate, diam. $2\frac{1}{4}$ in., displaying the arms of James I., with his initials. These circular plates appear to have been intended to ornament dishes, mazers, &c; they occur affixed in the central bosses of such mediæval objects. Several enameled badges and escutcheons are figured in the Proceedings Soc. Ant., Dec. 1854; Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass. vol. v. p. 161.

By Sir THOMAS ROKEWODE GAGE, Bart.—A very remarkable example of translucent enamel; a devotional folding tablet of silver, ornamented with numerous subjects of sacred character, and scenes of Our Lord's Passion, in diminutive compartments both on the outside and within. French art, about 1350-80. Height 3 inches, width, the leaves being opened, $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. The process of translucent enamel on relief, of which this is an admirable specimen, seems to have originated with the Italian artists, the principal work being the shrine at Orvieto made in 1338, but it was probably practised in France and other parts of Europe at as early a period. The ornaments of the Bruce Horn, exhibited by the Marquis of Aylesbury in the Museum of the Institute at the Salisbury meeting, are enriched with translucent enamel, and are supposed to have been executed in Scotland.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—A circular silver plate, representing the Crucifixion; translucent enamel on relief, probably Italian work, xiv. cent. A remarkable example, unfortunately much injured.—A small plate painted in colors with *paillettes*; representing the Ecce Homo, Limoges work, xvi. cent.—Ebony folding tablet, with two plaques

painted by Jean Laudin, and bearing his initials.—Portrait of an ecclesiastic (unknown) signed on the reverse—"P. Noualher esmailleur à Limoge, 1685."—Purse, enclosed within two oval plaques, painted probably by one of the latest French enamelers, with portraits of Queen Anne and Prince George of Denmark.

By the Rev. W. WENNALL.—An enameled figure of Our Lord, intended to be attached to a crucifix or processional cross; date xiii. cent. It is of very unusual workmanship, being *champlevé*, in low relief, and the enameled colors are modeled so as to follow the contours of the relieve. From Ushaw College, Durham.

By the kind permission of the MASTER OF THE ROLLS.—The Books of Indentures between Henry VII. and the Abbot of Westminster and others, A.D. 1504, for the performance of services for his welfare, and for his soul after his decease. The chapel at the East end of Westminster Abbey was built expressly for the performance of these services.—Also the volume containing the bonds for the execution of the covenants in the great Indentures. These documents, already noticed in this Journal, vol. xviii. pp. 182, 278, present interesting specimens of enameled decorations, probably of English workmanship, both in the heraldic bosses, &c., on the bindings, and the coats of arms on the covers of the silver boxes enclosing the seals of the numerous parties to the indentures. The enamels are mostly translucent on relief. The volumes exhibited, from the Treasury of the Exchequer, were the King's copies. With these, sent in custody of two of the Assistant Keepers of Records, the Master of the Rolls was pleased to favor the Institute with the exhibition of the following very valuable documents.—Two treaties between Henry VIII. and Francis I., concluded at Amiens, August 18, 1527; one of them bears the signature of Francis, with his portrait and coat of arms on the first leaf; the seal is of gold, admirably chased; it has been sometimes attributed to Cellini, who, however, was at that time in the service of Clement VII., and, at the siege of Rome in the very year when the treaty was signed, is supposed to have fired the shot by which the Constable de Bourbon was slain. The other part of the treaty exhibited has the ordinary great seal, and illuminated pages.—Original bull of Pope Clement VII., March 5, 1524, confirming to Henry VIII. the title of Defender of the Faith; the golden bulla appended is in the finest style of cinquecento art.—Statutes of the Order of St. Michael, sent by Francis I. to Henry VIII. on his being made a Knight of the Order in 1527. The initials throughout the volume are richly illuminated; there is also a fine miniature of the first promulgation of the Order by Louis XI.

By Mr. RONDE HAWKINS.—A beautiful specimen of Venetian enamel, a plate with a deep centre and broad edge; the colors are opaque green with a pattern in gold, white with running scrolls of gold, and small ornaments of turquoise. This remarkable object is in fine preservation; the elaborate gilding fresh and undamaged. Date xvi. cent. It has been more fully described by Mr. Frauks, Catal. Special Exhib. South Kensington, p. 378, where other examples are noticed.

By Sir EDMUND E. H. LECHEMERE, Bart.—Upper portion of a large tazza, the foot lost; a specimen of the work of Pierre Raymond of Limoges, about 1538—1581. It is painted in *grisaille*, with flesh tints, on a black ground; in the centre is a group of deities, Jupiter sending forth Mercury, Venus and Cupid, &c.; around are the signs of the Zodiac, bosses painted with busts, male and female; Juno represented in a car drawn by peacocks;

Venus in her chariot drawn by doves; with other mythological subjects. Reverse plain, glazed with rich brown-colored enamel.

By Mr. T. M. WHITEHEAD.—A candlestick in brilliant colors, painted by Jean Courtois of Limoges, about 1550. From the Fould Collection.—A plaque, painted in grisaille by Jean Penicaud (the second), representing the Last Supper, after Raffaele; date about 1535. Mounted in the original frame of gilt metal, with engraved ornaments.—Another plaque, painted in grisaille by G. Kip, 1530, an artist whose works are of great rarity; the subject is the Betrayal of Our Lord. See De Laborde, *Emaux du Louvre*, p. 241, and Mr. Franks' notice of Kip's works, *Catal. Special Exhib. South Kensington*, p. 151.—Plaque painted in colors by Pierre Reymond, 1540; from the Soltykoff Collection; the subject is The Man of Sorrows.—A plaque painted in colors on a dark ground; the subject is the Crucifixion. A very fine example of the art of Limoges, about 1560, not signed.—A small mirror in a silver frame; painted in brilliant opaque and transparent colors by Susanne Courtois, about 1680; the subject is Meleager and Atalanta.

By Mr. KEITH STEWART MACKENZIE.—An enameled tazza and cover, painted by one of the artists of Limoges, towards the close of xvi. cent.; the subjects are the labors of Hercules.

By Mr. ADDINGTON.—A tazza, from the Uzielli collection, painted by Pierre Reymond, in grisaille with flesh tints; the subject is the Sacrifice of Isaac; on the foot is an escutcheon, *gules* on a chevron *az.* between three cinquefoils *arg.* three crosslets *or*, a crescent *arg.* as a difference. Date about 1540.—A pair of hexagonal salt-cellars, of highly-finished execution, painted in grisaille on a black ground, with the labors of Hercules; in the bowls are male and female busts. Each of these choice examples is signed P. R.; they were painted by Pierre Reymond, probably about 1540. (Soltykoff Collection, 508.)—The B. V. Mary with the infant Saviour; an exquisite example of the painted enamels, enriched with small raised disks of foil called *paillettes*, glazed with transparent colors; (Soltykoff Collection;) attributed to Jean Penicaud the elder.—A round box finely painted by Nicholas Laudin, signature N. L. forming a monogram. The subjects are Actæon, Pyramus and Thisbe, &c.—A cup, delicately enameled; German Art, xviii. cent.; the subjects are Venus with Vulcan, Actæon, and other mythological personages.—Cup and saucer, enameled on metal, German art, with scenes in some maritime city (Bernal Collection).—A pair of silver candlesticks, enameled with rich turquoise-colored blue; from Aston Hall, Warwickshire.

By Mr. G. H. MORLAND.—A triptych richly painted in colors, with *paillettes*. In the centre is the Crucifixion; the other subjects being the Flagellation and the taking down from the Cross. From the Debruge and the Soltykoff Collections.—Two leaves of an enameled triptych of the same period as the last, the Nativity and the Presentation.

By Mr. A. W. FRANKS, Dir.S.A.—Specimens of enamel of various periods and schools of design; also a large series of drawings and colored engravings illustrative of the progress and peculiarities of the Art.—Two square trenchers, Venetian enamels; date xvi. cent.; they are painted blue on both sides, the front is ornamented in gold, with small touches of red, &c.; the edges, which are slightly turned up, are green; on the back of each is a medallion enclosing a merchant's mark, which on one trencher is accompanied by a trident.—Circular medallion, by Leonard Limousin; on

one side is painted a portrait in grisaille on a blue ground, representing a young man in rich armour with a fleur-de-lys on the shoulder; it resembles the portraits of the Valois family, and portrays either Henry II. as dauphin, or his younger brother Charles, Duke of Orleans, who died 1545. At one side are the initials of the artist L. L., and the date 1539. The reverse exhibits a bust of Francis I., nearly full face, in gold *cameau* on a black ground. Diam. $3\frac{3}{4}$ in.—Several plaques, Limoges painted enamels, school of Leonard Limousin, xvi. cent., with sacred subjects.—An enameled gold jewel, xvi. cent.

By Mr. DURLACHER.—Five plates painted in grisaille, with flesh tints, by Leonard Limousin, one of the most celebrated artists of Limoges (1533—1573); he was in the service of the king. These choice specimens are in fine preservation; the subjects are representations of Saturn, Venus, Mercury, Sol, and Luna.—A plate, painted by Jean Courtois of Limoges, a skilful artist, supposed to have been the same person as a glass painter of that name, who worked from 1532 to about 1586.—Five pieces of enameled work, flowers, birds, &c., German art, in high relief, affixed upon wires, and probably intended to decorate a frame, or some of the elaborate goldsmith's works of the period, about *t.* Louis XII.—Several examples of painted enamels; a Holy Family, on gold, French art, *t.* Louis XII.; the Continence of Scipio, French art, *t.* Louis XV.; Venus and Cupid, painted by Charles Boit, a Native of Sweden, and of considerable celebrity in xviii. cent.; the Toilet of Venus, a Swiss enamel, xviii. cent.; an enamel by Boit of the same subject, after the painting by Luca Giordano at Devonshire House, was at Strawberry Hill; Walpole's Deser., p. 56.

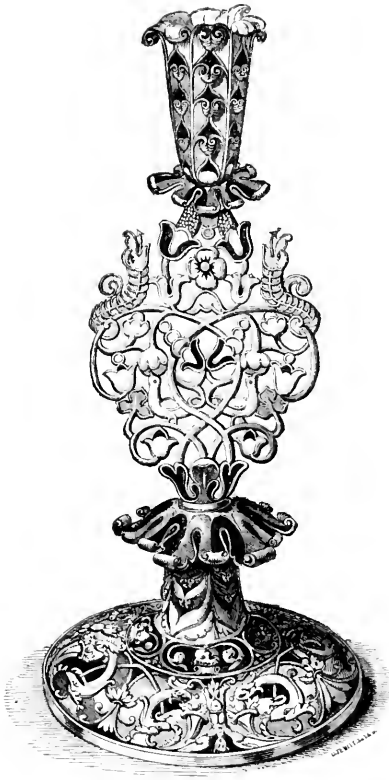
By Mr. C. S. BALE.—Two oval plaques of the later period of the art at Limoges; on one of them is painted a figure on horseback—IOSAPHAT REX IYDA—and on the other—DEES PALLAS.—A small enameled pax representing the Crucifixion.

By Mr. WEBB.—Painted enamels, chiefly of Limoges work, xvi. cent. The cover of a casket, beautifully painted in grisaille, with flesh tints, on a black ground, the subjects being scenes from the history of Joseph; a plaque representing the B. V. Mary and our Lord, painted in colors and with *paillettes* (8 in. by $6\frac{3}{4}$ in.); a fine production by one of the Penicaud family, representing Our Lord surrounded by the Apostles, each of whom is in a separate compartment, and holds his appropriate symbol; reverse of the plate without color, stamped with the usual monogram P. and L. crowned ($5\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 4 in.).—A singular little high ridged reliquary, painted with figures of saints in coarse opaque enamel; within is inscribed this distich—"Thomyen Chousif si me fey lan mille 6e. trente trey." (Length $3\frac{7}{8}$ in., breadth $2\frac{1}{4}$ in., height 3 in.)

By Mr. WILSON.—Specimens of the painted enamels of Limoges, xvi. and xvii. cent.—A Russo-Greek folding devotional tablet of brass, partly enameled with sacred subjects; it is of unusually large dimensions.—A plate of metal painted with enamel colors in the same style as porcelain of Saxon and other German manufactories, the decorations being flowers with gilding; the ground brilliant green; also an *écuelle* with stand and cover, likewise of enameled metal, painted with flowers, ground *gris bleu*; these last are signed—*Christophe Jünger*—in gold.

A large oval enameled plate of metal (15 in. by $13\frac{1}{4}$ in.), painted in bright colors, and representing a maiden seated and playing with a lamb; near her is a youth playing on a guitar; in the back ground a mountainous

EXAMPLES OF THE ART OF ENAMEL.



Candlestick of Brass enameled, formerly in possession of the late John Beever, Esq., supposed to be of English workmanship.

Height, 10 inches ; the colors are dark blue, light green, and white. Date, xvi. century.

landscape, and a bridge with cattle. It is signed *W. Craft*. An artist of that name exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1774 and 1775. A delicate little enamel signed by him has been noticed above, exhibited by Mr. Fischer. He may have been a relative of Thomas Craft, employed as a painter in the porcelain works of Messrs. Crowther and Weatherby, at Bow, as appears by his statement which accompanies a richly decorated bowl in the British Museum, painted by him in the old Japan taste, about 1760. Mr. Franks has published this curious memorial in this Journal, vol. viii. p. 204.

By the Rev. EDWARD DUKE.—A pair of handsome enameled fire-dogs, which have been preserved at Lake House, near Amesbury. They are specimens of a peculiar coarse kind of enameling, usually on brass, not on copper, by the *champlevé* process, as practised in England during the reign of Elizabeth and in subsequent times. It consisted of inlaying enamels, fusible probably at a low temperature, in the interstices of a pattern in relief. The enamels, light and dark blue, black and white, do not fill the cavities on the metallic surface, the raised outlines of metal are mostly more elevated than the enameled surfaces, whilst in the earlier productions of the *champlevé* process the enamels and the metal fillets are rubbed down uniformly to a smooth face. Several fire-dogs of this work have been preserved, and on some of these are the royal arms.

By Mr. ALBERT WAY.—Colored drawing by John Carter of a candlestick found at York, similar in fashion to those exhibited by Mr. Rogers. It was found in 1740 in repairing the Chapter House at York, and was in possession of Lady Salisbury. The decorations were in green and white enamel; flowers, birds pecking at grapes, &c. A beautiful example of this class of enamels was exhibited by Mr. Beever in the museum formed at the Meeting of the Institute at Winchester; height 10 inches. Another was contributed to the Museum at the Norwich Meeting by Mr. John Warner. The character and style of ornamentation of these elegant works, probably of English manufacture, is well shown by the specimen here figured. (See woodcut.)

By Mr. J. JOPE ROGERS, M.P.—A pair of handsome candlesticks, of the same period, and enameled with blue and white flowers, grapes, &c., in the same peculiar manner as the objects last noticed. Height 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Amongst the most interesting examples of this process are the so-called candlesticks, formerly in the Bernal collection, bearing the name of Sir Thomas More, and dated 1552. (Figured in Sale Catalogue, No. 1305.) These are of brass, ornamented with foliage and four-petaled flowers, blue and white; their form suggests that they may have been flower-vases, especially as a pair of similar fashion are seen in a portrait of More at Hampton Court, each vase containing a flower.

By Mr. WILSON.—A pair of massive copper candlesticks, of earlier character in form than the last, but similar in the style of the enameled work; the colors being, in this instance, deep red, white, and black. Date, possibly before the middle of the xvi. cent.

By Sir ROBERT BUXTON, Bart.—A remarkable specimen of the peculiar process last described. It is a large shell of some species of *Strombus* from the Indian Ocean, mounted on a stem and foot of metal, gilt and enameled; the designs are in low relief, with dark blue, light blue, black, and white coloring, chiefly flowers and scroll patterns, a white, four-petaled flower being a conspicuous feature. Height 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches. According to tradition, this object had been brought to Shadwell Park from the seat of the

Paston family, Oxnead, in Norfolk, and it had been obtained in Italy by Sir Robert Paston, who collected numerous rarities in his travels; he entertained Charles II. and his Queen, and was created Earl of Yarmouth in 1690. This fine object, which is introduced in a portrait of the Earl at Shadwell, is, however, probably of English work; late xvi. cent.

By the Rev. the RECTOR of STONYHURST COLLEGE.—A circular massive ornament of gold, chased and richly enameled with translucent and opaque colors, in the style of the works of the Italian *orefici* of the xvi. cent. It appears to have been a pendant, possibly attached to the girdle; on one side is St. George, on the other are the emblems of the Passion; around the edge is the inscription—O PASSI GRAVIORA DABIT HIS QVOQVE FIXEM. It may be opened by removing a screw, and may have contained either a relic or a perfumed tablet. This precious ornament, which measures about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, belonged, according to tradition, to Sir Thomas More; it was preserved by his family with his silver seals and other objects, and with them bequeathed, in 1773, to Stonyhurst College by Father More, of the Society of Jesus at Liège, the last descendant of the Chancellor in the male line.

Examples of working in NIELLO :—By the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.—An *acus* or *spinula* of mixed metal, partly silvered, one of those found in Ely Cathedral with the remains of Wolstan, Archbishop of York, and by which, it is believed, the pall was attached to his chasuble. Wolstan died at York in 1023, and was buried at Ely, by his desire. The tomb having been opened in the twelfth century, the vestments in which the body had been deposited were found in perfect condition, according to the relation in the *Liber Eliensis*, which expressly mentions “casulam et pallium auratis spinulis affixum.” (Lib. ii. c. 87, p. 206) Publ. of the Anglia Christiana Soc. This relic was again brought to view when Wolstan’s remains were removed in 1771. It measures $5\frac{2}{5}$ in. in length; the head is flat, lozenge-shaped, and ornamented with interlaced designs, inlaid apparently in a kind of niello. Catal. Mus. Soc. Ant., p. 21.

By the Hon. ROBERT CRUXON, jun.—Niello on silver, one of a set of the labors of Hercules, produced by Antonio Pollaiuolo, a celebrated goldsmith and artist of Florence, 1426—98. It is mounted in a beautifully illuminated framework. From the Cicognara Collection.—Unique impression on vellum, from a niello, subject the B. V. Mary, a production of remarkable beauty; no other impression on vellum of a niello is known to exist.—Two lockets or perfume-boxes of silver, ornamented with niello; on the reverse of each is the sacred monogram IHS; cinque-cento work; obtained at Naples.—A Circassian priming-flask, from Karadagh; it is formed of the tip of the horn of some animal unknown, mounted in silver enriched with niello.

By the Rev. H. WELLESLEY, D.D.—Three circular silver plates, diameter about $\frac{1}{5}$ less than an inch. They are described by Duchesne, *Essai sur les Nielles*, p. 191; see also p. 19. The subjects are as follows:—1. The B. V. Mary standing, and extending her mantle over a number of kneeling figures, who, with one exception, wear the dress of penitents, and their faces are covered by cowls; her arms are supported by angels, one on each side. 2. St. Lawrence, holding a book in his right hand, in his left a golden ring; and a youthful saint in secular dress, cap, long hair, and long sleeves; in his right hand a palm, in his left a little box resembling a chrismatory with three receptacles for the holy oils; of this plate, the niello having scaled off, impressions on paper were obtained by Dr. Wellesley at

Milan in 1825, upon which the learned Duchesne gives some interesting observations. One of the impressions was exhibited.—3. St. Sebastian and St. Roch. These three nielli had ornamented the stem of a chalice, upon which, as stated, was the date 1437, probably that of the establishment of the fraternity of penitents, represented as seeking the protection of the Virgin. Duchesne, however, inclined to regard the nielli as of rather later date.

By Mr. FELIX SLADE, F.S.A.—An oval plate, a fine specimen of niello, the subject being the head of Medusa, surrounded by arms and armour, forming a military trophy.—Six impressions on paper from nielli by Peregrini of Cesio, an artist of distinguished merit, about the close of xv. cent., of whom see Bartsch, and Duchesne, pp. 69, 322. Signed with a P crossed by an horizontal line.

By Mr. SHIRLEY, M.P., F.S.A.—Two circular silver plates, nielli; one of them presents a profile head of Philip II., King of Spain, on the other is the portraiture of Henry II., King of France. On the reverses are coats of their arms, respectively, encircled by the insignia of the Order of St. Michael.

By Mr. EDMUND WATERTON, F.S.A.—Plate of silver ornamented with niello, representing two heads in profile, Pandolfo and Pandolino, *Signori* of Rimini in xv. cent.—A silver ring, enriched with niello, Italian work.—Silver-ring brooches, obtained in Italy, bearing talismanic inscriptions in niello.

By Mr. COLNAGHI.—Three impressions of nielli on paper.—Facsimiles and copies of remarkable nielli, 28 specimens illustrative of the history of the art.—Three cases containing imitative nielli, as supposed, from the Cicognara Collection.

By Mr. JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A.—Pax, ornamented with a plate in niello representing the Nativity; xv. cent.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—A baldric of crimson and gold brocade-velvet, ornamented with rosettes of goldsmiths' work set with enamel; at one end is the buckle of silver parcel-gilt, and enriched with niello; it displays an heraldic escutcheon between the initials L. B.; at the other end is the pendant, also decorated with niello, and having two escutcheons of engraved silver, with the bearings of Malatesta of Rimini, and Cesena. Italian work, xv. cent.

By Sir PHILIP DE M. GREY EGERTON, Bart.—The sword worn by the Russian Commandant at Balaclava, surrendered on the capture of the fort to Captain Grey Egerton. The scabbard and ornaments of the belt are enriched with niello, of the work of Tula.

ENAMELS OF XVII. AND XVIII. CENTURIES; MINIATURE PORTRAITS, &c.—By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—A remarkable series of watches exemplifying the application of enamel to the enrichment of that class of personal ornaments. They were are as follows:—1. Watch with case ornamented with flowers in opaque and transparent enamels; date early xvii. cent.—2. Enameled watch case, the work of Jean Toutin, inventor of the art of painting in opaque enamels in this style; date A.D. 1630 to 1640; subjects, nymphs bathing, after Polemberg; exquisitely finished.—3. Enameled watch, the case finely painted by Henry Toutin, brother of Jean; date 1630 to 1640; subject, a series of illustrations of the story of Tancred and Clorinda, from Orlando Furioso.—4. Watch enameled by Henry Toutin, goldsmith and enameler at Blois; date 1630 to 1640; subject *Histoire d'Apian*.—5. Enameled watch, the case beautifully ornamented with

flowers raised in relief and enriched with diamonds; unique specimen, artist not known; movement by D. Bouquet, who flourished 1630 to 1640.—6. Small watch-case exquisitely painted in brilliant colors; artist not ascertained, probably either Morlière or Vauquer; date 1630 to 1650.—7. Enameled watch with subjects in illustration of the birth and early life of our Saviour; the painting is very fine; the whole case is enriched with turquoises; the artist not known; date 1630 to 1650.—8 and 9. Two enameled watches; the cases exquisitely painted by *Huau le Puisné*; date latter half of xvii. cent.—10. Enameled watch of very fine work; I. L. Durant, *pinxt.* This artist of the xviii. century is mentioned by Siret, *Dict. des Peintres.*—11. Enameled watch of beautiful work; unknown artist; date latter part of xvii. century; the chased gold case is the work of H. Manby, and, together with the movement, later than the enamel.—12 and 13. Two enameled watches, the cases enameled on copper; the work of a French artist, at the end of xvii. or beginning of xviii. century, named Mulsund.—14 and 15. Two watch cases, specimens of Battersea enamel; date about 1750.

By the EARL AMHERST.—An enameled watch, xvii. cent.; on one side is represented the Holy Family, on the other S. Catharine; the movement bears the name *Auguste Bretonneau, à Paris.*

By Mr. T. M. WHITEHEAD.—A beautiful cruciform gold watch (*montre d'abbesse*), elaborately enameled in opaque colors; on the face, which is protected by a crystal, is seen the Man of Sorrows, with the emblems of the Passion; at the back, the Crucifixion. German art, late xvii. cent., resembling the works of Dinglinger, of Dresden. The movement bears the name, *Johannes Van Ceulen, Hagw.*, and has the pendulum spring, an improvement not known before 1675.

By Mr. A. W. FRANKS.—A small enameled watch, painted by Huau the younger, signed—*Huau le Puisné fecit.*

By SIR CHARLES ANDERSON, Bart.—Circular enameled plate, probably for a watch case; it bears the arms of James, fourth Duke of Lenox, K. G., Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Hereditary High Admiral of Scotland; he died 1655. In a *bordure* around the achievement, are introduced anchors, in allusion to his office; painted in colors on a white ground, possibly by Jean Toutin, or one of his pupils.

By Mr. W. RUSSELL.—Several snuff-boxes, *bonbonnières*, &c., choice specimens of German and French enameling on metal; also a small oval box of yellow metal, decorated with light blue, black and white opaque enamels, inlaid in shallow casements. This peculiar work, possessing much elegance in design, has been considered Italian; it is, however, more probably Hungarian or Turkish. (?)—A pair of metal vases of great beauty, painted in opaque enamels in Chelsea style; on each side is introduced a landscape with buildings, &c. They may be very choice Chinese copies of European porcelain vases.—An exquisitely enameled watch, the movement by Nicolas Bernard, of Paris.

By Mr. W. H. BLAAUW, F.S.A.—An oval gold snuff-box, painted with ruby-coloured enamel, and jeweled borders, in the style of the fine jeweled porcelain of Sèvres; on the lid is an enameled miniature of a female kneeling before a figure of Cupid.

By Mr. BOTFIELD, M.P., F.S.A.—Two oval gold snuff-boxes, exquisitely enameled; French art of the highest class; on the lid of each of them is a miniature portrait, hitherto not identified.

By Sir CHARLES ANDERS'N, Bart.—An oval gold snuff-box, exquisitely enameled; it was brought from Naples, about 1813, by Major Foljambe, to whom it was presented by the Duke of Rocearomania, first equerry to Murat.—Another enameled box, of rich yellow colour, probably painted at Dresden.—A small oval enameled medallion, a female head; it was found behind the wainscot of an old house, of Jacobean character, at Burnley, Yorkshire.

By Mr. R. T. PRITCHETT, F.S.A.—A gold pectoral cross, enameled with emblems of the Passion; date about 1520.—Chatelaine enameled with the initials of Mary of Modena, queen of James II.; the field is semé with fleurs-de-lys azure, possibly taken from the armorial bearing of Ferrara, *az.* 3 fleurs-de-lys *or*, quartered by the d'Este family. This royal relic appears to be of English workmanship, date 1685—88.

ENAMELED MINIATURE PORTRAITS:—

By Mr. J. P. FISCHER.—A very interesting collection of enamels. Portraits of Martha and Theresa Blount, friends and favorites of Pope; painted by Zincke, and mounted in gold and tortoiseshell, in elegant fashion, in one case.—Four miniatures, by Zincke, of which two are portraits of ladies, two of gentlemen; one of the latter, a man in the prime of life, has on the reverse of the case, a cypher composed of the letters G. D. R. On the reverse of the other (not mounted) is inscribed in enamel, partly obliterated Lord Viscount land. C. F. Zincke fecit, 1727.—Jean Jacques Rousseau, in a white coat; enamel attributed to Nathaniel Hone, R.A.—A small oval enamel on gold, designed from the antique, signed by William Craft, an artist whose name is found on a fine enamel now in the possession of Mr. Octavius Morgan. See p. 292 *supra*.—Snuff-box, with portrait of a lady on the lid; also a few other choice miniatures painted in enamel, two circular plates for watch-cases, &c.—Portrait of Selden, by William Bone, after a portrait by Sir P. Lely.—Henry Bone, R.A., born Feb. 6, 1755, by William Bone, after the original by John Jackson, R.A., London, Aug. 1828.—Portrait of George Stubbs, the painter, by Henry Bone, 1810, after a portrait in crayons by Ozias Humphry, R.A.

By Mr. JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, F.S.A.—Enameled miniature, by Zincke, of Thomas Lumley, K.B., third Earl of Scarborough (1740—1752). On the reverse of the case is a cypher composed of the initials T—S.

By Mrs. JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS.—Enamel by Zincke, a miniature portrait of Anne, Princess Royal, daughter of George II., married, in 1731, William Prince of Orange, elected Stadtholder of the United Provinces, 1747. She died 1759.—A round covered box, a good example of Chinese enameling in bright opaque colours, the field light blue; it was formerly in possession of Mrs. Thrale.

By Mr. COLNAGHI.—Enameled miniature of Charles, Earl of Carlisle (1692—1738), by the artist who used the signature B. O.—Miniature of Charles, Archduke of Austria.—Enameled watch-case, exhibiting the portrait of George II.

By Mr. SHIRLEY, M.P., F.S.A.—Enameled miniatures by Zincke: the Hon. George Shirley, son of Robert, Earl Ferrers, by Selina, his second wife; born 1707, died 1787.—The Lady Frances Shirley, sister of the Hon. George Shirley, and one of the most celebrated beauties of the courts of George I. and George II. She was familiarly known as “Fanny ever blooming Fair,” and to her was addressed the song attributed to the Earl of Chesterfield, commencing with those words.

By Mr. A. W. FRANKS, Dir.S.A.—Enameled miniature of Augustus the Strong, King of Poland, painted by John Frederick Dinglinger, of Dresden, 1713, and signed with his monogram.

By Mr. S. ADDINGTON.—Collection of enameled miniatures, arranged in a fine antique frame of sculptured ivory. They are as follows:—in the centre, Mary Queen of Scots; on the back is written, “le vrai portrait de Marie Stuart, de la collection du Prince Charles de Lorraine,” and an impression of a seal with the name thus written, “Gillis Norman S. de Oxelaere;” a portrait of Addison, and one of Steele, painted by Zineke; Milton, by H. P. Bone, from a picture in possession of Mr. Dymoke, Wells, 1850; Vandyck, Spenser, and Dryden, enamels by Bone; Pope, painted by H. P. Bone, in 1850, after a portrait by Richardson in possession of Lord Lyttelton; Madame le Brun, by H. P. Bone, 1851, from a portrait by herself in the collection of the late Lord St. Helens; and the Duchess of Kent, by the same, after a miniature by H. Colten, 1829.

By Sir CHARLES ANDERSON, Bart.—Miniature of Sir Edmund Anderson, Bart. (created 1660); the reverse of the case is beautifully enameled.—Miniature of the Rev. George Anderson, son of Sir William Anderson, sixth baronet.

By the DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND, K.G.—A full-length miniature portrait of the Duke of Buckingham, by Sir Baltazar Gerbier, signed, and dated 1618. It is in a case, the back of which is richly ornamented with *cloisonné* translucent blue enamel, the design consisting of flowers and foliage; oval, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The Duke is represented on a grey charger; the sea and ships appear in the distance; James I., with his courtiers, is seen on the shore. See Arch. Journ., vol. xiv. p. 358.—Two remarkable large enamels by W. Essex; a portrait of the Duke of Wellington, after the original by Lawrence, painted in 1843, dimensions, 7 in. by 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.; and The Strawberry Girl, after a painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds, in the collection of the Marquis of Hertford: this enamel is dated 1837; it measures 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 9, in.

By Mr. CHARLES B. CARRUTHERS.—Seven enameled miniatures. They portray Ninon de l'Enclos; a lady, name unknown, a pleasing subject, painted by Nicholas Hone, and signed with his monogram, N. H. — 1760; Lady William Young, painted by Henry Bone, 1796; Benjamin Franklin, a highly finished miniature by De Bréa; the Princesse de Lamballe, by Sarrard; Madame Catalani, with her son; and Mrs. Singleton; the reverse of the last inscribed, London, June, 1814, painted by Henry Bone, R.A., enamel painter in ordinary to H. M.; after the original by Henry Singleton.

By Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, F.S.A.—Enameled miniature of Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury, K.G. (1694–1718), in armour; on the reverse is inscribed, *Les frères Haut f.c.*—Miniature in oils of the Duke of Tyrconnel, by Petitot.—Portrait of Henry Bone, A.R.A., by himself, signed and dated Jan. 1809, after a picture in oil by his son Henry Pierce Bone.—Two small disks beautifully enameled, probably ornaments of the highly enriched buttons worn in xvii. cent.

By Mr. T. M. WHITEHEAD.—Enameled portrait of Lady Dover, painted by Henry Bone, R.A., after an original by John Jackson, R.A.

By Mr. C. S. BALE.—Portrait of Addison, *Æt.* 32, enameled by Zineke; from the Strawberry Hill Collection.

By Mr. DUBLACHER.—Enameled miniature of M. de Seignelly, or pos-

sibly of Henri Duc d'Enghien, painted by Louis de Chatillon (1639-1734), a skilful French artist patronised by Colbert. Signature, D. C.

By Mr. WILSON.—Miniature portraits, painted in enamel. The Duchess of Marlborough; by Zincke.—William Charles, Prince of Orange, K.G., in early life; with the insignia of the Garter.—Portrait of a child, enameled by Peat.—Luther and Melancthon, copies of old portraits, by Bone.

By Mr. H. CUNLIFFE.—Enameled miniature portraits by H. Bone and H. P. Bone. They are as follows:—Mary Queen of Scots; Sir Antonio More, from the original painting by himself in the Earl Spencer's Collection (Henry Pierce Bone, June, 1841); Spenser, from an original portrait in possession of the Earl of Chesterfield (H. P. Bone); William Seymour, 1st Marquess of Hertford, 1640; Prince Maurice and Prince Rupert.

By Mr. J. H. ANDERSON.—Miniature of the enameler, Nathaniel Hone, by himself; representing him in fancy costume, a light olive-colored dress, with a puce-colored mantle, and a chain round his neck, to which is appended an oval miniature which he holds in his left hand. Oval, $3\frac{7}{8}$ in. by 3 in. Signed—Scipse Nath. Hone Pinxit, æt. 31, 1749. At the opening of the R. Acad. Exhibition, in 1769, Hone, then an Academician, exhibited six paintings, one of them a portrait in enamel.—John Russell, crayon painter to George III. and the Prince of Wales, R.A. in 1788; painted by Henry Bone, R.A. 1791.—General Paeal Paoli, painted by Henry Pierce Bone, Jan. 1799, after a portrait by Sir W. Beechey, R.A.

BATTERSEA and other late enamels:—

By the Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, F.S.A.—A plate of metal painted in enamel, in bright colors, with small dotted incrustations in relief, forming a sort of diaper ornament; it displays a portrait of Frederick, eldest son of George II., created Prince of Wales in 1728; died in 1751; he wears the blue riband: on the reverse of this enamel, which is painted with much skill and has been regarded as an early production of Battersea, is the triple plume of feathers. Walpole mentions a portrait of the Prince as one of the examples from that place in his possession.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—Oval medallion of George III. in early life; Battersea enamel.—Oblong snuff-box of Battersea enamel, finely painted with flowers in Chelsea style on the lid and sides; on the bottom is a representation of Daphne transformed into a laurel; this last decoration is a transfer from copper-plate printed in light red.—Two decanter-labels, Battersea enamels, one for White Port, the other for Juranson; the latter being a transfer from copper-plate. The manufacture established about 1750 (?), at York House, Battersea, was promoted, if not established, by Stephen Theodore Jansen, lord mayor of London, 1755, and son of Sir Theodore Jansen, who died about 1754. The advertisement of the sale of enameled trinkets produced at York House, and dispersed by auction in 1756, on the bankruptcy of the younger Jansen, enumerates snuff-boxes of all sizes, portraits of the royal family, historical and other subjects, bottle-tickets with chains for all sorts of liquors, watch-cases, toothpick-cases, coat-buttons, &c., mostly mounted in metal double gilt. Walpole, in a letter to R. Bentley, 1755, presents him with "a trifling snuff-box only as a sample of the new manufactory at Battersea, which is done with copper-plates."—An enameled medal of Frederick, King of Prussia, commemorative of the siege of Breslaw, 1757; supposed to be a specimen of the work of Battersea.—Also, a circular snuff-box of

Dresden enamel, painted with flowers on a rich yellow ground; a snuff-box of German enamel, in form of a harpsichord; a *boubonnière*, in form of a parrot's head, well painted, probably German, and a circular box, painted with sacred subjects, Dutch art, xvii. cent.

By Mr. A. W. FRANKS, Dir. S. A.—Specimens of Battersea and Liverpool enameling and transfer-printing.—Oval medallions, George II. printed in gold; Frederic Prince of Wales, printed in red; Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, wife of Frederic Prince of Wales, printed in purple; George Prince of Wales, afterwards George III., printed in purple; Philip Yorke, first Lord Hardwicke, Lord Chancellor, printed in red; and a portrait, as supposed, of the Duke of Cumberland, printed in purple.—Enameled plaque, very convex, 5 in. by 3½ in., a badge or decoration used by the honourable Society of Bucks, signed—Sadler, Liverpool.—Medallion of Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, printed in black. Signed J. Sadler, Liverpool, 1756.—Portrait of Josiah Wedgwood, the celebrated manufacturer of *fettilia*; enameled on a plaque of porcelain, and signed—H. K. pinxt'. March 31st, 1805.—Probably a copy from a portrait executed in the lifetime of Mr. Wedgwood, who died in 1795.

FROM THE MUSEUM OF PRACTICAL GEOLOGY.—Specimens of Battersea enamel; plates suited for covers of toilet-boxes, &c., decorated by means of transfer-printing, over which in one instance, a representation of Danæ, enamel colors are partially applied; the other, the subject of which is unknown, is printed in purple; it represents a stately personage in Oriental dress, accompanied by a lady, who is addressed familiarly by a mendicant, apparently just arrived by ship; in the back-ground is a harbour, shipping, and buildings. Dimensions 4½ in. by 3½ in. It is mounted in a metal frame, with a ring at the top.—Two decanter-labels, enamels on metal—RED PORT—and—CYDER.—The edges enameled red, the ground on which the black letters are painted is white, with roses in color.

By Mr. WILSON.—Toilet-box, toothpick-case, scent-bottle, needle-case, a small box fitted as an inkstand, &c., specimens, as supposed of the work of Battersea. A favorite ground-color is pale rose, with flowers, scrolls, and minute dotted ornaments in relief. These objects are all formed of thin metal, painted in opaque colors.¹

By Sir SIBBALD D. SCOTT, Bart.—An oval plate, apparently of opaque vitreous paste, slightly convex; the face displays a singular heraldic design transferred by aid of an impression on paper from a copper plate. Dimensions 3¾ in. by nearly 3 in. It is mounted in gilt metal, and has a loop at the top for suspension; the design, printed in gold, of which the lustre has worn off, is an elaborate achievement; on a shield in the centre appears St. George, transfixing the escutcheon of France, which lies under his horse's feet. Above, like a crest, Britannia is seated, surrounded by banners, and holding an olive-branch. Dexter supporter, a lion; sinister, a double-headed eagle. Motto, on a ribbon below,—FOR OUR COUNTRY.—This object has been regarded with interest as an example of the work, as supposed, of Battersea, and also as a memorial of some one of the patriotic institutions of the period; it may have been one of the honorary distinctions given as prizes by the Antigallicans, a Society formed about

¹ A notice of the Battersea manufacture is given by Mr. Syer Cuming, Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass., June, 1859.

1750 for the encouragement in this country of manufactures which at that time were chiefly engrossed by the French, and for other patriotic purposes. Medals with the Society's arms are stated to have been given to successful competitors. Lord Carpenter was Grand President, and his successor, in 1752, was the celebrated Admiral Vernon.

By Mr. R. W. BINNS.—Six metal plates enameled, as supposed, at Battersea, and displaying ornamental designs transferred to the enameled surface from impressions of copper plates.—George II., profile to right, oval plate printed in gold; two small oval plates with heads of ladies, in the extravagantly high hats and head-dresses in vogue about the middle of the last century; two rectangular plates, suited for the covers of toilet-boxes or the like; on one is seen Danæe, on the other Europa mounted on the Bull; also an oval plate set in a metal rim, possibly a badge or insignia of honor given by the Antigallican Society, and similar to that above described.

By Mr. ROHDE HAWKINS.—A specimen, as supposed, of the Battersea enamels; a small oval patch-box with a mirror inside the lid; it is painted with opaque colors, the ground rich blue.

By Sir CHARLES ANDERSON, Bart.—Knife and fork, specimens of a set with enameled handles, ornamented with flowers on a white ground, and supposed to have been painted at Battersea.

CHINESE AND ORIENTAL ENAMELS :—

By Mr. HENDERSON, F.S.A.—A superb collection of vases and remarkable examples of the art of enameling as anciently practised in China, chiefly by the process of *cloisonnage*, the various details of the design being outlined by small fillets or bands of metal, twisted into the form desired, and affixed to the surface of the vase or other object upon which the opaque enamels were then applied by fusion. The colors are strikingly varied, fine turquoise blue is very prevalent, especially as the ground; other colors of remarkable beauty being combined in the ornamentation, which consists chiefly of foliage, flowers, dragons, birds, &c. In some rare examples human figures, landscapes, and scenes of daily life may be found. The most ancient of these sumptuous objects bear the date of the *King-Tai* period (A.D. 1450); on some objects of comparatively recent character is the dynastic mark of the *Kien-loung* period (A.D. 1736). The choice specimens of each period exhibited were almost exclusively obtained at the capture of the Summer Palace. They include the following;—tripod vase, on straight legs; early xv. cent., decorated with black enamel, a rare color; singular vase of metal, richly gilded, supported on trunks of elephants; it bears, on the rim and inside the cover, the mark of the *Ming* dynasty, about 1450; a deep round vase and cover, supported on monkeys, date same as the last; a vase with a kylin on the cover, and dragon-shaped handles, date probably 1736; a flat box and cover, taken from a table in the Summer Palace, a specimen of high class, very early xv. cent.; salver with the mark of 1450 on a tablet in the centre; a small bowl of very rich coloring, dated 1736; a tripod vase and a joss-stick holder, each of them bearing the date 1736. The following specimens, not less remarkable for their beauty and workmanship, were not obtained from the Palace. A pair of very curious candlesticks; each is in form of a duck with expanded wings, and standing in a patera on a tortoise, which rests upon a crimson serpent.—A bowl, decorated with water-plants and

lilies; a very choice specimen, xv. cent.—A pair of boxes or cases, of annular form, intended to contain, as supposed, certain rings of jade used in the Temples in China; diam. $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches.—A figure of a duck, of very early work.—Also several beautiful examples of Persian enamels, a pair of silver plates with floral decoration in translucent enamel; a pair of small silver vases with covers, decorations consisting of birds and flowers; a seal, the stone bearing an inscription by which it appears to have been made for the Marquis de Clairant, who, as it is believed, accompanied a French embassy to the East; the mounting is of gold enameled with vivid opaque colors.—An enameled gold *zarf*, or cup-holder, used in eastern countries in serving coffee; probably of Damascus work.

By Mr. A. BERTSFORD HOPE.—Two Chinese metal vases, of large dimensions, decorated with *champlevé* enamel, in which a rich opaque blue predominates.

By Mr. W. RUSSELL.—A large rectangular plaque of *cloisonné* enamel, measuring nearly 25 in. by 17 in., and remarkable not only for its large dimensions, and the unusual feature that it is enameled on both of its faces, but also as representing scenes of daily life, one of them being a music-party. Figures are very rarely found on Chinese enamels of this class. It probably was used as a screen, mounted in a frame of dark-colored wood. The ground on one face is rich small colored, on the other turquoise.—Two enameled dishes of large dimension; a basin, with beautiful turquoise-colored ground; enameled vase in form of the fruit called a fingered citron; a cup and saucer, white ground, an example of a rare color; a long tray of singularly rich coloring, with inscriptions in the Seal character; and a Chinese tripod bowl of metal, covered entirely with rich turquoise-colored enamel, without any ornamental designs upon it.

By Mr. A. W. FRANKS, Dir. S.A.—A small cup, Chinese *cloisonné* enamel both inside and out; date xv. cent.—A cylindrical vessel enameled by the like process, and bearing the name Siuan-tih, A.D. 1426—36.

By Mr. HAWKINS, F.S.A.—A one-handled Chinese vase or flagon, with two cups, enameled with translucent and opaque colors of great brilliancy, amongst which a deep rich blue predominates.

From the MUSEUM OF PRACTICAL GEOLOGY, by permission of Sir Roderick Murchison.—An exquisite ornament, from India, an oriental specimen of a process employed in Europe in xiv. cent., designated *émail de plique à jour*; works of this kind were translucent *cloisonné* enamels without a background, the colored pastes being melted in the compartments of the net-work of gold forming the design.—A bracelet of silver, set with gems, and enameled with bright translucent green. Probably Persian work.—Silver brooch enriched with pale blue enamel and filagree, commonly worn by the Greek peasants in Lycia; the form and general design never varies, and the type has probably been handed down from classical times.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P., F.S.A.—A remarkable example of Chinese *champlevé* enamel, a basin of metal richly gilt, of considerable solidity and weight; it is decorated with rows of inscriptions in the Seal character; the ground is enameled with rich dark ultramarine blue, resembling lapis lazuli.—Large circular dish, Chinese *cloisonné* enamel, with an inscription on the reverse, recording that it was a sacrificial vessel of the Tching family; probably an early example; it was part of the plunder during the recent campaign in China.—Chinese standard-ornament, enriched with *cloisonné* and *champlevé* enamel, in form of an arti-

choke, growing out of a vase, and surmounted by a canopy with drapery; date probably about 1730.

By Mr. RÖHDE HAWKINS.—Three fine specimens of Chinese *cloisonné* enamel; one of them bears the date of the dynasty, the period of its fabrication; another is a dish of unusually large dimensions, part of the plunder of the Summer Palace.

By Mr. ADDINGTON.—Three choice examples of Chinese *cloisonné* enamel; a long-necked globular bottle with arabesque ornaments in blue and white enamels, in an unusual style of art: a double gourd-shaped bottle, enameled with flowers on a yellow ground, the royal color (Bernal Coll.): a two-handled bottle, enameled with flowers: also a double gourd-shaped bottle of porcelain, the ground white and enameled with dragons and elaborate ornamentation; an unique specimen.

By Mr. G. ROOTS.—A pair of Chinese sceptres of singular form, with a recurved ornament at one extremity; they are known by the name *Jo-ee*; and are of metal elaborately ornamented with *cloisonné* enamel.

By Mr. C. S. BALE.—An enameled Chinese metal plate of remarkable beauty; the ground brilliant turquoise color; in the ornamentation appear a dragon, a bird, &c., the design bearing much resemblance to that on a specimen exhibited by Mr. Röhdé Hawkins, but the coloring is richer.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—A Circassian sabre, with belt, &c., enriched with ornaments of silver gilded and inlaid with work in niello.

By the Hon. ROBERT CURZON, Jun.—A Persian dagger (*khandjar*), obtained at Erzeroum; the handle and sheath are exquisitely ornamented with translucent enamel.—Another fine weapon of the same description, painted in opaque enamel, with flowers brilliantly colored.

By Mr. RÖHDE HAWKINS.—A small prining-flask, or touch-box, of pale yellow mixed metal, ornamented with peculiar enamels of vividly contrasted coloring inlaid in cavities on the surface of the metal. The colors are yellow, red, deep and light blue, and green. It is supposed to be of Turkish work. A flask, similar in fashion and size, was exhibited in the Museum at the meeting of the institute in Oxford, in 1850, by Mr. Joseph Clarke; it was stated to have been found at the Reculvers, Kent, in 1824. A third was in the possession of the late Mr. Fonnereau.

By Capt. CAFFIN, R.N., C.B., Director of Stores, &c., by the liberal permission of H. M. Secretary for War.—From the TOWER ARMORY.—Specimens of Oriental Armour and Arms, illustrating the Arts of Enamel and Niello. They consisted of portions of a Persian body-armour of the kind called “four mirrors,” richly enameled with arabesque ornaments, and thus inscribed in Persian:—“The noble Ghulam Ali Khan, made by the humble Mohamed Ali of Ispahan, in the month of Shaban, in the year 1213” (Hegira). Catalogue, No. 506.—Dagger from Hyderabad in Scind, the hilt set with emeralds, the sheath enameled with flowers; purchased from the East India Company’s collection in the Exhibition of 1851. Tower Catal. No. 291.—Waist-dagger, probably Persian, the hilt and sheath enameled with flowers. Catal., No. 503.—Scymetar with a hilt of lapis lazuli; the scabbard and mountings elaborately wrought in silver and niello; probably a presentation weapon, and of Russian work.—Circassian dagger of watered steel, the hilt of ivory, the mountings of silver enriched with niello. This kind of weapon, called *Kamá*, is from Daghistan. For the foregoing particulars, and also for his kind mediation in obtaining these specimens for exhibition, the Institute is indebted to the friendly assistance of Mr. Hewitt.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

ISCA SILURUM, OR AN ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE OF THE MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES AT CAERLEON. By JOHN EDWARD LEE, F.S.A., F.G.S., Hon. Sec. of the Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association. London: Longman & Co., 1862. With fifty-two plates.

It is with satisfaction that we again invite attention to the researches of our fellow-labourers in the ancient district of the *Silures*. Nearly twelve years have elapsed since we announced the permanent establishment of a suitable Museum at Caerleon, in great measure, we believe, suggested through the liberality and good taste of the late Sir Digby Mackworth, but achieved mainly through the zeal and well-directed efforts of Mr. Lee. The explorations which he has so successfully prosecuted at *Isca Silurum* have been noticed in previous volumes of this Journal (see vol. ii. p. 417; vol. vii. p. 97; vol. viii. p. 157); and many of our readers are doubtless familiar with his account of Roman Antiquities found at Caerleon, published in 1848. That work comprised an illustrative description of many objects highly valuable to the archaeologist; the contributions to Roman epigraphy alone amounting to nearly twenty unedited inscriptions. The volume before us is a remarkable proof how much may be effected in a few years by so vigilant an explorer as Mr. Lee. Upwards of thirty inscriptions are here delineated, exclusive of sculptured fragments, unscripted altars, &c. The miscellaneous objects of metal, glass, ivory, &c., include relics of rare and unusually curious character, forming a series unrivalled perhaps by any provincial museum, with the exception only of that formed at York. It were needless to insist upon the utility of a carefully compiled and illustrated description of such collections; the antiquary will thankfully appreciate the good service rendered by Mr. Lee, not only in rescuing all these *disjecta membra* from dispersion, but in now rendering them available to the student of antiquity in so agreeable a form, with accurate representations drawn by the author's own hand. Amongst these may be noticed examples of Samian ware decorated with subjects of the chase, mythological and other curious details; also other *fetilia* of remarkable character, *antefixa*, several lamps, and part of a mould for their fabrication, an object of very rare occurrence. A valuable catalogue of coins found at and near Caerleon has been supplied by the Rev. C. W. King; they range from Claudius to Arcadius, a period of nearly four centuries of Roman dominion in Britain. The beautiful ornaments of enameled bronze in the museum are known to many of our readers through Mr. Lee's kindness in bringing them to our exhibition of enamels in June last. (See p. 279, *ante*.) The most remarkable relics, however, of ancient art presented in this interesting volume, are doubtless the ivory sculptures, supposed to have been portions of a *cista mystica*, or sacrificial coffer. No Roman work of similar character has, we believe, occurred elsewhere in this country. There are numerous other rare objects brought to light in this remote site of Roman occupation; we hope that the publication of the attractive volume thus briefly noticed will encourage some of our readers to visit a locality the archaeology of which Mr. Lee's indefatigable exertions have tended so essentially to illustrate.

The Archaeological Journal.

DECEMBER, 1862.

THE ROYAL COUNCILS OF WORCESTER.¹

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

ON a previous occasion, when the Institute met at Gloucester, I took notice of the custom that prevailed in the middle ages, of the monarchs of England wearing their crowns on the great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. It may be necessary, however, to allude to it again; more particularly as the usage began to decline after the first council that was held at Worcester. Our old historians are very particular in mentioning the places where the king kept his festivities. It was doubtlessly at these fixed periods that much of the public business of the realm was transacted. The nobility might have been summoned to attend the court for these special purposes; thus regal hospitality and their own advice may have become united under the most agreeable circumstances.

The Saxon chronicle informs us that at these particular times, all the best persons in the land gave their attendance. The king always wore his crown on the occasion. The Conqueror held his court at Christmas at Gloucester, at Easter at Winchester, and at Whitsuntide at Westminster. His son carried out this practice with great regularity, but in the next reign, Henry I. in great measure laid it aside. Malmesbury complains that in the reign of Stephen these ceremonies had become abolished, a fact he imputes to the emptiness of the exchequer and the distracted state of the country. There can be no doubt that the custom had become

¹ Communicated to the Historical Section at the Annual Meeting of the Institute held at Worcester, July, 1862.

extremely irregular. Therefore, when Henry II. ascended the throne, the way was prepared for its complete disuse.

This monarch was, however, twice crowned at Worcester, on the last occasion in the year 1158, with his queen, at the festival of Easter. We are told that when they came to the offertory, they took off their crowns, and placed them on the altar, vowing before God that they would henceforth cease to wear them.²

This is the first time a council is mentioned as being held at Worcester, and unfortunately we have no further intimation afforded as to what else took place.

When Henry III. ascended the throne, the relations betwixt England and Wales were beginning to grow embarrassed and unfriendly. During the two first years of the young king's reign, the disaffected barons sedulously cultivated the friendship of Llewellyn. It is unreasonable to regard the Welsh at this period as in a state of rebellion. They had a line of independent princes, and a throne established by the same natural right as that of the Plantagenets. There was great disaffection, amongst the English themselves. The leading people, therefore, gladly availed themselves of any means of assistance that they could obtain from those neighbours who would help their cause. The Welsh had gained strength by their alliance with Philip Augustus of France. They were supported by the barons, who, dissatisfied with those omissions in Henry's charter that had been obtained from his father, already began to waver in their allegiance to the youthful sovereign. The French king was, however, expelled from the country he had invaded, and it was soon found that Henry, though a minor, had able counsellors around him to guard the interests of his crown.

Gallo, the papal legate, had already conveyed to Llewellyn a sentence of excommunication. He was (Feb. 12, 1218) summoned to Worcester to perform his homage, though, that nothing might seem outwardly deficient in respect, an honourable escort was ordered to attend him to this city. The Bishops of Hereford and Chester, Walter de Lacy, Hugh Mortimer, John Fitzalan, Walter and Roger de

² Henricus Rex Anglorum coronatus est a die 11. Augusti, post celebrationem hincoriam coronam super altare posuit,

nec ulterius coronatus est. Radulf. de Diceto, p. 531. Sub Anno 1158.

Clifford, with others of the nobility, formed part of the prince's suite, and subsequently witnessed his concessions. In the presence of these magnates, and in that of others equally distinguished, Llewellyn swore on the Gospels to give up the crown, his castles of Caermarthen and Cardigan, as well as to keep them in repair until Henry came of age. He, moreover, gave up Mallgwyn, the son of Rhys; Rhys, the son of Griffith; Madoe, the son of Griffith; and Marenduc, the son of Robert, as hostages for the observance of the present treaty.

In connection with this transaction of the second council held at Worcester, it may be observed that the royal advisers permitted Llewellyn to hold the custody of those lands in North Wales which formerly belonged to Wenwynwyn, Llewellyn undertaking to provide reasonable sustenance for the heirs of Wenwynwyn, and to assign a dower to Margaret his widow.

Owing to the young king being in his minority, the writs at this period were tested by William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke. According to the phraseology, "quum sigillum non habuimus has literas sigillo fidelis nostri comitis Willielmi Marescalli fecimus sigillari."

It does not appear whether Henry was present at the negotiations just referred to; but it is certain he was at Worcester on the second Sunday after Ash Wednesday, as there is a writ on the Clause Rolls addressed to the *Prepositi* of Worcester, ordering them to pay William St. Edward and Robert de Barevill twenty-one pounds for the expenses occasioned by his visit when the council was held.

Another writ addressed to the Barons of the Exchequer directs them to pay Fulke de Breaute twenty pounds for the expenses incurred at Worcester in the middle of Lent. Thus, the fact of Henry being in the city at this time does not admit of a doubt. He was here again Oct. 14, 1222, as we learn from writs issued to the Barons of the Exchequer, ordering them to pay the sheriff of the county twenty marks for an outlay made on his wardrobe when visiting the city. A similar notice shows that he was also there in 1221.

Again, on April 22, the same year, a council was held at Worcester, attended by the papal legate, the archbishops,

prelates, abbots, the chief justiciary, the Earl of Pembroke, besides several earls and barons of the realm. In the following year most of the preceding magnates again assembled here, when they declared that no charters or other documents should be sealed in perpetuity till the young king came of age. Also in the fourth year of the reign the state of public affairs was considered at Worcester, when Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, again attended.

Joanna, the wife of Prince Llewellyn, was, at a little later period, a visitor to the young king at Worcester. She was doubtlessly urged to take this journey under the hope of obtaining some fresh privilege from Henry. Whatever the result of her journey may have been, it is certain that she did not incur any expense, as the Barons of the Exchequer were ordered to pay her seven pounds seven and four pence, being the cost of her journey.

We have mention made of another charge that was to be defrayed by the Barons of the Exchequer. It is of so unusual a kind, that, although not strictly relevant to the councils of Worcester, it deserves notice, since it relates to the fine monument of the king's father, whose interment in the cathedral might naturally attract the affections of Henry to the place. Several pieces of silk had been paid for and delivered to William, Earl of Pembroke, out of the royal treasury. The use to which they were applied was to cover, or rather adorn, the tomb of King John, Henry's father. They were delivered to the Prior of Worcester for this purpose.

Before proceeding any farther, it may be desirable to state that as there existed a royal castle at Worcester, it is most probable that the early councils or conventions were held within its precincts. This is the more likely from the fact of these assemblies being confined to the transaction of purely secular and public business. There are several entries on the Great Roll of the Pipe, which speak of the repairs done to this building, as well as of works upon the surrounding palisades. In the reign of John there frequently occurs the charge of three shillings for a hunter catching wolves.

In the year 1237, a council met again at Worcester. The object of the meeting was similar to those already mentioned. The turbulence of the Welsh was a recurring

cause of anxiety. A truce had been agreed upon when the king was at Tewkesbury the preceding year (July 11, 1236). Safe conduct was afforded to the Prince of Abberfrau and his attendants for the meeting at Shrewsbury and Wenlock, when its provisions were to be ratified. The king had nominated the Bishops of Hereford and Llandaff, with two other persons, as commissioners for South Wales, and the same number for North Wales, to receive the mutual act of ratification and guarantee. Such was the general nature of the business the council had to settle at these various conventions. Worcester lying on the borders, was a place naturally suited for entertaining these questions, though Gloucester and Shrewsbury were as frequently chosen as places convenient for the discussion of the Welsh difficulties.

In the year 1264, business of a more legislative character than what had hitherto been transacted, was brought before the notice of the king's council at Worcester. In the forty-sixth year of his reign, or about two years previously, Henry issued a declaration that he would no longer adhere to the provisions that the barons had obtained from him at Oxford. He recited the absolution from their observance that had been granted to him by Popes Alexander and Urban. The king of France, who had been called in to mediate between Henry and his Barons, declared these provisions, which had been a great advance in the cause of popular liberty, to be null and void. He affirmed that the king should have his former prerogatives restored. That he should have the power of nominating his chief justiciary, chancellor, and high officers of state as he pleased, and that aliens should be as eligible as natives to fill any official positions.

This short-sighted and injudicious award provoked a contest that was immediately fatal to the royal authority, and which led to the king's defeat and capture at Lewes.

Henry was at Worcester on the 13th of December (1264), being then the prisoner of Simon de Montfort. It was on this occasion that he issued writs of a most comprehensive kind to the various abbots, bishops, and sheriffs throughout England, as well as to the barons and burgesses of the different towns, that they would assemble on the Octaves of St. Hilary, at London, to deliberate upon the honor of the crown and the tranquillity of the country.

Here we may see distinctly sketched the first outline of

those legislative assemblies we now possess. Though as the fortunes of the king experienced a favourable change after the battle of Evesham, on August 4, 1265, he was subsequently enabled to reassume arbitrary power. Notwithstanding the postponement of this important privilege, it is abundantly clear from various inferences deducible from the business actually performed by the council held at Worcester, from the tenor of the writs, and from the position of the people convened, that the principle of summoning legislative assemblies according to our present custom was here for the first time adopted. This appears to me so clear and undeniable that it is not a matter of surprise it should have engaged the observation of Tyrrell, in his "*Bibliotheca Politica*." It has however eluded the notice of those writers who have borrowed so freely from this noble constitutional work, without acknowledging their obligations to it for other information, on which they mainly founded their reputation. The works of Tyrrell, Littleton, Carte, and Madox may indeed be too little read or consulted; they have fallen into comparative oblivion, but their honest and diligent labors can never be forgotten whilst industry, independence of opinion, and a love of truth are deemed higher qualities in an historian, than the elegance of style and artificial composition which have rendered two of our writers so popular and attractive.

Up to this time the king had acted by the advice of his own special council. But now temporal and spiritual peers, as Lords of Parliament, are summoned to act in a judicial capacity. Other powers are also called together, who, as the Commons of the realm, appearing at London (January 20, 1265), constituted, under the king, the legislative voice of the nation at large.

There can be no doubt that it was on this emergency, when the Mise of Lewes had given the barons the ascendancy, that they seized the advantages of political power. Yet, looking at the manner they used it, it cannot be said they acted like the regicides and usurpers of later times, and profaned the sacred cause of liberty by injustice and murder. On the contrary, the person of the monarch was respected, and political rights were enlarged without the perpetration of violence or crime.

It must be admitted that, whilst the transactions of this

particular period are amongst the most obscure of any in our constitutional history, the language of the writs by which the barons, knights, and burgesses were summoned, being uncertain, the character of the representatives as well as their power being undefined and vague, yet the general result of the documents, and of the business itself, clearly indicates a march in political civilisation. It arose from the disasters and subsequent captivity of the king. The light broke out for an instant, as it were, and then became hidden for nearly half a century. But in the meantime Edward was consolidating the laws, as well as improving the constitutional assemblies of the country. It was not until the twenty-sixth year of his reign that Worcester returned regularly two burgesses to parliament.

There was another subject dealt with in the council of 1264, which deserves notice. In a parliament held in London, on March 11th, 1265, mention is made of certain articles made by common consent of the king and magnates at Worcester, and transmitted under his seal to every county inviolably to be observed for ever.

These articles, as we learn from a manuscript quoted by Tyrrell, from Corpus Christi Library, Cambridge, were those celebrated Provisions published in the Statute of Marlborough (52 Hen. III.). They have always been received as a portion of the law of the land, and are the foundation of many parts of the existing law, though now appearing only in the Red Book of the Exchequer, and in copies preserved in the Cottonian and other collections of manuscripts, from which they have been printed in the statutes of the realm. They were ordered at the time of their enactment at Worcester to be published in the county courts, hundreds, wapentakes, and courts baron, for the advantage of all the community of England.

These ordinances were ratified and confirmed when the parliament met on the Octaves of St. Hilary in the year and month following at London.

Prince Edward, who had been given up as a hostage to Simon de Montfort after the battle of Lewes, effected his escape in the month of May in the following year. Having sought for a refuge in the castle of Wigmore, he was joyfully received by Roger de Mortimer. The next day he passed onward to Ludlow, where he obtained the assistance

of the Earls of Clare and Surrey. They presently marched to Worcester, which the loyal citizens speedily surrendered to them. Thus, by one success added to another, the royal forces became enabled to take the field against Simon de Montfort, on the 4th of August, near Evesham.

The king, says Walter Hemingford, was wounded in the shoulder, and would have been slain, had he not cried out, "I am Henry of Winchester, your king; kill me not." Whereupon Adam de Montalt rushed forward and saved him. The prince, who was near, ran to his assistance, but could only beg his blessing, leaving him to be protected by his knights till the fight was over and the victory completed.

During the whole of this period, Henry III., now advancing in age, was continually at Worcester or the neighbourhood, but it does not appear that he enriched either the city, or the religious foundations within it, with any memorial of his bounty. The name of this monarch is in vain searched for amongst those who were benefactors to the Abbeys of Worcester, Evesham, Tewkesbury, or Pershore. He had, it is true, granted the citizens in 1261 a charter, by which two bailiffs, two aldermen, two chamberlains, and forty-eight assistants, should govern the town, with return of writs and power to hold pleas. His name never occurs in the list of donors to the religious houses of those places which had witnessed the success of his arms, or the attachment of his people.

He had the negative qualities of a good, rather than a great, man. Without either the courage or the genius for war that characterised his illustrious son, he possessed nevertheless some of the smaller virtues. These have served to shield his name from reproach. His ideas of government were merciful, but obstructive to national progress. The reforms introduced into the representative system during his reign, though they lasted but for a year or two, and were the result of external pressure rather than the spontaneous creations of his own mind, left indeed traces behind to which we are indebted at the present day. If posterity has anything to praise in reviewing his career, it will be found in the taste he introduced into several of the buildings erected during his reign; in the patronage he bestowed on the arts of sculpture and painting; and in the countenance

he afforded to the execution of a few works of devotional magnificence.

Time, no less than, I fear, exhausted patience, forewarns me to hasten these remarks to a close. Fortunately there is only one other council at Worcester left for description. Edward I. visited Worcester in various years of his reign. He was here for three days in 1276 : for nine in 1277 : for four in 1278 : for one in 1281, when he passed three days at Kemsey, and eight at Pershore. Again, for seven days in 1282, and for three at Hartlebury : for a week in 1283, and for five days in 1294, when he went on to Hartlebury and Bridgenorth, thus proceeding, as on the former occasions, into Wales. It was during his sojourn at Worcester, during the month of November in the last year, that he held a council touching the state of his affairs in the principality. Though at this time the Welsh had been overawed by his conquests, and the country partially secured by the erection of those noble castles whose ruins still exist at Flint, Rhuddlan, Conway, and Harlech, the people can scarcely be said to have been subdued. The fortress of Beaumaris was not yet built, whilst that of Caernarvon was in the present year destroyed. And where could the king more suitably hold a council on the condition of his impending war, than in a loyal city like Worcester that lay upon the borders.

If we may judge by the tenor of a document that issued from him at this moment at Worcester, Edward must have lost his usual confidence at the prospect before him. He addressed the body of religious men, and more especially the Friars Minors, as the mediators between God and men, to pray on his behalf that the impending troubles might be taken away, and his kingdom delivered from adversity. With deep and holy grief did he pass by that noble monument of his grandfather, which still forms the most interesting object in Wulstan's pious foundation, and with contrite prayer did he bend before the high altar, and present his offering of propitiation to God.³ Nor, with whatsoever feelings of admiration we may be actuated in

³ We have not any details given us on the Rolls respecting Edward's visit, but there is a writ on the Liberate of this 23rd year, addressed to the treasurer, ordering him to deliver 10,000*l.* to Walter

de Langeton, Keeper of the Wardrobe, for the expenses of the household, and for certain matters to be done in Wales. Dated at Worcester, 25th November.

beholding the valour of that little kingdom over whom he sought to cast the fetters of a conqueror, can we suppose that these gifts were vain oblations, or his supplications unanswered. Like the seven idolatrous nations we read of in Holy Writ, "he put them out by little and little," till their sovereignty and their freedom were extinguished. The result of these long-continued contests was the union of the ancient sovereignties of Dyved, Gwynedd, and Powisland to England; and in Worcester, in Gloucester, in Bristol, and in fair Shrewsbury, the leading councils were held that aimed at the dismemberment of Wales.

Centuries have rolled on since its line of native princes have ceased. Their valour and their misfortunes have outlived tradition. They are written in the truest pages of history. Fresh information may still be added to the mass of accumulated facts, for although there are not any coeval chronicles, there are a large number of records relating to the Welsh wars, that will supply additional information on the events of that period.⁴ These will enable us to divest truth from fiction. They will liberate us from the fairy hands that ring the knell of Welsh valour, and they will teach us to regard their sweet notes as merely poetical delusions.⁵ Like the mountains whom the bard invokes, we shall "mourn in vain Modred, the magic of their song," because we shall fruitlessly search for any proof of his existence. Nay, if in a real desire for "truth severe," the question of the massacre of the bards is considered, it will be found to rest on no contemporary foundation whatever. In fact, inspiring as must ever be the genius of poetry, the writer of history should studiously remain uninfluenced by its fascination. We may, however, borrow an idea from the well-known ode that has thus been incidentally alluded to; and we may institute a comparison of the value of consulting our national records, where historical facts are certain, with the changes the noble stream of the Severn undergoes before it reaches Worcester. Its waters roll down from huge Plinlimmon,

⁴ The recent valuable researches of the Hon. Mr. Bridgeman on the History of Sever Powis, printed in the *Transactions of the Archaeological Society*, show how much new and authentic information is to be gathered relative to this period.

His remarks throw much additional light on our Welsh Border History.

⁵ By fairy hands their knell is rung,
By forms unseen their dirge is sung;
Their Honour comes, a pilgrim grey,
To bless the turf that wraps their clay.

gathering fresh strength from every spring and rivulet they unite with on their journey, carrying fertility to the soil they wash, and gradually expanding themselves into the largest of our English rivers. Thus we are taught, by taking a survey over the majestic course of time, to collect those evidences which constitute truth, out of the various channels through which it flows. It is incumbent upon historical writers to sift all those current statements that have been too readily accepted by indolent students. The more popular they are, perhaps the more doubtful. Always, however, drawing the materials from the purest and most certain sources, the public records of the kingdom. And still, to pursue the metaphor, if we ascend the rugged sides of this cloud-topped eminence, and drink of its wells in their natural purity, ere they have become polluted by the refuse of towns (fatal to health as falsehood is to history), the heart will feel refreshed and invigorated by their crystal sweetness. So also, on the other hand, if tediously, patiently, and dimly striving to decypher the faint, the incomplete, and nearly illegible archives, where truth alone sits sacredly enshrined, the grateful labour will diffuse new light, and another page will be added to the annals of our common country.

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE HISTORY OF MEDLEVAL
WEAPONS AND MILITARY APPLIANCES IN EUROPE.

By JOHN HEWITT.

THE GOEDENDAG, A FOOT-SOLDIER'S WEAPON OF THE
THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

AT a first glance, the weapon before us would appear to belong to the Early-Middle-Ages of the Sandwich Islanders, and it is with no small surprise that, on further inquiry, we



find this primitive form of the Club to be the chosen arm of the great guilds of the richest principedom of Europe, in its richest period — of Flanders in the fourteenth century. The

figure here given is one of many, forming an extensive wall-painting in an old chapel at Ghent. The men are citizens of Ghent, and are represented as marching in procession at one of their guild festivals. The picture itself no longer exists, but it has been fully and carefully reproduced by M. De Vigne in his "Recherches Historiques sur les Costumes des Gildes, &c." The citizen-soldier wears the "bacinet rond," so often mentioned in documents of the time, with camail of banded-mail overlying the surcoat. The sleeve of the hauberk is strengthened at the elbow with a roundel of plate, charged with a cross: the arms on the surcoat are those of his company. The equipment appears to be that of the beginning of the fourteenth century.

But the weapon carried by this warrior (borne also by many of his companions) is the most curious part of the representation; and, though we have examined many thousand examples of weapons of all ages, pictorially or otherwise reproduced, we have never before met with the singular implement here figured. M. De Vigne, in producing it, claims to have discovered the true form of the GOEDENDAG; and, in the minute description of that arm by Guiart, in the "Branche des Royaux Lignages," there are certainly many points of resemblance. The passage to which we allude is that recounting the conflict between the men of Bruges, led by "Mesire Walepaiele," and the French.

"El tens dont ge conte nouvele,
Iert Mesire Walepaiele,
Des fiez de Bruges capitainne :
Cil meut un jour," &c.

(Ad ann. 1297; Ed. Buchon, vol. ii. p. 209.)

Reaching the enemy, the Flemings attack them:—

"À granz bastons pesanz ferrez,
À un lone fer agu devant.
Tiex bastons qu'il portent en guerre
Ont nom godendae en la terre.
Goden-dae, c'est Bou-jour à dire,
Qui en françois le veust descrire.
Cil baston sont lone et traitiz.
Pour férir à deuz mainz faitiz.
Et quant l'en en faut au descendre,
Se cil qui fiert i veust entendre,
Et il en sache bien ouvrir,
Tantost puet son cop recouvrer

Et férir, sans s'aler moquant,¹
 Du bout devant, en estoquant
 Son ennemi par le ventre ;
 Et li fers est aguz qui entre
 Légierement de plainne assiète,
 Par touz les lieuz où l'ou en giète,
 S'armcures ne le détiennent.
 Cil qui ces granz godendaz tiennent,
 Qu'il ont à deux poinz empoingniez,
 Sont un poi des reus esloingniez,
 De bien férir ne sont pas lasche.
 Entre les gens le roi en tasche
 Au destriers donnent tiex meriax
 Amont, parmi les hateriax,
 Que des pesanz cops qu'il ourdissent
 En pluseurs lieus les estourdi-sent,
 Si qu'a poi qu' à terre ne chiéent."

(Ibid., vol. ii. p. 210.)

The goedendags of the Flemings are mentioned in many other places of Guiart's poem, but in none with so much detail. Under 1304 (vol. ii. p. 302) we have a passage showing that the arm was for thrusting and striking:—

" Godendaz levez, lances prises,
 S'assaillent en diverses guises :
 Uns estoquent, autres rabatent."

At page 316 we find that the weapon was a heavy one:—

" Aucuns à godendaz pesanz,
 Dont les cops lancent et desrivent,
 Jusqu'en mi le mont les poursivent."

See also pages 240, 246, 256, 277, 280, 312 and 446, where, though the godendag is mentioned with honor, no new characteristic appears.

Before proceeding further, it may be as well to call to mind that the name of Goedendag has been held to apply to the Halbard ; and I am not aware that any ancient passage has yet been found in which the two words stand in juxtaposition, so as to indicate a difference between the two weapons.

In the account of the battle of Courtray in the "Grandes Chroniques," the goedendag again appears as a Flemish arm.

¹ Query, "manquant."

“Ceux de Bruges, si comme l'en dit, estudians et cuidans mourir pour la justice, libéralité et franchise du pays, portant avec eux ensemment aucunes reliques de Sains, et à glaives, à lances, espées bonnes, haches et goudendars, serrément et espesement ordonés, vindrent au champ à pié par un pou tous. . . . Et lors adecertes ceux de Bruges nulle ame n'espargnierent, mais aux lances agues bien ancorées, que l'on appelle bouteshaches et godendars, les chevaliers des chevaux faisoient trébuchier ; et ainsi comme its chéioient, comme brebis les acraventoient sus la terre.”—Vol. v. p. 139.

M. Paulin Paris adds a note to the word *ancorées* :—“Terminées en forme d'ancres, à peu près comme les hallebardes ;”—which, however, does not throw much light on the subject. Perhaps the word was originally *acérées*.

In the continuation of the Chronicle of Nangis, the similar incident of the battle of Courtrai is thus recorded :—“Cum lanceis adjunctis et exquisiti generis quod gothendar vulgò appellant.”

The goedendag is not, however, confined to Flanders. In an ordinance of King John of France in 1355, for the defence of the city of Poitiers, it is commanded “Que toute manière de gens habitans en la ville et suburbez de Poitiers seront contrains à eulx armer, chacun selon son estat : c'est assavoir, les riches et les puissans de toutes armeures ; les moiens de lances, pavois ou godendae et de cote gambezie ; et les menus de godendae ou d'espée, si et tellement comme ils pourront.”—Collect. des Ordonnances, t. iv. p. 169.

Ducange, who never fails to contribute curious illustration to every archæological inquiry, has several passages from Letters Remissory of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, relating to the *godendae*. His interpretation of the word is “Hasta brevior, Flandrensibus familiaris.” In a Remissory Letter of 1357 we have : “Quemdam baculum ferratum, *godendart* Gallicè nuncupatum, quem deferebat, sublevavit,” &c. Again, in 1376 : “En soy défendant, féry ledit Cannaux d'un godandart ou pique de Flandres un cop seulement, dont mort s'ensuy.” And in a third letter of 1417 : “Un baston que l'en appelle goudendart, qui est à la façon d'une pique de Flandres, combien que le fer est un pou plus longuet.”

We thus find that the goedendag was a “grand baston,”—“à lone fer agu devant”—pour fêrir à deux mainz—pour

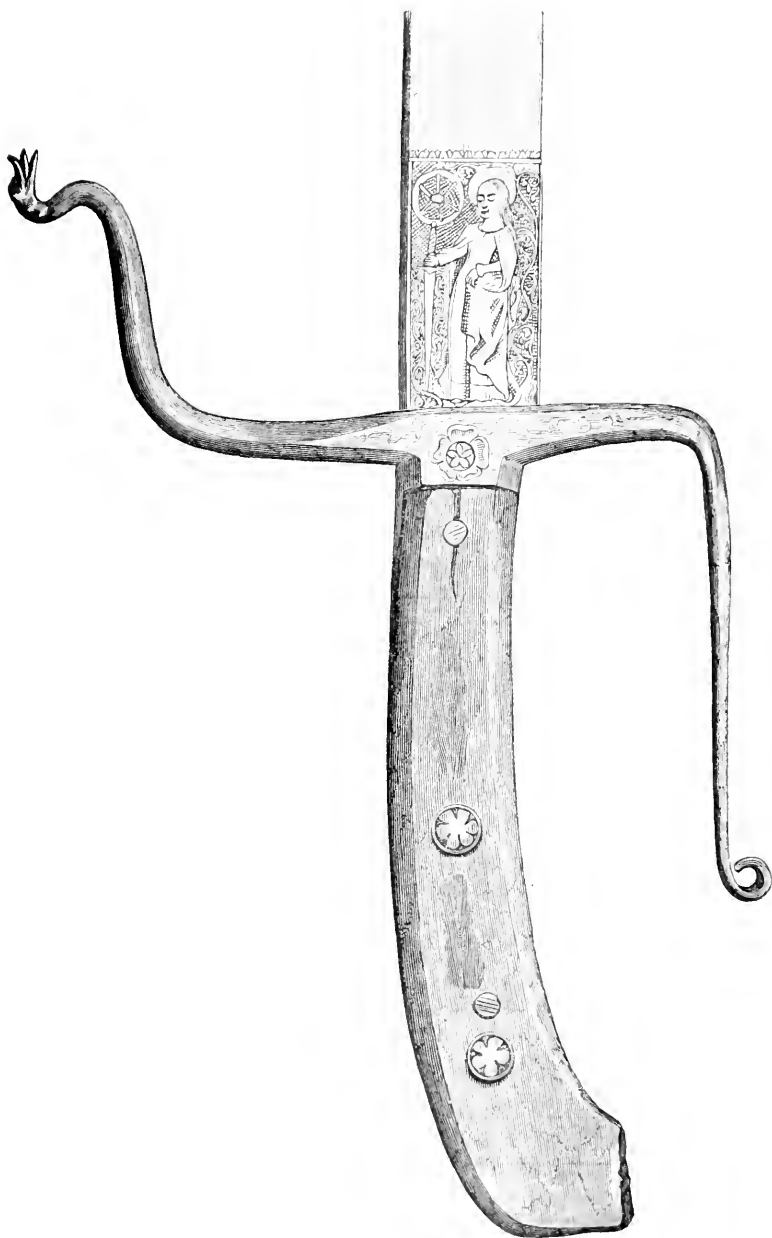
estoquer et rabattre—pesante—bien ancorée (?)—exquisiti generis—à la façon d'une pique de Flandres, mais dont le fer estoit un peu plus longuet." How far these characteristics of the *goedendag*, *godendac*, *godendas*, *godendaz*, *godendoc*, *godendart*, *gondendart*, *gothendar*, *godandar*, *godandac*, *godandart*, *godardus*, *godendus*, *godandardus*, or *gondendar-dum*, apply to the weapon of M. De Vigne, or whether they do not rather indicate the arm familiar to us under the name of halbard, it will be for our readers to determine. At all events, the weapon is a very curious one, and one of the simplest forms of the "menues armes" of the middle-age foot-fighter.

In conclusion, we may remark that the giving facetious names to instruments of warfare, as in the "Good-den" before us, has been in vogue through all ages. Thus we have the holy-water-sprinkle, the morning-star, the *gagne-pain*, the swine's-feather, and others. Fire-arms have been complimented with sobriquets taken from the fair sex, as Mons Meg at Edinburgh, and Mad Margery at Ghent; while, even in our own day, we have listened to the energetic voice of Brown Bess.

UNIQUE EXAMPLE OF A SABRE WITH FINGER-GUARD, OF THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

By the kindness of Colonel Lefroy, I am enabled to place before the Archaeological Institute a very curious example of a sabre with finger-guard, of the commencement of the sixteenth century. I observed it recently in the collection at the Rotunda, Woolwich, and learn from Colonel Lefroy, who is now zealously engaged in re-arranging this collection, that the weapon in question was found in some obscure corner, where it has lain hidden for years, all clue to its history having been totally lost. One good result, however, of its ignominious treatment is, that we have it in all its rough integrity of genuineness: it has not been "restored."

The chief characteristic of the weapon is the finger-guard, a contrivance not seen in mediæval swords, but coming in with the *cinque cento* period. The earliest example I have noticed of such a guard is the representation in the tapestry



Sabre with Enger-guard, in the Armory at the Bastarda, Woolwich.

Date, early in the Sixteenth Century

of Charles the Bold (or of Berne), figured by M. Jubinal. It occurs on Plate 6 of the Berne series in the "Tapisseries historiées." The blade in that case is curved, and notched at the back of the point. Another early authority is the "Speculum Conversionis Peccatorum," printed at Alost in Flanders, in 1473. The weapon occurs there in several places: the fighters who use it are on foot, have full body-armor, and carry shields: the blade is formed as in the preceding examples. (Engraved in Dibdin's "Bibliotheca Spenceriana," vol. iv. p. 554.) In the "Memorare Novissima," printed about 1495, we have, in the group of Dives and Lazarus, a similar hand-guard, but with a straight, long blade attached. (Dibdin, Bib. Spenc. iv. p. 413.) The "Tapisserie d'Aulhac," also of the fifteenth century, gives us several examples: in plate 4 (Jubinal) we have a classic subject, where "Troillus," whose name is written on the blade, combats with a scymitar of this fashion. Others appear in Plate 5. The tapestry of this period in the "Presence Chamber" at Hampton Court offers several examples of the finger-guard; in one case combined with a prolonged cross-piece. A scymitar with guard exactly resembling the one before us forms the principal bearing of the Sword Cutlers' Guild of Brussels. It is figured in De Vigne's "Recherches sur les Costumes des Gildes," &c., Plate 24; and we venture to refer this design to the fifteenth century, because the shields-of-arms of the "Cordewaniers" and the "Handskoemakere" (*savetiers*) in the same series (pl. 25) give us the long-piked shoe and boot of that time.

In the sixteenth century the fashion of the finger-guard unattached to the pommel continued. The sabre preserved at Woolwich offers a very curious example. The whole length of the arm is 4 feet, the blade measures 3 ft. 3 in. It might be used with two hands or with one only. The hilts of two-hand swords, it is true, are commonly straight, round, and sloping, but instances occur in which the hilt of the form here seen is used with both hands, as in a subject from a fifteenth-century volume, the "Speculum Humanæ Salvationis," given by Dibdin in the "Bibliotheca Spenceriana," vol. iv. p. 12. The swordsman there is an executioner, and it has been suggested that the weapon before us may have been a heading-sword. But I think

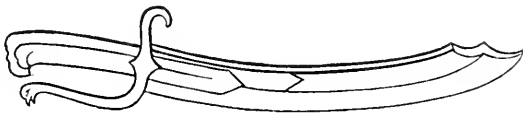
not, from the engraved figures of saints on the blade, one of whom is Saint Barbara, the special patroness of *soldiers*. There is a peculiarity in the formation of the hilt. Instead of the narrow tang commonly employed, riveting at the pommel, a broad piece of iron runs to the end of the grip, occupying its entire breadth. This mode of balancing the arm, I am informed by a scientific sword-cutler, has been lately brought out by a London weaponer, as a new discovery. What effect our Escalibar would have at the Patent Office, I am unable to say. Touching this question of "balance," it must be remembered that the balance of mediæval swords had not in view recovery to guard, but recovery to strike. The guarding was done by the body-armour and the shield. A nicely-balanced weapon, therefore, as we now understand the term, was not needed by the mediæval warrior. The sword of those old times had but two duties to fulfil—to strike and to pierce. Now it has three—to cut, to thrust, and to guard.

The place of manufacture of this weapon is not easy to determine. Among the ornaments of the hand-guard are two roses: the bosses on the grip are rose-formed, and the upper of the four armourer's-marks on the blade is also a rose. But, curiously enough, the three punch-marks on the lower part of the blade are double-headed eagles. It has been suggested that the eagle may have been the mark of a German weaponer, while the rose may have been added, to indicate the realm for which the sword was fabricated. I may add, though not insisting on much weight being attached to the remark, that one of the saintly figures on the blade is that of St. Katherine; and, as the weapon is of the time, so it may have been of the service of Katharine of Arragon. We may note also that one of the weapons of the Royal Guard of this period, still preserved at the Tower, is engraved with the same figures as those adorning the Woolwich sabre; namely, Saint Katherine and Saint Barbara. (Tower Catalogue, Class 7, No. 327: compare also No. 321.) All that we can safely affirm on this question of manufacture is that the Roses are in a decided majority over the Eagles.

The make of the handle is somewhat curious. Wood is laid on each side of the broad iron tang and riveted, the rivets being flush with the two surfaces. Leather is then

stretched over all, and the rose-formed bosses which we see at intervals along the grip, are fixed over the leather. The object of these bosses is to roughen the grip, so as to give a firmer hold to the combatant. The ornaments on the hand-guard consist of the engraved roses already noticed, and a flowing pattern of foliage. These have been gilt.

Illustrations of the finger-guard of this type in the first half of the sixteenth century are found among the engravings on the rich suit of Henry VIII. in the Tower. (Catalogue, No. 8 of Class 2.) In one subject it appears in an executioner's sword; the blade short, broad, curved and notched at the point. A similar weapon occurs in the Legend of St. Agatha, where it is carried by "the Prætor Quintianus." In the latter example it is curious to note that the guard terminates at one extremity with a snake's head, as in the weapon before us.



Sabre in one of the engravings on the suit of Henry VIII. Tower Armory.

It is again found in the Works of Holbein by De Mechel; in the Weiss Kunig, plate 176; in the du Sommerard tapestry (Jubinal, p. 42, pl. 6), with a long, straight blade; in Hefner's "Trachten," part 3, pl. 106, where it is carried by an unarmed *Landsknecht*; in the sword preserved at the Heralds' College, said to be that of James IV. of Scotland, from Flodden Field (figured in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiii. pl. 14, p. 340); in the sword of Francis I. of France, engraved by Willemin (*Mon. Ined.*, vol. ii., pl. 261); in the short sabre preserved at Ghent, and figured by De Vigne (*Vade mecum du Peintre*, vol. ii., pl. 98); in an example on a carved altar-piece in the Kensington Museum; and in the fencing-book of Camillo Agrippa, printed at Rome in 1553.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, we may refer to the portrait of the King of Navarre, 1562 (Hefner, part 3, pl. 43); that of Queen Elizabeth's porter, at

Hampton Court, by Zucchero, 1580 ; the figures in Jost Amman's *Kunstbuchlein*, cuts 18 and 175, the latter an unarmed horseman, carrying harquebus, mace, and long, straight sword ; the engraving of a City harquebusier, given by Hefner, pl. 18, A. D. 1598 ; several of the plates in Schrenk von Notsing (see Nos. 18, 50, 88, 119, and 123) ; some of those in the Madrid Armory (vol. 1, pl. 8, and vol. ii. pl. 22, of the "Armeria Real") ; the curious MS. in the British Museum, Addit. MS. 18,285, "Helvetiæ Descriptio;" and the well-known figures of Von Gheyn, published in 1607.

We thus see that the finger-guard of this type was used by many classes of swordsmen — by kings, nobles, armed knights, unarmed soldiers, and by executioners. It is carried both by cavalry and infantry, but chiefly by the latter. It is combined with the long, straight sword, the long sabre, the short sabre with plain point, and the short sabre with notched back.

We have only to add that, though we have traced this fashion down to the seventeenth century, it must not be forgotten that guards of a more perfect description were also in use from the first half of the sixteenth century ; but to note the adoption and varying fashions of these would too far extend the limits of the present notice of the unique weapon preserved in the collection which Colonel Lefroy has undertaken with such efficient energy to amplify and re-arrange.

ON NIELLO.

A Discourse delivered on occasion of the special Exhibition of Examples of the arts of Niello and Enamel, at the Meeting of the Archaeological Institute, June 6, 1862.¹

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

CICERO says that, before we begin to discourse upon any subject, it would be as well to know something about the matter in question. As it has fallen to me to offer some observations upon one of the subjects selected for this special exhibition, it may be as well to commence by briefly explaining in what consists the art of niellure.

Niello is a term used to express a composition of silver, lead, copper, sulphur, and borax. At a certain degree of heat it fuses, and when allowed to cool becomes hard. The process by which this composition is made to impart the shadows to engravings on metal is called *lavoro di niello*, or niellure, and derives its name from the black color which the mixture assumes when melted.

The Greeks expressed niello by the term *μελανόν*.²

Du Cange, in his Latin Glossary, gives the word *niellatus*, which he refers to *nigellum*. *Nigellus* he explains as "*aliquantum niger*;" and he defines *nigellum* as "*encaustum nigrum vel subnigrum, quo cavitas sculpturæ repletur*."³

The French adopted the word *nieller*, which Richelet explains by "*encaustum argento illinire*."⁴

The application of this alloy to engravings on silver gives them the appearance of exquisite pen and ink drawings on a light back-ground. This result is obtained by carefully washing and cleaning the niello, until it is brought to grains

¹ See p. 275, *ante*.

² This term occurs in an Epistle of Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople, to Pope Leo III. See Baronius, *ad ann.* 811, no. 58. Du Cange, *Gloss. ad script. med. et inf. Græc.*, says under the word *Μέλαν*,—"Apud Pictores Μέλαν dicitur encaustum nigrum vel subnigrum, ex

plumbo et argento confectum, quo cavitas sculpturæ repletur; *Glossæ veteres, Nigellum*."

³ *Gloss. sub voce*.

⁴ Dr. Rock has suggested to me, that niello may be derived from the Anglo-Saxon *anelan*, to melt.

like the finest millet seed, when it is spread over the metal surface, which is then heated until the grains are fused. The plate is then taken out of the furnace, and when cold it is cleaned and polished ; the only portion of the niello which is allowed to remain is that embedded in the engraved design, and in the lines hatched to form the back-ground.

The origin of this art is shrouded in the darkness of bygone ages ; it was practised at an early period, and I think it not at all improbable that niellure may have owed its beginning to inlaying, or *tarsia* work, in metal. As there are several modes by which the process is effected, it suffices here to say that this art consists in expressing a design on one metal by the inlaying or incrustation of another. This art of embedding metals one upon the other is doubtless of very early date. In the Cantic of Canticles we read,—“ We will make thee chains of gold inlaid with silver.”⁵

The Egyptians, the Greeks, the Etruscans, and the Romans were conversant with the art of *tarsia* work. The shield of Achilles described by Homer was inlaid. Pausanias describes the sceptre of Jove, the work of Phidias, who was a *toireutes*, in addition to being a painter, a sculptor, and a brass caster. (Müller, 81.) Müller⁶ enumerates several existing examples of ancient inlaid work ; and, in the time of Severus, articles of furniture of silver inlaid with gold were in vogue.

But this process of inlaying was laborious and costly ; it is, therefore, by no means unreasonable to suppose that the ancients would endeavour to find out a less expensive substitute for *intarsiatura* in metal. Enamel, as certain antiquaries have imagined, was known to some of the nations of antiquity at an early period, and if they could succeed in discovering a metallic substance or alloy applicable by fusion, they would obtain this desideratum ; this process may have led to the discovery of niello.

It must, however, be borne in mind that there is this difference between inlaid and niello work. The former is the embedding of one metal on the other by pressure, as by aid of the hammer or the like, into the cavities prepared, whereas the alloy for niello by the addition of sulphur becomes a sulphuret, and is applied by fusion caused by the action of heat.

⁵ Ch. I, v. 19.

⁶ Anc. Art and its remains, p. 356.

The earliest example of niello with which I am acquainted is the small Roman military statue of bronze, found near Barking Hall in Suffolk, and presented by Lord Ashburnham to the British Museum. It is copiously ornamented with niello and *intarsiatura* in silver.⁷

Proceeding in chronological order,⁸ the next example that presents itself to notice is a small silver ampulla of the fourth century, which was found in a silver casket on the Esquiline at Rome in 1793. Around the centre appears this inscription—a pleasing formula in vogue at that time—PELEGRINA. VTERE. FELIX. These letters are in niello. There were also found, in the same casket, some little silver *plaques* with *siglæ* or monograms in niello. These have been read thus—PROIETA. TVRCL. Turcius Secundus and another of the family held high offices in Rome in the fourth century.⁹

To about this date I may assign a small gold Roman ring in my collection, set with a sapphire *en cabochon*; the hoop is curiously nielloed. My dactyliothea contains likewise two other examples of early niello. One is a gold denarius of Constantine IV., Pogonatus—A.D. 654-684—mounted as a ring on the hoop of which, in nielloed letters, is the inscription, + BARINOTA. The other ring has a circular bezel with the bust of a female—possibly intended for our Blessed Lady,—with the letters M.A. And in the British Museum there is a Byzantine gold ring from Sardinia, representing on the bezel three figures in niello, and below them the letters -OMON-. Around the hoop is the following inscription—

+ O W E T E B E U O H A M

The earliest recipe for niello which I have found occurs in the MS. treatise by Eraclius the Roman, which I believe is derived from Byzantine sources, and was composed about the eighth century: it was transcribed by Le Begue in the fifteenth.¹ It runs thus,—“When you wish to make niello, take equal parts of quicksilver, copper, and lead, and put them in

⁷ It is figured in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, published by the Society of Antiquaries, vol. iv. pl. 11—15.

⁸ Agincourt, *Scult.* pl. ix.; also tom. v. p. 321, ed. 1828.

⁹ See Visconti's letter descriptive of it.

p. 12, and Müller's *Ancient Art*.

¹ Lib. Joh. Le Begue, MS. Bib. du Roy, Paris, 6741, art. 251. The original Latin is given by Mrs. Merrifield, *Ancient Practice of Painting*, vol. i. p. 242.

a vessel that they may cook together. Then take of sulphur the weight of six denarii and mix them with it, and stir it. Afterwards withdraw it from the fire, and allow it to become cold; place it in a vase, and take *atramentum* tempered with wine, and draw what you wish upon silver with the *atramentum*, and immediately overlaying the powder of quicksilver, copper, and lead, and then melting it, a beautiful niello may be made."

In the life of Robert King of France we read that in the seventh century, Leodebodus, Abbot of St. Aignan at Orleans, left to that monastery two little gilt cups from Marseilles, which had crosses of niello in the centre.² In 811, Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople, sent to Pope Leo III. a pectoral cross of gold, of which one side was set with an embedded crystal, and the other ornamented with niello (*μελαρω*).³

By this time doubtless the Anglo-Saxons had become acquainted with the art of niellure. When or by whom it was introduced there is no evidence, but, as it is a matter of history that the Saxon jewelers and *inclusores gemmarum* enjoyed an European reputation and worked in foreign countries, it is probable that this art was brought back by some of the Saxons on their return from service abroad.⁴

Unfortunately, through the lust of plunder which characterised the Danes, and subsequently also the needy invaders led by William the Norman, our country was recklessly despoiled of all objects of intrinsic value, without any regard to their artistic merits and interest: hence it is, that so few examples of the skill of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers in the precious metals have been preserved. There exist, however, five Saxon nielloed rings of gold; a nielloed fibula is also preserved in the British Museum, which, although found in Tuscany, has the characteristic features of Saxon workmanship.

Of these rings, three are in the National Collection. One, found in the river Nene, near Peterborough,⁵ has two cir-

² "Scutellus ii. minores Massilienses deaurati et, que habent in medio cruceas niellatas," Passavant, *Peintre Graveur*, i. 282.

³ *Baronius ad ann.*, and *Du Cange* sub v. *Nizellum*.

⁴ In an able paper read before the Accademia of London in July 1861, Dr. Rock proved satisfactorily that the celebrated Golden Altar at Milan was the work of an Anglo-Saxon artist.

⁵ *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xiii. p. 87.

EXAMPLES OF GOLDSMITHS' WORK ENRICHED WITH NIELLO.



Fig. 1. Gold Ring found near Peterborough.—Brit. Mus.



Fig. 2. Gold Ring found in Lancashire.—Sloane Coll., Brit. Mus.



Fig. 3. Gold Ring bearing the name of Ethelwulf.—Brit. Mus.



Fig. 4. Gold Ring, now in the Collection of Edmund Waterton, Esq., F.S.A.
Found at Llys fach, Caernarvonshire.

cular bezels ornamented with interlaced triangles and flowing curves engraved and inlaid with niello. (See woodcut, fig. 1.)

The second, which is a simple hoop, bears around the outside, in niello, an inscription in Anglo-Saxon letters mixed with Runes, ÆTHRED MEC AH EANRED MEC AGROFT (see woodcut, fig. 2) : *i. e.*, Æthred owns me, Eanred engraved or wrought me. It was found in Lancashire, and was first noticed by Hicckes, *Thes. t. i.*, præf. p. xiii.

The third is the celebrated ring bearing the name of Ethelwulf, King of Wessex, A.D. 836-838, and father of Alfred the Great.⁶ (See woodcut, fig. 3.)

I am the fortunate possessor of the fourth, which is a massive gold nielloed ring with the name of Alhstan, who was Bishop of Sherborne from 823 to 867. (See woodcut, fig. 4.)

It is not improbable that the two rings last mentioned may have been made by the same goldsmith.

The fifth Saxon nielloed ring was found, in 1754, on Bramham Moor in the West Riding of Yorkshire; and, after being exposed for some time for sale at York, and offered for its weight in gold, it ultimately found its way to the Royal Museum at Copenhagen, where it is preserved and valued as it deserves to be.⁷

In addition to these examples, there is another important piece of Saxon niellure, unfortunately no longer in our land. It is a shrine of silver with figures of several Saxon kings in niello around it; it contains the head of a saint, according to tradition that of St. Oswald, but it cannot be the head of the sainted Saxon king of that name, since that precious relic was buried with the body of St. Cuthbert, which still lies safely concealed and undisturbed at Durham Cathedral. This valuable shrine is preserved at Hildesheim, where there is also a very remarkable specimen of early Byzantine niellure, with Greek inscriptions in niello.

Of Irish niellure there are several examples. In the British Museum there are two pastoral staves, ornamented both with *tarsia* work and niello. This combined use of the

⁶ The discovery is related in the *Archæologia*, vol. vii. p. 421. See also *Arch. Journ.* vol. ii. p. 163; Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations*, and Labarte's *Handbook of the Arts of the Middle Ages*, p. 126.

⁷ It was first noticed and figured in

Drake's *Hist. of York*, App. p. cii. It was rescued from the crucible by Mr. T. Gill, of that city. It appears in Worsaae's valuable illustrations of the Royal Museum at Copenhagen, *Afbildninger*, fig. 342.

two arts seems to be an adaptation peculiarly Celtic; it appears again on the celebrated Cross of Cong, which was made about the year 1185.

In the Loan Museum at South Kensington Lord Fitzhardinge exhibited a remarkable gold ring, which is ornamented with niello (Catalogue, No. 7172). It presents the same treatment of animals' heads which appears on the foot of the Cross of Cong, and I think that this ring may safely be assigned to Irish workmanship.

The Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, amongst other interesting objects, possesses a pendant hook of bronze inlaid with silver and also nielloed.⁸ The scroll-work of the silver, to use the words of the accomplished author of the Catalogue, Mr. Wilde, is of a peculiarly Irish character; the silver is bordered on either side by niello.⁹

I have seen some silver brooches of early date, ornamented with niello, in Scotland, and which were found in that country, but, from the repetition of the same pattern or design for many ages, on such personal ornaments, it is difficult to assign to any of these examples a precise date. The Dunvegan cup, belonging to McLeod of McLeod, and which bears the date of 1493, is ornamented with niello.¹

In Germany, however, we meet with niello of an earlier date, and which may be referred to the tenth century. In the treasury of the church of the château of Quedlinbourg, amongst other valuable objects, there is preserved a reliquary, the gift of Otho, the first Emperor of that name (936-973), which is ornamented with figures of the Apostles in ivory, with some little works in enamel and an antique cameo head of Bacchus; it is enriched also with silver *plaques*, on which are represented the bust of Christ and those of eighteen saints, in niello.²

Of the same date is a silver paten which is in the church of the castle at Hanover. It is the work of St. Bernward, Bishop of Hildesheim, who died A.D. 1023. This niello represents our Blessed Lord with his arms extended, seated on a rainbow, and surrounded by the symbols of the four

⁸ This specimen is figured at the close of this memoir.

⁹ Catalogue of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, fig. 483, p. 572.

¹ See the detailed notice of this

remarkable cup by Mr. Alexander Nesbitt, Arch. Journal, vol. xii. p. 79. It is figured in Dr. Wilson's Prehistoric Annals, p. 670.

² Passavant, Peintre Graveur, t. i. p. 263.

Evangelists and of the four Cardinal Virtues. Around is the following inscription,—

“ Est corpus in se panis qui frangitur,
in me vivet in eternum qui bene sumit eum.”

And, on the back, on a piece of old parchment, “Ista patena (*sic*) fecit Sanctus Bernwardus.”

The design is Byzantine, but M. Passavant says that the proportions of the figures are good, and the niello of fine execution.³ In the treasury of the cathedral of Hildesheim there are several other nielli, the work of St. Bernward; amongst them may be mentioned a paten, and a chalice of silver gilt.⁴

Another interesting example of early German niello is in the treasury of the church at Quedlinbourg. It is a reliquary made in the time of the Abbess Agnes who died in 1203; it bears in letters of niello, on a steel plate, the following inscription,—TEMPORE AGNETIS ABB'Æ ET ODERADIS P'PR FACTA EST HEC CAPSA.⁵

At Chuny in France, under St. Odilo, who died in 1048 at the age of eighty-seven, the columns of the sanctuary of the church were plated with silver, and finely ornamented with niello.⁶

We may now proceed to some further practical details concerning the art of niello.

Theophilus the Monk, a German, who wrote that valuable treatise on the Arts, the “*Diversarum artium schedula*,” about the year 1220, gives not only a recipe for the composition of niello differing somewhat from that of Eraclius, but also describes minutely the process to be observed in its application to the metal surfaces prepared to receive it. Furthermore, he adds that in his time Tuscany was celebrated for its works in niello.⁷

³ Id. 264.

⁴ Id. 264.

⁵ Id. 264.

⁶ Texier, *Manuel de l'Orfèvrerie*, p. 1822. A ciborium of gilt metal, in the collection of the Hon. Robert Curzon, jun., is decorated with lozenge-shaped plaques of niello work and enameled glass pastes, alternately. It is of Italian work, thirteenth century. *Catal. Loan Exhibition*, No. 1020.

⁷ The reading of some MSS. is *Ruscia* instead of *Tuscia*, but the latter is that generally received. Theophili Presbyteri et Monachi *diversarum artium schedula*, ed. C. de l'Escalopier, Paris, 1843, pref. p. 8, and note, p. 312; in Mr. Hendrie's edition, accompanied by an English translation, Lond. 1847, this remarkable mention of niellure as a Tuscan art occurs at pref. p. 50. See also Cicogn. *Storia della Scult.*, Prato, 1823, t. iii. p. 168.

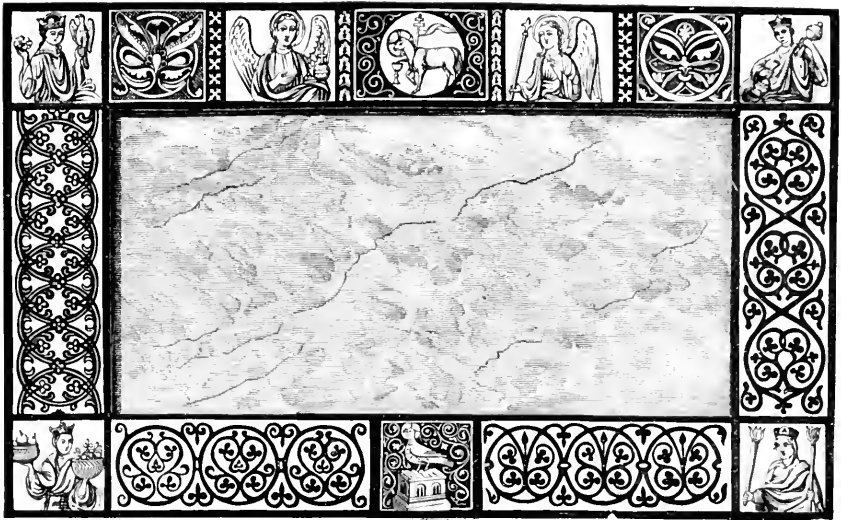
This is his recipe :—

“ Take pure silver and divide it into two equal weights, adding to it a third part of pure copper. When you have placed these three quantities into a cast metal cup, weigh as much lead as half of the copper which you have mixed with the silver weighs, and taking yellow sulphur break it very small, and put the lead and part of this sulphur upon a small copper vessel, and place the rest of the sulphur in another cast metal cup. And when you have liquefied the silver with the copper, stir it evenly with charcoal, and instantly pour into it the lead and sulphur from the small copper cup, and again mix it well together with the charcoal, and with quickness pour it into the other molten cup upon the sulphur which you had put into it, and then putting down the small vase with which you have poured out, take that into which you have cast it, and place it in the fire until the contents liquefy, and again stirring it together pour into the iron crucible. Before this cools, beat it a little and warm it a little, and again beat it and do thus until it is quite thinned. For the nature of it niello is such that if struck while cold it is immediately broken, and flies to pieces, nor should it be made so warm as to glow, because it instantly liquefies and flows into the ashes.” Ch. xxviii., ed. Hendrie, p. 237.

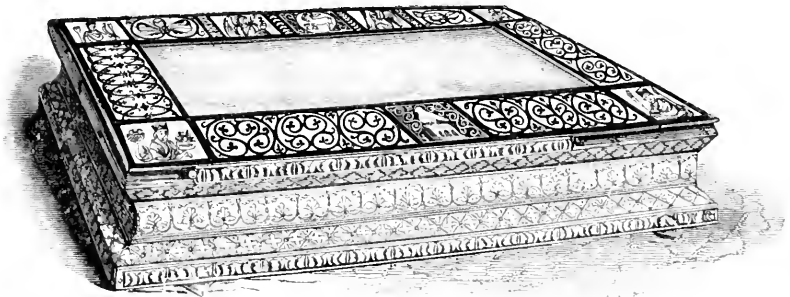
Labarte describes a nielloed plaque of the end of the twelfth century, which he considers to be of French work. The subjects allude to the sacrifice of Christ, and his triumph over death. One of the compartments represents Abel and Melchisedec, the other Jesus on the Cross, with an allegorical figure of the Holy Church, which receives in a chalice the blood flowing from Our Lord's wounds. On the other side is the Synagogue, typifying the Mosaic dispensation, with averted head and broken banner. Our Blessed Lady and St. John are also delineated.⁸

During the next two centuries we meet with many examples of niello. Of the thirteenth, the most important, as well as the most interesting specimen of its kind, is a super-altar in the possession of the Very Rev. Canon Rock. The stone of which this precious object is formed is *diaspro orientale*, let into a solid piece of wood encased in silver. On the upper surface there is a border, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in

⁸ See Labarte, Handbook of the Arts, p. 28.



a. 20. n. 27. det. & c.



Super-altar, of oriental jasper, with silver-gilt ornaments enriched with niello.—Date, thirteenth century.
In the possession of the Very Rev. Canon Rock, D.D.

Dimensions, 12 in. by 7½ in. Formerly in the Treasury of the Abbey of Avellana.

width, of silver gilt, so placed as to hide the wooden bed in which the marble is set. This border is ornamented with scrolls, some cut with the graving tool, others filled up with niello. At the four corners are figured the elements, symbolized by young maidens, each wearing a diadem. In the middle of the furthest border appears a nimbed lamb, holding the cross staff, with a bannerol and two transoms, a chalice is on the ground before the *Agnus*, to receive the blood which gushes from its breast. To the right is a nimbed angel holding a long sceptre; on the left another nimbed angel, with the orb of sovereignty surmounted by a double-transomed cross. In the centre of the nearer border a dove, nimbed, stands upon an altar. (See woodcuts).⁹

Although niellure was practised in Germany and elsewhere at this time, it was nowhere more commonly employed, either with greater success or more important results, than in Italy. The German goldsmiths, according to Passavant,¹ filled up the engraved plates with a sort of black composition or inferior kind of niello, an example of which may be seen on a copper plaque of the first half of the fourteenth century, representing the Blessed Virgin, and which was formerly attached to the west door of the church of Our Lady at Halberstadt. Another example occurs on the votive tablets of the Abbot Ludwig, in 1477, made by Wolfgang, a skilful goldsmith who worked at Augsburg: of these plates some impressions were struck off. But in the sixteenth century they applied themselves again to niellure, and we frequently meet with little plaques and silver objects ornamented with niello, destined for personal use. Mr. Octavius Morgan, M.P., possesses a baldrick of crimson and gold brocade velvet, with nielloed plaques at the ends charged with the armorial bearings of the Malatesta family, lords of Rimini and Cesena. A fine silver drinking cup with a cover, of Flemish work, and of this date, is in the British Museum.

In France, niello-work was much practised during the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. The glossary by M. de Laborde enumerates many examples of nielloed objects, dating from 1260 to 1566, including book-covers, reliquaries, hanaps, *nefs*, clasps of gold, cameos

⁹ This fine work is figured in Cicognara, Mem. Spettanti alla Storia della

Calcografia, &c., and in Arch. Journ., vol. iv., p. 247.

¹ Page 264.

set in nielloed gold mountings ; a chalice ; several basins for washing in, a cover for a book of the Gospels, a small pastoral staff, many rings, and other articles. These quotations show how general was the use of niello in France.

We must now retrace our steps to Italy. Here a succession of celebrated niellists flourished, and, although many of their works have perished, not a few choice examples of their skill have been preserved. Dr. Rock possesses a silver-gilt chalice, the work of Master Bartholomew Sir-pauli of Atri, formerly belonging to the Gaetani family, and supposed to have been one of the chalices made for Boniface VIII. (1291—1303). Around the stem is an inscription in niello, stating that it was made for Antonius Sabini.²

In the church of Sta. Maria di Mercato at San Severino, there is a reliquary containing the hand of St. Philip the Apostle. On this *capsa* there are two nielli in the form of the Greek cross, and eight small medallions, whilst on the base of the stand is the name "Gerardus Jacobi Cavalea de Bononia I. cām," who executed this work in 1326. And at the same place there is also a cross ornamented with nielli of the date 1379, the work of Pietro Vanini of Ascoli.

Of this date there is a ring in my collection with the names CATARINA v NICOLA, nielloed.³



In Cremona, niellure was much practised. In the cathedral there is a cross, the work of the celebrated Beato Facio of Verona, in the year 1262, and the only existing specimen of his proficiency. Mention is made of other niellists at Cremona : Tommaso Fodri in 1465 ; Ambrogio Pozzi and Agostino Sacchi of Milan, in 1478 ; Innocenzo Bronzetti of Cremona, in 1479 ; Pietro di Campo in 1500 ; and Geronimo di Prato in 1550. At Cividale, in 1374, Maestro Dondino qu^m. Brimorio executed, for the church of St. Donato, the bust of that Saint ornamented with nielli. Forzore, son of Spinello of Arezzo, is cited as excelling in niello. He was the scholar of Maestro Cione, about 1330.

In the inventory of Charles V. of France, a curious piece of Italian niello-work is thus described,—“une nef d'argent dorée sans convesele, semée de pièces niellées, et de cristaux, donnée au Roy par le Pape Grégoire (1370—1378).”⁴

² Journ. Arch. Inst., vol. xvii., p. 263.

³ Arch. Journ., vol. xvi., p. 192.

⁴ L. de Laborde, Glossary.

Brunelleschi, the celebrated architect, born in 1377, was a goldsmith in early life, and was highly in repute for his works in niello.

A MS. of the early part of the fifteenth century, and formerly belonging to Cardinal Alberti, is now preserved in the Library at Montpellier. It contains notices upon the materials and processes used in the arts, and amongst other recipes gives one for niello which is the same as that of Eraclius already quoted.⁵

It was about the middle of the fifteenth century that niellure attained its greatest perfection, and with it are associated the names of many illustrious artists. Francesco Francia of Bologna, the master of Marc Antonio, may be mentioned; also Jacopo Porta of Modena, who in 1486 executed a Pax for the cathedral of his native city; and Peregrino da Cesena, who nielloed a beautiful little Pax representing St. Jerome, now in the British Museum.

There are, moreover, the two sides of a cover of the Gospels which belonged to Pope Paul II., and which were executed during his reign, 1464—1471. The designs in niello are of extraordinary beauty. One of them was in the Manfrini Collection at Venice; the other, I believe, is in the possession of the Duke of Hamilton.

The Florentine jewelers were distinguished for proficiency in niellure. Amongst celebrated niellists at Florence may be named Matteo di Giovanni Dei, who, according to Gori, executed in 1455 for the church of St. John a Pax representing the Crucifixion. He also engraved another with the subject of the Conversion of St. Paul; this was never finished, and no niello was applied to it. It is in the Uffizi at Florence. Still more distinguished than Matteo Dei, was Antonio del Pollajuolo, who was a painter as well as a goldsmith. Speaking of him, Cellini says, "fu orefice eccellentissimo e cotanto valse nell' arte del disegno, che non pure gl' altr' orefici si servirono delle sue invenzioni, ma molti Scultori e Pittori di quei tempi, mediante quelli, se fecero onore."⁶

Contrasted with our modern ideas, this is indeed a curious passage, for it shows how, at that time, a jeweler could not

⁵ Hendric's Transl. of Theophilus, p. 39.

⁶ *Arte dell' Oreficeria*: ed. prin. l. b.

pay his brother craftsman a greater compliment than by adopting his designs and inventions.

Amongst other works, Pollajuolo executed several Paxes, all of which, with one exception, have perished. This is now preserved in Florence, and represents the Taking down from the Cross. I believe it is doubtful whether he executed many nielli. The names of other niellists have been recorded. Amerighi and Michael Angelo Bandinelli, at Florence; Francesco Furnio, Bartolomeo Gesso, and Geminiano Rossi, at Bologna; Ambrogio Froppa of Pavia, Giacomo Tagliacarne of Genoa, Teucero the son of Antonio, and Giovanni Turino of Sienna, one of the pupils of Pollajuolo. In addition to these may be mentioned Antonio Danti, Pietro Dini, Gavardino, and Leo Giovanni Battista Alberti. These artists are mentioned, not in connection with any great works of art, but as having executed objects for church and other purposes, and adorned them with nielli.

We now come to the most important part of the History of niello—the discovery of Chalcography.

We have abundant evidence from old authors, as well as from existing examples, that the art of plate-engraving was known to the ancients,⁷ but we have no proof that they had discovered how to take impressions from the plates. The invention of that art was reserved for Italy, and it seems to have owed its discovery to an accident.

At the head of all the artists in niello must be placed Tommaso, commonly called Maso, di Finiguerra. He was the scholar of Masaccio, and an admirable workman in niello, in which his proficiency has never been surpassed. In 1452, when only twenty-four years of age, he was employed by the merchants of Florence to execute for the Baptistery of St. John the celebrated Pax representing the coronation of the Blessed Virgin. It was this Pax which led to the discovery of chalcography.

“From this kind of engraving,” says Vasari, “was derived the art of chalcography, by means of which we now see so many prints by Italian and German artists throughout Italy; for, as those who worked in silver, before they filled their

⁷ Pliny enumerates, as especially excelling in the art of engraving on silver, Leucobius, Prodomus, Pithodorus, and

Polygnotus, who, he adds, were almost excellent and renowned painters. - Lib. 34.

engravings with niello, took impressions of them with earth, over which they poured liquid sulphur, so the printers discovered the way of taking off impressions from copper plates with a press as we see them do in these days.”⁸

Vasari continues—“The art of copper-plate engraving derived its origin from Maso Finiguerra, a Florentine goldsmith, about the year 1460. For it was the custom of that artist, whenever he had engraved any work in silver which was to be filled with niello, to take an impression or mould of it previously with very fine earth; over this mould he poured melted sulphur, from which when cold the earth was removed; the sulphur cast then exhibiting an impression corresponding with the engraved plate was, lastly, rubbed with soot moistened with oil, until all its cavities were filled with black, when the whole produced an effect similar to that which the niello afterwards gave to the engraving on the silver. He also took impressions upon damped paper with the same dark tint, pressing a round roller, smooth in every part, over the paper, by which means his works became printed, the impressions so taken assuming the appearance of drawings done with a pen.”

Hence it appears that the impressions which Finiguerra was accustomed to take from his engraved silver plates were of two kinds. The first was an impression on fine earth from which a sulphur cast was taken; the second was on paper, from the plate itself, by means of a roller. The Hon. R. Curzon, jun., possesses an unique impression of a niello on vellum, an object of the greatest rarity.

The practice of taking sulphur casts from engraved plates before filling the incised lines with niello was customary with those who exercised the art. Finiguerra was followed in his invention of taking impressions on paper from engraved plates by Baccio Baldini; afterwards the secret became known to Mantegna at Rome, and travelled to Germany and elsewhere.

It is gratifying to be able to state, that, of the twenty-four sulphur casts which are known to exist, eighteen are in the British Museum. Of these, there is one which deserves special mention. It is the cast of the famous Pax of Maso

⁸ I have used Ottley's translation, which is preferable to a literal transla-

tion of the text of Vasari. See Enquiry into the origin of Engraving, vol. i. p. 267.

Finiguerra now at Florence. Dr. Waagen says :—“ It is chiefly indebted for its celebrity to the circumstance that the Abbot Zani, the finest judge of Italian engraving, discovered in 1797 an impression of it on paper in the Royal Cabinet of Engravings at Paris, which he conceived to be the same, which, according to Vasari’s account, led to the invention of engraving. Since then, this impression has been considered by many judges to be the first and oldest of all engravings.”⁹ Doubts exist, however, I believe, whether the impression of Finiguerra’s Adoration of the Magi was not earlier than that of the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin.

Several of the other sulphur impressions in the British Museum are described by Dr. Waagen. Our National Collection is also rich in impressions of nielli on paper. The actual nielli in the British Museum amount to ninety ; and in addition may be enumerated one undoubtedly spurious. It is indeed very useful, for the sake of study and of comparison, to have access to an undoubted forgery.

We have abundant evidence from existing examples that, at this period, niello was employed in the ornamentation of many articles of personal use. Knife-handles, weapons, girdle-clasps, chalices, crosses, brooches, and rings were often decorated in this manner. Several interesting nielli are preserved in the Museum at Kensington. In the Loan Collection a very remarkable pair of stirrups were exhibited by Mr. Forman. They are of the Arab model but of fine Italian work, and profusely ornamented with niello and enamel. A gold pectoral cross formerly belonging to Sir Thomas More, and now preserved at Stonyhurst, has all the instruments of the passion represented in niello on the back.



Silver Ring encased with niello. Fifteenth century.

I may be permitted here to invite attention to several Florentine nielloed rings in my own collection. They bear on the bezel, the head of a female in profile, with a flower under the nose. Occasionally such rings have on the hoop the *fede* or two hands conjoined.

With the exception of two in the collection formed by Mr. Isaacs, subsequently the property of the late Lord Londes-

⁹ Waagen, i. p. 212.

borough, and a modern forgery in a public collection, I know of no other rings of this class, neither can I find mention of them by any author. They appear to have been unknown to Cicognara and Duchesne. I have given my explanation of their object and use in a previous volume of this Journal,¹ and the theory I then propounded has been confirmed by an inscription on a niello in the Bibliothèque Impériale, described in Duchesne's *Essai sur les Nielles*, No. 322.

It is remarkable that an art so much cultivated, and attended with such important results in the fifteenth century, should have fallen into disuse in the early part of the sixteenth. It would appear that, by the accidental discovery of chalcography, Finiguerra gave the death-blow to that art in which he excelled every other craftsman. In 1515 Benvenuto Cellini wrote, that, when he set himself to learn the goldsmith's art, niellure was almost entirely laid aside. "Hearing continually," says he, "from the old goldsmiths how widely diffused was this art, and especially how Maso Finiguerra excelled in niellure, I with great zeal set myself to follow the footsteps of this brave jeweler. I was not content with learning only how to engrave the plates, but I would become acquainted also with the method of making the niello itself."²

He then gives his recipe for niello, which consists of the following proportions:—of silver one ounce, of copper two, and of lead three. I am not aware that there exists any engraved nielloed plate, the undoubted work of Cellini.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century niello-work seems to have fallen into disuse in Europe except in Russia. It is probable, however, that the Russians had learnt the art from the Greeks, at an early period, and that it never became lost. M. de Laborde mentions that he saw in Dresden a massive gold *kofchik*, or drinking-cup, with a Slavonic inscription in niello. This cup was stated to have belonged to John Basilovitch of Russia, 1462—1505. For some time past, as at the present day, niello has been much used in Russia for snuff-boxes and other objects.

In the early part of this century there were several collectors of nielli, amongst others, Sir Mark Sykes in England, and Count Cicognara in Italy. The latter wrote a treatise upon

¹ Arch. Journ., vol. xvi. p. 316.

² Arte dell' Oreficeria, 11.

the subject, and M. Duchesne has also contributed a very valuable work, his "Essai sur les Nielles," which I have consulted with no slight advantage.

The demand for nielli led, as is usual, to a supply of false works, skilfully prepared in Italy for the unsuspecting virtuoso. It is suspected that Cicognara was in some manner concerned in these forgeries. I am not competent to offer an opinion, but I may observe that whenever an "unsatisfactory" niello appears, it is generally ascribed to the Cicognara school. One of the Cicognara nielli may be seen in the British Museum; and, as I have said before, it is of great advantage to have access to an unquestionable forgery. Another, which appears to bear the Cicognara stamp, may also be seen in one of our public collections.

I should mention that Cicognara observes³ that by application of potash he succeeded in removing completely the niello from a silver plate, thus reducing it to the state in which it had left the engraver's hands, and from this he had impressions struck off. He then states that it is equally possible to restore the niello, and that with a little practice an artist would be capable of undertaking a work of the finest description;—"senza tema di restare in defetto."⁴ And finally he admits that he could show some examples of both sorts.

Many of the imitative nielli, I am informed, were brought to England by a Venetian; they were quickly regarded with suspicion, and he was advised to leave the country with his importations. On his way back to Venice, he stopped in Paris, where it is understood that he accommodated an unwary collector with nielli to the amount of 2000*l.*!

In 1833, Signor Fortunato Pio Castellani applied himself to niellure, and executed a very beautiful Pax, which is now preserved in his establishment in Rome, as a specimen of his art. He prepared his niello after the recipe of Benvenuto Cellini.

Mr. Hardman, of Birmingham, has lately sent to the International Exhibition a chalice copiously ornamented with niello, which was prepared after the recipe of Theophilus; Mr. Powell, who is the skilful superintendent of the metal department in Mr. Hardman's establishment, told me that it is exceedingly difficult to apply the niello to a convex

³ *Memorie spettanti alla Storia della Calcografia, del Conte Cicognara: Prato, 1831, p. 27.*

⁴ *Ib.* p. 40.

surface. Mr. White, of Cockspur Street, has begun to adapt niello to the ornamentation of watch-cases; and I understand that Mr. Skidmore, of Coventry, has revived niello-work in his establishment. But in none of the recent attempts to revive the lost art, so far as I have seen, has the delicacy and fineness of ancient Italian nielli been obtained.⁷

In addition to the examples of ancient goldsmiths' work enriched with niello, which have been noticed in the foregoing memoir, the following specimens preserved in our own country may be briefly cited. In the British Museum,—the Anglo-Saxon ornaments discovered some years since at Ash, in Kent, and figured in Boys' Hist. of Sandwich; they were purchased for the National Collection at the sale of antiquities in possession of the late Mr. B. Nightingale. Niello occurs also on the richly decorated relics of the same period disinterred in the Isle of Wight, and described by Mr. Hillier in his History of the Island. Niello is to be seen freely introduced on the casing of the "Barnan Cualawn," or Bell of St. Cualawn, a remarkable relic formerly in the collection of Mr. Cooke, of Parsonstown, Ireland, and now in the British Museum. This curious bell has been figured in the Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society. The like enrichment is found, more sparingly, upon a bell exhibited in the Museum formed during the meeting of the Institute at Worcester. See the Museum Catalogue, p. 17. A very interesting specimen of early work in niello is presented in the *acus* or *spinula* of mixed metal, partly silvered, in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries, one of those found in Ely Cathedral with the remains of Wolstan, Archbishop of York, and by which, it is believed, the pall was attached to his chasuble. Wolstan died at York in 1023, and was buried at Ely. His tomb having been opened in the twelfth century the vestments in which the body had been deposited were found in perfect condition, according to the relation in the *Liber Eliensis*, which expressly mentions the "*casulam et pallium auratis spinulis affixum.*" Lib. II., c. 87, p. 206. Publ. of the Anglia Christiana Society. The relic measures $5\frac{2}{10}$ in. in length; the flat, lozenge-shaped head is ornamented with an interlaced design, inlaid with a kind of niello. Catal. Mus. Soc. Ant., p. 21. The example of Irish work in niello, of which, by the kindness of the Royal Irish Academy, a cut is here given, has been described in a previous page.

Bronze Irish ornament inlaid with Niello. (See p. 328.)



⁵ The most perfect list of nielli which has yet appeared is given in the "Peintre-Graveur," by Dr. J. Passavant, vol. i. pp. 250-350, and which has been of great

assistance to the writer on the present occasion; he has also availed himself of the works of Duchesne, Outley, and Cicognara.

NOTES ON THE MANUFACTURE OF PORCELAIN AT CHELSEA.

BY AUGUSTUS W. FRANKS, M.A., DR. S.A.

SOME antiquaries may perhaps deem the history of modern porcelain scarcely within the range of archaeological investigation. When we consider, however, how much this country owes to the industrial arts which have been practised here, any investigation into the *incunabula* or early history of those arts seems not only proper but desirable, such subjects sometimes require as much research as historical questions of an earlier period, and are often shrouded in greater obscurity.

Any inquiry of this kind is the more appropriate when archaeologists have selected for their place of meeting the city of Worcester, one of the ancient seats of the Ceramic art, where it has shone, and continues to shine, with great lustre.

Every country has been wont to boast of having been the first to create or bring to perfection some specific industrial art, and the writers on pottery and porcelain have claimed indirectly for England as early a fabric of porcelain as for any country in Europe. The claim of Meissen or Dresden to having been the first in Europe to make hard porcelain (in the year 1709) remains undisturbed, but it has been shown that at St. Cloud, in France, there was a yet earlier manufactory of soft porcelain, and it has been further presumed that there was a contemporary manufactory of soft porcelain in England.

Both these claims sink into insignificance before the unquestionable priority of Florence,² where it has been recently ascertained that soft porcelain was made, under the Medici, as early as 1575. Still it is desirable to see on what

¹ See the *Work for Meeting of the Archaeological Institute*, July, 1862.

² See Jacquemart et Le Blanc, *Histoire de la Porcelaine*, p. 655.

grounds rested the claim which was formerly put forth on behalf of England.

Mr. Marryat, in his useful history of Pottery and Porcelain, has the following passage :³—

“ Of the origin of the porcelain manufactory at Chelsea, there does not exist any authentic record, though some information as to its early date has been incidentally gleaned. Dr. Martin Lister, an English physician and eminent naturalist, who travelled in France in 1695, remarks in his account of the ‘Potterie of St. Clou,’ that the ‘gomroon ware’ at that time made in England was very inferior in quality to the porcelain of St. Cloud. He further observes that ‘our men’ (meaning the workmen employed) ‘were better masters of the art of painting than the Chineses,’ alluding no doubt to the circumstance of oriental porcelain being painted at Chelsea before the native ware attained its excellence.

“ From the above it may be inferred that there existed at Chelsea previously to 1698, the date of Lister’s account, a manufactory of porcelain (little better at first than opaque glass), and also that good painters were employed to embellish oriental porcelain, in consequence of its quality being very superior to that produced at home.”

The passage in Lister’s work⁴ to which Mr. Marryat alludes is as follows :—

“ I saw the Potterie of St. Clou, with which I was marvellously well pleased, for I confess I could not distinguish betwixt the Pots made there, and the finest China Ware I ever saw. It will, I know, be easily granted me, that the Paintings may be better designed and finisht, (as indeed it was) because our Men are far better Masters in that Art than the Chineses ; but the Glazing came not in the least behind them, not for whiteness nor the smoothness of running without Bubles ; again the inward Substance and Matter of the Pots was to me the very same, hard and firm as Marble, and the self-same grain, on this side vitrification. Farther, the Transparency of the Pots the very same.”

Now it is quite evident that in this passage Lister understands by “our men,” Europeans, as better skilled in the art of painting (not necessarily painting on porcelain) than the Chinese, and it is rather too much to rest on so slender a foundation the existence of porcelain making in England, or even that Chinese porcelain was decorated in this country.

Further on Lister makes the following observations :—

“ I did not expect to have found it in this perfection, but imagined this

³ History of Pottery and Porcelain by Joseph Marryat, 2nd Ed. London, 1857, p. 276.

⁴ A Journey to Paris in the year 1698, by Dr. Martin Lister, 2nd Ed. London, 1699, p. 138.

might have arrived at the Gomron Ware ; which is, indeed, little else but a total vitrification ; but I found it far otherwise, and very surprising, and which I account part of the felicity of the Age to equal, if not surpass, the Chinese in their finest Art."

It must be from this passage that Mr. Marryat derived his statement that "the 'gomron' ware at that time *made in England* was very inferior in quality to the porcelain of St. Cloud;" every one must, however, allow that the passage will not admit of this interpretation.

While on the subject of Gomron, or Gombroon, ware, which has been noticed in the same work in another passage⁵ as the name given to Chinese porcelain in consequence of the East India Company having established an entrepôt at the port of Gombron in the Persian Gulf, I may perhaps be allowed to make a few remarks. It is quite evident from the passage in Lister that he considers Chinese porcelain and Gombroon ware as distinct. He says he expected the St. Cloud to have been equal to Gombroon ware, which he looks upon as an actual vitrification, but he was much surprised to find it equal to the best Chinese porcelain, which was only partial vitrification. Gombroon ware is, as far as I know, mentioned only once elsewhere, *viz.*, in the Strawberry Hill Catalogue,⁶ where Walpole notices "two basons of most ancient Gombroon china, a present from Lord Vere, out of the collection of Lady Elizabeth Germaine." Now Walpole knew very well what was Chinese porcelain, and there must have been some peculiarity about the ware in order that he should adopt another name. But there was a ware made in Persia itself, of which specimens are to be met with occasionally, and which differs from Oriental china in being of inferior porcelain and more fusible. A specimen, which I believe to be of this ware, was exhibited at Worcester by Sir Edmund Lechmere, Bart., and there were several examples in the Loan Exhibition at South Kensington.⁷ Specimens are preserved in the collections of Mr. Henderson, Sir Walter Trevelyan, Mr. Huth, and myself.

The ware in question may be divided into two varieties, possibly made at different places : one consists chiefly of bowls, with a white granular paste, and ornamented with holes or slits

⁵ P. 192.

⁷ Catalogue of the Loan Collection,

⁶ Lord Ogle's Works, 1798, vol. ii. No. 3321-3331.

filled in with glaze ; the decorations are principally a few black and blue lines ; the other variety is of a white, very soft, paste with ornaments in a copper metallic lustre, sometimes placed on ground of an intense blue.

Having thus disposed of Gombroon ware and Dr. Lister's account as evidence of the existence of an English porcelain manufactory in the seventeenth century, I may add that he expressly mentions⁸ the manufacture of red stoneware in England, probably that of the Elers.

“As for the Red Ware of China, that has been, and is done, in England to a far greater perfection than in China, we having as good Materials, viz., the Soft Hæmatites, and far better Artists in Pottery. But in this particular we are beholden to two Dutchmen, Brothers, who wrought in Staffordshire (as I have been told), and were not long since at Hammersmith.”

And yet he says nothing of any porcelain having been made in England.

As to the actual date of the manufactory at Chelsea, it is probable that it existed before 1745 ; about that time a French company solicited a patent for establishing a porcelain fabric at Vincennes, in which they are stated to have urged the benefit France would derive from counteracting the reputation of the German and English fabrics.⁹ I have, however, been unable to find the document in question. That the manufactory was in existence before 1752 is shown by “a case of the undertaker of the Chelsea manufacture of porcelain,”¹ where it is mentioned that the Duke of Orleans (who died in 1752) had tried the Chelsea paste in his kilns. The name of the undertaker is not given, but we learn from this document that he was “a silversmith by profession, who, from a casual acquaintance with a chemist who had some knowledge that way, was tempted to make a trial,” but that at that time “the thing was new.” Now, from internal evidence, it is certain that the document was written after 1752, and probably before 1759.

A direct proof, however, of the existence of Chelsea porcelain in 1745, is furnished by a specimen in Mr. William Russell's collection ; it is a white cream jug which has become warped in baking, the design is composed of two goats, and in front is a bee in relief, the wings of which are unfortu-

⁸ P. 139.

⁹ Marryat, 2nd Ed. p. 277.

¹ Lans-downe MS. 829; printed in Marryat's work.

nately broken. It is, in fact, one of the well-known cream-jugs which have been sold of late years at fabulous prices as Bow Jugs, and of which a fine specimen from Dr. Bandinel's collection is represented in the accompanying wood-cut.²



Chelsea Cream Jug (Bandinel Collection.)

Like those jugs it has at the bottom a triangle scratched in the clay; but below the triangle it has this peculiarity, that before baking there had been added "Chelsea, 1745."



Chelsea 1745

Before the discovery of this jug, which came from the collection of Dr. Wellesley, and now belongs to Mr. William Russell, the Accountant-General of the Court of Chancery, I had been led to express a very decided opinion that these jugs, and other specimens of similar china, were not made

² We are indebted to the kindness of Mr. Murray for the use of this cut.

at Bow; not only from there being no evidence of the triangle being a Bow mark, but from their differing completely in paste and style of decoration from the only well authenticated specimen of Bow-ware, the bowl in the British Museum made by Thomas Craft.³

As an additional confirmation that china of this kind was made at Chelsea, I may notice that Walpole, in his Description of Strawberry Hill,⁴ speaks of "two white salt-cellars, with crawfish in relief, of Chelsea china;" a very uncommon design which I have found only once, *viz.*, at the Earl of Ilchester's at Melbury, in Dorsetshire, where are four such salt-cellars, all marked with a triangle.

We may, therefore, characterise the Chelsea of this early period as of a creamy paste, not unlike St. Cloud porcelain, with a satiny texture, very transparent body, often distorted in baking, and frequently left white.

There is another class of Chelsea-ware which differs entirely from this in character; it has very much the appearance of oriental porcelain, is thickly made, but with well composed paste, and often decorated with oriental patterns. It is marked with an embossed anchor in the paste.

Among the most remarkable specimens of this variety of porcelain may be mentioned a figure of a mother suckling a child,⁵ copied from Bernard Palissy's *Nourrice*, and also a bust of the Duke of Cumberland, a great patron of the manufactory, of which an example is in the Jermyn Street Museum.⁶

Shaw, in his history of the Staffordshire Potteries,⁷ tells us that Aaron Simpson and six other Staffordshire workmen went in 1747 to work at the Chelsea china manufactory. That they soon ascertained that they were the principal workmen on whose exertions all the excellence of the porcelain must depend; when they resolved to commence business on their own account at Chelsea, and were in some degree successful, but at length, owing to disagreement among themselves, they abandoned it, and returned to Burslem, intending to commence there the manufacture of china. I merely mention this to show the changes and chances to

³ See Arch. Journ. vol. viii. p. 204.

⁴ Lord Orford's Works, 1793, vol. ii. p. 409.

⁵ One is in my own collection; another belongs to the Earl Stanhope; a third to Dr. Turner.

⁶ It is there described as of Plymouth manufacture; and catalogued under No. Ce. E. 13. I have seen several examples with the raised anchor.

⁷ 12mo. Hanley, 1829.

which early manufactories such as this were subject, and how much difference and sudden alterations of form and material we may look for in a manufactory so dependent as this on the caprices of the workmen.

Another period of the manufacture is characterised by being copied in some degree from Dresden porcelain; it is generally decorated with delicate bunches of flowers on a smooth white ground; the glaze is very vitreous, the anchor mark, commonly in red, is neatly painted and small. The date of this mode of decoration seems to be fixed by a small smelling bottle in my collection which is in the form of a group, being a boy seated and writing a letter, while a girl looks on: the letter is inscribed, "*Pe: 1759, This is.*"

There seems about this time to have been a considerable number of such little bottles, &c., made, as we learn from an advertisement which appeared in the Public Advertiser of December 17th, 1754, as well as in other papers, and ran as follows:—

To be Sold by Auction by Mr. FORD,

At his great Room in St. James's Hay-Market, this and the four following Days,

ALL the entire Stock of CHELSEA PORCELAIN TOYS, brought from the Proprietor's Warehouse in Pall-Mall; consisting of Snuff Boxes, Smelling Bottles, and Trinkets for Watches (mounted in Gold, and unmounted) in various beautiful Shapes, of an elegant Design, and curiously painted in Enamel, a large Parcel of Knife Hafts, &c.

The said Stock may be view'd till the Time of Sale, which will begin each Day at half an Hour after Eleven o'Clock.

Note, Most of the above Things are in Lots suitable for Jewellers, Goldsmiths, Toyshops, China-Shops, Cutlers, and Workmen in those Branches of Business.

Catalogues may be had at Mr. FORD's, at Six Pence each, which will be allowed to those who are Purchasers.

The kind of China most in vogue at this time is illustrated by the advertisements issued by various dealers in such wares, for instance some of those inserted in the Public Advertiser by Mr. Hughes, Ironmonger in Pall Mall, who, in his advertisement of May 2, 1755,

"begs leave to inform the Nobility, Gentry, and others that he has a greater Choice of the Chelsea Porcelain than any Dealer in London, both

useful and ornamental; and as they were bought cheap can be sold more reasonable than they can be made at the manufactory. He has compleat services of Plates and Dishes, Turcens, Sauce-boats, &c., which no one else has; several Elegant Epargnes for Desarts, and one beautiful one bought at the last sale; several Figures and greatest Choice of Branches with the best Flowers, such as were on the Chandelier at the last Sale; and upwards of three thousand of those Flowers to be sold by themselves so that Ladies or Gentlemen may make use of them in Grottos, Branches, Epargnes, Flower-pots, &c., agreeable to their own taste."

The next style may be termed in the French taste, and to it belong some of the finest specimens of the manufactory. They are chiefly vases, painted somewhat in imitation of the Vincennes and early Sèvres porcelain, with figures, birds, &c., in panels, and with rich grounds, either *gros-bleu*, turquoise, apple-green, or a claret colour, a tint rarely found on other porcelain. Many fine specimens of this variety of Chelsea are preserved in the collections of English *amateurs*. Their date seems to be fixed by a pair of vases in the British Museum, no less than 20 in. high; they have panels with figures on one side and with birds on the other; the ground is *gros-bleu*, with rich and massive gilding. They were presented 15th April, 1763, and are thus noticed in the Donation-book of the Museum.

"Two very fine porcelain jars of the Chelsea manufactory, made in the year 1762, under the direction of Mr. Sprimont: from a person unknown, through Mr. Empson."

As this was the same date at which a still finer vase of the same porcelain, perhaps the centre piece of the pair in the Museum, was presented to the Foundling Hospital by Dr. Garnier, the unknown donor may have been that gentleman.

At any rate, if this date be correct, they fix 1762 as the period at which these large and important specimens were being made.

There is another style to be noticed, consisting of vases, &c., which, had they not been marked with an anchor, we should have been disposed to class among the productions of the Derby manufactory.⁵ They may have been the latest productions of Chelsea. They are characterised by simplicity and elegance of forms, with the frequent occurrence of gold stripes. Some of the early Derby was made after the same models and in the same taste.

⁵ See, for instance, MARRYAT, 2nd Ed. (1857), pl. iv., No. 7.

The close of the Chelsea porcelain manufactory, which had shone so brightly during its short career, has been referred to about 1765, in which year Mr. Grosley visited England: he speaks of the manufactory having just fallen; but at any rate its effects were not sold off till 1769, as is shown by the following advertisement, which appeared in the *Gazetteer*, or *New Daily Advertiser*, of May, 1769.

To be SOLD by AUCTION,

By Mr. BURNSALL,

At his Auction room in Charles-street, Berkeley-square, on Wednesday the 1st of May, and the following days, by order of Mr. NICHOLAS SPREMONT, the Proprietor of the Chelsea Porcelain Manufactory, he having entirely left off making the same,

ALL the curious and truly matchless pieces of that valuable manufactory; consisting of beautiful vases, antique urns, perfume pots, table and dessert services, tea and coffee equipages, compotiers, leaves, &c., beautiful candlesticks of different shapes; variety of figures, very large and curious groups, particularly two groups of the Roman Charity, toilet boxes of various forms and sizes, and many other articles, most highly finished in the mazarine blue, crimson, pea-green and gold, finely painted in figures, birds, fruit, and flowers, enriched with gold and curiously chased.

To be viewed on Monday the 15th, and till the sale.

N. B. Likewise will be sold all the fine models, mills, kilns, presses, buildings, and all other articles belonging to this most distinguished manufactory. For further particulars apply to the said Mr. Burnsall.

Before concluding these scanty notes, it may be well to call attention to a passage in a work entitled "Handmaid to the Arts," written, I believe, by Robert Dossie, which may furnish indications useful to future inquirers. The first edition appeared in 1758, in one volume 8vo, and does not contain any mention of "China-ware." In the second edition, published in two volumes, in 1764, part iv. of vol. 2, is devoted to the "nature, composition, glazing, painting, and gilding of porcelain or china-ware, &c." In the preface to vol. 2 the following reason is given for inserting this portion: "In the fourth part the nature and manufacture of porcelain or china-ware is taught, which will be doubtless acceptable at this time, when attempts are making to establish manufactories in our own country." After describing various compositions of paste, &c., the following passage occurs (vol. 2, p. 354):—

“ There have been several similar compositions used for the imitation of China-ware in the works set on foot in different parts of Europe, and among the rest I have seen at one of those carried on near London eleven mills at work grinding pieces of the Eastern China, in order, by the addition of some fluxing or vitreous substance which might restore the tenacity, to work it over again in the place of new matter. The ware commonly produced at this manufactory had the characters correspondent to such a mixture, for it was grey, full of flaws and bubbles, and from want of due tenacity in the paste wrought in a very heavy clumsy manner, especially with regard to those parts that are to support the pieces in drying. A very opposite kind is produced in another manufactory in the neighbourhood of London, for it has great whiteness, and a texture that admits of its being modelled or cast in the most delicate manner; but it is formed of a composition so vitrescent as to have almost the texture of glass, and consequently to break or crack if boiling water be suddenly poured upon it, which quality renders it unfit for any uses but the making ornamental pieces. A later manufactory at Worcester has produced, even at very cheap prices, pieces that not only work very light, but which have great tenacity, and bear hot water without more hazard than the true China ware.”

It is probable that the writer, who was, unfortunately, unwilling to mention the manufactories by name, intended to speak of Bow and Chelsea. It is, however, possible that there were more than two manufactories in the neighbourhood of London, as may be gathered from a paragraph in the London Chronicle of 1755, which is as follows:—

“ Yesterday four persons, well skilled in the making British China, were engaged for Scotland, where a new porcelain manufacture is going to be established in the manner of that now carried on at Chelsea, Stratford, and Bow.”

I feel certain, that if the newspapers of the period, both local and metropolitan, were carefully examined, much curious matter might be brought together, which would throw light on many debated points in the history of porcelain.⁹ In concluding these remarks, I will venture to suggest the importance of collecting together such scattered notices, which are far more useful and far more to be depended upon than the vague opinions formed by collectors, resting frequently on hearsay, and on a misconception of the true bearing of some fact or document which is not given in full.¹

⁹ I am indebted to Mr. Gale, of Holborn, for having given me, some years since, two of the advertisements in question.

¹ An account of Chelsea porcelain is

in preparation by Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt, F.S.A., for the Art Journal: he will no doubt throw much light on a subject which he is so well qualified to handle.

Original Documents.

NOTICES OF A REGISTER OF THE ACTS OF JOHN DE RUTHERWYKE, ABBOT OF CHERTSEY IN THE REIGNS OF EDWARD II. AND EDWARD III.

IN POSSESSION OF THE RIGHT HON. LORD CLIFFORD.

THE recent examination of the vestiges of the church and conventual buildings of Chertsey Abbey, one of the most ancient and important monasteries in the counties adjacent to London, has excited no slight interest in its history and the traces of its former greatness. The members of the Institute were indebted not long since to the kindness of Mr. Shurlock, of Chertsey, and of Mr. Angell, who has lately fixed his abode within the conventual precincts, in bringing before the Society an interesting narration of the results of excavations earnestly prosecuted under their direction with the encouragement and co-operation of the Surrey Archaeological Society, and of the Society of Antiquaries. With the impression of the evidence thus brought to light fresh in remembrance, demonstrating, as it has done, the ancient architectural importance of the fabric, and the remarkable character of its accessory decorations, shown by the shattered relics recently disinterred and brought for our inspection, the kindness and courtesy of Lord Clifford cannot fail to be the more cordially appreciated, in entrusting for examination the valuable Register of Chertsey in times of its greatest prosperity. We desire also to acknowledge our obligation to the friendly mediation of the Very Rev. Canon Rock,—ever ready to contribute to our gratification,—through whose request on our behalf Lord Clifford has consented to send the M.S., which has been preserved in his library at Ugbrooke Park, Devon.¹

The foundation of the monastery of Chertsey may perhaps be dated from Saxon times; Frithewald, *subregulus* of Surrey, and Erkenwald, afterwards Bishop of London, are reputed to have been the founders; confirmation charters were granted by Offa and Æthelwulf. After ravages by the Danes in the ninth century, Æthelwald, Bishop of Winchester, is believed to have been the "*reparator*" of the wasted monastery. Its possessions were augmented by Edward the Confessor, and on many other occasions it enjoyed royal favor. At no period, however, it is believed, was the prosperity of the convent more amply established than in the times of Abbot John de Rutherwyke, during the reigns of Edward II. and Edward III. He was chosen in 1307, and died in 1346. The volume under consideration contains a circumstantial record, year by year, of the

¹ The Register is not noticed in the recent edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon*. Mention is made of it in the List of

Cartularies compiled by Sir Thomas Phillipps, *Coll. Top.* vol. i., and in Sims' *Manual for Genealogists*, &c., p. 16.

greater part of his energetic administration; it justifies the eulogies expressed elsewhere, regarding this "religiosissimus pater, prudentissimus et utilissimus dominus," of whom it is said that he was "quasi dicti loci secundus fundator, et omnium substantialium bonorum reformator, et maneriorum substantialis reparator."² In 1341 Edward III. with his court had visited Chertsey Abbey, and he appears to have shown special favor towards the abbot and the religious community. It will be no matter of surprise that minute records were preserved of every transaction in the times of an abbot who seems to have ever been on the watch to promote the welfare of the monastery. Besides the MS. in Lord Clifford's possession, another and somewhat more complete transcript of the acts of John de Rutherwyke is preserved in the British Museum, in Lansdowne MS., No. 435. It commences from his election as abbot, Aug. 9, 1307, and ends in 1344. An abstract of some of its contents, which are identical, throughout the corresponding years, with those of the Register in Lord Clifford's library, may be found in the *Monasticon*, Caley's edition, vol. i., p. 424. where a few extracts of remarkable miscellaneous entries are also given. A curious little figure of the abbot, seated and holding a crosier in his right hand, a book in his left, is introduced in the initial letter on the first page.

Some years have elapsed since the MS. before us was submitted to the careful examination of our late venerable friend, the Rev. Dr. Oliver, whose labors have done so much to illustrate the monastic and ecclesiastical antiquities of the West of England. We avail ourselves with pleasure of a note from his pen, prepared for a local periodical to which he was frequently a contributor.

"The folio MS. consists of 153 leaves, and has been fairly preserved. Owing to the ignorance of the binder the series of events has been dis-united and thrown into some confusion,³ and unfortunately some leaves have perished. The principal part of the MS. relates to the acts of John de Rutherwyk, who was abbot during the greater part of the reign of Edward II., and certainly for 19 years of the reign of his son Edward III. A few deeds which belong to his predecessors, Alanus, William, and Bartholomew, are copied into the MS. One cannot sufficiently admire the precision and method with which these Chartularies were kept, with what diligence the crown grants, and purchases and exchanges were registered, and the yearly events of the monastery recorded. The MS. bears intrinsic evidence of the zeal and ability which distinguished the government of John de Rutherwyk. He appears to have been unwearied in improving agriculture, draining marshes, sowing acorns, inclosing lands, building stone bridges, repairing the farm-houses, erecting mills, and adding to the Abbey estates."

The prudent care of the abbot in purveying for a growth of oak timber is not undeserving of notice; it might be interesting to some persons familiar with the neighbourhood of Chertsey to ascertain whether any

² Leiger Book of Chertsey, in the Queen's Remembrancer's Office in the Exchequer; this valuable record appears to have been written in 10 Henry VI. Considerable use has been made of this record by Mr. Manning, *Hist. of Surrey*, vol. iii. p. 210.

³ The volume, as now disarranged, commences with the year 1330, and continues to 1342, after which occur the acts of 1313 to 1329, inclusive, followed by those of 1344 and 1345, to which are appended some documents apparently of a later time and in a different hand.

venerable tree, the produce of an acorn set by Abbot John in the fourteenth century, may still be found in one of the sites here mentioned. In the Lansdowne Register it appears that, in 1307, he planted oaks and sowed acorns at Herdewyche in Chertsey, and that he planted a wood called South Grove.

Under the year 1331, in Lord Clifford's Register, the following entry occurs (f. 2, vo.): "Eodem anno seminavit glandias (*sic*) inter Wynesrude et le Calewestoubby." In 1339 also—"Abbas fecit seminare eum glandibus quandam placeam apud Herdewyeh vocatam Calewestoubbyrude."

We may commend to our friends in those parts of Surrey, who take an interest in the growth of ancient trees, to pursue the inquiry; so favorable an occasion, possibly, for fixing the precise age of some ancient oak may rarely have occurred.

The Abbot of Chertsey held lands by knight-service, and appears in the *Liber Niger* as owing to the king three knights. In 1314, when Edward II. mustered the force of his realm against the Bruce for the succour of Stirling castle, and the English fell in multitudes at the bloody fight of Bannockburn, the Abbot appears to have rendered his service by Raulinus de Waltham, possibly of White Waltham, Berks, where the monastery of Chertsey had possessions; Raulinus perished in that fatal slaughter under the walls of Stirling, as recorded in the following entry, under 7 Edw. II.:—"Eodem anno isdem Abbas fecit servicium guerre in Scocia per Raulinum de Waltham, qui occubuit apud Stryvelyn, cujus animam Deus absolvat; amen." (f. 51.)

The following note under the year 1326 may deserve mention:—"Et memorandum quod vicesimo nono die Januarii ejusdem anni dominus Edwardus tertius post conquestum incepit regnare, quamvis annus vicesimus patris ejus in multis rotulis Compotorum continuatur usque ad festum sancti Michaelis proxime sequens." The deposition of Edward II. appears to have occurred on Jan. 20, and on Jan. 21 Edward the Third's peace was proclaimed, stating that Edward II. was deposed; Edward III. received the Great Seal on Jan. 28, and the writs to the sheriffs acquainting them with his accession were tested on the 29th.

On f. 129, vo., there are a few entries by a later and different hand; the following has been noticed by Dr. Oliver, in his short account of this register, above-cited, and also by a subsequent writer on the history of the Abbey. It is, however, of such interest as a contemporary record regarding the fall of the tower of the conventual church, in 1370, that it may here be repeated.

"Ruina turris nostri magni de Certescia.—Memorandum, quod anno domini millesimo ccc.^{mo} lxx.^{mo}, nonis Julii, videlicet feria iij.^a, in crastino deposicionis Sancti Swithuni Episcopi, immediate post capitulum, dum conventus staret ad incipiendum parlamentum, media pars campanilis nostri in maceria ruebat ad ynum terre, ad dampnum irrecuparabile dieti monasterii nostri."

In 1315 William de Rutherwyke, of Egham, granted to the Abbot and Convent of Chertsey certain lands in Egham, at that time held by Avicia de Rutherwyke for her life. This transaction is recorded in the Exchequer Leizer, as briefly mentioned in Manning and Bray's History of Surrey, vol. iii. p. 215. The parties in question were doubtless related to the Abbot; William de Rutherwyke had licence for a chapel in his mansion at Egham, 12 June, 1316, as appears by Bishop Edinon's Register at Winchester,

and it was renewed in March, 1351. These lands may, it is supposed, have been part of the Trottesworth estate; there are a wood and meadows at Bakeham, in Egham parish, now called Rutherwyks.⁴ The origin of the family is not known; their name may have been taken from Rotherwick in Hampshire. In the arrangement successfully negotiated by the Abbot with his kinsman (as supposed), on this occasion, and fully recorded in the Register entrusted to us by Lord Clifford, one remarkable feature is a Corrody, granted by the Abbot and Convent to the said William de Rutherwyke and Alicia his wife, being a stated allowance of meat, drink, and clothing, &c. to them or the longer liver, in consideration of certain monies paid to the said Abbot and Convent. The documents, which are entered in the Register (f. 134, *et sequ.*), under the year 1345, 19 Edward III., are as follows:—

1. Conveyance by William de Rutherwyke of all his lands and tenements in Egham and Thorp to the Abbot and Convent of Chertsey in fee simple. Dated at Egham on Sunday next after the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude. (Oct. 30, 1345.)

2. Gift of all the goods and chattels of him the said William to the said Abbot and Convent. Dated on the same day.

3. The grant of a Corrody. (Given at length hereafter.)

4. General release of the same lands and tenements by the said William to the said Abbot and Convent. Dated at Chertsey on Wednesday after the feast of All Saints, 19 Edw. III. (Nov. 2, 1345.)

5. Lease (in French) by the Abbot and Convent of the same lands and tenements to the said William and Alicia, his wife, for their joint lives and the life of the longer liver. Dated in the chapter at Chertsey on Sunday next after the feast of All Saints, 19 Edw. III. (Nov. 6, 1345.)

6. Defeasance (in French) of a bond for 60*l.* given by the Abbot and Convent to the said William, for securing 40*l.* to the first-born issue of the said William, in case there should be any. Dated at Chertsey on Monday after the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, 19 Edw. III. (Oct. 31, 1345.)

7. Inquisition *ad quod damnum* in order to obtain a license from the king for the said William to alien the said lands and tenements to the said Abbot and Convent; namely, three messuages, 120 acres and a half of land, 10 acres of meadow, 12 acres of pasture, 20 acres of wood, 12 acres of heath (*bruere*), 3 acres of alder-car (*alneti*), and 12*s.* 5*d.* of rent, with the appurtenances, in Thorp and Egham; also one messuage at "La Strode" in Egham, held by Avicia atte Strode, sister of the said William, for her life with reversion to the said William in fee. Dated at Kingston on Saturday after the feast of St. Luke, 19 Edw. III. (Oct. 22, 1345.)

8. The King's License. Dated at Westminster on Oct. 24, *a. r.* 19 (1345.)

The grant of a Corrody presents so curious an illustration of monastic usages, that it has appeared of sufficient interest to be given at length; it will be found appended to these notices. We are not aware that any document of this description has hitherto been printed, which sets forth in such full detail the conditions of such a transaction; and we have sought in vain for any similar instrument in the large collection of charters given by Madox in the *Formulare*. A Corrody, as may be well known to some of

⁴ Manning and Bray, vol. iii. p. 255.

our readers, was an allowance of food and clothing for life or for a certain period, from an abbey or other religious house. Corrodies were due to the king from religious houses of royal foundation, towards the sustenance of such persons as he was pleased to bestow them upon; of common right also, a Corrody was due in like manner to the founder of a monastery, provided that the foundation were not in free alms. Corrodies were, however, granted to other persons, generally, in consideration of services to be rendered or of payments made, as in the case before us; and it is probable that, although such sales or grants of *liberationes* were strictly prohibited by the Constitutions of the Legate Othoboni, in the reign of Henry III.⁵, these transactions were of common occurrence. The Legate sets forth in strong terms the evils occasioned by a practice which appears to have become, through the cupidity of the heads of conventual establishments, inconveniently prevalent in this country. Dugdale gives, in the Monasticon, the grant of a Corrody in 1415 by the Abbot and Convent of Haghmon, Shropshire, to Robert Lee, at the special instance of Thomas Earl of Arundel, a descendant of the founder. In that instance the grantee appears to have been living in the monastery, as one of the *armigeri* of the abbot, with one groom or *garcio*, and two horses⁶.

Two other examples of grants of the like nature, which occur in the Chartulary of Lewes Priory, Cott. MS. Vesp., F. xv., have been cited by Mr. Blaauw in his valuable Memoir on the early History of that Monastery; Sussex Arch. Coll. vol. ii., pp. 15, 16. Margaret, widow of Robert de Glynde, gave up her dower to the prior about 1280; the convent in return engaged to give her food and clothing, with a suitable house, for life, namely, every day a loaf of convent bread and one "*panem militum*," a gallon of beer, a *ferculum* from the guests' kitchen, and every second year a furred dress, &c. In 1307, also, the record is found of a corrody surrendered by Sir William de Echingham on receipt of £100 from the priory. The privileges which had been conceded in this instance were very singular, and doubtless proved extremely onerous to the monks of St. Pancras, who, besides allowances of food and clothing, and the maintenance of a *garcio* with a palfrey through the whole year, were charged with two young bondsmen, a youth in the prior's kitchen to learn the business of cook, &c., and, moreover, were bound to receive the knight, his wife, family, and horses, four times every year, for himself and his wife to be blooded, and to sojourn three days at the priory at the expense of the monks.

According to the minutely detailed conditions of the subjoined Corrody, the Abbot and Convent of Chertsey granted to William de Rutherwyke and Alice his wife for life, and to the longer liver of them, a daily allowance of two loaves called "*miches*,"⁷ two called "*knyghtloves*," probably of somewhat better quality and such as were provided for the *armigeri*: two gallons of convent ale; and two messes from the Abbot's

⁵ Tit. 18, Quod nulli religiosi veniant vel assignant aliis liberationes.

⁶ Mon. Angl., vol. vi. p. 110, Caley's edit. The date is erroneously printed "*decimo quinto*" Henr. V., but that monarch only reigned ten years. In our edit., vol. iii. p. 933, it is printed "*quinto*."

⁷ Chaucer, Rom. of Rose, v. 55-55, says

that he that hath "*miches tweine*" lives more at ease than the niggard with a barn full of grain. Tyrwhitt explains the term as signifying fine bread, manchet, but it was probably of common quality, Fr. *miche*, *petit pain*, Lat. *micha*. In the Promptorium we find "*mychekyne*, *pastilla*," p. 336. See the note, *ibid*.

kitchen, either flesh or fish, according to the day. They had the option of receiving the entire week's allowance at one time, instead of from day to day. Moreover, to the said William at Christmas a gown of the suit or *secta* of the *armigeri*, with sufficient fur for a super-tunic and hood, and to his wife at the same season a gown *de secta clericorum*, with fur of "stranlynge," or squirrel,⁸ for her super-tunic, and of menyvere for her hood; also, yearly, two cart-loads of good hay, and one weigh (*waga*), or about 250 lb., of good cheese and undecayed, to be conveyed at the cost of the monastery to the residence of the said William and Alice, at Rutherwyke, distant from the abbey, as supposed, about three miles; and further, a stirk value 6s., three fat hogs of the value of 10s., and 16 lb. of candles "de cotone," probably with cotton wicks, at Martinmas, yearly. The amount of the sum paid to the abbot and convent by the said William and Alice, in consideration of these yearly allowances, is not stated; evidently however this Corrody was part of the general transaction between Abbot John de Rutherwyke and his kinsman, regarding the conveyance of his lands and tenements and the gift of his goods and chattels to the Abbot and Convent, as set forth in the various documents above mentioned, by which the following grant of the Corrody is accompanied in the MS. Register.

ALBERT WAY.

CORRODIUM WILLELMI DE RUTHERWYKE.

Pateat universis per presentem indenturam quod nos, Johannes Abbas de Certeseye et ejusdem loci Conventus, unanimi assensu et voluntate dedimus, concessimus, et per presentes pro nobis et successoribus nostris confirmavimus Willelmo de Rutherwyke de parochia de Egeham in Comitatu Surr' et Alicie uxori ejus pro toto tempore vite eorundem, et eorum alterius diucius viventis, quoddam corrodium capiendum de Abbatia nostra predicta, videlicet quolibet die in septimana duos panes vocatos Miches, duos panes vocatos Knyghtloves, duas lagenas cervisie conventualis, et duo fereula de coquina nostri predicti Abbatis, sive carnis sive piscis secundum die[s] exigenciam, aut quatuordecim panes vocatos Miches, quatuordecim panes vocatos Knyghtloves, quatuordecim lagenas dicte cervisie, et quatuordecim fereula carnis sive piscis, secundum quod dies expostulaverit, de Coquina predicta, semel in septimana pro septimana integra, secundum voluntatem predictorum Willelmi et Alicie; preterea concessimus pro nobis et successoribus nostris prefato Willelmo ad totam vitam suam unam robam de secta armigerorum nostrorum cum fururis competentibus pro supertunica et capucio percipiendam eidem Willelmo quolibet anno ad festum Natalis domini; et unam robam dicte Alicie de secta Clericorum nostrorum cum furura de Stranlynge pro supertunica, et de menyvere pro capucio, videlicet, terciam partem unius panni de colore, percipiendam annuatim eidem Alicie ad

⁸ This fur is not mentioned in the ample lists in Strutt's *Dresses*, vol. ii. pp. 11, 101. In the Ordinance of the Pelterers, *Liber Customarum* of the City of London, 26 Edw. I. a price is fixed "pro stranglino et polan, et cujuslibet alterius nigri operis." *Liber Albus*, vol. ii. p. 94. According to a note in *Liber Horn*, Mr. Riley observes in his Glossary,

strandling was the fur of the squirrel between Michaelmas and winter. In the *Historia* of Barth. Cotton, edited by Mr. Luard for the series of *Chronicles*, &c. under direction of the Master of the Rolls, mention occurs of the retinue of the Duke of Brabant, in 1290, clad "cum penulis de gris et stranlingo."

totam vitam suam ad festum Natalis domini supradictum; concessimus etiam pro nobis et successoribus nostris prefatis Willelmo et Alicie ad totam vitam eorundem, quolibet anno, duas carectatas boni feni, et unam Wayam boni casei et incorrupti, de Abbathia nostra predicta capiendas et cariandas sumptibus nostris propriis ad domum eorundem Willelmi et Alicie apud Rutherwyke, ad festum sancti Petri ad vincula; ⁹ et insuper concessimus pro nobis et successoribus nostris prefatis Willelmo et Alicie ad totam vitam eorundem, et eorum alterius diucius viventis, unum bovettum precii septem solidorum, tres porcos inerassatos precii decem solidorum, pro larder' ipsorum Willelmi et Alicie, simul cum sexdecim libris candele de cotone, eisdem Willelmo et Alicie quolibet anno ad festum sancti Martini in yeme de Abbathia nostra predicta percipiendos; Pro quadam summa pecunie per predictos Willelmum et Aliciam nobis pre manibus soluta, quam in usum et utilitatem nostram ac diete domus nostre plenarie et integre fatemur fore conversam. Ad quam quidem dieti eorodii et aliorum proficueorum predictorum prefatis Willelmo et Alicie ad totam vitam eorundem, et eorum alterius diucius viventis, solutionem modo predicto fideliter faciendam, nos predicti Abbas et Conventus obligamus nos et successores nostros, et domum nostram antedictam, et omnia bona nostra et bona diete domus nostre mobilia et immobilia, ecclesiastica et mundana, presenciam et futura, ubicumque existenciam. In cujus rei testimonium huic parti hujus indenture penes dictos Willelmum et Aliciam residentem nos predicti Abbas et Conventus sigillum nostrum commune apposuimus; ¹ altera vero pars ejusdem penes nos remanet sigillis eorundem Willelmi et Alicie sigillata. Datum apud Certeseye die dominica proxima post festum beatorum apostolorum Symonis et Jude, anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii post Conquestum decimo nono. (Oct. 30, 1345.)

⁹ August 1.

¹ The conventual seal of Chertsey has been figured, *Trans. Surrey Arch. Soc.*, vol. i.; *Monast. Angl.*, edit. Caley, vol. i. pl. v., and in Britton and Brayley's *Hist. Surrey*, vol. ii. p. 182. A more perfect impression, however, than was used for these works, has been found by Mr.

Ready, who will supply casts on application at the British Museum. Seals of two of the Abbots have been figured in this *Journal*, vol. xv. p. 292; and the seal of the Prior, erroneously given as that of Southwick Priory, may be seen in vol. iii. p. 222.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

July 4, 1862.

Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

THE REV. H. M. SCARTH read a short account of discoveries of Roman remains at Bath, in preparing the ground for an additional building at the Mineral Water Hospital. Amongst the vestiges there brought to light were, besides the pottery, coins of the Lower Empire, &c., commonly found on Roman sites, a portion of plain tessellated pavement, and a fragment of an inscription on white marble, a material of very rare occurrence amongst Roman lapidary remains in this country. Mr. Scarth stated, however, that he had no doubt of its authenticity; it was found broken into several pieces; the letters, as shown by a facsimile rubbing which he exhibited, are well cut, and are as follows:—

DEAE · S
TI · CL · T
SOLLEN
T

Mr. Scarth proposed to supply after DEAE the name SVLI or SVLIMINERVAE, being that of a local goddess to whom four altars found at Bath are dedicated; a sepulchral inscription to a priest of that deity has also there been found. The letters in the second line he explained as indicating the name of the person by whom the slab was dedicated, possibly TI(BERIVS) CL(AVDIVS) with the initial T of the *cognomen*, which may have been any of the Roman names beginning with that letter. In the third line Mr. Scarth proposed to read SOLLENNES, with reference to vows performed to the goddess and commemorated by the tablet; the very imperfect traces of letters in the fourth line, cut on a much smaller dimension than the preceding, scarcely supply ground for conjecture. It is to be regretted that no other fragments were found; the form of the letters and distinctness of the cutting indicate an early period, and the remarkable fact that the material is marble may serve to authenticate other inscriptions stated to have been found in England, and sometimes regarded as questionable owing to the very rare occurrence of any tablet of marble. Thus, Whitaker, the topographer of Yorkshire, describes a "square marble urn, which tradition actually asserts to have been found at Rokeby; nothing, however, but the testimony of eye-witnesses can render this assertion credible." The Romans, he observes, neither imported marble into Britain, nor worked the marbles which exist here; he challenges the

antiquary to show any evidence to the contrary. "From whatever cause, they universally neglected these elegant materials for the rough and untractable freestone of the place; it was reserved for the monks and their lay contemporaries to avail themselves of these treasures." Hist. of Richmondshire, vol. i. p. 150. We have now, however, as Mr. Searth pointed out, an authentic proof that the Romans occasionally made use of materials of a less homely character for inscribed memorials, and the interesting discovery at Bath now communicated may serve to authenticate the marble tablet stated to have been found at *Uriconium*, and preserved in the museum at Shrewsbury. It is the inscription to the *Manes* of Antonia Gemella by Diadumenus, which, owing to its being of marble, has been regarded as brought in modern times to this country from the continent. A small marble Roman tablet is moreover preserved at Berkeley, Gloucestershire; it represents the sacrifice of a boar to Hercules, and, as Mr. Searth remarked, the antiquary might be disposed to conclude that it is of foreign origin, were it not that the discovery of an inscribed marble fragment amongst the vestiges of *Aque Solis* has now indubitably shown that marble was used in this country in the time of Roman occupation. Whether the material was imported or obtained in Britain Mr. Searth was not prepared to determine.

Lord Talbot observed that, so far as he was aware, no white marble is to be obtained in England; but there exists, as he believed, a quarry of such material of good quality in Connemara. Scarcely any evidence has been elicited in the investigation of Roman structures in Britain to show the use of any marbles, even in the luxurious villas of which such extensive remains have been brought to light. At Woodchester, however, Lysons found a fragment of green marble, a portion probably of the architectural enrichments of that sumptuous Roman dwelling.

Mr. Searth remarked, that he gladly availed himself of the occasion to invite attention to the actual condition of the small Roman station on Bowes Moor, Westmoreland, which he had lately visited. The remains are of considerable antiquarian interest; the fortress was in remarkably perfect state, until the recent construction of the railway had cut through the wall, of which five courses remained perfect; the station is situated about 500 yards from the highest ground of the pass, and measures about 45 yards square. The gateways were perfectly preserved. The site, however, now serves as a quarry, the stones being carried off for any ordinary purpose. The archaeologist must regret the reckless destruction of such vestiges of Roman occupation. The mortar, Mr. Searth noticed, had become quite soft, like fine mould, possibly, as he imagined, through exposure or the constant infiltration of moisture. He believed that in the work of the Roman Wall the mortar had in like manner perished.

Mr. S. J. MACKIE, F.G.S., then gave an account of a remarkable cavern at Heathery Burn, near Stanhope, in Weardale, Durham, and of the ancient relics of bronze, bone, and other materials there brought to light, accompanied by human remains.

In December, 1861, in quarrying-operations in the mountain limestone for the ironworks of the Weardale company, a cavern was broken into. Information was sent to Mr. Mackie immediately by Mr. J. Elliott, of West Croft. Through his care in carrying out Mr. Mackie's directions in searching for particular relics, and making a plan of the cavern and sections of the mineral deposits in it, an unusual value has been given to

the evidence afforded by these excavations. The human remains, and the bronze and bone articles associated with them, were found under a coating of stalagmite varying from four to eight inches in thickness. The animal bones, belonging to the ox, horse, otter, badger, water-rat, goat, roebuck and wild boar, were found indiscriminately in and under the stalagmite. The manufactured objects, which were exhibited, are seven bronze celts, all of one type; a portion of a bronze celt-mould, an armlet, a knife also of bronze, and a fragment or waste-piece of a bronze casting; also several round bones sharpened to a point, like that figured by Worsace, *Nordiske Oldsager* (fig. 7). There was also found part of a jet armlet; and with these relics were shells of oysters, mussels, and limpets, fragments of charcoal in abundance, bones partially burnt, and bones split open in order to extract their marrow, a few pebbles, and some pieces of dark-colored coarse pottery, seemingly very similar in composition to fragments in the British Museum from the lake-dwellings of Switzerland. The human remains have been examined by Professor Huxley, Mr. Busk, Mr. Carter Blake, and other anatomists. They belong to a race of rather small lightly-made men, with prominent superciliary ridges and projecting nasal bones, and of considerable antiquity, that existed before the earliest epoch of British recorded history. The age to which these relics may be assigned is the latter part of the bronze period, or about two centuries before the Christian era. The juxtaposition of the human remains and the bronze and bone articles appears to indicate a true association, whilst the broken and burnt bones, shell fish, and other *débris* of objects of food, may confirm the other indications that the cavern had been inhabited by the beings whose remains have been found in it. The fragment of bronze waste, and the moiety of the celt-mould, combined with the uniform fashion of the seven celts, may be considered as supplying proof that the manufacture of bronze implements was actually carried on in the cavern. The bronze celts exhibited by Mr. Mackie are of the socketed type with a loop or ear at the side—such as might be produced from the mould of which a moiety was found in the cave, but not precisely fitting it. The bronze weapon designated a knife is a stout leaf-shaped blade of comparatively rare occurrence in England; it measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, with an oval socket perforated for a rivet; it may have been a dagger, or the head of a spear or other weapon. The jet or waste-piece of bronze, in general appearance resembling a molar tooth with long fangs, was obviously the superfluous portion of metal which filled the neck or mouth of a mould; similar objects have occurred elsewhere amongst fragments accompanying the indications, as supposed, of a place where bronze implements may have been manufactured. There were also a bronze pin, a looped armlet formed of thin bronze wire, an implement of bone, such as might have been used as a spatula for moulding pottery, fragments of urns rudely ornamented, a bone spindle-whorl or perforated bead, two boar's tusks, &c.

The following account by Mr. CLAYTON, whose researches have thrown such important light upon the history of the great Roman Barrier in Northumberland, was then read. Several views and diagrams of great interest were exhibited through his kind permission:—

The remains of the Roman bridge across the North Tyne at the Station of *Cilurnum*, the sixth Station *per lineam Valli*, are nearly half a mile lower down the river than Chollerford Bridge, by which travellers now cross the stream. Camden, journeying in 1599 with Sir Robert Cotton,

was obliged to rely upon hearsay evidence of the state of the Wall, and of the country between the river Toppalt and the North Tyne,—“per prædones vero limitaneos perlustrare tuto non licuit.”—He seems to have found the banks of the North Tyne in a more civilized state, though he describes the population as “militare genus hominum, qui a mense Aprili usque ad Augustum in tuguriolis cum suis pecoribus exebant.” He describes the course of the river flowing past Chipehase Castle, and not far from Swinburne Castle. “Murum accedit et intersecat sub Chollerford ubi ponte fornicato conjunctus erat.” Stukeley, travelling with Roger Gale in 1725, in more peaceful times, and coming from the west, did not pursue the line of the Wall further than *Borcoricus*, but speaks of this bridge on the faith of information he had received;—“I am informed that where the Roman Wall passes the North Tyne, it is by a wonderful bridge of great art, made with very large stones linked together with iron cramps fastened with molten lead.” The first specific mention of the remains of this bridge is made by Gordon, the Scottish antiquary, who gave his observations under the title of “Itinerarium Septentrionale,” in the year 1726, and who was the first who attempted to appropriate to their proper localities the names of the stations *per lineam Valli* enumerated in the *Notitia*; he was for the most part successful in his conjectures, though otherwise in the case of *Cilurnum*, for, having overlooked the remains of the Station of Hunnum at Halton Chesters, he applies the name of Hunnum to Cilurnum. “Descending,” says Mr. Gordon, “from the high ground, and passing through a place called Brunton-on-the-Wall, we came to the bank of the river called North Tyne, where are the vestiges of a Roman bridge to be seen, the foundation of which consists of large square stones linked together with iron cramps, but this bridge, however, is only seen when the water is low.” Horsley, in his “*Britannia Romana*” published in 1732, corrects the error of Gordon in the name of Cilurnum, and adds, “there has been a considerable bridge over the river just at the fort, the foundations of which are yet visible.” In the summer of 1783, Brand waded into the stream, and found “innumerable square stones with holes in them, wherein iron rivets had been fixed, lying embedded on the spot.”

Hodgson, the historian of Northumberland, examined the remains of the bridge more minutely than his predecessors; he found “that many of the stones of the piers remaining in the water were regularly pierced with an oblong hole wider at the bottom than at the top, plainly for a bolt by which they had been let down into their present beds,” showing that the Romans understood an invention sometimes ascribed to a French engineer in the reign of Louis XIV. He gave to his invention, as supposed, the name of his sovereign. Mr. Hodgson likewise found the iron cramps by which the stones were bound to each other, as mentioned by Gordon, and he gives a sketch of one of them.¹

In Dr. Bruce’s work on the Roman Wall, we have a plan of the remains of this bridge visible in the bed of the stream, consisting of the foundation stones of the Western land-abutment, and of two piers at equal distances from each other. Dr. Bruce shadows forth a conjectural line for the

¹ The *cramp*, or *lwi*, was unique in its construction, and is probably not used by the Romans, and also well known in no other times. See a memoir

in the *Archæologia*, vol. x. p. 127; Holinsh. Chron., vol. i. p. 54, ed. 1577.

Eastern land-abutment, on the assumption that it would be found buried in the bed of the stream opposite to the Western abutment. Since the days of Camden, nothing has been seen of these remains except as delineated by Dr. Bruce. It was reserved for the sagacity of Mr. William Coulson, of Corbridge, who was engaged very successfully in the excavations at *Bremenium*, undertaken by direction of the Duke of Northumberland, on occasion of the Meeting of the Institute at Newcastle, to discover, in 1860, the remains of the Eastern land-abutment which have been since developed by the spade. In shape and position, this abutment corresponds with that shadowed forth by Dr. Bruce, except that it is removed considerably to the landward of the stream.

The beautiful drawings made in 1861 by Mr. Mossman, though executed when the excavations were incomplete, exhibit a correct representation of these remains. An accurate ground-plan has been obtained through the joint labours of Mr. Elliot, of Wall, and Mr. Henry Wilson, of East Dunkirk.² In order to complete the discovery, it will be necessary to excavate in the bed of the stream, on the east side, where will doubtless be found a third pier, partly in the water and partly under the bank; it was occasionally seen during the summer of 1861. The span of the bridge between the breast-works of the land-abutments on each side is 180 ft.; there are four openings between the piers, and the space between each of them is 35½ ft. There is an apartment, 24 ft. by 23½ ft., under the platform of approach; the roadway brought down to the bridge (including the parapets) is 22 ft. wide; it was brought down to the bridge under the shelter of the Wall. Five courses of the masonry of this abutment remain on the side which breasts the downward current; on the opposite side four courses remain, each measuring 18 in. in thickness. The stones of the exterior bear marks of having been carefully set; in each is a lous-hole, and many are bound together with iron cramps fixed by melted lead; some have been bound together by long rods of iron let into the stones and secured by lead. The stones measure 3 ft. in length of bed, and 2 ft. in breadth; the masonry is of massive character, and the whole work has been executed with great care and skill. Those who have seen the magnificent remains of the Pont du Gard, lighted by the sun of Languedoc, may think lightly of these relics of the bridge of *Cilurnum*, under the darker skies of Northumberland; but it may be affirmed that the bridge over the river Gardon does not span a lovelier stream than the North Tyne, and that so much as remains of the masonry of the bridge of *Cilurnum* leads to the conclusion, that, as originally constructed, it was not inferior in solidity of material or excellence of workmanship, to the mighty structure reared by Roman hands in *Gallia Narbonensis*.

Surrounded by the masonry are seen foundations of the pier of a bridge of smaller dimensions, and apparently of earlier date. This pier, from its position, must necessarily have been erected before the Wall was built or planned; its dimensions would scarcely admit of a superstructure wider than would be required for the march of foot soldiers; its existence would seem to afford evidence in support of the hypothesis, that *Cilurnum* was one of the fortresses reared by the legions under command of Agricola.

² The drawings and ground-plan were sent for exhibition on this occasion by Mr. Clayton's kindness; see the illustrations which accompany his memoir on

these discoveries, more fully given in the *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. iv., octavo series, p. 80.

The station has evidently had an existence anterior to, and independent of, the Wall. Whilst Procolitia, Boreovicus, and Esica, depend on the Wall of Hadrian for their Northern rampart, the Station of Cilurnum is complete in itself, and has had communications independent of the military way which accompanied the Wall. In the time of Horsley "there were visible remains of a military way which seemed to have come from Watling Street, south of Elsingham, to the Station of Cilurnum or the bridge beside it, and from this Station," says Horsley, "a military way has gone directly to Caerborran, which is still visible for the greater part of the way;" this military Way has in our day been distinctly traced by that accurate observer, Mr. Maclauchlan, in his survey carried out with so much ability and care, by direction of the Duke of Northumberland. Agricola secured the possession of the valley of North Tyne by planting in its gorge the fortress of Cilurnum, and, amongst other communications with it, threw a bridge across the stream, of which this pier is the only remnant. The piers corresponding with it in the bed of the stream have either been washed away, or absorbed in the stone-work of the piers of a larger bridge built by Hadrian, obviously in connection with the Wall.

In the drawings by Mr. Mossman, and a ground-plan exhibited in illustration, are to be observed the remains of a covered passage carried across the ruins. It is not easy to conjecture its use, but it is obviously posterior to Roman occupation, and many stones of the bridge have been used in its formation. Neither amongst these ruins nor in the river have been found any voussoir of an arch. The inference is, that the passage over the river has been upon a horizontal platform of timber.

During the excavation a number of coins were collected. The earliest is a silver coin of the Cassian family, bearing the name of Caius Cassius, the assassin of Julius Cæsar. Its date may be fixed as about B. C. 57. A silver coin was also found, in excellent preservation, of Julia Domna, second wife of Severus. Besides these silver coins, there have been found several of brass, of Hadrian, Diocletian, the Constantine family, and of Tetricus, generally much worn. One of those of Diocletian is a fine coin of brass, ascribed to the year A. D. 284; reverse, the Genius of Rome, having in the right hand a *patra*, and in the left a cornucopia.

Amongst *débris* removed during the excavation have been found much of the lead and iron used in binding the stones together; a piece of lead in the shape of a horse's hoof; a well-finished altar without inscription; a stone, about 4 ft. in length, resembling an axletree, there are eight mortices, as if for receiving handspikes; it has been suggested that it may have been used as part of machinery for pounding mortar. Several mill-stones have been found; an ivory implement, which may have belonged to a lady's toilet; and fragments of Samian ware, one of them bearing the mark of DOCCIVS, previously unknown on the Roman Wall, but given in the list of potters in Mr. Roach Smith's Roman London.

The Rev. Dr. COLLINGSWOOD BRUCE, who had kindly come from Newcastle in order to bring Mr. Clayton's very curious discovery more fully before the Institute, then entered into some interesting details relating to the construction of the bridge, and its connection with the great mural barrier, of which the course here traversed the North Tyne. He pointed out certain points of analogy with the bridge constructed by Trajan across the Danube, and with a Roman bridge across the Moselle, which Dr. Bruce had lately visited. With reference to the period of the building, Dr. Bruce

stated his opinion that Agricola, to whom he was disposed to attribute the earliest construction of a stronghold at *Cilurnum*, had doubtless formed a bridge across the Tyne, indispensable at this important post. Hadrian probably found the works of Agricola in decay, and carried out considerable repairs; to his time Dr. Bruce is disposed to assign the main features of the works recently exposed to view, and supposes that the bridge was in fact rebuilt by Hadrian. He thought, however, that vestiges of the work of a third period, namely, that of Severus, are to be discerned amongst these striking remains, and he pointed out a peculiar mode of broaching apparent on the facing-stones; this, as he believed, may characterise the works of that emperor; it is to be found at *Habitancum*, where he repaired a gateway and portion of walling, which is thus broached; and the like work appears at Hexham, at *Bremenium*, and at other places on the line of the Watling Street. The energies of Severus being concentrated on the subjection of the Caledonians, he would necessarily take every precaution to render the base of his operations secure, and he evidently bestowed great care on the Watling Street and the Stations upon it. He would bestow no less attention on the important post at the passage of North Tyne at *Cilurnum*. This peculiar broaching is found also at Housesteads, where a portion of the wall of the Station has evidently been renewed.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. J. McCALL, D.D., Principal of the University of Toronto, through the Rev. H. M. Scarth.—Collection of relics found in tumuli on the North bank of the Niagara River, and adjacent to the course of the stream. These objects consisted of fragments of urns with rude scorings and punctured ornaments, resembling Celtic pottery, also stone implements, probably heads of javelins or other weapons, similar to those found in European countries.

By the DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND, K.G.—Three remarkable weapons of bronze, recently obtained in Northumberland, and of forms which had not previously occurred in that part of England. One of them is a large celt of the simple axe-head type, the edges slightly recurved, but without any trace of a stop-ridge. The surface is elaborately worked with chevrony lines and ornaments which may have been partly produced by hammering. Celts thus decorated are comparatively rare in this country, but they occur frequently in Ireland; compare those figured in Wilde's *Catal. Mus. Roy. Irish Acad.*, pp. 362, 390. Specimens have, however, occasionally been found in England; one in the British Museum was obtained near York, and a second in Lancashire; a celt also, thus ornamented, found in the Forest of Dean, is noticed in the Catalogue of the Museum formed during the meeting of the Institute at Gloucester, p. 6.—The second of the recently discovered Northumbrian relics exhibited by kind permission of His Grace is a long taper blade, of a type likewise rare in England, resembling that found in Ireland and figured in this *Journal*, vol. xviii., p. 163. It measures $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length; the weight is $4\frac{1}{2}$ oz. Compare *Catal. Mus. Roy. Irish Acad.*, p. 447. The third, found with that last described in draining, about a mile north-east of Corbridge, is the blade of a spear-head, the socket unfortunately lost; there is a small perforation on each side, near the lower part of the blade. The length of the fragment

is $10\frac{5}{8}$ inches; width, at the broadest part of the blade, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches; weight, $7\frac{1}{2}$ oz. This fine weapon resembles in fashion and general proportions that found in Morayshire, figured in this Journal, vol. xviii., p. 167. Compare a like spear, Cat. Mus. R. I. A., p. 496.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—A fine specimen of the bronze dagger, which was attached to the haft by massive rivets, of which two remain. It was found in the Thames. Length, $13\frac{1}{4}$ in.; breadth, where the haft was affixed, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. Compare specimens found in the Isle of Wight, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi., p. 328; Irish examples figured in Wilde's *Catal. Mus. Roy. Irish Acad.*, p. 448.—A large bronze celt, of the simple axe-head type, probably Irish; remarkable as having one of its faces elaborately engraved with chevrony ornaments, and its sides diagonally ribbed; the margins are slightly raised above the faces of the weapon, but without any stop-ridge.

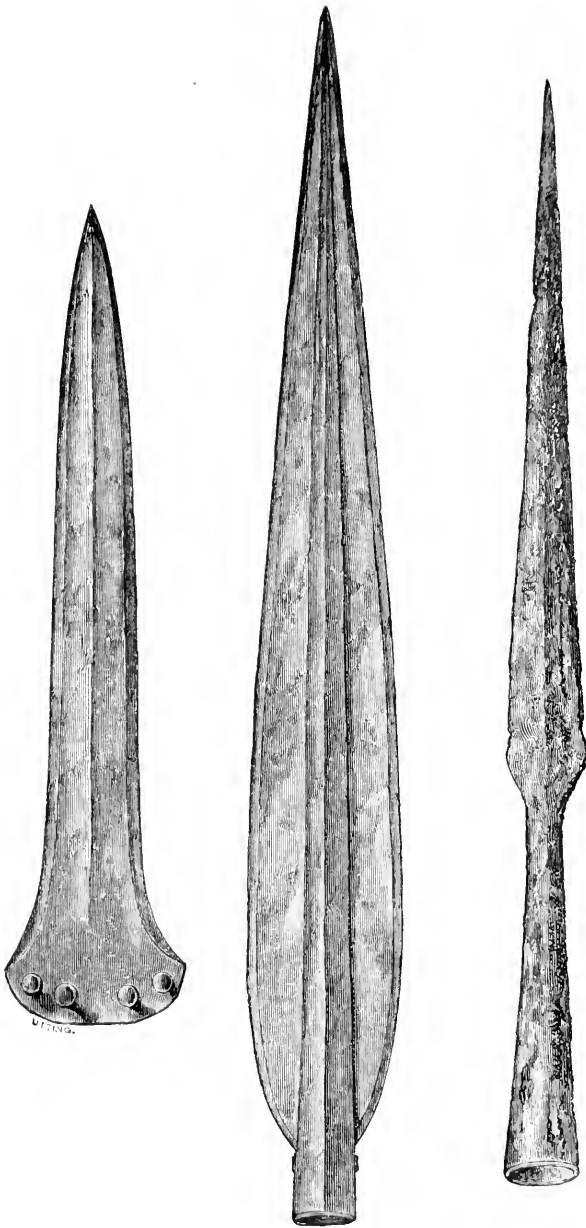
By the EARL OF LOVELACE, F.R.S.—Two weapons of bronze and a long spear-head of iron ($18\frac{1}{2}$ inches), found in the bed of the Thames at Ditton, Surrey, and here figured. These weapons are in remarkably fine preservation; they have been presented by Lord Lovelace to the British Museum, where a small bronze spear found near the same place may likewise be seen.

By Mr. MARSHALL FISHER, Curator of the Ely Museum.—A small urn of very uncommon fashion, having one handle, and ornamented elaborately with cross-hatchings, oblong hexagonal compartments, and a broad zigzag band around the lower part. It was found some years since with other pottery at March, in the Isle of Ely, in the ballast pit worked at the time of the construction of the Peterborough and Ely branch of the Great Eastern Railway, and a short distance north of the March Station. The urn was not found in the gravel, but in the soil overlying it; a tree was growing near the spot. It was presented to the Ely Museum by Mr. W. Rose. The urn (here figured) measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height; the diameter



Urn found at March, Isle of Ely. Height $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

of the mouth is $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches; it is of compact well-wrought ware, of a light brown color. This one-handled type of vessel is of rare occurrence. Mr. Bateman has given, in his "Ten Years' Diggings in Grave-hills," one



Weapons of Bronze and Iron found at Ditton, Surrey.
Presented to the British Museum by the Earl of Lovelace.
Scale, of one-third of the original length.

found in a cairn near Pickering, Yorkshire, and noticed as unique. It is figured in Mr. Bateman's work, p. 209. and in this Journal, vol. xviii., p. 415. It is of precisely the same height as that found at March, and the style of ornamentation is identical; this little vase lay near the skull in the burial-place; the body had been deposited in a contracted posture on its left side; several calcined implements of flint lay near it, and over the deposit was a layer of lime, charcoal, and burnt bones. A small vessel with the same peculiarity of a handle at one of its sides, but unfortunately much broken, was exhibited by the late Mr. King of Appleford in the Museum formed at the meeting of the Institute at Oxford; it was found in Appleford Field, Berks, and has recently been purchased with other antiquities in Mr. King's collection for the British Museum. This vessel, elaborately scored with zigzag patterns, measured about 7 inches in height, it stood near the shoulder of an adult skeleton, accompanied by a second skeleton of very small stature; these were supposed to be the remains of a mother with her infant child. At the time when the urn was found at March, many other remains were brought to light in the neighbourhood, as stated by Mr. Fisher; namely, at Doddington, Wimblington, and Stonea. At the latter place, according to the information which he received from Mr. Rose, a well-preserved vase of black ware was found, probably a drinking cup, of the manufacture of Castor, and of the fashion frequently occurring there, having several concavities at regular intervals around it, produced apparently by pressure when the clay was still soft. It lay in an oak cist, and within this vase was found an *aureus* of Theodosius. Mr. Fisher sent for examination with the remarkable urn, above figured, two Roman bow-shaped fibulæ of bronze recently acquired for the Ely Museum, and also thirty Roman coins found at various times at Ely. We are indebted to the kindness of Mr. Roach Smith for deciphering the greater part, which consist of second and third brass Imperial coins much defaced. Amongst the collection occur coins of Vespasian, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and an unpublished variety of a coin of Carausius, with the reverse PAX · AVG. The latest in the series appears to be a coin of Gratian (A. D. 375—383). No account of Roman vestiges at Ely has, so far as we are aware, been published, nor are any such noticed in Mr. Babington's valuable account of Ancient Cambridgeshire. Mr. Fisher stated that the Romans undoubtedly had a camp or station about two miles south-west of Ely, and he had collected there numerous remains of pottery and other Roman relics.

By Mr. JOHN ANDERDON.—A tall Roman sacrificial vase, ornamented with subjects in relief.—Specimens of mediæval pottery; a statuette of Italian white ware with green and blue glazes; it represents a boy bearing a fish upon his shoulders; also a pair of curious candlesticks of decorated pottery, place of manufacture not ascertained.

By the Rev. TULLIE CORNTHWAITE.—A singular bronze bell; the part serving as a clapper is not suspended, but is a prolongation of the cruciform handle, and being movable, it may be turned by the hand, producing a peculiar and agreeable sound. Around the bell are engraved representations of the B. V. Mary with the Infant Saviour, the *Mater Dolorosa*, the Virgin, her breast represented as pierced by a sword, and the Ascension. There are several inscriptions, one being "Gloria in Excelsis Deo—Domine non sum dignus," &c.; another gives the date MDC.XX.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—An oriental dish or laver with an ewer

of burnished metal, enriched with *repoussé* floral ornament, probably of Turkish work.

By Mr. STUART KNILL.—A singular oblong octagonal box of bright-colored brass, probably Dutch; late seventeenth century. On the lid is engraved Our Lord bearing the Cross. On its inner side the Adoration of the Magi. On the bottom of the box is engraved the Crucifixion; this part opens by a hinge, like a false lid, there being no cavity within; the interior surfaces present engravings of the Nativity and the Resurrection, and the lid shuts down close on the engraved surface within, leaving no intervening space. The box resembles those formerly much in use for carrying tobacco, but the sacred character of its decoration, and its peculiar construction, have led to the supposition that it may have been destined for some less common purpose.

By Miss KENT, of Padstow, Cornwall.—An early Italian painting on a thick panel of pine-wood, primed apparently with a *gesso* ground. It is believed to be a portrait of Petrarch; on the back of the panel is an inscription in old writing, stating that the portrait was painted by Battista Dossi, who died in 1505, after the portrait of the Poet by Simon Memmi, or Simone di Siano. Profile to the right; the head, which is full of beautiful expression, is covered with a red *capuchon*, around which is a wreath of bay or laurel leaves. In the upper corner, to the left, is inscribed in gold,—(*Fr*)*ancesci Petrarche Effigia*. The panel measures 16½ inches in height by 12½ in width. This interesting portrait was obtained in Spain by the late Mr. Kent, of Padstow, and it was supposed to have been brought from Venice.

By Mr. W. W. E. WYXNE, M.P.—A set of engraved silver counters, with the heads of the English sovereigns; they are 30 in number, and are enclosed in a silver box of chased open work, having on its cover a head of Charles I., profile to the left, and on the under side the head of his consort. On the obverse of each counter is engraved a diminutive full-length regal figure within an oval frame, inscribed with the name and date, and supporters, one on each side of the oval. On the reverse is the coat of arms of each sovereign respectively, and around the margin is engraved the place of birth, duration of the reign, &c. The series commences with Edward the Confessor, and concludes with Prince Charles, afterwards Charles II.; several pieces, however, are deficient, but a few have been supplied from other sets. To the Confessor is here given the coat, a cross patonce between *four* martlets; on the reverse of the counter with the effigy of Harold is an escutcheon charged with two bars voided between six leopards' faces; the field of the coat usually given to him is blazoned as crusuly. The counter with the figure of Mary Queen of Scots, which occurs in other sets of similar design, is deficient; that which bore a full-length figure of Darnley is broken; on the reverse is the coat of Stuart of Darnley, a fesse chequy with a label of three points, and the inscription,—*† BVRVED AT AT THE AGE OF 21 1567*. Of James I. there is a counter with a full-length figure in an oval compartment, as on the others, and also a duplicate, a bust, three quarters to the right, the hat looped up with a jewel, the margin inscribed,—“Give thy judgements O God to the King;” reverse, bust of Prince Henry, to the right, with the inscription, “and thy righteousness into the kings sonne.” Around the figure of Charles I. is engraved,—“God send long to raine,”—and, around that of Henrietta Maria,—*Servir à Dieu c'est regner*. There are also

two other counters of different types, having on each the profile busts of Charles and his queen; on the reverse of one of these pieces is an escutcheon, England impaling France; on the other is the following device,—three arched crowns, 1, 2, traversed by two sceptres in saltire,—*in uno tria iuncta*. The further deficiencies in the set of 30 counters are supplied by two pieces, the first of unartistic execution, *Obv.* a small bust to the right,—*Carolus princeps natus 29 Maii, 1630*—*Rev.* four oval escutcheons arranged in a cross, as on coins of the period. The other is of very different type to that of all the rest; *Obv.* a shepherdess in fanciful costume; *Rev.* an escutcheon inscribed,—*Het gout drinckt door een staale duer*—*Het gout stelt teluer cracht enwacht*.—In the British Museum several sets of silver engraved counters may be seen, and amongst them a series of royal figures, as on the pieces here described. In Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting* (Dallaway's edit., vol. i. p. 291), it is stated that Hilliard had license for twelve years from James I. to engrave such portraits of the royal family, and that he employed Simon Pass and other artists in executing these little plates, a source of much emolument to him. The set in Mr. Wynne's possession was obtained from Penbedw, co. Flint, an ancient residence of the Williams family, where part of Sir Kenelm Digby's library and MSS. now belonging to Mr. Wynne was preserved. An engraved silver counter found near Malvern Priory Church, and bearing a figure of William Rufus, is noticed in this Journal, vol. v. p. 191.

By the Rev. C. W. BINGHAM.—Five documents relating to Ousby, formerly Ulvesby, and other localities in Cumberland: they were sent by obliging permission of the late Sir John J. Smith, Bart., of Down House, Blandford, in whose possession these documents, of which the following abstracts may be of interest to some of our readers, had been preserved.

Grant, undated, by Ysoude daughter of Robert de Ulvesby, to Walter, parson of that place, in fee of her part in certain lands called Thornthwaite, in Ulvesby; with warranty. Witnessed by "Tom' filio Johannis tunc vicecomite Cumberland', Roberto de Karlat', Roberto de Roberdeby, Ivone de Thornheucht, Hamone de Ulvesbi, Henrico de Kempeleie, Ada filio ejus, Ada de Braithelieic, Radulfo fratre ejus, et multis aliis." Appended by a label is a circular seal on white wax, diam. about $1\frac{1}{4}$ in.; device a cinquefoil; legend + SIGILL' YSOVDE FIL' ROB.

Release by William of Boughes to his brother Roger de Boughes of all his right in certain lands in "Ulfisby" in Cumberland, which he had by devise after the death of his uncle "Magister" John de Boughes. Witnessed by Adam Armestrang, John de Kirkeoswold, Adam Cuntour of Ulfisby, Adam son of Gilbert of the same, William Atte Lathis, and others. Dated at Stretford, on Sunday next before the feast of St. Barnabas, A.D. 1321. Appended by a label is a small circular seal of dark green wax; the device is an eagle displayed with a bull's head caboshed on each wing. The impression is somewhat defaced; some have supposed that there may have been a third bull's head on the breast of the eagle.

Release, undated, by Roger son of Herbert de Welson to Sir Thomas de Muletone and his heirs by Ada formerly his wife, of all his right in certain lands which his father had of the gift of Henry de Rahtone (Raughton) "in Nova terra de Sauribilih" (Sowerby). Witnessed by "Willelmo de Dakir tunc vicecomite, Domino Alano de Muletone, Domino Radulfo de Feritate, Domino Patricio filio Thome de Wirkintone, Domino Ricardo le Brun, Domino Alexandro de Kirkeby, Domino Ricardo filio Anketini,

Domino Willelmo de Berners, Rolando de Vallibus, Domino Willelmo filio Rogeri, Domino Gilleberto de Feritate persona, Wydone de Boyvilla, Johannes (*sic*) de Boyville, Alano de Thorishy (?), Johanne de Mora, Rogero de Stokis, Helya de Crostwait, et multis aliis." By a parchment label is appended a fragment of a seal on bright green wax, the device being a fleur-de-lys. William de Daere, whose name occurs amongst the witnesses, was sheriff of Cumberland 21—33 Henry III.

Power of attorney by Robert son and heir of Walter de Bury, appointing "dominum Robertum Codde de Holmeswelle capellanum," and William Marshall of the same to deliver to Richard Fonne of Holmeswelle seizin of all his lands and tenements in that place which descended to him after the decease of the said Walter his father. Dated on Monday after the Sunday on which is sung the office *Misericordia Domini* (the second Sunday after Easter), 46 Edw. III. (1372). To a slip cut from the bottom of the parchment is appended an impression of a small round seal, diam. about $\frac{1}{2}$ in.; the device is the head of St. John Baptist in a charger; the legend is defaced.

Grant, undated, by Hugh Wyteng lord of Esteranemere to Henry de Ponte, clerk, of certain lands in that place, with a warranty. Witnessed by "Henrico de Monteforti de Nony, Waltero de Botiler, Adam de Penestan, Henrico Briton, Thoma le Bigod, Ricardo le Bigod, Willelmo le Warre, Willelmo de la Rokele, Willelmo Wyteng, et aliis." The seal is wanting.

By Mr. CARRUTHERS.—Italian diploma of the degree of doctor of philosophy and medicine conferred upon Thomas Forbes of Aberdeen, son of William Forbes, by Fortunius Licetus, *Genueusis*, Professor of Medicine in the Academy of Padua, "et medicinæ ac inelcti ordinis dominorum Philosophiæ et Medicinæ doctorum auctoritate Veneta præses." Dated at Padua, May 2, 1652. Two seals are appended, enclosed in oval metal boxes covered with leather elaborately tooled and gilded; one of the seals being that of the Chancellor of the University, the device upon it is the Resurrection of Our Lord; the device upon the other is the Lion of St. Mark. The initial letters are gilded, the bordure of the document illuminated. The learned Licetus was a voluminous writer on antiquities, medicine, and history, well-known by his treatise on ancient lamps and by erudite works, amongst which the "*Hieroglyphica*," a dissertation on devices of gems set in antique rings, is doubtless known to many readers of this Journal.

By Mr. EDMUND WATERTON, F.S.A.—Four leaden *bullæ*, that earliest in date being of the Lower Empire; the obverse inscribed—**KWNCTANTINΩ ΠΑΤΡΙΚ . . .** *Bullæ* of Alfonso X. called The Philosopher, King of Castile and Leon, 1255—84. Diam. 2 inches. *Obv.* a lion rampant, with the legend + S : ALFONSI : ILLYSTRIS : REGIS : CASTELLE : ET : LEGIONIS : *Rev.* a castle with three towers, with the same legend. Eleanor his daughter espoused Edward I. King of England.—*Bullæ* of Andrea Dandolo, Doge of Venice 1343—54. *Obv.* St. Mark vested in pontificals and with a mitre on his head places a staff with a small banner in the Doge's hand. Legend illegible. *Rev.* ANDREAS DANDVLO D'I GR'A VENETIE DALMATIE ATQ CROACE DVX. Diam. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. *Bullæ* of Francisco Foscarri, Doge 1423—57. *Obv.* St. Mark and the Doge, as before described. *Rev.* FRANCISC FOSCARI DELI GR'A DVX VENETIARVM ET C'. Diam. $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Matrices and impressions of Seals.—By the Rev. CHARLES BINGHAM.—

Matrix of an oval seal, length nearly an inch, found at Dorchester, in Dorset, consisting of an antique intaglio cut in onyx set in a rim of silver, on which is the legend + SIGILLVM WILELMI DE MELECŪBE. The intaglio represents a horse bridled, above it the letters P T, between its legs A, in front a palm-branch. Date of the mounting, the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. The owner of this seal doubtless took his name from Melcomb in Dorsetshire.

By JAMES KENDRICK, M.D., of Warrington.—A large series of impressions, about 500 in number, from matrices chiefly of Italian seals in the Bodleian Library. They are part of the collection formed about 1720 on the continent by Richard Rawlinson, younger brother of the celebrated bibliomaniac Thomas Rawlinson, and founder of an Anglo-Saxon professorship at Oxford. He formed a large collection of books, MSS., coins, engravings, &c., sold after his death in 1755. Amongst his literary productions was a volume of considerable utility, entitled "The Topographer," in which some of the seals in his collection were figured. With the extensive collection of matrices now in the Bodleian has been preserved Rawlinson's notebook containing entries of his purchases in Italy; also a catalogue, with numerous drawings of the seals, and especially of those late the collection of Sign. Andrea Lorenzani, of Rome. The catalogue was compiled and the drawings executed in 1700 by the Abbate Valesc of Rome; it appears that large additions were obtained in that city, and also at Naples, Venice, Bologna, and Padua, between the years 1720—25, the prices, &c., being in many instances recorded. Amongst curiosities purchased by Rawlinson at Rome in 1725 are mentioned "two canisters of old seals and medals." The entire collection now extends to 735 matrices, of which 400 are comparatively modern, and 70 are without legends. It includes several English and Scottish seals of considerable interest.

We desire to invite attention to an error which inadvertently occurred in the brief report of the interesting discourse on a remarkable charter exhibited by the Earl of Winchilsea, for which we were indebted to the kindness of Sir Frederic Madden, at the meeting on April 4th ult. See p. 176, in this volume. It was there said that Sir Frederic considered "that of monastic charters prior to the reign of Henry I., few, if any, are wholly free from suspicion." Sir Frederic has favored us with the following observation:—"My remarks were intended here to apply only to Westminster; and I said that it appeared to me extremely doubtful whether any of the great charters granted to that abbey previous to the reign of Henry I. (including under that term the charters of Edgar, Dunstan, Edward the Confessor, and, at least, one of William the Conqueror), could be considered genuine or free from suspicion."

PROCEEDINGS AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, 1862.

Held at Worcester, July 22 to July 29.

On the afternoon of Tuesday, July 22, at the time fixed for the commencement of the gathering of archaeologists in the "Faithful City," a numerous assemblage congregated at the Guildhall, which, through the kindness of the Mayor and Corporation, had been placed, with the whole of its ample accommodations, at the disposal of the Institute. The spacious lower Hall was very tastefully decorated on the occasion; at two o'clock the Mayor, the Sheriff, the City Chamberlain, and Aldermen, with other functionaries of the corporation, arrayed in their robes of office and with the insignia customary on state occasions, assembled to welcome the noble President Elect, Lord Lyttelton, and also the President of the Institute, Lord Talbot de Malahide, with numerous friends and the leading members of the society by whom he was accompanied.

A large attendance of visitors and ladies had already congregated in the Assembly room. The proceedings of the meeting were commenced by Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE. The noble lord observed that for several years it had been his part to preside at the annual gatherings of his archaeological friends and fellow-laborers, held successively in so many cities of the realm. It had always been to him a source of great satisfaction thus to offer his personal encouragement of a cause in which he had long taken a very lively interest, and, amidst the agreeable association with old friends, to form new friendships and enjoy the interchange of congenial intercourse with persons of kindred tastes and pursuits. It was, however, with even greater satisfaction that he (Lord Talbot) was called upon to present to the meeting as his successor on the present occasion a much worthier President in his noble friend Lord Lyttelton. They all knew the distinction to which that noble lord had attained in many branches of literature and intellectual cultivation; they all knew the enlightened spirit in which he carried out every purpose in which he engaged, the energy and earnestness with which he advocated those great public purposes which found in him so efficient a supporter. The cause of historical and archaeological research, and the conservation of national monuments, could not fail to receive a fresh and beneficial stimulus under his auspices. It had always been his (Lord Talbot's) desire that, in the course of the periodical progresses of the Institute through various districts of the country, there should not be wanting in each locality some person of distinction, not less by his acquaintance with the antiquities and annals of his county, than by influential social position, who might consent to occupy the office of President. With the hope that on future occasions

the Institute might enjoy the like good fortune by which they were now favored in prosecuting their purpose under the friendly encouragement and auspices of Lord Lyttelton, he would move that the noble lord, their President elect, do take the chair.

Lord LYTTELTON then addressed the meeting, expressing in very gratifying terms his sense of the honor conferred upon him by the Institute, and the hearty wish to promote to the best of his ability the success of their meeting in his county, and also the general interests of a society instituted for a worthy and patriotic purpose. But, whilst warmly appreciating the kind terms in which he had been presented by his friend Lord Talbot to the meeting, he could not refrain from the expression of regret at his inability to realise expectations which Lord Talbot's address might have produced. On former occasions it had happened, through the favor of his friends and neighbours, that he (Lord Lyttelton) had found himself called upon to occupy positions of distinction which he had personally no claim, unless by virtue of his office in that county, to occupy. He had never, however, felt so strongly as at the present moment how imperfectly qualified he was to fulfil the functions of the office conferred upon him; he had hitherto had comparatively little participation in the pursuits and studies of archæology; the duties of his public life had made him more conversant with Worcestershire as it is, than with Worcestershire as it was. But, whilst he must forego any claim to practical acquaintance with special objects of antiquarian study, he would yield to none in hearty sympathy and interest in the highly important subjects associated not only with Worcestershire, but with the history of our country and of great institutions in Church and State, which would be brought under the consideration of the meeting over which he had been requested to preside. He would, moreover, yield to none in the gratification with which he regarded the visit of such a society to his county, or the advantages which must accrue on such an occasion in the general extension of knowledge and of a more true estimation of memorials and vestiges of bygone times. It frequently happened that the less persons were able, in the daily pressure of practical life, to give attention to subjects of ancient, it might be truly said, of undying, interest, with the more delight did they welcome any casual opportunity which brought before them such subjects set forth and explained in a lucid and satisfactory manner. Such a feeling he (Lord Lyttelton) had experienced; he looked forward with pleasure to taking part in the varied occupations of the week, and to accompanying the members of the Institute in their explorations of sites of ancient or historical interest in his county. Although the society devoted attention specially to the works of man, and to antiquities associated with the industry and genius of man, none could fail to recognise the additional charm and pleasure which those pursuits present when connected with the admirable and unchanging works of God, with the picturesque scenery of the locality, and the inexhaustible charms of such natural features as would here meet their view. He would only express, in conclusion, the sincere hope that the meeting in which it gave him so much pleasure to take part might prove one of unmingled gratification, and beneficial to the cause which the Institute sought to promote.

The Deputy Town Clerk of Worcester (R. Woof, Esq.) then, by request of the Mayor, read the following address of the Mayor and Corporation:—

“ To the Right Hon. Lord Lyttelton, President of the meeting, and to the Right Hon. Lord Talbot de Malahide and the members of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

“ My lords, ladies, and gentlemen.—We, the Mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the city of Worcester, in council assembled, desire to offer to your lordships, and to the members of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, our sincere congratulations on the occasion of your having selected our ancient city as the place of meeting of the Institute for the present year, and we beg heartily to bid you welcome within our walls.

“ We believe that our county, whilst acknowledged to be pre-eminent for natural beauties, can boast of many most admirable specimens of the architecture of the Middle Ages; and, though the hand of time, or the still more destructive agencies of civil war, and, subsequently, the progress of modern improvement, have prostrated some of its ancient buildings, still the city of Worcester and its neighbourhood will be found to possess a sufficient variety of objects for examination and research to justify the gratifying selection which you have made. Connected as our city has been with many interesting historical events—the favored spot honored by many a royal visit, from the time of the first Henry—the last resting-place of more than one of our line of princes—the scene of a disastrous siege, which destroyed or seriously mutilated many of our churches and public buildings, and of a battle, the traditions of which still linger amongst us—it is evident that its annals must be replete with most valuable subjects for your consideration; and we feel it a duty on our part to offer you such aid as we possess in furtherance of the labors which your society has undertaken for the illustration of the history of past ages.

“ It has now been sufficiently generally acknowledged that archæology, or the study of antiquity, has a direct effect upon the progress of art, by drawing attention to the beautiful works of ancient times, and by bringing before the art-workman excellent examples for the cultivation of his taste, and for the improvement of design. But, beyond the influence of such knowledge upon our arts and manufactures, its extension must, we feel assured, tend to render Englishmen more proud of their country, and more careful in preserving the beautiful relics of bygone ages still left to them; and whilst it renders them more sensible of the advantages which they enjoy in the present time, compared with those of their forefathers, it inspires them with admiration for those men who, in times less peaceful than our own, contributed to establish and maintain those great constitutional privileges which as a nation we enjoy, and which form the most imperishable link of connection between the present and the past.

“ We trust that the proceedings of this week may tend very considerably to increase the large fund of historical information which the Archæological Institute of Great Britain has been the means of collecting, and that at the close of your congress you may leave our city laden, not only with fresh acquisitions of ancient lore, but with such pleasing reminiscences of your stay amongst us, as may in after years recall to your recollection your visit to Worcester as not the least pleasurable or instructive amongst the numerous progresses which you have made through England in pursuit of your important and interesting objects.

“Given under our common seal, at the Guildhall of the said city, this 22nd day of July, in the year of our Lord 1862.

“JOSEPH FIRKINS, Mayor.”

Lord LYTELTON, addressing the Mayor and members of the Town Council, expressed in most cordial terms, on the part of the Archaeological Institute, their thanks for this gratifying assurance of friendly welcome.

Sir EDMUND H. LECHMERE, Bart., High Sheriff of the county, then addressed the meeting, and observed that he was very desirous, especially as holding at the present time an influential office in Worcestershire, to convey on the part of the county the hearty expression of welcome to the Institute. He did this with the greater satisfaction, having for many years been personally connected with the society, and having long been desirous that the advantageous results which had accrued from their annual progresses in many other parts of the realm should be extended to his own county, where he had earnestly sought to promote a taste for purposes and pursuits kindred to those which the Institute had elsewhere so successfully prosecuted. The true bearing of archaeological investigation had not, as he believed, been truly appreciated; he hoped that the proceedings of the week now commencing would throw a fresh light upon the scope and tendency of archaeology in all its various branches. He anticipated much gratification in the results of the Temporary Museum, a pleasing feature of the meeting of the Institute, and to which Sir Edmund had heartily rendered every encouragement in his power. The close connection between works of antiquity and works of art had possibly not been generally understood. Sir Edmund adverted to the importance of the unrivalled display of ancient and mediæval art lately brought together for public instruction at South Kensington, and also to the singular value of such serial collections, as tending to illustrate not only the progress of arts, but of civilisation and manners, and thus to throw light upon the history of nations. Sir Edmund said, in closing his address, that in a week of such varied occupations some intervals of refreshment must be welcome, and as High Sheriff he was desirous to invite his archaeological friends, with all who might participate in the meeting, to a luncheon at the Guildhall after the discourse on the Cathedral which Professor Willis had promised to give on a subsequent day.

The Right Hon. Sir JOHN PAKINGTON, Bart., then rose and said, that he felt much pleasure in being invited to second the assurance of welcome to the Institute, on the part of the county, expressed by his friend the High Sheriff. He alluded to the numerous points of attraction which Worcestershire presents in its historical associations and ancient monuments of architecture or art; and he perceived with satisfaction by the programme of the week that an ample selection of objects of the most interesting character had been comprised in the scheme of proceedings. He felt strongly that, amongst many recent proofs of progress, none possibly was more striking than the novelty, introduced first in the present year on an extended scale, that noblemen and other persons possessing rare and instructive examples of ancient or mediæval art were willing to entrust them for exhibition for the benefit of the public at large. Sir Edmund Lechmere had alluded to the very remarkable instance of such a collection which had recently delighted all beholders at South Kensing-

ton. He (Sir John) hoped sincerely that the practice might be extended; he considered it worthy of an enlightened country, and tending to excite interest in the history of arts and manufactures, in a manner gratifying to the public mind and improving to the public taste. In referring to the Temporary Museum to be formed in the College Hall during the present meeting, Sir John expressed the satisfaction with which he had contributed some objects which he hoped might be regarded with interest, and that the collection, enriched by his noble friend Lord Lyttelton, and also by the High Sheriff, by Sir Thomas Winnington, and other Worcestershire collectors, would prove worthy of the county and of the occasion.

The Rev. Canon Wood offered a most cordial welcome on the part of the Dean and Chapter. The address read by the Town Clerk had so well and distinctly conveyed the wishes and feelings of the city and county towards the Institute, that little remained to be said in any congratulatory expressions. He regretted that it had fallen to him to appear as the representative of the Dean and Chapter on that occasion; he regretted, also, greatly the afflicting circumstances which had deprived them of the presence of the Dean. As representing, however, the appointed guardians of the venerable cathedral, he could not refrain from alluding to the satisfaction with which he regarded the visit of one of the most eminent architectural authorities in this country. Several years had elapsed since Professor Willis carefully examined the cathedral; in the interval much had been done to bring to light features of interest upon which his opinion was much desired. The interior had been denuded of the covering which concealed curious portions, and works of renovation, rendered indispensable through the lapse of years, had been carried out, as he hoped would be recognised, with that conscientious care which it was the duty of the Chapter to maintain. In tendering a sincere and cordial welcome, Canon Wood signified the gratification with which the Dean and Chapter had placed the College Hall at the disposal of the society, and their desire to afford every facility for examination of the structural details of the cathedral and buildings connected with it.

Sir CHARLES HASTINGS, as President of the Worcestershire Natural History Society, offered assurance of welcome and ready co-operation on his own part and that of the council of that society, hoping that the visit of the Institute might prove in every respect successful and productive of lasting results. He alluded to the gratification with which the council of the Worcestershire Society had placed at the disposal of their archaeological visitors not only their assembly room and museum, but also all relics of antiquity and works of art in their collection which might enhance the interest of the Temporary Museum of the Institute. Sir Charles spoke of the thirst for knowledge throughout the country in recent years, and of the beneficial tendency of local gatherings for scientific or antiquarian purposes in promoting intellectual and social advancement. The Mayor and Corporation had evinced most commendable goodwill in furthering the purposes of the Institute; those also who, like Sir Charles, had more especially devoted attention to natural science or other kindred pursuits, would, he felt assured, gladly unite in affording every encouragement on the present occasion.

Lord LYTTLETON expressed the thanks of the Institute in acknowledgment of the assurances of kind feeling and encouragement of the purposes of the society thus heartily tendered at the outset of their meeting.

A vote of thanks to the noble President having been moved by the MAYOR, it was seconded by Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P., and by Lord NEAVES, and carried with much applause.

The MAYOR then took occasion to convey a most hospitable invitation to a breakfast in the Guildhall on the following morning, and, after the usual announcements by the Rev. EDWARD HILL regarding excursions and general arrangements, the meeting dispersed.

The Temporary Museum formed, by kind permission of the Dean and Chapter, in the ancient conventual Refectory now known as the College Hall, was then opened; the interesting character of the collections arranged with excellent effect by Mr. Charles Tucker, and mostly illustrative of the history and antiquities of Worcester and the county, attracted a large number of visitors.

A numerous party of the archæologists proceeded to make an inspection of the principal objects of architectural or historical interest in Worcester, under the guidance of Mr. Severn Walker, Hon. Sec. of the Worcester Architectural Society, Mr. Edwin Lees, Mr. J. H. Parker, and other gentlemen conversant with the vestiges of ancient times in Worcester. Mr. Severn Walker, who had taken a very kind part, as local Secretary of the Institute, throughout the preliminary arrangements, had, with obliging care, prepared a useful directory not only to all the sites of archæological attraction in Worcester and the immediate neighbourhood, but also pointing out many architectural or other objects of curious interest readily accessible in the county, and which could not be included within the limits of the general excursions. The principal objects visited in Worcester were—St. Andrew's church, St. Alban's church, and the Commandery, to which every facility of access was most kindly permitted by the present possessor, R. C. Mence, Esq. That ancient building contains, as Mr. Parker pointed out, one of the most perfect and interesting examples of an ancient hall extant, with a fine open-timbered roof of the time of Henry VII., a bay-window, and a coved projecting canopy or dais where the high table stood. Mr. Severn Walker read some notes on the history of the Norman foundation of this charitable and religious house, and of the subsequent transitions which it has undergone. The architectural details have been carefully delineated in Mr. Dolman's *Domestic Architecture*. From the Commandery the archæologists proceeded to an ancient building in Friar Street, the best specimen of fifteenth-century timbered work which Worcester can now produce, and supposed by Britton to have been a hostelry connected with the monastery of the Grey Friars. They likewise visited the "King's House" in the Corn Market, bearing the date 1577, and where Charles II., according to tradition, lodged on the night previous to the battle of Worcester. Thence the visitors proceeded to examine the ancient buildings once connected with Trinity Hall, the place of assembly for the local guilds and trading companies, and to the vestiges in the Tything, which mark the position of a nunnery known as the White Ladies. The remains of the chapel and various monuments, &c., which existed at the time of the visit of the Archæological Association in 1848, have almost wholly perished; the entrance to a crypt still exists, from which a subterranean passage was supposed to lead to the cathedral; but all endeavors to bring to light the proofs of such tradition have been fruitless. Mr. Edwin Lees pointed out in the ancient nunnery garden a venerable mulberry-tree, which, although now prostrate, is in

vigorous vegetation; its age has been supposed to be not less than seven centuries.

In the evening a meeting was held, by obliging permission of the Worcester Natural History Society, in their Assembly-room. The chair was taken by Lord LYTTLTON. The proceedings commenced with a memoir on the Ecclesiology of Worcestershire, read by Mr. SEVERN WALKER;¹ which led to discussion of certain points of interest, in which the noble President, and also Lord Talbot, Sir Thomas Winnington, the Rev. E. Hill, Mr. Freeman, Mr. Parker, and other members present took part.

A Memoir was then read on Pershore Abbey church by Mr. E. A. FREEMAN, preparatory to the proposed visit to that place on the morrow.

The Rev. S. LYSONS, F.S.A., read a short notice of the Rescue of Henry VIII. by three Gloucestershire men on a field of battle, in his French wars, in 1513. According to tradition, Guy Hooke, a Gloucestershire man, with two other valiant men of that county, preserved the king on an occasion of sudden surprise; the former was rewarded with an estate near Worcester called Crooke, still the property of his descendants. The armour worn by Guy Hooke had been preserved until recent years; the two-handed sword which he wielded on the memorable occasion in question now alone exists; it was shown by Mr. Lysons, through the obliging permission of Mr. Thomas Hooke the present representative of the family, and was exhibited in the Temporary Museum.² Mr. Lysons gave also a short account of a sculptured tablet, which he exhibited, lately found at Gloucester on the site of property formerly belonging to the Whittington family; it represents a youth holding a cat in his arms, and is supposed by Mr. Lysons to be a portraiture of the renowned Richard Whittington, and to supply fresh evidence in support of the tradition relating to his early history.

Wednesday, July 23.

At nine o'clock, by the hospitable invitation of the MAYOR of WORCESTER, the members of the Institute, with the numerous ladies and visitors attending the meeting, were most kindly entertained at breakfast in the Guild-hall. The party assembled in the lower Hall, which was very tastefully decorated. The Mayor presided, supported by Lord Lyttelton and Lord Talbot de Malahide. The day having thus agreeably commenced with a social and very gratifying mark of the cordial feelings evinced towards the Institute in the "Faithful City," at ten o'clock the meetings of the Sections commenced in the accustomed course of the proceedings.

In the Section of History the first memoir was read on Lord Chancellor Somers and other Legal Celebrities of Worcestershire, by Mr. EDWARD FOSS, F.S.A. Amongst the earlier men of eminence in legal biography in the county, Mr. Foss alluded to John Cumming, a monk of Evesham in the twelfth century, who became Archbishop of Dublin. Certain other minor celebrities of subsequent times were noticed; but more especially

¹ *Proc. &c.* length in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 213, Dec. 1862, pp. 493, 6-9.

² It is hoped that Mr. Lysons will give this curious memoir in his series of Gloucestershire Antiquities.

the celebrated author of the *Tenures*, from whom Mr. Foss traced the Lyttelton descent to the noble President, under whose favorable auspices the Institute had assembled in Worcestershire. He noticed also Judge Berkeley, Sir Thomas Steele, William Simpson, and Nicholas, Lord Lechmere, ancestor of the kind friend of the Institute, the present High Sheriff. A more detailed sketch was given of the life and times of the great Lord Somers, replete with important and interesting facts connected with the eventful period of his career. In a discussion which arose, Mr. Noake, whose valuable contributions to local history and topography have thrown much light on the annals of Worcester, offered some remarks on the tradition that the birthplace of Lord Somers was a house in St. Michael's parish, now destroyed; it has been usually supposed that he was born at the White Ladies. Mr. G. Hastings also made some observations on the history of the Chancellor's early life.

The Rev. W. STUBBS, M.A., Vicar of Navestock, Essex, then read a memoir on the History of the Cathedral, Diocese, and Monasteries of Worcester in the Eighth Century. Printed in this volume, page 236.

In a meeting of the Section of Antiquities which ensued, the chair was taken by the Master of Gonvil and Caius College, Dr. GUEST. The following communications were read:—

On Traces of History and Ethnology in the Local Names of Worcestershire. By the Rev. JOHN EARLE, M.A., late Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford. This paper formed a continuation of the valuable memoirs by Mr. Earle, whose dissertations on Local Names in Cheshire and Gloucestershire have appeared in this Journal.

Sir CHARLES ANDERSON, Bart., then read a short paper on Traces of the Scandinavian Language as retained in the East Riding of Yorkshire and in adjacent parts of Lincolnshire.

Shortly before two o'clock a numerous party proceeded by special train to Pershore. They first visited the singular little chapels at Pinvin and Wyre Piddle, similar to each other in their general and peculiar features, and supposed by Mr. Bloxam and other archæologists to present the only examples of Saxon work in Worcestershire. Mr. Parker, however, stated grounds for a different opinion, and considered Pinvin chapel to be a work of the eleventh century. He pointed out the curious squints, one on each side of the small round chancel-arch, and in the north wall one of the original little deeply-splayed windows exists. The plaster on the walls prevents examination of the masonry so as to ascertain whether long-and-short work, usually considered as indicative of the Saxon style, occurs in the quoins. There are some mural paintings, which may be of the thirteenth century, but traces of secondary painting occur. The Rev. Dr. Williamson, whose kind courtesies contributed very much to the enjoyment of this day's excursion, informed the visitors of his intention to preserve those curious relics of early art by covering them with glass. On arriving at Pershore, Mr. Freeman kindly undertook to explain the remarkable character and features of the Abbey church. In many instances the division of a conventual church between the monks and the parish may account, he observed, for the examples of choirs being destroyed and naves left standing; at Pershore, however, at Boxgrove, and at a few other places, the reverse is the case; a circumstance for which there must have existed some cause, although he had failed to ascertain it. Many conventual churches, like that of Pershore, had a small parish church closely

adjoining. The oldest or Norman remains were pointed out by Mr. Freeman as seen where the north transept joins the base of the tower; the nave, now destroyed, was Norman, as were likewise the tower-arches. Mr. Freeman expressed his admiration of the tower as singularly fine, and its effect may probably be much better in its present ruinous condition than when it was surrounded by the four limbs of the church; its proportions now appear lofty and grand, but originally it must have appeared comparatively stunted. The nave had a low roof, whilst the roofs of the presbytery and transepts were steeply pitched. On conducting the visitors into the church Mr. Freeman examined the south transept, which Mr. Hopkins, an architect at Worcester who has devoted much attention to local ecclesiology, is inclined to assign to Earl Oddo, A.D. 1056, as stated in a memoir which he has given on this church. Mr. Freeman, however, was not inclined to accept so early a date. The work is very plain and rude; there are scarcely any attempts at ornamentation, no mouldings, and the capitals occasionally present the peculiar volute seen in the earliest examples of the style in Normandy. The older portions of the church, he remarked, correspond closely with those of Tewkesbury and Gloucester. The Norman choir had been destroyed by fire about 1253, apparently just after the east end had been added in Transitional work of which some portions may be discerned. On proceeding to the presbytery, Mr. Freeman stated that it is an exceedingly good example of the common Early English style, namely, with the round abacus and clustered shafts, the pier losing all trace of rectangular section. There is no distinct triforium; the triforium is thrown into the clerestory. In the Decorated period the vaulting of the presbytery was constructed and made to harmonise with the Early English work. No important part of the church belongs to the Perpendicular period. At the south-east angle Mr. Freeman pointed out where the transept, now destroyed, had stood; it is proposed shortly to restore this feature of the fabric. There are also indications of a vaulted chapel formerly attached to the transept, and the point of junction of the conventual buildings may be discerned.

Mr. BLOXAM then read some observations on a cross-legged effigy of a knight in Pershore church, formerly in the churchyard on the north side. He referred its date to the reign of Henry III., about 1250. The chief peculiarity consists in the mailed covering of the right hand being thrown back at the wrist, so that the hand is bare, grasping a hunting-horn, an indication, as Nash and other antiquaries have supposed, that the person commemorated was a forester or an official ranger. Mr. Bloxam stated the grounds of his conjecture that the horn may have reference to ancient tenure by cornage. This curious effigy is figured, *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. iv., p. 319.

After inspecting the small parish church, the archaeologists were most kindly welcomed at the vicarage by the Rev. Dr. Williamson, and, having partaken of his friendly hospitality, they returned by train to Worcester.

At the Evening Meeting the chair was taken by Lord NEAVES. Mr. Parler offered some observations preliminary to the excursion, proposed for the following day, to Evesham, Buckland, Broadway, and Campden; he also placed before the meeting sketches illustrative of the objects which would there claim attention.

A memoir was then read on Earl Simon de Montfort and Evesham Abbey, by Mr. FREEMAN. He observed that almost all vestiges of that

important monastery have unfortunately disappeared ; a door-way which led to the chapter-house is left ; the only relic, however, of note is the beautiful bell-tower. The interest attaching itself to Evesham is not architectural but historical ; it is associated with the memories of great men whose bones there lie mouldering into dust ; such, Mr. Freeman remarked, was Simon de Montfort, one of the greatest champions of English liberty. Although not canonised at Rome, Simon was regarded by the people at large as a saint ; his praises were sung in all languages used in this country ; of these enthusiastic eulogies Mr. Freeman gave examples. The hero was compared with Simon Peter, Simon Magus, and Simon the Maccabee. Mr. Freeman entered at considerable length into the history of Simon and his family ; also into the political and social circumstances connected with his eventful career and exploits, not only in England but in Gascony and other foreign parts ; he eulogised warmly the still more important results of Simon de Montfort's memorable efforts in behalf of English rights and liberties in the calling up of representatives of the boroughs to Parliament.

Thursday, July 24.

This day being devoted to an excursion to Evesham, at half-past nine a numerous party set forth, and, on reaching that place, proceeded, under Mr. Freeman's guidance, to examine the site of the monastic buildings, and also the adjoining parish churches, All Saints and St. Lawrence, the former containing a richly-decorated mortuary chapel of Abbot Clement, Lichfield, with beautiful fan tracery in its vaulting. The bell-tower, the finest architectural relic of the ancient grandeur of Evesham, was his work : it answered the twofold purpose of an entrance portal and of a *campanile* ; it may have also served as a spacious lich-gate, and thus corresponds with the tower at Bury St. Edmunds, and that at West Walton, Norfolk. Considerable excavations were made some years since on the site of the monastery by the late Mr. Rudge, and extensive vestiges of its former greatness were brought to light which were mostly removed to his residence distant about two miles from Evesham. These interesting discoveries have been fully described and illustrated in the *Vetusta Monumenta* published by the Society of Antiquaries ; unfortunately, the present possessor of the architectural and other relics thus displaced from the site with the interest of which they were so essentially associated, was unwilling to permit the Institute to inspect his curious acquisitions. The worthy Mayor of Evesham, Mr. Huband, courteously received the visitors, and conducted them to various objects of antiquarian interest. He exhibited an ancient ecclesiastical ring found at Evesham ; also the Regalia of the Corporation, amongst which is a silver cup, the gift of George Carew in 1660. The "loving cup" having been filled by the worthy Mayor, Lord Talbot proposed health and prosperity to the ancient municipality and inhabitants of Evesham.

Some of the archæologists visited also Dr. Perry, who had collected at his residence certain antiquities and relics found in Evesham and in the neighbourhood ; amongst these was a large processional cross, supposed to have been part of the sacred ornaments of the conventual church ; it is now in the possession of Mr. Eade, of Evesham, and is described in the Catalogue of the Museum formed at Worcester during the meeting of the Institute, p. 19.

From Evesham the party proceeded to Buckland, a remote village in a picturesque position in Gloucestershire. The church presents some features of interest, and adjoining to it is an ancient abbatial manor-house : it is a good specimen of fourteenth-century work. Here Mr. Parker kindly took the part of *cicerone* : the house is noticed in his *Domestic Architecture*, vol. iii., p. 252. There is a fine old hall at the Rectory, where the visitors were courteously received by the Rev. W. Phillips, who exhibited a curious pall or altar-cloth, consisting of portions probably of ancient vestments which may have belonged to Hayles Abbey, and also a singular wooden cup mounted in silver and inscribed with the donor's name : it is supposed to have been connected with church-ales or other parish festivities. These objects are noticed in the Worcester Museum Catalogue, before cited, pp. 40, 97. The parsonage at Buckland was built about 1520, by William Grafton, whose rebus, a graft in a tun, is to be seen in the hall windows.

Broadway was the next object. Mr. Parker directed the attention of the visitors to the old church now for some years disused, which contains some Norman work in the nave ; the fabric is, however, mostly of the period of transition from the Decorated style. The rood-loft remains. Over the chancel-arch the arms of Charles I., dated 1641, attracted notice as an unusual instance of their preservation in the general removal of such insignia during the Commonwealth. Another manor-house, connected with Pershore Abbey, and of some architectural interest, was visited under Mr. Parker's guidance ; and the party then proceeded to the residence of the Viscount Campden, on his friendly invitation to a collation, a most welcome refreshment after the fatigues of their pilgrimage. At the close of the repast Lord Lyttelton returned thanks for the hospitalities and friendly courtesy with which the Institute had thus been favored in their visitation of these parts of the Cotteswold range, and the excursionists took their leave, to inspect the picturesque little town of Clipping Campden, formerly a place of considerable wealth and successful industry in the manufacture of cloth. There are several interesting stone houses with good architectural details ; the church, although of late work, is a striking example of the period, with its beautiful lofty tower and traceried windows ; it contains also some remarkable sepulchral brasses, memorials of the ancient merchants of the staple, and some stately tombs of the Noel family. Lord Lyttelton, with Lord Talbot and many of their archaeological companions, found a hearty welcome at the Vicarage from the Rev. C. E. Kennaway, where some ancient embroideries with other curious relics there preserved were kindly presented to their inspection by Mrs. Kennaway. A small party examined also the old chapel, at some distance from the general route, at Broad Campden.

In the evening a *conversazione* took place in the Museum of the Institute in the College Hall, which was effectively lighted up for the occasion. The numerous visitors lingered to a late hour, highly gratified by the attentions of Mr. Charles Tucker, in doing the honors of the valuable and instructive Worcestershire Collections tastefully arranged by him in chronological classification. Several gentlemen of the county friendly to the purposes of the Institute in their Worcestershire gathering, and whose kindness had enriched that collection of Worcestershire relics, were enabled to be present this evening. They had unfortunately been precluded from any participation in the proceedings of the congress through the unexpected selection of the same week by the Earl of Dudley (one of the local Patrons

of the Institute), Lieut.-Col. Commandant of the "Queen's Own Worcestershire Yeomanry Cavalry," for the periodical drill and review of that gallant corps.

Friday, July 25.

The Sections resumed their proceedings, the Hon. Lord NEAVES presiding in the Meeting of the Historical division. The following memoirs were read:—

On the history of Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester A.D. 1062. By the Very Rev. W. FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D., F.R.S., Dean of Chichester. This valuable paper will be printed in the ensuing volume of this Journal.

The Royal Councils of Worcester. By the Rev. CHARLES H. HARTSHORNE, M.A. Printed in this volume, p. 303.

Some account of Vacarius, the first Professor of Civil Law in the University of Oxford, and of a MS. of his Epitome of the Roman Law preserved in the Library of Worcester Cathedral. By Mr. GEORGE W. HASTINGS, LL.B.

At half-past one o'clock a Meeting of the Architectural Section was held in the Assembly-room at the Guildhall. In the unexpected absence of Sir STEPHEN R. GLYNNE, Bart., President of the Section, who was hastily summoned to London to attend a Parliamentary Committee, the chair was taken by Lord LYTTETON. Professor WILLIS then gave an admirable discourse on the Architectural History of Worcester Cathedral. The following is a very imperfect outline of his most interesting dissertation.

Professor WILLIS prefaced his remarks by observing that the cathedral was a structure of singular interest, from the various styles of its architecture. These styles and various peculiarities he hoped to have the opportunity of pointing out to his hearers, when he accompanied them later in the day in an examination of that remarkable structure. The early history of the cathedral had already been set forth very ably by other members of the Institute. He proposed to limit his observations to the fabric actually existing. In regard moreover to the Saxon Church he should say nothing; he did not believe that there was any fragment of it now existing; he would begin with the work of Wulstan. In enquiries of this nature it is requisite to ascertain first what historical evidence may be available for our guidance, and then to compare the building itself with these documents. The stones tell their own history, and the documents serve to illustrate that history. The principal document would be the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, evidently written by one of the monks of Worcester. Wulstan was present with Edward the Confessor at the dedication of St. Peter's, Westminster, now called Westminster Abbey, a building which had given rise to controversy with regard to Saxon architecture; it was erected, as has been alleged, by Norman workmen brought to this country by the Confessor, and thus we had Norman work before the Conquest. After the battle of Hastings, Wulstan made his submission, and was continued in the see of Worcester. In 1084 he began his work at Worcester Cathedral, and it is recorded that four years after the monks entered into occupation, a short time to suffice for building a church and monastic buildings, but probably only a portion was completed. Quoting a passage from William of Malmesbury, in which Wulstan is described as comparing unfavorably the spirit which prompted his work with that which actuated the builders of the ancient cathedral, while he spoke of that edifice as materially inferior, the Professor inferred that the early edifice

was of insignificant character, and that no part was retained by Wulstan. In 1092 Wulstan summoned a Synod to be held, as stated, in the crypts which he had built from the foundation. This shows plainly that the crypts were the work of Wulstan. In 1113 the church and city were burnt. Wulstan died in 1095, and, according to Malmesbury, was deposited in a tomb, described as between two pyramids, with an arch over it; this was in early times a common form of monument, which subsequently became more elaborate. In 1175 Wulstan's tower fell to the ground, a casualty unfortunately of frequent occurrence in Norman structures, and of which Chichester Cathedral has recently been so sad an example. In 1202 another fire occurred; in the next year Wulstan was canonised; in 1208 King John visited the cathedral, and gave 100 marks for the repair of the cloisters and other buildings. In 1216 John was buried in the cathedral, and in 1218 the body of St. Wulstan was translated. Proceeding on these facts, the Professor pointed out that the styles exemplified in the cathedral are Norman, Transitional Norman, early Decorated, very late Decorated, in short, all the mediæval styles, the Debased or imitative Classical style, and lastly modern restorations. The crypt is undoubtedly old Norman, the work of Wulstan, and Professor Willis pointed out by his admirable diagrams how far that crypt had extended eastward, and that the fabric had been extended beyond that point by Early English builders, not by Wulstan, so that now the tower stands exactly in the centre of the fabric. The crypt is constructed with rows of pillars closely ranged; the apsidal end still remains; the crypt had external aisles serving as a circular procession-path. The piers are solid masses of Norman work standing under corresponding piers of the church above; some hope had been entertained of finding radiating chapels around the crypt, as at Gloucester and other places. Mr. Perkins, the architect to whom the important works in progress at the cathedral are entrusted, and of whose courteous assistance and ability the Professor spoke in the highest terms, had caused excavations to be made; a passage leading from the crypt was found, and upon a window-opening adjoining to it, a curious mural painting had been discovered, of which he produced a fac-simile drawing which Mr. Perkins had preserved; it represents an angel holding a thurible. Professor Willis proceeded to speak of the nave, in which vestiges of Wulstan's work are to be traced, such as unmistakable Norman shafts and cushioned capitals, the staircase of the tower, of Norman ashlar in alternate courses of white and grey stone. The Transitional Norman style is well exemplified in various parts of the work having better mouldings than the Norman, capitals of more delicate execution, and pointed as well as round arches. The cathedral was burnt in 1202, but nothing is distinctly recorded as regards the precise part of the building damaged at that time; he believed that the fire so injured Wulstan's tower that it was determined to rebuild it in the style of the thirteenth century. The canonisation of Wulstan brought numerous pilgrims to the cathedral, and their offerings provided doubtless the means of repairing the damage. King John's visit had a similar effect, as had also the translation of St. Wulstan's body from the tomb to his shrine. The date, 1218, is before the Early English style, but sufficiently near to admit of the supposition that the work had begun, and was subsequently carried on. In the choir there are two styles; the first three arches have the "dog-tooth" ornament, of which the others are destitute. This corresponds with work at Salisbury executed in 1220,

and it rarely occurs that such a correspondence can be found in Early English work as exists between that at Worcester and the work at Salisbury. In 1222 there was a great tempest, which blew down two small towers; and in 1224, the new work of "the front," or east end, of the church was begun. In 1281 it is recorded that the sacrist received sixty marks towards rebuilding the tower. From 1268 to 1302 Godfrey Giffard was Bishop of Worcester; he is said to have ornamented the columns in the eastern part of the church with rings of gilt brass, which still exist. The Professor explained in detail the mode by which shafts were affixed to the main shaft of a pillar, and showed that these rings would serve to conceal the points of junction. Some of the piers in the choir appear to have been pressed out so much by the thrust of the arches, that a wall was constructed between two of the piers near the lesser north transept. Recently the piers had been reconstructed in a sounder manner. Although architects of the present day may fail in designing with the skill and taste evinced by their predecessors, they doubtless follow a far more substantial mode of construction. Between 1318 and 1321 the stone vaulting of the north aisle of the nave was completed by Bishop Cobham; the vaulting of the nave was the work of Bishop Wakefield, about 1377. The tower was built in 1374, but the stone is so subject to rapid decay that the work has undergone the process of "skinning" more than once; the general outline has been retained, but all original details have been lost. The Professor then traced the history of the fabric to the Reformation, when the altars were removed, the shrines taken down and the relics of saints buried, and all things appertaining to Roman Catholic worship were destroyed. At the Reformation some kind of decency and order was observed; but in the Great Rebellion the greatest irreverence was shown by the Puritans, possibly in revenge for the loyalty of the city. To that period is to be attributed the defacement and ruin now to be seen; the violence of religious and political faction brought with it reckless destruction. At the Restoration much was renewed in the best spirit, but in the worst possible taste, the elements of the classical styles being introduced through the revival of classical learning in this country. We doubtless, however, owe much to the zeal and liberality of those who restored the building, even though these restorations were badly conceived; but it must be remembered that workmen at that period were accustomed only to the new or classical style of architecture. The learned Professor recalled how, in his own young days, no advance had been made beyond what was termed "Cockney Gothic;" the workmen had no experience in executing details, and even those architects who produced good designs were unable to have them properly carried out. In 1800 the east window was rebuilt, and the central tower sealed. Later again came the time of periodical disease, and the fabric had fallen into such a dilapidated state, that it had become indispensably requisite to arrest the ruin with which the fabric was threatened, through the decay of the peculiarly perishable material of which it is constructed. An extensive and costly repair is now in course of execution in the most substantial manner, the stone also being carefully selected to withstand the weather. Professor Willis had examined the works with great interest; the sculptured work and other details had been judiciously treated, the old work having in no case been removed when it could be safely retained; when it could no longer be preserved, the portions substituted were of the best workmanship and material. He believed

that the restorations had been carried out in a judicious and highly conscientious manner. Of course, for antiquarian purposes the restoration had destroyed all external features of interest; in the interior, however, as he hoped to point out in the afternoon, abundant evidence of the greatest value to the architectural student is to be found. He was desirous to record distinctly his conviction that the zeal and liberality with which provision had been made for a costly work, rendered indispensable unfortunately through the decay of time, were only equaled by the skill and conscientious care evinced throughout the work by Mr. Perkins, the architect to whom the difficult charge had been entrusted. After referring to the statements of those who had previously discussed the history of the cathedral, and endeavoured to fix the periods to which various portions may be assigned, Dugdale, Brown Willis, Dr. Thomas, Green, and other recent writers, the Professor observed that their opinions appeared to be chiefly grounded on an account of the structure obtained by a prebendary of Worcester, Dr. Hopkins, who died in 1700. He devoted much attention to local history and antiquities, aided doubtless by the collections of the earliest Worcestershire antiquary, Habington; and Professor Willis was of opinion that Dr. Hopkins's curious statement had been derived from some old record which unfortunately is no longer to be found. The Professor concluded his observations by giving some description of the conventual buildings, as illustrated by a plan which he had prepared. A remarkable feature of these had been the Guesten-hall destined for the entertainment of distinguished visitors. It had been a fine structure of the flowing Decorated style, with a timbered roof of remarkably beautiful character. At the Restoration it was appropriated as a residence for the Dean, and divided into floors and numerous apartments, partitions, staircases and chimneys being constructed to suit modern convenience. When the number of canons was reduced and some prebendal houses demolished, a portion of the deanery was removed; thus the Guesten-hall was brought to light, but in so ruinous a condition, so mutilated by the reckless injuries inflicted in its conversion to the purposes of a modern dwelling, that, in his judgment, the expense of restoration was greater than the object justified, whilst funds available for the extensive repairs required in the cathedral, the chapter-house, and other parts of the fabric, were scarcely adequate to the works most imperatively demanded. It had therefore, after much discussion and deliberation, been concluded that the restoration of the Guesten-hall should be abandoned; the roof had been removed, and given by the Dean and Chapter to be used in the erection of a church in Worcester; unfortunately, its reconstruction in a satisfactory manner might prove impracticable, from the decayed condition of the timber. Greatly as archaeologists must regret the decision which circumstances had thus compelled the Chapter to take, Professor Willis was of opinion that the course adopted in the emergency was, on the whole, preferable to any modern reconstruction of the hall, reduced as it had been to so shattered and mutilated a condition.

The thanks of the meeting were cordially conveyed to Professor Willis by the noble President, amidst loud acclamations. The company then dispersed, on a summons by the cheerful strains of the trumpeters attendant on the High Sheriff, who had most kindly invited Lord Lyttelton and the members of the Institute, with the ladies and visitors attending the meeting, to a collation prepared in the lower Hall. Nearly 300 guests

enjoyed Sir Edmund Lechmere's kind hospitality and courtesies on this agreeable occasion.

At four o'clock Professor WILLIS resumed the subject of his interesting dissertation; he then guided his audience in an examination of every part of the fabric of the cathedral and conventual buildings, pointing out on the spot the peculiarities of construction and the actual evidence upon which the conclusions, previously stated in his discourse, had been grounded.

At the evening meeting in the Assembly Room of the Natural History Society, the chair was taken by Lord NEAVES, and the following communications were read;—

An Historical Account of the Battle of Worcester, with notices of its Local Memorials. By Mr. EDWIN LEES, F.L.S., F.G.S.

Notices of Ancient Mosaics found in Britain. By ROBERT WOLLASTON, M.D. Several excellent diagrams and models of Roman construction of tessellated floors and *suspensuræ* were exhibited in illustration.

Saturday, July 26.

A meeting of the Section of Antiquities was held at ten o'clock, the chair being taken by the Rev. J. FULLER RUSSELL, B.D., F.S.A. The proceedings commenced with the following memoir:—

Notices of the ancient monumental Remains and Effigies in Worcester Cathedral, and of certain discoveries of remarkable interments. By Mr. M. HOLBECHE BLOXAM.

A paper, replete with valuable local information and the results of long and careful research, was then read by Mr. JOHN NOAKE, whose volumes illustrative of Worcester in the Olden time, and also of the Parochial Antiquities of the county, form very interesting additions to local topography. The memoir read by Mr. Noake on the present occasion was on the Ancient Guilds of Worcester. He brought, by the kind permission of the High Master of the Ancient Company of the Clothiers, the embroidered pall, silk flags, silver seal, processional shields, and other relics of state and ceremony belonging to that guild. Also, by kind permission of the High Master of the Cordwainers' Company, their documents, ordinances, and a fine silver cup, a relic of their ancient convivialities. These objects are described in the Catalogue of the Museum of the Institute at the Worcester Meeting, pp. 43, 45 (Worcester, published by Messrs. Deighton).

The Rev. C. H. HARTSHORNE made some observations on the embroidered pall exhibited by the courtesy of the Clothiers' Guild. It is formed of portions of a cope of the time of Henry VII., possibly of more than one such vestment, with figures of saints, seraphim standing on wheels, the double-headed eagle, with other conventional and usual ornaments of the elaborate needlework of the fifteenth century. Such devices are described in Mr. Hartshorne's notices of Mediæval Embroidery in this Journal, vol. iv. pp. 290, 298. Mr. BLOXAM also signified his opinion that the Clothiers' pall consists of English embroidery of the time of Edward IV. or of Henry VII.

A memoir was then read, on Little Malvern Priory, by Mr. DANIEL A. PARSONS, preliminary to the proposed visit in the afternoon to the remains of that conventual establishment. Another paper, kindly prepared by Mr. Parsons, on Birts Morton Court, was unavoidably deferred.

About noon a numerous party set forth for Great Malvern, special accommodation being provided by the West Midland Company, whose

liberal arrangements and consideration for the convenience of all persons taking part in the archæological proceedings was shown, throughout the week, in a very gratifying manner. On reaching Malvern, where carriages were provided, the visitors were welcomed, in the absence of the Vicar, by the churchwardens, Mr. J. R. Wilton and Mr. W. Archer, and by Dr. Grindrod, who has devoted much attention to local archæology. Lady Emily Foley, Major-Gen. Wilmot, Sir Robert Buxton, Bart., with other residents in Malvern, also joined the gathering. Assembled around the stone cross near the northern entrance of the churchyard, they listened to the account given by Mr. Freeman of the history of the Priory, and of the church, now undergoing extensive "restorations." The inhabitants of Malvern had, he observed, originally no interest in the Priory church; the old parish church stood at no great distance from it and had wholly disappeared. The existing church therefore is purely monastic, and almost wholly preserved, no parts being lost, with the exception of the south transept and the Lady-Chapel. Externally the fabric is wholly of Perpendicular character; but in the interior a large portion of the original Norman minster, erected in the twelfth century, is to be seen, which, although it may not rank with the church of Peterborough or that of Tewkesbury, having been a third-rate Norman structure, was almost raised to the second rank of churches by the subsequent additions to its height and general importance in the Perpendicular period. The central position of the tower gives, probably, a better effect than if it had been placed, as at Worcester, precisely in the middle of the building: it resembles the tower of Gloucester Cathedral, of which, being later in date, it may be an imitation. On proceeding to the east end, Mr. Freeman pointed out the site once occupied by the Lady-Chapel, which appeared to have had a crypt, of which excavations, under direction of the late Rev. F. Dyson, revealed a few years since the remains, and some traces are still to be discerned. The presbytery and apse had been Norman, the Lady-Chapel Transitional, but reconstructed in Perpendicular times. There is, however, no doubt, from evidence supplied by the crypt, that the Lady-Chapel had been added about the end of the twelfth century or early in the thirteenth. The Perpendicular structure must have resembled that at Gloucester: the builders had sought to obtain at once a spacious Lady-Chapel and a great east window; a combination not easy to carry out. The present doorway at the east end was the ancient approach from the church into the Lady-Chapel, a space intervening between the two portions of the fabric. Mr. Freeman then accompanied his hearers into the interior. The Norman nave had doubtless, he observed, been erected at a later time than the old presbytery: the church being purely monastic, the monks would first complete the eastern portion requisite for their services. The choir was under the tower, as at Pershore. The original design of the Norman presbytery might still be ascertained. It had an apse, which in Perpendicular times was changed into a square east end. At each side of the high altar there is a door opening into a kind of vestry behind it, a segmental wall of Perpendicular work being found behind the reredos. Had that wall been a true semicircle, Mr. Freeman stated that he should have regarded it without doubt as representing the old Norman apse. The arrangement of the eastern end of the Norman fabric had, however, as he had been informed by the clerk of the works, been ascertained; a portion of semicircular walling had been revealed a little to the north-east of the eastern door,

doubtless the remains of the wall of an aisle which, as pointed out at Worcester by Professor Willis, ran round the apse. Having made some remarks on the character of the massive circular piers of the nave, which, although simple, are not on that account necessarily of early Norman date, Mr. Freeman observed that the triforium had been destroyed by the builders of the Perpendicular period, and nothing done to supply its place; so that the blank between the Norman arches and the clerestory presents a poor appearance. Norman aisles were mostly narrow, and here the south aisle retained its original proportion, the builders being unable to alter it on account of the cloisters, whilst they extended the north aisle to its present wider dimensions. The painted glass, of which considerable portions have been preserved throughout the church, is of much interest, and illustrative of the history of the fabric. In one of the clerestory windows may be read—*Orate pro anima*, referable to a prior of Malvern about 1453: the works of the presbytery were in progress, probably, about that time. It was consecrated in 1460. In another window is seen a memorial of John Alcock, Bishop of Worcester in 1476. Mr. Freeman called attention to the side-panelings included within the outlines of the windows, and also to indications that the roof of the presbytery, as originally designed, had been intended to be vaulted. He spoke favorably of the repairs carried out under Mr. Scott's directions; there is always difficulty, however, in adapting a conventual church to parish purposes, and some compromise is generally found inevitable.

Mr. MARKLAND observed that, when the parishioners of Malvern purchased the church and preserved it from destruction, the work of demolition evidently had commenced, and the south transept was partly taken down. It had been hastily reconstructed, materials being taken wherever they could be obtained; and in proof of this he cited the fact that the lower extremity of the curious mailed effigy, still to be seen in the church, had been discovered, during his residence at Malvern, built into the wall of the transept; the sculptured portion was extracted and reunited to the effigy. Mr. John Gough Nichols offered some remarks on the decorative tiles, made, as he believed, in a kiln which was found some years since near the church: he called attention especially to those used as wall-decorations at the east end, forming two sets, dated 1453 and 1457 respectively. The late Dr. Carl had unfortunately removed a large number of these surface-enrichments, of which no example has been found elsewhere; and, having been laid down as flooring, they have speedily perished. A drawing by Lysons, taken in 1797, and exhibited in the Temporary Museum of the Institute, has preserved the only memorial probably of their application to the external face of the apsidal wall behind the altar.

The next object was the Priory Church of Little Malvern. The vestiges of architectural interest were pointed out by Mr. D. Parsons and Mr. Gough Nichols: the chancel and tower alone remain. The church was built in the time of John Alcock, Bishop of Worcester, in the reign of Edward IV. The east window originally displayed a series portraying that sovereign, his queen, and family; the kneeling figures of the Prince of Wales, the queen, and three princesses remain, but the glass is much broken. Two of the figures which were in best condition were carefully re-leaded and preserved from further damage, in 1846, under the skilful direction of Mr. Winston. The visitors were kindly welcomed by Mr. Berington, whose residence, once the Prior's house, adjoins the church; thence they pro-

ceeded to ascend the heights, and to examine the Herefordshire Beacon, one of the most remarkable and extensive entrenchments in England. Mr. Edwin Lees offered some observations, stating the supposition that the camp had been occupied by the Britons permanently as a stronghold, between the time of the departure of the Romans and the full establishment of Saxon sway; the late Dr. Card, however, and also other antiquaries, have regarded it as a fortress occupied by Caractacus when the Silures were assailed by Ostorius Scapula.

Having returned to Great Malvern, the excursionists reassembled at the newly-erected hotel at Malvern Link, where they were joined by Sir Edmund Lechmere with several friends from Worcester. An excellent dinner was here provided: the chair was taken by Lord Lyttelton. At the close of a social and very agreeable repast the special train conveyed the party to Worcester; the Museum of the Institute was lighted up, and the attractions of a very pleasurable *conversazione* again detained the numerous visitors till a late hour.

Mr. R. W. BINNS, F.S.A., through whose kindness an instructive and beautiful display was presented in illustration of the origin and history of the Porcelain Manufacture at Worcester, was requested to favor the assembly with some account of the series from his valuable collection now before them. Mr. Binns proceeded to give a discourse on the Establishment and Early Progress of the Manufacture of Porcelain at Worcester, a subject with which he is doubtless more fully conversant than any person who has investigated our fictile manufactures. His Memoir is printed with the Descriptive Catalogue of the Museum of the Institute which was greatly enriched through his contributions and friendly assistance.

A brief communication was made by Mr. G. A. WALKER, who sought to prove that the earliest production of porcelain in this country was by Thomas Fry, of Dublin, who went to London in 1738 and obtained a patent in 1749 for the manufacture of porcelain, as Mr. Walker affirmed, at Bow, where he continued until 1762. The works at Chelsea and Worcester thence, as he supposed, took their origin.

Monday, July 28.

The proceedings of the Sections were resumed at the usual hour at the Guildhall. The first communication was the following Notice of the Ancient Mint of Worcester; by Mr. EDWARD HAWKINS, F.S.A., formerly Keeper of the Antiquities at the British Museum, and Treasurer of the Institute:—

“At a meeting of archaeologists in the city of Worcester, it may seem necessary to say a few words respecting the mint formerly established in that city. Athelstan ordered that no one should strike coins except in a town, and about the same time granted to certain cities and towns the privilege of coining, and prescribed the number of moneysers to be employed in each place. The name of Worcester does not appear in any record of this reign as a place of mintage; but there are coins of this monarch in which appear the words VERI and WE, and these have been generally assigned to Worcester; but documents exist which record that two moneysers were established at Wareham, and it seems more reasonable to suppose that in that town these pieces were struck. Otherwise we have coins struck at a place not recorded, and no coins which can be assignable to a place where two moneysers are known to have been established.

“ Upon coins of Eadmund, Eadred, Eadwig, Eadgar, and Eadward II. we have not any indication of Worcester, except WE upon a coin of Eadwig, which may more probably be assigned to Wareham for the reason stated above.

“ Upon coins of Athelstan we read WIGEA and WIIR, which I think may very reasonably be interpreted Worcester, as may also WIR and WIRI upon coins of Canute. On coins of Harthænut the city is indicated by WICE.

“ Domesday Book mentions a mint as existing in Worcester, and on coins of Edward the Confessor we read WIGER, WICR, WIHER, WIHRE, which may be safely assigned to that city. Harold II., William the Conqueror, and Henry I. also had mints in that city. A coin of Stephen reads WERE, which may indicate Worcester, Warcham, or Warwick. After this we have not any notice of Worcester till the troublous times of Charles I., when we have a halferown, the mint mark upon which is one pear on the obverse, and three pears on the reverse. These are now part of the arms of the city, and establish Worcester as the place, and this may perhaps be confirmed if any curious and patient archæologist could ascertain to whom the letters HC refer. They are to be found in the ornamental garniture at the bottom of the shield, if carefully looked for.

There are other half-crowns of Charles I., on which appears the letter W, which has at times been supposed to refer to Worcester, but the peculiarity of the type, unlike that of the Worcester coin, refutes that opinion, and the late Rev. T. F. Dymock has given good reasons for assigning those pieces to Weymouth.”—See *Numismatic Chronicle* for Oct. 1861, p. 185.

A memoir was then read by Mr. JOSEPH BURTT, Assistant Keeper of the Public Records, On Documentary Evidence relating to Worcester in Repositories of Records in that city.

“ The notices which I may be able to lay before this meeting respecting the documents relating to this city and county must, I need scarcely say, be imperfect. It was never my intention however to attempt to present more than some indication of the stores that exist. To any one disposed to research, and especially to the members of the Institute, it would be a waste of time to show the great value of documentary evidence upon every subject which comes under their notice. Their value has been more apparent than ever, when so many are doing their best to fill up the bald pictures which the writers of past times have presented to us. We now know the value of the curious and interesting details illustrative of the inner life of our ancestors, which have lately been brought before us in the communications to the Sections. All who heard the valuable discourse upon the Cathedral must have been struck with the few references to documentary evidences which the learned Professor was able to give. Repeatedly was their absence deplored by the lecturer, and the only data for the periods of the construction of the main portion of the building were given by him from a document drawn up by a prebendary many years ago, ‘from some old record which was now destroyed.’ So, too, with regard to other ecclesiastical buildings to which attention has been directed during our visit. And yet we know enough of the careful and businesslike manner in which the affairs of monastic establishments were conducted during the Middle Ages, and we know so much of the records of many such establishments elsewhere, to be sure that, as regards this county, such evidences must have existed, and that they have either perished or are lying neglected and

unknown. It was to assist in ascertaining these facts that I ventured to request permission of the authorities to examine the collections in their charge, and never was such a request more cordially responded to than it has been, on the present occasion, by the officials of the Cathedral and of the Corporation. I think that I shall be able to show that you must not expect any great illustrations of new facts, or satisfactory solutions of grave doubts. It is for those who may come afterwards upon the field to effect these results; I shall be content if my efforts may in any way have cleared the way, or indicated the path which might be followed. It seems to me that to act simply as pioneers in the way of historical truth is the right position of those who have the administration of the records of the county. The range of subject which those records comprise is too vast, the field too large, for the workers to be the gatherers of the harvest.

I shall now attempt to give some account of the MS. stores which have passed under my hands. The registers of the bishops are well known. It is not my intention to give a catalogue, and to describe details that may be uninteresting to many. It is sufficient to say, as regards the bishops' registers, that they are generally in good condition; their contents have been much used. They are the only evidences which have been rendered, to any great extent, available for historical or topographical purposes, but they are by no means exhausted. They are full of copies of charters and documents, attesting numerous important transactions, which teem with local names, and which will supply many particulars of the changes through which they have passed. As an example of their miscellaneous character, I may instance the will of Bishop Giffard, enrolled in the second volume of his register, and printed in Dr. Thomas's History of the Cathedral. There is a curious record of proceedings as to the marriage of William de Monte Caniso, and several cases recorded of serious disputes arising out of the infraction of the sanctuary privileges. Besides these bishops' registers are the 'cartularies' or books of register of the see during a vacancy, and of the ancient priory independent of the see. Among these I am confident that a zealous inquirer would find much new and valuable material which has escaped the researches of previous workers. I can give an example by referring to the existence of portions of MSS. of a date long antecedent to the books themselves which have been worked up in the binding. These have not yet been submitted to the notice of a competent authority; I need hardly say that every portion of Anglo-Saxon MS. has value, and a very interesting addition to the literature of that time was made by the discovery at Gloucester of a portion of the life of St. Swithin, found under exactly similar conditions to those I have mentioned. These were the subject of a valuable paper by Mr. Earle, read at the meeting of the Institute in 1860, and which has subsequently been published by him with photographic fac-similes of those interesting MS. fragments.

I will now proceed to the mine of unwrought material contained in the accounts of the officers of the priory; and here I must again remind you of the elementary character of the report I am able to make. You will find in nearly every one of the small documents submitted to your notice in the Museum some point of interest—some item of instruction—which would occupy considerable time if properly considered. During the short time I have been able to devote to this inquiry, some hundreds of rolls of accounts and some thousands of deeds of various kinds have passed through my hands, and you will not, therefore, expect any detailed description. I wish

simply to indicate their existence as a fact. In the record quoted by Professor Willis as the production of a Prebendary of Worcester, Dr. Hopkins, in the time of Queen Anne, there is a list of the officers of the ancient priory. Accounts of all the officers there mentioned have been found, and besides these, I have found others furnished by the 'Precentor,' the 'Refectorarius,' and the 'Subcellerarius.' There are no lists of these rolls of account. Therefore, if Dr. Hopkins's list of these officers is that upon which our idea of the priory is to be established, we have at once to make three additions to it. Many of these accounts contain interesting particulars of the daily life of the members of the priory. I have already spoken of the considerable number of the deeds and other documents not entered in books. Among them it may be safely said that very many exist bearing with great particularity and minuteness upon points and circumstances which we should have great interest in elucidating. I will specify a few, of which the subject-matter seemed of more than usual interest.

"A pitiful letter from the Prior and Chapter of Worcester, transmitted by the Bishop to the Archbishop of Canterbury, setting out the causes (particularly specifying actions with the citizens of Worcester) through which they had come to such decay and poverty that it was a scandal to the church. A.D. 1330.

"Numerous notarial instruments relating to matters in which the priory was concerned.

"Grants of land in the city and county of Worcester, leases and records of other transactions relating to the same, containing many local names and boundaries.

"Notification by the Bishop of Worcester of the limits of the cemetery and sanctuary (A.D. 1460), in consequence of many disputes having arisen respecting them. They were said to begin 'from the great door of the Cathedral charnel-house, by the great stone wall of our palace to the great gate of the said palace,' and continuing through the whole circuit.

"A portion of a copy of a Statute roll, 5 Edward III.

"An account of arms and soldiers' apparel in the reign of Elizabeth, headed 'A Remembrance what was bestowed at London for Furnytur for Mr. Deane and Chapter.'

"A letter to the Dean and Chapter of Worcester on behalf of Bartholomew Mason, in respect of the vicarage of St. John's; signed by Lord Burleigh and others of Elizabeth's council.

"Ordinances made for the almsmen of the priory in the fourteenth century, setting out that they should be clerks of elegant stature, poor, but apt to learn, and containing provisions as to their food and education, together with their due castigation and monition when required.

"Lastly, I would mention a Saxon copy of a charter nearly three centuries earlier than the copy by which Uhtred 'Regulus' of the Wiccians, grants certain privileges to his officer Ethelmund. In Dr. Thomas's History of the Cathedral there is a notice of a charter of the same date to the monastery of Worcester, granting land at Stoke. Without consulting authorities not now at command, it is impossible to speak of the interest to be attached to this instrument. It is, however, a remarkable specimen of Latin written in Saxon character. The mention of this deed brings me fairly to some remarks upon the neglected condition of the collection now kept in a chamber in the clerestory of the Cathedral. Here was an instrument not later than the eleventh century, and probably anterior to the Norman

conquest, found crumpled and dirty, pushed into a drawer with dozens of others more crumpled and dirty still, of all kinds and of all dates! Certainly, with the accommodation at the disposal of those having charge of these documents, nothing less could be expected, however it might be desired. The conveniences at their disposal seem not to extend beyond those due for the safety of documents which relate to the business matters in their administration, and to which, of course, attention is first given. It is not for me, however, to trace the causes which have reduced the numerous documents I have been most obligingly permitted to examine to the condition in which they now exist, but it would be easy to do so. Their condition is doubtless a source of regret to those having charge of them, but it is not easy to propose a remedy. In the dedication of the History by the learned Dr. Thomas, he speaks of many original evidences and letters which he had transcribed and printed, as having 'long lain a prey to moths and worms, and in several places scarcely legible.' With the exception of some to which the attention of the officers has been called, they are still in the condition lamented by Dr. Thomas. The rolls of accounts have been only partly sorted out, and many of them are injured by dirt and by being crumpled up. But the smaller deeds are perhaps in the worst condition. It is probable that for centuries they have had no protection, and large numbers may have been lost, while others are damaged beyond repair. Under such circumstances many seals also must have perished, and I must draw special attention to the fact that the unique example of the seal of Wulstan, known to Dr. Thomas and engraved in his survey of the Cathedral, p. 88, is not now known to be in the collection. In our Museum we have, however, been able to exhibit an example of the seal, attached to a charter which has been printed in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. iii. p. 261, and was obtained for exhibition to the inhabitants of the place to which it refers, through the kind mediation of the Rev. James Raine, of York, the son of our late talented friend, the historian of North Durham.

Before leaving the collection of the Chapter documents, I must refer to a parcel brought to our notice by the obliging attention of Mr. Hooper. It is a packet of original letters of Charles I., signed by him, and dated from the 5th May, 1641, to 20th October, 1643. They are directed to the Bishop of Worcester, who was then Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, and, in that position in the chief city devoted to the royal cause, of great consideration to his sovereign. They relate chiefly to matters coming before him in that capacity, but one of them refers specially to Worcester; it directs the levy of troops to protect the bishop, and prevent his being removed from his diocese, as he 'hath bin menaced to be sent for in disgracefull maner to the Parliament.'⁴

I have very few remarks to offer upon the documents belonging to the Corporation, to which access has been most courteously afforded. The collection is small, but it is in excellent condition, and, with the exception of one small parcel, the substance of every document has been fairly calendered. Their contents have been turned to considerable account in the entertaining volumes relating to Worcester which have been produced by Mr. Noake; but, to show that they have not been exhausted, I may refer to a highly interesting paper upon the 'Fortifications of Worcester,'

⁴ The letter is printed in the Catalogue of the Museum formed at the meeting of the Institute at Worcester, p. 51.

written by Mr. Woof, and contributed to the Worcestershire Natural History Society. I should wish to direct attention particularly to this memoir. I think, however, that the municipal documents would supply many illustrations of the early condition of this city which have not yet been noted.

“I will now make a few references to the collections of those gentlemen who have so kindly contributed some of their documentary stores to our Museum. These, however, must be looked upon simply as specimens. I have been informed that the documents relating to the Hanley Castle property of Sir Edmund Lechmere are numerous, and among them many of interest would doubtless be found. I would specially mention a small and very remarkable charter of Ralph de Mortimer, in the twelfth century, to which the seal is attached in a manner of which no example has yet been noticed. The MSS. of various kinds preserved at Stanford Court, independently of those relating to the property, are considerable; many, it is believed, may have been derived from the ancient possessions of the Jefferies family, of Homme Castle, and some were collected by Sir Francis Winnington, Solicitor-General to Charles II. By the obliging courtesy of Sir Thomas Winnington we were permitted to exhibit in the Museum two documents of great interest, not, however, connected with the county. One is an illuminated MS. of the Rolls of Parliament, written at the latter part of the fifteenth century, the other is an able State paper drawn up by the advisers of Queen Elizabeth to exonerate her from blame in the matter of the Queen of Scots. It is a valuable document, though not unknown in substance to the historical student, and Sir Thomas has kindly placed it at the disposal of the Camden Society, who are about to publish it. The most considerable collection of original charters shown in the Museum were those belonging to the Right Hon. Sir J. Pakington. Possessing the site of the nunnery at Westwood, the title deeds of that house are also in his hands; although I am not aware of their extent, nor can I speak of their importance or interest beyond those exhibited in the Museum. If they are at all complete or considerable, they may contain much of interest relating to the community to which they belonged, to its transactions with those about them, and to its connection with neighbouring estates.

“I must close these notices by referring to the invaluable collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, at Middle Hill in this county. The wealth of that collection in cartularies and documentary evidences of all kinds is well known, but it is a matter of regret that little has been made known of their nature and extent; and, though one of the earliest friends and members of the Institute, Sir Thomas is not with us on the present occasion, to afford any information respecting them.

“I will conclude by requesting you to consider these remarks simply as aids to those who may have leisure and inclination to examine the original sources of information. The time at my disposal has been short, and, as regards the Chapter documents, their condition is so unfavorable, that my examination has been carried on under great disadvantage. If these remarks should in any degree conduce to their improvement in that respect I shall feel amply repaid.”

“Since writing the above, I have been permitted to examine the MSS., &c., preserved in the Chapter-house of the Cathedral. In one of the presses was a considerable number of rolls of account of the officers of the priory, similar to those previously referred to. Of the MSS., an account given in Smith’s

'Catalogus MSS. Anglic,' has been lately reprinted. It gives an imperfect idea of the collection, which is rich in the religious, medical, and philosophical works of the Middle Ages. Many of the volumes are, unfortunately, much injured by damp, and by the very bad condition or total want of covers or bindings. There is a fine specimen of the English language of the middle of the fourteenth century, a large Psalter, of which the text is the only Latin portion. The books had obviously suffered through being shut up in presses placed close against the wall; they have been removed, and a fine Norman arcade found behind them."

Two interesting communications relating to Roman antiquities in the adjoining county of Gloucester, were, in the absence of the authors, read by the Rev. E. Venables. The first, by the learned historian of Cheshire, Dr. ORMEROD, D.C.L., F.S.A., related to the discovery, in March last, of a large hoard of coins in the parish of Woolston, at a short distance from the vicinal road from Gloucester towards Chepstow and Caerwent, and in proximity to Roman sites. Dr. Ormerod kindly sent impressions and electrotypes of some of these coins, of the Constantine family, also a map of ancient roads and entrenchments in the district near the confluence of the Severn and the Wye, indicating the vestiges of Roman occupation near the spot where this remarkable find of coins occurred. The other paper was a notice, by the Rev. W. H. LOWDER of Bisley, of two sculptured altars and Roman relics lately found used as building materials in the walls of the parish church at that place. He had the kindness to send these sculptures for examination.

The following memoirs were also read. On the Vision of Piers Plowman, and the connexion of its author with Great Malvern. By Mr. WILLIAM WARWICK.

On Worcestershire Families, Extinct or Extant. By Mr. STEPHEN TOKER, M.A.

Two other papers, sent by Mr. LLEWELLYN JEWITT, F.S.A., were unavoidably deferred, time unfortunately not sufficing for their being read. One of these related to the Scold's Bridle, or Brank, and especially to several examples hitherto unnoticed; three, of very singular character, from Bewdley, Bridgnorth, and Shrewsbury, were, through the kindness of Mr. Jewitt, sent for exhibition. The second memoir related to pavements of Decorative Tiles, a subject of considerable local interest, in connexion with the numerous tiles at Worcester, Malvern, Bredon, Tewkesbury, &c.

The time for an excursion to Bredon, Tewkesbury, and Deerhurst had now arrived, and a large party took their departure by train. At Bredon they were received by the Rev. J. K. Booker. A paper was read by Mr. Severn Walker, explanatory of the architectural character of the church, of which Professor Willis also pointed out certain peculiar features. On reaching Tewkesbury, many of the visitors proceeded to Deerhurst, to examine the long-and-short work of the tower, and other supposed indications of Saxon date, as explained by Mr. Parker. The Vicar of Tewkesbury, the Rev. C. G. Davies, accompanied them; on their return, passing near the field of the memorable defeat of the Lancastrians by Edward IV., he kindly provided refreshments at the vicarage, and, under his guidance, with the assistance of Mr. Parker, a detailed examination of the noble abbey church, its monuments, painted glass, and numerous points of interest, took place.

In the evening a memoir was read by Mr. FRANKS, Dir. S. A., in the Museum of the Institute, relating to the earliest manufactures of porcelain

in this country, and especially to that established at Chelsea. It has been printed in this volume, p. 340.

Tuesday, July 29.

The Annual Meeting of Members to receive the Auditors' Report, with the Annual Report of the Central Committee, and to select the place of meeting for the following year, was held, at half-past nine, in the Council Chamber at the Guildhall. The chair was taken by Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P., Vice-President.

The Report of the Auditors for 1861 (printed at p. 190 in this volume) and also the following Report of the Committee were then read. Both were unanimously adopted.

The period has arrived when the Committee is called upon to submit their Annual Report, with the retrospect of the progress of the Society during the past year. They hail with renewed encouragement the assurance that, since the successful gathering at Peterborough, there has been no diminution in the unanimity with which the co-operation of their fellow-laborers has aided the extension of historical and archæological research, which it is the special purpose of the Institute to promote. The accession of numerous coadjutors in the ranks of the Society has marked in an encouraging degree an increasing interest in these purposes, and the influence upon public opinion which the Institute has been enabled to exert; it is satisfactory also to recall, that at no period has more ample provision been supplied of evidence bearing upon all those subjects to which our attention is particularly directed. The notices of discoveries in various localities in our own country which have from time to time been received, and more frequent communications with correspondents on the Continent, have constantly brought under consideration, at the meetings in London, and in our quarterly publications, instructive materials bearing upon many of the great questions associated with national annals and archæology. In the combination of efforts for the furtherance of their common purpose, as evinced, not only by the individual members of the society, but by numerous kindred institutions throughout the country, the Committee recognise the pledge that archæology is no longer pursued as an agreeable pastime, or attractive to its votaries as congenial with loyal and patriotic feelings, but that it has taken that position which it may claim as a science auxiliary to intellectual advancement.

Whilst, however, in thus adverting to the encouraging aspect of the position of the Institute, in many points of view, the retrospect of the year is marked in a painful degree by the remembrance of that heavy loss which we have had to deplore. The deep sorrow and bereavement which have fallen upon our beloved Queen have aroused in every loyal heart sympathy without precedent in any occasion of national calamity. To our Society, in common with institutions devoted to the promotion of the arts and of national cultivation, the loss of the Prince, our generous and intellectual Patron, must be an occasion of most keen regret, especially when we recall his recent favors, his encouraging courtesies, his hearty appreciation and furtherance of every purpose of national instruction.

The Committee cannot refrain from the expression of their deep and grateful sense of the gracious consideration of Her Majesty, which on

a late occasion has been extended towards a Society which had thus enjoyed her lamented Consort's patronage and encouragement, and they cherish the hope of the future continuance of royal favor.

The year now concluded has been marked by the progress of archaeological discovery: the accessions to collections available for public instruction have also been of increasing interest and importance. In the collection of objects illustrative of successive periods of national history, largely augmented and combined in chronological system at the British Museum under the able direction of Mr. Franks, many classes of ancient remains, especially of the Pre-historic period, heretofore imperfectly represented in that series, have been satisfactorily supplied. The National Museum has been augmented by many additions to the stores of evidence, the value of which as auxiliary to historical inquiries, has, it is hoped, now been fully recognised by the Trustees. The presentation of the unique monument found at Fardell, in Devon, bearing an inscription in Roman letters and also in the cryptic characters designated Oghams, has, through the mediation of Mr. Smirke, added an important palæographic relic of the greatest rarity. The antiquary will hail with satisfaction the deposit of such remains in a National Museum, where they are not only more extensively available for comparison, but are rescued from risks by which so many valuable links in the chain of archaeological evidence have been destroyed. The destruction of the Cork Museum, during the last year—in which, amongst other ancient remains of value, was an interesting monument of Roman art found at Bath—presents a fresh proof of the importance of precautions for the secure preservation of antiquities in some suitable public depository. The acquisition of a Roman tablet from Lincoln, bearing the name of the colony, *Lindum*, and published in our transactions through our constant friend Mr. Trollope; of Anglo-Saxon antiquities also, brought to light by Mr. Akerman in researches at Long Wittenham, Berks, deserve notice in connection with the growth of the long-desired National Series under the efficient exertions of Mr. Franks.

In departments of the national collections comparatively less attractive to the student of British antiquity, acquisitions have been made through the excavations in the Cyrenaica by Lieut. Smith and Lieut. Porcher, for which funds were provided by the Lords of H. M. Treasury. The results are to be seen at the Museum, as are also those of *scari* at the Necropolis of Camirus in Rhodes, relieved by MM. Bigliotti and Salzmann, under a firman obtained by the British Government. It is with greater gratification that the Committee advert to these recent acquisitions, since the treasures of classical antiquity in the British Museum have been entrusted to the charge of our accomplished friend Mr. Newton, selected by the Trustees, since our last annual meeting, as successor to Mr. Hawkins in an important portion of the functions which for many years had devolved upon our excellent Treasurer. The recollection of the kindness of Mr. Newton, at that time recently nominated Consul at Rome, in delivering at our Carlisle Meeting his admirable discourses in Ancient Art and on his discoveries in Halicarnassus, is fresh in our remembrance.

The gratification generally expressed has given encouragement to the Committee to continue the Special Illustrations of subjects connected with Ancient Arts and Manners. During the late season, however, amidst the fervor of excitement which has accompanied the International Exhibition, and especially that noble display of archaeological wealth generously and

lavishly made at South Kensington, the Committee deemed it expedient to limit the exhibitions of the Institute. One collection only has been formed during this season; a series of enamels, combined with examples of niello, was arranged for the June meeting, and, although comparatively inferior to the assemblage of mediæval art of that class at Kensington, the Committee was enabled to present, by the continued generosity of their friends, a collection unrivalled possibly as exemplifying the history of the art of enamel at all periods and in all countries. Amongst subjects of interest or historical importance submitted at recent meetings in London, the Committee cannot omit to record their sense of the favor shown by the Earl of Winchilsea in bringing from the treasures of the Hatton Library at Eastwell, the volumes containing transcripts of charters, and Sir W. Dugdale's collections of tombs, painted glass, heraldry, &c., as they existed in various cathedral churches in the seventeenth century. Still more remarkable than this mass of valuable evidence to the archaeologist and topographer, were the fictitious charters of Edward the Confessor, brought by Lord Winchilsea to the meeting in May, which drew forth from Sir Frederic Madden a discourse replete with curious information.

Amongst results of antiquarian explorations which claim notice, none is more striking than the discovery of vestiges of the Roman Bridge across North Tyne, *per linam valli*, near the Station of Cilurnum, in Northumberland, brought to light by Mr. Clayton, and to which our attention was recently invited by that able antiquary, and also by the historian of the Northern Barrier, Dr. Collingwood Bruce.

In passing hastily in review the leading incidents in archæological enterprise since our last gathering, the Committee cannot refrain from the expression of satisfaction at the signal success which has attended the formation of that precious display, the Loan Exhibition at South Kensington. At no period, nor in any country, it may confidently be asserted, has so rich a demonstration been made of the wealth of Art in all the varied processes of Middle Age skill and taste; a sumptuous display, to which collectors and public bodies have most generously contributed. It is gratifying to recall that the earliest of such Art-Exhibitions originated at the annual meeting of your Society at Winchester in 1846. With deep feelings of satisfaction also would we cherish the remembrance of the personal kindness and encouragement with which our late lamented Patron, the Prince Consort, participated in the organisation of the first effort to give to such illustrations of Arts and Manners a more extended development, in the Exhibition jointly arranged by the Society of Arts and the Institute in 1850.

Your Committee cannot refrain from alluding to the recent change in their official arrangements, and to the loss of the valued services of Mr. Warwick Brooks, who has been suddenly called away to a distant country through the dangerous illness of a near connection. They recall with satisfaction the efficient services of that gentleman during the short period of his connection with the Society, and the advancement of its interests through his energy and intelligence. The committee have at the same time to congratulate the Society on the accession of an early and very constant friend, Mr. Joseph Burt, one of the Assistant Keepers of Records, who has accepted the post of Honorary Secretary, and to whose kindness the Society had been of late indebted for an excellent Catalogue of their library, supplying a deficiency of which complaint had been frequently

made. The appointment also of an able Assistant Secretary, Mr. Thomas Purnell, well versed also in many subjects of historical and literary study, will, as they confidently hope, prove permanently advantageous to the best interests of the Society.

It is the painful duty of your Committee to bear a tribute of respect to patrons and friends whose loss they have had to deplore during the year. They would bear in honored remembrance the memory of their generous and accomplished President at the Salisbury Meeting, the late Lord Herbert, whose graceful hospitalities at Wilton, and cordial furtherance of the interests of our meeting in Wiltshire, can never be forgotten. They have with regret to record the loss of that erudite antiquary, a member of the Committee, Charles Edward Long, whose genial sympathy in the purposes which we delight to prosecute had for many years endeared him to many in our ranks. Amongst those of our earliest members and supporters whose active lives have recently been closed, must be mentioned the talented Professor Quekett, whose skill, auxiliary to our investigations, had on many occasions been kindly manifested, the Rev. Arthur Hussey, Mr. Dearden, Mr. Hill, one of our earliest friends in Westmoreland, the eminent historian of Arundel the Rev. M. A. Tierney, the Rev. John Ward, Mr. Thornton of Brockhall, and Mr. Kell, one of the zealous antiquaries of the shores of Tyne. Amongst others by whose influence and participation our proceedings have on various occasions been aided, we may bear in honored memory Lord Muncaster, the Earl of Eglinton, Mr. G. Sydney Strong, for some years a member of the Committee, and Mr. George Colson, local correspondent of the Institute at Cairo, whose communications contributed much to the interest of the meeting at Carlisle, where he was at that period resident.

In concluding the brief retrospect of a period thus chequered with sadness, especially in that great National loss which, with every loyal subject, we deeply deplore, the Committee may be permitted to advert to cheering assurances of advancement in the purposes for which the Institute has been constituted, and to gratifying evidence of increasing interest in archaeological science and in the conservation of National Monuments.

The following propositions, relating to certain modifications of the Laws of the Institute, having been received in due form by the Central Committee, were then submitted to the Meeting and adopted unanimously :—

LONDON, *June 19, 1862.*

We, the undersigned members of the Archaeological Institute, desire to propose the following Resolutions in regard to certain alterations in the existing laws of the Society, which we wish to submit to the General Meeting of Members at the approaching Annual Meeting at Worcester.

1. That, in Law 3, after the words—"the President's tenure of office shall be for one year," be added—"he shall, however, be immediately re-eligible."

2. That, in Law 5, after the words—"the election of the President," be added—"the President of the Local Meeting."

3. That Law 9 shall stand as follows:—"In default of a Local President having been elected by the General Meeting of Members at the Annual

Meeting, or in the event of the Local President so elected declining or being unable to serve, the Central Committee shall have the power of electing a Local President, and also Vice-Presidents, Committees, and Officers of the Annual Meeting."

(Signed)	OCTAVIUS MORGAN, V.-P.	TALBOT BURY.
	C. S. GREAVES.	EDWARD HILL.
	D. ROCK.	EVELYN PH. SHIRLEY.
	EDM. OLDFIELD.	JOHN FULLER RUSSELL.

After the election of new members, twenty in number,—including the Lord Lyttelton, the Viscount Campden, the Hon. and Rev. W. H. Lyttelton, Sir Thomas E. Winnington, Bart., the Mayor of Worcester, the Sheriff of Worcester, the Rev. John Ryle Wood, Canon of Worcester, with several other gentlemen connected with that city, the following list of Members of the Committee retiring in annual course, also of Members of the Society recommended to fill the vacancies, was proposed and unanimously adopted.

Members retiring from the Committee:—Sir John Boileau, Bart., *Vice-President*; F. L. Barnwell, Esq.; the Rev. Tullie Cornthwaite; J. Hewitt, Esq.; the Rev. J. L. Petit; G. Poulett Scrope, Esq., M.P.; James Yates, Esq. The following being recommended to fill the vacancies:—The Lord Talbot de Malahide, as *Vice-President*; the Rev. John Bathurst Deane, M.A., F.S.A., Rector of St. Mary Outwich, City; Charles Drury E. Fortnum, Esq., F.S.A.; John Henry Anderdon, Esq.; Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.; Samuel B. Howlett, Esq., War Office; Edward Akroyd, Esq., F.S.A. Also, as Auditors for the year 1862, Frederic Ouvry, Esq., Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries; Robert Taylor Pritchett, Esq., F.S.A.

The members then proceeded to discuss the choice of the place of meeting for the ensuing year. Several localities were mentioned, highly eligible as abounding in archæological attractions, and from which requisitions or friendly expressions of encouragement had been received; amongst these places were Hereford, St. Albans, Warwick (combined with Stratford-on-Avon, Kenilworth, and Coventry), Derby, Bury St. Edmunds, and Southampton. A letter from the Rev. C. W. Bingham was read, suggesting the claims of Dorsetshire, which, although presenting indeed no cathedral, is rich in vestiges of the earlier races, in architectural monuments, and historical sites, such as Corfe Castle, Sherborne, Wimborne-Minster, with other objects now accessible by railway. Rochester was also recommended; the Committee desired to call the attention of the meeting to the invitation received some years since from that city through the friendly interest of the Recorder. A letter was read, from the Marquis Camden, K.G., President of the Kent Archæological Society, expressive not only of the kind feeling of that body, but also the gratifying assurance of his readiness to take the part of Local President, in the event of the selection of Rochester as the place of the Institute's meeting for 1863. A communication from the Town Clerk of Rochester conveyed also in very cordial terms the encouragement of the Mayor and Corporation. It was then moved by the Rev. Edward Hill, seconded by Mr. J. H. Markland, and carried unanimously, that Rochester be selected as the place of the next Annual Meeting; also, on the proposition of the Hon. Lord Neaves, seconded by

Mr. Foss, that the Marquis Camden be elected Local President of the Meeting at Rochester.

Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN observed that he felt well assured of a warm response, on the part not only of the Members now assembled but of the Society at large, to the proposition which he desired to make of heartiest acknowledgment to their late noble President. His friendly courtesies and constant participation throughout their proceedings, during many years, had endeared him to all. Lord Talbot's kindly consideration for the advancement of the Institute and the promotion of archaeological science, had tended essentially to their successful progress under his auspices, and also to the personal gratification of all who had enjoyed friendly intercourse with him. All (Mr. Morgan was persuaded) would warmly unite in hoping that no long interval might elapse ere his noble friend would be prevailed upon to resume the influential position in the Society which he had long occupied so highly to their advantage and satisfaction.

An animated conversation took place in regard to the demolition of the Guesten-hall. It was understood that, the beautiful timber roof having been removed, portions of the walls only would be retained which might present a picturesque ruin, sufficing to preserve the remembrance of that interesting fabric, and of regret at its destruction. Mr. Freeman, Mr. Parker, Lord Neaves, Mr. Foss, Mr. Talbot Bury, and other members present took part in the discussion: all concurring warmly in deploring that the preservation of the building had not been found practicable, or funds been provided for so desirable an object, so as to render the Guesten-hall permanently available for some purpose of practical advantage. The following resolution was at length unanimously adopted:—

“That, whilst abstaining from the expression of opinion on the circumstances which may have led to such a result, the Archaeological Institute cannot leave Worcester without recording their regret at the destruction of so unique a monument of Mediæval Architecture as the Guesten-hall in that City.”

The concluding Meeting was then held in the Assembly Room. The Hon. Lord NEAVES took the Chair, in the absence of Lord Lyttelton. He expressed warmly the gratification which, in common with his archaeological friends, he had enjoyed throughout a week of most pleasurable and instructive occupation.

The following votes of thanks were moved:—by Mr. SMURKE, Vice-Warden of the Stannaries, to the Mayor and Corporation, alluding to the general hospitalities of the Mayor, to valuable facilities and generous welcome, and especially to the address, full of friendly encouragement, by which the inaugural proceedings of the meeting had been cheered;—by Mr. Foss, to the Dean and Chapter, and particularly to the Rev. J. Ryle Wood, Canon in residence;—by Dr. MARKLAND, to the Lord Lieutenant, whose countenance and encouragement in taking the part of President had greatly promoted the success and satisfaction of their meeting; also to the High Sheriff, to Sir Thomas Winnington, and to the gentry of the county, and to those especially whose kindness had enriched the temporary Museum with so many treasures of local interest;—by Sir ROBERT KIRBY, to the Worcester Natural History Society and to their worthy President, Sir Charles Hartley;—by Mr. TALBOT BURY, to the local Committee and to the local Secretaries, who had taken a very kind part in all the preliminary arrangements;—Mr. Severn Walker, Mr. R. W. Binns, and Mr. Edwin Lees;—

and, lastly, by the Rev. Professor WILLIS, to the Presidents and officers of the Sections, and especially to their friend Lord Neaves, hoping to have the satisfaction of again enjoying his kindly participation and interest in their proceedings, not only at Rochester in the ensuing year, but also at many a future archæological gathering.

Mr. J. H. PARKER observed that, before the meeting terminated, he was anxious to call upon the Institute to record publicly the expression, agreed upon in the meeting of the members that morning, signifying their regret that a very valuable architectural monument, the Guesten-hall, should have been destroyed. The spirit of destructiveness was still too prevalent; he lamented to see in many places the removal of relics of historical interest. He did not wish to enter into the causes which had led to the demolition of the greater portion of the Guesten-hall, but simply to express regret that it had perished almost under their very eyes.

Lord NEAVES responded to the conservative sentiments expressed by Mr. Parker, and lamented that means had not been found for the preservation of a structure of considerable interest, which might readily have been adapted for purposes of public advantage.

With a hearty farewell, and wishing long prosperity to the city and county of Worcester, Lord Neaves then took his leave, and the proceedings were brought to a close.

In the afternoon, by the kind invitation of Sir Thomas Winnington, Bart., a numerous party set forth for Stanford Court, and found in his cordial welcome and hospitality a most enjoyable termination of the week. On their way to the lovely valley of the Teine the excursionists visited the churches of Martley and Little Shelsley, a little Norman fabric with certain curious features and constructed almost wholly of travertine. They were received with much kindness by the incumbent, the Rev. W. Griffiths, and by the worthy residents in the adjoining old Court House, Mr. and Mrs. Smith. After partaking of the ample hospitalities of Stanford, and inspecting the curious portraits, the ancient library and literary treasures there preserved, the party proceeded to Witley Court, where, by permission of the Earl of Dudley, the gardens and stately mansion were thrown open. On the return they lingered at Hillhampton, where Mr. Gibbons possesses a collection of valuable paintings; and, after a passing visit to Holt Church and Castle, where Mr. Pickernell most courteously invited them to his picturesque residence, returned to Worcester.

The Central Committee desire to acknowledge the following donations in aid of the meeting and of the general purposes of the Institute:—The Lord Lyttelton, 3*l.*; Sir Edmund H. Lechmere, Bart., 5*l.*; Sir Thomas Winnington, Bart., 1*l.*; the Mayor of Worcester, 1*l.* 1*s.*; J. R. Appleton, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; Rev. Slade Baker, 10*s.*; Rev. Dr. Collis, 1*l.* 1*s.*; E. Bickerton Evans, Esq., 1*l.*; W. Gibbons, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.*; Edwin Guest, Esq., LL.D., 5*l.*; J. R. Hill, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*; E. Holland, Esq., M.P., 1*l.*; Hon. and Rev. W. H. Lyttelton, 10*s.*; Dr. Nash, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Rev. T. Philpott, 2*l.* 2*s.*; H. Foley Vernon, Esq., 1*l.*; J. W. B. Willis, Esq., 1*l.*

Archæological Intelligence.

A SECOND series of SCOTTISH SEALS, as a complement to the valuable volume published by Mr. Henry Laing under the auspices of the Bannatyne Club, in 1850, has been announced for publication (*by subscription*). The examples collected by Mr. Laing, during the last twelve years, including the numerous Scottish seals in the Public Records Office in London, and which have lately been photographed by permission of the Right Hon. the Master of the Rolls, amount to more than 900. They are for the most part of early date, affording most authentic evidence regarding heraldry and those devices which preceded or accompanied the use of heraldic blazons. The volume, largely illustrated, will be furnished at the price of two guineas to subscribers, who are requested to send their names to Messrs. Edmondston and Douglas, Edinburgh. The number of copies printed will be limited.

The Committee desire to invite attention to the important publication of Mediaeval documents preserved at Paris in the Archives of the Empire, and of which, according to an announcement addressed to the Institute by the Publisher, the first portion has recently appeared. The "TRÉSOR DES CHARTES DE FRANCE" will form nine 4to volumes, containing upwards of 17,000 documents from the eleventh century to the reigns of Francis I. and Henry II. This great work, which will throw light upon the history of our own country as well as of all European nations, is published by order of H.M. the Emperor, under the direction of Count de Laborde, Director-General of the Archives of the Empire, by M. Teulet, well known through his valuable contributions to the history of English and Scottish affairs in the sixteenth century, especially in illustration of the times of Mary Stuart. The first volume of the "*Trésor*" may now be obtained from M. Henry Plon, Rue Garancière, Paris, Printer to the Emperor.

A second part of the ARCHITECTURAL SKETCHES in Worcestershire will shortly be published by Mr. Severn Walker, and will contain fifty subjects illustrative of Ecclesiastical and Domestic Architecture in that county, including several which will be remembered with interest by those of our readers who were present at the Worcester Meeting. Amongst the subjects given in the forthcoming part will be found Old Hagley Hall, in 1758; Little Comberton Church, and a timbered house with a circular dovecot; Great Comberton Church; Tickenhill, a place of interest connected with the last days of Prince Arthur; the Church of Shelsley Walsh, an early structure of travertine; conventual buildings, &c. at Worcester, now destroyed, including the *elocherium* and the Guesten Hall; also the Refectory and the Lady-Chapel at Great Malvern.

The Rev. JAMES GRAVES, Hon. Sec. of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society, announces for publication (by subscription) the Letters and Despatches, &c., of Thomas, tenth Earl of Ormonde, *temp.* Edward VI. to James I., preserved in the State Paper Office and the Bodleian Library. This work will form 4 vols. 8vo., illustrated by portraits, autographs, seals, &c. Subscribers' names are received by the Author, or by Mr. J. Russell Smith.

The Annual Meeting of the KENTISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY will be held at Pen-hurst, on July 16, under the Presidency of the Marquis Camden, K.G.

The Annual Meeting of the SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY will take place on August 6, in West Sussex.

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