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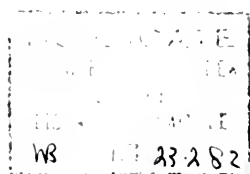
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ERRATA IN VOL. XXIX.

- Page 172, line 12; after the word "remains," insert "in England."  
,, note <sup>1</sup>, for "Canmont" read "Caumont."  
Page 279, for "Mr. A. H. Soden-Smith," read "Mr. R. H. Soden-Smith."  
Page 290, line 5 *et seq.*, should read—  
    Poscia che funno al quarto di venuti,  
    Gaddo mi si gittò disteso ai piedi  
    Dicendo; Padre mio che non mi aiuti  
    Quivi morì . . . . .<sup>9</sup>  
,, line 11 should read—"Fra 'l quinto di e'l sesto."<sup>10</sup>  
Page 291, line 1; for "Montacue" read "Moreton."



## ERRATUM.



By an oversight the quotation from Prudentius, at page 271 of vol. xxviii., has been wrongly printed. The lines should read :—

“ Crux pellit omne crimen,  
Fugiunt crucem tenebræ,  
Tali dicata signo  
Mens fluctuare nescit.”—*Cathem. Hymn.* vi.



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# The Archaeological Journal.

MARCH, 1872.

## SOME ACCOUNT OF GUILDFORD CASTLE.

BY G. T. CLARK.

GUILDFORD CASTLE, of which the keep was always the most prominent, and is now the chief remaining feature, is in position, age, structure, and dimensions a very remarkable fortress.

It is true, indeed, that though of great age, neither the town nor the castle have played any great part in English history. The town was never walled; the castle never stood a siege. No considerable battle was ever witnessed from its towers; no parliament nor great council was ever held within its hall. Though always a royal manor, and long maintained as a royal residence, it was used also as a prison, and is but rarely mentioned, either in the records or by the chroniclers. The castle was not garrisoned in the great civil war, and so escaped being dismantled and blown up by either king or parliament. Its state of decay is due to the effects of time, powerfully aided by the local greed for building materials. Nevertheless, though wanting in many of the points of interest often attaching to English military buildings, Guildford Castle has certain peculiarities of its own not unworthy of notice, and which it is the object of this paper to set forth and explain.

The great chalk range, which forms the bulwark of London, and the southern limit of the vale of the Thames, from its mouth to the border of Hampshire, is contracted towards the west into a narrow but elevated ridge, which extends from Reigate nearly to Farnham, and, resting upon the firestone and gault of the Weald of Kent and Surrey, supports the clay and gravels of the London basin.

This ridge, generally unbroken, is traversed by two well-known gorges about twelve miles apart, of which the eastern is occupied by the Mole at Dorking and Mickleham, and the western by

“The chalky Wey, that rolls a milky wave.”

The Wey, the tributaries of which rise widely over much of Surrey and the eastern part of Hampshire, is, where it cleaves the chalk, a considerable stream, much less milky than in the days, or rather in the verse, of Pope; and twelve miles below the pass it falls into the Thames at Weybridge.

The town of Guildford is placed upon the right or eastern bank of the river, well within, that is, north-east of the gorge, and within and a little above the town is the castle. As the ridge is here steep and lofty, and the gorge deep and moderately narrow, it might be supposed that this pass would at all times have been important to whoever wished to defend London and the Thames from invaders from the south. In position it is to the south of London what Berkhamstead Castle is on the north; both are placed in gorges of the chalk, both upon tributaries of the Thames; both are late Norman castles, founded upon earlier Saxon earthworks, and both were for centuries held direct by the Crown. Guildford, however, unlike Berkhamstead, though the nucleus of a large town, has no military history. Although Surrey and Sussex are by no means deficient in traces of early occupation, the immediate neighbourhood of Guildford is in this respect almost a blank. An early trackway has been talked of as taking the ridge of the Downs, and traces of an irregular and therefore British camp are said to have been formerly observed on St. Martha's hill; but the long chalk crest and slopes of the Downs, so tenacious of the slightest works ever executed on their surface, are not known to exhibit any traces of the encampments or pits, or other works usually attributed to the British, which, considering the dense forest that certainly extended to the foot of the high ground on the south side, and probably on the north, is very singular. Antiquaries, indeed, have placed the capital of the British Regni at Guildford, and the city of *Vindomis* at Farnham, but nothing beyond general probabilities have been brought forward in favour of either supposition. It is curious, also,

to observe how completely Celtic names have disappeared from the neighbourhood. Even the rivers, the first to receive and the last to change their names—the Wey, the Wandle, and the Mole—are Saxon, as are the names of Guildford, the chief town of the county and district, Farnham, the ancient episcopal seat, and the villages about them.

Neither are there any very decided marks of Roman occupation in Guildford. The Castle Hill at Hescomb, Hilbury in Puttenham, and Holmbury in Ockley, are said to be rectangular, and therefore Roman earthworks; but neither of the two great Roman roads from the south passes through Guildford. The Watling Street leads from Canterbury by Rochester to Southwark, and the Icknild Street, from Chichester, takes the pass of Mickleham in its way to the same destination. It is very curious that a town so remarkable in position, so strongly posted, and so directly in the way from the south-west to London, and withal so sheltered, and placed close to pastures so fertile, should exhibit no marks of occupation by the Romans, or the earlier or later Britons.

The early history of Guildford, like its name, is Saxon, and, like its name, savours wholly of the arts of peace. Of the "guild," or mercantile community, which in early times must have been established on the "Ford" of the Wey, nothing is recorded; but from the lingering presence of such names as Burgh Road, Burgh Field, and the Bury, it has been supposed that the earliest Saxon municipality was seated on the west, and not, as now, on the east bank of the river. It has been said that the cause of this was the establishment of the fortress on the east bank, and the consequent want of space for private dwellings. But the fact is probably just the reverse. A fortress, whether Saxon or Norman, would, as a rule, attract inhabitants to place themselves under its protection; and however spacious may have been the area enclosed—and a little under six acres is the very utmost that has ever been assigned to it,—there must always have been ample room between the walls and the river to the north, where the present town is located. If ever the town stood upon the west bank, the balance of probability is in favour of its having been transferred across the stream as soon as the Saxon hold was established there.

There is reason to believe that the principal thoroughfare of the present town—the High Street—existed in the thirteenth century, and probably some centuries earlier. Guildford is a borough by prescription, and therefore may be of any Saxon date, however early. It has paid the castle the fitting compliment of placing it on the borough shield, which bears “on a mount vert, a castle.” The town stands in three parishes; St. Mary’s, which includes the castle; Trinity; and, on the west bank of the river, St. Nicholas.

The recorded history of Guildford has no ignoble beginning. It was the property of Alfred, and is first mentioned in his will, between 872 and 885. “To Ethelwald, my brother’s son,” says the great king, “I bequeath the manor at Godalming and at Gyldeford, and at Steyning.” On the death of Ethelwald, childless, Guildford reverted to the West Saxon crown. In the following century, in 1036, Guildford was the scene of the capture of Alfred, the elder brother of the Confessor, and of the massacre of his Norman attendants. As to the particulars of the event, and as to the parts played in it by Godwin, Queen Emma, and Harold Harefoot, testimonies differ, but all agree in the mention of Guildford as the place to which the Atheling was conveyed.

When the Conqueror marched northward from Canterbury, he went by the Watling Street, through Rochester, to Southwark, and thence ascending to Wallingford, turned the position of Guildford, and placed himself between it and the Thames. Its name even does not occur till late in the reign, and then only in the General Survey. From that survey it appears that it had remained crown property. No castle is there mentioned, but that it contained a residence is more than probable, both because it had been so long a royal demesne, and from what is stated as to the Atheling’s reception there.

In Domesday Book, as now, Guildford was in the Hundred of Woking. The chief of the royal tenants was Ranulph Flambard, afterwards so celebrated both for his rapacity and his magnificence. He was rector of Godalming, and, as such, held lands in Guildford, which were afterwards appended to his Canonry at Salisbury, to be eventually resumed by Henry II., and attached, with the castle, to the



Crown. In 2 H. II. the king gave Godalming hundred and manor to the church of Sarum, in exchange for the castles of Devizes and Ruelles, or Erlestoke, then held by the bishop of that see.

The Conqueror granted a large plot of ground, upon which much of the modern town, north of the castle and south of High Street, now stands, to a family of the name of Testard, who held it for several generations by a singular tenure recorded in Blount, and are reputed to have built the two churches of St. Mary and Trinity for the use of their tenants—a fact which would go to show that the town was already standing within convenient reach of these churches, of which one is still mainly Norman, and of large area; and, further, makes it improbable that the castle enceinte ever extended far to the north, as the Conqueror was not likely to have granted away any part of the Saxon area. The historians of Surrey estimate the population of Guildford recorded in Domesday at 700 persons.

The internal evidence of the buildings of the castle makes it most probable that the whole of it, keep, hall, and domestic buildings, with its enceinte wall enclosing above five acres, was constructed by Henry II., very early in the reign; but the castle is not mentioned in his reign, nor in that of Richard I. In the Pipe rolls the town appears from time to time as contributing to tallage and other imposts, and in 1 Richard I. the park is named in connection with the canons of Sarum. It also appears from the Rot. Curiae Regis, 6 Richard I., that an assize was held there. Henry II., probably when he built the castle, seems to have formed a royal park on the opposite side of the river, north of the Hog's Back, the site of which is still indicated by such names as Guildford Park, Wilderness, Stag Hill, and the Manor Farm, the latter being probably the site of the royal lodge.

Captain James, who is conducting the Ordnance Survey of the district, and has paid great attention to the ancient boundaries, and to whose researches I am anxious to acknowledge my obligations, is of opinion that the area of the park was on the north, west, and east, conterminous with the parish of St. Nicholas, and that on the south it was bounded by the crest of the Hog's Back. This tract is said anciently to have contained four manors, but at this time it

is composed of three very ancient farms, all within one manor.

King John, whose suspicious nature and feverish activity led him to be always in motion, was at Guildford nineteen times in eleven different years. In 1200 he kept Christmas here and equipped his household in new liveries, which, to the king's great but dissembled disgust, the Archbishop of Canterbury proceeded to surpass in splendour. In 1202 he was not here; but there is a charge for £6. 5s. 8*d.* for work done upon the king's houses, and £1. 6s. 6*d.* for the transport of wine, and 4s. for the repair of the gaol in the castle. This is the first mention of the castle, and it is curious that is connected with its use as a prison.

In 1204 John was here 9th October, and 7th, 8th, 9th November, and in this year £10 was paid for the repair of the king's houses, and £40 for the expenses of his chamber. John Fitz-Hugh, sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, 1208, 1210-11-12-13 and 1214, was then made keeper of the park. In 1205, the king was here 9th, 10th, 11th of April; 1st August; and 30th, 31st October. On the 7th February, two tuns of wine, the king's prisage, were sent here, and 15th May, two hundred porkers went from hence to Southampton, a supply of flesh to London, and a net to Southwark.

King John was here 28th, 29th, 30th December, 1206, and in 1207, 27th, 28th December. In this year, 28th August, the sheriff of Hants was to take certain prisoners from Sarum Castle, and deliver them to the constable of Guildford Castle. This is the second mention of the fortress, and also as a gaol. In 1208, John was here 25th, 26th, 27th January; and 5th, 6th, 7th April; and in 1210, on the 1st, 2nd, 3rd January; and 8th March. Also in 1212 on the 12th, 13th, and 14th May.

In 1213, on the 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th December, King John was here. 3rd January the custody of the county of Surrey, with the castle of Guildford, was committed to Reginald, son of Reginald de Cornhill, to be held during pleasure, and John Fitz Hugh was ordered to give it up to him. The Cornhills were a family of farmers general of the revenues of the counties south of London, and between 1164 and 1215, Gervase, Henry, Ralph, and Reginald de Cornhill, appear as sheriffs of Surrey and Sussex then combined. In this

year, 1213, also one hundred deer, "damos et damas," were given from Guildford to the Archbishop of Canterbury to replenish his park. In 1214, 24th August, 53s. was allowed for the entertainment of the Papal legate, then on his way to revoke the Interdict. Rochester and Guildford Castles are mentioned together in this year as undergoing some repairs.

In 1215, King John was here for a whole week from the 15th to the 21st of January. He had been beaten at Bovines in the preceding July, and had come to Guildford from London, after receiving the demands of the confederate barons agreed and sworn to at Bury. He was probably at that time actively employed in obtaining support from the clergy, in the hope of evading the great charter, which, nevertheless, he was forced to agree to in the following June. On the 18th November, John Fitz-Hugh, who again was sheriff, was ordered to give up the castle to whosoever Peter, Bishop of Winchester, should name to receive it. It was probably made over to Reginald de Cornhill.

In 1216, John paid his last visit to Guildford, and remained there during the 20th, 21st, and 22nd of April. In the June following, the Dauphin Louis was here on his way from Sandwich. With Guildford, he held Reigate then a castle of the Warrens, and Faruham.

Guildford, both castle and park, are mentioned not unfrequently in the reign of Henry III. In 1222, 19th November, £200 was paid for the royal expenses going thither from London. In 1223, 19th January, King Henry was at Guildford. 18th April, allowance was made for building a house of alms in the king's court there. This was probably an office for the receipt of deodands, fines, forfeitures, escheats of felon's goods, and other monies accruing from incidents of feudal tenures, and, it has been supposed, appropriated to charitable uses. 14th May, works were in progress on the king's houses, and 27th May, Richard Dale had ten mares for repairs in the park; and again, in October, money was paid for fencing it. In 1224, repairs were done to the king's houses, and half a mare paid for making a door. The fencing of the park was proceeded with. In 10 H. III., William de Coniers was governor for the king, as were in 30, and 53 H. III., Elias Mansel and William d'Aguillon.

In 24 H. III., 4th April, the sheriff of Surrey was ordered

to repair the glass windows of the king's houses and chapel at Guildford, broken by the storm, and the houses unroofed thereby were to be restored. In 29 H. III., the vill of Guildford is mentioned as vested in the king; the sheriff was to enclose the area by the kitchen which the king had purchased, with a wall conveniently answering to the other wall by which the said court is enclosed; and he is to repair the two piers of the king's hall, which need repair because they are out of the perpendicular. In 30 H. III., 3rd February, the sheriff of Surrey and Sussex is to make "a certain chamber at Guildford, for the use of Edward, the king's son, with proper windows well barred, which is to be 50 ft. long and 26 ft. wide . . . with a privy chamber . . . so that the chamber of the same Edward be above, and the chamber of the king's noble valets underneath, with fitting windows, and a privy chamber, and a chimney in each chamber. And he is to make under the wall towards the east, opposite the east part of the king's hall, a certain pent-house, which, although narrow, shall be competently long, with a chimney and private chamber, for the queen's wardrobe; and to make in the queen's chamber a certain window equal in width to the two windows which are now there, and as much wider as may be, between the two walls, and as high as becomingly may be, with two marble pillars; and to wainscote that window above, and close it with glass windows between the pillars, with panels which may be opened and shut, and large wooden shutters internally to close over the glass windows; and to cause the upper window in the king's hall towards the west, nigh the dais, to be fitted up with white glass lights, so that in one-half of that glass window there be made a certain king sitting on a throne, and in the other half a certain queen likewise sitting on a throne."

In 40 H. III., these decorations and alterations were still continued, for on the 3rd January, the king being at Guildford, orders the sheriff of Sussex to deliver £100 to the wardens of the king's works at Guildford, "to pay off certain arrears due for the same works, and for wainscoting the king's chapel, the queen's chapel, the king's chamber, and the other chambers newly built there; and for making the great windows in the king's chapel; for barring the windows of the king's new chamber with iron; making the porch to the hall, of stone; for painting in the hall there, opposite the king's

seat, the story of Dives and Lazarus; making a certain figure with beasts on the same seat; and lengthening the chamber of the king's chaplain there."

Also on the 5th May following, the sheriff of Surrey and Sussex is ordered to whitewash the king's hall at Guildford within and without. On the 17th June, 45 H. III., 1261, the king visited Guildford, and doubtless examined and took pleasure in the various improvements and decorations he had ordered. All this luxury was probably confined to the hall and royal apartments in the middle ward, for an entry on the Hundred rolls at the commencement of the reign, shows that the Sussex county prisoners were kept at Guildford, and no doubt in the keep.

In 50 H. III., Prince Edward was at Guildford engaged in putting down Sir Adam Gordon, a soldier who, having been outlawed after Evesham fight, had turned freebooter, and made the Surrey woodlands very insecure. Edward came up with and attacked him between Farnham and Alton, took him prisoner in single combat, got him a pardon, and presented him to the queen then at Guildford. At the end of Henry's reign, 52 H. III., the "King's Mills" were removed further down the stream, probably to the site now occupied by their modern successors.

Edward I. became possessed, in due course, of Guildford, and in 27 Ed. I., 1299, the park, castle, and farm of the town, were assigned as part of the dower of Margaret, the king's second wife, and on her death, 10 Ed. II., they reverted to the Crown. Edward was here, 20th January, 31 Ed. I., 1303, resting on his way from Odiham to Windsor.

In 35 Ed. I., 1306, Henry de Say, keeper of the prisoners indicted at the Sussex Assizes, and lodged in Guildford Castle, petitioned that an officer might be sent to receive their fines and chattels, according to their offences, and that a stronger prison may be provided, the castle being insecure for so many prisoners. The answer, recorded on the rolls of Parliament, is terse. "*Si carcer sit nimis debilis, facias, Custos, emendari; si nimis strictus, faciat elargari; quia Rex non est avisatus mutare locum prisonarum suarum: vel saltem teneat eos in vinculis fortioribus.*" "Double iron the prisoners" was at one time a usual and certainly an economical way of securing their safety. It is probable that

it was under these circumstances of great pressure that the mural oratory in the keep was employed as a prison.

In the king's circular to the sheriff, 1 Ed. II., 1307, 15th Dec., which was followed by the edict confiscating the goods of the Templars, the sheriff of Surrey and Sussex was ordered to repair to Guildford. In 15 Ed. II., Oliver de Burdeghala, governor, had a writ of privy seal directing the castle to be victualled and garrisoned.

Guildford, 2 Ed. III., 1328, was the head-quarters of the sheriff of Surrey, who was ordered to go there to prevent tournaments from being held. On the 8th March, 1329, the king was at Guildford; also 28th Feb. and 26th Dec. 1330; 18th—20th Nov. 1331; 2d Sept. 1334; and 18th—24th April, 1336, so that the castle was in not infrequent use as a royal residence. In this last year the king granted the town in fee farm to the corporation, reserving only the park and castle. On the 23d April, 1337, 11 Ed. III., the king ordered that Robert d'Artoys should have a right to be hospitably received, should he visit the royal castles of Guildford, Wallingford, or Somerton, and he might sport in the park at Guildford.

In the same year, 24th Dec., Edward was himself at Guildford, as he was in 1340, and again 27th—28th Dec. 1347, in which year the commonalty of Sussex petitioned that Chichester, in place of Guildford, might be the county gaol. The petition was set aside, and in 41 Ed. III. the sheriff still held his official residence in the castle, which was the prison, as before, for the two counties. 42 Ed. III. 1368, 28th July, the king was here. 43 Ed. III. the custody of the castle and park was given to Helmyng Legatte for life. Edward was again here, 45 Ed. III. 1371, on the 12th of May, probably for the last time.

In 1 Richard II., Sir Simon Burley was constable of the castle, and afterwards Sir Hugh Waterton, on whose death, 10 H. IV., Sir John Stanley had the office also for life, and his appointment was confirmed by Henry V. By that time the custody of the park was evidently an office more coveted than that of the castle.

What occurred in the castle during the wars of York and Lancaster is not known, save that it was the scene of no event of importance, and it certainly continued still to play the ignoble part of a common prison, for in 3 H. VII. 1487,

the old complaint is revived, and the county of Sussex again petitions for a gaol of its own, and under its own sheriff, suggesting Lewes as a proper place. This time the prayer was granted, and probably the Surrey prisoners either then or soon afterwards were bestowed elsewhere, though the two counties continued long after this to be placed under one sheriff. As late as 1620 a Sussex gentleman, Nicholas Eversfield, was sheriff of the two counties, and the jurisdiction does not appear to have been finally divided till 1637.

Finally, in 1611—12, after having been attached to the Crown at least from the days of Alfred, or 700 years, the castle and its enceinte were granted by James I. to Francis Carter of Guildford, who died in 1617, and whose son, John Carter, is described as dwelling in the castle in 1623. His eldest son Francis died in 1668, leaving a daughter only, and it is his brother, the second son, John Carter, whose initials, "J. C. 1699," stand upon a tablet within and above the great gateway in Quarry Street. The castle has since remained in private hands, and is now the property of Lord Grantley.

The above extracts, mainly taken from those given by Mr. Parker in his valuable volumes on Domestic Architecture in the middle ages, will have shown that the fittings and adornments of the castle were chiefly due to Henry III. That prince, who was a great patron of the arts, and especially of architecture and painting, paid great attention to the royal residences. Unfortunately his decorations were for the most part confined to the hall and principal domestic apartments, but few of which, anywhere, have survived. At Guildford the destruction has been peculiarly sweeping, and the only remaining structure, the keep, does not seem to have participated in the royal care. The keeps of Norman castles, inhabited but rarely, and only during a siege, even by those who built them, seem very soon to have been altogether deserted for more convenient lodgings in the lower and more spacious wards. The keep was then used as a storehouse or a barrack, or as at Guildford, as a prison, and very little was spent upon its repairs, and nothing upon its decoration. It is, however, in consequence of this neglect, that the Norman keeps, where they have not been pulled down, remain pretty much as they were originally built, or with only such additions as may easily be detected, or such diminutions as may readily be supplied. This is particu-

larly the case with the keep of Guildford, the additions to, or alterations in, which, are of the rudest character, and may readily be detected, while of the masonry of the original structure little is wanting save the parapets and angle turrets, and some details connected with the approach and entrance.

GUILDFORD CASTLE occupied a natural platform of nearly six acres upon the slope of the chalk hill, far below its summit, and from 40 to 80 feet above the river. The platform, inclining gently towards the stream, terminates at about 80 yards from its bank in a low cliff of from 10 to 12 ft. high, in parts replaced by and in parts resting upon a steep natural slope or talus, which dies away 40 ft. lower down, into the meads traversed by the river. The crest of this cliff or talus is occupied by Quarry Street, and forms the west front of the castle. Towards the north, the river is more distant, and the slope of the platform far more gradual. On this side, the High Street and the present town of Guildford intervene between the castle and the river.

The keep stands on the eastern and highest part of the platform, and commands the rest of the castle, as the castle commands the town; and here are what appear to be the remains of the Saxon residence. At the foot of the steep, a mound, wholly artificial, but resting upon an inclined natural base, has been thrown up, composed of chalk, in form conical, truncated, and with a level summit, no doubt originally circular, and still nearly so, and about 90 ft. diameter. The base is about 200 ft. Between the mound and the adjacent steep hill-side is the main, and perhaps a trace of a second and outer, ditch. This inner ditch, about 60 ft. broad and 12 to 20 ft. deep, sweeps round the foot of the mound on the east, north, and south sides, the ends dying out on reaching the platform on the west below. The ditch, always dry, has long been cultivated as a garden, and was no doubt once considerably deeper. Its north limb is partially built upon by the houses in Castle Street, and is, in consequence, nearly obliterated. It is traversed at the north-east quarter by a narrow causeway of earth, which no doubt represents an older causeway of stone, provided with a drawbridge, and forming a direct entrance for foot passengers, and perhaps horses, to the keep. Beyond this ditch, to the east and south east, in the extra-parochial plot



called the "Bowling Green," are very slight traces of what may have been a second and outer ditch, a not unlikely precaution to have been taken by the inhabitants of the mound against an attack on this the weakest, because the commanded, side.

The mound on the eastern face, measured from the scarp of the ditch, is about 30 ft. high, but on the western side, where it rises from a lower level, it is about 50 ft., or 92 ft. above the river. The mound and the ditch evidently supported and protected the dwelling of the Saxon lord, and it is probable that upon the platform below, where the Norman king afterwards placed his hall and offices, were lodged the serfs and dependants of the Saxon household. Judging from the close analogy of Leicester, Tamworth, Tutbury, and other earthworks of known date, the earthworks of Guildford may, with great probability, be referred to the earlier part of the tenth century.

The keep, a rectangular structure, covers the eastern slope of the mound, but is placed a little to the south of its central line, so as to allow of a gateway (now gone) at its north-east angle, and a passage up the mound outside the north wall. The east, or lower wall rests on the undisturbed ground, a little above the level of the scarp of the ditch, and the west, or upper wall upon the edge of the level summit of the mound, nearly the whole of which thus extends undisturbed to the west and north-west of the building. The difference in level of the base of the two faces of the keep is about 15 ft. It is exceedingly rare to find a rectangular keep placed upon an artificial mound. Guildford and Christchurch in Hampshire are the only recorded examples. The latter is built wholly upon it.

The keep stands nearly by the points of the compass, measuring 46 ft. north and south, by 52 ft. east and west. The wall is perfect to the base of the parapet, a height, on the west front of about 63 ft. The masonry of the lower side contains more ashlar, and is of better quality than the rest, to prevent the structure from slipping. Of the depth of the foundations nothing is known, but the thickness of the wall—at least 11 ft. at the visible base—would serve to distribute the load, and chalk, even when made ground, does not make a bad foundation. There was, no doubt, a risk in placing so heavy a building upon an

artificial hill, even though a couple of centuries old, but the result has justified the means employed, for there is not a crack nor mark of settlement in the whole edifice. Grose represents some half-buried arches on the south side, not now visible, but which, if they ever existed, which is more than doubtful, might indicate that parts of the building rested on piers, carried down to the solid ground. However, enough of the wall is bared to show that this is not the case. What Grose took for an arch was probably a low course of inclined or half-herring-bone masonry. Others have described an opening on this side, supposed to lead into a sub-basement vault, which there is no reason for supposing to exist. The machicolations cited in evidence as defending this fabulous doorway, are the vents of a garde-robe in the upper story.

The four faces of the keep are generally alike. Each is flanked by two pilasters of 4 ft. 6 in. wide, by 9 ft. projection, so placed as not to cap the angle, but to convert it into a hollow or re-entering one. This hollow was left open, not filled up, as at Scarborough and elsewhere, by a bold bead or engaged column. In the centre of each face is a third and similar pilaster, but 5 ft. wide. Probably these rested below upon a plinth common to the whole building; but if so, this is gone. Each pilaster is of equal breadth and projection throughout, having no sets-off. The central pilasters run up to the base of the parapet, now gone. Those at the angles were continued to form the usual square turrets, of which some slight though clear remains still rise above the curtain.

The material employed for the exterior is chiefly Bargate stone, from the bed representing the chalk marle, immediately beneath the chalk. This is worked up as rubble, interspersed irregularly with courses of the same stone, laid herringbone fashion, for which the larger and flatter stones have been selected. The work is very rough. The herringbone courses are laid at all heights and distances; some broken, some mere single inclined stones, and here and there, especially near the top, are occasional courses of flints, some of which look like insertions. The angles, salient and re-entering, of the pilasters, are of the same stone, cut as ashlar, and well jointed; but between these quoins the pilasters are usually of rubble, sometimes herringboned. Above the

parapets the angle turrets seem to have been of ashlar. There is no string-course, shelf, or set-off upon the face of the wall. The west central pilaster, being pierced by the entrance, is mainly of ashlar, as is the pilaster and adjacent wall, about the north-east angle of the building, where the gate of the ward seems, from traces in the masonry, to have abutted. Here, too, the joints being very wide, are made good with single or double rows of thin ordinary bright red roofing tiles. The base of the east face was repaired about forty years ago, and now has a modern ashlar plinth of about 15 ft. high. The ashlar within reach on the other faces has been pillaged, and the base of the wall generally is very hollow and ragged. The hearting of the walls throughout seems composed of chalk and Bargate stone, very roughly laid and grouted.

The walls are everywhere pierced with putlog holes, about 4 in. square, indications of the method of construction, and probably originally but loosely stopped, to allow the work to dry, and for the convenience of future repairs. There are no large holes above, and no signs of a bretache having been employed. Four double windows on the upper floor and one on the east face of the middle floor, though original, have been fitted up with cut brick mullions and arches, of perhaps two hundred years ago, the work no doubt of the first purchaser. All earlier alterations seem to have been effected in stone.

Having thus disposed of the general exterior of the keep, the next step is to describe its interior details. Allowing for the removed plinth or casing, three of the faces are about 11 ft. thick, and the fourth or east about 14, so that the interior dimensions are 24 ft. north and south, by 27 ft. east and west. The building is composed of a basement, and two upper stories, and the floors and roof were of timber. There is no evidence of any subterranean chamber, and no reason for supposing one.

The basement, on the level of the top of the mound, is about 12 feet high. The walls are pierced in the centre of the north and south faces with a round headed recess 5 ft. wide, and about the same height to the springing. The sides and vaulted roof converge to an exterior loop, and the base is stepped up to it. The work is good plain rubble. The east and west walls were originally solid, and the only

entrance to this floor must have been by a ladder and trap from the floor above. It was of course a store or cellar, as usual.

At a later date, a doorway, 4 ft. 6 in. broad and 8 ft. to the springing, has been cut through the west wall near the north end. This has a slightly pointed arch. Its masonry is a small weak rubble without any dressings; and this, and the absence of bond with the older work, show it to be an insertion. In the north-east corner the wall has been rudely cut away to some depth, to form a fire-place and an oven. The bricks composing these have been removed, and a recent pier of masonry supports the wall above. The chimney shaft of this and a fire-place in the floor above, have been formed by cutting away the inner face of the wall, which has been rudely restored. No doubt all this is the work of the purchaser, who seems to have lived in the keep, and converted the basement into a kitchen. In the south-west corner is a small platform of stone, said to have carried a wooden stair communicating with the floor above, and of the date of the kitchen. This is probable enough. One of the stones is a late Norman capital, brought from some other part of the castle. The whole interior of this basement is rubble. It contained neither fire-place nor garde-robe. The two loops, its only light, are about 18 in. high, and were probably 4 in. broad, though now increased by weather to 6 in.

The first or state floor was about 30 ft. high, fairly lighted, and contained various mural chambers. In the centre of the west side was the entrance from without, and in each of the other three sides a window. These were of two lights, or rather composed of two tall narrow round-headed windows, coupled under one round head outside, and a similar vaulted recess inside. These recesses commenced about a foot above the floor level, and are 4 ft. 4 in. wide, and to the springing about 12 ft. high. Their sides are parallel, not convergent, and each contained four steps ascending towards the window. There are no mouldings nor decorations, but the quoins are ashlar. The window, arches, imposts and jambs, are plain and good. The central window piers or mullions are gone, but in two cases the small head arches remain. In the third case, that in the east face, the window has been removed and replaced by one in brick, but the recess is untouched.

The entrance is 3 ft. 4 in. broad, 9 ft. high, and about 14 ft. from the ground. It is lined with good ashlar; but with a barrel-vault, round headed, in rubble. The outer portal occupies the whole breadth of the central pilaster, being about 5 ft. wide. It is very slightly but decidedly pointed. There is no portecullis groove, and but one, an outer, door, well strengthened by bar holes. Below the springing are two small holes, now stopped, for an iron bar, rather low for a centring, and possibly connected with a light drawbridge. The door is in the centre of the west face, as is the opposite window of the east face; but the north window is at the west end of its face, about 3 ft. from the corner, and the south window is placed diagonal to it, at a similar distance from the south-east corner. The three windows were all of one pattern.

Besides these openings, there are, at the same level, three mural chambers and a staircase. The principal chamber occupies the south-west angle, and is in plan a right angle with two limbs, like the capital letter L. That in the west wall is 5 ft. 6 in. broad by 14 ft. long; that in the south wall 4 ft. 10 in. broad by 23 ft. long; but as each is measured over the breadth of the other, the total length of the chamber measured on the outer wall, is 37 ft., and measured along the inner wall only 26 ft. 8 in. The chamber is partly lined with chalk ashlar and partly with rubble, and the vault, barrel and round-headed, is of rubble. The vault springs from a plain Norman abacus. The height to the springing is about 7 ft. The outer wall of this chamber, in length 37 ft., has been lined throughout with an arcade, originally of ten arches, of which six remain quite perfect, and of most of the others there are traces. The arcade is of late Norman work, the piers delicate, the caps very highly carved, the arches round-headed. The whole is recessed in the wall, reaches to the springing of the vault, and rests upon a low plinth or dado. There is a loop in the west wall near the north end of the chamber, and another in its south end in the south wall. There is also a third and longer and lower loop at the other end of the south limb, close to and on the right of the priest as he stood before the altar, the place of which at the east end is marked by a bench or step in the wall. One original door was in the west limb, close to the main entrance. In King's time it was perfect, and was round-headed, 2 ft. 4 in. wide and 7 ft. 7 in. high, but it has

since been broken away. There is a larger rude opening in the south limb, which may represent the place of another door. That this singular and highly ornate chamber was originally an oratory is evident, both from the care bestowed upon it, from the traces of an altar in the east wall, and from the window next the altar.

In Tudor times the south wall was breached and a clumsy flat-topped window of three lights inserted, for which much of the arcade has been cut away, and a rude wall with a door in it has been built across the south limb, probably to convert the oratory into two sleeping places. Upon the chalk ashlar of this chamber have been carved a considerable number of rude representations, apparently the work of one period. Some are simply incised, others carved in relief. There is one very evident Crucifixion with a soldier piercing our Lord's side, the disciples attending, and something like a veiled female figure about to faint. There is also a St. Christopher; a bishop recumbent beneath a crown, and other figures, both ecclesiastic and military. They are evidently the work of persons confined in this apartment, and as they are rude, illiterate, and without any trace of heraldic emblems, they are probably the work of common gaol prisoners, and are likely enough to be of the beginning of the 13th century, when the prison was overcrowded, and every available space sure to have been employed. There was of course a larger chapel in the lower ward, not to mention the parish church of St. Mary, hard by. These carvings have been engraved, but not with the necessary correctness. It speaks little for the public spirit of Guildford that they are not photographed.

On the other or north side of the main entrance, also in the west wall, is a second mural chamber, entered by a narrow, round-headed, original door, 2 ft. 4 in. broad by 7 ft. 7 in. high, quite plain, of ashlar. This chamber has a rude, round-headed barrel vault, and is 9 ft. 2 in. long by 5 ft. 1 in. broad. There is one loop in the west wall. The walls are rubble, but the internal jamb of the door, being of chalk ashlar, bears some carvings in the style of those described above.

The third chamber is in the north wall, at its east end. Its door and much of its inner wall and floor have been removed to allow of the insertion of a fireplace and chimney

shaft, but enough remains to show that the chamber was 14 ft. long by 3 ft. 2 in. broad, and had a loop in the north wall. The eastern third of this chamber is uninjured. A depression in the floor, quite at the east end, looks as though it had been a garde-robe for the state floor, and this idea is strengthened by the quoining and ashlar-work about the angles at that end. Brayley prolongs this chamber at a right angle into the east wall. This is a pure fiction. The quoining of the end shows that there was nothing further, and the groove in the wall is only meant to support the ends of the boards upon which the vault was turned. The fireplace, close west of this chamber, of which the flue remains, is an insertion. The position of the mural chamber, and of the window, shows however that there may have been an original fireplace here.

There remains to be mentioned the well-stair, which occupies the north-west angle of the keep, commencing at the first-floor level, and ascending to the roof. This stair does not communicate directly with the main chamber, but opens by a small, round-headed door in the jamb of the adjacent north window, where three steps in a short, narrow passage lead up into the base of the well-stair. The stairs are gone, but the cylinder of the well-stair, 8 ft. diameter, remains. As high as the second floor it is lined with excellent chalk ashlar, and lighted by two loops on the west side. A door and passage, similar to that below, ascends by four steps into a recess, not a window, in the north wall of the upper floor. This side door is pointed, but this seems the effect of modern cobbling. It should further be mentioned that the four hollow angles of the first or state floor are quoined with chalk ashlar. The floor rested on no set-off, the walls being of the thickness of the basement.

The second, or upper floor, was about 15 ft. high. There is a set-off at the floor level, reducing the east and west walls by about 2 ft. In this floor are four windows in broad recesses. These on the west and east and south faces are central. The fourth window is towards the east end of the north wall, the centre of that side being occupied by a fireplace much modernised, but which the displacement of the window shows to be original. In the south wall, close to the south-east angle, a door leads into a small mural garde-robe, with two vents corbelled out over the exterior wall, and

a loop above them. With this exception there are no mural chambers on this floor, which is singular, seeing that the wall is quite thick enough to carry them. There is however in the west wall, near its north end, one jamb of a walled-up door, which may have been meant to communicate with the stair, or with a mural chamber. It seems never to have been completed. The four angles of this room are quoined in chalk ashlar, as in the room below, and the window recesses had, and one still has, round-headed arches. This floor is very inaccessible, but was visited when these remarks upon it were recorded. The walls are evidently, in the main, original, though much pulled about by the Carter family when they lived here. The recesses also are original, but the windows themselves are cut brick insertions of two lights, arched.

It will be observed that the eastern wall, though very thick, is pierced by no galleries, and, with the exception of two windows, is absolutely solid from base to summit. Probably the object was by placing this mass of firm masonry on the solid ground to give support to the other three sides, and thus prevent them from sliding down the slope of the mound, as was the case with some much lighter and later buildings in a similar position at Cardiff.

It has been stated that the keep stands upon the south-eastern slope of the mound, consequently there is to the west, and in front of its entrance, nearly the whole table summit. This was enclosed by a circular wall, like a shell-keep, about 25 ft. high, which, springing from the south-eastern angle of the keep, seems to have been carried round the mound, commencing at about half its height, until it reached the north-east angle of the keep, at which junction there seems to have been a gateway. Of this circular wall about one-half, either actual or in foundations, remains. The fragment of wall, about 5 ft. thick and 20 ft. high, is evidently of the date of the keep, the same thin red tiles being used in its chalk masonry. Also in this wall is an original garde-robe, apparently of three stages: one at the ward level, one half-way up, and one on the battlements; the three seem to have united in a common shaft, the vent of which is seen outside the base of the wall.

The space thus enclosed by the keep and the circular curtain was the inner ward. How the main door of the



keep was reached does not appear. There was not the usual barbican tower, as at Norwich or Rochester; the circum-scribing wall, and the lofty position of the keep, rendered this unnecessary. A row of small holes at the door level may have belonged to a sort of timber landing, to be reached by a flight of steps of the same material. There is said to have been a well in this ward, about 6 ft. from the west wall of the keep, south of the door.

There remain two wards to be described. The line of the enceinte of the castle seems to have been much as follows: Commencing at the angle of Castle Street and Quarry Street, where the site of the present King's Head inn was probably marked by a tower, the west front took the line of Quarry Street, past the great gateway, to the tower containing a postern, which still marks the south-west angle of the enclosure. Thence the wall passed east till it reached the boundary of the extra-parochial ground, whence, in the line of that boundary, it probably took the curve of the counterscarp of the main ditch, in the direction of the Bowling-green Cottages. There, on the platform at the end of the causeway, was no doubt a barbican covering the direct approach to the keep. Thence the wall seems to have been continued along the line of the ditch, shown by the curve of Castle Street, until it again reached Quarry Street, thus enclosing what corresponds tolerably well to the area of the castle at the sale of 1612, which is described as 5A. 3R. 10P., or nearly six acres. Of this area the part north of the great gateway was shut off by a curtain, parts of which remain, and which seems to have run up the mound to the enceinte of the inner ward. In this, the middle ward, stood the hall and principal buildings, as is clear from the considerable, though fragmentary Norman walls still to be seen, two of which, forming two sides of a large chamber, are very perfect, and one is pierced by a very perfect Norman window recess and loop.

What stood in the area south of the gateway, into which the postern led, is not known. It long contained the gardens of the governor of the gaol, when the castle was employed for that ignoble use, and in it is the celebrated well, connected with the caverns.

The great gate in Quarry Street, though large, is at present a mere opening, perhaps of the age of Henry III., in an

older, and probably Norman curtain. Whether it was connected with a gatehouse is uncertain, but there is, as already stated, an indication in the masonry that such was the case. Also the portecullis groove is large, and so heavy a grate could not have been worked without a chamber above, carrying a winch. Outside the gate are two buttresses, which have a late Norman aspect. One is nearly perfect, the other has been replaced in brick, but probably upon the old base. The south-west angle of the Quarry Street front is marked by the not inconsiderable remains of the postern tower, adjacent wall, and a large buttress, all pretty clearly late Norman. Towards the north and east the walls are entirely removed, but in these quarters the line of the ditch affords a clue to the original boundary. The enceinte, thus laid down, measures about 535 yards; its greatest north and south diameter, 170 yards; and east and west, 140 yards. The Quarry Street front is straight and 138 yards long, with the gate nearly in the middle. From the postern tower to the end of the keep causeway is 213 yards, and thence to the King's Head angle, 184 yards.

Captain James has detected traces of a line of wall parallel to and about 30 yards south of the High Street, which may not improbably have been the boundary of an enclosed area appended to the castle, as may the extra-parochial lands on the east and south-east, but the actually defended area of the castle seems to have been as above described.

It may further be observed that Quarry Street, which runs along the foot of the west wall of the castle, and lay between it and the river, seems to have been defended on that side by the low cliff and talus already mentioned, supported probably by the retaining wall, of which traces, and the jamb of a gate, remain; while there is a tradition of a gate crossing the street near the postern of the castle, which probably guarded the approach to the town from the south, the only quarter from which a hostile approach would be apprehended.

Not only are the remains of the domestic buildings of a late Norman character, but among the repairs of the hall, in the reign of Henry III., two of the piers are mentioned as out of the perpendicular, a tolerably conclusive evidence that the hall resembled Oakham and Leicester, and was of Norman date. Altogether, it is sufficiently evident that the

whole area of the castle was enclosed by its original founder, and is not later than the middle of the twelfth century, the detached fragments of walls and buildings being in substance of the same date with the keep. The castle is in St. Mary's parish, bordered on the north-east by Trinity, and on the east by the extra-parochial plot, the origin of which is not known. Probably the enceinte took in the whole of the residence of the royal Saxon owners.

Those who have supposed that the enceinte of the castle extended to the present High Street, have regarded the two well-known crypts remaining there as proofs of this extent. One of these, on the south side, the writer has not been able to visit; but the other, exactly opposite the former, and about 160 yards from the keep, he has examined, and it is said that the two are of the same age and dimensions, and very nearly alike.

The north crypt, beneath the Angel Hotel, is a rectangular chamber, 31 ft. north and south, by 19 ft. east and west, and divided into two aisles and six bays, by two central piers. The piers are plain cylinders, 18 in. diameter, and 5 ft. 6 in. high. The bases are now concealed; the piers are without caps, and quite plain. The roof is vaulted, and 10 ft. 3 in. from the floor to the cornice, groined and ribbed. The arches are drop, and pointed, the ribs chamfered, and springing from carved corbels in the wall. At the south end of each aisle is a window recess, converging and rising to a loop at the street level. The entrance is by a narrow drop-arched door, opening from a rising passage, vaulted, with hanging ribs. This opens into a small chamber, north of, and 4 or 5 ft. above the vault, whence another narrow door probably led up to the ground level. The date of the crypt seems to be of the thirteenth century, and it is quite clear that it never was prolonged southwards towards the other crypt, and was always and only lighted, as now, from the street level. In all probability this was the cellar of some considerable hostel, situate, as now, in the High Street, which, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as now, was probably the main thoroughfare of the town.

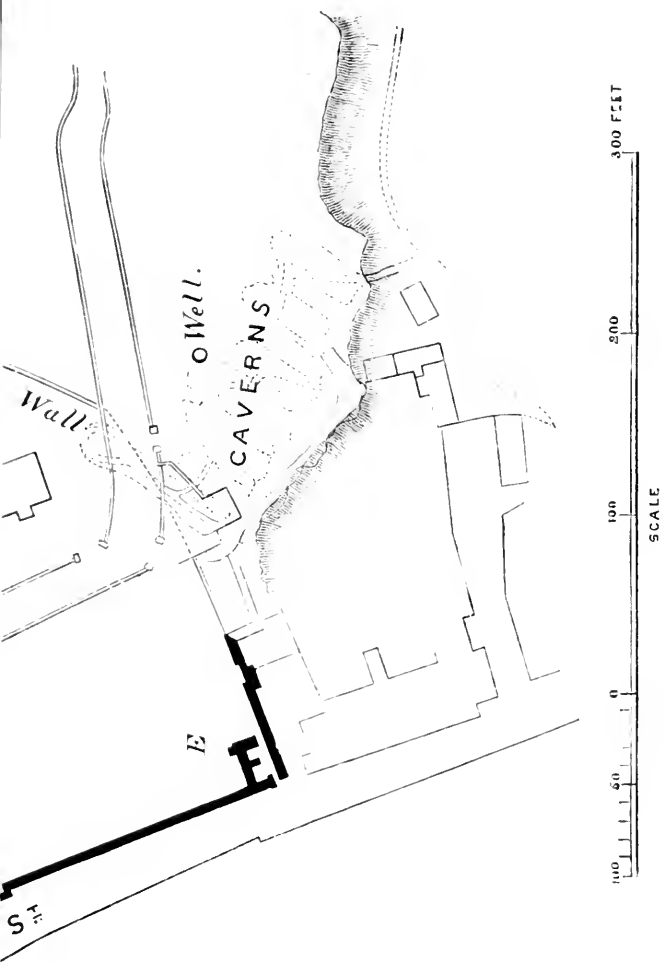
In the immediate neighbourhood of the castle, and, indeed, running under the southern edge of its enceinte, are the celebrated caverns, which have recently been explored,

and, for the first time, correctly planned by Capt. James, whose excellent account of them, published in this Journal, is well known.<sup>1</sup> These caverns are excavated in the chalk, which forms a cliff south of the town, and from the base of which they are entered. The chalk here dips northerly, at about ten degrees, and the hardest bed, and the most suitable for building purposes, lies at the base of the cliff, and is about 6 or 7 ft. thick. This bed has been largely quarried by open "patching" in the broken ground south of the cliff, which, indeed, is apparently artificial, and produced by these excavations, and it is only when the bed became too deep for that mode of working, that the quarrymen had recourse to mining operations. These later works are, in general plan, composed of a gallery parallel to, and a few feet within the face of the cliff, from which, at a right angle, eight parallel stalls are carried north-eastwards. The extreme points of the excavation are a little over 55 yards north-west and south-east, by 32 yards north-east and south-west, but the area actually excavated is only about 1,150 yards, and the cubical contents about 2,330 yards. The plan alone would show that they were opened for quarries. But besides this, although much solid chalk has been removed, the excavation is nearly choked up with the immense quantity of "small" produced by unskilful working, and through which narrow paths are left to get at the face of the work. It is evident that this is not *debris* brought in, nor caused by the fall of the roof, which is remarkably sound. It is simply broken chalk, which has been thrown back as the miners proceeded, and remains undisturbed. The character and presence of this rubbish not only shows that the excavation was a quarry, but that it never was used for anything else, neither as a granary, nor a cellar, nor for human habitation, for nowhere has it been cleared away, so as to set any part of the cavities free for such purposes.

Nearly in the deepest part of the working, about 60 ft. below the surface, the caverns have been pierced by a well, sunk, it is said, in the garden of the governor of the old gaol. This well has been carried through the caverns, if to water, probably to a depth of another 100 ft., but it has subsequently been covered over with plank, at the level of the cavern floor, and so now remains. The pipe of the







A.—The Mound and Keep. B.—The Ditch. C.—Remains of the Domestic Buildings. D.—Great Gate. E.—Postern Tower.  
 F.—Bowling Green. G.—Probable Upper Postern.





well above is very rugged, as though sunk by unskilled workmen—perhaps convicts—and is stained, as though used as a cesspool. Also, for many yards around, the rubbish, elsewhere of pure white, is dark and foul, as though, failing to reach water, or afterwards disused for that purpose, the well had been employed as a receptacle for all the filth of the prison.

As to the age of these quarries, it is not easy to form a sound opinion. They have been supposed to be British, and various uses have been found for them, quite at variance with the appearances they present. The only argument for such an origin has been overlooked. The town is in Woking hundred, and Woking, like Wokey in Mendip, may be a corruption of the British “Ogof” (fovea), a cave. But Woking was never the name of the town, and the material evidence of the caverns does not favour this theory. They are certainly not British: the plan of the workings excludes this view. No doubt they might be Roman, but there are no traces of Roman buildings in the neighbourhood, and chalk, even hard chalk, is too plentiful all along the ridge to be carried hence to any great distance. The most probable supposition seems to me to be that they were opened by the builders of the Norman Castle, who used chalk largely for their inner, and, indeed, for much of their more exposed, work. The quarries have no communication with any part of the castle. Where they infringe upon its borders they are far too deep to have been employed against it during a mediæval siege.

ON AN ANTIQUE PASTE CAMEO, FOUND AT STANWIX,  
NEAR CARLISLE.

By C. W. KING, M.A.

A LITTLE relic of the Roman occupation of this island has lately been brought under my notice, possessing considerable claims to our attention on the grounds of art and history, but much more from the circumstances under which it was discovered.

This object is a circular disk,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. in diameter, of opaque, lavender-coloured antique paste, bearing a female bust in half-relief, and in front-face, with the hair *waved*, *parted* down the *middle*, and falling in *one ample tress* far down over each shoulder upon her bosom. These latter particulars in the treatment of the figure will be shown, in the course of this inquiry, to be of essential importance towards the identification of the original of this portrait.



As regards the first consideration mentioned—that of artistic merit—this work is of the highest order; for although cruelly corroded by time and friction upon the surface, it still shows itself, at the first glance, to have been cast from

a *gem* executed in the very noblest style of the Augustan Age. The discovery, therefore, of it at Stanwix (the supposed *Axelodunum*), near Carlisle, is a very memorable event in the history of Roman-British remains; for though old Leland, just awakening from the night of Gothicism, speaks with admiration of the "cornalines marvellously well entayled" frequently turned up then, as now, in the same locality, yet our more familiar acquaintance with the highest antique art forces us to acknowledge that the glyphic works, bequeathed by the Romans to this soil, are always mediocre, generally barbarous, and unmistakably the productions, not of the Italian or Asiatic artists of those times (far less of the earlier Grecian masters), but of the semi-civilized die-sinkers at the mints of Lugdunum and Treviri, and possibly of those working at Camulodunum and Augusta.

The *material* also is worthy of a passing notice. This opaque, light-blue paste, of the colour of *saffre*, is the kind mentioned by Pliny<sup>1</sup> in his valuable account of the glass-manufacture of his day, as being an imitation of the lapis-lazuli, "*sapphiros imitatum*;" and our cabinets attest that it was a favourite medium with the Roman *vitriarii* for their imitations of camei, especially those of considerable volume. For the ancient *sapphirus*, our lapis-lazuli, ever retained that pre-eminence in rank which its beauty and rarity had given it amongst the first inventors of glyphics, the Assyrians, and Egyptians; even after the opened trade with India had rendered the stone comparatively cheap and common at Alexandria and Rome. Even at the end of the fourth century, Epiphanius mentions one kind of it as dignified with the title of "Royal;"<sup>2</sup> and in the eleventh century the Norman poet, Marbodus, copying some lost ancient original, describes it as only conceded to the hands of princes.<sup>3</sup> For this reason, important intagli, probably the privy signets of the personages represented upon them, continued during the whole course of antiquity to be engraved in lapis-lazuli, from that of the Macedonian Perseus (in the Blacas Cabinet) down to that of Phocas, the Byzantine emperor (in the Martigny collection). Of *camei* in the same stone may be cited a fine Messalina (Marlborough), and a Crispina (Praun). At the head of works in the imitative

<sup>1</sup> xxxvi. 67.

<sup>2</sup> "De xii. gemmis quæ erant in vesti-

mentis Aaron," cap. v. *Sapphirus*.

<sup>3</sup> Lapidarium, v. *Sapphirus*.

paste stands the Townley, "Bonus Eventus," or the youthful Caracalla so complimented, a plaque eight inches square; and other important specimens of the same material may be seen in the show-cases of antique glass in our National Museum.

When first discovered, the paste under consideration retained its mounting, described as being "of silver filigree," but so oxidised by the action of the salts of the earth where it had lain, as to fall to pieces immediately when handled. This circumstance is to be regretted, for, if preserved, this mounting would have shown the destination of the ornament, whether for a pendant jewel or for a fibula. By the description "filigree" (work of which the Romans made no use) it is almost certain we ought to understand that cut and pierced pattern-work, beginning to come into fashion (for silver plate alone) in Pliny's day,<sup>4</sup> under the name so expressive of its nature, "Opus Interrasile," and which, from the reign of Severus downwards, became the general style of mounting for all sorts of jewels. Illustrations of this kind of work in *gold* are common enough; good examples are certain fine medallions<sup>5</sup> set in broad, pierced borders in the form of pendants, in the French Cabinet; the massy rings of the Tarsus and Rouen treasure-troves, of the reign of Severus Alexander;<sup>6</sup> and, what bears immediately upon the present question, the pretty *gage d'amour* ring, found at Corbridge, pierced *à jour* with the "posy" (in Elizabethan phrase) EMILIA ZESES,<sup>7</sup> "Long life to thee, Emilia!" The silver ornaments of that period, probably obtained by melting down the current denarii (then largely debased with lead), were caused by this pierced-work ornamentation to expose innumerable surfaces to the destructive influences of the earth, and rapidly decomposed into a black, brittle sulphuret, falling to pieces on the lightest touch. But other circumstances render it most probable that this paste in its completed state was designed as a pendant for the neck. By a singular coincidence, the only lazulite paste that ever came under my notice, still preserving its antique mounting

<sup>4</sup> "Interrasile alia (vase) ut quoniam plumbum lima perdidit." H. N. xxxiii. 19. "Étréoué à jour" is the French term for it, and better than our own.

<sup>5</sup> Particularly the two of Portunus, found in the same hiding place with the "god" of Pater de Rennes."

<sup>6</sup> Caylus engraved a very elaborate example of a ring of this kind with broad open-work shoulders, set with a gold quarant of Maximin, found at Hen, near Amiens. Rec. d'Antiq. v. pl. 112.

<sup>7</sup> Figured in Arch. Journ., vii. 191.

(of gold), was a beautiful bust of *Abundantia*,<sup>8</sup> in intaglio, and of smaller dimensions: one of the most interesting pieces in the Hertz collection. The Marlborough cabinet possesses a fine sardonyx cameo of a hippocampus, retaining its original and curiously-constructed gold framing for the same purpose; not to mention its numerous and magnificent examples of the Cinque-cento jewels of the same nature, the first idea of which was evidently borrowed from similar legacies of antiquity; lastly, may be adduced of all others that most interesting illustration, the great cameo of St. Alban's (of whose specific virtues Matthew Paris has left so full and amusing a history, together with an invaluable drawing by his own hand), which was in a silver frame of elegant pattern of the same *opus interrasile*, the taste of which bespeaks a higher period than the rude Saxon king's who presented it to the monastery.<sup>9</sup> It is true that large circular camei were also used for ornamenting, or rather composing, fibulæ (the usual destination of the Medusa heads so common in relief), a fine example of which is the one fastening the mantle on the shoulder of the Spada Pompey; but as a much more substantial frame for our paste would have been required in such an employment, it may more reasonably be supposed to have been mounted, and worn as a pendant jewel.

I have left for the last the determination of the most important question of all—the *personage* represented in this noble specimen of ancient portraiture. An antiquary, distinguished by his zealous investigations of Roman remains in Northumberland and the parts adjacent, discovers in this cameo a portrait from the life of Antinous himself, whom he furthermore supposes to have accompanied his imperial patron into Britain, and to have left behind him this imperishable memento of the honour done by his visit to the barbarians of the North. But, unfortunately for this romantic hypothesis, the celebrated favourite of Hadrian made no pretensions to *feminine* loveliness, but gained the admiration of the world as the most perfect embodiment of the Grecian idea of *male* beauty—the ancient Achilles returned to life. This is proved by the noble Marlborough gem of him in that very character,

<sup>8</sup> That is, some impress in that character, according to the rule of the times.

<sup>9</sup> Figured in the *Archæologia*, xxx.

411.

with spear on shoulder ; also by the medallions struck in his honour, giving him the actual title of ΗΡΩΣ ; on all of which his head appears with the short, close-clustering curls of the Thessalian hero. But to descend to sober reality, if anyone capable of judging of likenesses will refer to the plaster-cast of the " Gemma Augustea " (the noted Vienna cameo representing the Family of Augustus<sup>1</sup>), he will at the first glance recognise the same bust (identical in pose, *chevelure*, and benign expression) as belonging to the woman seated on the ground with her two little boys standing by her, on the left hand of the Emperor. She is holding up a cornucopia, and wears round her neck a heart-shaped *bullæ*. As to her personality, there can, in this composition, be no room for doubt ; she is *Antonia*, daughter of M. Antony and Octavia, niece to Augustus, and wife of the hero of the scene, his beloved step-son, Drusus ; whilst her two children are the afterwards so famous Germanicus, and the Emperor Claudius. Again, let the same critic minutely examine the head of the same princess on the *reverse* of the beautiful gold medal<sup>2</sup> struck in her honour by either her grandson or son (where she is figured under the form of *Ceres Legifera*, holding the long flambeau and cornucopia of the beneficent goddess, with her head in the same pose as in the cameo just quoted), and he will feel his first impression converted into certainty. Or, if further evidence be wanted, let him compare the fine Marlborough cameo (figured in Raspe's Catalogue at No. 11256, but there mis-called an Agrippina), where also Antonia appears with the attributes of Ceres, and he will discover, one might almost say, the actual cameo upon which the paste we are considering was moulded. Lastly, if none of these means of forming a judgment be at hand, let him but cast his eyes upon the lovely Townley " Clytie rising from the sunflower " (to retain the familiar name), now so deservedly popular through its elegant *reduction* in Parian, and he will immediately recognise the head on the Axelodunum relic in the marble bust that deifies the same virtuous lady as an Isis reposing on her lotus flower.

Antonia's claims to such eternity of fame were well-

<sup>1</sup> Of which an admirable copper-plate, of the actual size, may be seen in Montfaucon's great work ; also, copied more recently, in Krause's " Pyrgoteles."

<sup>2</sup> A very correct drawing of it, magnified to show the details, will be found in the Penny Cyclopædia, article " Antonia."

founded, and the ample manner in which they were acknowledged both during her lifetime, and after her decease, may be accounted for in several ways. She was the widow of Drusus, the idol of the Roman people, and whose popularity went on increasing after his death through the very unpopularity of his brother, Tiberius. She was the mother of the equally beloved and equally regretted Germanicus; and she had the credit of saving the empire and the Cæsarian line by her detection of the conspiracy of Sejanus at the very moment it was ripe for execution. To the last-named service allusion seems to be made in the sense of the *CONSTANTIA* of the legend on the medal already quoted. She received the highest honours from her grandson, Caligula, upon his accession to the empire, although he is accused of having afterwards, in his capricious madness, hastened her death—a gratuitous crime, and probably laid to his charge on no surer grounds than his bad reputation. When her son Claudius succeeded his short-lived nephew, Antonia obtained from his filial piety a large share of the honours he paid to the deceased members of his family. As this Cæsar (the James I. of antiquity), besides his love of books, was also a patron of the glyptic art—for Pliny notices his fondness for the sardonyx,<sup>3</sup> evidently meaning that gem in the *camei*, of which so many with his and his wives' portraits are still preserved—it seems to follow naturally that his mother also should have received under him her part in this most imperishable kind of monument. I am not ignorant that it has been the traditional custom to attribute all cameo-heads of this particular type to *Agrippina*, wife of Germanicus; but its appearance on the *Gemma Augustea*, executed before her birth, as well as on the medal of Antonia (pointed out here for the first time) are sufficient to overthrow such an identification.

It may perhaps be acceptable to such of my readers as are unacquainted with ancient glyptics to explain the *composition* of the paste before us, and also the *process* of its fabrication. All the antique imitative lazulite that has come under my examination is of the same close-grained texture, and the same shade of light blue (or lavender colour). Its hardness

<sup>3</sup> “Singulorum enim libido pretia singulis (gemmis) facit, præcipueque æmulatio, velut cum Claudius Cæsar smaragdus induerat vel sardonyches.” (H. N.

xxxvii. 23.) The emperor brought the sardonyx into fashion by wearing it alternately with the emerald, the gem the most valued of all in his day.

is declared by the polished surface the small ring-stones of the sort retain in spite of all the injuries of time and wear. The composition appears to be the same with that of the Egyptian blue enamel, the "artificial cyanos" of Theophrastus,<sup>4</sup> so largely applied to the decorative productions of the national art. That such enamelling had for its object the making terra cotta and steaschist pass for true lapis lazuli is made evident by Ælian's notice that the "High Priest of the Egyptians used, when administering justice, to wear round his neck an image of the goddess Truth, carved in *sapphirus*."<sup>5</sup> The nature of this badge of office is abundantly attested by the existence of the numerous tablets in artificial cyanos, bearing figures of deities, and similarly intended for pendant jewels. Sir H. Davy found by experiment that the cyanos used in Roman fresco-painting could be exactly reproduced by fusing together, for the space of two hours, 15 parts pure carbonate of soda, 20 pulverised flint, and 3 copper filings. A similar mixture, the proportion of flint somewhat increased for the sake of hardening it, would produce a paste with all the qualities and appearance of the antique specimens. As Alexandria, upon the decay of Sidon, became the chief seat of the glass manufacture (one of its fabricants, Firmus, being actually wealthy enough to dispute the empire with Aurelian), it is more than probable that paste gems "*vitreae gemmæ e vulgi annulis*,"<sup>6</sup> formed a large part of her exports; and that, for the species requiring it, the artificial cyanos (the invention of the country) was especially put into requisition.

The actual process of making paste gems can be briefly described, if minute technical details be omitted. The impression of the work to be imitated is taken in a mixture of fine tripoli and pipe-clay, rammed down in a little iron case of the dimensions required. This forms the *matrix*, which, after drying, is placed within the furnace, with a bit of glass of the proper colour laid upon it. This is watched until observed to become plastic, and then carefully squeezed down with an iron spatula coated with French chalk to prevent adhesion. After annealing, the glass, on removal from the matrix, presents an exact counterpart of the

<sup>4</sup> "On Stones," chap. 53.

<sup>5</sup> "Varia Historia" xiv. 34. "Truth" is known by the tall feather rising from her head, and which, placed alone, is her

hieroglyphic.

<sup>6</sup> Pliny's term for the manufacture, H. N. xxxv. 30.



original gem, whether in cameo or intaglio. For camei of two or more strata, so many layers of different coloured glass must be employed, and the relief afterwards touched up with the usual engraver's instruments, to remove superfluities and to level the field. Some of the antique examples, thus worked over, can hardly be distinguished from camei in true sardonyx.

In that valuable storehouse of information upon every antique matter conceivable—the “*Recueil d'Antiquités*,” Caylus gives a detailed account of experiments made by his friend, Dr. Majault, in attempting to recover the ancient process of paste-making, and which he justly styles “*Un des articles les plus curieux et les plus intéressans de ce Recueil*.”<sup>7</sup> The result of these experiments was the discovery of the method of producing all the beautiful patterns of inlaid flowers, the “*millefiori*” and “*Egyptian Mosaic*,” so much admired in antique jewels of the sort ; it is likely our own glass-makers might derive some valuable hints from the study of the researches in their art, carried on so sedulously by the indefatigable old Frenchman.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. i. p. 293. A fuller description of all the processes will be found in Mariette's *Pierres Gravées du Cabinet du Roy*, i. p. 209, in the section “*Des Pierres gravées factices, et la manière de les faire*,” written

at a period (1750) when the manufacture had been brought to its utmost perfection through the researches of the chemist Homburg, under the patronage of the Regent Orleans.

## NOTES ON THE PRE-HISTORIC ARCHÆOLOGY OF EAST DEVON.<sup>1</sup>

By the Rev. RICHARD KIRWAN, M.A., F.S.A., F.E.S.L., Rector of Gittisham.

IN conformity with an inexorable law, the generality of mankind have ever passed away unnoticed and forgotten ; yet each succeeding age has produced individuals distinguished above their fellows, whose names have been rescued from oblivion. Hence the origin of sepulchral memorials. From an instinctive desire on the part of the survivors to embalm the memory of those who in life were eminent for their wisdom or their valour, and sometimes also from feelings of affection, an effort was made to secure their remembrance by setting up over their remains some enduring sign or symbol. Thus Jacob set up a monument or pillar over the grave of Rachel, and Absalom built himself a pillar to hand down his name to posterity.

Amongst the ancient Britons, the earliest sepulchral memorials, like those of other ancient nations in a similar state of barbarism, were simply mounds of earth or of unhewn stones ; and these, if we except the cromlechs here and there remaining, were the only funeral monuments of this island previous to its becoming a province of the Roman Empire. These tumuli or barrows lie scattered over all parts of the kingdom, though they occur more particularly in the most barren and exposed districts. On the hilly and uncultivated downs of Dorsetshire and Wiltshire they abound, as also in some parts of Scotland and Wales, whilst in other parts they are comparatively unknown. Some have been destroyed at different times as agriculture has progressed, whilst those that still remain are commonly placed on elevated situations that have not yet been invaded by the

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted, by the author's kind permission, from the Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art. 1870.

advancing plough. When regarded as affording a clue to the manners and customs of the early inhabitants of this island, these sepulchral mounds are most important and interesting, inasmuch as from an examination of their contents some idea may be gained of the knowledge and progress in the industrial arts, and of the comparative state of civilisation attained by a people whose very name has passed into oblivion. In fact, as the geologist, by reference to the fossil *fauna* and *flora* of the successively overlying strata, is enabled to recall the various forms of life that once peopled our globe, so does the archæologist exhume from the barrow materials for the elucidation of the history of races that have long since passed away. Of all the branches of scientific inquiry, this is, perhaps, the most interesting, enabling us to extend our knowledge of the civilization, the social and domestic habits, the religious rites, the attainments in science and art of the ancient tribes of our land.

From an investigation of their sepulchral mounds, it is evident that the Britons were accustomed to employ two distinct modes of burial; the one by simple inhumation, which was the more ancient, where the body was deposited entire, and generally in a contracted position, with the knees drawn up to the chin; the other by cremation, where the body was burnt. Homer mentions this custom as having prevailed at the siege of Troy; we find also some reference to it in the Old Testament; it was a custom that appears to have originated among some Eastern nations, and was possibly introduced into this country by the Phœnicians. Viewed with reference to their external conformation, British barrows present considerable variations; and, taking outward form as a basis of classification, numerous and fanciful designations have been given to them by Stukeley and others. The classification which is now generally adopted, and which was proposed by Dr. Thurnam, recognises two primary forms, namely, the long barrow and the round barrow; of the latter three modifications are admitted, which are,—bowl-shaped barrows, bell-shaped barrows, and disc-shaped barrows. The most ancient are the long barrows. They occur, though rarely, in Yorkshire, Wiltshire, and Gloucestershire; none are known to exist in Devon<sup>2</sup> or Cornwall. They are never

<sup>2</sup> The hill near Honiton, known as "Round Ball," may be a long barrow: it is certainly artificial.

found together in groups, but singly, and on elevated ground. The primary interment in these was by simple inhumation, and, as no object of metal has been found in them, they are referred to the Stone Age. Of the round barrow, examples of each of the three modifications of form that I have mentioned are found in the neighbourhood of Honiton. With one exception, all the barrows on Broad Down and Gittisham Hill are bowl-shaped; the exception occurs in the southernmost member of the group at Broad Down, which is a good example of the form known as the disc-shaped barrow; it is about 120 ft. in diameter, 4 ft. in perpendicular height, flat on the top, and presents the appearance of an inverted shallow dish. At Buckereil Knapp, about three miles west of Honiton, are some striking examples of the bell-shaped barrow.

Of the group of barrows at Broad Down several have now undergone a careful investigation. The result of the excavation of three of them I have already described in detail.<sup>3</sup> Upon the occasion of the meeting of the British Association in Exeter in 1869, an excursion was arranged to Gittisham Hill, when, by permission of R. Marker, Esq., two barrows, situate at the northern extremity of the group, were opened in the presence of the visitors. The first was, to all appearance, a large and perfect tumulus; it measured about 60 ft. in diameter, and 5 ft. in perpendicular height at the apex of the mound. We were, however, disappointed on ascertaining by digging that it had been previously disturbed, and that the interment, whatever it may have been, had been removed. We found only the fragments common to all spoliated barrows, namely, a few crumbling bits of burnt bones, some flakes of flint, one or two shards of coarse pottery, some round pebbles that had been probably used as sling-stones, pieces of hematite,<sup>4</sup> fragments of charcoal, rough stones, such as are common on the surface of the uncultivated ground, and many of which had acquired a glazed appearance by the vitrifying of their surfaces, and otherwise bearing marks of the action of fire. A Queen Anne's shilling, probably cast in when the contents of the barrow were abstracted, was

<sup>3</sup> Transactions of the Devonshire Association, vol. ii. p. 619, plate ii.

<sup>4</sup> The occurrence of rubble or hematite in barrows in Devon has been noticed in

the Journal, vol. xxv. p. 295, where the possibility that it may have served as body paint is suggested.

also discovered in the rubbish that was thrown out from the trench.

Some twenty yards to the east of this barrow lay another of smaller size, to which we next directed our attention. By our excavations it appeared that the spot to be occupied by the barrow had been marked out with large masses of chert, placed at equal distances apart, and arranged so as to form a circle about 50 ft. in diameter. From the appearance of the earth upon which the base of the barrow rested, it was judged that the process of cremation had taken place on the spot, the body having been reduced to ashes on the natural surface of the ground, and that the mound, consisting of surface-earth sparingly mixed with stones, was raised over the site of the funeral pyre as it remained when burnt out. The convexity of the heap was mainly preserved by a covering of stones, placed, with some regard to regularity, on the surface. We removed a considerable portion of the area of this barrow from the centre towards the south-east, and also displaced the larger masses of stone that we met with, and which have been spoken of as arranged so as to form a *peristalith* just within the circumference of the barrow. Beneath one of them occurred four shapeless fragments of bronze, which appeared to have originally formed portions of a cake of metal that had been smelted in the saucer-shaped cavity of a stone, and which were obviously intended for casting purposes. They weigh respectively, 10 oz.,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  oz.,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  oz., and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  oz.

Attention has been called to the fact, as somewhat remarkable, that whilst the south-western counties of England present abundant evidence of extensive early occupation, in the numerous entrenchments that crown the hills in all parts, and in the traces also of ancient industry and primitive habitations that occur on Dartmoor and in many parts of Cornwall, so few examples should have been found of those objects of bronze most frequently obtained in almost every part of the British Islands—the celt and the palstave. This rarity of “finds” of bronze implements would appear the more unaccountable when it is remembered that tin and copper, which are the constituents of bronze, are found lying frequently side by side in Devon and Cornwall, and perhaps in no other known part of the globe. And yet, judging from our own experience gained at Broad Down, it would appear

as if these relics were not so scarce as had been supposed. It will be remembered that at Lovelhayne, about a mile distant from Broad Down, a deposit of about a hundred of these implements was brought to light when a stone barrow was destroyed by some road-makers in 1770.<sup>5</sup> In the Albert Memorial Museum in Exeter is another example of the palstave, that was picked up by Mr. Fowler, of Honiton, in the immediate vicinity of Farway Castle. Other examples have also occurred in Devon, at Morebarton, in a field near Sub Hill, between Clyst St. Lawrence and Rockbeare,<sup>6</sup> and at Rumby, near Bovey Tracey; whilst several bronze taper blades were discovered in a field near Escot, some of which have been presented to the Museum at Exeter by Sir John Kennaway, Bart., the remainder having been deposited in the National Collection at the British Museum. These remarkable weapons have been figured and described by Mr. Charles Tucker, in this Journal.<sup>7</sup> A more recent and remarkable discovery of bronze implements in Devonshire occurred at Plymstock, on the estate of the Duke of Bedford, in 1868; they have been presented by his Grace to the British Museum, a few specimens only being reserved for the Exeter Collection. These and the other "finds" that I have alluded to are described by Mr. Albert Way, in this Journal.<sup>8</sup> The fact of the discovery of these four pieces of bronze in the barrow at Gittisham Hill is of importance also, as helping to solve the question whether the weapons of bronze which have been occasionally found were fabricated in Britain, or were imported from other countries. The answer to this inquiry is not without importance to our early history. For if we may assume, as I think we are entitled to do, that the bronze celt, the palstave, the spear-head, and the blade-weapon—examples of each of which have occurred in East Devon—are actually native productions, we have here a decided proof that our forefathers in the Bronze Age enjoyed a certain degree of civilization. A savage people, destitute alike of the knowledge and of the love of the arts of peace, could

<sup>5</sup> Archaeological Journal, vol. xxvi, p. 341, and Transactions of the Devonshire Association, vol. ii, p. 617, plate ix.

<sup>6</sup> The implement here referred to is now used by a quack doctor as a charm for wens and other affections of the throat.

<sup>7</sup> Notices of Antiquities of Bronze

found in Devonshire. Archaeological Journal, vol. xxiv., p. 119.

<sup>8</sup> Antiquities of Bronze found in Devonshire, Archaeological Journal, vol. xxvi, p. 349; Supplementary Notices to the Memoir by Mr. Charles Tucker, in vol. xxvi.

not have possessed either energy or ability to manufacture implements which often display both taste and skill. The native character of these objects was, moreover, rendered probable by the discovery at Bovey Tracey of moulds of stone, in which it was intended that they should be cast ;<sup>9</sup> the occurrence of these pieces of unwrought metal to which I have referred, affords an additional link in the evidence which tends to prove that the casting was executed on the spot.

We proceeded to a third barrow, situate at a distance of about half a mile to the south of the two that I have described, and commanding an extensive view both by land and sea. We found that it consisted of two distinct barrows of different structure ; or, to speak more accurately, a later barrow of earth had been raised upon the surface of the original mound, which proved to be a large cairn, formed entirely of loose stones aggregated into a heap. Excavating as near the centre of the upper or earthy barrow as possible, we found that the mound was composed of soil firmly compacted, and interspersed here and there with fragments of charcoal. We failed, however, in our hasty excavation, to discover an interment ; and time precluded our disturbing the cairn beneath.

During the year 1869, the members of the Exeter Naturalists' Club visited Broad Down, by invitation of Sir Edmund S. Prideaux, Bart., when three barrows were opened in their presence. The first occupied the eastern extremity of the down. It was composed of peat intermingled with large rough stones and flints ; and, with an elevation of three feet, it covered an area of about twenty-five feet in diameter. We directed a trench to be cut from the south side towards the centre ; we then enlarged our excavations by removing all the large stones, which appeared to be arranged in a circle, but the labour was devoid of any practical result. We then inspected a series of seven barrows arranged in a line running north and south, and separated one from the other by an interval of about twenty yards. Our excavations were commenced on the eastern side of the fourth member of the group (reckoning from the south), and had not extended more than a few feet when an abundant deposit of charcoal testified to the presence of the funeral pyre ; par-

<sup>9</sup> Arch. Journ. vol. xxiv. p. 112.

tially buried in this deposit there lay a well patinated celt of the socketed type, in perfect preservation. It lay upon its side, with the cutting edge inclining upwards, and turned towards the centre of the mound. (Fig. 1.) Its extreme length is  $3\frac{1}{4}$  in. the width of the cutting edge is  $1\frac{3}{4}$  in., and the diameter of the socket, which is nearly circular, is about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in. ; it has a small ear or loop upon one side, and both externally and internally preserves the ridge or seam left at the joint of the mould at the time that it was cast. With the exception of a narrow band of slight elevation which encircles the weapon in a plane coincident with the anterior end of the loop, it is destitute of any attempt at ornamentation. The sides appear to have been hammered, and the cutting edge presents evident signs of wear, especially towards the extremity of the side opposite to that on which the loop is placed. The same is also the case with another celt of similar type obtained at Honiton, and supposed to have been originally brought from Lovehayne, near Broad Down.<sup>1</sup>



Fig. 1. Bronze socketed celt, found in a list vaen, in a barrow on Broad Down, near Honiton. Length,  $3\frac{1}{4}$  in.  
Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter.

This fact appears not unworthy of notice when we attempt to explain the precise mode of mounting these curious implements, for, if they were fastened to a wooden handle by means of a thong which was also attached to the loop (as is supposed to have been the case), would not the upper portion of the cutting edge have shown more marked signs of wear? I have dwelt at some length upon the fact of the discovery of this celt, both because it is the first of its kind that has been found in the barrows of East Devon, and also because the fact of its burial with its owner affords a glimpse of the mental and moral feeling which actuated the sur-

<sup>1</sup> Figured in this Journal, vol. xxvi. p. 313.





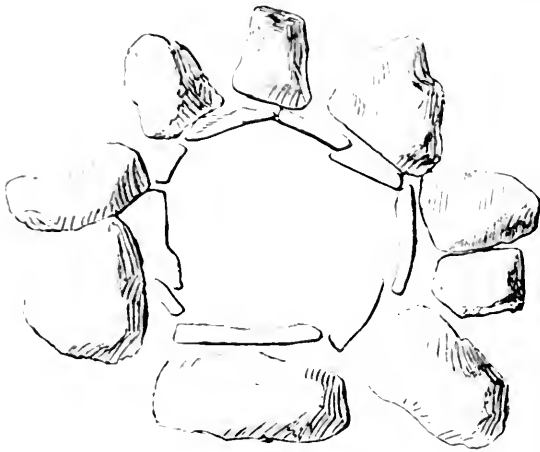


Fig. 3.—Plan showing the buttresses around the central kist-van.

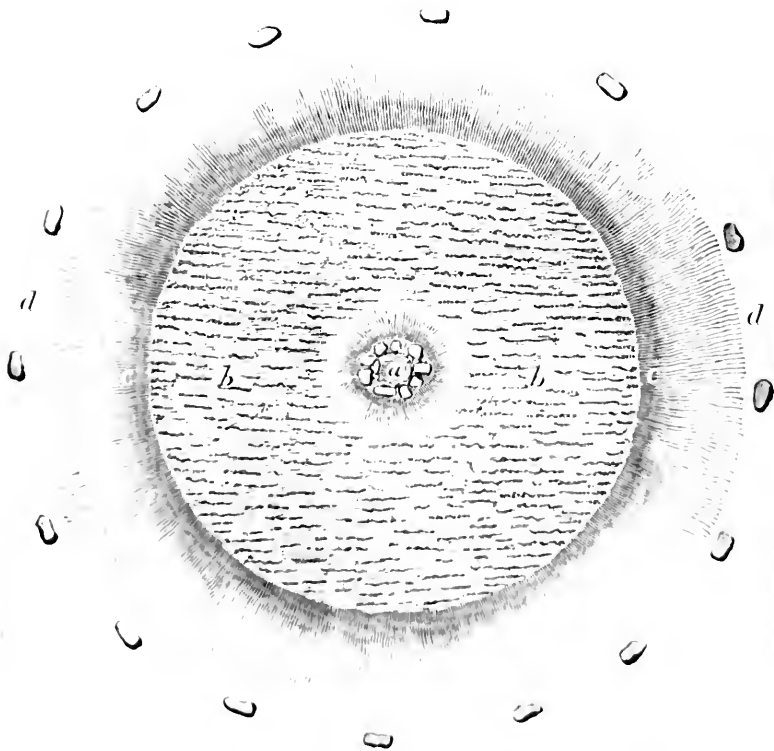


Fig. 2.—(a) end plan, (b) kist-van, (c) mound with (d) trench, (e) period ditch.  
Barrow on Broad Down, near Hinton, excavated in 1899.

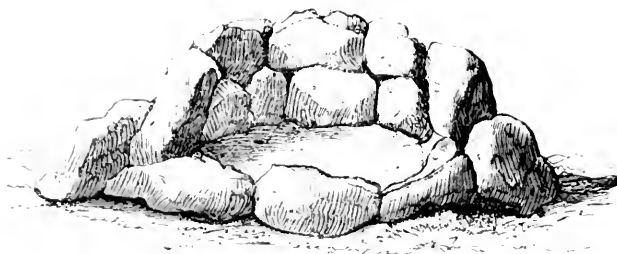


Fig. 4.—Kist-vach occupying the centre of the barrow.

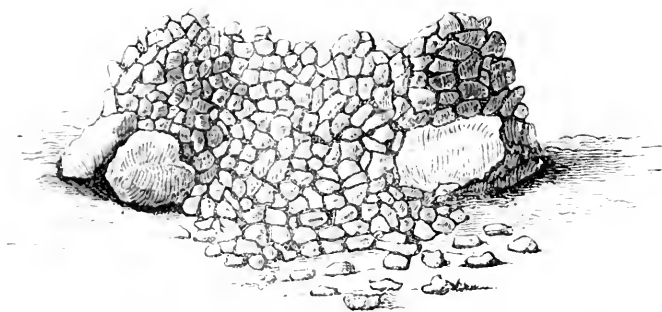


Fig. 6.—Cairn of stones, forming a central kist-vach, in a barrow on Broad Down.

Barrows on Broad Down, near Honiton.



vivors. We respect the touching evidence of self-denying affection which prompted the interment of articles valued by the deceased along with his corpse, when it might well be surmised that such articles would have been of great use to the surviving friends. The very prevalence of the custom of cremation may also be cited as marking a certain development of religious feeling, that is only to be found among those nations which have attained to some degree of civilization.

Proceeding with the removal of the remaining soil, as we approached the centre of the barrow, we struck upon what proved to be the nucleus of the surrounding mound, in the shape of a rude vault or chamber, formed with unhewn stones such as are common in the locality, and which, by exposure to the atmosphere whilst lying upon the surface of the ground, have their angular points rounded off. Upon clearing away some of the surrounding earth, we found that this kist-vaen formed a domed-shaped structure, the stones of which were ingeniously piled together upon the principle of the horizontal arch, whilst externally it was surrounded by a circle of larger stones, upon which it partially rested, and which appeared to be intended to act as buttresses. (See the ground-plan, fig. 2, and the woodcuts, figs. 3, 4.) After carefully observing the mode of structure employed in the erection of this simple tomb, we removed the covering stone at the apex of the dome, and upon looking within were rewarded by finding the interment. The base of the chamber, which was paved with three flat stones rudely fitted together, was almost entirely covered over with calcined human bones, presenting a confused mass of the relics of humanity. In this case the bones were not only without ashes, but seemed so free from extraneous matter, that they must have been most carefully selected from the funeral pyre. Associated with the remains were the bones of an infant, the fragments of the skull being especially observable, and also a bone bead (fig. 5), which had pro-



Fig. 5.—Bone bead, found in a kist vaen, in a barrow on Broad Down  
(Original size.)

bably been used to fasten the cloth or shroud within which

the remains were inclosed after their removal from the pyre.

We now proceeded with the investigation of a third barrow, formed of peat and clay, with occasional indications of charcoal. It was situate close to the road-side, not many yards distant from the barrow examined in the presence of the Devonshire Association in 1868. In diameter it was about 36 ft., and in height about 3 ft. In the centre of the mound was a simple deposit of burnt bones and ashes, unaccompanied by pottery or implements of any kind.

Upon a subsequent occasion I was enabled to proceed with the investigation of the group of seven barrows, which occupy the eastern escarpment of Broad Down. The tumulus which now came under our notice occupied the centre of the group, and was situated about twenty yards to the south of that described above as enclosing a kist-vaen. It was about 7 ft. in perpendicular height, 120 ft. in diameter, and surrounded by a shallow fosse, beyond which again were the remains of a peristalith, consisting of masses of chert, arranged in a circle, at equal distances apart. Upon removing the outer surface of the mound to a depth of about 3 ft., we came in contact with a central mass or cairn of flints. A considerable amount of time and labour were expended in the removal of this construction, which was built up of small stones, and was wanting in the constructive skill and ability displayed in the adjoining barrow that we had previously investigated. The domed roof had fallen in, the sides had bulged out, and the kist-vaen, through lapse of time and the pressure of the earth upon it, had degenerated into a confused heap of stones. (Fig. 6.) This heavy portion of our labour having been at last surmounted, we came on a deposit of burnt bones, packed within the layers of the bark of a tree, and resting upon this were the remains of a bronze spear-head (fig. 7), much corroded. Subsequently we found the rivet by which this implement was affixed to the haft. Proceeding carefully with the displacement of the stones, we were gratified to observe a drinking-cup (fig. 8) at the further or eastern extremity of the cairn. It lay upon its side, at a distance of about 3 ft. from the burnt remains; and though it was firmly wedged within a compact mass of stones, we were enabled to remove it almost entire from its long hiding place. It measured 3½ in. in





Fig. 8.—Drinking cup of bituminous shale. Height,  $3\frac{1}{4}$  in.; diameter at the mouth, 3 in.



Fig. 7.—Bronze weapon and fragment.

Found in 1869 in a cairn, within a barrow on Broad Down, near Honiton. (Two-thirds original size.)

Now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Exeter.



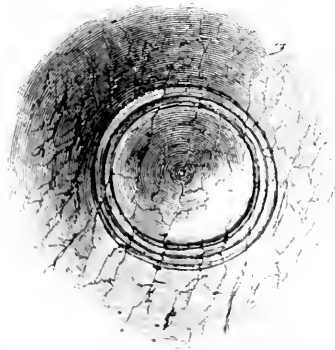


Fig. 9 Drinking cup of bituminous shale, found in 1868 in a barrow on Broad Down, near Honiton. Original size. Now preserved in the Albert Memorial Museum at Exeter.



height, 3 in. in diameter at the mouth, and contains about a quarter of a pint. These are almost precisely the measurements of the cup found at Broad Down in the year 1868, and described and figured in this Journal.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, so closely do these two examples resemble one another in form, in size, in material and general appearance, that it might be concluded that they proceed from one and the same *atelier*. In recording, however, the features of analogy between these two drinking-cups, it should be mentioned that the example which has been lately brought to light is not so well preserved as its predecessor. In the later instance the entire surface is blurred and fretted, and wants the smoothness and polish of the original. The ornamentation also is by no means distinctly to be traced; and whilst the form of the bowl tapers downwards from the rim and terminates in a cone, yet the point is rounded off abruptly, so as to admit of the cup standing upon its base. (See fig. 8; also fig. 9, already given in this Journal in 1868, and here repeated for the advantage of more ready comparison.)

Subsequently a third barrow of this group of seven has been investigated. It lay about twenty yards to the south of the central tumulus, and, attaining a perpendicular height of about 6 ft., was about 90 ft. in diameter. We found, as before, a mass of peat and clay piled upon a central cairn of flints. Within this, at the base of the barrow, was the interment of burnt bones, completely enshrouded within an accumulation of the roots of the furze; and near to the bones were the fragments of a bronze implement, too much decayed to enable us to recognise the type. Outside the cairn, on its southern side, was an accumulation of charcoal, marking, doubtless, the spot where the process of cremation occurred.

The opening of these barrows affords, it is presumed, a complete insight into the mode of burial which prevailed at the time that the barrow-builders lived in East Devon. In each instance we have found that the mound has been raised over calcined human bones, which, in many cases, lay in the same place on the natural surface of the ground that they occupied when the embers of the funeral pyre were smothered by the casting up of the earth of the tumulus. The bones

<sup>2</sup> Archaeological Journal, vol. xxv. p. 297, and Transactions of the Devonshire Association, vol. ii. p. 626.

and black ashes of the pyre, reduced by compression to a layer of about a couple of inches in thickness, generally cover a space of about four or five feet in diameter in the centre of the mound. In two instances, we have found that a large portion of the earth forming the mound has been subjected to the action of fire, whilst in the majority of cases the mound consisted of black or greyish-coloured earth, formed by the decay of the turf and *humus* pared off from the site of the barrow, and from the space occupied by the fosse that surrounded it. We can only approximate to a date for these barrows. Subsequent observations have, however, tended to confirm the conjecture at first hazarded, namely, that they are to be referred to a period anterior to Caesar's landing, when bronze, though known, was scarce.<sup>3</sup> It is safer not to attempt to fix any specific date, but to say, as we may with confidence, that they belong to a period which ends a century or two before the occupation of Britain by the Romans.

The Institute is indebted to the kindness of the Author for the Illustrations of the foregoing Memoir.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the remarks given in this Journal, vol. xxv, p. 311.

CATALOGUE OF A LOAN COLLECTION OF BOOKS<sup>1</sup> PRINTED  
BEFORE 1600.

By the Rev. W. J. LOFTIE, F.S.A.

INTRODUCTION.

THE general history of the art of printing is so fully and carefully examined in Mr. Winter Jones's address, that it will be unnecessary for me to do more as an introduction to the following catalogue than to call attention to a few general facts regarding the earliest productions of the press; whilst I apologise if I am obliged here and there to trespass on the ground already occupied by him. I shall endeavour to make my notes as concise as possible, referring the reader for further information to Mr. Jones's paper, and to the notices of individual books which will be found under the respective heads.

Printing, as we have it, is the child of wood engraving. The history of wood engraving has been written by a competent authority,<sup>2</sup> whose investigations in pursuit of information regarding one branch of the art enabled him to simplify and lighten the studies of those who pursued a different branch. Wood engraving, again, is apparently descended from a still more ancient art, that of block printing—the exact origin of which cannot be traced. It is not long since some small dies for printing the names of various medicines were exhibited to the Archaeological Institute, as having been found among the remains of a Roman villa at Lydney, in Gloucestershire, and many similar examples might be quoted. The Chinese, too, have printed by means of wooden blocks from a very early period.

The earliest examples of playing cards which I have seen were among the collection known as that of Culeman, and

<sup>1</sup> Exhibited at the rooms of the Institute, May, 1871.

<sup>2</sup> Jackson's History of Wood Engraving.

were sold at Messrs. Sotheby's in 1870 for £23 10s. 0*d.* There were sixteen in all, and a date was assigned to them in the Catalogue of *circa* 1350. They were probably not much later. It is quite possible that they were printed, not from blocks, but by means of stencil plates. Of wood cutting, proper, the Spencer St. Christopher is probably the earliest example in existence. It is dated "1423." To a date very little subsequent to this it is usual to assign the works of Lorenz Coster of Haarlem.

This semi-mythical personage lived between the end of the fourteenth century and the year 1440. I do not intend to enter at all upon the controversy respecting his claims to be the inventor of printing. I can, however, say, that, perhaps on account of my own neglect, perhaps for some other reason, I have not yet seen any production which could be satisfactorily traced to him; and notwithstanding the sometimes very positive statements of Ottley, and all that has been written upon the subject, I am sometimes inclined to regard the whole story of his invention as an invention itself.<sup>3</sup>

The only positive evidence we have as to the practice of a form of printing at that early date consists in the existence of such volumes as the *Biblia Pauperum*, the *Apocalypsis*, and other similar books of *memoria technica* for preachers, and of what are known as "Donatuses." Coster is said to have produced two editions of this grammar. Anything like a complete copy of one of these is quite unknown. M. Holtrop gives facsimiles of these, but the few leaves I have ever seen differed from his plates. It is possible that Coster printed this book, but I am strongly of opinion that his work never extended beyond a few pages at a time; that it was printed from blocks, not from moveable type; and that, therefore, the whole process was extremely awkward, and was confined to those few leaves which were necessary in the education of the young, and which were often repeated with more or less variation.

The whole story that Fust, or Gutenberg, or indeed any other person filched his secret from Coster and fled with it to Mentz, may be dismissed from our minds; and I may go further, and offer as a private opinion my very strong

<sup>3</sup> A notice of Mr. Hessel's translation on this subject was printed in *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xxviii, p. 341.

belief that the greater part of all the stories relating to Coster are pure fabrications, and that the majority even of the block books, and probably also of the "Donatuses," were really produced at a later date than the Mazarin Bible and the Mentz Psalter.<sup>4</sup>

The known facts respecting Gutenberg and his relations with Fust and Schoyffer are almost equally rare. It is curious that we derive our whole information as to the invention of printing by Gutenberg to three pieces of documentary evidence, and that two of these three have recently failed us, whilst the third is not contemporary. I am indebted to Mr. Hessels, late of the Cambridge University Library, for this note. The three sources mentioned were, first a book in the Strasburg Library, which gave an account of a lawsuit in which Gutenberg was engaged while living there; this has disappeared with the rest of that ill-fated collection, and it was at best but second-hand evidence, for it only purported to have been early copied from an older original. Secondly, there was a volume, the "Speculum Sacerdotum," in the Mentz Library, which contained a MS. inscription presenting it to the monastery by "Johannes de Bono Monte." This book also has disappeared. The only copy of it now known to exist was among the Loan Collection. It belongs, like so many other unique books, to the Rev. J. Fuller Russell, F.S.A. Thirdly, and this is all that remains to us, in a very common book printed in or about 1515, and written by Trithemius, the "Chronicon Spanheimense," the author under the year 1450 refers to the invention of printing as having been made anew about that time by "one John Gutenberg." It is not easy to understand the word *anew* in this account; but in another of the same writer's books, the "Compendium de Origine Francorum," printed by John Schoyffer in 1515, there is a long colophon, describing the invention as having been made by the said John Schoyffer's father Peter, and his partner Fust; and there is no mention of Gutenberg, although the colophon was in all probability written by Trithemius himself. After this date we have numerous references to Gutenberg; but it is almost impossible to identify any book as his undoubted handiwork.

In the following list I have placed under his name a number of almost unique books, which are usually attributed

<sup>4</sup> These lines were written before the appearance of Mr. Hessels's book.

to him; but I agree with Mr. Hessels that they may with equal probability be assigned to Nicholas Bechtermüntze, who is known to have printed at Eltvill, near Mentz, at least as early as 1467, in which year one of his books is dated. The type is generally described as that of the *Catholicon* of 1460, a book usually assumed to be Gutenberg's; but here again the evidence is too vague to amount to proof.

The introduction of printing into England is, next after its invention in Germany, the most interesting event to us. Here again, however, difficulties beset us at every step. Where and from whom did Caxton learn his art? What was the first book he printed? What was the first book printed in England? Strange to say, all these questions have had varying answers assigned to them.

I cannot attempt here to discuss any one of them. But for the information of the readers of this catalogue, I will endeavour to state as briefly as possible the answers which seem justified by the most recent investigations, merely premising that I derive most, if not all, my information on the subject from Mr. Blades's<sup>5</sup> exhaustive treatise.

Caxton learnt his art from Colard Mansion, one of whose books, the "*Somme Rurale*," was in the Loan Collection. He printed at Bruges, under the patronage of the Duchess of Burgundy, the sister of our King Edward IV. The first book Caxton printed was probably the "*Recuyell of the Histories of Troye*," 1474. The first book he printed in England was probably the "*Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers*," 1477, although the honour is often given to the "*Game and Play of the Chesse, morlised*," 1474-5. A copy of the former book, but of a later edition, was in the Loan Collection, as well as a copy of the Chess-book.

The whole question as to the first book printed in England was much complicated by the discovery two centuries ago of a book printed at Oxford, with the date 1468; it is entitled, "*Sancti Jeronimi in Symbolo*," but the date is certainly a misprint for 1478. Caxton himself was guilty of a similar error in his edition of Gower's "*Confessio Amantis*," a copy of which is in the Lambeth Library, and three copies, two of them imperfect and wanting the page in which the misprint

<sup>5</sup> The *Life and Typography of William Caxton*, 2 vols., 1863. I should mention that the date assigned to the Chess-book

is that of its translation, and that it was probably not printed before 1476.



occurs, in the British Museum. He has dated this book 1493; but his insertion of the regnal year of Richard III. enables us to correct this date by the omission of an x. Caxton was dead before 1493. In Mr. Botfield's Cathedral Libraries the error is made worse; for he says the date "is 1483 for 1493."

After the invention of printing and its introduction into England the third event in point of interest to most of us is the printing of the Bible. By the kindness of Her Majesty and of Sir William Tite, the Loan Collection contained two copies of Coverdale's Bible of 1535, the first whole Bible in English. It was probably printed at Zurich, and has frequently been attributed to the press of the well-known Froschover. It is a curious fact that no perfect copy of the book is known to exist, all being deficient in some point or other. The most perfect is that belonging to the Earl of Jersey; it only wants part of the title. Here again we meet with a misprint similar to those we pointed out above. This edition is easily recognised by a leaf which, being in the centre of the volume, generally remains even in very dilapidated copies, and which is numbered lxxxi, instead of lxxxiii.

There were also in the Loan Collection a copy of Tyndale's "Pentateuch" (1530), printed abroad; his New Testament, the second edition, 1534, and a little volume to which I am desirous of calling attention, as it is not mentioned by any of the authorities whom I have consulted on the subject, Lowndes, Cotton, Lea Wilson, Johnson, or Horne. This was the "Testament of Moyses," 16mo, no date, but undoubtedly printed by Robert Redman, in or about 1532. It belongs to Mr. Addington, and derives double interest from its being all but unique, and from its being the only edition of any part of the Wycliffite translation of the Bible which was printed for the use of the people. This little volume was accompanied by three others from the same collection, and of equal rarity. They are all excerpts from the works of Wycliffe, and cost their present possessor £100 each, at the sale of the library of Mr. Dix of Bristol. I may here mention as an illustration of the value of the Loan Collection that thirteen books in all were lent by the possessor of these little Redmans, and that their value was upwards of £1000.

## GERMANY AND THE LOW COUNTRIES.

## BLOCK BOOKS.

1. WÖCHENLICH ANDACHT, *zu seligkeit der weltlichen menschen*. Woodcuts, coloured, accompanied by manuscript; on vellum, 33 pages, 69 cuts, several having xylographic legends or inscriptions. Folio. Ulm or Augsburg, cir. 1450—Mr. Quaritch.

2. APOCALYPSIS *cum Figuris*: coloured woodcuts, paper. Folio, 48 leaves. From the Corsier Collection, bought from the Stowe library for £550. Sotheby calls this in his *Principia Typographia* the 5th edition. Cir. 1450—Sir. W. Tite.

3. RELICS OF THE ABBEY OF ANDECHS: paper. Folio sheet of impressions from wood blocks, unique, 1496—Messrs. Ellis and Green.

## PRINTED BOOKS.

JOHN GUTENBERG, or *Geutshish, von Soryndloch*: born cir. 1400, died 1468. The following works are attributed to him.

4. St. Thomas Aquinas: de Articulis Fidei et Ecclesie. Executed with the same types as the Catholicon of 1460, but the rudeness of the printing may point to an earlier date. Uncut, no catchwords, signatures, or page numbers; 34 lines to a page, capitals rubricated; 13 leaves. 4to. Cir. 1460—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

5. The same: cut, but with wide margins; this note in MS. at the end, "*Hunc Thesaur̄ sciens custodire sup̄ aurū.*" 4to. Cir. 1460—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

6. Hermann de Saldis Speculum clarum nobile et ꝑeiosum xp̄orum Sacerdotum: Colophon: "*Magantiaꝑe impssum feliciter finit.*" From the library of the late Duke of Sussex. No other copy known; that formerly in the Mentz Library being now lost. No catchwords, signatures, or page numbers; 16 leaves, capitals rubricated. 4to. Cir. 1460—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

7. Determinacio duarū subjectarū questionū Sifridi Ep̄i Ciren̄. From the Sussex library; one other copy known: same type as the three foregoing, 26 leaves, no catchwords, &c., 28 lines to a page, capitals rubricated. 4to. Cir. 1460—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

8. Directorium Humane Vitae alias Parabole Antiquarū Sapientū. Same type as foregoing; no printer's name, place, or date; no catchwords, page numbers, or signatures. 4to. Cir. 1460—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

9. Incipit Donat, venerabili magistri Johannis Gerson, cancellarii Parisiensis. Has a kind of title page bearing the above sentence, otherwise similar to the foregoing; verso of page 1 blank, no page numbers, signatures, or catchwords. 4to. Cir. 1460—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

10. Tractatus Johis Gersoni . . . de Scrupulo quorundam, &c.

11. Henry de Haesia Regule adygnoscendū iter, &c. In one vol. with the foregoing. 4to. Cir. 1460—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

12. Germo Gersoni de Concepcione gloriosissime dei genetricis Marie. In one vol. with the foregoing. 4to. Cir. 1460—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

JOHN FUST or FAUSTUS : b. cir. 1400, d. cir. 1466.

PETER SCHOYFFER, or *Schoeffer de Gerusheim* : b. cir. 1430, d. 1502.

13. Psalmorum Codex. On 130 leaves, vellum ; colophon, with date on the verso of the 128th ; capitals (upwards of 280), including the initial B on the first page, in red, with pale blue tracery ; in this particular differing from the British Museum copy, in which these colours are reversed. It also differs from that example in several lines, and in the contractions of some words. Size, 16 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. by 12 ; no catchwords or signatures ; Windsor Library. Folio. Mentz, 1457—Her Majesty the Queen.

PETER SCHOYFFER (after the death of Fust).

14. Turrecremata in Psalmos. The following is the colophon, printed in red :—"Moguntie impressa Anno Domini M.cccc.lxxvi. decima die Marcij p. Petrū Schoyffler de Gerntzheim, feliciter est consumata." Ends on recto of leaf 197. No catchwords, &c. Folio. Mentz, 1476—Messrs. Ellis and Green.

JOHN MENTIL, or *Mentlin* : b. 1400 ? d. 1478.

15. Jacobi Magni Zophilogium. Folio. No place or date. Strasburg, cir. 1470—Society of Antiquaries.

16. Vincentii Bellovacensis Speculum Historiale. Folio. No place or date. Strasburg, cir. 1473—Society of Antiquaries.

ULRIC ZELL : b. cir. 1430, d. cir. 1494 ; commenced to print, 1466.

17. Speculum Vitæ Humanæ, by Roderick of Zamorra. 4to. Cologne, cir. 1470-2—Mr. Standidge.

(Brunet places this book under two years—1468-70.)

JO. ZEINER : commenced printing, 1473.

18. Albertus Magnus de Mysterio Misse. The first book printed at Ulm. Folio. Ulm, 1473—Messrs. Ellis and Green.

The following are possibly by the same printer :—

19. Alberti Magni de Secretis Mulierum. Colophon :—"Explicit liber Alberti Magni de Secretis Mulierum, 1428 ;" this date being given in Arabic numerals. Brunet assigns 1478 as the date, and Mr. Standidge supposes 1428 to be an error for 1482 ; it more probably, however, refers to the completion of the original work. No place or date.

20. Alberti Magni liber aggregationis, seu liber secretorum de virtutibus herbarum. No place or date. 4to. In one volume. Cir. 1478—Mr. Standidge.

JOHAN VELDENER : began to print, 1468.

21. Sermo Joh. Chrysostomi super psal. quinquagint, "Miserere mei Deus." No catchwords, signatures, or page numbers. 4to. Cologne, cir. 1468-70—Mr. Standidge.

JOHN GULDENSCHAFF.

22. Sermo Sancti Bernhardini de gloriosa Virgine Maria. No catchwords, page numbers, or signatures. 4to. Cologne, cir. 1477—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

23. Alberti Magni *Mysteria*. Folio. Cologne, cir. 1477—Society of Antiquaries.

ANTHONIUS SORG: commenced to print in 1475.

24. *Concilium Buch zu Costentz*, by Ulrich von Reichenthal. The first book on heraldry; imperfect at the beginning; coloured woodcuts of arms and processions. Folio. Augsburg, 1483—Messrs. Ellis and Green.

25. *Teusse Heisset*; many woodcuts. Folio. Augsburg, 1482—Mr. Fisher.

GEORGE REYSER, or MICHAEL REYSER. The former printed at Wartzburg; the latter at Eichstadt.

26. Richard de Bury, or d'Aungerville, Bishop of Durham, 1333–1345, *Philobiblion*. 4to. No page numbers, signatures, or catchwords. Wartzburg or Eichstadt, cir. 1478—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

CONRAD HOEMBORCH:

27. *Fasciculus Temporum*. No signatures, catchwords, or page numbers. At the end is a device resembling those of Fust and Schoyfler, or of Gerard Leeu, viz., two shields. Folio. Cologne, 1476—Sir. T. Winnington.

COLARD MANSION: b. cir. 1420, d. after 1481. Began to print at Bruges, 1471–2.

28. *Somme Rurale*; par Jehan Bonteillier. Folio. Bruges, 1479—Mr. Quaritch.

The type in this volume bears little or no resemblance to that used at any time by Caxton.

GERARD LEEU: commenced printing, 1479; removed to Antwerp, 1481.

29. *Dyalogus Creaturarum Moralisatus*. Cuts, partly coloured. Folio. Gonda, 1480—Messrs. Ellis and Green.

30. Another copy. Cuts, uncoloured. 1480—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

31. *Speculum Sermonum Vitæ Mariæ Virginis*. Woodcut on title-page. 4to. Antwerp, 1487—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

CONRAD DISCHMET: began to print, 148—.

32. The *Phœdria* of Terence. Woodcuts coloured. Folio, in two columns. Ulm, 1486—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

CONRAD FEYNER.

33. *Gerson Tractatu*. 4to. No place or date (Ulrich, cir. 1481 b)—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

JOHAN PRUSSZ: commenced to print, 148—.

34. The Golden Bull: Imperial Constitution made by the Emperor Charles IV.—the Magna Charta of the German Empire. Woodcuts. Folio. Strasburg, 1489—Mr. J. Nidtingale.

CORNELIUS DE ZÜRICH: commenced to print, — t

35. *De Lanis et Phitonceis mulieribus*. Woodcuts. 4to. Cologne, 1489—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

T. ZENNA : commenced to print, 14—?

36. *Novum Beate Marie Virginis Psalterium*. Many cuts and borders. 4to. Cologne, 1492—Mr. Fisher.

JOHN BORCHARD,

THOMAS BORCHARD : commenced printing, 1491.

37. *Laudes Beate Virginis Mariæ*. Folio. The first book printed at Hamburg, 1491—Messrs. Ellis and Green.

ANTHONY KOBERGER : b. cir. 1445, d. 1513 ; began to print, 1472.

38. *Chronicon Nurembergense* : auctore Hartmanno Schedel. Woodcuts by Wolgemut and Pleydenwürff. Folio. Nuremberg, 1493—Professor Westmacott, R.A.

39. Another copy, 1493—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

40. *Cicero de Oratore*. Folio. Nuremberg, 1497—Society of Antiquaries.

JOHANN SCHENSPERGER : commenced printing, 1493.

41. *Chronicon Nurembergense*. Woodcuts : first leaf in MS. Folio. Nuremberg, 1497—Sir T. E. Waddington, Bart.

JOHANN BERGMANN, de Olpe : commenced printing, 1494.

42. *Brandt's Stultifera Navis*. Woodcuts. 4to. Basle, 1497—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

The following is probably by the same printer : it is a volume of extraordinary rarity :—

43. *Epistola Christoferi Colom* : containing the discovery of the Isles of America. 4th edition, and the first which contains cuts. 4to. Basle, 1494—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

ERHARD RATDOLF, or RATDOLT. This printer is said to have invented a method of using gold ink in printing. He flourished at Augsburg after 1487.

44. *Missal* ; formerly belonging to the monastery at Erfurt. Augsburg, cir. 1500—Mr. Octavius Morgan, M.P.

PRINTER UNKNOWN.

45. *Rationarium Evangelistarum . . . prosa versu imaginibusque, que mirifice complectens, &c.* Woodcuts. 4to. 1507—Mr. Addington.

For an account of this most curious book see Dibdin, *Bibliographical Decameron*, vol. i. p. 131. There was an earlier edition, 1502 : a later one, 1522, is assigned by Panzer to *Thomas Anshelm*, of Hagenau. It is not improbable that he was also the printer of this.

MATTHEW SCHÜLTES : began to print, — ?

46. *Theur-Danck*. Woodcuts. Folio. Augsburg, 1519—Mr. T. Talbot Bury.

This is a second edition of this curious Teutonic romance : sometimes ascribed to Maximilian I., whose nuptials with Mary of Burgundy it celebrates : the emperor figuring under the name of "Ritter Herr Theurdanck." According to Mr. Horne,<sup>6</sup> this book has been supposed to be entirely xylographic.

CONRAD BAUMGARTEN : commenced printing, 1504.

47. *Hedwigis Legenda*. A Lhy hebet sich an dy grosse legēda der

<sup>6</sup> Study of Bibliography, vol. 2, App. xiiij.

Hailigsten frawen Sandt hedwigis. Sixty-nine spirited woodcuts by G. Pencz, uncoloured. Title-page fac-sim. on vellum. Only four copies known: only one perfect: the first book printed at Breslau. Folio. Breslau, 1504—Mr. Addington.

JOHN KNOBLOUCH: began to print, —.

48. Passio Christi: beautiful woodcuts by V. Gemberlein, or Van Goar. Folio. Strasburg, 1508—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

49. Pectorale Dominicæ Passionis, impressum Argentine p. Johan. Knoblauch. 12mo. Strasburg, 1509—Society of Antiquaries.

50. Arnobii Commentaria in Psalmos. Henry the Eighth's copy, in original binding. 4to. Basle, 1512—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

JOHN SCOT.

51. De Quatuor Heresiarchis. Woodcuts. 4to. Strasburg, 1510—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

MELCHIOR LOTTHER.

52. Regula Grammaticales. 4to. Leipsic, 1501—Mr. Standidge.

MICHAEL LOTTHER.

53. Lutheri Opera Varia: with Luther's autograph and MS. notes. 4to. Wittenberg, 1527—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

JOHN MÜLLER.

54. Chronicon Abbatis Urspergensis. Woodcuts: fine impressions. Folio. Augsburg, 1515—Mr. Standidge.

JOHN SEYLRIN.

55. Missali Trajectensis. On vellum: woodcuts slightly tinted: very fine copy. Folio. Leyden, 1511—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

JACOBUS SACON.

56. Catalogus Sanctorum, Petri de Natalibus. Folio. Leyden, 19.—Mr. J. G. Nichols.

JOHN FROBES, *the Elder*: commenced printing, 1491; d. 1527.

57. Erasmi Testamentum Novum: Gr. et Lat. The first edition of the New Testament in Greek. This copy belonged to Archbishop Cramer, and contains his autograph and MS. notes. There is a copy on vellum at York Cathedral. Folio. Basle, 1516—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

58. Spongia Erasmi adversus aspergines Hutteni: presentation copy, with autograph of Erasmus, and MS. notes. Other tracts in the same volume. 8vo. Basle, 1523—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

59. Batrachymyomachia; Guliomyomachia. In one volume. 8vo. Basle, 1518—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

60. Gregorii Nazanzeni Opera. Folio. Basle, 1523—Mr. Yates.

JEROME FROBES, son and successor of the foregoing: commenced printing, 1527.

61. Livii Historia. Folio. Basle, 1513—Mr. Yates.

JOHANNES OPORINUS: ? b. 1507, d. 1568.

62. Olivarius de Prophetia. 4to. Basle, 1513—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

<sup>7</sup> The name "Oporinus" is a Greek word signifying "Autumn." It is a curious coincidence that Oporinus had a partner named Robert *Winter*.

63. Hesiodi Opera. Svo. Basle, 1545—Mr. Yates.

MICHAEL ISENGRIN.

64. Polydore Vergil de Inventoribus. Svo. Basle, 1540—Mr. Yates.

65. Liber Gregorii Gyraldi de Annis: with the autograph of William Camden, in a minute hand. Svo. Basle, 1541—Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

ADAM PETRUS.

66. Valentine Cretoaldus on the Three First Chapters of Genesis: Bishop Latimer's copy, with his very rare autograph. Small Svo. Basle, 1530—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

AUGUSTINE FRIES.

67. A Declaration of Christ of His Offyce, compyled by Johan Hoper, Anno 1547. Presentation copy. "Sorori mee, uxori m. tō ini. Johannes Hoper, D.D." Svo. Prynted in Zurych, 1547—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

LOUIS ELZEVIR: commenced printing, 1595; d. 1616.

68. Mare Liberum sive de jure quod Batav. competit ad Indicana commercia. With the autograph of William Camden. Several other works in the same volume. Cut in the edge. Svo. Leyden, 1599—Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

CHRISTOPHER PLANTYN, b. 1514: commenced printing, 1555; d. 1589.

69. A choise of Emblemes and other devices for the most part gathered out of sundrie writers, Englished and moralised. And divers newly devised by Geoffrey Whitney. Imprinted at Leyden, in the house of Christopher Plantyn, by Francis Rephelengius. 4to. Many woodcuts. Leyden, 1586—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

Francis Rephelengius was Plantyn's son-in-law, and succeeded him at Leyden. Plantyn's principal house was at Antwerp, but he had another at Paris, of which place he was a native.

ABRAHAM LAMBERG.

70. Neandri Orbis Explicatio. Svo. Leipsic, 1589—Mr. Burt.

#### FRANCE.

ANONYMOUS.

71. "Armes des Chevaliers de la Table rōde." A broad sheet, with coloured coats of arms and names; a late "block book"—Messrs. Ellis and Green.

ULRIC GERING: commenced to print, 1469; d. 1510.

72. Postilla Nicholai de Lyra super Psalterium. Fine copy: several initials illuminated in gold and colours. 4to. Paris, 1483—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

ANTHOINE VERARD: began to print, 1480; d. ——?

73. Hora Beatæ Mariæ Virginis. Many curious cuts. Svo. Paris, 1489—Messrs. Ellis and Green.

74. Le Fleur des Commandements de Dieu. Woodcuts on first page. Folio. Paris, 1491—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

MARNEF, GEOFFREY, ENGULBERT, and JEAN : three brothers ; began to print, 1481.

75. *Brants Stultifera Navis*. Woodcuts. 4to. Paris, 1498—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

76. *Cardinalis Mandagoti tractatus de Electione*. Small Svo. Paris, 1523—Mr. Yates.

JOHANNES DE PRATIS, or JEAN DU PRE ; began to print, 1481 ; d. — ?

77. *Missale Parisiense Novum*. A magnificent volume, printed on vellum : 19 illuminations, several of them full page ; also many borders : apparently coloured on woodcut outlines, and exactly resembling MS. Folio. Paris, 1489—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

NICHOLAS DE PRATIS : probably brother of the preceding ; began to print, 1483.

78. *Liber tertius et novus facetiarum*. A continuation of, and bound up with No. 101. 4to. Paris, 1516—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

ANTHOINE CAYLLAUT : began to print, 1483 ; d. cir. 1505.

79. *Psalterium cum Hymnis*. Woodcuts. Svo. Paris, 1488—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

GUIDO MERCATOR, or GUY MARCHAND : began to print, 1483 ; d. — ?

80. *Danse Macabre des Hommes*. Very curious woodcuts, of which Mr. Douce has given some fac-similes in his book on the "Dance of Death." This copy consists of the first part only ; Mr. Huth has three. See Burnet (1861), vol. ii. p. 191 ; also Sotheby's *Principia Typographia*, vol. ii. p. 33. Folio. Paris, 1491—Mr. Fisher.

81. *Epistola Gasparini*. Woodcuts. Svo. Paris, 1498—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

DENIS JANOT : began to print about 1481 : seems to have had a partnership with Alain Leotrian. The following work was a joint production :—

82. *Mystery Play of the Resurrection*. Woodcut title-page : very curious and scarce. Svo. Paris, no date—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

SIMON VOSTRE : began to print about 1484.

83. *Hora Beate Marie Virginis*. On vellum ; woodcuts and borders on every page. Svo. Paris, no date—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

See Brunet, vol. v.

PIGOUCHÉ AND VOSTRE, in partnership, 1496. PHILIPPE PIGOUCHÉ began to print, 1484.

84. *Hora Beate Marie Virginis*. Printed on vellum, and illuminated by hand. Small Svo. Paris, 1496—Mr. T. Talbot Bury.

Fully described by Brunet, vol. v. Appendix.

DENIS ROUE.

85. *De mundicia et Castitate Sacerdotum*. Bound up with No. 87 ; woodcut printer's mark. Svo. Paris, cir. 1497—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

86. *Lucani Pharsalia*. Printed in Luta-tic type, as if in imitation of ornamental writing ; woodcut printer's mark. Svo. Paris, 1512—Messrs. Ellis and Green.



JEAN PETIT, or JOHANNES PARVUS : began to print, 1498.

87. *De valore Mirsarum*. Woodcut printer's mark : bound up with No. 85. Svo. Paris, 1499—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

88. *Secunda Pars Opusculorum Divi Augustini*. Large Svo. Paris, 1503—Mr. Yates.

89. *Paulus Orosius, Historia*. Svo. Paris, 1510—Mr. Yates.

ANDRE BOCARD, or BROCARD : began to print about 1497 ; d. — ?

90. *Tractatus Roberti Gaguini de Puritate Conceptionis Beatæ Mariæ Virginis*. With the printer's mark. Svo. Paris, 1498—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

JODOCUS BADIUS, surnamed ASCENSUS.

91. *Vita Jesu Christi, Lu. de Saxonia*. Folio. Paris, 1502—Society of Antiquaries.

92. *Lyndewode's Provinciale*. Printed for sale in England, and dedicated to Archbishop Warham. Woodcuts and rubrications. Folio. Paris, 1505—Society of Antiquaries.

93. *Johannis Majoris Historia Britan.* 4to. Paris, 1521—Society of Antiquaries.

HENRI ETIENNE, or STEPHANUS, the Elder : began to print, 1496 ; d. July, 1520. His widow married Simon Colines.

94. *Quintuplex Psalterium*. Folio. Paris, 1509—Mr. Standidge.

CHARLES ETIENNE, third son of the above : began to print, 1551 ; d. 1564. He was at first a physician.

95. *Appiani Alexandri Historia*. Folio. Paris, 1551—Mr. Yates.

96. *Herodoti Historia*. Greek. Folio. Paris, 1570—Mr. Yates.

THELMAN KERVER : began to print, 1497 ; d. 1522.

97. *Les Heures a l'usage de Rome*. Woodcuts and borders ; printed on vellum. Svo. Paris, 1499—Mr. T. Talbot Bury.

See Brunet, vol. v.

98. *Horæ Beatæ Mariæ Virginis*. Woodcuts and borders ; printed on vellum. Paris, 1505—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

FRANCOIS REGNAULT : began to print, 1499, Paris. He also printed at Rouen, later.

99. *Johannes de Burgs, on the Seven Sacraments*. Imperfect copy. Svo. Paris, 1518—Mr. Yates.

100. *Missale in usum Sarum*. Woodcut borders ; slightly imperfect copy. 18mo. Rouen, 1537—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

VIVIEN.

101. *Adagia, facetiæ, et Carmina Bebelianæ* : bound up with No. 78. 4to. Paris, 1502—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

SIMON COLINES, or COLINEUS : commenced to print cir. 1521. He married the widow of Henry Stephens the Elder, and seems to have succeeded to his business.

102. *Horæ Beatæ Mariæ Virginis*. Beautiful woodcut borders : in outline, as if for illumination : printed on vellum. Very choice and fine volume. Small folio. Paris, 1543—Mr. Addington.

103. Horæ. Outline woodcut borders and illustrations. Svo. Paris, 1524—Mr. Fisher.

104. Pedanii Dioscorides. Svo. Paris, 1537—Mr. Yates.

GEOFFREY TORI : began to print, *cir.* 1525.

105. Horæ Beatæ Mariæ Virginis. Outline borders and cuts. Svo. Paris, 1527—Mr. Fisher.

A very perfect example of this admired printer.

OLIVER MALLARD.

106. Horæ. *Colophon*, "Parisiis, Oliverius Mallard, Bibliopola Regi : sub signo vasis effracti." Woodcut borders in outline, like the contemporary style of MS. illumination, containing insects, fruit, and flowers. Binding coloured and inlaid in grolier style, green and white on brown ground. Svo. Paris, 1541—Mr. Addington.

REGNAUD CHAUDIERE : began to print, 1550, on the death of Colines, whose daughter and heiress he married.

107. Palladii Historia. Folio. Paris, 1570—Mr. Yates.

RAMUS.

108. Virgilii Bucolica. Svo. Paris, 1555—The Rev. R. P. Coates.

JEHAN LE MARCHANT.

109. The Prymer of Salisbury Use . . . "with many prayers and goodly Pyctures in the Kalendar," &c. Svo. Rouen, 1538—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

BENEDICT PREVOST : began to print, *cir.* 1545.

110. Hieroclis Commentarius in Aurea Carmina Pythagoreorum. 12mo. Paris, 1583—Mr. Yates.

111. Terentii Comedie. Woodcuts. Folio. Paris, 1552—Mr. Yates.

CLAUDE CHEVALLON : married, in 1520, the widow of Berthold Rembolt, *Charlotte Guillard*, herself a printer. He died in 1540.

112. Institutiones Justiniani ; with the printer's very curious device. 12mo. "Sub sole Aurea in via Jacobea." Paris, 1530. Mr. Yates.

GILLET HARDOEYN.

113. Heures a l'usage de Rome. Printed on vellum ; woodcuts and borders. Large Svo. Paris, no date—Mr. Fisher.

See Brunet, vol. v. Appendix.

114. Heures a l'usage de Rome. Printed on vellum, and magnificently illuminated in gold and colours. Small Svo. Paris, 1515—Sir W. Tite, M.P.

WILLIAM LE NOIR.

115. Genealogies de Soixante et sept tres nobles maisons. Woodcut of arms on one page. 4to. Paris, 1586—Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

SEBASTIAN GRYPHUS : b. 1493 ; began to print — — — ; d. 1556.

116. Valerius Flaccus ; Argonautica. 18mo. Lyons, 1548. Martialis Epigrammata. 18mo. Lyons, 1548—Mr. Yates.

ANTHONY GRYPHUS, son and successor of the above.

117. Ciceronis Opera. 18mo. Lyons, 1570—Mr. Yates.

118. Senecæ Tragediæ. 18mo. Lyons, 1584—Mr. Yates.

JOHANNES TORNASIUS, or DE Tournes : son of an older printer of the same name ; began to print in 1564 ; obliged, on account of his Protestant opinions, to leave France 1585 ; settled at Geneva, and there died, 1615.  
119. Iamblichus. 18mo. Lyons, 1577—Mr. Yates.

BARTHOLOMEW FREIN.

120. Petri Victorii, Varia Lectiones. Folio. Lyons, 1554—Mr. Yates.

LYONS PRESS. No printer's name.

121. Henrici Bouhæ, utriusque Juris professoris, opus preclarissimum. Folio. Sine anno—Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

122. Jacobus de Voragine, Legenda Sanctorum. Illuminated capitals, table rubricated. Folio. No place, date, or printer's name. It may be either French or Italian ; the date is perhaps as early as 1490—The Very Rev. Dr. Rock.

#### ITALY.

CONRAD SWEYNHEIM : ceased to print, 1473. ARNOLD PANNARTZ : d. 1476. They commenced printing at Subiaco, in Southern Italy, before 1465 ; and afterwards, being invited to Rome by the Pope's librarian, John Andreas, Bishop of Aleria, they continued to print there from 1466 until 1473, when Sweynheim abandoned printing for engraving. He must have died about the same time as his partner. It is on record that in the first seven years they printed twenty-eight books ; some of them in more than one volume. They are generally supposed to have been printers under Fust and Schoeyffer, and to have come into Italy after the sack of Mentz in 1462.

123. Suetonii Historia. Beautifully illuminated ; the first page with an elaborate border ; on paper. Folio. Rome, 1472—Mr. Standidge.

CHRISTOPHER VALDARFER : commenced printing at Venice, but removed to Milan before 1471, at which date he printed the *Editio princeps* of Boccaccio's Decameron ; for the only known perfect copy of which £2,260 was given at the sale of the Roxburgh Library in 1812. Some years later the same volume was sold for £900, and bought by the Earl Spencer ; it is now in the Spencer Library.

124. S. Ambrosius de Officiis. 4to. Milan, 1474—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

ALDUS MANUTIUS : b. 1446-7, d. 1515 ; began to print, 1494. His descendants continued to print until the death of his grandson, Aldus Manutius, junior, in 1597. His first work, according to the best authorities, was the " *Erotema* " of Constantine Lascaris, but this honour is also claimed for :—

125. Musæus de Herone et Leandro ; in Greek and Latin ; woodcuts. 4to. Venice, no date (1494)—Messrs. Ellis and Green.

126. Urbani Bolzanii, Grammatica Græca ; the seventh book printed by Aldus with a date (M. MD). 4to. Venice, 1497—Mr. Standidge.

127. Another copy ; 1497—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

128. Psalterium Græce ; rubricated. 4to. Venice, 1498—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

129. Poliphili Hypnerotomachia ubi humana omnia non nisi omnium

esse docet atque obiter plurima scitu sane quam digna commemorat, Italice (auctore F. Columna). Woodcuts, attributed to Giovanni Bellini or to Mantegna. Folio. Venice, 1499—Mr. Addington.

130. Another copy ; 1499—Sir T. E. Winnington, Bart.

131. Another copy ; 1499—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

132. Another copy ; 1499—Society of Antiquaries.

133. Sophocles ; very fine and tall copy. Svo. Venice, 1502—Mr. Tebbs.

ANDREA D'ASSOLA. After the death of Aldus in 1515, his father-in-law, A. d'Assola, carried on the business till the children came of age. The two following books were printed during their minority :—

134. Oppianus, editio princeps. 12mo. Venice, 1517—The Rev. R. P. Coates.

135. Martial. 12mo. Venice, 1517—The Rev. R. P. Coates.

GABRIEL GIOLITO DE FERRARA.

136. Ariosto, Orlando Furioso ; scarce edition. 4to. Venice, 1549—Society of Antiquaries.

BIBLIOTHECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA ; the printing office of the Papal Government.

137. Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana. Folio. Rome, 1591—Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

FRANCIS DE HALBRUNN,

PETER DE BARTUA : commenced to print in 1471, and continued until 1494. Their works are very scarce.

138. S. Thomæ de Aquino, Prima Pars secundæ partis Summæ Theologie ; on vellum, with 110 initial letters beautifully illuminated. Small folio. Venice, 1478—Mr. Addington.

This book does not occur in M. van Praet's list of books printed on vellum. It is in the finest condition, with wide margins, in the original oak boards covered with stamped leather.

MATTHEUS MORAVUS : commenced printing in 1474.

139. Senecæ opera omnia ; first edition, extremely rare ; slightly imperfect, but with the missing parts restored in fac-simile. Folio. Naples, 1475—Messrs. Ellis and Green.

DA SABBIO.

140. Historia molto delectevole, Boccaccio. 12mo. Venice, 1526—Mr. Waller.

MELCHIOR SESSA.

141. Ameto de Boccaccio ; in the same volume with the foregoing—Venice, 1534.

FRANCESCO DI FRANCESCHI.

142. Architettura di Sebastiano Serlio. Woodcuts. Folio. Venice, 1534—Mr. T. Talbot Bury.

BARTHOLOMÆUS DE CREMONA.

143. Summula Confessionis ; illuminated, on paper. Folio. Venice, 1473—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

PETER DE CREMONA.

144. Dante, *Divina Commedia*. Folio. Venice, 1491—Society of Antiquaries.

MANFRED DE STREVO.

145. Boccaccio *Genealogiæ Deorum*. Woodcuts. Folio. Venice, 1497—Society of Antiquaries.

ANDREA BONETTIS DI PAPIA.

146. Ubertinus de Casalis, *Arbor vitæ crucifixæ Jesu*. First initial illuminated. Folio. Venice, 1485—Mr. Yates.

THOMAS DE BLAVIS.

147. *Ciceronis Opera*. Folio. Venice, 1488—Mr. Yates.

HIERONYMUS DE PERGAMINIS.

148. *Biblia Latina*. Svo. Venice, 1497—Mr. Yates.

BARZALERIUS.

149. *Herodiani Historia*. 4to. Bologna, 1493—Mr. Yates.

STEFFAN PLANCK.

150. *Pontificalis ordinis Liber*; rubricated, with music. Folio. Rome, 1485—Society of Antiquaries.

151. *Mirabilia Urbis Romæ*. Woodcuts. 16mo. Rome, 1500—Mr. Addington.

The story of Pope Joan occurs in this curious book, and some strange legends of Virgil, and the magical arts he was said to practise.

BARTHOLOMEUS DE ZANIS; printed for the Giunti.

152. *Valerius Maximus*. Folio. Venice, 1508—Mr. Yates.

153. *Catalogus Sanctorum Petri de Natalibus*; a very fine copy. Folio. Venice, 1506—Mr. Waller.

CESARE ARRIVABENE.

154. *Johannis de Ketham Fasciculus Medicinæ*; curious woodcuts in the style of the "Poliphilo," and said to be by Bellini; the second or third edition of this curious anatomical treatise. Folio. Venice, 1522—Mr. Fisher.

#### PORTUGAL—LISBON.

155. *Commentary on the Pentateuch*: in Hebrew characters: the first book printed at Lisbon: no printer's name. Folio. Lisbon, 1489—Ellis and Green.

#### ENGLAND.

WILLIAM CAXTON: born "in Kente in the Weeld," *cir.* 1422, d. 1491; buried in the churchyard of St. Margaret's, Westminster. He commenced to print in England in the year 1477, his first book being the "Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers." He had previously, it is supposed, printed at Bruges, "*Le Recueil des Histoires de Troye*;" the same in English—being the first English book ever printed;—and the "Chess Book." See Blades, vol. i. p. 60.

156. *Le Recueil des Histoires de Troyes*: "composé en l'an de grace

1464."\* There are only six copies known : three perfect, of which this is one. Measurement,  $10\frac{1}{2}$  in. by  $7\frac{3}{4}$  in. Folio. No place or date. (Bruges, 1476 *l*)—Her Majesty the Queen.

157. The Game and Play of Chess Moralised : ten copies known ; four of them perfect. This one wants a leaf of dedication ; slightly wormed : known as the "Baukes" copy ; dated last day of March, 1474, which probably refers to the completion of the translation. Folio. (Bruges, 1475 *l*)—Mr. Quaritch.

158. Higden's Polychronicon : Lilly's copy : imperfect : twenty-eight copies known ; five only perfect. Folio. Westminster, 1482—Sir W. Tite, M.P.

159. The Book which the Knyght of the Toure made : six copies known ; four perfect, including this one : known as "Corser's copy." Measure,  $10\frac{3}{4}$  in. by  $7\frac{1}{2}$  in. Folio. Westminster, 1484—Mr. Quaritch.

160. Fables of Æsop. Woodcuts : perfect : only two other copies known, both imperfect : translation dated 1483. Folio. Westminster, (1481 *l*)—Her Majesty the Queen.

161. The Doctrinal of Sapience : unique copy : printed on vellum : and has an additional chapter on "negligences happening in the mass." Eight other copies known, all on paper : three of them perfect. Folio. (Westminster, 1489 *l*)—Her Majesty the Queen.

162. The Book of Faytes of Arias : imperfect, wanting last five leaves. Measure,  $10\frac{1}{2}$  in. by 7 in. : twenty copies known ; eleven perfect. Folio. Westminster, 1489—Her Majesty the Queen.

163. Another copy : imperfect, wanting first two leaves, which are supplied in fac-simile : fine condition. Measure,  $10\frac{1}{2}$  in. by  $7\frac{1}{4}$  in. Folio. Westminster, 1489—Sir W. Tite, M.P.

164. The Myrrour of the Worlde : second edition. Woodcuts. Dated as the first : perfect : very clean, and large, measuring  $10\frac{1}{8}$  in. by  $7\frac{3}{4}$  in. : eleven copies known ; eight perfect. Folio. Westminster (1481). 1490 ? —Sir W. Tite, M.P.

165. Another copy : also perfect. Measure,  $10\frac{3}{4}$  in. by  $7\frac{1}{2}$  in. Folio. Westminster (1481). 1490 *l*—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

166. The Dictes and Sayinges : third edition : dated as the first : imperfect, wanting four leaves at end. Measure,  $10\frac{3}{8}$  in. by  $7\frac{5}{8}$  in. : seven copies known ; three being perfect. Folio. Westminster (1477) 1490 ? The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

167. The Golden Legend : first edition. Woodcuts. Imperfect, wanting 34 leaves. The largest copy known, measuring  $15\frac{1}{4}$  in. by  $10\frac{1}{2}$  in. : twenty nine copies known : none perfect. Large folio. Westminster, 1483 —The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

168. Quator Sermons : on the Lord's Prayer, &c. Imperfect, wanting last nine leaves : five copies known ; only one perfect : second edition. Folio. Westminster (1491) —Mr. Addington.

WYKYS DE WORDE : b. —, d. 1534. Caxton's chief workman and successor, naturalised in 1496. He commenced to print on his own

\* If this date referred, as it has generally been taken to do, to the printing of the work, Caxton would be the first

French printer, as well as the first English

account in 1494, or possibly a year earlier; his first works are therefore of later date than those of Machlinia and others who printed by themselves in Caxton's lifetime. He lies buried in the church of St. Bride, Fleet Street.

169. Higden's Polychronicon. Colophon: "Prayenge all theym that shall see this symple worke to pardon me of my symple writyng. Ended the thyrteenth daye of Apryll the tenth yere of the regne of Kyng Harry the Seventh and the Incarnacon of our Lord M.CCCCLXXXV. Emprynted at Westmestre by Wynkyn Theworde." Folio. Westminster, 1495—Mr. Quaritch.

170. Another copy: imperfect—Mr. Standidge.

171. Sermo: "in die Innocentium Sermo pro Episcopo Puerorum." Woodcut of the crucifixion, from Caxton's Fifteen Oes.: Heber's copy. Another copy is said by Lowndes to be at Stonyhurst College: no more known. 4to. No date. 1496?—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

172. Communication bytwene God and man: imperfect, wanting first leaf. No other copy known. Heber's. 4to. No date—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

173. Parvulorum institutio: perhaps the first edition of this rare tract: it exactly resembles the edition of 1521. 4to. No date—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

174. *Vulgaria Quedam ex Latina Collecta*: a dictionary of proverbs in Latin and English. 16mo. 1500—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

175. *Vitas Patrum*, or the lyves of the olde auncient holy faders hermytes, translated by the blessyd Saynt Jerome out of Greke into Latyn, Latyn into Frenshe, and after reduced into Englyshe by Willyam Caxton late deed. Very fine and perfect copy. Woodcuts. Folio. Westminster, 1495—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

176. *Dives et Pauper*. Second edition. See Pynson. Folio. 1496—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

177. *Mons Perfectionis*. Woodcuts. 4to. 1501—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

178. *Lyfe of John Pycus*, Erle of Myrandula—a grete Lorde of Italy. Small 4to. No date—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

179. *Holte's Mylke for Chyldren*: a grammar: Heber's copy, the only one known. Woodcuts. 4to. No date—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

180. *Sermo Exhortatorius Cancellarii Ebor*: hiis qui ad sacros ordines petunt promoveri: with the imprimatur of John Colet. Bright's copy. 4to. No date. 1494?—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

181. *The Chronycle of Englonde with the frute of Tymes*; the Deserycon of Englonde Wayls Scotland and Irlond speaking of the Noblesse and Worthynesse of the same. Slightly imperfect. Folio. 1502—Society of Antiquaries.

182. *The Boke of Comforte*: imperfect, wanting title. 4to. No date—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

183. *The Arte and Crafte to Lyve and Dye well*: imperfect, beginning

on fol. vii., ending on fol. cxxv. Woodcuts. Folio. 1503—Society of Antiquaries.

184. The ordinary of Christen Men. 4to. 1506—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

185. The boke of Good manners. The only perfect copy known. Woodcuts. 4to. 1507—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

186. Sermon made by John Bishop of Rochester (Fisher) in the first year of King Henry VIII., 10th May, 1509. Curious woodcut of Henry VII. lying in State. 4to. 1509—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

187. Gerson's Paternoster, Ave, and Credo. Woodcuts. 4to. 1509—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

188. *Ortus vocabulorum*: a Latin and English dictionary. The first edition was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in folio, 1500. This is the third edition. 4to. 1511—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

189. The Flowre of the Commaundments of God. Woodcuts. 3rd edition. Folio. 1510—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

190. Another edition. Folio. 1521—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

191. *Constitutiones Provinciales et Othonis*. 12mo. 1517—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

192. The Flowre of the Commandements. 4th edition. Folio. 1521—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

193. *Opera super Constitutiones Provinciales et Othonis*. 16mo. 1529—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

194. *Scala Perfectionis*. Woodcut. 4to. 1523—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

195. Richard Cuer de Lyon. Woodcut. 4to. 1528—Mr. Quaritch.

196. *Enchiridion* of Erasmus. Printed for "Johan Biddel, otherwise Salysbury." 12mo. 1534—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

197. The xij. Profytes of Tribulacyon. 4to. 1530—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

198. A Contemplacyon or Medytacyon of the Shedyng of the blood of our Lorde Jhesu Cryste at Seven tymes. Folio. No date. The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

THEODORE ROOD and THOMAS HEST: printed at Oxford, in the lifetime of Caxton. The following work is usually attributed to them, but Dibdin and others are of opinion that it was printed in Germany. Archdeacon Cotton, however, shows that the same type is used for it and the "*Alexander de Anima*," which was printed by Theodore Rood in 1481, and bears his name in the colophon. "There is," he says, "so close a resemblance between these two volumes, that I think no person who compares them together can doubt that the place and printer of both are one and the same."<sup>2</sup>

199. *Liber Moraliu*m: in *Threnos Hieremie Prophetie*. By John Lutterbury. Folio. 1482. Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

WILLIAM MACHILINA: printed in Holborn, near the Fleet Bridge. Ho

<sup>2</sup> *Typographical Gazetteer*, 2nd ed., p. 210.



was for some time in partnership with Lettou. None of his books are dated, but he probably printed during the lifetime of Caxton.

200. *Liber qui vocatur Speculum Xpistiani*. Written by John Wotton. Woodcut. 4to. No date—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

**JULIAN NOTARY**: printed from 1498 to 1520. He is supposed to have been a Frenchman: it is probable he was an assistant in Caxton's house.

201. *Liber vocatur Festivalis*. Folio. 1499—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

202. *The Kalendar of Shepherds*. Supposed to be the most perfect copy known. Folio. 1515—1520?—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

**RICHARD PYNSON**: a Norman by birth: naturalised by patent of Henry VII. in 1493. Printed near Temple Bar, after Caxton's death: the second King's printer: died *cir.* 1529-31.

203. *Dives et Pauper*. A treatise or dialogue on the ten commandments. This is the first edition, Wynkyn de Worde's being dated three years later. Folio. 1493—Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

204. Another copy. 1483—Sir William Tite, M.P.

205. *Textus Alexandri cum Sententiis Constructionibus*. An edition unnoticed by Johnson, probably the third, and almost, if not quite, unique. Woodcuts. 4to. 1516—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

206. *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martin. Lutherū*. First edition in England of the book, for which the Pope gave Henry VIII. the title of defender of the faith. 4to. 1521—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

207. *The Lyfe of St. Francis*, written by Frere Bonaventure. 4to. No date—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

208. *The boke named the Royall*. 4to. 1517—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

209. *Liber Intrationum*. Woodcut of arms. Folio. 1510—Mr. Staudidge.

210. *Year Book of Edward III*. Folio. (1520)—Mr. Staudidge.

211. *The Little Chronicle*: only one other copy known. 4to. *Cir.* 1520—Mr. Quaritch.

212. *The Pilgrimage of Perfection*. 4to. 1526—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

213. *Bull of Pope Leo X*. Folio. No date—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

**RICHARD FAKES or FAWKES**: probably a relative of William Faques, the first King's Printer, who died in 1511, although it is asserted that he was of a Yorkshire family: printed in Durham Rents, Temple Bar, or else in "Powle's Churchyerde, at the signe of the A. B. C."

214. *The Myrroure of Our Lady*. Woodcut titles, and other cuts: the printer's device on the verso of folio 164: a colophon on the recto. Folio. 1530—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

215. Another copy, with twenty-three leaves of a supplement, and on

the verso of the last leaf "Here endeth the book that is called oure Ladye's Myrroure." Probably unique. 1530—The Very Rev. Dr. Rock.

JOHN RASTELL : a London citizen : began to print about 1517 : married Elizabeth More, sister of the Chancellor : died 1536.

216. *Natura Brevium* : in Latin and English. 16mo. 1532—Mr. Standidge.

217. *Dialogues of Creatures Moralised* : first English edition. 4to. 1520—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

WILLIAM RASTELL : son of the foregoing : Serjeant at law and justice of Queen's Bench under Queen Mary : died at Louvain, 1567.

218. *More's Supplication of Soules*. Folio. No date. The Very Rev. Dr. Rock.

219. *Debellaçyon of Salem*. 4to. 1533—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

WILLIAM COPLANDE : son of Robert Coplande, who had been in partnership with Wynkyn de Worde : he succeeded to his father's business in 1548, and died in 1568 or 1569.

220. *The Tree and xij frutes of the Holy Ghoost*. 4to. 1554—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

221. *The Recuile of the Historyes of Troie*. Folio. 1555—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

ROBERT REDMAN : began to print in 1523 : his quarrel with Pynson is a curious episode in the history of printing. Redman is worthy of notice as the first English printer who published any part of the Bible in the vernacular : a further account of his works will be found under the heading of "Bibles." He died in 1540.

222. *A work of preparation or ordinance unto Comunion*. 24mo. 1531—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

223. *Wycliffe's Consolation for Troubled Consciences* : almost unique. A copy is mentioned in Maitland's "Lambeth Library," p. 238 : formerly in the collection of Mr. James Dix. 16mo. No date. (*Cir.* 1532)—Mr. Addington.

224. *Wycliffe's Crede, Paternoster, and Ave Maria* : one other copy known : see Maitland, p. 238. Mr. Maskell's copy dated in 1539 differed from this one. 16mo. No date. (*Cir.* 1527)—Mr. Addington.

WYCLIFFE. (*See* under "Bibles.")

225. *Wycliffe's Small Pages to the Common People* : a manuscript of this work was in Archbishop Temison's library. No other copy is known. 16mo. No date. (1532)—Mr. Addington.

226. *Myrroure of Christes Passion*. Folio. 1534—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

227. *Life of Our Ladye* by Lydgate. 4to. 1531—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

228. *The Pye or Tonne of the lyfe of Perfection* : Henry the Eighth's copy in the original binding. Lowndes mentions an edition of 1552 probably by mistake, as Redman died in 1540. 4to. 1532—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

THOMAS BERTHELET : the third King's Printer, but the first to whom a patent was granted ; his salary was .£4 per annum : died 1555.

229. Two Acts of Parliament : temp. Henry VIII. Folio. *Cir.* 1550—Mr. Standidge.

230. Xenophon's Treatise of Householde. Small 8vo. 1548—Society of Antiquaries.

231. Bartholomeus de Proprietatibus Rerum. Folio. 1535—Society of Antiquaries.

232. Necessary Doctrine for any Christen Man. 4to. 1543—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

THOMAS VAUTROULLIER : a Norman by birth : printed in Edinburgh and London. His daughter married Richard Field. He died about 1590.

233. Historie of Judith in forme of a poeme : with the autograph of William Camden. 12mo. Edinburgh. 1584—Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

JOHN OSWEN : the first printer at Worcester, whither he came from Ipswich in 1548, and printed until 1553.

234. Homily to be read in time of Pestilence. Small 4to. Worcester, 1553—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

JOHN CAWOOD : the pupil of John Reynes, Queen's Printer under Queen Mary : d. 1572.

235. A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulacion made by Sir Thomas More. 4to. 1553—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

CAWOOD, WALES, and TOTTEL : in partnership.

236. The works of Sir Thomas More. Folio. 1557—Sir W. Tite, M.P.

RICHARD JUGGE : Queen's Printer : in partnership with Cawood : d. 1577.

237. Orders taken by virtue of her Majestic's letters addressed to her hyghnesse commissioners for causes ecclesiastical. 4to. 1561—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

See also under "Bibles."

JOHN DAY : a native of Suffolk : began to print 1546 ; d. 1584, and was buried in the church of Bradley Parva in that county. His epitaph is well known, commencing—

"Here lyes the Daye that darknesse could not blind,  
When Popish fogges had overcaste the Sunne," &c.

His device, with the device, "Arise, for it is day," is also familiar. It alludes, like his epitaph, to the Reformation. Some of his books will be found under "Bibles."

238. The Tenor for Morning and Evening Prayer : music : title mounted ; imperfect at end. Folio. No date—Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

239. The Image of God, or Laimā's Booko : by R. Hutchinson. 8vo. 1550—Mr. Standidge.

240. A Booke of Certain Canons. 8vo. 1571—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

RICHARD GRAFTON: an author as well as a printer, and the writer of the "Chronicle;" *d. scilicet*. 1572. A further notice of his books will be found under "Bibles." He was in partnership with Edward Whitchurch for a considerable time.

241. Primer of Henry VIII. 12mo. 1540—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

242. INIUNCTIONS given by the moste excellent Prince Edwarde the VI. 4to. 1517—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

243. Expedition into Scotlāde: a very rare book, and one of the most beautiful specimens of Grafton's Press. 16mo. 1548—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

244. Injunctions given by the Queene's Maiestie. 4to. 1559—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

JOHN SKOT. I have been able to find no particulars regarding his life. He is sometimes identified with a printer at St. Andrews, in Scotland, who bore the same name.

245. Gospel of Nichodemus: from Heber's collection. 4to. London, 1529—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

WALTER LYNNE: printed for two years, 1548—50, near Billingsgate: "a scholar, an author, and a printer," says Johnson.

246. A Treatise or Sermon. 8vo. 1549—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

247. Catechisms; that is to say, a Short Instruction in Christian Religion, &c., set forth by Thomas Craumer; "printed by Nicholas Hylle for Walter Lynne." 4to. 1548—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

#### BIBLES AND PARTS OF THE BIBLE.

Psalmorum Codex; *see* No. 13.

Erasmi Testamentum; *see* No. 57.

Missale Parisiense; *see* No. 77.

Psalterium, 1488; *see* No. 79.

Hora, n.d.; *see* No. 83.

„ 1496; *see* No. 84.

Quintuplex Psalterium; *see* No. 94.

Heures, 1499; *see* No. 97.

Hora, 1505; *see* No. 98.

Missale, 1537; *see* No. 100.

Hora, 1543; *see* No. 102.

„ 1524; *see* No. 103.

„ 1527; *see* No. 105.

„ 1541; *see* No. 106.

Primer, 1538; *see* No. 109.

Heures, n. d.; *see* No. 113.

„ 1515; *see* No. 114.

Psalterium, 1498; *see* No. 128.

Biblia Latina, 1497; *see* No. 148.

248. Dye Fünff bücher Mose. Woodcuts. Luther's version. Small 8vo. Wittenberg. 1523—Sir W. Tite, M.P.

249. Tyndale's Pentateuch. Woodcuts. Small 8vo or 12mo—Sir W. Tite, M.P.

Part, at least, of this book was printed as a colophon set forth at "Malborow in the lande of Hesse," by Hans Luft, 1530. See Cotton, p. 306; also Anderson, and other historians of the English Bible. This copy is made up with fac-simile leaves.

250. Testament of Moyses with Prayers of Holy Fathers, &c. 16mo. London: Robert Redman. Cir. 1532—Mr. Addington.

One other copy is known: in the Lambeth Library. The first portion of Wycliffe's translation printed.

251. Biblia. The Bible, that is the Holy Scripture, &c. Folio, 1535.

Coverdale's version. Printed abroad; the exact place unascertained, but probably in part at Zurich, by Froschover. No perfect copy is known. One only, in the library of Lord Leicester, has the title perfect. This copy is wanting in several respects, the title being made up, and the title to the book of Job missing—Her Majesty the Queen.

252. Another copy: also imperfect—Sir W. Tite, M.P.

253. New Testament: Tyndale's version. 8vo. Antwerp: Marten Emperowr. 1534—Sir W. Tite, M.P.

254. "The Great Bible:" Cromwell's version. Folio. Printed by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitechurch (Paris and London). April, 1539—Messrs. Ellis and Green.

255. "The Byble in Englyshe:" Craumer's version. Folio. Richard Grafton. July, 1540—Sir W. Tite, M.P.

256. Another edition: same version. Folio. Edward Whitechurch, London. 1553—Sir W. Tite, M.P.

This Bible is remarkable as the only one issued without preliminary matter, preface, calendar, &c.

257. The Bible . . . according to the translation of the Great Byble. Small 4to. Richard Grafton. 1553—Mr. Octavius Morgan, M.P.

In the same volume are bound the three books noticed next.

258. Book of Common Prayer. Small 4to. Jugge and Cawood. 1560.

259. Sermons (or Homilies). Small 4to. Jugge and Cawood. 1560.

260. The Psalms in metre. Small 4to. Jhon Day. 1561.

The first edition of the complete "Sternhold and Hopkins," and hitherto unnoticed by Bibliographers. Dr. Cotton mentions the edition of 1562 as the earliest.

261. The whole Psalter, translated into English metre. 4to. John Daye. (Cir. 1560.)—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

This is often called the first book privately printed in England. The name of the author is concealed in a prologue to the 119th Psalm. It consists of a metrical preface of sixteen lines, and the initial letters of each line compose the name MATTHEUS PARKERUS.

Made is this Psalme: by Alphabete: in Octonaries folde,  
 All letters two: and twentie set: as Hebrues them have tolde.  
 The verses all: an hundred bee: threescore and just sixteene,  
 Thus framde and knit: for memorie: and elegance some wene.  
 Here letters all: so sortely bound: do shew in mysterie  
 Eternall health: may sure be found: in Scripture totallie.  
 Verse yokd by eight: Christe's rising day: doth figure them in some,  
 Sweete Saboth rest: not here I say: I meane of world to come.  
 Peruse this Psalme: so wide and brode: each verse save one is freight,  
 As still in termes: of law of God: most ofte by voyces eyght.  
 Right statutes, olde precepts, decrees: cōmaundments, word, and law.  
 Knowne judgemēts, domes, and witnesses: al righteous wais thei draw  
 Envie no man: God's worde to painte: in arte by such devise,  
 Reade Hebrue tonge: the tong so sainte: and causeless be not nise.  
 Upfolde bi here: God's truthes discust: right sure as all to teache,  
 So lies of man: all low be thrust: full false in closing speache.

## MEDICAL RECIPES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

By JOHN HEWITT.

AMONG the manuscripts of the Cathedral library at Lichfield is a folio volume of Recipes belonging to Sir John Floyer, physician to King Charles the Second, who resided and practised in Lichfield. He was born at Hints, near that city, where the family has flourished to the present day. He published several works of a professional character, the chief of which was an essay "On the Use and Abuse of hot, cold, and temperate Baths in England." Near a rocky glen in the vicinity of Lichfield he constructed a cold bath, to which he gave the name of Saint Chad's Bath. This property afterwards came into the possession of Dr. Erasmus Darwin, and was formed by him into that "Botanic Garden" which in his time had considerable celebrity. The bath buildings and the garden still remain, in a state of ruin indeed, but very picturesque.

Sir John Floyer died in 1733, and bequeathed his library to Queen's College, Oxford.

The volume of Recipes and Prescriptions is entirely in manuscript, and appears to have been written at different periods of life. We give a few samples of the contents :—

### *"Dimness of Sight."*

"For dimness of y<sup>c</sup> Eyes eat 12 leaves of Rue in a morning with bread and butter, and it will very much availe."

### *"Bleeding stopd."*

"Take red nettles, stamp y<sup>m</sup> and straine them alone, then take y<sup>e</sup> juice and rubb all over y<sup>c</sup> forehead and temples, so lett it dry upon y<sup>c</sup> face 7 or 8 hours, after you may wash it of, but if y<sup>n</sup> bleede againe, renew it."

For the plague, we have "the Medicine y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Ld. Major of London had sent him from Q. Elisa : " The ingredients

are sage, rue, elder leaves, red bramble leaves, white wine and ginger. "So drink of it evening and morning 9 dayes together: the first spoonfull will by Gods grace preserve safe for 24 dayes, and after y<sup>e</sup> ninth spoonfull for one whole yeare."

Another "safe medicine" is as follows:—"Take a locke of y<sup>r</sup> Owne hair, cutt it as small as may bee, and so take it in beere or wine."

The next is not so appetising: "For a dull hearing. Take a grey snaile, prick him, and putt y<sup>e</sup> water w<sup>ch</sup> comes from him into y<sup>e</sup> eare and stop it with black wool, it will cure."

*"To cure the biting or stinging of a Snake as it hath been often tryed."*

"Take y<sup>e</sup> leaves of a Burr-dock, stamp and straine y<sup>m</sup> and so drink a good quantity, halfe a pint at y<sup>e</sup> least, y<sup>e</sup> simple juice itselfe is best."

Here is another antidote to the plague:—"Take a Cock chicken and pull off y<sup>e</sup> feathers from y<sup>e</sup> Tayle till y<sup>e</sup> rump bee bare, y<sup>n</sup> hold y<sup>e</sup> bare of y<sup>e</sup> same upon y<sup>e</sup> sore, and y<sup>e</sup> chicken will gape and labor for life, and in y<sup>e</sup> end will dye, then take another and do y<sup>e</sup> like, and so another still as they dye, till one lives, for then y<sup>e</sup> venome is drawne out. The last chicken will live and y<sup>e</sup> patient will mend very speedily."

*"A most pretious Water of Wallnutts"*

Cures many ailments. Among the rest: "One drop in y<sup>e</sup> Eyes healeth all infirmityes, it healeth palsyes, it causeth sleep in y<sup>e</sup> night. If it be used moderately with wine, it preserveth life so long as nature will permitt."

*"For Sciatica."*

The principal ingredient is "the marrow of a Horse (kill'd by chance, not dying of any disease) mixed with some rose water. \* \* \* Chafe it in with a warme hand for a quarter of an houre, then putt on a Scarlett cloth, Broad enough to cover y<sup>e</sup> part affected and go into a warme Bed. It cured my Aunt Lakes, who went yearly to the Bath for y<sup>e</sup> Sciatica, but never went after she knew and used this medicine."



*"A blow on y<sup>e</sup> Eye."*

"My Father Fl. (Floyer) going into Salisbury received so violent a blow from y<sup>e</sup> Coachman's whip upon his Eye that nothing of y<sup>e</sup> Eye could bee scene, but was like a piece of marrow of different colours. An excellent oculist, Dr. Turbeville, living there, thus cur'd him, above his owne expectation, my Father being then neere 60 yeares of age. He sent for young pigeons, and letting y<sup>m</sup> blood under y<sup>e</sup> wing, as fast as he could, putt y<sup>e</sup> warme blood into his Eye for halfe an houre together, after which he lay'd on a warme cloth and bound up his Eye for that night. In y<sup>e</sup> morning he brought with him y<sup>e</sup> seeds of Oculus Christi and putt y<sup>m</sup> into y<sup>e</sup> corner of his Eye, after which with a decoction of Balme and Betony he wash't it often in a day w<sup>h</sup> a sponge; and this in a short time restored y<sup>e</sup> Sight perfect."

"For the asthma" we have:—"R. the inner part of Ash keys, parsly roots, powder of jett. After all, the powder of a Sea horse."

*"For a Cold."*

"Virginia Tobacco (y<sup>e</sup> stronger y<sup>e</sup> better) dried and powdered to Snuff, and so taken at going to bed, is most excellent for a cold."

"Dr. Watson of Sutton, when my wife was confined and in great danger, directed her to take purple sewing silke, and cutt it very small with sizars, as much as could ly upon a 6<sup>d</sup>, and having turned the white of an Egg out, mix the silke and yelke, filling y<sup>e</sup> Shell up with the best Alceant wine in y<sup>e</sup> roome of y<sup>e</sup> white, so stirr it up well and sup it of. Excellent. My wife has given it to others very successfully."

*"Convulsions."*

"R. the furr of a living Bear's belly, boil it in Aqua Vitæ, take it out, squeeze it and wrap it upon y<sup>e</sup> soales of y<sup>e</sup> Feet."

*"Another."*

"The kneebone of an Hare taken out alive and worne about the necke is excellent against Convulsion fitts."

*"Calculus."*

"Dr. Meazler told mee (19 Feb. 167<sup>0</sup><sub>1</sub>) that an ingenious Gentleman near y<sup>e</sup> Mines in Derbeshire assured him that

Spart, pounded small and drunk in White wine or Ale, is an excellent remedy in this disease."<sup>1</sup>

“*Head-ache.*”

“The juice of Ground-ivy snuff up into y<sup>e</sup> nose out of a spoone taketh away y<sup>e</sup> greatest paine thereof that is. This medicine is worth gold, says E. T.”

For Consumption is recommended an infusion in which the following ingredients take part:—Malaga-sacke, liverwort, Dandelion-root scrap’t and y<sup>e</sup> pith tooke out, and a piece of Elecampane slic’t. “My sister Legge sent this to my Lady Archbold 25 Jan. 167<sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> with this commendation, that it hath done great wonders and such cures of Consumption as never were knowne before, and that it cost y<sup>e</sup> Countess of Denbigh 40<sup>li</sup>.”

A portion of the volume is devoted to the maladies of various quadrupeds and birds. The ailments of each class are thrown into groups, and a certain small number of medicines (ranging from 12 to 3) are assigned for the cure of all in each group. The horse, as the noblest animal, requires the largest medicine-chest. The heading is “All Diseases of Horses cured by 12 Medicines.” Omitting the various ailments which it is destined to terminate, we give “The Second Medicine.”

“First lett the horse blood in the neck vene till it run pure, bleed him well, then stanch the vene. Then take of Assafetida as much as a hazle-nutt, dissolve it in a saucer of stronge wine vinegar: Dip flax hurds therein, stop the same hard into the horses eares, stitch the tops of y<sup>e</sup> eares with a needle and thread to keepe the medicine in. Then take the white cankerous Moss that grows upon an old Oake an handfull or more; a roote or two of elecampane, boil it in a pottle of new milke to the halfe, give it the horse lookwarne in the morning fasting.” \* \* \* Finally, little cakes are prepared of Colts-foot, turpentine, and some other ingredients.

<sup>1</sup> Of calcareous medicines, Charles Stothard, in his *Memoirs*, gives us an amusing anecdote. Writing from Bunbury in Cheshire, he says, “The efficacy of St. Hugh’s alvay, a great colder under the Black Prince, is my subject, and in terrible preservation, considering the hazard it has already run of being

pounded and given in powders to cattle; for alabaster, I understand, is a sovereign remedy for the rot in sheep, and other disorders of that nature. The knight’s feet, sword, lance, and part of his crest, have already been used for the above purpose.” *Memoirs*, p. 108.

“Then take a chafeing dish of coales, lay one or two (of the cakes) on the coales, make the horse’s head fast, let him take the smoake up his nostrills through a Funnell. Though at first hee be coy to take it, yet when hee hath once fielt the smell hee will of his owne accord thrust his nose to it.”

“*The ffourth Medicine.*”

“Take the earth Lome of a mud wall which hath no lime in it, but onely earth and straw or litter, boile it in strong wine vinegar till it become very thick ” (&c., &c.).

Other horse medicines are the following :

“*For the Eyes.*”

“Fourty Millepedes bruised and given in y<sup>c</sup> juice of Celandine is excellent good for diseases in y<sup>e</sup> Eyes, of all sorts.”

“*For a kell or Filme.*”

“Mr. Birch of Stafford directed Franck, Coachman, to take a green oake-stick, thick as his legg or more, bore a hole 4 or 5 inches deep, fill it with ordinary salt, then putt y<sup>e</sup> stick into an oven that is heating, and when y<sup>c</sup> stick is burnt to a cole, take it out and you will find a cylindar of salt very hard ; take of y<sup>c</sup> powder of it, and blow it into y<sup>e</sup> Eye. It perfectly cur’d one of y<sup>e</sup> Coach-horses in fewe dayes, after y<sup>e</sup> use of severall medicines in vaine.”

“The Emperor of All medicines concerning horses ” is too long to transcribe.

“*Ffor a sore Eye.*”

“Take the ffyne powder of Ginger and fflyne sugar and blow it into the Eye with a quil.”

“All diseases in Oxen, Cows, Bulls, and Calves cured by 7 medicines.”

\* \* \* in Sheep with six medicines.

\* \* \* in Swine with three medicines.

\* \* \* in Doggs with three medicines.

“*Madness in a Dog or anything.*”

“Pega, tega, sega, docemena Mega. These words written, and y<sup>e</sup> paper rowl’d up and given to a Dog or any thing that is mad, cure him. W. Whitby told me he had it from Mr.

Brisco of Farrall, who was bitt by a mad dog and in a very ill frantick condition, his Friends much troubled resolved to send him to sea and use all meanes for his recovery, an Italian Mountebank by chance came where he was, and understanding y<sup>e</sup> matter, gave him y<sup>t</sup> verse as 'tis directed and it cured him. Mr. Wh. says he has cured many of his dogs with it. Very strange.

Conies and hares are subject to two infirmityes onely, cured by the following medicine. \* \* \* All Poultry, as Cocks, hens, Turkeyes, peacocks, pheasants, partridges, quails, doves, are cured with floure medicines.

All Singing Birds, as nightingale, linnett, Solitary sparrow,<sup>2</sup> goldfinch, miskine,<sup>3</sup> spink,<sup>4</sup> Cannary bird, Cordiall<sup>5</sup> larke, Callandar,<sup>6</sup> blackbird, Robbin, throistle, are cured with three medicines.

Lastly come the Hawks, seemingly a pampered race, for their maladies require six medicaments.

We might greatly have augmented these extracts, but enough is given to indicate the state of medical science under the Merry Monarch. Nothing less than a perusal of the volume itself would be required to learn fully what our ancestors had to undergo when in the doctor's hands. Many of the ingredients are of so—eccentric a nature that Macbeth's cauldron is quite appetising in comparison :

“Eye of newt and toe of frog,  
Wool of bat and tongue of dog,  
Adder's fork and blindworm's sting.”

No doubt Shakespeare was well acquainted with the pharmacopœia of the Court Doctors of his day.

Sir John appears to have devoted particular attention to the ever-prevalent English malady of consumption. Amongst the foregoing nostrums will be found one compounded of Malaga, with various herbs scraped and sliced, “that hath done great wonders,” enhanced by the fact “that it cost y<sup>o</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Probably the Reed sparrow, *Emberiza* *Schoeniclus* of the ornithologists.

<sup>3</sup> Qy. the Siskin. *Fringilla spinus* of Linnaeus. *Carduelis spinus* of Yarrell.

<sup>4</sup> “Spinke, the Challinch.” München. This name, still current in Lancashire, is derived from the call note of the bird.

<sup>5</sup> The sky-lark. *Corydalis: Κορυθαλλις*.

<sup>6</sup> The Calandra lark. “Calandra seu

*Alanda maxima*” of Aldrovandus, ii. 846. “Grosse alouette ou Calandre” of Bullon, v. 49. Well figured and described in Gould, vol. iii., and in the “Birds of Europe,” by Sharpe and Dresser, pt. 5, July, 1871. The home of this bird, however, is the north of Europe, being most rarely found in England.

Countess of Denbigh 40<sup>th</sup>." It appears, however, that Floyer had even greater reliance on the sovereign virtues of cold water, administered externally. He spared no pains to inculcate on sufferers from rheumatism, nervous disorders, and other maladies, the virtue of cold bathing, and maintained that the prevalence of consumption in this country dated only from the time when baptism by immersion had been discontinued. This remarkable feature in his medical practice brought Floyer into special favour with the Baptists, and their annalist, Crosby, cites repeatedly his "Enquiry into the right use of Baths," and his "Essay to restore the Dipping of Infants," in support of their dogma in regard to the proper administration of the rite. It must not be forgotten that Sir John had faith in the time-honoured practice of having recourse to the Royal Touch; by his advice, it is believed, Dr. Johnson, when an infant, was conveyed to London to benefit by the healing powers of Queen Anne. The identical golden angel suspended by a riband on the occasion by the Queen's hand is now preserved in the British Museum, and has been figured in this Journal, vol. x. p. 198. The belief in such inherent virtue was, however, general amongst the faculty, both in this country and in France. A learned prelate, in a careful examination of such miraculous gifts, quotes the testimony of the Sergeant-Surgeon to Queen Anne, affirming that the facts "cannot be denied without resisting evidence far from contemptible."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Some singular recipes are contained in a small volume kindly brought by Sir Jervoise C. Jervoise, Bart., in illustration of the above subject. It is entitled "La Physique occulte, ou traité de la Baguette Divinatoire," by M. de Vallemont, printed

at Amsterdam in 1693. In the course of the work the author speaks of the wonderful cures effected by Robert Flud, a "savant Anglois," by a process of transplantation which de Vallemont evidently favoured.

#### THE LATE EARL OF DUNRAVEN.

THE late Earl of Dunraven was an early and active member of this Institute, and for some years a member of its Council. He died at Great Malvern, in October, 1871.

Edwin Richard Wyndham Windham Quin, third Earl of Dunraven and Mount Earl (1822), Viscount Mount Earl (1816), Viscount Adare (1822), Baron Adare (1800), Irish honours ; Baron Kenry (1866), and a Baronet (1781), Imperial honours ; Knight of St. Patrick, Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Limerick, and a Commissioner of National Education in Ireland ; was born at Adare Manor, co. Limerick, 19th May, 1812, the eldest son of Windham Henry, second Earl of Dunraven, by Caroline, daughter and sole heiress of Thomas Wyndham, of Dunraven Castle, in Glamorgan, and Clearwell Court, co. Gloucester. He was educated at Eton, and at Trinity College, Dublin, where he was a pupil of the late Sir Wm. Hamilton. While in Dublin, he resided for two years in the Observatory, and became a practised astronomical observer. His taste for that science led to an intimacy with Dr. Robinson, of Armagh, Lord Rosse, and Mr. Cooper, of Mackree ; but his astronomical studies somewhat affected his eyesight, and were, in consequence, laid aside. In 1831, however, he became a Fellow of the Astronomical Society, and not long before his death he attended, with much interest, the construction of the great telescope for the Melbourne Observatory.

Lord Dunraven was a man of very good abilities and remarkable industry, the fruits of which were apparent in the great variety of his attainments. He was conversant with both literature and science ; exceedingly fond of several branches of natural history, and a good botanist and geologist. He was also an accomplished man ; fond of the arts, and especially of music ; a good converser, and very popular in

society. He was a great lover of fine scenery, and had a keen appreciation of the beauties of nature.

In 1831, he became a Member of the Royal Irish Academy, on the Council of which he afterwards served, and was a Vice-President. In 1834, he became a Fellow of the Royal, and, in 1837, of the Royal Geographical Society. In the latter year he contested Glamorgan, as Lord Adare, and was returned at the head of the poll.

Among his early geological friends were some who, like Dean Conybeare, were also advanced students in archæology, and to this pursuit, then in its infancy, Lord Adare also paid great attention, which was much encouraged by his acquaintance with Dr. Petrie, who ever after remained one of his most attached friends. His regard for Petrie was, no doubt, much strengthened by the part they took, in 1840, in the formation of the Irish Archæological Society; and, indeed, to know Petrie intimately was necessarily to love him.

In 1843, Lord Adare, in common with many eminent Irishmen, united to remonstrate with the Government for their ill-timed parsimony in stopping the Irish Ordnance Survey, as then conducted, and he took a lead in forcing upon Sir Robert Peel the appointment of a commission of inquiry into the question. Upon this commission he sat, and took an active part in the composition of their very able report. In 1845, he joined in founding the Celtic Society, and took a lively interest in the publication of the Irish historical records, of which 'The Annals of the Four Masters' was dedicated to him by O'Donovan, as was the 'History of the Ancient Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland,' by Dr. Petrie. Such of his time as was not absorbed by his public duties he gave up to the study of Irish antiquities, both in the field and in the closet, and this led him to visit the earlier ecclesiastical architectural remains of France and Italy, and especially of Ravenna.

In 1849, the Cambrian Archæological Society met at Cardiff, and Lord Adare presided. The meeting was an exceptionally good one. Those who took part in it and yet survive, are not likely to forget the combination of profound learning, with Irish wit and humour, brought to bear upon the antiquities of Glamorgan by Dr. Todd, Dr. Graves, and the other eminent men who came over from the sister island to do honour to the President.

In 1851, Lord Adare retired from Parliament, and though an occasional visitor at his mother's house of Dunraven, he took little share in county or, indeed, in public business, until the death of his father, in 1850, which was followed by his own elevation to the British Peerage in 1866.

Lord Dunraven contributed largely to an account of Adare, and of the very remarkable objects of antiquity, ecclesiastical and military, contained within its demesne and immediate neighbourhood. The volume, entitled 'Memorials of Adare,' was in part written, and privately printed, by his mother, in 1865. Her son's part in it is a pattern of what such histories should be. The descriptions and family details are minute, but they are treated, as far as possible, rather as a chapter in the history of the country, than as a piece of local topography or family genealogy.

In 1866, died Dr. Petrie, whose loss fell heavily upon Lord Dunraven, than whom no one more thoroughly appreciated or was more completely in accord with that most amiable and excellent man, as much beloved in private as he was respected in public life.

Upon Dr. Petrie's death, Lord Dunraven, with other friends, formed a committee for the better sale of his collections and for the publication of his hitherto unpublished writings. In this he took a very great interest, and finally he decided to take upon himself the completion of Dr. Petrie's 'Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland,' and in the execution of this purpose he was engaged four years in visiting various parts of that country and causing photographs to be made of the chief remains, and in taking measurements and making plans, often with his own hand. This labour of love he did not live to accomplish; but, by his will, he left a considerable sum for the publication of the photographs, proposing thus to shed light upon the early ecclesiastical remains of his country and upon some of the most remarkable of the prehistoric forts. The care of this work he is understood to have bequeathed to his accomplished friend, Miss Stokes, whose editing of Dr. Petrie's 'Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language,' proves her competence well to discharge the trust laid upon her.

In 1869, Lord Dunraven was again President of the Cambrian Archaeological Association, which then met at Bridgend. This was his last appearance in his own county, and, indeed,



his last public appearance anywhere. It was an occasion the more remarkable, and the more affectionately remembered by the more intimate friends of his family, that it was also the last occasion on which his mother, the venerable Countess, received at Dunraven. The house was filled with their friends, and while Lord Dunraven took the labouring oar and arranged and accompanied the excursions, his mother was able to appear and to welcome those who came, with that happy blending of dignity and kindness which upon her sat so naturally and became her so well.

The duty of an Archæological President in the field is not altogether an easy one. He should himself be an archæologist, and well acquainted with the history and details of the monuments of his district. Also he should make himself more or less acquainted with the various members of the congress, and especially with those who are strangers, so as to be able to say a courteous word upon occasion, to take part in the local discussions, and by the exercise of a gentle and scarcely perceived pressure, keep all within the bounds of time, space, and temper.

These duties Lord Dunraven discharged admirably. Nature had given him a courteous manner, a kindly and unselfish disposition, and an excellent temper, to which he had added, by study, a sound knowledge not only of the antiquities of the district, but of those of Ireland and many parts of the Continent, so that he was not only a popular President, but to the accuracy of a local antiquary he added the breadth of view of a sound comparative archæologist.

The address he delivered at Bridgend was excellent of its kind and exactly what was wanted. By it he introduced the strangers to the district, gave them a good general notice of what they were to see, and thus showed them how to employ their time, often necessarily brief, to the best advantage.

Lord Dunraven accepted, in 1871, the office of President of a Section, and fully intended taking an active part in the proceedings of the Royal Archæological Institute at the Cardiff meeting. This, however, his increasing weakness forbade; but he read, with much pleasure, the accounts of the meetings, and wrote to some of those who took part in it on what had passed.

Lord Dunraven discharged honestly and fairly such public duties as his rank and position placed before him, but his

character was one suited rather for private than public life. It is difficult to say whether he shone most as a friend or as a companion. As a companion, he was almost without his equal; his information was so general, so various, so accurate, and so ready. He knew something on most subjects and a good deal on many, and what he knew he knew well. Moreover, he brought his knowledge to bear without the least assumption of superiority, and with a vast deal of fun and humour, and never a trace of harshness or ill-nature. As a friend, he was thorough and true; always pleasant, but also always honest and sincere. Indeed, any notice of his character would be very imperfect that did not mention his love of truth, which was a very salient part of it. His mind seemed incapable of exaggeration. However deeply he felt—and upon many subjects he felt very deeply indeed,—he never distorted facts nor availed himself of unfair arguments. Very free from all impurity of thought or word, ever acting and speaking under a strong sense of religion; firm in his own religious opinions, very tolerant of those of others. Few men were more beloved by those admitted to his friendship, for his was eminently a loveable nature.

Lord Dunraven married, first, Augusta, third daughter of Thomas Gould, a Master in Chancery, who died 1867, leaving the present Earl and several daughters. He married, second Anne, daughter of the late Henry Lambert, Esq., of Carnagh, M.P. for Wexford County in 1833, by whom he left no issue, and who survives him.

## Original Documents.

### SELECTIONS FROM THE MUNIMENTS OF LORD SCARSDALE.

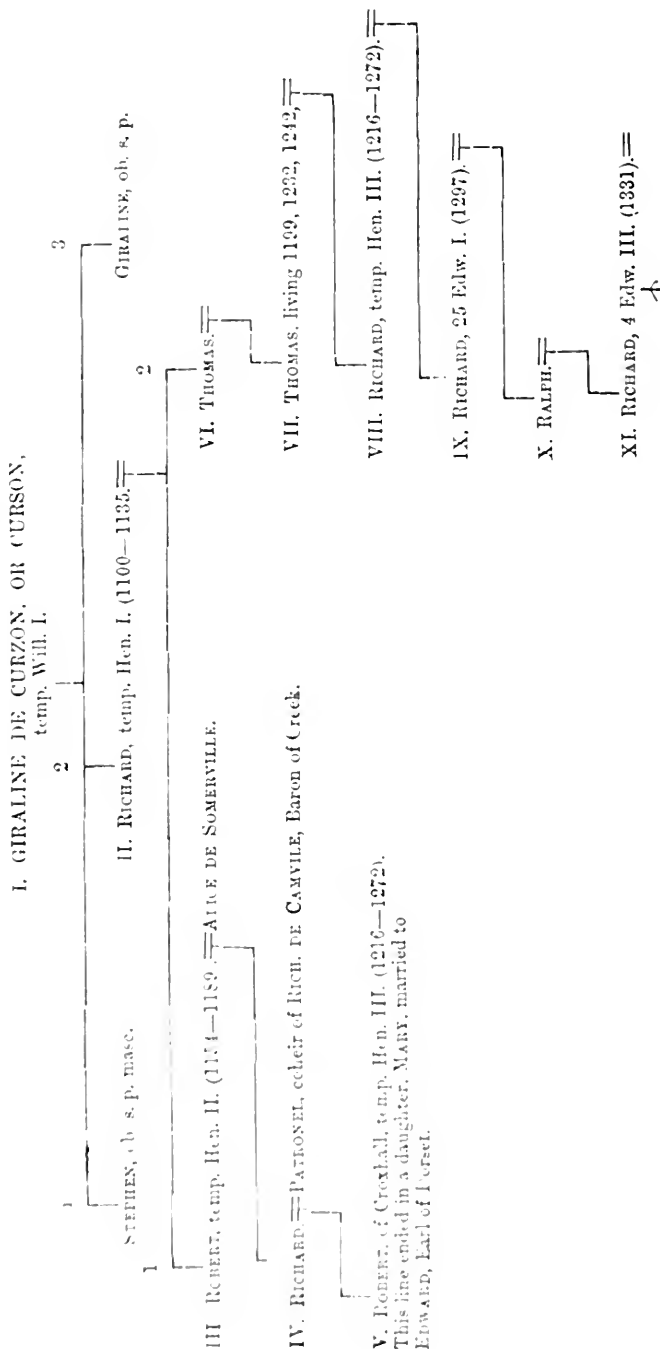
By the kind permission of the Lord Scarsdale we are enabled to publish some of his ancient deeds. A brief statement of the early history of the family seems necessary for the purpose of explaining who were the parties to those deeds, and also to correct some errors which occur in Collins' Peerage. The annexed Pedigree, with the numbers affixed to each name, will assist the following statement.

Giraline de Curzon or Curson (I.), the ancestor of this noble family, came into England with the Conqueror, and had the manor of Lockinge, and divers other lands in Berkshire and Oxfordshire, granted to him. He had three sons; Stephen, the eldest, succeeded to the estates in Berkshire and Oxfordshire, and had the manor of Fauld in Staffordshire granted to him by William Earl Ferrars. He died without issue male, and so did Giraline, the third son.

Richard (II.), the second son, held four knights' fees in Croxhall, Kedleston, Twyford, and Edinhale, in the reign of Henry I. (1100—1135). He was succeeded by his son Robert (III.), who lived in the reign of Henry II. (1154—1189), and had a son Richard (IV.), who had issue Robert (V.), whose line terminated in an heir female, Mary, who married Edward Sackville, Earl of Dorset.

Richard (II.) had a second son Thomas (VI.), and he had a son Thomas (VII.), who had issue Richard (VIII.), living in the reign of Henry III. (1216—1272), and he had issue another Richard (IX.), who, according to Collins, held the fourth part of a knight's fee in Kedleston in 25 Edw. I. (1297). His son Ralph (X.) was the father of Richard (XI.), who held three parts of a knight's fee in Kedleston in 4 Edward III. (1331), and from him the present Lord Scarsdale is lineally descended as heir male.

As the first deed here given was made in the 10th Richard I., and is a grant by Richard de Curzon to Thomas, the son of Thomas de Curzon, it is plain that the Richard here mentioned was Richard (IV.), and that Thomas (VII.), the son of Thomas (VI.), was the grantee of that deed, and that the grantor and grantee were first cousins. Croxhall, Kedleston, Twyford, and Edinhale were held by Earl Ferrars in the time of Domesday, and the second deed shows that Kedleston had been granted by one of the Earls Ferrars to one of the Curzons; for it shows that Richard, the releasor of that deed, held immediately from the then Earl Ferrars; and as Richard (II.), his grandfather, held Croxhall, Kedleston, Twyford, and Edinhale, the inference is that that Richard was the grantee of those manors from the then Earl Ferrars.



The parish and manor of Kedleston now contain about 1,000 acres, of which 580 are in the Park ; but it may, perhaps, admit of doubt whether the vill of Kedleston did not contain a greater quantity of land when the first deed was executed.

As far as any deeds exist, and as far as is known, the estate granted by the first deed has never been divided ; and consequently the statements of Collins that Richard (IX.) held the fourth part of a knight's fee, and that Richard (XI.) held three parts of a knight's fee, would appear to be incorrect.

Several things in the first deed, which was executed in 1198 or 1199, are worthy of notice. "*Villa*," in our law and in our ancient deeds, has two different meanings. Among the Saxons it denoted an estate in the country, with suitable buildings, into which the produce of the estate might be carried ; the word being formed from "*vehilla*, quod in eam convehantur fructus." This is, no doubt, the original meaning of the word, and hence came the name *villanus*, a villain, which originally denoted a person living in a vill, and had no degrading meaning ; but in course of time was applied to designate the bondsmen of the lord of a manor, and, as they were of a low and vile condition, it ultimately came to be applied to any low, degraded, or vicious person. *Villa*, in the sense we have described, is common in our old deeds, and is frequently used as equivalent to a manor. Thus, in a grant by Queen Elizabeth, Sir Henry Curwen is styled "*dominus ville et manerii de Workington*." And there can be no doubt that in this deed *villa* has the meaning referred to. A subsequent deed in 1410 grants "*manerium nostrum de Ketilstone cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, simul cum advocacione ecclesie ejusdem ville* ;" where *villa* and *manerium* are plainly used as denoting the same thing. And in the Domesday Survey Kedleston is described as a manor.

The more modern meaning of *villa*, according to Spelman, is "*plurium mansionum connectio*," and, according to others, it must consist "*de pluribus mansionibus et vicinis*." We have a deed, in which the terms "*in villa et campis de Leek*" are used ; where *villa* is plainly used as applied to the part of Leek covered with buildings, in contradistinction to the country part. The terms village or town best represent *villa* in this sense.

The solemnity of the execution of the first deed here given is remarkable. First we have four judges, Hugh Bardolf (a judge in the time of Henry II., Richard I., and John), Roger Arundel (a justice itinerant in the time of Richard I. and John), Philip Fitz Robert (a justice itinerant in the time of Richard I.), and Geoffry Haket, alias Haget (a judge in the time of Richard I.). Then come other barons and lieges of the king then present, and as we understand this deed, none of these are named ; for if this description had been intended to apply to the persons afterwards named, it would have followed after them, in the same way as "*Justices of our Lord the King*" follows after the judges previously named. Then come certain persons who are named, and lastly many others unnamed.

The deed is really undated, the time mentioned referring to the time when the judges were at Nottingham, which is the 10th Rich. I. This year extended from July 6, 1198, to April 6, 1199, and the deed may have been executed at any time between those dates. We have

tried in vain to find any account of such an assembly at Nottingham as the deed implies. In Burke's *Extinct Peerage* it is stated that the sixth Earl Ferrars, on the return of Richard I. to England, assisted at the siege of Nottingham, and sat with the rest of the peers in the great Council held at the Castle of Nottingham in the following March. This shows that Parliaments were held there, and we should infer that the deed was executed at a Parliament, and, as the king is not mentioned as witnessing the deed, the inference is that he was not present. We believe Richard was not in England at any time during the last year of his reign.

The second deed, which probably was executed not long after the first, as the parties to it are the same, affords a good illustration of the ancient tenure of lands by knight service. To make a tenure by that service a certain quantity of land was necessary, and this was called a knight's fee, and the first deed is an instance of the grant of such a fee; for Kedleston was to be held "per servitium unius militis." The tenure of knight service drew after it (amongst other things) Aids. Now aids were originally merely benevolences voluntarily given by the tenant to his lord in times of difficulty and distress; but in course of time they grew into a matter of right. They were of three kinds—1st, to ransom the lord, if taken prisoner; 2nd, to make the lord's eldest son a knight; and 3rd, to marry the lord's eldest daughter by providing her a suitable portion. Now this deed shows that Earl Ferrars was entitled to an aid from Richard de Curzon to make his son a knight and to marry his eldest daughter, and that, in like manner, Richard de Curzon was entitled to a precisely similar aid from Thomas. These are clearly treated as matters of right arising from the tenure. But the deed further shows that Thomas had previously furnished an aid to Richard when Richard was called upon to furnish an aid to the Earl. Now this was clearly a voluntary act on the part of Thomas; for his tenure only bound him to furnish an aid to Richard to make his son a knight, and to marry his daughter, and in no way bound him so to do to the Earl. This deed, therefore, is an instance of aids rendered both as a matter of right and voluntarily.

The third deed, which is dated in 1313, also is well worthy of notice. A lord of a manor may lawfully enclose so much of the waste in the manor as he pleases for tillage or wood ground, provided he leave sufficient common for those who are entitled to it. This is called *apportionment*, which is an old word, signifying improvement.<sup>1</sup> And instead of enclosing the waste himself, the lord may grant so many acres of the waste as he thinks fit to another, and then the latter may enclose them.<sup>2</sup> This deed recites a grant of forty acres of waste by Henry de Irton, Lord of Irton, to William de Irton, with the intention that William should enclose them. But if the lord, or his grantee, enclose so much as to leave insufficient common in the residue, any commoner may break down the whole inclosure;<sup>3</sup> and hence it is that this deed provides that, if any one having right of common prevents William de Irton from enclosing or keeping enclosed the land granted to him, Henry de Irton will be bound in a bond for fifty marks to William de Irton, in order to indemnify him against any such interruption.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Bl. Com. 31.  
<sup>2</sup> 2 Coke Inst. 57.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Coke Inst. 88.

The feoffment recited in this deed still remains in Lord Scarsdale's possession; but it is of thirty-four, and not of forty, acres of land, and they are set out by metes and bounds, and instead of "ex dimissione," it is "ex dono et feoffamento, Ade de Meygnill," and the land is to be held "ad fossandum claudendum et omnibus temporibus anni inclusas tenendum." This shows that the inclosure was to be made by William de Irton.

The last deed, which was executed between 1100 and 1135, may interest some persons, as it is, perhaps, the oldest deed in existence that was executed by a Byron.

Its form is remarkable. The deed shows that Henry, the son of Fulcher, held a fief or parcel of land in Weston of Roger de Buron by fealty and a certain rent, and that Roger released Henry from five shillings a year of that rent, so that (ut) he shall pay these five shillings to the Canons of Derby. Whether these words created a condition, so that Henry would not be released from the payment to Roger unless he paid the rent to the Canons, may well be doubted; for it is expressly laid down that the conjunction *ut*, with a verb following, is not a condition.<sup>4</sup>

Again, the deed says that Henry shall do fealty to the Canons; but the Canons had no interest in the fief or the rent issuing out of it, for there is no grant of either to them, and therefore fealty could not be due to them.

The "Cestria" here mentioned was probably a manor close to Derby, now called Little Chester, where there was a Roman camp. It may be inferred from the direction of this deed that it was executed at a time when a Great Council was held at Nottingham. At the time of the Domesday Survey, Ralph de Buron held the manor of Weston and four other manors in Derbyshire, and he was probably the father of the Roger who executed this deed; but Collins gives the name of Hugh to the son and grandson of Ralph:<sup>5</sup>

Collins' statement is that to the Ralph of Domesday "succeeded Hugh de Buron, who in the 9th of Stephen, together with Hugh his son and heir, gave to Lenton Abbey the church of Oscinton, about which there was a dispute in the 7th Richard I. with the prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, when the prior of Lenton produced the grant of the said Hugh, and the prior of the Hospital of St. John that of Roger de Buron, by which he gave to that house the town of Oscinton, with the appurtenances, whereupon no judgment was given, because the prior of Lenton's attorney knew not whether he should put his case to an issue before he had his client's direction."

Now I observe, 1. That the deed of Hugh is after *our* deed, and after the time of Hen. I.

2. The deed of Roger could be no answer to that deed, unless it was executed before the deed of Hugh, and whilst Hugh owned the estate. It, therefore, shows that Roger was seised in fee *before* Hugh, and the only way that could be would be that he succeeded as heir to Ralph, and was either the elder brother or the father of Hugh.

It seems, however, that the record on which Collins relies, as stated by himself, proves the contrary. He says there was a dispute between the

<sup>4</sup> Dyer, 133 (b).

<sup>5</sup> See Placita apud Westm. A. 7 R. 1.

Rot. xi., Prior of St. John of Jerusalem's case.

prior of Lenton and the prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, in the 7th Richard I., about the church of Oscinton, and that the prior of Lenton produced the grant of that church by Hugh de Buron in the 9th Stephen, and that the prior of St. John produced the grant of Roger de Buron, by which he gave to that house the town of Oscinton. No judgment was given; but it is clear that the grant of Roger was produced as a defence, and it could only have been a defence if the grant was made by Roger, whilst he owned the estate, and before the grant of Hugh. The inference, therefore, is, that Roger owned the estate before Hugh; and, as the estate no doubt descended from Ralph, the inference is, that Roger was the son of Ralph, and either the father or elder brother of Hugh. And the grant we have given by Roger in the time of Henry I. quite coincides with this view; as it shows that at that time Roger owned some (and probably the whole) of the estates, and therefore might have owned Oscinton and made the grant of it before 9th Stephen.

C. S. G.

No. 1.

Ricardus de Curzum omnibus hominibus et amicis suis salutem. Sciatis me reddisse<sup>6</sup> et concessisse et recognovisse Thome, filio Thome de Curzum, totam villam de Ketelestune, cum advocacione ecclesie, et cum molendino, et cum omnibus aliis pertinentiis, que pertinent ad predictam villam de Ketelestune, tenendam de me et heredibus meis, ille et heredes sui<sup>7</sup> libere et quiete ab omni servitio per servitium unius militis: salvo forinseco servitio, et inde homagium suum mihi fecit. His testibus, Hugone Bardolf, magistro Rogero Arundel, Philippo filio Roberti, Galfrido Haket, Justiciarius Domini Regis apud Nottingham, anno decimo regni Regis Ricardi, et aliis Baronibus et fidelibus Domini Regis ibidem tunc presentibus, Willielmo filio Walkeline, Johanne de Bosherville, Willielmo de Rideware, Symone de Tuschet, Roberto filio Walkeline, Willielmo de Godintone, Philippo de Derbi, Henrico Decano, et pluribus aliis.

Appended is a fragment of a large seal, on which is the imperfect figure of the upper part of a man with a helmet on, and portion of the legend "Sigillum." The deed is in a very good state of preservation.

No. 2.

Notum sit omnibus Christi fidelibus, ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, quod ego Ricardus de Curzum condonavi et quietum clamavi Thome de Curzum de Kettlestone, auxilium quod mihi debuit ad filium meum primogenitum militem faciendum, que ad primogenitam filiam meam maritandam, de tenemento quod de me tenet; scilicet propter auxilium, quod fecit mihi ad primogenitum filium domini Comitis de Ferraviis militem faciendum, que ad primogenitam filiam suam maritandam. Ut autem litere iste rate et inconcusse permanent, sigilli mei impressione eas coroboravi. His testibus, Radulpho filio Nicholai,

<sup>6</sup> *3.c.*, pro reddidisse.

<sup>7</sup> *Sic*, pro sibi et heredibus suis.



Senescaldo<sup>s</sup> Domini Comitis tunc temporis, Radulpho de Bakepuz, Nicholao de Chambris, Thoma persona de Croxhale, Roberto Forestario, Galfrido Albo, Thoma Bussun et multis aliis.

The seal of this deed is gone, but the deed is in very good preservation.

## No. 3.

Memorandum quod die Dominica proxima post festum sancti Nicholai Episcopi, anno regni Regis Edwardi, filii regis Edwardi, sexto, ita convenit inter Henricum de Irtone, dominum de Irtone, ex parte una, et Willielmum de Irtone, fratrem dicti Henrici, ex parte altera, videlicet, quod predictus Henricus feoffavit dictum Willielmum et Philippam, uxorem ejus, de quadraginta acris terre vasti sui de Westone, in excambium omnium terrarum et tenementorum reddituum, cum suis pertinentiis, que idem Willielmus habuit ex dimissione Ade de Meygnill, clerici, in villa de Totinleye, sine aliquo retenemento; tali sensu, videlicet, quod si contingat dictos Willielmum et Philippam, uxorem ejus, per aliquem communem pasture in predicto vasto habentem a die confectionis presentium infra duodecim annos proximo sequentes per rigorem legis impediri, quo predictas quadraginta acras vasti in culturam redigere non poterunt, nec eas tenere approviatas, extunc concessit dictus Henricus pro se et heredibus suis teneri dictis Willielmo de Irtone et Philippe, uxori sue, et eorum heredibus, in quinquaginta marcis argenti, de quibus dictus Henricus fecit dictis Willielmo et Philippe, uxori sue, scriptum suum obligatorium, quod quidem scriptum traditur Willielmo Morel de Falde, in equali manu custodiendum sub hac forma, quod statim post hujusmodi impedimentum dictis Willielmo et Philippe, uxori sue, de predictis quadraginta acris vasti in forma predicta factum, dictum scriptum obligatorium sibi vel heredibus suis liberetur, et in omnibus teneat robur suum. Et si predicti Willielmus et Philippa, uxor ejus, infra duodecim annos predictos de approviamento predictarum quadraginta acrarum vasti non impediuntur, vel dictus Henricus communicantibus in predicto vasto prius pro predictis quadraginta acris in culturam tenendis satisfecerit, extunc dictum scriptum obligatorium sit nullius (*sic*) momenti vel valoris, et predicto Henrico vel heredibus suis liberetur et omnino annihiletur. In cujus rei testimonium parti istius scripti penes alterum residentem uterque partium (*sic*) sigillum suum apposuit. Datum apud Irtone die et anno supradictis.

The seal to this deed is gone, but the deed is in a good state of preservation.

## No. 4.

Benedicto Regi Anglorum Henrico et omnibus hominibus castellarie de Notingham, et omnibus hominibus suis, Francis et Anglis, Rogerus de Buron salutem. Sciatis me clamasse quietum Henricum filium Fuleheri et heredes suos a me et ab heredibus meis de quinque solidis singulis annis de redditu meo de Westona, ut ipse persolvat et heredes sui hos quinque solidos singulis annis Canonicis de Derbi. Et sicuti

<sup>s</sup> Sic, 1 ro senescallo.

debet esse fidelis mihi de feodo meo, ita Canonicis sancte Marie de Derbi sit fidelis et fidem faciat de his quinque solidis singulis annis solvendis. Testibus Alano et Henrico decanis, et Rogero de Cestria, et Radulpho de Breideshale, Petro de Sandihere, et Patricio Rosel, et Alberto de Orsele, et David de Stantune, et Willicipo filio Colling, et Walehele monetario.

A seal is still appended, but the impression is gone. The deed is in excellent preservation, and not a letter imperfect.

## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

November 3, 1871.

Professor WESTMACOTT, R.A., F.R.S., in the Chair.

AFTER referring to the commencement of a fresh session, the Chairman adverted to the loss the Institute had sustained in the decease of the lamented Earl Dunraven, one who had always taken a lively interest in their proceedings, and contributed greatly to the success of many assemblies by his learning and general knowledge, and by his courtesy and cordial manner in communicating that knowledge to those around him. In Ireland his memory would long be cherished as one who had contributed more than perhaps any of his contemporaries to a right feeling for the preservation of antiquities. By his failing health in the course of last summer the Earl Dunraven had been prevented taking the post he had accepted of President of the Section of Antiquities at the Cardiff meeting, but he had supported all the early arrangements of that meeting most cordially, and contributed much to its success. The Cardiff meeting, it would be remembered, had been one of the most successful that the Institute had ever held. It had been attended by a much larger number than usual of the members of the Institute, and by many influential visitors of the surrounding district; it had been remarkable for the high character of several of the addresses delivered and the memoirs read; still more remarkable for the hearty and generous hospitality displayed on all sides.

The SECRETARY read "Notes on a Sculptured Figure found in Easton Church, Hampshire;" by Mr. Albert Way.

"By the permission of the Rev. Algernon Wodehouse, Rector of Easton, near Winchester, a remarkable sculpture in alabaster, a work of the latter half of the fifteenth century, found in the church of Easton, is brought before the Institute. The pavement in the tower having been taken up, the figure was found deposited a few inches under the floor; it suffered some injury by a blow from the pick-axe, and several small fragments were found, that probably had formed parts of the carving. It will be seen that the figure, a sculpture of considerable merit and expressive character in its design, represents St. John the Baptist, not, however, clad as more usually to be seen, in the shaggy skin of an animal,—'the raiment of camel's hair,'—but in a long robe and mantle, the former girt around the waist with the leathern girdle, as mentioned in the Gospels.

"The Precursor here appears with the Holy Lamb placed upon a book, on his left arm, and with his right hand he points towards the sacred

symbol, as commonly to be seen in other representations in accordance with his testimony,—‘Behold the Lamb of God.’

“The Baptist is usually portrayed of tall, meagre frame, as if wasted by his desert life near the waters of Euon : his hair and beard are usually in disarray, and his scanty garb is a shaggy hide, the head of the animal hanging at his side ; great part of his person, his limbs and breast, are seen uncovered. Such is the characteristic and most ancient type, derived, it is probable, from the artists of the Greek school ; it is often grandly severe and even majestic : in later middle-age art, the love of beauty and grace in design prevailed, and the figure of the Precursor assumes a more benign and Apostolic character : a long mantle sometimes shrouds the conventional raiment of skin ; sometimes this last, as in the example under consideration, is altogether superseded by a flowing robe reaching almost to the feet. The proportions of the figure are commonly, as in the sculpture, of unusually tall and attenuated character : the familiar symbol is constantly the Lamb, usually placed on the Book of the Gospels, and towards this *Agnus Dei* the Baptist points, as in the figure brought to light at Easton. The long proportions of every part—the head, the taper fingers, the pointed bare feet, the narrow parallel folds of the drapery—all are conformable to the style of a period of art, when there was much skill in expression, rather than perfect knowledge of the principles of design. At the same time, if we were disposed to criticise severely the somewhat exaggerated lengthiness of the figure before us, it must be remembered that this sculpture was doubtless destined to fill a space in some tall, narrow niche of tabernacle work, on the reredose, it may be, of an altar, or for the enrichment of a shrine. The alabaster still bears traces of vivid opaque colouring : the robe seems to have been yellow ; the lining of the mantle was of brilliant vermilion ; the ground under the feet was green. This painting, even of so ornamental a material as alabaster, was in accordance with the imperfect taste of the period ; it extended occasionally to the lining or inner sides only of the garments, the grass, or the paved flooring at the feet, and the like, and was not always carried over the entire surface, whilst the margins of the dress were sometimes edged or diapered with gilding. It has been observed that the feet are bare, in precise accordance with the practice in portraying sacred personages, and even our Lord himself ; this usage, that probably may be traced to the Greek school, was doubtless significant. In the times to which the figure from Easton may be ascribed, it was no longer invariably observed ; it may have betokened that the ground was holy whereon they trod ; in the case of the Precursor it may have been thought suitable to his ascetic life in the wilderness, whilst, again, he who said of himself that he was unworthy to unloose the latchets on the feet of the Saviour, might well be portrayed with such token of his humility as uncovered feet.

“The draped figure, in ancient representations of St. John the Baptist, is, as has been pointed out, comparatively unusual, but by no means without precedent.

“In a MS. Evangelary, in the Vatican, ascribed to the twelfth century, there is an illumination that portrays the Baptism of our Lord in Jordan ; he is seen divested of his garments, which are held by attendant angels ; the Baptist appears pouring the water upon the Saviour’s head. St. John is clothed in a long flowing robe and mantle, without any of the

peculiar features of dress by which he is usually characterised. This specimen of early art of the Greek school has been given by Cicognara, in his Treatise on Painting.

“Another representation of the Baptism, treated in like manner, has been given in the History of our Lord, commenced by the late Mrs. Jameson and completed by Lady Eastlake. In the first volume, p. 295, will be found the subject in question, from a MS. at Bologna, of the thirteenth century. St. John here appears in long flowing garments, the skirt of his mantle floating in the wind to a considerable distance from his person, according to the conventional mode of treating the draperies at the period. In the general details this illumination bears much resemblance to that above mentioned, from the Vatican MS.

“In another example, an Italian painting on a triptych of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, likewise to be found in the great series selected by Cicognara, the Baptist may be seen in ample garments; the figure is very long and meagre in its proportions, as in the sculptured figure found at Easton. In one hand he holds a scroll inscribed *Ece Agnus (sic), Dei* (Cicogn. pl. cxij.) The draped figure of the Precursor is familiar in works of the later painters in Italy. Mrs. Jameson gives an example in a painting by Verrochio, in the Academy at Florence (History of Our Lord, vol. i. p. 297).

“A question of considerable interest may be suggested in regard to the sculpture for which the Institute is indebted to Mr. Wodehouse, namely, at what place, or under the influence of what class and school of artificers were such decorations destined for altars and for shrine work executed. Numerous small tablets of alabaster have been noticed and figured in archaeological works, and of these several have been brought before the Institute, in which various figures of saints are found introduced, mostly as accompaniments of a peculiar subject that has been regarded sometimes as the *vernicle*, or the *verum icon*, the head of our Lord, but which appears undoubtedly intended to represent the severed head of St. John the Baptist in a charger—the *caput Johannis in disco*—a subject of frequent occurrence in various works of an ornamental character, and amongst these upon seals and personal appliances. It may be here remarked that certain objects of this description have been regarded, it is believed with much probability, as having been associated with some special feeling of veneration connected with the *cultus* of St. John the Baptist.

“It may deserve notice that in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland there is a figure of the Baptist, carved in limestone, that bears resemblance to that at Easton in some features of its design,—the stern aspect of the countenance, the long hair, draped dress and bare feet. It was dredged up from the bottom of the Firth of Forth. It is rough and hollowed at the back, and perforated at the bottom, as if for fixing it on a peg, in a niche, or the like. This figure appears to be seated: in the left hand is the Agnus, upon a square object, possibly a book, and with the right the Precursor points towards the sacred symbol. This curious relie is figured in the Proceedings of the Society, vol. vii. p. 397.”

After some comments by Mr. J. G. WALLER and the Rev. GREVILLE CHESTER, the CHAIRMAN remarked that the sculpture was certainly not English work but perhaps Flemish or Italian. There was great beauty in

the hands and head, more so than in English work; and at the same time that elongated style which it was difficult to understand. The faulty proportions would perhaps be accounted for by such figures being frequently placed very high above the eye of the beholder. Beautiful as Gothic architecture was, it was deficient in art, and the accessories were bad; the best style lasted but a short time, and in none of the styles was the sculpture good. The Easton figure was probably the work of a travelling Italian artist of the Pisani school.

The following translation of a letter that had been transmitted to the Institute from Yecla, an ancient town in the province of Murcia, was then submitted to the meeting:—

“YECLA, the 1st Sept., 1871.

“Gentlemen of the Archaeological Society,—About a year ago, in the neighbourhood of this town, I had the good fortune to find a great treasure for science, since the objects are fragments of statues of ordinary stone, and also various figures in metal and lead, various white arms (*weapons*) in metal and in iron, as well as various medals or coins, very rare. I forward photographs of those that I have in my collection.

“I have repeatedly submitted them to the Archaeological Academy of Madrid, and the gentlemen composing it state that they are objects of great value, since they belong to the time of the Phœnicians; and also, in addition to these circumstances, I am unable to state how far a small amount would go to cover the expenses of making excavations. Besides, there are many curious persons who present themselves to purchase the said objects, and my desire is to sell them all together. Besides these objects, I wish to offer you a variety of articles in glass and pottery, of great rarity; and, moreover, I have to offer to you a number of pictures, painted in oil on linen, wood, and copper.

“I should suggest that you should determine to take all that is in my possession for the same very reasonable price that the antiquaries of this country would give, who do not know how to value any archaeological object. Further, if you assent to take the whole that I possess, I give you my word of honour not to dispose of one article hereafter to the antiquaries of this country, since all my wish is to make excavations, and search for the treasures concealed under the ground.

“I hope that you will take the trouble to answer me, if it should be possible to follow this up, and that I may determine how to proceed; and if it is a proposition that suits your purpose, you may send an intelligent person capable of appreciating the valuable objects that are to be found in this house. And herewith I offer to place myself at your commands, and subscribe myself, &c., &c.,

“VICENTE JUAN Y ARNAZ.

“The direction is in Spain,—Yecla, Province of Murcia.

“To the Gentlemen of the Academy of Archaeology and History in London: Yugalaterra.”

The Rev. J. GREVILLE CHESTER then read “Notes on the Ancient Christian Churches of Mus'r el Ateyah, and its Neighbourhood.” This was illustrated by the exhibition of rubbings from some of the carved wood-work in these churches. The CHAIRMAN remarked upon the singular

style of art displayed in these Coptic churches. This memoir will be given in a future number of this Journal.

The SECRETARY then read an "Account of a Block of Tin, dredged up in Falmouth Harbour, and now in the Museum of Truro;" by Major-General Sir Henry James, R.E., Director of the Ordnance Survey (printed in vol. xxviii. p. 196). Sir E. SMIRKE remarked that the writer's suggestion of the peculiar form of the block was very ingenious, as no block had been made of that shape for the last five hundred years, but he could not so readily assent to the latter part of the memoir that St. Michael's Mount was the "Vectis" of the Romans. It would present a good subject for discussion at the Southampton meeting.

#### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. R. P. COATES.—An Abyssinian Cross, entrusted to him for exhibition by the Rev. H. Morland Austen, Rector of Crayford, in the church of which parish it is kept. The recent history of this Cross is soon told. It was brought to England by one of the chaplains to the forces sent against Magdala (Rev. Mr. Fennell), and presented by him to the Church of St. Paulinus, Crayford. This may seem a very unsuitable object of "loot," and Mr. Coates observed that he was happy to be able to explain, on the testimony of Professor Wright, confirmed by the Rev. H. A. Stern, that its appearance in this country is not due to plundering of churches—at first hand at least—for the fact is that King Theodore had plundered many, and kept the sacred vessels, &c., in his palace, under pretence of a vow to found a magnificent cathedral, of which, however, only the meanest instalments were visible. Our soldiers looted the palace, and thus these things came first into their hands, then into those of others. Of the antiquity of the Cross Mr. Coates was unable to speak confidently: the best judges are not disposed to refer it to a date earlier than the beginning of the last century, pronouncing the ornamentation to be in the main Western, and derived from the Portuguese missionaries, probably through rude wood-cuts. The same date must be assigned to the other Crosses in the British Museum, and to most of the MSS. Were the work indeed Oriental in origin it might be carried back, in design at least, much further, perhaps—such is the persistence of Eastern traditions—five hundred years, just as the Russian eikons of the present day exactly represent their Byzantine prototypes.

The Cross itself has a kind of scroll underneath, of rather coarser workmanship seemingly, on each side of which are eight seraphim with wings open and closed alternately. This scroll is fastened to the Cross, and the socket for the pole, also of late and coarse character, by plain pieces of brass and eight rivets, some of copper. On what may be called the obverse of the Cross, in the upper limb is engraved a figure of our Lady with the Divine Child seated on her lap, holding out His right hand with the gesture of blessing (Western form?) and having in His left a book. Both have rayed nimbs. On the Virgin's right shoulder is a star, and underneath something which has been conjectured to be a string of amulets.

On the right arm of the Cross is the decollation of St. John the Baptist (or perhaps St. George, a favourite Æthiopic saint), a kneeling figure, with arms and feet bound, and his head already severed by a negro with a scimitar; behind him is what has been considered to be a palace: in

the centre is an angel receiving the head in a napkin; and on the left arm of the Cross a representation perhaps of the Almighty Father, with rayed nimbus, in clouds receiving the soul (*t*) in a napkin, whilst below are crowned figures of five negro (wicked) princes in flames of purgatory (*l*) praying to Him.

On the reverse, so to speak, and in the upper limb of the Cross, is the most interesting figure of all—a saint martyred by nailing to a tree with some forty nails in all; on his right a negro tormentor with hammer and nail; on his left another with something like pincers; the arms, bound at the wrist, are crossed before his body (as if to avoid an imitation of the Crucifixion) and nailed. Mr. Coates remarked that he had unfortunately failed in all attempts to ascertain the name of the martyr. On the right hand are figures of two saints, one youthful, with the following inscriptions, for the reading and translation of which he had been indebted to the kindness of Dr. Wright, Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge:—“How Walatta Takla-Haimanot took refuge” (with God in prayer) and “How Walda Giyorgis (George) took refuge.” These, as the Rev. H. A. Stern informed Mr. Coates, are the two patron saints of Abyssinia. On the left hand (of the martyr) is a figure of a saint with two other figures behind, about which Mr. Coates would not venture to suggest anything. The inscription on the saint’s robe, as Dr. Wright says, and Mr. Stern agrees, is, “How Walatta-Samuel took refuge” (with God in prayer). Below are two figures, with a humped Abyssinian ox.

By the Rev. RICHARD KIRWAN.—A bronze palstave, from Drewsteignton, Devon. It was found amongst old waste metal at Exeter. It measures  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in. in length, has no side-loop or ear, and weighs 14 oz. A portion of a bronze cake was obtained with it.—Fragments of lathe-made vessels of a peculiar description of ware; from High Peak, Sidmouth.—A small sepulchral vessel, of the class designated “incense cups;” it is pierced on one side with two perforations, about an inch apart from one another; it is of dingy, brown-coloured paste, measuring  $1\frac{3}{8}$  in. in height, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. in diameter; the surface, the flat rim, and the bottom of the cup are wholly covered with corded impressed patterns in zigzag fashion, with circular bands at intervals. It was found in a barrow at Upton Pym, near Exeter, with a bronze dagger, a bronze pin or awl, and a number of small discs of shale, a bugle shaped bead of red clay, three other beads, and part of the stalk of an ennerinite. These had probably been strung as a necklace. A full account of the examination of the barrow is given by Mr. Kirwan in the Transactions of the Devonshire Association, 1871, vol. iv, p. 611.

By Sir J. J. CLARKE-J. J. CLARKE, Bart.—A remarkably perfect bronze palstave, found near Brewlands, Forfarshire, on the property of James Small, Esq., of Dirnanean, Perthshire. A heart shaped object of terra-cotta, dimensions 7 in. by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in., obtained near Brewlands, on the site of an old house. It bears some roughly worked ornament, and had been used as a stand for a flat iron; its date and the purpose for which it was originally intended have not been ascertained. MS. found preserved in a copy of the Book of Common Prayer, printed by Robert Young, Edinburgh, 1637; a bond by Andrew and William Muerief of Perth to others of that place, 15 October, 1636.

By Mr. W. J. BISHARD SMITH. A small iron axe head, found in the



Thames ; it was enclosed in a mass of conglomerate, composed of sand fresh-water shells, and fragments of bone and wood, cemented together by the oxide of iron. On removing this encrustation, a portion of a material, doubtless a hair-cloth tissue, that had evidently been used to fix the helve tightly in the eye of the axe. The microscope has shown that the slight fringe now visible is hair. A strip of this cloth had been wrapped round the end of the helve, and preserved in a remarkable manner by the iron in the conglomerate, the filaments appearing quite fresh when the crust was removed. This axe measures  $5\frac{1}{4}$  in. in length ; the breadth of the cutting edge is rather more than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. In Mr. Roach Smith's collection, now in the British Museum, two nearly similar objects are preserved, that were found in the bed of the Thames off Whitehall and the Temple, respectively. They measure  $6\frac{1}{4}$  in. and 7 in. in length, and are figured in the *Horæ Ferales*, pl. xxvii., figs. 15, 16, with several examples of the iron axe-head from continental museums. Ten of these weapons, of various types, are given by Mr. Hewitt in his *Ancient Armour and Weapons in Europe*, p. 45, pl. vii. The German types have been amply illustrated by Lindenschmit, "*Alterthümer uns. heidn. Vorzeit.*" Band I., Heft II., taf. 2 ; Band II., Heft III., taf. 2. Mr. Franks considers the specimen in Mr. Bernhard Smith's collection to be Danish. Two Danish examples, in the Copenhagen Museum, have been figured by Worsaae, "*Afbildninger,*" figs. 259, 380 ; neither of them, however, similar to that exhibited. Mr. Bernhard Smith possesses a second specimen of slighter proportions, from the bed of the Thames, measuring about  $4\frac{3}{4}$  in. in length. It differs from all the specimens above noticed in having a short blunt projection at the end near the helve, somewhat resembling a small hammer-head.<sup>1</sup>

By the Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER.—An Egypto or Syro-Greek bronze figure of Venus, found at Benha (*Attribis*), in Lower Egypt.

By the Rev. ALGERNON WODEHOUSE.—An alabaster figure of St. John the Baptist ; also some portions of elaborate shrine-work, in the same material, found under the pavement in Easton Church, Hants. ; date, about 1460.

By the Rev. FULLER RUSSELL, B.C.L., F.S.A.—Two alabaster figures, one of them representing St. Christopher, date, about the beginning of the sixteenth century ; the other portrays an abess ; there is no symbol to identify the personage intended ; it appears, however, to be of English work, and is in perfect preservation. Each figure measures about 16 in. in height.

By Mr. W. H. PATTERSON, of Stranstown, Belfast.—Photograph of a sepulchral slab at Killybegs, co. Donegal. It is covered with elaborate and varied ornamental designs, arranged in rectangular panels, and amongst these is introduced a warlike figure, armed with a long-handled axe. There is no inscription or clue to identify the figure. The Mac Sweenys were lords of the district where the slab was originally found, close to their residence, Raham Castle, and local opinion assigns the memorial to one of that family, possibly Owen, who died in 1551, or Niall Mor, 1524. The latter is the more probable date. In one of the panels are seen two figures wrestling ; the character of design is

<sup>1</sup> See also Dr. Hume's Notice of Axes, Antiquities on coast of Cheshire, pp. 301, 303.

peculiar throughout. The memorial is somewhat of the type of the later monumental slabs of the west coast of Scotland.

By Mr. ARTHUR G. GEOGHEGAN.—An oblong tablet of hard brown wood, resembling mahogany, measuring 9 in. by 3 in., and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. in thickness. On two of its sides are certain singular figures boldly carved, with ornaments, and, possibly, inscriptions, somewhat resembling Chinese characters. It has been conjectured that it may be a calendar.—A signet-ring of brass, rudely engraved with an eagle displayed within a dotted circle; possibly to be assigned to the sixteenth century. It was found in the sand-hills close to Dunlow, on the western shore of Donegal, and in immediate vicinity to some rocks where one of the ships of the Invincible Armada was wrecked. The supposition seems probable that it had belonged to some person lost on that occasion.—A French cavalry sword, a relic of some interest on account of the inscription on its blade, as follows:—*Vangeons Le Pere—Sauvons La Mere—et Courrousons Le Dls.* It is supposed to have belonged to an officer of the gallant corps of emigrants who, after the death of Louis XVI., vainly endeavoured to uphold the cause of the Bourbons.

By the Rev. JAMES BECK.—A collar of wood, covered with leather, with bands and angle-mounts of iron, the ends formed with foliated ornaments. Dimensions, 7 in. by 4 in.; depth, 3 in. Probably of English workmanship; date, about 1600.

By the Rev. WILLIAM IAGO, of Bodmin.—A photograph representing an ancient carved oak chest, or hutch, formerly in the parish of Cardynham, Cornwall. This old piece of furniture is formed of portions of carved work of several periods—some pieces being of a decidedly pre-Reformation date, whilst the greater part is in the style of ornament that characterises the *renaissance* found in the sixteenth century. At the ends of the chest there are circular panels containing heads with caps or head-dresses of Tudor fashion, a low-arched crown-like cap, and a jewelled bandeau, or coronet without balls or leaves; such fashions occur in portraitures and designs of the time of Henry VIII., or the like. One of these heads is that of a female; there are two heads, respectant, or facing each other, on each end of the chest. On the front, under the massive lock, will be seen a small piece of carving of earlier date, that represents the enthronement or coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, who is seen between the Supreme Being and the Saviour, the Holy Dove being over her head. Over these figures, which are of smaller proportions than the rest, there are canopies of tabernacle-work, of distinctly Gothic character. On either side of this central compartment there are two female figures, standing; over their heads are round, elaborately-worked arches, like shallow niches, and of decidedly cinquecento style of decoration. The first, on the left, holds a sword in her right hand, and the palm of martyrdom in the left; the second holds a chalice, in which appears the holy wafer; those on the right hold, the first a monstrance, the other a church, that has a pointed spire, and a book. These, Mr. Iago suggested, may have been intended to represent St. Catherine, St. Barbara, St. Clare, and St. Withburga. In regard, however, to this attribution of the figures in question, and any other more probable explanation, Mr. Iago requested information from those who are conversant with cinque-cento art and symbolism.

December 1, 1871.

SIR EDWARD SMIRKE, A.M., in the Chair.

The SECRETARY reported the result of a visit recently made by him to Southampton to arrange the necessary preliminaries of the forthcoming Annual Meeting in that town. The Lord Bishop of Winchester had signified his acceptance of the Presidency of the Meeting, and the Institute would be well received at Southampton.

A memoir by Mr. J. HEWITT was read, relating to the discovery of a number of bronze guns, by a party of sponge-divers at the Isle of Symi, in the Mediterranean. They proved to be of Venetian manufacture. General Lefroy lost no time in communicating with H.B.M. Vice-Consul at Rhodes, M. Biliotti, and three of the guns were obtained for the Royal Artillery Museum at Woolwich. Mr. Hewitt's account of this valuable addition to the collection at the Rotunda will be found in this Journal, vol. xxviii., p. 305, *ante*. Mr. Hewitt added some remarks with reference to the relative strength and bore of ancient cannon used for iron or stone shot; and Mr. Tregellas adverted to some examples of cannon of special construction.

Mr. C. D. E. FORTNUM, F.S.A., communicated a very interesting dissertation on Early Christian finger-rings, supplementary to his notice of several choice examples in his possession given in this Journal, vol. xxvi., p. 137. Mr. Fortnum's memoir has been printed in this Journal, vol. xxviii., p. 266, *ante*.

Mr. C. W. KING, M.A., sent an account of a remarkable object of Roman art, a medallion in lavender-coloured vitreous paste, found in 1850 at Stanwix, on the northern side of the Roman Wall, near Carlisle. It portrays, in high relief, Antonia, wife of Drusus, brother of the Emperor Tiberius. When found, some portions of the metallic rim in which it had been set were still preserved. It has been figured in Dr. Bruce's "Roman Wall," third edition, 1867, p. 428; and it is there suggested that it may probably represent Antinous. Mr. King, however, stated the grounds of his conclusion, by comparison with other works of antique art recognised as portraits of Antonia, that this fine relic of a very rare class of Roman iconography should be ascribed to Antonia. His memoir is given at p. 26 of this volume.

#### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Dr. J. W. NICHOLL CARNE, LL.D., F.S.A., of St. Donat's Castle, Glamorganshire.—A bronze object, very peculiar in fashion, and of unknown use; it was found in a grave excavated in the rock at Llantwit Major, Glamorgan. This unique relic had been noticed by Mr. Tregellas on the occasion of the visit of the Institute, during the recent meeting at Cardiff, to Dr. Carne's remarkable residence—the ancient stronghold of the Stradling family; and through the mediation of Mr. Tregellas, it had been sent, by the friendly courtesy of Dr. Carne, for exhibition to the members of the Institute in London.<sup>2</sup> We are also indebted to him for the following particulars in regard to the discovery:—"The spot in which the relic was found was formerly a

<sup>2</sup> See an account of Dr. Carne's hospitable welcome at St. Donat's, in the Report of the Cardiff Meeting in this Journal, vol. xxvii. p. 220.

burial-ground, several skulls having been brought to light in the piece of land situate about two hundred yards south of the present church at Llantwit. The soil was removed by my tenant down to the natural rock, for the purpose of obtaining a solid foundation for building. In a kind of oval, or pan-shaped cavity worked out of the rock, and measuring about 5 ft. by 2 ft. in width, and 18 in. in depth, the bronze object was found." This rock-grave contained a quantity of black fatty matter, apparently the decomposed remains of the corpse. It will be seen by the accompanying woodcut that this singular object is fashioned with considerable skill and careful finish; some of the edges are grooved or notched; at intervals there are five hooks upon which are appended rings that might serve as means of attachment by cords or thongs, their strain being, as will be noticed, in direction of the bifurcate end of the object. It measures about 6 in. in length. It is somewhat doubtful whether the blunt end has been broken off, and there is no indication what may have been the extremity, in that direction. It is also probable that the projecting shanks have been squeezed together. Dr. Thurnam is of opinion that the relic is not of bronze; on



In iron, with the point of iron, found with Roman relics near the Roman way from Alchester to Dorchester.  
(Under side, of full size.)

close examination he has expressed also the opinion that it is not "Ancient British." The *patina* is certainly somewhat pale in colour, and does not present the glossy, rich appearance of an early period.

No probable conjecture had been suggested in regard to the use or age of this relic. The only object presenting certain features of resemblance hitherto pointed out is a spur of bronze, with an iron point or *aculeus*, much decayed, so that its original fashion cannot be ascertained. It is here figured, and it will be seen that in the recurved hook and the dentated edges of the shanks a considerable degree of analogy may be perceived.



Bronze object, found at Lluntwit Major, Glamorgan.

Full size.

This, which, it can scarcely be doubted, served the purposes of a spur, is in possession of the Rev. R. Gordon, of Elsfeld, Oxon; it was found in arable land, where Roman ornaments, Samian, and other Roman wares are frequently turned up by the plough.<sup>3</sup> A similar spur of iron, with a recurved hook on the under side: one of the shanks, which are diagonally grooved, thus resembling parts of the edges of the relic from Llantwit Major, much shorter than the other, and terminating in buttons, placed, as in the Elsfeld example, on the inner side of the shank, was found at Uriconium, and is preserved in the Museum at Shrewsbury. A third Roman spur, with the recurved hook, and one of the shanks much shorter than the other, was found at Ell (*Elsbim*) in Alsace. Amongst several other examples of bronze spurs given by Lindenschmit (*Alterth. uns. heidn. Vorzeit*, ii. Band, Heft. i. tab. 7) there is a beautifully wrought Roman specimen from Rheinabern, and in this, as well as other examples of that period, the peculiar dentated edges of the shanks and fastenings on the inner side claim comparison with those found in this country, as above noticed.

It must be observed that the broken extremities of the bifurcate shanks in the remarkable relic in Dr. Carne's possession may have terminated in buttons, or other appliances for attachment to the heel, and that to the blunt end of the other extremity may doubtless have been attached an *aculus*, either of bronze or of iron.

Numerous Roman coins and other vestiges have been found near Llantwit, some of them near the spot where the cist and bronze relic were brought to light. The whole place, as Dr. Carne has informed us, is studded over with Roman remains. Boverton, in the parish, probably occupies the site of *Bovium*, a station on the Via Julia Maritima: here is also a stronghold called Castle Ditches, where Roman coins have occurred. It must be noticed that at Coigan's Hill, near Kyn Gadel, in the adjacent county of Caermarthen, a tomb hewn in the rock was discovered, resembling in dimensions and character that at Llantwit.<sup>4</sup> The cavity measured 4 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 6 in., and 2 ft. in depth. A human skeleton crouched up on one of its sides lay in the cist, with a bronze *colum* or strainer, and numerous coins of Carausius, Allectus, Carus, and Tetricus. There were also in the mould in the cist, which was surrounded by a kind of wall of dry masonry, many bones of birds and small animals, and snail shells. The probability that the Llantwit deposit may be ascribed to the late Roman period appears thus confirmed.

By M. Victor de Bruin, of Brussels.—Two MSS. Books of Hours; one of them executed for the Chevalier Croesinck, Seigneur de Benthuisen and Jocteneel: Flemish art, about 1485. The other, likewise of Flemish work, about 1500.

By Mrs. Meadows Frost, of Chester.—Three Medals of the series of Sovereign Pontiffs, fine examples of Italian art, each bearing a profile head of Our Lord, and on the obverse the head of the Pope, Pius V., 1556—"Beati qui custodiunt vias meas;" Alexander VII., 1657—"Vivo ego jun non ego;" and Gregory XV., 1621—"Beati qui custodiunt vias meas." These choice medals are specially interesting for comparison with

<sup>3</sup> See a more detailed notice, *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xii. p. 173. The find occurred near the Roman way from Alchester to Dorchester.

<sup>4</sup> Notice of Langhaune, by the Rev. J. N. Harrison, and *Cent. Mag.*, xiv. 634, xviii. 473.

the various reproductions of the profile portraiture, from the type of the emerald cameo, formerly, as believed, in the Vatican. See Mr. King's Memoir, Arch. Journal, vol. xxvii., p. 181.

IMPRESSIONS OF MEDIEVAL SEALS.—By Mr. J. G. FANSHAWE.—A French conventual seal, recently purchased in London; it appears to have been used in one of the monasteries at Metz, anciently known as *Metz*, or *Metis*. There were no less than seven conventual establishments in that city, as stated in the *Gallia Christiana*. The matrix, of pointed-oval form, measures  $2\frac{1}{4}$  in. by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. The device represents, under a triple-arched canopy, two full-length figures, that on the dexter side being a mitred ecclesiastic, holding a crosier in the right hand, a book in the left; on the sinister side a female figure issuing from the jaws of a dragon or monstrous creature, coarsely represented. It has been supposed that this may represent St. Martha, or possibly St. Margaret. Legend in Roman capitals—SIGILLVM PRIORIS CONVENTVS METENSIS. The work is very rude, the matrix being probably an unskilful reproduction in the sixteenth century of an older seal that may have been damaged or lost.

By Dr. KENDRICK, M.D.—Impression of the signet of Charlotte de la Tremouille, consort of James, seventh Earl of Derby. She gallantly defended Lathom House in 1644, and the Isle of Man in 1651. This interesting little seal bears an escutcheon, ensigned with an earl's coronet, and charged with the arms of Stanley impaling La Tremouille, a chevron between three eaglets. The escutcheon is encircled by a *cordelière*, frequently thus used in France on the seal of a widow.

## Reviews.

THE HISTORY OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND: ITS CAUSES AND ITS RESULTS. BY E. A. FREEMAN, M.A., D.C.L., &c. Vol. iv. 1871.

OBJECTION has been taken to Mr. Freeman's fourth volume—the reign of the Conqueror,—on the ground that it contains too much local detail; is too topographical in its character for a general history. In this criticism we do not at all concur, though even did we think it well-founded from the historic point of view, we should still feel grateful for a work which does so much to raise and enoble the study of English topography.

The fact really is, that what has been madvisedly called a blemish may, with much greater justice, be regarded as the great merit and charm of Mr. Freeman's history. He has, in his three preceding volumes, and far more remarkably in the present one, of which the subject better bears it, worked up into the general narrative the leading, and oftentimes the minute features of its principal events, and has thus availed himself of the humble, and but little recognised labour of those whose studies have been confined to accurate and technical local descriptions. Such students—antiquarians rather than archaeologists—have collected a vast mass of material, which Mr. Freeman, a great master builder in his art, well acquainted with these stores, employs largely in his structure, gives them by this means a place and value in historical composition to which they have not before attained, and thus elevates the mere topographer into the rank of a fellow-labourer in a great and complete work. A closer accuracy of description, a wider field of comparison, and a good deal more common sense in his conclusions, have in the past few years raised the virtuoso into the scientific antiquary. It is now for the historian to elevate the antiquary into the archaeologist, by the conclusions which he draws from, and the charm and colouring which he shows to be closely connected with labours, which, regarded in themselves, are commonly dry, and of but little general interest.

Nor is the advantage thus obtained confined to one party: it applies, at least equally, to the historian. Historians, until recently, seemed to treat the more minute details of the country of which they wrote as beneath their notice, or worthy only of being handled in a very general way. Arnold was the first really great writer who paid minute attention to the topography of the scenes of such events as his history led him to describe. After him came Macaulay, whose topographical knowledge gives sharpness and accuracy to his descriptions, and invests them with a kind of charm unfound in Hume, and but little known to Gibbon. Freeman is, however, not only a topographer, but what these were not, a sound technical antiquary, able to read in the material features of a building or an earthwork, no less



than in a battle-field, evidence enabling him to correct or to confirm the written records. There are touches in his descriptions which descend almost to the minute accuracy of a photograph, without in the least impairing the broad and bold outlines of his general description.

This faculty, employed in his earlier volumes, finds more ample and appropriate scope in the present pages. Under the Saxon sway counties were named, cities founded, parochial divisions laid down, manorial estates created, and various other subdivisions of the soil, indicative of the prevalence of law, order, and the sacred rights of accumulated industry, were established, and still, almost unchanged, remain. But, while the Normans meddled but little with these distinctions, or rather employed and confirmed them, sitting, as far as possible in the Saxon seats, to their constructive skill and magnificence are due almost all the earliest material structures, whether cathedrals, castles, churches, monasteries, or even domestic buildings, that we possess. These rose for the most part, even the castles, on the old Saxon sites, and it was their association with these that invested them, even when new, with something of the respect which attaches to antiquity. Thus it came about that, after two or three generations, the Norman Baron became regarded as the representative of the Saxon Thane, his predecessor, and indeed, sometimes, in more than a legal sense, his ancestor.

It is to these footsteps of the Normans that the attention of the technical antiquary has been largely directed, for their masonry and the details of their architecture and decoration afford far more ample material for his critical acumen than the simpler earthworks, which are all, or nearly all, that remain to us of the works of Celt or Saxon; though these latter, rightly interrogated, can speak, and in skilful hands be made to throw light upon much that is recorded in contemporary story. Of all this technical knowledge Mr. Freeman is master; to its study he has himself largely contributed; and this it is which gives point and precision to much of the knowledge which he has acquired from his familiarity with English and Norman authors, whose discrepancies he is by this means often able to reconcile or to correct.

It is this combination of two very different kinds of research, not hitherto exhibited by any one historian, that has enabled Mr. Freeman to throw himself with so much reality into the details of his work. His thorough knowledge of Saxon and Norman England—of the history of every shire-town, every cathedral, every great castle, has made him able—his sympathy with bold and strong races of men has made him willing—to describe their customs, their conflicts, their religious feelings, the character of their aggressions and defences, the position of those fortresses by which they trusted to maintain their conquests, and the particulars of the churches and religious houses by which they hoped to confirm their sway, and at the same time to mitigate or conceal its harsher features.

Mr. Freeman is by no means an unprejudiced author, but his prejudices are all with the English people. He is neither Saxon nor Norman, and certainly never Celtic, but always English. His sympathies are ever with that remarkable race that arose out of the fusion of many Teutonic and Scandinavian tribes, deriving from one much of its speech, from another its love of law and order, from another its love of the sea, and which reached a great point in its history when it adopted

the English name and permitted its several kingdoms to be combined into one empire. There seemed some danger that this sympathy, which makes Harold the son of Godwin the author's idol, should lead him to be less than just towards his conqueror and successor. But this is not at all the case. Though, long after Harold has disappeared from the scene, his memory is revived and he is held up as the great patriot and chief of the English race, William is fairly and justly treated, and holds unchallenged the first place in the picture. Harold is ever depicted as the true and strong Englishman—the man who came of the race of the people, had his sympathies with the people, and from the people derived all his strength; while William, always a foreigner, always a Norman, exhibits ever the Norman contempt for all who are not noble, and derives his strength in part from his own indomitable character, in part from his craft in availing himself of the support of a rapacious and unprincipled military aristocracy.

Setting apart the question of the justice of William's claim to the English throne, about which, as men in those times counted justice, there were two well-balanced opinions, which question Mr. Freeman keeps well before his readers, his character is honestly drawn. If a legitimate king, dealing with rebellious subjects, he was probably not more severe than was necessary. Those who rose against him he put down promptly, and with great, and perhaps, under the circumstances, necessary severity. To those who obeyed him he was neither unjust nor severe, nor was he ever wantonly cruel.

Mention has been made of the use made by Mr. Freeman of his local knowledge. As examples of this knowledge may be cited his account of the siege and fall of Exeter, and William's memorable march into the midland and northern counties, in 1068, when he decided upon the foundation of castles at Oxford, Warwick, Nottingham, York, Lincoln, Cambridge, and Huntingdon; the siege of Chester in 1070; and the assault upon the Isle of Ely in 1071.

Of all these, perhaps the passage that best exemplifies the peculiarities of which we have spoken is that which relates to Lincoln. After a brief account of the lawmen, burghers, and local government of Lincoln, Mr. Freeman proceeds (p. 210):—

"No town in England occupied a prouder site, or might consider itself more safe against all assaults. Yet no town in England has more utterly changed its outward garb than the colony of Lindum has changed in every leading feature since the day when William came to demand its submission. Now, throughout a vast district around the city, the one great feature of the landscape is the mighty Minster, which, almost like that of Eton, crowns the end of the ridge, rising, with a steepness well nigh unknown in the streets of English towns, above the lower city and the plain at its feet. Next in importance to the Minster is the Castle, which, marred as it is by modern changes, still crowns the height as no unworthy yoked fellow of its ecclesiastical neighbour. The proud polygonal keep of the fortification groups well with the soaring towers, the sharp-pointed gables, the long continuous line of roof of the Church of Remigius and St. Hugh. The slope of the hill and the long line of road at its foot are covered by the buildings of the city, its houses, many of them presenting forms dear to the antiquary; the Guildhall over its southern gate, the dark arch which spans the polluted river, the tall square tower of those churches of the lower town, whose tale, we shall soon find, comes more deeply home to us than anything else in the local history. When William drew near, Minster, Castle, houses, churches, had not yet come into being; all alike are direct memorials of his coming. One alone among the many antiquities of the city was already there to meet the eye of the Conqueror, to remind him of conquerors as far removed from his age as he is himself now removed

from ours. The Danish borough had more than one predecessor. The height on which it stands, the promontory of Lincoln, is part of that long line of low hills, stretching through a large part of Central and Eastern England, which seems like a feeble rival of the loftier ranges of the West. At this point the range is broken by a depression which, if it were worthy of the name, might pass as the valley of the Witham. Thus is formed the promontory of Lincoln, looking down upon the river to the south of it. Vale and ridge alike are traversed by those great roads which abide as the noblest relics of the days of Roman dominion. The steep is climbed by the united line of the Ermine Street and the Fosse Way, which last again diverged from the eastern gate of the Roman city. But the Roman was not the first to occupy the spot. His road, after climbing the hill, cuts through an earlier town to the north of the present city, of which the dyke and foss are still easy to be seen. The road itself, the Ermine Street, notwithstanding all the centuries which have passed since it was first traced out and paved, is that distinguished from a yet older track by the name of the New Street. And the New Street leads to the New Port, the Roman arch of massive stones which still remains the entrance to the city from the north. The Roman town, the colony of Lindum, arose to the south of this more ancient site, on the very brow of the hill. Fragments of the wall still remain, and the site of the southern gate is still marked at a point but a little way down the steep descent. In the later days of Roman occupation a fortified suburb seems to have spread itself down the slopes of the hill from the southern gate to the banks of the Witham. The Danish town still occupied the Roman site, gathering round at least two churches whose names have been preserved. An earlier St. Mary's seems to have already occupied some small portion of the site of the present Minster, and the memory of Paulinus, the apostle of Lindesey no less than of Deira, was cherished in a church whose present mean representative preserves a trace of the ancient dedication in its corrupted name of St. Paul. Here then on its hill-top, with the Witham, then an important highway of merchandize, at its feet, dwelled the rich and proud commonwealth which, holding such a position, might have been expected to withstand the invader as manfully as Domfront, Le Mans, or Mayence.'

## Archaeological Intelligence.

A valuable work of reference in connection with the History, Topography, and Antiquities of the Northern Marches is ready for publication (by subscription) by Mr. William Dodd, Newcastle upon-Tyne. It will be entitled, "Bibliotheca Northumbriensis et Dunelmensis," and will comprise detailed notices of all the sources of information concerning the two most northern counties. Price, to subscribers, one guinea.

Mr. Aldis of Worcester, announces a collection of photographs of early sculptures in stone and wood in Worcester Cathedral, including a valuable selection from the carvings of the thirteenth century, the entire series of the "Misereres" in the choir, with their highly curious and grotesque sculptures.

The International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology will take place at Brussels, commencing August 22, and closing on August 30. Full particulars regarding this, the sixth congress, and the proposed arrangements, excursions, &c., may be obtained from the secretary, M. Dupont, Musée Royal d'Histoire Naturelle, at Brussels.

An important volume on Prehistoric Ethnography in Europe is announced for publication at Brussels by M. Ch. Steur, member of the Royal Academy of Belgium. It will form three volumes 8vo, with maps and tables of comparative lexicography, the price being 8 francs each volume (about 7s. 6d.) delivered in this country. Subscribers' names are received by Messrs. Williams and Norgate, 11, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden. The work is entitled as follows:—"Ethnographie des Peuples de l'Europe avant Jésus Christ, ou Essai sur les nomades de l'Asie, leurs migrations, leur origine," &c.

The second portion of the collection of "Irish Sepulchral Slabs and Christian Inscriptions," from the earliest known examples to the twelfth century, chiefly from drawings by the late Dr. George Petrie, has recently been issued to the subscribers. The work is of essential interest, both in an artistic and philological point of view. It is edited by Mr. Stokes, with the assistance of the Rev. W. Reeves, D.D., and other distinguished Archaeologists in the sister kingdom. Full particulars may be obtained from the Rev. James Graves, Missagh, Stonyford, Kilkenny.





PRESENTES  
 FIGURE AD SIMILI  
 TUDINEM DOMINI THE  
 SV SALVATORIS NOSTRI  
 LE APOSTOLI PAULI IN AMI  
 RALDO IMPRESSE PER MAG  
 NI THEVRI PREDICSSORES AN  
 TIA SINGULARITER OBSERVA  
 TI MISSE SVNT AB IP SO MAG  
 NO THEVRO S D N PAPE  
 INNOCENCIO OCTAVO PRO SI  
 NGULARI CLENODIO AD HV  
 NC FINEM VI SVAM TRA  
 CTUM CAPTIYAM  
 REINTELL.

Bronze Medd in the Brit. M. Museum, and Inscription on the Reverse  
 (Original size.)

# The Archaeological Journal.

JUNE, 1872.

## ANCIENT PORTRAITURES OF OUR LORD.

AFTER THE TYPE OF THE EMERALD VERNICLE GIVEN BY BAJAZET II.  
TO POPE INNOCENT VIII.

Notice Supplementary to a Memoir by Mr. C. W. KING, *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxvii. p. 181.)

THE investigation of the earliest types of sacred portraiture, and especially of those of the Saviour, presents a subject of such pre-eminent interest in the History of Christian Art, that any details connected with it cannot fail to prove acceptable to readers of this Journal. In a previous volume we were indebted to the tasteful erudition of Mr. King for a valuable dissertation on "the Emerald Vernicle of the Vatican," that inestimable relic of early art, now unhappily lost almost beyond all hope of recovery, and of which no tradition even seems to have survived, beyond the garbled inscriptions on certain paintings of the sixteenth century, which, from time to time, have been brought under the notice of the Institute by the examples exhibited at our meetings.

It appeared to me desirable to bring together any available evidence connected with the highly interesting tradition of this portraiture, which, as might be anticipated from the glyptic nature of its prototype—a cameo probably on plasma—is not, like the other early portraits of our Lord most familiar to us, in full face, but in profile. It has, moreover, not been noticed in various dissertations on the subject. We seek for it in vain in Peignot's elaborate work,—"*Récherches sur la Personne de Jésus Christ*,"—in Heaphy's "*Examination into the Antiquity of the Likeness of Our Blessed Lord*,"<sup>1</sup>—and even in the exhaustive researches by the writer of "*Portraits of Christ*," in the *Quarterly Review*.<sup>2</sup> Neither

<sup>1</sup> *Art Journal*, Series iv., vol. vii., 1861.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. cxxiii. p. 490.

is this particular type mentioned in Mrs. Jameson's "History of Our Lord," edited by Lady Eastlake, in which so much valuable information will be found.<sup>3</sup>

It is very remarkable that no trace of the gift of so precious an object as the *icon* should be found in the works of contemporary authority, and in which we find the most ample relations of Bajazet's propitiatory gift of the Holy Lance to Innocent, and also of his annual largess to the Holy See in favour of his captive brother. To our learned and lamented friend, Canon Rock, I am indebted for the assurance that his researches had been wholly in vain. We find minute narrations by Ciaconius, and his laborious annotator Victorellus, of the august ceremonial on the reception of the "celestial lance." Matthew Bossus, Canon of Verona, an eye-witness of the pompous welcome accorded to Zemes, relates the minutest particulars, and describes the unsightly aspect and grotesque figure of the barbarian prince; but no allusion has been found to the precious emerald, that could not fail, we might suppose, to excite the utmost veneration.

The recent production, through the friendly courtesy of Sir Edmund H. Lechmere, Bart., of another example of these portraitures of our Lord, in unusually good preservation, has suggested to me to offer such incidental notices as I had formerly collected, and which may, I hope, prove serviceable as supplementary to the memoir by Mr. King. To him, our valued guide and master in all the intricate questions of ancient Iconography, the student of the incunabula of sacred art is indebted for the elucidation of the origin of the remarkable portraits in question, that seem undoubtedly to have been singularly esteemed and treasured in former days, as shown by the numerous *sci-canto* reproductions still existing. It is to be regretted, however, that hitherto no example has been brought to our knowledge that can be regarded as the immediate prototype, possibly by some renowned master of the Italian school, of the period when the *icon* on the precious emerald of Bajazet may have excited the veneration of the Eternal City at the close of the fifteenth century.

The painting above mentioned, made known to us through the kindness of Sir Edmund Lechmere, has been long in possession of his family in Worcestershire, and is now pre-

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i. p. 31.



served at his residence, the Rhydd, Upton-on-Severn. It is on panel, measuring  $10\frac{3}{4}$  in. in height by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in breadth. In the upper part the head of the Saviour is seen in profile, to the left, on a gold ground; the features are of mild, pleasing expression; the long hair, of dark chestnut colour, falls on the shoulders; the beard is short, and slightly forked; the dress dark green. The lower moiety of the panel bears the following inscription in gold letters (Roman capitals) on a black ground:—

THIS PRESENT FIGURE IS THE SIMILITVDE OF OVRE  
LORD IIV OVRE SAVIOR IMPRINTED IN AMIRALD BY THE  
PREDESESSORS OF THE GRETE TURKE AND SENT TO OVRE  
HOLY FATER (*sic*) THE POPE INNOSENT THE VIII. AT  
THE COST OF THE GRETE TURKE FOR A TOKIN FOR  
THIS CAUSE TO REDEME HIS BROTHER THAT WAS TAKYN  
PRESONER.

Several examples of this "similitude," it may be remembered, have been brought before the Institute, at the London meetings and in our temporary museums. Those hitherto known to me appear without exception to be repetitions of a valued type, probably from the hand of some Italian painter, who had access to the precious emerald as his model; in every instance the date of their execution seems to be about the commencement of the sixteenth century, possibly a few years earlier. Whilst they differ slightly in certain details, they are nearly uniform in dimension, and the inscription, that sometimes contains slight blunders, is always in English, and constantly sets forth the gift of the emerald prototype to Innocent VIII. by Bajazet II. to propitiate the Holy Father in favour of his younger brother, Zemes or Zizim, who had been defeated at Brousa in 1482, and sought refuge with the Soldan of Egypt. These curious details have been set forth by Mr. King in his memoir above cited. The examples of the painting previously submitted to the Institute, differ only from that transmitted to Mr. King from the Isle of Man in the absence of the radiant aureole, which is found in that instance only.

In 1851 one of these portraitures had been exhibited by Mr. Thomas Hart, of Reigate; it is described in this Journal (vol. viii. p. 320). The inscription asserts that the similitude had been "FOUND IN AMARAT," evidently a blunder for

emerald, and that the captive prince was taken prisoner by the Romans. Another, also slightly blundered, was brought in 1857 by Mr. Cumming, as recorded in vol. xiv. p. 95; a third was in possession of Henry Howard, Esq., at Greystoke Castle. It is described in the *Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. iii. p. 167.

In the *Antiquarian Repertory*,<sup>4</sup> an engraving will be found of one of these portraits communicated in 1780 by Mr. W. Lottie, of Canterbury, and described as painted on oak, on a gold ground, the colours fine, the legend in gold letters on a black ground. In 1793 Mr. Urban received also from Mr. T. Woolston, of Adderbury, a description of one in the possession of Mr. J. Barber; the legend is precisely the same as on the painting at the Rhydd, with the exception of the concluding lines, stating that the prototype, "imprinted in amirald by the predesessor of the Great Turke" was "sent to Pope Innosent (*sic*) the VIII. for a token to redeme his brother that was takyn presonor."<sup>5</sup> In 1793 another is described by R. K. as existing at Langton, near Spilsby; the legend contains several blunders, and sets forth that the "seymlytude" was imprinted in "amyrld."<sup>6</sup>

I may here mention also that in the *Révue Archéologique*<sup>7</sup> there is a notice of a profile portraiture of the Saviour, with the inscription in English. This painting preserved in the South of France claims special consideration as being the only specimen of the series hitherto found on the Continent.

M. Jules Courtet, Sous-Préfet of Die, author of the memoir, states that at Granbois, a village in the south of France (department of Vaucluse), several paintings are to be seen in a small country house, that retains its old furniture and ornaments. Amongst the paintings the most remarkable is a bust of our Lord, in profile, bearded, the head surrounded by an *auréole* composed of cherubs' heads winged. The ground is gilded; the dimensions of the picture, which is on copper, with a frame of ebony and silver angle-mounts, is about 12 in. by 8 in. The countenance of the Saviour is that of a man in the prime of life, of noble expression, rather serious than sorrowful. The lower part of this curious relic of Byzantine art, as M. Courtet considers

<sup>4</sup> Vol. iii. p. 161, edit. 1868.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. lxx., part 1, p. 870.

<sup>6</sup> *Gent. Mag.*, vol. lxxii. part 2, p. 1177.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. iii. pp. 101, 185.

it to be, is occupied by the following inscription, in six lines :—

THIS PRESENT FIGVRE IS THE SIMILITVDE OF OVR LORD  
HĪN (*sic* for IĪV ?) OYRE SAVIOR IMPRINTED IN AMARILD BY  
THE PREDECESSORS OF THE GREATE TYRKE AND SENT TO THE  
POPE INNOSENT THE VIII AT THE COST OF THE GRETE TYRKE  
FOR A TOKEN FOR THIS CAWSE TO REDEME HIS BROTHER  
THAT WAS TAKVN PRESONOR.

After noticing the history of the captive Zemes, M. Courtet states, apparently on the authority of the owner of the painting, that it was given by the family of the Surintendant Fouquet to Pierre Rappélis de Roquesante, one of the Commission appointed to try Fouquet in 1661, and through his exertions sentence of exile not of death was passed: he refused all recompense from Fouquet except the painting and a medal; the former, as was asserted, had been stolen from the Vatican, probably at the sack of Rome by Bourbon.<sup>8</sup> Of the medal no particulars are given; it may have been one of those bearing the profile bust, with a Hebrew inscription, or of those of larger module, of which notices will be given hereafter.

There is also another reproduction of the same type of the profile from the emerald, but slightly varied in the expression of the countenance, the pose of the figure, and some other details. It is, moreover, not a painting, but a piece of tapestry that was in possession of the late Mr. Samuel Bagster, the eminent publisher of many beautiful editions of the Holy Scriptures. It is familiar to collectors of engravings by a striking mezzotinto, published some years since. Under the bust there is the following inscription, accompanied by an English version, as follows :—“ Vera Salvatoris nostri effigies ad imitationem imaginis Smaragdo incisæ jussu Tiberii Caesaris, quo smaragdo postea ex Thesaurō Constantinopolitano Turcarum Imperator Innocentium VIII. Pont. Max. Rom. donavit pro redimendo fratre Christianis captivo.” This is accompanied by the following English version :—“ A true likeness of our Saviour, copied from the portrait carved on an emerald by order of Tiberius Cæsar, which

<sup>8</sup> The ebony frame in chased silver mounts might suggest, as Mr. King remarked to me, that the picture had been

appropriated from the Collection of Charles I. at the Revolution.

emerald the Emperor of the Turks afterwards gave out of the Treasury of Constantinople to Pope Innocent VIII. for the redemption of his brother taken captive by the Christians."

On the lower margin of the plate is inscribed,—“ Drawn from an ancient tapestry in the possession of the publisher, Mr. Sam. Bagster, Paternoster Row.” The plate was accidentally destroyed, as I was informed by Mr. J. Bagster, in 1851; he stated that the tapestry had been in his father's possession. An inferior reproduction of the print above described has subsequently been in the market. Of precisely the same type, and probably from one of the engravings above mentioned, a small oval photograph has been recently taken, entitled, “ A true likeness of our Saviour,” and stated as above to have been from the emerald.”

It will be noticed that here the alleged origin of the gem as having been derived from the ancient treasury of the Empire of the East, a fact not found in any of the inscriptions on the numerous painted portraitures, described in the present notices, is found to be asserted on the representation of this interesting relic of ancient textile art in Mr. Bagster's possession.

With these reproductions of the profile portraiture may be mentioned an old painting on panel, possibly from a different type, which in 1855 was in possession of Mr. Kerslake, a well-known bookseller at Bristol; it was a half-length portrait inscribed thus:—“ This pictur is the similitude of our Lord Jesus Christ as he did walke upon the earth, and was sent by Publius Lentullus to Tiberius Claudius Emperour of Rome under whom Christ did suffer.” Didron, in his *Iconographie Chrétienne*, it may be remembered, observes that Constantine had caused portraits of the Saviour to be painted, after the description given by Lentulus, whose remarkable epistle, alleged to have been addressed to the Senate, will there be found.<sup>1</sup> The learned Fabricius informs

<sup>2</sup> This photograph may probably have been reproduced from a small folio engraving, published some years ago by Messrs. MeLean. More recently a beautiful plate has been executed, that appears to reproduce the beautiful type of the tapestry in Messrs. Bagster's possession. The bust is in an oval compartment, surrounded by an elaborate frame of ornamental work, measuring 2½ in. by 1½. Beneath is written, “ The Only True Portraiture,” &c., with the usual

mention of the emerald given to the Pope. London, published July 6, 1869, by William Lucas and Co., 17, Great Portland Street.

<sup>1</sup> Didron, *Iconographie*, p. 229. See also Fabricius, *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 302; Hamburgi, 1703. A translation will be found in Mrs. Jameson's *History of Our Lord*, vol. i. p. 35, Mr. King mentioned this popular legend. *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xxvii. p. 185.

us that in a MS. in the library at Jena was preserved a portrait of our Lord, accompanying a copy of that epistle in golden letters, and “ad prosopographiam hanc affabre depictæ.”

It is to be regretted that no description of the type of portraiture was given by Mr. Kerslake ; it may possibly have been full-face, with forked beard and long falling hair, a type of which numerous striking examples exist. It has indeed been believed that the portraits connected both with the legend of Lentulus and that of King Abgarus and the linen Vernicle are always in full face.

I proceed to notice briefly certain interesting reproductions of the profile type of another description. Mr. King has figured a beautiful medal,<sup>2</sup> from an example in my own possession, a portraiture that had been described as most precious by Ambrosius, who wrote in the times of Julius II. and Leo X. (1503—1521). It had been supposed contemporary with its divine prototype. Mr. King states that this medal is not uncommon, and that it is a sand-cast in white bell metal ; Ambrosius describes it as of brass ; that which belongs to myself had long been accounted as of silver. Besides the engraving that has been given by Dr. Walsh, a medal of nearly similar type, and as I believe identical with that under consideration, was figured by Rowlands, in his *Mona Antiqua*. It had been found, about 1723, at the “round cirque at Bryn Gwyn,”—the supreme tribunal—in Anglesey.<sup>3</sup> This medal is described as of brass ; this, however, might obviously designate bell-metal, especially if its surface were discoloured or decayed. We cannot marvel that the discovery, having occurred near Tre'r Dryw, with its supposed Druidical grove and megalithic monuments, was advanced in confirmation of the conjecture that the place had been the *L'orum* or tribunal of the Druids. Edward Lhwyd, the learned *custos* of the Ashmolean, willingly sought aid from the most eminent Hebraists in the university to elucidate so rare a relic of antiquity, in those hazy times when erudite scholars gravely discussed the probability that Hebrew was the tongue of Noah and his family. Be this as it may, and whether the want of precise conformity between the Tre'r Dryw medal and

<sup>2</sup> Arch. Journ., vol. xxvii. pp. 182, 186.

<sup>3</sup> Rowlands, second edition, pp. 90,

93 ; see also, in the Appendix, pp. 297—300, the remarks of his learned correspondents at Oxford.

that figured by Mr. King may be due to the imperfect skill either of the engraver or of the Oxford Hebraists, it must be admitted that it would be unsafe to affirm that the medals are absolutely identical. On the obverse, the Hebrew characters denoting the name Jesus are omitted in Rowlands' plate; the five lines on the reverse are also reduced to four, which I have sought in vain to identify with the words on my medal, explained as signifying—Messiah the king came in peace, and being made the light of men he lives. Hottinger, I may observe, mentions such pieces as occurring both in gold and silver. Waser had described the medal, of the same type as that which I possess, as of silver; he adverts to the letter of Lentulus and the description of the Saviour's person, received by Tiberius, as the authority for the portraiture.<sup>4</sup> The Rev. Dr. Walsh, in his "Essay on Ancient Medals and Gems, illustrating the progress of Christianity in the early ages," had obtained from a Polish Jew at Rostoc, in Germany, one of these medals. It excited his curiosity, as appearing to have been struck from the same die as that found in co. Cork in 1812,<sup>5</sup> and supposed to have been brought into Ireland at some early period after the introduction of the faith. His observations will be read with interest; the metal, he observes, is a singular composition, paler than brass, does not tarnish, and is very sonorous. By the engraving that accompanies his account, there seems to have been a projection at the upper edge, possibly a broken loop, by which the piece might be worn as a pendant or talisman.

The learned Leusden figured the medal in question from one of brass in his possession, and describes it as a shekel—"Sichus est Judæo-Christianus," but he has wholly lost the fine type of the features, and, as also in Dr. Walsh's lithograph, the inscription on the reverse is imperfectly represented.<sup>6</sup> It should possibly, as has been suggested, be read thus:—

משיח מלך בא בשלם ואר מאדם עשרי הו

Besides the medal last noticed and comparatively well

<sup>4</sup> Hottinger, de Nummis Orientalium, p. 113; Waserus, de Nummis Hebraeorum, fol. 63. See also representations of the medal by Morinus, de Ling. Prætex, c. ix., p. 295; Wageneel, apud Surinhorius, c. iii. p. 232; Abstedius, Præcognita Theologica, &c.

<sup>5</sup> Walsh, Essay, &c., second edition,

p. 5. The medal had been found in digging potatoes on the site of a very ancient monastery, of the first Christian age.

<sup>6</sup> Leusden, Philologus Hebraeus, 1671, pp. 191, 192, Dis-ertatio de Nummis. The medal is ascribed to Jewish converts by Abstedius.

known, there exists another of smaller module, and of rare occurrence. Both have been figured in the notes on the *Mischna*, in the edition by Surenhusius.<sup>7</sup> The former is described as frequently to be met with—"in multorum manibus"—and commonly ("*passim*") to be seen suspended to the necks of children. A somewhat varied reading of the Hebrew legend is given, with the interpretation—"Messias rex venit in pace et homo ex homine factus est vivus (seu verus)." It is observed, however, that the inscribed obverses of these medals, tooled up by some artificer ignorant of the Hebrew tongue, present many slight discrepancies that render the interpretation very difficult.

Of the smaller medal, apparently a repetition of the emerald type, but measuring, as shown by the engraver, one inch only in diameter, the learned editor had seen a single example, that had been shown to him at Vienna.<sup>8</sup> On the obverse is the head of our Lord, in profile to the right; there are no Hebrew letters in the field, as on the larger medal. On the reverse is the following legend, in four lines:—

ישוע נצרי משיח יהוה ואדם יחד

thus interpreted:—"Jesus Nazarenus Messias Deus et homo simul."

These medals, as he observes, may be ascribed to some Christian artist acquainted with Hebrew, or to some Jewish convert, who thought that it would be pleasing to pilgrims to the Holy Places to bring home from the land that our Lord inhabited a coin (*moneta*) exhibiting his face. Hence such pieces were executed, and inscribed in Hebrew, so that they might excite greater veneration in the eyes of the unlearned, and, presenting the appearance of antiquity, might realise a better price.

Another remarkable medal is to be found in the King's Cabinet in the British Museum, for a notice of which I am indebted to Mr. Franks. By Mr. Ready's obliging assistance I have obtained a facsimile. This medal had not been mentioned by Mr. King. It bears the head of the Saviour, to the left, with the inscription—YHS. XPC. SALVATOR

<sup>7</sup> Legum Mischnicarum Liber, pars iii. "De re Uxoriam," edit. Gul. Surenhusius, Amst. 1698, p. 239.

<sup>8</sup> "Non alibi vidimus quam Viennæ

apud amplissimum, etc., nobis dilectum virum Ferdinandum Persium a Lobnsdorf, ser. Elect. Palat. in aula Cæsarea Legatum Residentem."

MVNDI. On the reverse (in small capitals), "Presentes figure ad similitudinem Domini Ihesu Salvatoris nostri et apostoli Pauli in amirabilo impresse per magni Theueri predecessoris antea singulariter observate misse sunt ab ipso magno Theuero s. d. N. Pape Innocencio octavo pro singulari clemetia ad hunc finem ut suum fratrem captivum retineret." Here it will be observed that the true motive seems for the first time to be expressed, which induced Bajazet to propitiate the Pope in favour of the captive Zemes. His desire was in fact not to redeem his brother from captivity, but to ensure his safe custody; to this end, as alleged, Bajazet engaged to remit to the Pope annually 40,000 gold crowns, for fear lest Innocent should release the prisoner, on account of the expense of maintenance. Innocent, it is believed, had been desirous to retain Zemes for certain political reasons, probably at the instance of Sultan Bajazet, with whom Zemes had violently contested the sovereignty. Zemes remained at Rome till the invasion of Italy in 1489 by Charles VIII. of France, to whom he was delivered up, and died not long after, as suspected, by poison.

This medal, of the obverse of which a representation accompanies these Notices, measures  $3\frac{1}{4}$  in. in diameter; around the head there is a cruciferous nimbus, the limbs of the cross are pierced, as shown in the woodcut. The face is rather long, in profile to the left, and of Hebrew expression, somewhat deficient in grace and dignity. The type, however, is evidently identical with that from which the various paintings above described were taken. At the top there is a small loop for suspension.

There is also in the King's Cabinet, as I am informed by Mr. Franks, the companion medallion of St. Paul, to which the inscription on that last described makes allusion. It bears the head of the apostle, to the right, with the inscription *AVAS ELECTIOIS PAVLVS APOSTOLVS*. On the reverse—"Benedicite in excelsis Deo domino de fontibus Israel ibi boni animi adolescentulus in mentis excessu." In the Museum collection there is moreover a medallion with the head of our Lord on the obverse, and that of St. Paul on the reverse.

It is with gratification that I would here mention the friendly courtesy of Mr. Fortnum, whose treasures of mediæval art have so often been freely placed at our disposal. I am indebted to him for another example of the striking



medal—the head of our Saviour—that I had obtained from the National Collection. It is apparently a casting of the same type in gilt metal, the details of the obverse with the profile head and the legend are identical; the dimensions are indeed slightly larger, the diameter being somewhat more than  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in., and the reverse bears, within a foliated chaplet tied by a riband at the bottom, the following legend:—TV ES CHRISTVS FILIVS DEI VIVI QVI IN HVNC MVNDVM VENISTI. The slight disparity in size is probably accidental, the edge of the disc having been left somewhat larger in finishing off the margin of the cast. At the top there is a small perforation, for the purpose of suspension.

It deserves notice that certain medals of the fine Papal Series present a profile head of the Saviour, which bears in several instances resemblance to the type of the emerald *icon*. The kindness of Mrs. Meadows Frost, of Chester, has invited my attention to the beautiful medals of Gregory X., Alexander VII., and Pius V., in her possession.

ALBERT WAY.



Medal of white mixed metal, probably a fine sand-casting. Date circa A.D. 1500.  
From an example in possession of ALBERT WAY.

NOTES ON THE ANCIENT CHRISTIAN CHURCHES OF MUSR EL  
ATEEKAH, OR OLD CAIRO, AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

By GREVILLE J. CHESTER, B.A.

CERTAINLY not the least interesting of the numerous objects which delight the traveller in and around the glorious city of Cairo are the Roman fortress-walls with their included Christian town and its neighbourhood known as "Musr el Ateekah," or "Old Cairo," and the ancient Christian "*Dayrs*," or convents in the same vicinity, which lift themselves up between the Nile and the desert, amidst the vast pottery-strewn mounds of the Egypto-Roman Babylon and the Arabian Fostat.

These ancient and too little known establishments may be divided into the following groups, arranged in their order of succession as a visitor would arrive at them, starting from Cairo.

I. *Dayr Mari Meena*, containing the *Kineseh*, or Church of S. Menas, belonging to the Copts, with the Church or chapel attached, which, after being occupied for many years by the Syrians has been restored to the Copts; and, secondly, an Armenian Church, not of ancient date.

II. The walled village of *Dayr Abou Sefhîn*, which includes the Churches of (1) Sitt Miriam; (2) Mari Macarius and Abou Sefhîn; and (3) the Church of Amba Shenouda.<sup>1</sup>

III. The ancient Roman fortress of *Musr el Ateekah*, Old Cairo, *par excellence*, commonly called *Dayr esh Shema*, which contains within its venerable and massive walls (A) a Jewish synagogue, formerly the Christian Church of S. Michael; (B) a Roman Catholic Church of no great antiquity; (C) a Greek Convent and Church; and (D) the five Coptic Churches, of which two are dedicated to Sitt Miriam, the Blessed Virgin

<sup>1</sup> It is not always easy to obtain the correct designation of these Churches, but the present list may be relied on as correct, having been submitted by an intel-

ligent young Copt of my acquaintance to several clergy of the Metropolitan Church and corrected by them.

Mary (of which the chief is known as *El Moallaka*, "the Suspended"), one to the Kedesch Berbarra, one to Mari Girgis (S. George), and one to Abou Sergeh, which last contains the crypt, or small subterraneous church of Sitt Miriam.

IV. *Dayr Bablôn*, which contains a Church dedicated to Sitt Miriam, and is interesting as preserving through the wreck of ages and the vicissitudes of conquest the name of the Roman Babylon of Egypt.

V. *Dayr Teodrâs*, containing the two churches of Sitt Miriam and Abon Eer wa Hanna.

VI. *Dayr Melik Michael*, a residence of the Metropolitan, which contains the Church of the Archangel S. Michael.

VII. And lastly, some distance further on, on the way to Toorah, the *Dayr and Church of Adra Miriam*.

It may be remarked here that the word "Dayr," or Convent, does not now in Egypt, whatever it may have done formerly, imply, like the term "Convent" or "Monastery" in Western Christendom, a society of brethren, clerical or lay, pledged to celibacy and living in common, but it is applied in some instances to a village of Coptic Christian people, living crowded together within narrow walls of ancient date, in houses surrounding one or more Churches, upon a site which has often been in their possession from the later Roman period. Visiting one day the Coptic Metropolitan Archbishop, Marcus of Alexandria, who till the appointment of a new Patriarch acts as the ecclesiastical head of the Coptic Church, I remarked that it was interesting to see in remote districts these small Christian communities living upon their own small ancestral properties in the midst of a hostile Mohammedan population. His Grace replied, "It is the work and will of God alone." In other instances the word "Dayr" is used to designate one or more churches with the residences of the married priests adjacent; the whole being inclosed within lofty walls, entered, for security's sake, by a single extremely small doorway. Amongst the Copts the patriarchs and bishops alone are denied the luxury of a wife.

I have been unable to find any detailed account of the Christian Dayrs, near Cairo, and experience has shown me that they are, with one exception, rarely visited by travellers. I propose, therefore, to set down a few notes upon each in

turn. First, however, it may be well to make mention of some of their common characteristics, and to specify some of the interesting objects connected with Divine worship which are the least likely to be familiar to Western eyes.

A Coptic church then, is, in its simplest form, an edifice of three parallel aisles divided from each other longitudinally by pillars of ancient Greek or Roman construction, with more or less of wooden screen-work and with few exceptions terminating in apses. This area is again divided transversely by screens, many of which are exquisitely carved, and inlaid with ivory and ornamented with paintings. The easternmost of these screens answers to the *Iconostasis* of the Greek Church, and is entered by three doors, or by a door and two windows covered with rich hangings, which, however, are drawn aside during the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and display the priest standing in the midst before the altar with his face turned eastwards. A square stone altar stands in each apse, and behind is a semicircle of stone steps with a central niche, anciently the seat of the Bishop, but commonly used now as the receptacle of one or more pictures. The building is usually surmounted by from one to three domes. The windows are small, and placed high up, and are almost invariably unglazed. These provisions ensure a constant and refreshing coolness, and deserve the close study of architects employed to erect Churches in our own tropical colonies. In the westernmost division of the Church, below the pavement, is a large tank for the water blessed on the Eve of the Feast of Epiphany. The Baptistery is usually a small building attached to the main Church rather than forming an integral portion of it. In some instances there are chapels in the clerestory.

The following are some of the more curious objects to be found in these churches.

1. Altars. These are *built* of stone, and are square in form. Underneath is a cavity entered from behind, intended originally, I suppose, to contain relics. On the upper surface of each altar is a groove in which the sacred elements are placed, covered with a square wooden cover painted with figures of saints or scriptural scenes. At celebrations the altars are covered with cotton cloths embroidered with crosses. Now and then a more ancient cloth is seen made

of richer materials. On each altar are generally two brass candlesticks, a taper-stand, incense-box, snuffers, hand-cross, and a few tattered MSS. books written on cotton paper.

2. Hand-crosses in use in the services made of brass or silver.

3. Processional crosses of brass, to which are affixed flags.

4. Censers of brass or silver. Some of these are of fine work and considerable antiquity. In some cases silver bells are attached to the chains.

5. Bronze coronas.

6. Ostrich eggs suspended from the roof as in Moham-medan mosques.

7. Gospel covers of silvered iron or silver gilt. These cases are sometimes of great magnificence. They are her-metically sealed, and during portions of the services are placed on a chair outside the Iconostasis. Theoretically, I believe, they contain the *four* Gospels, but one obtained by me from Dayr Teodrüs, and opened at the British Museum, was found to contain only a silk rag and a portion of the Gospel of S. John.

8. Cups, patens, and spoons of silver for the administra-tion of the Eucharist.

9. A curved object of silver in the shape of a cross, used to place over the Consecrated Bread as it lies in the paten, and to support a square cloth of silk or cotton with which the whole is covered.

10. Four-sided wooden boxes to cover the sacred Elements when placed in the altar-groove.

11. Wooden crosses bound with faded garlands of roses. These are buried in the Church on Good Friday and ex-humed at Easter; the rose leaves being distributed amongst the congregation, and by them carried home. Rose leaves are also sometimes seen scattered upon the relics of Saints.

12. Bronze basins and ewers for washing the hands at the Eucharist. These are sometimes elegant specimens of Arab art, and ornamented with enamel.

13. Staves in the form of a Tau cross, used to lean on during long-protracted services. The people thus "worship, leaning on the top of a staff."

14. Relics. The relics of the Saints are placed in wooden cases covered with silk or shawls, which exactly resemble very gaudy bolsters.

15. Pictures. These are chiefly affixed to the screens. They are executed in the stiff Byzantine style. Some appear to be of considerable antiquity.

16. Triangles and brazen cymbals used in chanting the services.

17. Immense wooden chairs used by the Bishop or as a stand for the Evangelisterion.

18. Ancient Arabic glass lamps. Not more than two or three of these now remain, and these specimens are of plain white or blue glass.

19. Standing candlesticks of large size of wood, iron, and brass.

20. Crowns of silver used to place upon the heads of the bride and bridegrooms at weddings.

21. Silver ornaments in the shape of rounded fans, generally embossed with the figures of Cherubs or Saints. Small tapers are sometimes stuck upon them during Divine Service.

I now proceed to speak in detail of the Dayrs as they occur, beginning at the end next Cairo.

I. *Dayr Mari Meena*. This Convent is situated a little way outside the city gate, near the beginning of the Mounds of Fostat. It contains an ancient church dedicated to S. Menas, a saint who flourished at the beginning of the fourth century. The chief Convent which bore his name, which is interesting as recording that of the first recorded King of Egypt, was at Alexandria, where to this day, as also in other places in Egypt, terra-cotta bottles are frequently found bearing the name and effigy of the Saint. In the Church of Mari Meena is a very curious ancient brass candlestick in the form of two dragons with retorted heads, and with the tails meeting and intertwined in the centre. Seventeen candles were placed in holders attached to the heads and along the back of the dragons. The pulpit is a good specimen of *Opus Alexandrinum*, executed in antique marbles. In this Church may still be found suspended *in situ*, and still in use, an ancient Arabic glass lamp of plain blue glass. Attached to the south aisle of the nave is another Church or chapel, for long in the occupation of the community of Syrian Christians, but now again, in consequence of their diminished numbers, restored to the Copts.

Hard by is an Armenian burial-ground and Church,

which last was rebuilt about 150 years ago. In a niche in a wall outside the Church, before a picture, is a brass lamp, imitated from the ancient example in the neighbouring church of the Copts.

Part of the boundary wall of this *Dayr* is surmounted by large earthenware pots, so slightly embedded in mortar that they would come down with any robber who should attempt to climb over. This seems an improvement upon the broken bottles which British householders so delight to place upon their walls.

II. *Dayr Abou Sefhîn*. This *Dayr* contains three churches.

1. *Sitt Miriam*. This Church is of far less antiquity than the others in this walled village, and has apparently been rebuilt. It consists of three aisles. In the first compartment I noticed in a cupboard a perfect ancient Arabic lamp of white glass. This Church has the almost unique peculiarity of ending square, and not as is usual in apses. The Bishop's seat-niche behind the central altar is lined with coloured Arabic tiles of no great merit. The tradition, even, that the Bishop used to occupy this position is in this Church entirely lost.

2. *Amba Shenouda*. A fine large Church of four aisles. The nave is supported upon eight pillars, on one of which is painted the image of a Saint. The baldachino over the central altar deserves notice. The pulpit is a fine example of early woodwork. Here are some fine ancient altar-cloths, and two silver crowns used in marriages, and bearing the inscription, "Glory to God; on Earth Peace." There is also an Evangelisterion of base silver.

3. *Abou Sefhîn*. A Church of extraordinary interest. The massive low door of approach has been covered externally with the scales of crocodiles, some of which remain *in situ*. Inside there are two compartments, and two tanks for the Epiphany water, in the westernmost of which I noticed a unique arrangement, designed apparently to carry off water to the people outside. In this compartment there is also a very curious prostrate stone column, 4 ft. in length by 10 in. in diameter, completely covered with Arabic inscriptions. The pavement round one of the water-tanks is adorned with *Opus Alexandrinum*.

This Church consists of a nave, with a high-pitched roof and lofty dome, and two aisles, the Baptistery being in that

to the south. Here, in a shrine or reliquary is preserved the arm of S. Macarius, and above hangs a picture of Abou Sefhin. The pulpit, under which is buried a Coptic Patriarch, is of most exquisite workmanship, and is adorned with superb mosaics executed in marble intermixed with mother of pearl, and with Coptic inscriptions cut in white marble. Over the second screen is the text, "My soul hath a desire to enter into the Courts of the Lord." The third screen is superbly inlaid with ivory. The Iconostasis is also magnificent with inlaid wood and ivory, carved with the utmost taste, and some of the pictures above upon a gold ground are of unusual size, and apparently very ancient. Part of the pavement is enriched with patterns incised in the marble. The baldachino over the central altar is fine, and behind the altar is a superb circle of steps leading up to the patriarchal chair of white marble. The walls of the central apse are enriched with excellent *Opus Alexandrinum*, above which are disposed some very fine Arabian tiles. In this apse is a perfect wooden reading-desk of peculiar shape, and a beautiful ewer and stand of Arab work, adorned with blue and green enamel. In the chapel of S. Michael the seat-niche is lined with small old Arabian tiles.

III. *Musr el Ateekah*, Old Cairo, called also *Dayr esh Shema*, the name Musr el Ateekah not being confined to this walled village, but embracing also the neighbourhood.

The Jewish Synagogue, as has been observed, was anciently the Christian church of S. Michael, and is said to have been made over to the Jews by the Copts, in lieu of an unpaid debt, by decree of one of the Arabian Caliphs during the Middle Ages. In form it resembles a Basilica, and it is entered by a kind of porch, with a descent into it of two or three steps. The nave is separated from the side aisles by twelve ancient marble pillars, above which is a gallery, the clerestory being supported by eight more marble columns. The aisle runs round the west end, and the western gallery, under which is the entrance, is supported by a single pillar. In the apse, and above and around the niche, in which are placed the Holy Books of the Law, are arabesques and leaf-work, with inscriptions elegantly executed upon wood and plaster in Hebrew characters; and in the side aisles is some fine screen work, which, from its general character, and especially from the introduction of birds and gazelles or



other animals in some of the panels, is plainly of Christian work. Underneath the eastern end is a fine well or fountain of water, supplied by percolation from the Nile, and reputed to be possessed of curative powers. In the centre of the building is the tomb of a reputed prophet. The eastern extremity of this edifice has evidently been reconstructed. Outside is a doorway now bricked up, but ornamented with elegant arabesques in plaster, and having on the right two niches, apparently designed for lamps. Immediately behind the Synagogue there is a fine view of a portion of the massive Roman walls of the ancient "Babylon" of Egypt, and of the interior of one of the semi-circular flanking towers. These last, like the walls, are constructed of limestone, with courses of red tiles at regular intervals, and with red tiles arranged round the top of the windows, as in the Aurelian wall at Rome. The following are the dimensions of this interesting synagogue, which, it is much to be wished, could be rescued from its present state of profanation and restored to Christian worship :—

	Feet.	Inches.
Length of nave . . . . .	49	0
Length of apse . . . . .	6	8
Width of nave . . . . .	17	0
North aisle . . . . .	8	7
South aisle . . . . .	10	1
Western aisle, from entrance-door to pillars . . . . .	9	10

The *Greek Convent* is a large pile of buildings, built close by and partly upon a portion of the Roman walls. Inside at the top of a flight of steps is a circle of ancient pillars with old capitals around a well. This edifice forms a kind of vestibule to the small Chapel of the Forty Saints, in which is a throne for the Greek Patriarch, and some very ancient paintings. Above, again, is the large and richly decorated Church of S. George, of which the walls are partly lined with superb Arabian and Persian or Rhodian tiles.

Behind this Convent is a Roman tower, named by the people "El Borg." It contains three rooms, one of which has a fine *pointed* brick arch and a vaulted roof. The doors have round arches filled up square with stones and dark red bricks. This building is now used as a mill, the wheel being turned by a horse.

*Sitt Miriam*. No. 1. This church has been rebuilt, and contains little of interest.

*Sitt Miriam*. No. 2. One of the most interesting churches in the neighbourhood of Cairo. It is partly erected in one of the bastion towers of the Roman gateway of Babylon, and being approached by a lofty staircase with a vaulted roof of brick, it is termed *El Moallaka* (the Suspended). This church has five aisles, the principal of which are supported on either side by pillars of marble and granite. One or two of these, from the introduction of the Cross amidst the Corinthianizing foliage of the capitals, appear to belong to Roman Christian times. Beams of wood, covered with ancient Coptic inscriptions, extend uninterruptedly along upon the top of the capitals and across a series of pointed arches, one of which rises above and between each pair of pillars. The lofty roofs are of wood. In the principal aisle stands a remarkable pulpit. It is of marble, supported on fifteen pillars, and ornamented with mosaics. Its marble staircase is ornamented with two sculptured crosses. A certain Patriarch, named Abraham, lies buried under this pulpit. The principal screen is exquisitely sculptured in wood and ivory, and over it are good paintings of our Lord and saints and angels. Two other screens are also very fine. The woods used are cedar and ebony. In a small space, between the central and left-hand altar-chapels, are preserved the two leaves of a cedar door, sculptured with great delicacy, spirit, and elegance. This is without doubt the finest piece of ancient Christian sculpture in Egypt, and deserves the closest inspection. It is much to be regretted that it has never been engraved. The two upper compartments represent crosses amidst interlacing foliage, carved at different depths. The other compartments display the following subjects:—the Adoration of the Magi, our Lord's Baptism, His Last Entry into Jerusalem, His Ascension, the Descent of the Holy Spirit, and another subject which I have not been able satisfactorily to identify. Over each of the altars is an ancient baldachino of wood, supported on marble columns. In this Church there is the example, so far as I know, unique in a Church, though of course common enough in Mosques, of a window of stained glass. In one of the aisles a portion of the pavement is executed in marble mosaic, and in one of the cupboards I discovered an ancient broken lamp of plain white glass.

In the chapel, called the "Chapel of the Ethiopians," a

circular ornament inclosing a cross is sculptured in the centre of the altar-slab; and in a neighbouring chapel stands an immense, ancient wooden chest. In a third chapel the rare feature appears of a basin for washing the hands inserted in the wall. The Baptistry occupies a portion of the circuit of one of the Roman gateway towers; it contains superb mosaics in marble and mother-o'-pearl, and a white marble font resembling in shape a common cooking copper. The interior of the other Roman gate tower is partly used as a burial-place, the interments being made in vaults. On the front of one of these tombs is inserted a white marble roundel representing a cross within a wreath. Near the door leading to these tombs, and over another door, in a small chamber, is the most interesting inscription in four lines on a beam of cedar, partly concealed in the masonry, which has been published, although imperfectly, by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, in "Murray's Hand-book for Egypt."<sup>2</sup> With the assistance of Mr. Eaton, who is now preparing a new edition of that work, I copied the inscription afresh, and I believe that its correctness may be relied on, although its position and the decayed state of the wood renders its collation a matter of difficulty. It will be seen that the beginning of each clause is imperfect.

— AM — M — ΤΑΙΑΧΛΥΣΠΑΝΤΣΛΩΣΜΗΚΕΚΤΗΜΕΝΟ  
 ΣΕΝ⊙ΑΚΑΤΩΚΕΙΠΑΝΤΟΠΛΗΡΩΜΑΤΗΣ⊙ΕΟΤΗΤΟΣ  
 ΩΛΥΤΟΥΡΓΟΥΣΙΝΛΙΑΝΩΣ — Τ — Α ————— ]  
 — ΤΩΣΑΥΤΟΝΓΕΡΕΡΟΥΣΙΝΕΝΤΡΙΣΛΓΙΑΦΩΝΗΑΔΟ  
 ΝΤΕΣ&ΛΕΓΟΝΤΕΣΑΓΙΟΣΑΓΙΟΣΑΓΙΟΣΕΙΚΕΠΛΗΡΗ  
 ΣΟΟΥΝΟΣ&ΗΓΗΤΗ ————— ]  
 — ΣΟΥΠΟΥΛΥΕΥΣΠΑΧΝΕΚΕΟΤΙΕΝΟΥΝΟΙΣΑΩΡΑΤΟΣ  
 ΩΝΠΟΙΚΙΛΟΙΣΔΥΝΑΜΕΣΙΝΕΝΗΗΙΝΕΥΔΟΗΣΑΣΤΟΙ  
 ΣΒΡΩΤΟΙΣΣΥΝ ————— ]  
 — ΗΤΟΡΟΣ — ΑΡΙΑΣΕΠΙΚΟΥΡΟΤΕΝΟΥΑΒΒΑ⊙ΕΟΔ  
 — ΡΟΥΠΡΟΕΛΔ⊙Ϝ&ΓΕΩΡΓΙΩΔΙΑΚ&ΟΙΚΝ — ΤΡΑΠ—  
 ΔΙΟΚΛ — ΙΑ ————— ]

<sup>2</sup> An anastatic drawing by Sir Gardner's own hand represents this inscription with the accompanying figures, apparently representing the Twelve Apostles, with our Lord in glory, supported by angels, in the centre. See *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. ii., fourth series, p. 152. The

reading (which slightly differs from mine and Mr. F. A. Eaton's), and the translation of the inscription may there be found, with some remarks by the Rev. A. Cumby. The inscription is there ascribed to the third year of Diocletian, A.D. 281.

The extreme incivility and grasping cupidity, and on one occasion the violence of the priests of this most interesting Church, rendered its exploration a matter of some difficulty. As a rule these Coptic Churches are never found open except at an early hour on Sunday morning, or on a few great Feast-days, the Copts vying with ultra-Protestants in their fondness for locked Churches.

*Church of Kedesch Berbarra.*—A large and curious Church of early date. The shrine of S. Berbarra is gaudily painted in bright colours, and contains within a brass screen the relics of the Saint done up in a kind of blue bolster. The nave is supported on ten pillars, on which rest wooden beams as in the Moallaka. These are elegantly painted, and above them are pointed arches. Over these again are the ancient women's galleries,<sup>3</sup> with four more pillars upon either side arranged severally into two bays. The aisle and gallery above is carried round the west end, two pillars in each case separating them from the nave. The lofty pulpit is of white marble enriched with fine ancient mosaics, and stands upon ten marble columns. The under part of the marble pulpit floor is adorned with a sculptured cross. This church abounds with splendid early carving in wood inlaid with ivory.<sup>4</sup> There is also a curious triple standing candelabra of iron, a large brass standing candlestick, and a brass corona, the latter disused and lying amidst the rubbish in a side chapel. Here, too, I observed a curious marble pedestal, supported on four rude feet, and perhaps designed as a candlestick. The paintings over the screen before the Leonastasis are unusually good, and this screen itself has incorporated in it two fine ancient columns. In this church are several curious side chapels, and many other objects of unusual interest.

*Mari Girgis.*—The interesting church of Mari Girgis having recently been destroyed by fire has been entirely rebuilt. Fortunately a plan of the old church was taken by the Honourable Sir Arthur Gordon, K.C.B.

Hard by is an interesting specimen of an ancient Christian

<sup>3</sup> The women at the present day occupy the more western compartments of the nave and aisles, the men those nearer the Leonastasis.

<sup>4</sup> The superb pulpit from a Cairene

Mosque bought in the Meymar Collection, and now in the South Kensington Museum, will convey an idea of the style of the carvings.

Egyptian dwelling-house, with elegant wood carvings displaying the Cross introduced amidst foliage.

*Church of Abou Sirgeh, with the subterraneous Chapel of Sitt Miriam.*—This large, fine, and lofty church is almost the only one visited by travellers. The pillars which separate the nave and aisles are carried round the western end and support galleries. The clerestories on either side rest on four pillars set in bays or compartments of two each. The pulpit in the principal aisle is of fine early woodwork. The principal screen is a magnificent specimen of carved wood and ivory, and to the left of it are some fine panels sculptured with figures of S. George, various saints, and Scriptural subjects. These carvings, although curious, are far less interesting than the door-leaves in the Moallaka. Mari Girgis (S. George) it should be remarked is the Patron Saint of the Copts. In front of the Iconostasis<sup>5</sup> two narrow staircases descend to a small three-aisled subterraneous chapel, with plastered walls, apparently of great antiquity. Two pillars on each side separate the centre from the side aisles. In the eastern wall of the centre aisle is a deep cavity or niche, with a slab at the bottom adorned with a sculptured cross, and with the sides and roof carefully finished in hewn stone. At the end of the southern aisle is a font embedded like a copper in stone masonry, and used for the Baptism of small children. In the side walls of each of the side aisles respectively there is another niche, at the bottom of each of which is a sculptured cross. Tradition has it that at the time of the Flight into Egypt the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Holy Child rested in one cavity and S. Joseph in the other.

Leaving this interesting crypt-chapel, I return again to the main Church. Behind the principal altar there is a fine flight of seven lofty steps of white and coloured marbles, the wall of the apse being faced with exquisite mosaics of that rare and peculiar description wherein the various coloured marbles are intermixed with blue opaque glass and mother o' pearl.

This mixture of shell, glass, and marble is, so far as I know, peculiar to Egypt,<sup>6</sup> and even there exists only in this and a

<sup>5</sup> In this paper, for convenience sake, I have throughout adopted this term to express the screen immediately in front of the altar.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. A. Nesbitt kindly informs me that this mixture is found also "in S. Vitale, Ravenna; and more largely in the Cathedral of Parenzo in Istria."

very few other Churches, and in some of the most magnificent Mosques. The effect is extremely good and well worthy of imitation. The left-hand altar-chapel has been modernized, in that on the right I observed a curious piece of wood sculptured with two crosses and several Coptic inscriptions. The priest informed me that he knelt upon this board when engaged in prayer.

#### IV. *Dayr Babbîn.*

This convent is of great antiquity, and interesting, as already stated, as preserving the name of the Roman Babylon of Egypt. It contains the large and interesting church of Sitt Miriam. Its dimensions are as follows:—

	Feet.	Inches.
From western wall to first screen . . . . .	11	0
Thence to second screen . . . . .	15	0
Second screen to Iconostasis . . . . .	12	6
Iconostasis to niche in eastern wall . . . . .	14	9
Depth of seat-niche . . . . .	2	0
Breadth of central apse . . . . .	14	10
Breadth of church . . . . .	52	0

Each compartment of the nave of this Church is supported by columns of granite or marble, with marble capitals taken from some edifice of Roman time, and the roof is vaulted with stone. The interior of the baldachino, which surmounts the chief altar, is decorated with a large picture of Christ in Glory in the attitude of benediction. In the niche of the apse our Lord is again represented, but this time holding a book. Here is preserved a silver Evangelisterion, or book-case, with a cross in the centre of each side, and a Saint at each angle. Above the cross is a Coptic, and below it an Arabic inscription. A copper-gilt candlestick, like the Evangelisterion, does not appear to be of high antiquity. In these ancient Oriental Churches usages and forms are handed down without change from generation to generation. On the central altar there are the usual two candlesticks, and a small taper-stand, all of brass. Suspended hard by is a silver censer, with small bells attached to the chains, precisely similar to those often seen on the silver anklets which adorn the "tinkling feet" of Arab children. The Epiphany water-tank is remarkable as being in the shape of a kind of floriated cross.

In the chapel of Sitt Miriam, to the left of the nave is a

reliquary of the usual bolster form, and a fair painting of the Blessed Virgin and Child. *Upstairs*, on either side of the nave, and partly opening into it, are two chapels, respectively of Mari Girgis and the Melek Michael. In the latter the wooden covering of the Sacred Elements, which is placed over the central altar-groove, is decorated on all its four sides with paintings of unusual merit, that of the Lord's Supper in particular being executed with considerable care and spirit.

V. *Dayr Abou Eer wa Hanna*, sometimes called *Dayr Teodrus*.

Churches of these names are both enclosed within the same ancient wall, of which the oldest part is of dark red brick, and the more modern of the same red brick intermixed with pieces of roughly-faced limestone. This convent is reputed to be of great antiquity. Each establishment is entered by an extremely low door, opening from a common courtyard.

*Abou Eer wa Hanna*.<sup>7</sup> This church, though a comparatively humble structure, contains a great number of valuable and curious articles.

The central chapel, dedicated to Abou Eer and Abou Hanna, has its niche adorned with the often-repeated figure of our Lord in Glory, upon a gold ground and surrounded by saints. In the left-hand chapel, that of Sitt Miriam (our Lady Mary), are two ancient silver censers of elegant design, three or four sets of brazen cymbals, and a brass corona, not now in use. I was also shown here the vessels for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. They consist of a plain massive chalice of silver, a plain silver paten, and a silver spoon, inscribed with an Arabic inscription. In the paten are two small hoops of silver, joined in the middle crosswise, and used to place under the square napkin-covering over the Consecrated Bread. In the right hand chapel, that of Mari Girgis, are several brass candlesticks, a silver censer, partly gilt, two silver hand-crosses, and two silver hand-ornaments, resembling fans with circular tops, on each of which a cherub is represented in relief. Here, likewise, is preserved a superb silver-gilt gospel-case

<sup>7</sup> A Coptic inscription on an ancient piece of embroidery from this church, now in my possession speaks of this church as that of Abou *kir*, but it is un-

doubtedly called Abou *Eer* at the present time, and so it was written down for me by a Copt.

of folio size. It is adorned with a cross in relief in the centre of each side, with small crosses at the angles, and with Coptic and Arabic inscriptions and foliage-work. This fine work of art cannot, I suppose, be less than 400 or 500 years old. I also saw here some rich vestments of crimson and gold, and a girdle whose clasps of silver-gilt are enriched with niello. To the right of the church is another small chapel of Abou Eer and Abou Hanna, separated by open grill-work from the aisle. Within, the bones of these Saints are preserved in the usual bolster-like reliquaries covered with crimson silk.

*Church of Teodrús.*—The plan of this church is three aisles, supported upon two masses of masonry, and two groups of two elegant pillars each, and surmounted by four domes. Before the Iconostasis stands a large candlestick still in use. The night before my last visit, the aged priest, who resides in Cairo, had slept in the nave of the church, on whose floor were spread his mattrass, pipe, and coffee pot. Here are one old silver, and one iron Evangelistion, many silver hand-crosses, and a silver fan ornament. I was able to purchase from the adjoining house a beautiful glass Arabic lamp, now in the Christy Collection in the British Museum, with the inscription, "O, the Learned One," in Arabic, repeated several times round the bowl.

VI. *Dayr Melek Michavel.*—This convent contains the church of the Archangel Michael, and is the occasional residence of the Metropolitan.<sup>8</sup> The church is of no great antiquity, though very picturesquely situated.

VII. *Dayr Adra Miriam.*—This convent is exquisitely situated close to the Nile, and at a fine bend of the river. In its external wall is imbedded at a considerable height a stone covered with Egyptian hieroglyphics, and perhaps brought from the neighbouring quarries of Teorah. The church of Adra Miriam is of no great antiquity. In it I observed a small bronze bell attached to a rod; this is the only specimen I have seen in a Coptic church. I found here a quantity of books in an onion-room! They are all written on cotton paper, and are of no particular interest, with the exception of one which contains some curious illuminations.

\* The different degrees of the Coptic hierarchy were thus enumerated to me by an intelligent Copt. 1. Patrâch; 2.

Mitrân; 3. Hoof; 4. Um moost; 5. Aseeq; 6. Kahub; 7. Shammas.



## SOME ACCOUNT OF THE MUNIMENTS OF THE ABBEY OF WESTMINSTER.

By JOSEPH BURTT, Assistant-Keeper of Public Records.

THE work "Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey," by the Dean of Westminster, has already made known the circumstance, in only too favourable terms, of my being engaged in improving the condition of the Records of that ancient and most interesting foundation. But the aim of that work was far too high, and its scope too wide, to permit the author to do more than glance at some of the most important documents in the collection, to use much of the information they contained, and to discuss concisely their bearing and effect. And now that my labours have been brought to a close, and a selection of the most remarkable and interesting of those Records has long been submitted to minute inspection by the public—in accordance with that system of creating a regard for everything connected with the noble structure to which they relate, which has of late years increased so much the public interest in such matters—the time seems to have arrived for giving some general idea of the entire collection. Such an account will have both advantages and disadvantages in appearing after such a work as the "Historical Memorials," and may be thought to present only the crumbs of a feast from which the best dishes have been carried off; but yet the value of what remains will be found to be much enhanced by the attractions of that work.

I propose first to glance at what was probably the early condition of the Abbey Muniments. A substantive portion of the fabric, as rebuilt by Henry III., was the gallery in the south transept for the purposes of a Muniment Room. Sir G. G. Scott has carefully described its architectural details, spoken of the large oaken chests of the thirteenth century which are kept there, and of the probable value of their con-

tents.<sup>1</sup> In my work upon this collection, which was brought to a close last autumn, I failed to observe any indications of an earlier arrangement of the Records than that made by Richard Widmore, the librarian of the Chapter about 130 years ago. Widmore certainly must have been an active and industrious man. Besides attending to his official duties, he wrote an "Inquiry into the First Foundation of Westminster Abbey," and a "History of the Abbey," which are much quoted in the "Monasticon," and, perhaps, some other works; and he compiled an "Account of the Records," which it was my task to retrieve from the confusion into which a large portion had fallen, and to improve upon. Widmore made free use of the Abbey archives in his writings, and speaks of his labours in their arrangement. The old chests in the Muniment Room seem to have been no great favourites of his, as he made suggestions to have presses put up for the documents in their stead, and it is not improbable that some of the chests were got rid of by him. During his time, too, I think it must have been that the inner portion of the Muniment Room was fitted up as it now is. It is difficult to say when it was made into two stories,—with the worst possible effect to its light and accommodation; but it was probably divided into two portions during the reign of Richard II. I may, perhaps, here venture to go so far out of my province as to commend to the skilful architect of the Abbey the idea of removing this upper room at least, if not the whole inner portion of the Muniment Room. Besides the badge of Richard II. upon the plaster portion, which might probably be preserved, there is no *prestige* about what is a cumbrous and ugly mass of woodwork, answering no practical purpose, and which, if cleared away, would reveal some of the delicate features of the architectural decoration of the South transept, with its symmetrical window openings, graceful and rich mouldings, bosses, and diaper work, the *respond* to the aisle of the North transept, and which had been coarsely blocked up with brick-work. The opening up of these windows would add considerably to the beauty of that portion of the noble structure we all admire and reverence.

The Records originally kept in the Muniment Room in the South transept were doubtless only the manorial docu-

<sup>1</sup> "Gleanings from Westminster Abbey," 2nd ed. 1863, p. 54.

ments.<sup>2</sup> These were then by far the most numerous and important of the collection, and each chief officer of the Abbey had his own section to attend to. A system then prevailed which has now nearly died out, if not entirely. Instead of the income of the establishment being received by one officer, and distributed to the various branches for expenditure, the places themselves which were the sources of income were assigned to a certain section of the establishment, put into the hands of the officers themselves, and kept under their own management. Thus a most fruitful source of quarrel and jealousy existed, and was always causing difficulties and troubles. The Bailiff, Chamberlain, Cellarer, Sacrist, and Treasurer, had each his share of the estates of the Abbey appropriated to his office; and the accounts of those estates, and the documents connected with them, together with their own official accounts, were in their custody, and were the occupants of the old chests in the Muniment Room. These accounts are sometimes accompanied by Indentures or Inventories relating to the office, describing the duties of the officer, and setting out the stock which passed from one to another. In illustration I would refer to a charter of Abbot Wenlock in the time of Edward I., which appropriated the manor of Amwell in Hertfordshire to the Cellarer of the Abbey, and to an earlier one of Abbot Humez, granting Parham in Sussex to the convent—an instrument made in Chapter in very solemn form, the common seal being said to be affixed at the “very altar of St. Peter, the Prince of Apostles,” and having in it a clause in which any one infringing the charter is “terribly anathematized.”

Henry III., in his solicitude and care for the Abbey, actually took in hand the settlement of a serious dispute among its officers about their rights and revenues. In 1225 a formal agreement or “composition” had been made between Abbot Berkyng and the convent for the distribution of the revenues to the various branches of the Monastery. In 1252, while all the cares of the rebuilding of the Abbey were upon the king’s hands, so serious a dispute had arisen “by reason of the composition,” that he had to interfere to reconcile the members of the establishment. That instru-

<sup>2</sup> See the Introduction to the “Domesday of St. Paul’s, of the year M.CC.XXII,” edited for the Camden Society by the

late Archdeacon Hale, for an account of manorial arrangements of ecclesiastical foundations.

ment, ratified by the King's great seal, finally arranged matters. Three complaints were made—the dealing of the Abbot with refractory “obedients”—the provision of flesh-meat to the monks by the Abbot—and the visitation of the manors. The Abbot's power was confirmed as to the first particular; he was released as regards the second; and it was agreed that once a year the chief manors were to be visited by the Cellarer. The elections of Cellarer and hosteler were settled by the same document, and the church of Fering in Essex was given to the Prior and convent in aid of their charges by the settlement. There are many other references among the Archives to such an appropriation of property to sections of the Abbey.

The great bulk of the Abbey muniments are (of course) the manorial documents. I have not attempted to make an estimate of their number, but it amounts to many thousands. Dealing, as in duty bound, in the first place, with the charters, I am launched upon a wide and difficult inquiry—that of the genuineness of many of the early charters to the Abbey.

Very soon after what may be called the revival of a taste for mediæval learning, the authenticity of many of the early and curious Saxon charters was doubted. From the time of Sir Henry Spelman to that of Sir Frederic Madden there have arisen authors and critics of whom each one has gone beyond his predecessor in casting doubt upon these MSS. The distinguished Henry Wharton, whose monument is in the Abbey, hit upon the right explanation in his “*Anglia Sacra*,” published in 1691. He said that the fraudulent monastic charters had been long ago detected by learned men, and that the forged Saxon charters were generally made after the Conquest, when the Norman victors tried to wrong the owners of property and rights, and to abstract them “*per fas aut nefas*.” And the latest writer upon the subject, Mr. Thorpe, the editor of the “*Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici*,” published in 1865, thus sums up the argument and the facts: “But even those generally regarded as decided forgeries may not always be false with respect to their substance, being probably fabrications by the monks as vouchers for the possession of lands which justly belonged to them by prescription, or of which the original title had been lost or destroyed, or of which the Norman conquerors had despoiled them. Such charters are

usually distinguished by their magniloquence. And when the monastery was troubled and impleaded by the Norman justiciar, or the soke invaded by the Norman baron, the Abbot and his brethren would have recourse to the artifice of inventing a charter for the purpose of protecting property, which, however lawfully acquired and honestly enjoyed, was like to be wrested from them by the captious niceties of Norman jurisprudence or the greedy tyranny of the Norman sword."

Westminster shares the stigma, such as it is, of such forgeries with many another great religious establishment, with Peterborough, Worcester, Croyland, &c., and they may be traced to the many disputes as to the rights of the Abbey, chiefly in regard to the question of jurisdiction, and the great fair granted to the Abbey in opposition to the City of London. The principles of determining what really are such forgeries are not yet, however, quite settled; and Kemble, the editor of the great collection of Saxon charters, the "*Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*," a work of the highest character, often finds himself at issue with the great Saxon scholar of the seventeenth century, Dr. Hickes, and, with the modesty of talent, owns that he may not be always right. He continues (writing in 1840), "So many and various are the difficulties, which stand in the way of a decisive judgment, that I do not entertain the hope of having rarely fallen into error when investigating the authenticity of my documents. My leaning is generally rather *against* than *for* any charter respecting which a doubt has suggested itself to my mind; and it must, therefore, be borne in mind that many have been marked with an asterisk, not to express my belief that they were absolute forgeries, but merely to denote that there were circumstances of suspicion about them."

Of the Westminster charters before Edward the Confessor, eight in number, Kemble prints four, two being marked as doubtful; and Thorpe prints two, one being from the "*Niger Quaternus*," which seems to confirm a charter of King Edgar's, marked as doubtful. I may be permitted, I trust, to direct special attention to the charter of Bishop Dunstan. I need not touch upon its import—it has prominently stamped upon it the characteristics of forgery; no one who had seen a MS. of the tenth century would receive such characterless writing as of the year 959; it has a seal pen-

dant to the charter by a thin strip of silken tissue (probably of the twelfth century) passed through a rough hole made between two lines of the writing in such a way as no one ever saw a seal appended—and yet the seal itself has many marks of authenticity. No other seal of the great bishop is known to exist—no seal of any English bishop of that date is known to exist—no pendant seal is known in England before the time of Edward the Confessor, and yet the seal may be genuine—in the sense of its having been made by authentic *matrices*, or its being a genuine example removed from a genuine instrument. On the continent at that period seals were always affixed *en placard*, that is, on the face of the instrument, in which an incision was made, and through which the wax protruded and received the counter-seal, which was expressly designed to protect the seal itself from being tampered with. On these accounts this seal of Bishop Dunstan may deserve further consideration. The reverse bears his counter-seal as Bishop of Worcester, a circumstance in itself strongly militating against the authenticity of the seal.

Coming now to the charters of Edward the Confessor, eight in number, two of these are certainly spurious, one of which is the noble-looking charter of consecration, dated 28th December, 1065, or 5 calends of January, 1066, and which is most probably of the twelfth century. A late investigator (Mr. Walter de Gray Birch) has discovered that the Confessor-king used three great seals, of one of which only a small fragment is known, and that is appended to one of the Westminster charters. Several of the other charters before Henry I. are also doubtful, though the seals may be impressions from genuine matrices; but this branch of the subject may, I trust, be further investigated by an abler hand.

After the charters may be specified the rolls of accounts of manorial officers, deeds of feoffment, &c., and perhaps more than the usual variety of instruments relating to dealings with land and the exercise of rights thereon. All these are of great value for topographical and archaeological purposes, and as to mediæval Westminster, I might say that there is scarcely a square foot of its great extent but what is dealt with by the Abbey records, from the reign of Henry III. to modern times. Taking one portion as an illustration, the well known district of Tothill Fields, about which we

are told a great deal in the "Memorials." In the late Peter Cunningham's excellent "Hand-book of London" we are informed that the author found no earlier trace of the name than one in the fifteenth century—that the origin of the name is unknown, and that in the time of Elizabeth it was a common place for duels and assemblies of various kinds, not generally of the best. Stow describes a duel fought there in 1571 with all his interesting minuteness.

There are, however, many deeds among the Abbey muniments giving the name "Totehull" early in the thirteenth century. It was not till the middle of the seventeenth century that this large tract of land, the waste of the manor, spreading from the Abbey Close on the east to Eye and Chelsea on the west, and from the Thames on the south to the manors of Hyde and Knightsbridge on the north, was found to be of great value. Population was increasing, buildings were encroaching upon the waste, and every one that could do so was robbing or spoiling it. The inhabitants had "common" there, but they were not satisfied with their rights. The "field-keepers" had a hard time of it in resisting encroachments, and they reported that the disorders committed there "tended to the defacing of the said fields, the hindrance of the meeting of the gentry for their recreation at bowles, goffe, and stow-ball, and the general prejudice of the inhabitants of the Citie and liberty of Westminster." In 1658 the inhabitants of Westminster petitioned the Governors of the Free School and Almshouses—who had the manor during the Commonwealth—setting out "That the said fields heretofore was a place for walking in and recreation, and for exercise and discipline of horse and foot, and y<sup>e</sup> herbage very advantageous and profitable to many poore inhabitants; but now the waies into y<sup>e</sup> same are utterly destroyed, that neither horse nor foot can draw or come into y<sup>e</sup> same; Colonel Ludlowe's coach being lately so mired there that he was forced to have a teame of horses to drawe it out; Also, *where a great Hill lately stood, consisting of many thousand loads, there is now a pond, that a horse lately in the daytime was strangled and smothered therein,*" &c. The petition is signed by twenty-two inhabitants, who pray for a surveyor to be appointed to prevent the abuses complained of. Some doubt has been thrown upon the origin of the name of this part of Westminster, and its flat-

ness has been urged as an objection to its derivation from the ancient word signifying a beacon or look-out station.<sup>3</sup> That objection appears to me to vanish before the statement in the petition of 1658, that there had been a great hill there, consisting of "many thousand loads"—doubtless of good gravel or sand. Horse-races were run in Tothill Fields, and the following letter was written by Wilcocke, Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster, in 1736, drawing the attention of Mr. Gell (the steward) to the complaints that had been made about the disorders committed at such gatherings.

*Letter from the Bishop of Rochester (Dean of Westminster) to "Mr. Daniel Gell at Westminster Abbey."*

"Bromley, Sept. 28, 1736.

"SIR,—I sent to inquire after you yesterday, but neither you nor your clerk were in town: and I send again to-day to advise you that complaints are made of the great disorders committed in Tothill fields at the late races. It has been signified to me from Court that the Government is offended at the riotous assemblies that have met there, the Dean and Chapter have been highly reflected upon, money having been demanded at the booths and scaffoldings as for the use of the Dean and Chapter, and for which we are threatened to be complained of to Parliament; and the nobility and gentry who have children at our school are under the greatest uneasiness about it.

"What I would have you do therefore, is to give notice that as they ended last Saturday, they are not to be revived again, nor allowed any more; and to give order that the booths and benches be forthwith taken away, and the fields reduced to their former state. Let me hear from you by to-night's post that you'll do this or else I shall be obliged to come to town myself to see it done.

"Yours, &c.,

"JOS. ROCHESTER."

<sup>3</sup> Several examples of the present use of the word applied to elevated spots could doubtless be found. Many of our readers will recollect that at Camarvon the bold mass of rock just outside the town on the north-east, which affords so excellent a view, is called "Fwt Hill," and a

modern row of houses at its foot is named "Fwt Hill Terrace." Halliwell gives "Toot to pay impunitively. *North.* Also to gaze at eagerly." Also "Tote, to look, observe, or peep (A = S.)" Also "Fote-hill, an eminence = '*montaignette*;' Palgrave."



But the amusement lingered on, as among the papers in the Muniment Room is a printed bill of the races held there in 1747, for which "a saddle, bridle, and surcingle, value two guineas," were the prize for the first horse, and "a whip at half a guinea" was given to the second best.

In 1748 an action was brought by the officers of the Abbey for nuisances in the fields, in which the rights of the Chapter were involved, and this was settled by an arbitration, which virtually set out the fields for building purposes, and the district has been gradually covered.

The name of "Thieving" or "Thieves" Lane for the street now called "Princes Street," the route by which robbers entered the Sanctuary, appears in deeds about the middle of the reign of Edward III. ; and the earliest notice of the word "Jerusalem" in connection with the precincts, is where the "Jerusalem Garden" is mentioned in a "Kitchener's" Account of the reign of Henry VII.

Returning now to the general collection of muniments, among the manorial documents will be found some of a special character, to a few of which I will direct attention. Under "Sabridgeworth," in Hertfordshire, is an entry of an indenture (25 Edw. III.) between the Abbot of Westminster and an Italian society of merchants, in which the Abbot agrees to acknowledge the debt of 80 florins incurred by Benedict de Chertsey, on condition that the said merchants procure the confirmation of the churches of Sabridgeworth and Kelvedon from the Pope.

Under "Knightsbridge" is an agreement made in 31 Henry II., between the Abbot and two brethren of Paddington, whereby the latter release all their rights in consideration of the receipt of 40 marks and four corrodies for themselves and their wives.

Under "Stanes" is a voluntary surrender by Herbert Archdeacon of Canterbury to the Abbot of Westminster, of land there which his father had forcibly "extracted" from the Abbey.

Under "London" we have a deed establishing the Guild of the Blessed Mary and St. Dunstan, in 1441 ; and an indulgence by the Bishop of Laodicea, in 1260, of twenty days to those praying at the tomb of Matilda la Fauconore de la Wade in the church of St. Martin-le-Grand.

Under "Westminster" are many documents relating to

the Hospital of St. James in the Fourteenth century, comprising inquiries as to the misconduct of the master and brethren, the finding of a jury, and penances imposed, and injunctions for the future regulation of the hospital. As to "St. Stephen's," there are many proceedings in disputes between the Abbot and the dean; letters from the king; appeals to Rome; articles "pour nourrir amour pees et tranquillite" between them, and a settlement of the disputes, chiefly of the time of Richard II. Among the more modern papers are Mr. Hawkesmore's report on the works in progress at the Abbey in 1735, "being a defence of the style of his works, prefaced by an Essay on Gothic Architecture."

Under "Eye, Eyebury," is the following letter from John of Gaunt to the Abbot of Westminster, desiring to have the use of the manor-house of Neyte (Eye), the Abbot's favourite country house, where Litlington and Islip died, for his residence during Parliament.

*Letter of John of Gaunt to the Abbot of Westminster.*

DEPAR LE ROY DE CASTILLE ET DE LEON DUC DE  
LANCASTRE.

Trescher en dieu et nostre tres-bien ame. Nous vous salvons tres-sovent. Et porce que nous sumes comandez par nostre tres-redoute seigneur le Roy pour venir a cest son prochain Parlement à Westmonster, et que nous y duissions estre en propre person, toutes autres choses lessees, en aide et secour del roialme Dengleterre, et sumes unqore tout destitut de lieu convenable pour nous et nostre houstell pour le dit Parlement, vous prions tres-cherement et de cuer que vous nous veuillez suffrer bonement pour avoir vostre manoir del Neyt, pour la democre de nous et de nostre dit houstel durant le Parlement susdit. En quele chose fesant tres cher en dieu et nostre tres-bien ame vous nous ferrez bien graunt ease et plesaunce, parout nous vous voloms especialment bon gree savoir et par tant faire autre foiz pour vous et a vostre request chose agreable de reson. Et nostre seigneur dieux vous eit touz jours en sa tres seinte garde.

Donne souz nostre prive seal à Norbourne le xxvii jour de Septembre.

(Endorsed) A nostre tres-cher en dieu et tres-bien  
ame l'abbe de Westmonster.

Under "Suffolk" is entered a confederation between the Abbots of Westminster (William de Humez, the last Norman Abbot) and Bury St. Edmunds (Hugh de Northwold), being one of affection and charity, promising aid, advice and assistance to each other in case of need, and divine services at their decease. I need scarcely mention that the Abbey of St. Edmunds Bury was one of the most important in the kingdom, and shortly preceding the date of this agreement it had become famous from the great meeting of the insurgent barons within its walls, and their swearing at St. Edmund's altar to secure the Magna Charta from King John.

Among the "Curiosities" which, strangely enough, is not a title of one of the sub-divisions of the section "Various Persons and Things," is the well-known lease by the warden of the Lady Chapel to Geoffrey Chaucer of a house and garden contiguous to that structure. There is also an agreement between the Abbot and two bell-founders of Reading, "for the new castyng of ii belles of the ryng of the said monasterye," 31 Henry VIII., which may, it is hoped, appear in a future portion of this Journal.

It is, however, under the somewhat quaint title, "Various Persons and Things," that Widmore brought together the documents of more general interest. The subordinate headings—"Anniversaries, viz. of Abbots, &c.,"—"Compositions between the Abbot and Monks,"—"Corrodies and Pensions,"—"Fabrick,"—"Funerals,"—"High Waies, Bridges, and Sewers,"—"Jews,"—"Indulgences,"—"Inventories of Goods,"—"Jurisdiction,"—"Law Suits,"—"State and History,"—and many others equally comprehensive and discordant, testify to the wide range of subjects over which the documents spread, and the difficulty experienced in classifying them—a difficulty which has not always been effectually met. A simple chronological arrangement of the whole might have been more satisfactory.

In considering this miscellaneous portion of the collection we shall arrive at documents which have no apparent connection with the Abbey, and which could only be found among its archives by circumstances similar to those which

Her Majesty's Commissioners have lately found affecting many collections of historical MSS. in private custody. The contiguity of the Royal Treasury, and the intimate relations often existing between the King and the Abbot of Westminster, will account for many of these extraneous documents being found among the Abbey archives.

Under the heading "Abbots" are many documents relating to their election, their rights and privileges, and expenditure. Among them is a roll of letters, apparently from various members of the monastery, chiefly in reference to the then vacant Abbacy, to which (in the opinion of most of the writers) a person is elected of whose "infamia et insufficiencia" the important personages intended to be influenced are said to be ignorant. This is the case of the scandalous election of Abbot Kydyngton, mentioned in the "Historical Memorials." The division headed "Coronations" does not bear out the promise of its title—the fact being that the great pageants and ceremonials of the Abbey are not subject-matter for its muniments. Under the title "Corrodies and Pensions" we have evidences of a curious and ordinary mediæval practice, the "boarding" of persons who had furnished the house with a sum of money in consideration of such a return, by which monasteries and other like foundations became a species of savings' bank to the community, and by which their own temporary wants were often supplied. The heading "Fabrick" supplies us with many interesting documents relating to the structure of the Abbey. As is well known, the re-building of the Abbey, in the reign of Henry III., was undertaken at the king's own cost, and the principal documents relating to that re-building have been found among the public records of the country; but there are among the Abbey muniments several documents (sixteen in number) which dovetail into the other existing records, and afford many interesting particulars. It was not till the end of the reign of Edward III. that the works might be said to have been under the care of the Abbot, and from that time the accounts of the "Custos novi operis" are found among the archives. Early in the succeeding reign, the famous Richard Whittington of London was one of the Wardens of such works.

Abbot Wenlock, in A.D. 1290-91, got into serious trouble on account of his harbouring one of the Friars Minors, and

incurred excommunication by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The offence was grave, and the Abbot was judicially ordered to surrender the run-away friar with the books he had brought with him, and to do penance in his own Abbey. The sentence was only mollified on an appeal to Rome, and the infraction of one of the items of the settlement—that all documents relating to the controversy should be given up to the friars—has preserved at Westminster the records of this singular case.

Coming to the title “Funerals” we have many important and most interesting documents, but the subject has been so thoroughly treated in the “Historical Memorials” that it may be passed over here.

The heading “Jews” deserves special notice. This is not the place, however, to do more than to call attention to the numerous documents under the title. An ark (*arca*) or strong box was kept at several places in which those people were directed to keep the documents showing their dealings with their Christian neighbours, and among the Abbey archives we find these in much greater number and extent than I know of anywhere else in this country. It is more probable, however, that these documents belong rather to the contents of the ancient Royal Treasury. They consist of seventeen rolls of accounts, and upwards of 400 “stars”<sup>3</sup> and other deeds of the time of Henry III. and Edward I. in the Hebrew language.

Coming to the heading “Indulgences,” etc., we find an “Indulgence by William Bishop of Connor of sixty days to all worshipping at or visiting the church of Westminster, A.D. 1257,” while the Abbey was being rebuilt; a “Bull of Pope Urban IV., authorising the Abbot to grant dispensations to members of the monastery offending its rules, A.D. 1262”; “Indulgence by the Bishop of St. David’s of forty days to those praying and worshipping in the church of Westminster and before the shrine of St. Edward, 1269”; “Absolution pronounced by the delegates of the Abbot on Robert de Wendon and his son for opposing the Abbot in the matter of a will (a pilgrimage to Rome is one of the conditions imposed), 1277.” These must be considered as specimens of the documents under this title. Under that of “Inventories

<sup>3</sup> From the Hebrew “*chetur*,” a bond, or obligatory instrument.

of Goods " we have some very interesting lists and other documents, as also under the heading " Jurisdiction."

The documents under the title " Law Suits, etc.," comprise many accounts of the expenses of the Abbot and members of the monastery when travelling upon the business of the house, including those of Abbot Wenlock going to Rome, and brother Colchester also engaged abroad, and chiefly at Rome.

Of the intimacy existing between the King and the Abbot we have an instance under the title " London." It is a receipt by John de Northwich, citizen and goldsmith, for goods seized by the King and placed for safe custody in the care of the Abbot of Westminster, 45 Edw. III. There are many deeds relating to the transactions of the great Italian companies of merchants who lent money to the Abbots of Westminster in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, under the heading " Mercatores Florentini." Under that of " Monks—their vows," are twenty-one original subscriptions of such persons on entering the monastery. In these days of rapid correspondence and " clearing-houses " there is an item under the title " Pope—payments to him " that reads very strangely. It is an " Acknowledgment by the Bishop of St. David's of the return of £200 deposited with the treasurer of the Abbot of Westminster, because no London merchant or other person could be found to transmit the same to the Pope; A.D. 1297." Under the same title we have an entry showing how actively the papal officials behaved in a case of arrears due from the Abbot in 1318, how they sequestered some of the Abbey manors, and made a peremptory order for payment under threat of excommunication—this was for the money borrowed by Abbot Ware in Rome.

Of the disputes between members of the monastery and other scandals of the house we have many illustrations among the Records.

Under the title " Records, &c.," is an item which may have some special interest as regards the Chapter House. It is an " Indenture witnessing the delivery, in the Chapter House of Westminster and in the presence of witnesses, by Thomas Archbishop of York (Chancellor of England) to the Abbot of Westminster, of certain papal Bulls and other documents to be by them kept in a certain little coffer; 18 Richard II." Abbot Colchester was a great favourite with

the king, or we might be surprised to find the custody of the Abbot preferred to that of the officers of the adjoining Royal Treasury. In the reign of Henry VI. we also find an entry showing a somewhat similar transaction. The subject of the relics belonging to the Abbey has been so fully dealt with in the "Memorials" that I need not allude to the documents bearing upon them.

Under the comprehensive title "State and History, King's Revenue, King's Works," we have many documents that fall into series of the National collection, and are in no way connected with the Abbey. It would occupy too much space even to name these in detail, and the task is less needed on account of Her Majesty's Commissioners upon Historical MSS. having obtained permission to print the miscellaneous portion of the catalogue of the muniments in a forthcoming report. The documents found under the peculiar circumstances detailed by Sir G. G. Scott, and which were and still are in the little turned wooden boxes of the fourteenth century called "skippets," of which examples have been shown at one of the meetings of the Institute,<sup>4</sup> might also be fairly considered to have been at one time a portion of the collection in the Royal Treasury.

The "Books" of the Abbatial collection are very few. There are three Cartularies relating to Westminster; the "Niger Quaternus," and two others lately entered in the calendar, and others are known of; and one relating to Luffield, in Northamptonshire.<sup>5</sup> If the monastery had a library, there are now but few remains of its contents. The later series of "Register Books" begin in the first year of Henry VII., and continue to the present time. None of the historical works of the monk-writers of Westminster are now among the archives of the Abbey. These chiefly found their way into the hands of the great collector of the seventeenth century, Sir Robert Cotton, to whom our historical literature is so deeply indebted, and are now in the British Museum. Those writers were Sulcardus, who lived in the time of William the Conqueror; John de Reding, in the fourteenth century; John

<sup>4</sup> See *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xxviii. p. 133.

<sup>5</sup> The Muniments themselves seem to have suffered very little by spoliation. Among the Public Records the documents relating to Westminster are not

numerous, and the few of those which may have belonged to the Abbey collection were doubtless severed from it at the period of the Dissolution.

Flete, sacrist and prior at the end of that century (whose MS. is in the Chapter Library) ; and Sporle, who flourished about the year 1450, and who, being the latest writer, and copying almost entirely from Flete, thought proper to carry back the history of the Abbey earlier than any other, asserting it to have been built in the year 184, when King Lucius embraced Christianity ; and that his story was not entirely disbelieved might be inferred from the fact that the charter of King Lucius is said to have been pleaded by Dean Goodman as to the question of Sanctuary.<sup>6</sup> Of the mysterious writer, Matthew of Westminster, whose "Flores Historiarum" was one of the first historical MS. published by Archbishop Parker in 1567, little was known till Sir F. Madden edited the works of Matthew Paris in 1866, and cleared up the mystery. There is no doubt that the name, Matthew of Westminster, is a composite growing out of the circumstances of the work. The Chronicle was written at St. Albans by Matthew Paris to about the year 1265, then sent to Westminster, and continued by monks there from that year to about 1325, principally by one John Bevere, about whom I was enabled to furnish a few particulars from the Abbey muniments.

<sup>6</sup> See "Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey," p. 380.



## NOTES ON THE PRE-HISTORIC ARCHEOLOGY OF EAST DEVON.<sup>1</sup>

By the Rev. RICHARD KIRWAN, M.A., F.E.S., Rector of Gittisham.

IF we had to determine *à priori* which of the two metals occurring abundantly in Devonshire—copper and iron—was first discovered and employed in the fabrication of implements for hunting and warfare, we should at once decide in favour of that which is most easily recognised as a metal in its native state. We know that copper occurs in a state of such comparative purity as to require but little smelting for the purpose of being brought into a condition that will admit of its being beaten at once into shape; whilst, on the other hand, iron is hardly ever found except in the form of ore, and before it can be worked at all must be subjected to the process of smelting, whilst exposed to a temperature higher than that which can be obtained from an ordinary fire. In Devon tin, from its abundance, and from the great heaviness of its ores, would easily attract attention; and it may have been that when metals were scarce and correspondingly valuable, some tin would be added to copper in order to make up the quantity required for a casting. The alloy thus accidentally made would then be found to have properties different from either of its components, and experience would soon dictate the most advantageous amount of tin that must be added to copper in order to make it better suited for cutting instruments. Hence arose that mixed metal to which the name of bronze has been given, consisting of nine parts of copper to one of tin, and which, according to the oldest classical writers, was in general use before iron was rendered available.

<sup>1</sup> This memoir, read at the meeting of the Devonshire Association at Bideford, in August, 1871, and published in their Transactions, vol. iv. p. 611, is here reproduced by the author's kind permis-

sion. It is in continuation of his valuable communications published in this Journal, vol. xxvi. p. 311; and in this volume, p. 34, *ante*.

Whilst, then, these considerations tend to remove the difficulty that meets us *in limine* when we have to account for the general use of a compound metal, as is bronze, before that of so common a metal as iron, we may gather direct evidence that the use of bronze preceded that of iron, from the fact that, whilst iron is unknown in association with primitive interments, implements of bronze are not uncommon.

Among the implements which are of most frequent occurrence, and which are characteristic of the Bronze Age, are the palstaves, of which a large collection was found in a barrow on a hill adjoining Broad Down about a century ago.<sup>2</sup> I have lately obtained another example of this type of implement, which I chanced to observe lying in a heap of old metal, and which had been brought to Exeter from the neighbourhood of Drewsteigton. Its extreme length is five and a half inches; the width of the cutting edge is one and three quarter inches. On either side is a groove terminating in a stop-ridge, which is two inches from the cutting-edge. The weight of this implement is fourteen ounces. It belongs to the type without any projecting side-loop or ear. Associated with it in the heap was a fragment of bronze, probably intended for casting purposes, weighing five and a half ounces, similar in appearance and character to other fragments of the same composite metal found in a barrow on Gittisham Hill in the year 1809.<sup>3</sup> I have deposited both these specimens in the Albert Memorial Museum, at Exeter.

During my investigations of the barrows in the neighbourhood of Thorverton<sup>4</sup> in the year 1868, I was induced to examine the locality that lay between Raddon Hill and Exeter, with results that ultimately led to the discovery of several barrows scattered at intervals among the fields, and which hitherto had been unnoticed. Through the kindness of the Right Hon. Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart., I was enabled in the autumn of 1870 to excavate one of these barrows, situate in the parish of Upton Pyne, forming one of a group of three ranged along a ridge of low elevation running east and west, and about a hundred yards distant from the Exeter and Tiverton road. I had the advantage of

<sup>2</sup> Transactions of the Devonshire Association, vol. ii. p. 647; Arch. Journal, vol. xxv. p. 319.

<sup>3</sup> Transactions, vol. iv. p. 298.

<sup>4</sup> Transactions, vol. iii. p. 496.



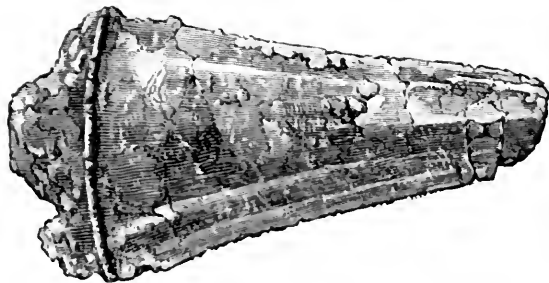


Fig. 1.—Bronze blade. (Two thirds original size.)

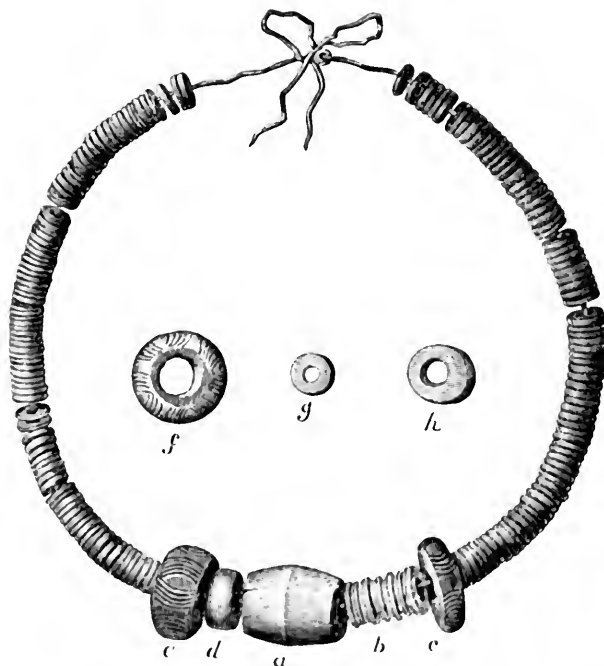


Fig. 2.—Necklace of shale and laked clay. (Original size.)



Fig. 3.—Bronze Pin. (Original size.)

Belongs found in a barrow at Upton Lyne, Devon. Now in the Albert Memorial Museum at Exeter.

the assistance of another member of the Devonshire Association, Mr. R. M. Lingwood, in conjunction with whom also many of the results that have attended our excavations at Broad Down have been obtained. Selecting the central barrow of the group as the most promising, and with a better provision of workmen than is often the case, we commenced operations by driving towards the centre a trench four feet wide, which was kept on a level with the natural surface of the soil. The barrow was about sixty feet in diameter, and, as we were told, was originally six feet in perpendicular height; at the present time it is reduced to about three feet by the action of the plough. The constructive materials of the mound were ascertained to consist of sand and clay, with a slight admixture of peat, and a few stones. Owing to unfavourable weather our day's work was soon brought to a close. We resumed operations on a subsequent morning by cutting a second transverse section from east to west across and beyond the centre of the mound, but still without any definite result. On laying bare the last course, a few fragments of charcoal appeared, which induced us to continue the work. We then proceeded to remove the whole of the central portion of the barrow in a circle about thirty feet in diameter, when a little additional clearance revealed a heap of burnt clay and red ashes, which occupied a circular space of four feet in diameter, and three feet in thickness,—its limit also being well defined. It may be inferred that this deposit originally occupied the centre of the mound, and that, either by the disintegrating effects of the atmosphere acting unequally on opposite sides of the barrow, or by the action of the plough constantly working in one direction, the soil had been worn down on one face of the barrow more than on the other. The removal of the remaining portion of the mound was now proceeded with; and on disturbing the red brick-like earthy portion of the mass, which was so firmly compacted together as to resemble a cist, charred wood and calcined bones were immediately visible, resting on which was a bronze pin or awl (fig. 3), having the thicker end squared, and wanting a small piece of the point, measuring  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length. It was probably used for securing the ends of the cloth or skin in which the remains were wrapped after being subjected to cremation. It is similar to the bronze awls often found in urns among the

Wiltshire barrows described by Sir R. C. Hoare. A few inches below this was a finely patinated bronze dagger, finished with graceful symmetry, and in somewhat imperfect preservation (fig. 1). This weapon or implement measures nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length, and the leaf-shaped blade at the widest part  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches in breadth. Towards the lower part of the blade there are two small oblong perforations, which appear to have been made at the time of the casting of the instrument, and not to have been subsequently punched. When discovered it retained one of the bronze rivets by which it had been attached to the haft, thereby showing that the handle had been formed of wood and not of metal, as in many of the swords and daggers of the same relative age that occur in Denmark. In reference to the weapons of this type, Dr. Wilson observes that "the metal is too brittle to resist violent contact with any hard body; but if the edge of a bronze weapon is hammered till it begins to crack, and then ground, it acquires a hardness, and takes an edge not greatly inferior to the ordinary kinds of steel." From the discovery of this weapon we are led to infer that one of the last honours paid to the buried warrior was to lay the well-proved weapon by the side of the ashes of the hero who had wielded it, before that his companions in arms piled over the remains the barrow or memorial cairn. The custom still obtains; the soldier's favourite sword is laid on his bier when his comrades bear him to his last resting-place.

Proceeding with the careful removal of this accumulation of burnt bones and charcoal, that I have mentioned as occurring within the cist of baked clay, we found another example of the skill and ingenuity of native manufacture, consisting of a sepulchral vessel of small size, and of the type known as the "incense-cup" (fig. 4). As we cannot doubt that the buried records of the progress attained by the ancient occupants of these islands have been as yet only partially disclosed, so also we may hope that as other examples of native fictile ware are from time to time exhumed from the store-house in which they lie safely garnered, and as the Archaeologist is thereby stimulated to greater precision in the study of ancient interments and urn-burials, we shall collect an amount of accurately-observed facts which may enable us to classify into distinct periods the pottery found



Fig. 4 — "Incense Cup." (Original size).

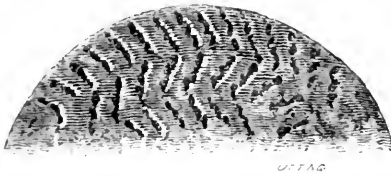


Fig. 5.—Portion of the under surface.

Sepulchral vessel, found in a barrow at Upton Pene, Devon. Now in the Albert Memorial Museum at Exeter





in these tumuli ; and by noting the distinctive character of their fashion, and ascertaining the uses to which these curious vessels were originally applied, we may learn more of the daily life of the people by whom they were held in common use.

Many of these native fictile vessels, that were devoted to mortuary purposes, are so rude in form and workmanship as to afford no other sign of advancement in their constructors from a primitive state of barbarism, than such as is indicated by the piety which prompted a funeral pyre for the dead, and a hastily-fashioned vessel wherein their ashes might be interred ; whilst again other examples of sepulchral *fictilia* are lathe-made, and fashioned into regular shape, symmetrical, and even elegant in form. It may indeed be generally assumed that the ruder hand-made unbaked burial urn belongs to the earliest period relatively, whilst the examples of well-finished and elaborately ornamented pottery may be referred to a period when artistic skill was at least partially developed, and when the workman had acquired a knowledge of the potter's wheel ; yet no chronological arrangement can be absolutely based upon the obvious distinctions thus presented to us, for the rudest of pottery has been found associated in the same barrow with graceful and neatly ornamented weapons of bronze. Setting aside then, for the present, the idea of a precise chronological arrangement, we may rest content with the general classification of burial-urns of the earlier period which was first suggested by Sir R. C. Hoare,<sup>5</sup> and subsequently adopted by Bateman<sup>6</sup> and other writers. All the vessels exhumed from round barrows were arranged by them in one of three classes :—

1. Cinerary, or Sepulchral Urns, such as contain human bones.

2. Incense-cups, or Thuribles, a name in familiar use, although the purpose to which these small vessels were appropriated is doubtful. They commonly occur with calcined bones, and are sometimes enclosed in urns of the former class. Mr. Bateman supposes that they do not accompany the earliest interments. Mr. Birch has suggested that they may have been used as lamps.

3. Food-vessels and drinking-cups, probably intended for

<sup>5</sup> Ancient Wilts, vol. i. p. 25.

<sup>6</sup> Ten Years' Diggings, p. 279.

food, occurring both with burnt and unburnt bones, but never containing them.

The example of the ceramic art before us is, as I have said, to be referred to the second class of these mortuary vases. It is of a dingy brown colour, carefully formed by hand, of fine clay tempered with a little sharp sand, and well baked; the walls, as is usual with vessels of this class, are relatively thick, and average about  $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of an inch in thickness. It measures  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches in height, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, is perfectly circular, and is decorated on the entire exterior surface, and also on the interior of the lip, by an elaborate pattern of lines closely incised with a fine-pointed instrument, and forming a series of herring-bone and chevrony bands and markings. Two lateral perforations (shewn in the accompanying woodcut) also occur, as is common with vessels of this class, and which characterised the example of a similar type found at Broad Down.<sup>7</sup> The original contents of this vase, whatever they may have been, have been converted into a coarse-grained snuff-coloured dust.

Altogether the example before us exhibits in symmetrical proportions and suitable material the evidences of experienced workmanship, and when viewed in connection with the fact that one side is perforated, and that the under surface is ornamented, it seems no improbable inference that it was destined for suspension above the level of the eye. The woodcut (fig. 4) may be considered a fairly accurate representation of the form, proportions, and character of this little mortuary vessel. Fig. 5 represents a portion of the rude ornament on the under surface.

These cups have also occurred in Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and in Scotland; they vary remarkably in form, in the character of their ornamentation, and in the number and position of the lateral perforation.<sup>8</sup>

Continuing our investigations of the ashes and burnt bones that have been mentioned as occurring within the central cist of baked or sun-dried clay, we observed a grain of carbonised wheat lying in the *débris* of the heap. It

<sup>7</sup> It is figured in this Journal, vol. xxv. p. 397, and in the Transactions of the Devonshire Association, vol. ii. p. 636.

<sup>8</sup> Ancient Wilt, vol. i. pl. 24, p. 199.

Warne's Celtic Tumuli, pl. 2; Bateman's Ten Years' Diggings, *passim*; Wilson's Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, vol. i. p. 115.

presents an appearance similar to that of the wheat and other grain that occurs abundantly on the sites of *Pfahlbauten* in the lakes of Switzerland, described by Dr. Keller, and without doubt found its way into the barrow at the early period when the mound was heaped up. At the same time also we noticed in the rubbish a very small bead or disc of shale, which induced us to sift through this mass again with the most scrupulous care, when we were rewarded by the discovery of some fifty beads similar to that first observed. They consist of thin *laminae* of shale, about three lines in diameter, and are perforated for the purpose of being strung together like a modern string of beads so as to form a necklace (fig. 2). There also occurred one larger cylindrical or bugle-shaped bead formed of red clay, one line in length and two lines in diameter, which was probably placed so as to be a central decoration to the necklace (fig. 2, *a*); three beads of shale, of about the same size as the bead of red clay already mentioned, were also obtained. They are cylindrical in form, and ornamented with punctured incised chevrony patterns superficially drilled in the shade (fig. 2, *e, c, f*). With these beads of shale was found a portion of the stalk of an encrinite, which had probably been strung with the beads, and formed a portion of the same ornament (fig. 2, *b*).

Interesting examples of necklaces and other ornaments similar in character to that here described have been discovered in the excavation of some of the Derbyshire barrows.<sup>9</sup> It is probable that in these beads we detect the evidence of the first use of the turning-lathe, and the germ of its application to a great variety of uses. I am aware that the introduction of the lathe has been referred to Roman influence; but whilst works of the Anglo-Roman period executed in shale, and with obvious traces of the influence of Roman art, are abundant in the South of England, ornaments of this material occur also among the contents of Scotch barrows, lying beyond the pale of Roman civilisation, and where no traces of their occupation have been found. Where we meet with such ornaments, characterised by the same simplicity of design and workmanship as that of the pottery and bronze that are associated with them in the

<sup>9</sup> Bateman's Ten Years' Diggings, pp. 25 and 47. See also Grave-Mounds and their Contents, by Llewellyn Jewitt, pp. 123-5.

same barrow, we shall probably not err if we refer the one as much as the other to times long anterior to the era of the first Cæsar. The workmanship, no less than the circumstances attendant on this discovery, must determine the age of the relics of shale, as well as that of ornaments on other objects of clay, of bronze, and of gold.

I pass on from the investigation of the *sepulchralia* of East Devon, revealing the evidence of the dead, to give a short description of the results obtained from the examination of an aboriginal stronghold, and which has furnished no less conclusive evidence of the more frequent presence of the living.

It will be remembered that the locality of which I speak is peculiarly rich in the number of its "hill-forts" or "castles," as they are locally called. This circular "hill-fort" is the expression of a simple idea, which would naturally commend itself to a people who felt the want of defence against sudden attacks; and the modification of a second or third concentric *agger* or rampart is but the progressive development of the original idea to provide security against an active and aggressive enemy.

Taking Broad Down as the centre, and describing a circle of a few miles' radius, there would be included within its compass the following forts or strongholds:—1. Farway Castle, situate on the summit of Farway Hill, a circular entrenchment, 70 feet in diameter, and enclosed by a single line of circumvallation of low elevation. 2. Blackbury Castle, oval in form, enclosed by a single *agger* and fosse, 36 feet deep on the south-west, measuring about 208 paces from east to west, and about 100 paces from north to south. The gateway is flanked by a ditch and rampart on either side which extends diagonally to a distance of 50 paces from the principal *vallum*—the device of some Vauban of those early days. 3. Hocksdon Castle, formed by a triple *vallum* with a fosse, enclosing an area about 280 paces in length from east to west, and 140 paces in average breadth from north to south. Davidson mentions a tradition that great treasure was found here by a sailor called Court. 4. Musbury Castle, of a long and irregular form, enclosing an area of about six acres, and surrounded by a single *agger* and fosse; here, again, the gateways are defended by outworks. 5. Axminster Castle, now entirely destroyed. 6. Menbury Castle,

about three acres in extent, enclosed by a single *vallum*. 7. Dumdun Castle, of a subovate form, 300 paces in length, and 60 paces in breadth, enclosed by a double *agger* of bold elevation. 8. Stockland Great Castle, twelve acres in extent, about 300 paces in length, and as many in breadth, irregular in form, and enclosed by an *agger* in some places more than 40 feet in perpendicular height. 9. Stockland Little Castle, of nearly circular form, about 120 paces in diameter, with a single *vallum* of great strength, and of about two acres in extent. 10. Widworthy Castle, a small circular camp or fort, about 80 paces in diameter, almost destroyed. 11. Hembury Fort, enclosed by a triple circumvallation about 40 feet in perpendicular height, and divided unequally by a double *agger* of low elevation, extending across its area from east to west. 12. Woodbury Castle, of an irregular oval form, about 300 paces in length, and about 120 paces in width, surrounded by a single *vallum*, except on the north-west where the defence has been doubled. 13. Belbury Castle, on the right bank of the river Otter, oval in shape, formed by a single entrenchment, about 130 paces in length, and 70 paces in breadth. 14. Sidbury Castle, about 500 paces in length, and 150 paces in breadth at the widest part, surrounded by a double rampart 40 feet in height, and with an intervening fosse.

These fortifications approximate more or less closely to a circular form, generally occupy an area of from three hundred to eight hundred feet in diameter, are enclosed within one or more trenches or ramparts of earth, and are monuments of the energy and industry no less than of the military skill and strategy of early British workmanship. It will be noted that they are not simply circular hill-forts, wherein we trace the mere rudimentary efforts of a people in the infancy of the art of defensive warfare; they display superior engineering skill both in the choice of site, and in the elaborate adaptation of the earth-works to the natural features of the ground. Though undoubtedly of native workmanship (as I have said), many of them having been possibly strongholds and places of retreat thrown up by the native Briton to withstand the encroachments of the Roman invader; in the course of time they have passed into the hands of the conqueror, and have been probably occupied successively by Briton and Roman, by Saxon and Dane. But the subject has already been

treated of with ample details by Mr. P. O. Hutchinson<sup>1</sup> and his descriptions are accompanied by accurate plans; a very perfect idea can thus be formed of the original design of these works; his careful researches can therefore be supplemented by little worth recording.

Mr. Strahan has lately called my attention to the remains of one of these strongholds situate at High Peak, about a mile and a half west of the town of Sidmouth. Its lofty site at an elevation of 500 feet above the sea-level has secured it against the inroads of the aggressive ploughshare of the agriculturist; but the action of the sea, ever exerted in undermining the base of the cliff, the summit of which is crowned by the fort, has secured for it a fate no less inexorable. By this agency the destruction of the entire stronghold has been effected with the exception of a small portion of the northern *agger*, which is about 90 paces in length, 20 feet in perpendicular height on its northern escarpment, and averages 35 feet in breadth at the base. The remains of an outwork can be traced at the eastern extremity, which perhaps formed a redoubt to defend the gateway on that side. Beyond the rampart there is a plateau on the slope of the hill, about 40 feet wide, formed by the removal of the earth used in filling up the *vallum*. So complete has been the demolition of the fort, that we have not sufficient material left to afford a conjecture of its probable size; we can only point to the skill, which in this instance also appears to have been shown in turning to the best account the natural aptitude for defensive purposes that the headland presents; the embankment or rampart which formed the wall of the fort on its northern side, and which stands on the crest of the hill, is sloped away so as almost exactly to coincide with the angle at which the latter rises from the valley, thereby securing a commanding defensive position with a relatively small expenditure of labour.

I have said that the action of the sea, by wearing away

<sup>1</sup> Transactions of the Devonshire Association, vol. ii. p. 372. See also Mr. Hutchinson's Memoir in the Journal of the British Archaeological Association, March, 1862, p. 63, with numerous ground plans, &c. In the Collectanea Archaeologica, published by the Archaeological Association, vol. ii. p. 18, a memoir by Mr. G. Vere Irving has also been given,

relating to Ancient Camps, Earthworks, and Fortifications in Devon. A list of the strongholds that exist in the country, or in adjacent parts of Somerset, comprising not less than eighty examples, is appended, with brief descriptions and reference to descriptions given by Polwhele, Lysons, and in various topographical works.

the cliff beneath, has almost obliterated the fort that crowned it ; to the same agency we owe the accident that the southern face of the surviving portion of the *vallum* has been laid bare, whereby a deposit of charcoal, extending to a length of about 50 feet, and several inches in thickness, has been exposed to view. This occurs at the eastern extremity of the rampart ; it may be referred to the remains of beacon-fires kindled as the signals of war and invasion, when perhaps the natives had already learnt to watch the horizon for the dreaded fleets of the Gaul or the rude Norse Viking. At such a period they would retreat within their stronghold as soon as the enemy was spied in the offing, and would lie there secure until the spoilers set sail again in quest of some less watchful prey. It is equally possible that the charcoal marks the remains of the bonfires which formed part of the festive or religious rejoicings of the tribe by whom the stronghold was occupied.

Following the line of charcoal towards the west, at a few paces distant from it, and at about the same horizontal level below the crest of the rampart, there occurs a layer of bones interspersed with charcoal in dust and in small fragments, extending to a length of about 30 feet ; in some places this bone-bed is nearly a foot in thickness, and is of unknown width. The bones which are thus numerous are generally well preserved, more or less discoloured, and have lost a portion of their weight. They consist of the remains of hog (probably wild, from the size of the tusks), deer, and ox (*bos longifrons*). Many of the bones are split longitudinally as if to facilitate the extraction of the marrow ; Mr. Pengelly suggests that the object of fracturing the bones longitudinally was for the purpose of fabricating the fragments into awls, needles, harpoons, and other implements.

The presence of industrial products also was indicated by several rounded pebbles of various sizes, extraneous to the local formation, and doubtless collected from the neighbouring beach ; some appeared to be sling-stones, others bore marks of abrasion on their edges, and had probably been used as hammers or pounders, without a handle, for the purpose of cracking the bones. We also found nodules of flint, such as occur in abundance on the tops of the neighbouring hills ; with them were cores of dark-coloured flint from which flakes had been struck, and also fragments or chips detached

in the first dressings of these cores. Of these implements some show so little trace of design that, had they not been found intermixed with the bones of animals that mark the remains of feasts, they would certainly have been thrown aside as lacking sufficient proof of having been manufactured by man; others are more carefully chipped into shape, have a keen edge, considering the nature of the material, and might well have been used in scraping hides or in cutting flesh, or even fresh bone. Of the bone implements many are of the rudest form, consisting of mere chips or fragments of bone, worked roughly to a point at one end. One, however, shows more careful construction; it is an incisor-tooth ingeniously shaped into the form of a pin or awl, and marks the progress which had been made from the first rude implements.

We searched carefully among the *débris* and ashes for any grain or vegetable substance, but could find nothing, with the exception of small pieces of wood-charcoal, which occurred in abundance. The presence of several pieces of red hematite covered with scratches indicate the mode in which these primitive hunters scraped off a red powder—the favourite aboriginal colour—which, mixed with grease, would furnish as good means of personal ornament as are employed by many savages of the present day. Numerous fragments of pottery occurred also in the *débris*; some of it is of a pale buff or burnt umber colour, while occasionally it is of a darker tint, varying from a dull red to a yellowish brown. The whole of it is coarse, unglazed, and of the simplest description; some of it is hand-made, whilst other portions bear marks of having been turned on the wheel. The paste of which it was compacted consists of clay tempered with sharp sand or small fragments of stone; owing to this circumstance the outer surface is generally rough. The decoration presents considerable diversity: some of the fragments are plain, others are ornamented by incised lines made with a toothed instrument, others by circular indented lines and bands impressed upon the soft clay; and others by raised hoop-like marks or ridges formed either by the hand or the wheel. From the diversity of patterns presented by these fragments it may be presumed that they represent a considerable number of fictile productions. The great abundance of charcoal that characterises this *Kjokken-*



*modding*, as well as the very small proportion of bones which show the action of fire, would lead to a doubt whether the flesh taken from the large mass of fractured bones that occurred, if indeed it has been cooked, has been cooked by roasting. In favour of the meat having been cooked is the abundant evidence of fire, more than in that rude condition of life could be supposed to be required merely for purposes of warmth. If the meat were cooked by roasting, it is not likely that so many of the bones would escape traces of fire. The presence of the pottery would imply that these camp-dwellers cooked their food by boiling; but it is difficult to understand how they could effect this with vessels formed of ware too ill-compacted and too imperfectly baked to stand the action of fire, unless we suppose them to have employed means still in use among the Esquimaux, who boil their food without putting the vessels in which it is cooked on the fire. This is effected by means of stones heated in the fire, and then thrown into the vessel filled with water, which is thus boiled from within.<sup>2</sup>

In order to recover some clue to the character and history of this primitive community, and a knowledge of the arts and rites which they practised, let us institute a comparison between the contents of the barrows at Broad Down and the accumulated refuse obtained from the remains of their feasts at Peak Hill, when we are struck with the general similarity that distinguished them. In both cases we observed an absence of relics that are distinctive of Roman art and civilisation; in both cases we have the evidence of a people living in primitive rudeness, and employing only the products of native art; the sepulchral pottery of the one corresponds also in material, character, and ornamentation, with the simple domestic cooking vessels of the other; whilst also the conclusion naturally suggests itself that the stronghold or "Castle" originated in the same laborious contrivance and skill as that which gave birth to the colossal proportions of the tumulus, by which the honours of the dead were rendered in the olden times to which they pertain. And without endeavouring to deduce from the evidence before us more than it seems fairly to warrant, we may gather also from the glimpses that are

<sup>2</sup> Notices of the ancient practice of "stoneboiling" may be found in this Journal, vol. xxiv. pp. 248, 264. See also

Taylor's *Early History of Mankind*, p. 261; and see Sir John Lubbock's *Prehistoric Times*, pp. 250, 380.

afforded by this comparative examination that the strongholds of the South of England were native British constructions, which imply the existence of a numerous population, which are the work of a patient and ingenious race whose motto was defence rather than aggression, whose arts were still in their infancy, who subsisted by hunting and fishing, and by such natural products as man without agriculture can obtain, and who lived contemporaneously with, or under similar conditions of civilisation with the people to whom the sepulchral honours of the barrow and the cairn were raised. The connection that we are thus enabled to trace between the barrow-builder and the fort-builder is the important feature of the present discovery, for it enables us to add another link to the chain of evidence which is gradually uniting into one harmonious whole the scattered fragments relating to the early history of our forefathers. Thus also are we enabled to determine a relative if not a positive chronology. When treating of primitive antiquities, the Archæologist does not attempt to fix dates with precision; his object is rather to trace out events that are the landmarks of relative progress; relying on the proofs furnished by the similarity which characterises the rude products of primitive handicraft, he is led to infer an identity of race and period. Applying this test to the instance before us, he will probably not err if he attribute the era of the barrow-builder and of the fort-builder to a period anterior to the time of the Roman Invasion, when the use of the working of iron was unknown, and when the armourer fashioned his weapons from the rare and costly copper or bronze, still supplying numerous deficiencies with implements of bone and flint.

#### EXPLANATION OF THE WOODCUTS.

FIG. 1. Dagger of bronze, from the Kist in a barrow at Upton Pyne. Original size.

FIG. 2. Amulet or Necklace. Original size.

- a.* Bead of shale, tusiform in shape and devoid of pattern. It probably formed the central portion of the ornament.
- b.* Portion of the stalk of an encrinure. It appears to have been strung along with the beads.
- c. c.* Beads of shale, ornamented with an incised pattern of lines worked in a chevron.
- f.* Front view of ditto.
- d.* Red bead of baked clay.
- g.* Perforated plate or disc of shale of which the amulet was formed.

FIG. 3. Bronze awl or pin, found with the burnt bones, and probably used to fasten the cloth in which they were collected. Original size.

FIG. 4. Incense Cup, found in a barrow at Upton-Pyne. Original size. The rim of this vessel is not so sharp-edged as would appear from the woodcut; it is also broken in parts and irregular, owing to the coarse quality of the clay of which it is composed. A zig-zag pattern, imperfectly worked, may be traced on this rim.

FIG. 5. Portion of the under surface of the incense cup, showing the pattern that was impressed on it.

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The Institute is indebted to the kind courtesy of the Author for the Illustrations of this Memoir.

Whilst the foregoing addition to the valuable records of Mr. Kirwan's researches, given from time to time in this Journal, has been in the press, the painful announcement has reached us of the untimely death of our Friend,—of the deep grief of his bereaved wife and children, in which all who knew him must heartily sympathise.

We cannot fail to bear in grateful remembrance, that his latest communications were marked by his zealous interest in exertions for the cause of our Society, in anticipation of our projected meeting at Exeter, that seemed so full of promise under the auspices of so hearty and intelligent a fellow labourer in the promotion of our mutual purposes of interest.

*Deo aliter visum !*

## NOTES ON THE SITE OF THE PALACE OF KENNINGTON.

By HENRY MAC-LAUCHLAN, F.G.S.

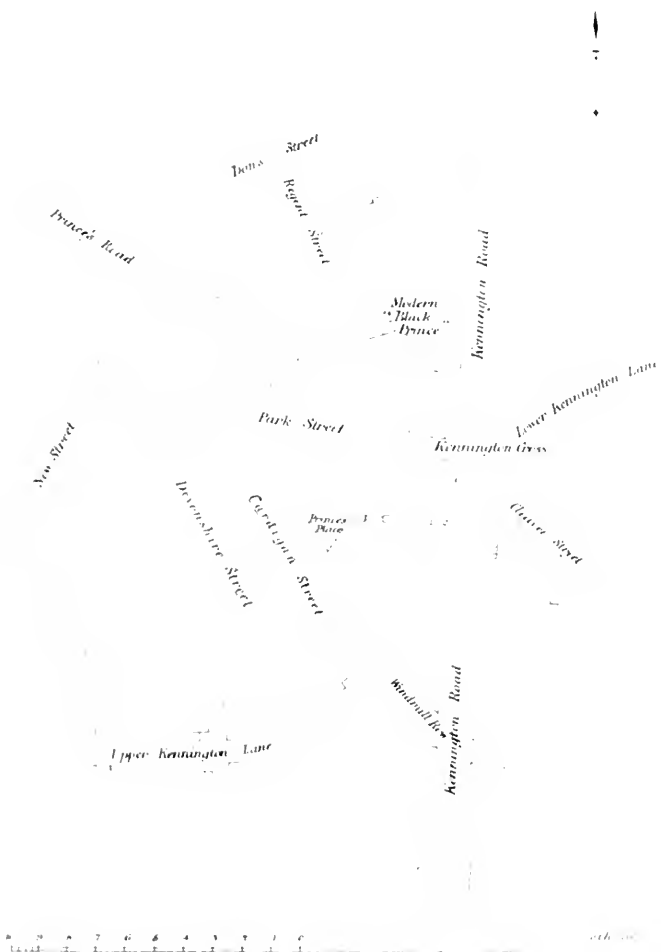
IN the small accompanying sketch the object has been to incorporate, on the modern map of the district, the proper position of the ancient Palace of Kennington, from a map made in the reign of King Charles the First, A.D. 1636. Two copies of this old map are in existence, one in "Ducarel's History of Lambeth," and the other in "Allen's History of Lambeth." The original is in the office of the Duchy of Cornwall, but its relation to the modern roads is not shown. The spot is known as Prince's Place at the Duchy Office, but as Ball's Yard in the neighbourhood, from the name of a recent occupier. In collecting the information necessary, I have to acknowledge the assistance of the Hon. Secretary, Mr. Burt, and particularly that of Sir Edward Smirke, whose introduction to Mr. Bateman, of the Duchy Office, enabled me to verify the published maps of the ancient site; there is not a stone of the ancient structure now above ground by which it might be identified; the site is no longer marked on the maps of the day, and even the name has fallen out of the Gazetteers; so that a partial restoration from good authority may possibly not be without interest to archaeologists. It is not intended here to write a history of the Palace of Kennington, but merely to give a chronological list of some of the principal events connected with it. In early times it is very probable that the space between the hills at Camberwell and the rising grounds at Deptford and Clapham, and as far as Lambeth, was originally a vast bay or lake, overflowed by the tide, and at low water a sandy plain; and that when the Romans fixed themselves in England they improved it by banking out the Thames and by draining.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest historical fact on record relating to Lambeth

<sup>1</sup> Allen's Hist. Lambeth, p. 285. In 1729 this place gave the title of Earl to William Augustus Duke of Cumberland, second son of George 2nd, but he dying

without issue November 8th, 1765, the title became extinct. At p. 354 the same author continues: "Opposite the White Hart, formerly a handsome mansion in

MAP OF A SMALL PART OF THE MANOR OF  
**KENNINGTON IN THE PARISH OF LAMBETH.**  
 SHEWING THE SITE OF THE ANCIENT PALACE IN RED  
 AND THE PRESENT STREETS IN BLACK.





is the death of Canute the Second, called Hardicanute, which is thus told by the late Sir Francis Palgrave :—

A.D. 1042. “Goda, the daughter of Osgod Clapa, an English Thane of great wealth, was given in marriage to Towid the Proud, a powerful Dane, the king’s banner-bearer or marshal, and Hardicanute graced the banquet with his presence at Lambeth. The potations were prolonged deep into the night. In the midst of the revel Hardicanute dropped speechless upon the ground, and a few days afterwards expired.”<sup>2</sup>

A.D. 1086. The Manor of Kennington is thus described in the Domesday Book :—“Teodric, the goldsmith, holds of the King Chenintune. He held it of King Edward.

“It was then assessed for five hides,—now for one hide and three virgates. The land is for two ploughs and a half. In demesne there is one plough; and (*there are*) four villanes, and three bordars, with two ploughs. There is one serf, and four acres of meadow. It was worth, and is worth, three pounds.”<sup>3</sup>

A.D. 1189. King Richard I., in his first year, 1189, granted to Sir Robert Percy, the custody of all his demesne lands in this manor, with a barn and other easements without the pale there, and the office of Steward of the Lordship of Kennington.<sup>4</sup>

A.D. 1259. In the 43rd Henry III., the custody of this manor was granted by the King to Richard de Freemantell.<sup>5</sup>

A.D. 1299. King Edward I. was at Kennington, August 14, 1299.<sup>6</sup>

The custody of the manor was granted to various persons by Henry III. The Parliament he held at Lambeth is supposed to have assembled here, and that he kept his Christmas here in 1231.<sup>7</sup>

A.D. 1338. The Duchy of Cornwall created; Edward, Duke of Cornwall, known as “The Black Prince,” resided here.<sup>8</sup> After his death, in 1377, it came to his son Richard,

which resided Sir Richard Manley in 1636) was a maypole, and behind the house, gardens in which on May-day all sorts of pastimes were held. Mention is made, in the European Magazine, of traces of a cross being discovered at Kennington.”

<sup>2</sup> Francis Palgrave, “History of the Anglo-Saxons” in Murray’s Fam. Lib., p. 325.

<sup>3</sup> Domesday for the County of Surrey.

Extended and translated from the fac-simile copy. Vacher & Son. 1862. p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> Harl. MSS. 433. f. 63, quoted by Allen.

<sup>5</sup> Pat. 43. Hen. 3rd. m. 2. Allen’s Hist. Lambeth, p. 256.

<sup>6</sup> Barrington’s Obs. Anc. Statutes, p. 145, quoted by Allen.

<sup>7</sup> Allen’s Hist. Lambeth, p. 350.

<sup>8</sup> Allen’s Hist. Lambeth, p. 258.

afterwards King Richard II., who resided here with his mother at the time of the death of King Edward III.; and it is supposed that the sign of the "White Hart" Inn and the name "White Hart Street" were taken originally from the heraldic badge of Richard. He ascended the throne June 22, 1377, in which year John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, came to Kennington for shelter from the fury of the citizens of London.<sup>9</sup>

A.D. 1396. On the 13th November, the young Queen Isabel was conveyed from Kennington through Southwark to the Tower of London.<sup>1</sup>

King Henry IV. was here when the Bishops and clergy made their complaints to him against Sir John Oldecastle and the Lollards.<sup>2</sup>

A.D. 1419. In the 6th of Henry V., Thomas Burcester was the Keeper of the Manor of Kennington.<sup>3</sup>

A.D. 1439. King Henry VI. was here in June 1437 and 1439.<sup>4</sup>

King Henry VII., a few days before his coronation, came from Kennington, and was entertained by Archbishop Bouchier at Lambeth.<sup>5</sup>

A.D. 1611. King James I., in his eighth year, settled the Manors of Kennington and Vauxhall on Henry Prince of Wales; and on his death, in 1612, on Prince Charles.<sup>6</sup>

A.D. 1615 and A.D. 1626. A survey of this manor was made in 1615; and in 1626 another survey was made, and about the same time the gardens and site of the palace were let for the first time. It was then a stone building 231 feet long and 156 feet deep, as appeared from an old plan in the possession of J. Middleton, Esq., the bailiff of the Manor.<sup>7</sup>

A.D. 1661. On the Restoration the King took possession of Kennington, and on the 26th January, 1661, demised to Lord Henry Moore, afterwards Earl of Drogheda, the capital messuage of this manor and lands parcel thereof, and of the Duchy of Cornwall, and the capital messuage of Vauxhall,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Stow, 273, 274. Allen's Hist. Lambeth, p. 259.

<sup>1</sup> Stow's Annals. Allen's Hist. Lambeth, p. 325.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop of Winchester's Reg. Beaufort, 1, 44 b. Allen's Hist. Lambeth, p. 259.

<sup>3</sup> Allen's Hist. Lambeth, p. 259.

<sup>4</sup> Rymer's Fœd. vol. 19, 679, 724.

<sup>6</sup> Stow's Annals. Allen's Hist. Lambeth, p. 352.

<sup>6</sup> Allen's Hist. Lambeth, p. 259.

<sup>7</sup> Allen's History of Lambeth, p. 260, and Nichol's History of Lambeth, p. 94.

<sup>8</sup> Vauxhall, Faulkeshall, or Foxhall, properly Fulke's Hall, and so called from Fulke de Brecinté, the celebrated mercenary follower of King John. (Murray's



for 30 years, at the rent of £150, but with power to resume Vauxhall, making a proportional allowance of rent. The King did resume Vauxhall, and granted a new lease of the residue at a rent of £100.<sup>9</sup>

A.D. 1747. On the 18th July, 1747, a lease was granted for 31 years to William Clayton, Esq., of Harleford, Bucks, of the capital messuage of the Manor of Kennington, the great barn (see the Map), and eight acres adjoining, &c., &c., Fauxhall excepted.<sup>1</sup>

Great changes have taken place on the site of the palace of late years ; what was once the resort of royalty is now a yard for carts and waggons, called Ball's Yard. Notwithstanding the above records of the palace, the site is very little known, nor has it been produced on any of the modern maps, and it is probable that not a stone can be pointed out of the ancient edifice, although much of the foundations may still exist.

Hand-Book of London, vol. 2, p. 859.)  
 " Fulke de Breaute married Margaret, Earl Baldwin's mother, and thus obtained the wardship of her son ; he appears to have built a hall or mansion-house in the manor of South Lambeth during his tenure of it ; and from his time it was called indifferently Faukeshall, or South Lambeth, and is so termed in the tenth year of Edward 1st (T. Hudson Turner,

Archæol. Journ. No. 15, p. 275). See also Allen's History of Lambeth, where Fulke's adventures are related at length, p. 263.

<sup>9</sup> Entry of warrants and grants of crown lands by the Earl of Southampton, Treasurer.

<sup>1</sup> Manning's and Bray's Hist. Surrey, vol. iii. p. 488.

## THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY, GUILDFORD.

By J. H. PARKER, C. B.

THIS church is an extremely curious and interesting one, from the early character of its original portion, and the manner in which it has been enlarged and altered at various periods: so that it contains specimens of every style of the architecture of England in the Middle Ages. The documentary evidence relating to it is very slight, but the church was built very near to the castle, and under its protection. A considerable grant of land here was given to the family of Testard, by William the Conqueror.<sup>1</sup> It is probable that they either originally built the church for the use of their tenants, or rebuilt the old Saxon church, which had been of wood, according to the usual custom of that age. At the time of the Domesday Survey there were in Guildford, 75 tenements, *laga*, in which lived 175 men, each of whom may be considered to represent a family of five, which gives a population of 875 persons at that time tenants of the Crown. Such a population would be certain to have a church, and the church would be either in the outer bailey of the castle—as was very usual at that time—or so near to the wall of the castle as to be safe under its protection. In the same manner, S. Thomas' Church, at Oxford, was built close to, and under the protection of, the castle of D'Oyley, and there are many other instances.

We have notices in the Patent Rolls of two rectors of this church—one in the second year of Edward III., the other in the sixteenth of Richard II.—and there is work in the church that may be of both of these periods. As usual in our parish churches, we have to depend on the construction of the fabric itself, and the architectural details for the history, which we obtain on the principle of comparison with well-

<sup>1</sup> In A.D. 1279, 7th Edward I., the Manor of Poyle or Puelle (C) was held by Walter de la Puelle, and had come into his possession as lands granted by William I. to the family of Testard.

known types. By this we see at once that the original fabric was small, and was of the early character usual in the eleventh century, and sometimes earlier, both in England and France, consisting of a rude imitation of Roman. The most usual period for the erection of such a structure is the first half of the eleventh century,<sup>2</sup> and the style may be called Anglo-Saxon, of which this is a very rude and probably early example; but the building materials being flints and chalk, we cannot attach much importance to their rough appearance. The portions remaining of the early church are chiefly the central tower, the walls of which are extremely rude work, built of chalk and flint, with clumsy flat pilaster strips, very near together, all built of flints. In the north and south walls, there are also small early windows in the middle of the thickness of these massive walls, and *splayed* as much on the outside as on the inside.<sup>3</sup> These small early windows are placed in an irregular manner, not opposite to each other, and neither of them has any reference to the arches under them. These small arches on each side have evidently been cut through the old walls, and the lower part of the pilaster-strips before mentioned is thus destroyed. These arches, from their architectural details, are evidently of the time of Henry I., or about the year 1100. The walls and windows may very well be fifty years earlier. The pilaster-strips extend to the upper part of the tower, which has later windows inserted in the walls. There are remains of this early character also in the walls of the eastern bay of the chancel.

In the upper part of the tower there are windows of various periods inserted, some rude early lancets of the time of Henry II. or III., others with square heads and foliation of the time of Henry VII.

The stairs to the tower are in a Norman stair turret between the apse of the choir and the south aisle; the steps ascend to the top of the vault of the choir, and then the passage to the tower is upon that vault. The interior of the tower is modernised, and so full of the bells that no early

<sup>2</sup> In the present instance it seems most probable that the wooden church of the Anglo-Saxons was replaced by a stone one in the time of William the Conqueror by the Testard family, to whom he had

granted the land.

<sup>3</sup> This feature is usually characteristic of early work, and is reckoned by Rickman among the marks of Anglo-Saxon.

work can be seen. There is also an early example of a *squint* or *hagioscope* from the south transept chapel to the high altar.

I am aware that many well-informed persons consider the tower as of the time of King Alfred, and this involves the whole question, whether the English people were in the habit of building in stone before the eleventh century. I have long since come to the conclusion that they were *not*, and I see no reason to change my opinion. The Anglo-Saxon word for to build is *tymberen*, which implies that they were accustomed to build in wood only. I have never been able to find any remains that I could fairly place earlier than the first half of the eleventh century (with a very few exceptions, and excepting the remains of Roman work). Beda's account of the building of Benedict Biscop, at Yarrow, and Monk's Wearmouth, in Northumberland, show that they were quite exceptional buildings *in the Roman manner*. The small remains that we have of them are just enough to show that the existing buildings are *not* of that period, but have been rebuilt in the time of William Rufus, as recorded in the "Durham Chronicle," published by the Surtees Society, and edited by the late Mr. Raine. The construction of the present buildings agrees with that period, and there are some small portions of the earlier building used as old materials and built in. In the long interval between the years 500 and 1000<sup>4</sup> (in round numbers) it appears to

<sup>4</sup> The following passage from Radulphus Glaber, a contemporary writer, shows clearly that a great change took place immediately after the year 1000, and from that period the revival of building began, each nation competing with others. Each had some Roman building to serve as a type, and M. de Caumont has shown that the provincial character of the different provinces of Gaul in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, arose from copying the particular Roman building, that served each as an example. My friend Mr. Freeman, whose wonderful learning and great ability make his opinions very important, puts this great change half a century later in his very valuable History of the Norman Conquest. My experience and long observation have led me to a different conclusion. I consider the very rude buildings of the first half of the eleventh century, and the rapid development of each succeeding

generation from that time, as proof that in the tenth century, the art of building in stone had almost died out, and all the other arts were at the lowest possible ebb. Immediately after the year 1000 the great revival began. The bad construction, the very wide joint of the masonry, and the rude appearance of the buildings of the first half of the eleventh century, make them appear much older than they really are. Many of the buildings also appear to have been built by carpenters rather than by masons, especially the towers on the bank of the Humber. Sir Charles Anderson pointed out long since that the towers called Anglo-Saxon, are far more numerous in the Danes' country in the east of England than in any other part. We do not find them in Denmark nor in Germany at all earlier than in England. Neither do we find any Norman keep in Normandy earlier than that of Gundulph in England. I believe Gundulph to have

have been the general custom in most parts of the world to live in wooden houses, and to use wood almost entirely for other buildings also. In the tenth century, we are told by cotemporary writers, that it was the general belief of the people that the world would come to an end at the year 1000. This led them to erect temporary buildings only, but immediately after that year, when they believed that the world was to last another thousand years, they began vigorously to build in stone, and that very substantially, though rudely at first. There were no masons—no skilled workmen, the people had everything to learn from imitating the Roman buildings then remaining. At first their construction was very clumsy, but they sometimes imitated the Romans in pounding their lime, mixing it with gritty sand and using it hot, by which they had the advantage of the great expansion of crystallisation of lime as it cools; and their walls are consequently as hard and as durable as natural rock, in many cases, but this was only by accident. They were ignorant of the principle, and many of their walls were as badly built as possible—no good mortar being used.

These early buildings were for the most part swept away by the Normans. Some antiquaries overlook the fact that the *first half* of the eleventh century was a great building era everywhere; and although we have more buildings of that period remaining in France than in England, there is reason

been the inventor of that particular style of castle or keep which was rapidly taken up and followed, because it exactly met the wants of the Normans in England at that period. Most of the keeps in Normandy are of the twelfth century. The castles of the time of the Conquest were of earthworks and wood only.

“Igitur infra supradictum millesimum tertio jam fere imminente anno, contigit in universo pene terrarum orbe, præcipue tamen in Italia et in Galliis, innovari ecclesiarum basilicas, licet pleræque decenter locate, minime indignissent. Æmulationatur tamen quæque gens Christi-colarum adversus alteram decentiore frui. Erat enim instar ac si mundus ipse executiundo semel, rejecta vetustate, passim candidam ecclesiarum vestem indueret. Tunc denique episcopatum solum ecclesias pene universas, ac cætera quæque diversorum sanctorum monasteria seu minora villarum oratoria, in meliora

quique permutavere fideles.”—Radulphus Glaber, *De Invocatione ecclesiarum in toto orbe*, in his *Histor.* l. iii. c. 4.

(*Translation.*) As the third year after the year 1000 was on the point of commencing, they began throughout nearly all the world, chiefly however in Italy and the Gauls, to renew the basilicas of the churches, although most of them were decently enough located and little required such an operation; but each Christian nation competed with others to enjoy a better place of worship. It was therefore as though the world were shaking itself to cast off its old age and put on a white robe of churches. Indeed, almost all the religious buildings, cathedrals, monasteries of saints, and smaller village chapels, or oratories, were changed by the faithful into something better.

On this subject see also Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*.

to believe that nearly all the rude towers that are called Anglo-Saxon, are of the eleventh century, some before and some after the Norman Conquest, which made no *immediate* change in the style of building. Norman workmen had been employed in England in the time of Edward the Confessor, and the same style continued to be used down to the year 1100. The well-known towers in the lower part of the city of Lincoln are of the latter half of the eleventh century, and after the Conquest. The date of Deerhurst is known by an inscription of the time of Edward the Confessor. This tower at Guildford is so very rude, that it *may* be of any period; but that arises from the building materials being chalk and flint. Some persons are very apt to overlook the necessary influence of the building materials in all cases. From the earliest ages the size of the stones used in building has been governed, to a great extent, by the quarry from which the stone was taken, and in the early part of the eleventh century the buildings always have a very rude character, which gives them the appearance of being much older than they really are, and this seems to me to be the case in the present instance.

The church had three apses—one to the chancel, the end of which has been cut off to widen the street, and a large perpendicular window brought from the old outer wall and inserted in the new end wall. The other two apses are to the aisles; these are of later character, of the time of Henry II., the period of the transition of styles, to which also belong the larger arches on the east and west sides of the tower, which are insertions in the old walls, replacing the small early arches. Each of the apses of the aisles belongs to a chantry chapel of considerable size, extending down the side of the choir and of the tower, with a wide arch of the time of Henry III. inserted under the earlier window over it, at the west end of the transept chapel, now opening into the aisle of the nave and showing that the roofs of the aisle were originally much lower than the present ones. The aisles were narrow, with lean-to roofs only, and have been rebuilt and enlarged at a later period. The two bays of the choir have different vaults—the one next the tower is of the time of Henry II., that of the western bay is of the time of Henry III. The vault of the apse of the south aisle of St. Mary's Chapel is later Norman; that of the northern apsidal chapel of

S. John the Baptist has been altered, and a window inserted in the time of Edward II. and another in the time of Richard II.

The pier-arches of the nave are of the transitional character of the time of Henry II., with pointed arches, square edged and moulded.<sup>5</sup> The pillars are round, and the capitals have a square abacus, and are scalloped. The actual work of these capitals is modern, but carefully copied from an old one which is preserved.

There is a round moulding of transitional Norman character at about six feet from the ground round the apses on the exterior, and along the wall of the transepts; but this does not extend along the wall of the nave aisle, indicating that wall to be of a later date. In the interior there is on the north side a similar moulding, which is continued along the wall of the nave aisle, but at a different level; this indicates that the north aisle was widened, and the outer wall rebuilt at an earlier period than the south aisle, which has not this moulding either inside or outside. The wide arches on the west side of the transept are of the time of Henry III., inserted when the aisle was widened; the windows over each of these arches show that the aisle was originally narrow and low, with a lean-to roof only. Windows were never made to look from one part of the church into another. The early windows in the tower show that there were no transepts originally, and these windows on the west side of the transepts of Henry II. also show that there were only narrow and low aisles at that time. The north doorway has good Early English mouldings of the early part of the reign of Henry III., and are evidence that the north aisle wall was rebuilt at that period.<sup>6</sup> One of the capitals near this is made

<sup>5</sup> The buildings of this period of transition between the Norman or Romanesque style, and the Gothic or Pointed, are so numerous and important, alike in this country and in France, that they ought to have a more specific name in English than "The Transitional Style." The French archeologists call it "The Plantagenet Style," and that is a good historical name for it. These buildings belong to the time of the Plantagenets, and in their own country of Anjou and Poitou, there are very good examples of the transition, especially the hospitals founded by Henry II. in each of the

principal towns, in the earlier part of his long reign; and for the most part completed and dedicated before the end of it. The great hospital at Angers for example, will bear comparison with any other building of the same period for advance of style.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Goodchild, the architect who conducted the restorations, states that he distinctly remembers finding the lower part of an external wall at about half the width of the present north aisle, just within the hot air flues, the gratings of which can be seen in the floor. This, therefore, makes certain what was at first

to correspond with it, and as usual the others all have the square abacus. Many of the windows are single lancets of the time of Henry III., others of the time of Edward II. or III. At the west end of the north aisle, is a small square window under the larger west window, and this is of the character called a "Leper's window;" it had, until the last few years, only an iron grating and a shutter, and no glass. It is not the usual position for a window of this class, and is supposed to indicate that there was a lepers' hospital near this end of the church.

Chantry chapels have been added and enclosed at various periods, as shown by the remains of the altars belonging to each; the two in the apses of the transept have been already mentioned, both of them must have been made in the time of Henry II. The later chantry chapels were each at the east end of the nave aisle, the altar must in each case have stood against the parclose screen under the wide arch at the west end of the transept chapel. There must have been two on the south side, as there are two piscine remaining, one of earlier date than the other; these piscine are opposite to each other against the piers of the wide arch before mentioned. On the south side we have the ambry only remaining. The piscina has been destroyed; but there is enough to show that there was only *one* altar on this side, and two on the southern side. Those who have been in Brittany, where the old arrangements remain unaltered, will know how numerous these chantry altars are, and the small space that each occupies; they sometimes go down both sides of the aisle. This ambry is in the sill of a decorated window of the time of Edward III., and shows that a chantry was founded at that time.<sup>7</sup>

The west door and window of the nave are of the time of Henry VII., and the opening under the west window of the south aisle was probably inserted at that time.

The roofs of nave and aisle are good open timber work of

only conjecture, from the common practice of building narrow aisles, with lean-to sloping roofs, in the early part of the twelfth century, and rebuilding the outer walls at double the width half a century or a century afterwards, with high gable roof.

<sup>7</sup> We have in the Patent Roll a notice

of a rector in the second year of Edward III., which may perhaps bear reference to the Chantry Chapel, and another in the 16th of Richard II., which may be connected with another chantry. There is a window of this period in the west end of the south aisle, and under it, in the exterior, is a niche for an image.



the perpendicular style of the fifteenth century, with the corbels carved in the usual grotesque manner; they had long been concealed by plaster ceilings, and have been very judiciously brought to light. The exterior of the whole church is covered with flint and stone dressings well restored.

The divisions between the chapels were probably of wood only, what are called *parclose screens*, which were formerly common in our country churches, but are fast disappearing among the many modern *restorations*.

#### SUMMARY.

This church is built at the foot of the hill on which the castle stands, on steep sloping ground just above the river, and steep cliffs or vertical banks of hard chalk traverse the ground on which it is built. These have rather the appearance of having been the outer trenches of the earthworks of the castle, which would probably extend to the river. The bank nearest the river is a little to the west of the church, and now has a road in it; the next bank goes across the church, and there are steps up it from the nave to the choir, and from the aisles to the transepts. The old tower stands on the top of this bank, and it seems probable that the original small early church was of three bays only, with a western tower, and that the nave and aisles at a lower level were entirely an addition, not a rebuilding of earlier work.

It seems probable that the early church of stone, or rather flint and chalk, was built by the Testards immediately after the Conquest, and replaced an old one of wood, according to the custom of the earlier period. There probably would be a church at Guildford almost as soon as the castle was built; but as long as the castle itself was of wood, as Mr. Clark has shown to have been originally the case, the church would probably remain of wood also. The style of the early church is certainly not Norman, notwithstanding which it may very well have been built after the Conquest, or it may be of the first half of the eleventh century. The flat pilaster strips cut off by the early Norman arch, on each side of the tower, belong clearly to the earliest style of English architecture. The small windows in the middle of the wall splayed both outside and inside, are another indica-

tion of this early style. There are remains of two small windows in the wall on each side of the easternmost bay of the choir, which show that the original church extended at least as far as that, and had no aisles or side chapels. The first thing to be added were long narrow transepts, which appear to have extended to the present outer walls on each side. This was probably done soon after the year 1100 : the small windows over the aisle on the west side of each of the transepts belong to the same period, and the small arches cut through each side of the tower opening into these transepts.

The two apsidal chapels on the east side of the transepts, one on each side of the choir, are another addition of the time of Henry II., or about A.D. 1160. The arches of the nave belong to the same period ; but the aisles were originally only half the width they are at present, and had lean-to sloping roofs, which passed under the windows on the east side of the transept. The outer wall of the aisle was rebuilt in the time of Henry III., or about 1230, on the north side, and 1250 on the south ; the aisles were then made of double the original width, and had high gable roofs instead of the low lean-to roofs. New chantry chapels were made afterwards in these aisles.

There is some reason to think that there was a large wooden porch or Galilee, at the west end along the whole of the west front ; the level of the ground has there been raised three or four feet. Towards the north end of the porch there is a niche for an image, and towards the south end of it an aperture through the wall, apparently a leper's window, and it would seem that this Galilee porch was used as a chapel for the lepers, who were not allowed to enter the church. But we have no evidence of a lepers' hospital at Guildford, though this has been commonly assumed ; and the name of Spital Street was supposed to be connected with it.

The following account of the paintings on the vault of the chapel is given by Mr. Carlos in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxvii, read Feb. 24, 1837. His account of Number 2 is evidently erroneous ; the subject is the well-known legend of St. Nicholas, always represented as in this instance :—

“The northern chapel has its chancel, a semicircular por-

tion vaulted in three divisions; the ribs are stone, and the spandrils probably chalk. On the face of the vaulting, and on the spandrils of the arch which divides this portion of the chapel from its nave, are depicted the subjects here described.

“The seven subjects first described are depicted upon the soffit of the vault. An oval compartment in the centre bears a representation of the Godhead seated; His right hand raised in the attitude of benediction, the left sustaining a book or table, inscribed with the letters Alpha and Omega.

“The remaining subjects are upon the spaces intervening between the ribs of the vault, and occur in the following order, beginning from the south side.

“1. Represents Christ passing judgment. Before Him a pardoned man kneeling in prayer, behind whom are two others dragged to judgment by demons.

“2. A figure of Christ, before whom is a person placed within a font in a supplicating posture; a third figure is represented drawing water from a river by two buckets.

“3. Earthly judgment, represented in a group of five figures. A king seated, the accuser and witness standing, and a culprit suffering decapitation.

“4. Heavenly judgment. Several good souls represented as received into the bosom of our Saviour; a bad man condemned to torment, which he is suffering in a tub-like receptacle from a figure armed with a flesh-hook.

“5. The death of the wicked. A judge standing, holding a wand or rod [or sceptre?], a scribe seated at a desk registering the sentence. Two figures extended dead upon the floor; a third drinking from a chalice.

“6. The death of the good. The least defaced of all the subjects. It represents a corpse placed upon the ground, attended by two priests; in the back-ground an altar upon which is placed a chalice; above, the hand of Providence issuing from the clouds.

“These six subjects are in circular compartments, the remainder of the soffit being filled with ornamental foliage and two angels with censers, so placed as to appear on each side of the figure of the Deity, first described.

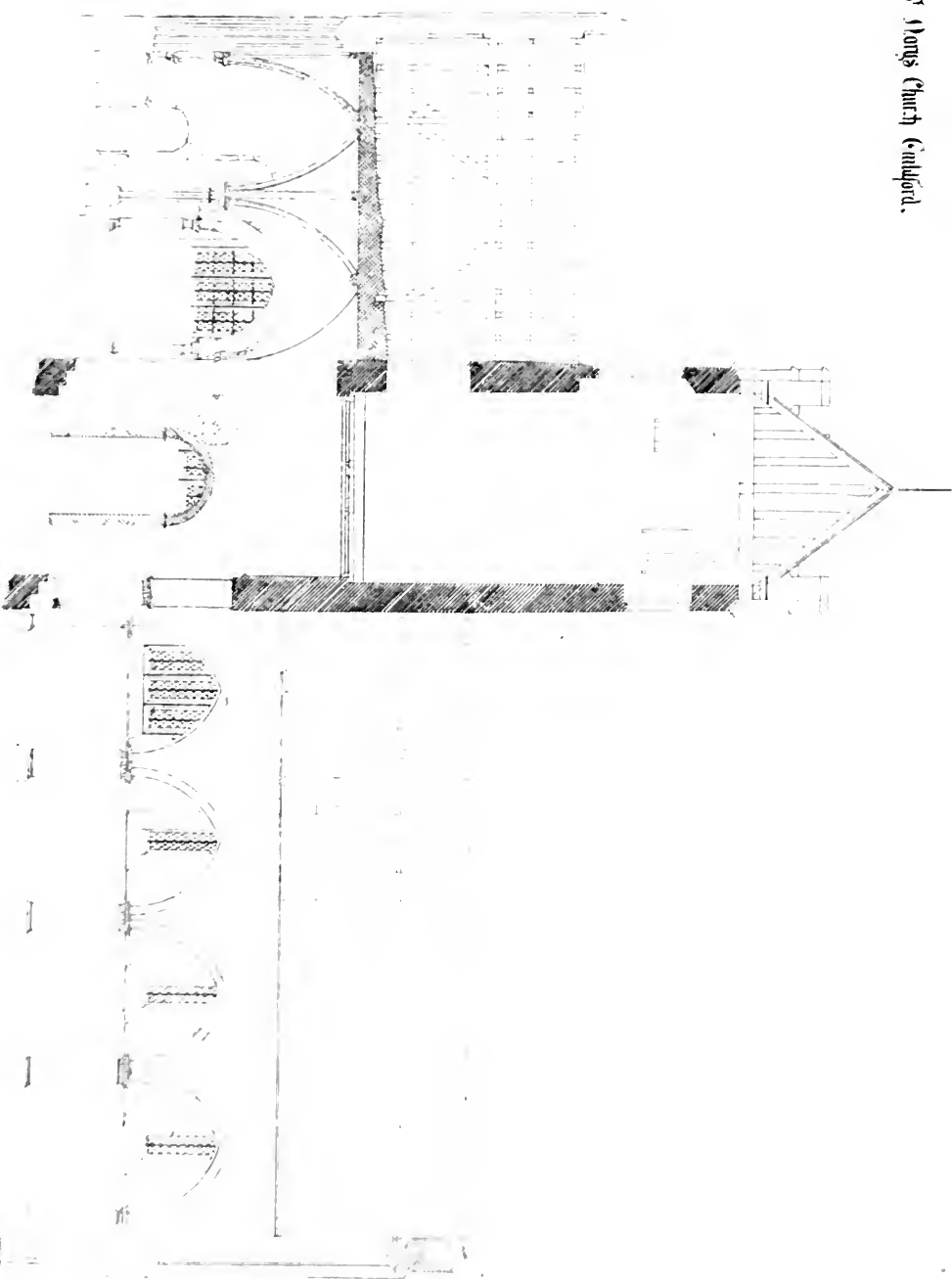
“In the spandril to the right hand of the altar, an angel is represented weighing in scales the good and the evil actions of a soul, the body belonging to which is represented below in a

supplicating posture, the enemy of mankind placing his foot upon the evil scale. The corresponding spandril, considerably defaced, exhibits the departure of the damned, who are dragged away by demons, and driven by an angel with a sword. These subjects are on the face of the wall immediately over the opening to the semicircular chancel, and consequently face the nave of the chapel.

“The ribs of the vault and the architrave of the arch are painted in various patterns.”



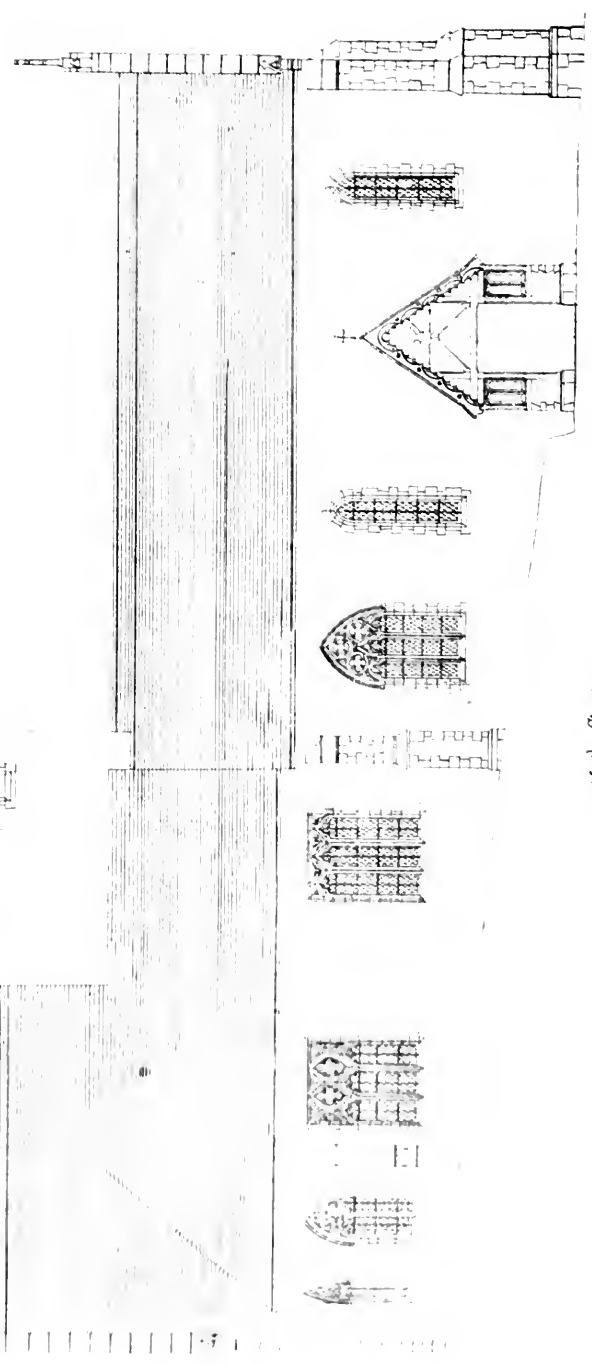
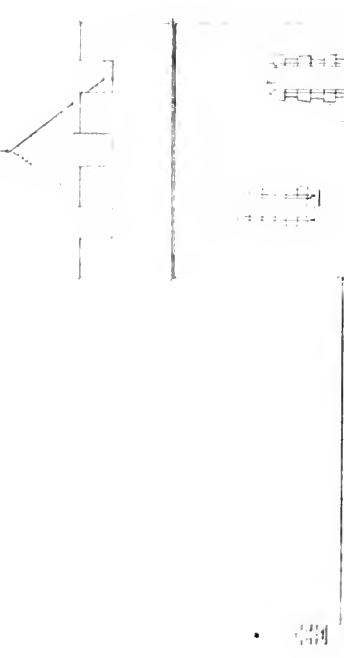
St James Church (London).



Section through Nave

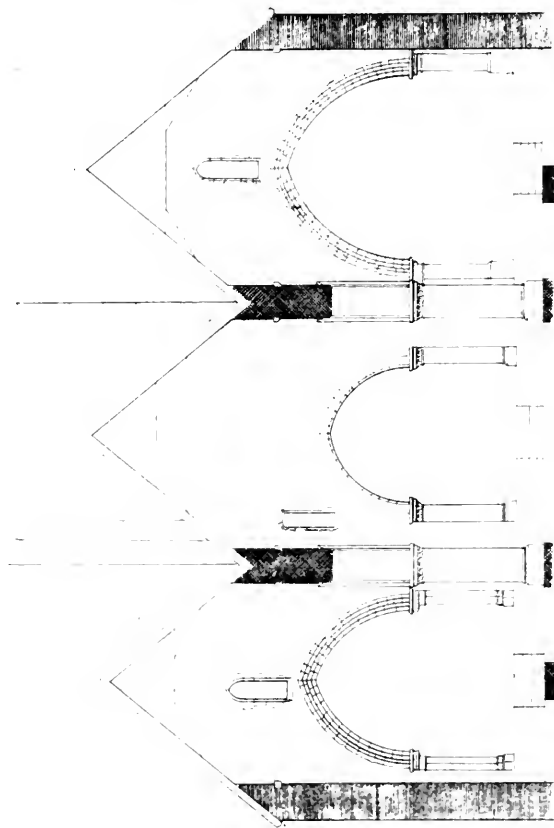


St. Mary's Church • Cambridge





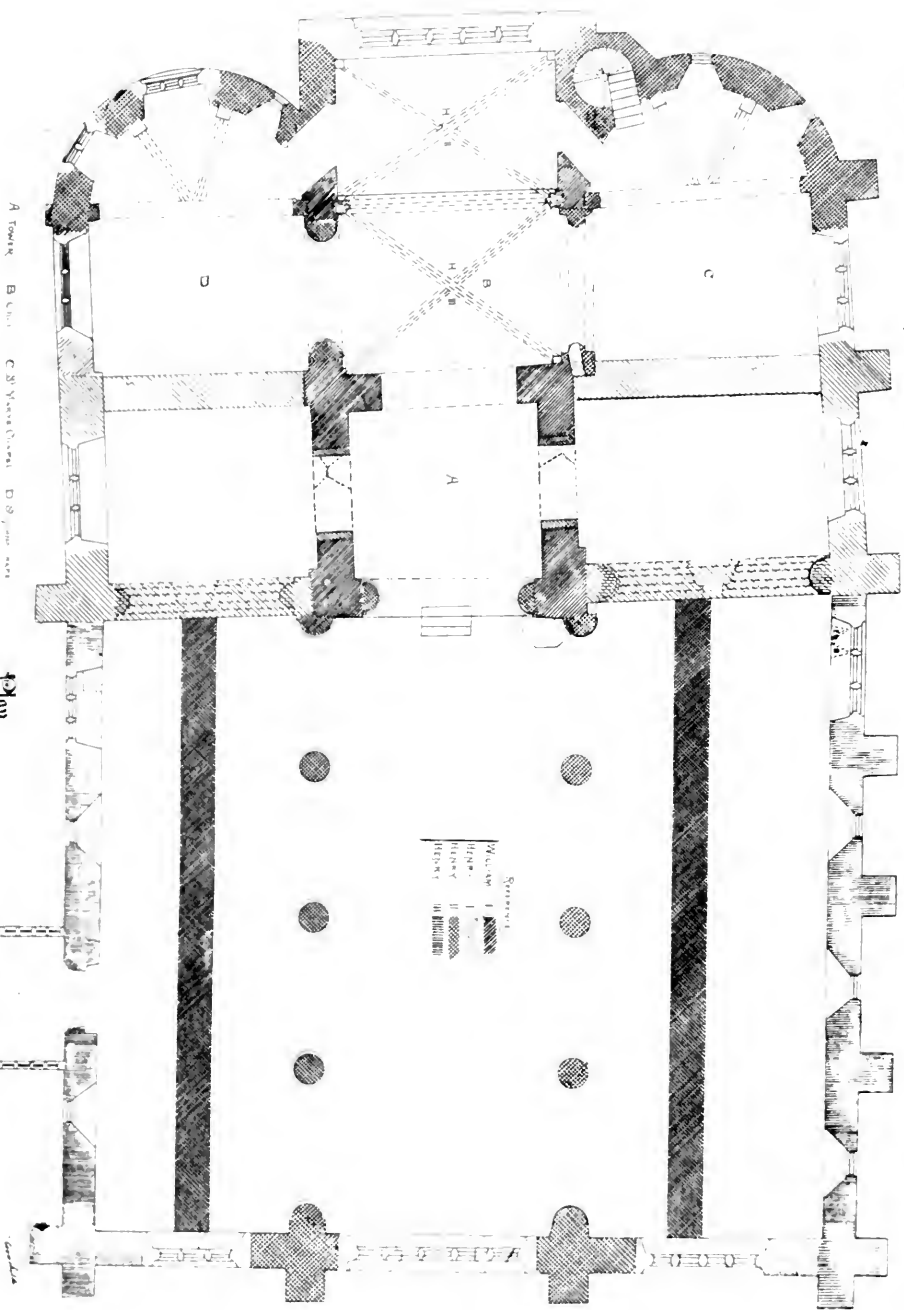
St Marys Church, Guildford



Section through Nave looking East.



St. Martin's Church, Conildford.



Plan.



SUPPLEMENTAL NOTE TO "CATALOGUE OF A LOAN  
COLLECTION OF BOOKS PRINTED BEFORE 1600."<sup>1</sup>

By the Rev. J. FULLER RUSSELL.

THE hearty thanks of the contributors to "a Loan Collection" are due to Mr. Loftie for his interesting and careful "Catalogue" in the last number of our "Journal," and he has done ample justice to the books which I had the pleasure to exhibit. In his account of them, however, are a few errors and omissions which I beg leave briefly to correct and supply.

JOHN GUTENBERG.

7. For "questionu Sifridi Ep'i Ciren'," read "questionū Sifridi epī Ciren'."

CONRAD FEYNER.

33. For "Tractatu," read "Tractatus."

JOHAN BERGMANN, de Olpe.

43. *Dele* "the first which contains cuts."

JOHN SEVERIN.

55. For "Missali," read "Missale." Two leaves only are vellum. They contain a full-page engraving of the Crucifixion, and the commencement of the Canon of the Mass.

AUGUSTINE FRIES.

67. For "Sorori mee, uxori m. tō ini," read "Sorori mee uxori Gilpini."

FRANÇOIS REGNAULT.

100. For "Missale," read "Prymer."

STEFFAN PLANCK. To the volumes assigned to this printer, *add*—

151.\* "Epistola Christofori Colom : cui etas nostra multū debet de Insulis Indie supra Gangen nuper inventis . . . tertio Kal's Maij, m. cccc. xciiij. Pontificatus Alexandri Sexti Anno Primo." 4to.—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

Insert before ENGLAND—

SPAIN.

ARNALDUS BROCARIUS.

155.\* The Complutensian Polyglot. 6 vols. Folio. 1514—1517. This copy, which is presumed to be one of the finest extant, was formerly in the celebrated Merly Library—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

<sup>1</sup> Pages 45-70, ante.

171. To the notice of the "Sermo pro Episcopo Puerorum," *add*—

Mr. John Gough Nichols writes to me, in reference to this sermon: "The only copy I have seen or heard of is one in the British Museum. On commencing the collation of it I find the variations of spelling [in your copy] from the Museum copy so numerous, amounting to four or five in nearly every line, that it incurs a much more troublesome task than I anticipated. I cannot but think Wynkyn de Worde's the earlier edition."

Before 176, *insert*—

175.\* *Legenda aurea*. The recto and reverse of the first leaf of this volume contain full-page engravings, representing the most holy Trinity, and the Saints in Heaven. "Emprynted at London, in Fletestrete, at the sygne of the some." Woodcuts. Folio. 1512—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

198. For "Folio," *read* "4to."

Before 213, *insert*—

212.\* "Petronylla." 4to. No date. A metrical legend of the greatest rarity—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

212.\*\* "Stella clericorum." This title is over a woodcut of a priest reading at a lectern. 4to. No date.

212.\*\*\* "De sancto Marcho." *Opusculum de universali mundi machina ac de methericis impressionibus a Fratre Jeronimo de scto Marcho ordinis minorum,* &c. Woodcuts of the signs of the zodiac, &c. 4to. No date.

212.\*\*\*\* "Sermo Fratris Hieronymi de Ferraria In vigilia Natiuitatis domini corā Fratribus suis recitatus." This tract contains a specimen of the Roman letter, probably the first used in England. 4to. 1509. The three foregoing tracts are bound up with 198—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

Before RICHARD FAKES, *insert*—

PETER TREVELINS, styled by Dibdin "our first printer in the borough of Southwark."

213.\* Higden's *Polychronicon*. Folio. 1527—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

HENRY PEWELL, a citizen, printer, and stationer of London, *d. cir.* 1539.

213.\* "Here foloweth a deuoute treatyse, compyled by mayster Walter Hylton, of the songe of angelles." Beneath this title is a woodcut of the Blessed Virgin and Child, with SS. Joachim, Anna, and two angels. To the above "Treatyse" succeeds another, with the title—"Here foloweth also a veray necessary Epystle of dyserecyon in styrynges of the soule." Below this title is a woodcut of a penitent kneeling before our Blessed Lord; exactly like, and evidently from the same block as the one on the last page of the unique copy (172) of "Communyca-cyon betwene God and man." On the reverse of the last leaf is a woodcut of the Almighty Father enthroned, and holding our Saviour on the cross. 4to. 1521—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

227. After 1531, *add*

This copy belonged to Thomas Wharton, and, when in Heber's library, was described by Dibdin in "Typographical Antiquities," vol. iii. p. 221.

Before JOHN OSWES, *insert*

JOHN OVERTON, printed at Ipswich.

233.\* “*Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Scriptorum . . . autore Ioanne Balaeo sudovolca.*” 4to. 1548. On the title-page is a representation of John Bale presenting his book to Edward VI. It is engraved in Dibdin’s “*Bibliographical Decameron,*” vol. ii. p. 309—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

JOHN DAY. To the volumes assigned to this printer, *add*—

240.\* De “*Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ & Priuilegiis Ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, cum Archiepiscopis eiusdem, 70.*” Folio. 1572.

The above volume, the work of Archbishop Parker, is, according to Dibdin, “without doubt, one of the scarcest books in existence.” Only twenty-one copies (sixteen of which are in public libraries) have been discovered, and no two accord with each other. Some account of them is given in Martin’s “*Bibliographical Catalogue of Privately-printed Books,*” 8vo, 1854. This copy contains a fine impression, in its genuine state, of the rare portrait of the Archbishop, by Berg; and, when in Mr. Bindley’s library, was described by Dibdin, “*Typographical Antiquities,*” vol. iv. p. 127. There is a copy of this book in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster—The Rev. J. Fuller Russell.

247. For “*Catechisms,*” *read* “*Cathechismus.*”

Under Bibles and Parts of the Bible, for “*Missale, 1537,*” *read* “*Prymer, 1537.*”

## Original Documents.

### INDENTURE OF APPRENTICESHIP, TEMP. RIC. II.

WE print this ancient Indenture of Apprenticeship not only because it is probably one of the oldest existing, but on account of its great peculiarity in continuing at so early a time so many particular stipulations. It is also not a little remarkable that at the time when this Indenture was executed, conveyances of large estates were not half so long or half so special in their provisions as this Indenture. There is also another similar Indenture, dated 1111, between the same John Hyndlee (Hyndeley) and William Spragge, son of Thomas Spragge of Shrewsbury, for the apprenticeship of the said William to the same John, to learn the art of the brasier's craft. The term of apprenticeship was to be *eight* years, but the other conditions were almost identical with those in the following Indenture.

C. S. G.

Hic Indentura testatur quod ita convenit inter Johannem Hyndlee de Northampton, Brasier, ex parte una, et Thomam Edward, filium Gilberti Edward de Wyndesore, ex parte altera, quod predictus Thomas Edward semetipsum fecit et posuit apprenticium dicto Johanni Hyndlee, ad deservendum eidem Johanni Hyndlee et assignatis suis bene et fideliter more apprenticii a festo omnium sanctorum proximè futuro post datam presentium usque ad finem septem annorum proximè extime sequentium et plenariè completorum, ad artem vocatam *brasier's craft*, quã dictus Johannes utitur, medio tempore humiliter erudiendum. Infra quem quidem terminum dictorum septem annorum prefatus Thomas Edward consilia dicti Johannis Hyndlee magistri sui celanda celabit. Campanam eidem Johanni magistro suo nullo modo faciet nec feri videbit, quin illud cito impeditur aut dictum magistrum suum statim inde premuniet. A servicio suo predicto seipsum illicitè non absentabit. Bona et catalla dicti Johannis magistri sui absque ejus licentiã nulli accommodabit. Tabernum, scortum, talos, aleas, et joca similia non frequentabit, in dispendium magistri sui predicti. Fornicationem nec adulterium cum aliqua muliere de domo et familiã dicti Johannis magistri sui nullo modo committet, neque uxorem ducet, absque licentiã magistri sui predicti. Præcepta et mandata licita et rationabli dicti Johannis magistri sui ubique pro fidelibus posse ipsius Thomae, diligenter adimplebit et eis lem mandatis libenter obediet, durante toto termino suo prenotato. Et, si predictus Thomas de aliqua convencionione quã vel articulo prescripto defecerit, tunc idem Thomas juxta modum et quantum ibi delicti sui prefato Johanni magistro suo satisfaciet emendam



aut terminum apprenticiatus sui predicti duplicabit, iterando servicium suum prefixum. Et prefatus Johannes Hyndlee et assignati sui dictum Thomam apprenticium suum in arte predictâ meliori modo quo idem Johannes sciverit ac poterit tractabunt, docebunt et informabunt, seu ipsum informari facient sufficienter, debito modo castigando, et non aliter. Præterea dictus Johannes concecit ad docendum et informandum dictum Thomam in arte vocata *Peuturer's*<sup>1</sup> *craft* adeo bene sicut sciverit seu poterit ultra convencionem suam præmissam. Et idem Johannes nullam [*a hole in the deed*] artium predictarum a dicto Thomâ apprenticio suo concecabit durante termino prænotato. Invenient insuper idem Johannes et assignati sui dicto Thomæ omnia sibi necessaria, videlicet victum suum, et vestitum, lineum, lancum, lectum, hospicium, calceamenta et cætera sibi competencia annuatim sufficienter, prout ætas et status ipsius Thomæ exigerint durante termino suo præfixo. In cujus rei testimonium partes predictæ hiis Indenturis sigilla sua alternatim apposuerunt. Data apud Norhampton, die Sabbati proxima post festum sancti Luce apostoli et evangeliste,<sup>2</sup> anno regni regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum decimo nono. Hiis testibus, Henrico Caysho, tunc majore ville Norhampton, Willicho Wade et Johanne Wodeward, tunc ibidem ballivis, Ricardo Gosselyn, Johanne Essex Smyth, et aliis. [A.D. 1396.]

Seal appended. The arms seem to be a pale, and in chief three escallop shells. No tinctures.

<sup>1</sup> Though indistinct, I think there is no doubt of this word.      <sup>2</sup> *I. e.* 18 October.

## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archæological Institute.

February 2, 1872.

C. S. GREAVES, Esq., Q.C., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN expressed his deep regret that he had to call attention to a painful subject—the great loss the Institute had sustained by the death of the very Rev. Canon Rock. Under any circumstances he should have felt how very unequal he was to do justice to the merits of the deceased; but peculiarly so at the present moment, as he had been unexpectedly asked to take the chair, in consequence of the absence of others more capable than himself of filling it satisfactorily. Blessed with talents of no ordinary kind, and which had been sedulously cultivated, and possessed of a vast store of knowledge on all antiquarian subjects, and especially on those relating to ecclesiastical matters, Canon Rock was ever ready on every occasion to throw the light of his extensive knowledge upon any subject that arose at any of the meetings of the Institute; and although he must on some occasions have felt himself placed in a somewhat critical position, his language and demeanour were ever as courteous and polite as his temperament was genial and sincere. Taking the deepest interest in the prosperity of the Institute, he never seemed so happy as when he was contributing to the information and amusement of its members, and rare, indeed, was the occasion when he had not some pleasing anecdote or agreeable story to tell, which would enliven even the dulllest antiquarian subject. He had taken a warm interest in the late annual meeting at Cardiff, and had contributed not a little to its great success. As a writer he had displayed great ability, and his works would probably last almost as long as the English language should endure. The loss to the Institute of such a friendly coadjutor was great, and a considerable time might possibly elapse before any new member joined the Society who would be able to supply in all respects the vacancy caused by the loss of him whom the Institute had so much reason to lament.

Turning to a more pleasant theme, the Chairman congratulated the Institute on the restoration to health of their Patron, his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, to whom the Council had just voted an address of congratulation. This announcement was received with much satisfaction by the meeting.

“Medical Recipes of the Seventeenth Century,” by Mr. J. Hewitt, were then read by the SECRETARY (printed at p. 71). Mr. Trezellas, in

the course of some comments upon this communication, stated that the note "probatum est," often found appended to old prescriptions, signified that they had been tested by physicians.

Mr. FORTNUM then gave a discourse "On Early Christian Rings," which he illustrated by the exhibition of his collection (printed in vol. xxviii. p. 266).

Mr. SODEN SMITH, in some remarks, gave a general corroboration of Mr. Fortnum's conclusions, and adverted to the difficulty of the question of authenticity in many cases. Mr. Oldfield thought the inscription "for a good child" doubtful, as the preposition seemed to refer to being for good objects or purposes, and not to a person. See vol. xxviii. p. 276. The Rev. W. J. Loftie also remarked upon some of the specimens shown by Mr. Fortnum, especially the votive rings, which he thought were probably only for statuettes. The Chairman, the Rev. J. B. Deane, and others, also added some remarks.

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—Two pieces of armour for the shoulders of a man, of late fourteenth or early fifteenth century work. They came from the armoury at Constantinople, and were of copper plated with gold, ornamented with a pounced pattern. The gold was covered with a thick coat of dirt, similar to that which, a few years ago, disfigured effigies in Westminster Abbey, so that the nature of the metal was uncertain.—A pistol with wheel lock, the stock inlaid with engraved ivory, and the barrel stamped with the crowned vipers (the *guivre* of the Visconti family); Milanese work of the sixteenth century.

By Mr. J. A. SPARVEL-BAYLY.—A small collection of examples of Roman pottery found at the ancient ferry, West Tilbury, Essex. Amongst these relics of Roman occupation on the northern shore of the Thames were two perfect Samian *patere*, with the potters' marks, and a small bowl marked—DACMNA.—Mr. Wright gives, in his list of marks on Samian ware found in England—DACOIMNVS. F.—DECVMLI. M.—Mr. Roach Smith mentions the like marks, and also DAMINI. M.—DECLI. M. (Roman London, p. 103).—Fragments of a bowl, with figures in relief; three fragments of early pottery, rudely ornamented, possibly of some local manufactory; and three urns, one of them measuring 20 in. in height, of light-coloured ware; the others, of black ware, smaller in dimensions.—A small long-necked vessel of Roman ware. Some notices of similar relics found on the shore of the Thames, near Grays Thurrock, Essex, are given in this Journal, vol. xxvi., p. 191.

By Sir JERVOISE CLERK-JERVOISE, Bart.—A second brass coin of Diocletian (A.D. 284—313), found in a garden at Horndean, Hants. It is a coin of not uncommon type, struck at Treves, with the reverse, a draped female figure, holding in her right hand a pair of scales, a cornucopia in her left, with the legend—SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR.—The M. in *moneta* resembles an X. The coin has been gilt, but most probably in times comparatively modern.—A copy of a work entitled "La Physique Occulte, ou Traité de la Bague Divinatoire, par M. De Vallemont," Amsterdam, 1693, 12mo., with illustrations. In this curious work, devoted chiefly to a praise of the Divining Rod as a means of discovering springs of water, mines, and hidden treasure, as well as robbers

and murderers flying from justice, are some singular prescriptions for diseases, showing the condition of medical science upon the Continent at about the period of Sir John Floyer's practice, in illustration of whose "Recipes" contributed by Mr. Hewitt, the owner kindly forwarded the little volume. There were to be found in the volume two valuable remedies, one for gout, the other for tooth-ache, by the process of transplantation.—"Pseudoxia Epidemica," by Dr. Thomas Browne, Doctor of Physic, 1669 (author of "Religio Medici"), in which, at Cap. x. of Book I. is the following singular passage: "But there is every power in bitumen, pitch, or brimstone to purifie the aire from his (the Devil's) uncleannesse: that any vertue there is in Hipericon to make good the name of *fuga Demoniis*, any such magick as is ascribed unto the root Bauras by Josephus, or Cynospastus by Elianus, it is not easie to believe, nor is it naturally made out what is delivered by Tobias, that by the fume of a fische's liver he put to flight Asmodeus."

By Sir JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A.—A deed of feoffment of land in Trevinion, Cornwall, in the thirteenth century.—Case for enclosing a snuff-grater, of ivory, carved in the style of the time of Louis XV.

IMPRESSIONS OF SEALS.—By the Rev. W. IAGO.—Small circular seal found in Cornwall; the device is the Holy Lamb, bearing a cross-staff, with a gonfanon appended: legend—PRIVE SX—(probably for—PRIVE SU)—diam. about  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. A matrix of a seal with the like device, allusive, probably, to the *cultus* of the Baptist, was found lately at Penzance. Date, fourteenth century.

By Mr. W. W. E. WYNNE, of Peniarth.—A small circular seal; date about 1100. The device is a cross-shaft, to which is attached a double vane or pennon, and terminating below in a monogram like a merchant's mark.

By Sir JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A.—A small personal seal of circular form, measuring three-quarters of an inch in diameter, found, about 1840, by a labourer at Moor Cottage, in the parish of St. Austell, Cornwall. The device is an escutcheon, within a four-sided panel of tracery of fifteenth century character, and charged with a small animal, probably of the favourite Maltese breed (*molitans*, or *fotor*); it has a long bushy tail recurved over the back, like that of a squirrel; under its fore feet there is a cinquefoil. The legend, somewhat difficult to be deciphered, appears to read as follows:—S' T I E FEVRE CL.—probably for *clerici*. This pretty little specimen may be of French workmanship, date about 1400. It had been lately sent to Sir John by Mr. William Coode.

March 1, 1872.

OCTAVIUS MORGAN, Esq., M.P. and V.P., in the chair.

The SECRETARY read the Address of Congratulation which had been voted by the Council of the Institute to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, on his recovery, and the answer which had been received to it, as follows:—

"To His Royal Highness Albert Edward Prince of Wales,  
K.G., K.T.G., C.B., F.S.A., &c., &c.

"Sir,—We, the President, Council, and Members of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, beg leave to be

permitted to approach your Royal Highness with the expression of our heartfelt thankfulness and congratulations on your recovery from a long and dangerous illness.

“We trust that your Royal Highness may be speedily restored to perfect health and strength, and that it may be the Divine pleasure to give you a long, prosperous, and happy life, and enable you to perform the high duties of your illustrious station.

“In addition to such feelings of thankfulness for the recovery of your Royal Highness, which we feel in common with other scientific societies in the country, we have a special feeling of regard towards your Royal Highness on account of your being a patron of this Institute, and on account of the high favour often shown to us by your Royal Parents, and we trust we may be permitted to look to your Royal Highness in years to come for a continuance of such gracious encouragement and condescension.

(Signed) “TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, President.

“Royal Archaeological Institute,  
“16, New Burlington Street, W.  
“*February, 1872.*”

“Marlborough House, Pall Mall, S.W., February 24th, 1872.

“General Sir William Knollys has been directed by the Prince of Wales to return to the President, Council, and Fellows of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland his sincere thanks for their Address of Congratulation on his recovery. His Royal Highness is grateful for their good wishes, and it will ever be a source of pride and satisfaction to him to have been in any measure conducive to the success of their Institute.

“The Lord Talbot de Malahide, President, &c. &c.”

The Hon. W. O. STANLEY, M.P., gave an account of the discovery of a Roman cake of copper, impressed with a stamp, which had been found at the Paris mine at Amlwch, near Beaumaris, Anglesea. This Memoir will be given in a future portion of the Journal.

The CHAIRMAN made some remarks upon the mode of transit by which such weights could be conveyed in early times. So lately as fifty years ago pack-horses were in common use in Monmouthshire, and the tracks were so worn that they were said to travel in ditches.

The SECRETARY then read “A few notes on a recent discovery of Roman bronzes and other relics at Balen, in Aargau, Switzerland,” by Dr. Ferdinand Keller, late president of the Society of Antiquaries of Zürich. “In November of last year a find of Roman antiquities, of considerable value and interest, occurred at Baden, in the canton of Argovie, in the northern part of Switzerland. Baden, situated about four leagues from Zürich, was a favourite resort in Roman times, on account of the remarkable thermal springs that still exist there. The place is mentioned by Tacitus, in his ‘History’ (Book I, c. 67), as of considerable importance, ‘*Locus in modum municipii exstructus,*’ and vestiges of Roman occupation are there to be found in abundance, but many feet below the present surface. Early in the winter one of the innkeepers, in forming the foundations of a wash-house, brought to light a great number of curious ancient implements of bronze and iron, and, besides these appli-

ances of every-day life and domestic uses, half-a-dozen bronze *lares*, or statuettes of more than ordinary interest as relics of antique art. These include figures of Jupiter, Juno, Mercury, and other pagan deities. Of some of these objects photographs are sent for the inspection of the members of the Institute; they are all in a very good style of workmanship. There is also a very extraordinary grotesque bronze figure of Priapus, formed with rings for suspension, and supposed by some who have had occasion to examine it, to have been the *equipondium* of a stilyard, but more probably intended for suspension to avert the evil eye; a lump or some other pensive object may have been originally connected with it. A Roman relie of somewhat similar fashion has been figured by the Comte de Caylus. A full account of the discovery at Baden will be given with engravings of the principal bronzes, in the forthcoming fasciculus of the *Indicateur* of Swiss antiquities, published at Zürich. One of the fine examples of antique art represented in the photographs submitted to the Institute is a bust of Juno, of unusual beauty and merit in its design; there is no plinth to support it, in the usual fashion of a *lar*, and this bronze may possibly have been formed to serve as an *equipondium* for a *librilla* or stilyard; the bronze objects that were destined for these homely uses were frequently, even in the provinces remote from the great emporia of luxury in Rome, of remarkable beauty in their design and quaintness in their forms or decoration. There is also a full-length figure of Mercury, with the customary attributes of that deity; this figure, placed upon a pedestal, is in much better style of art than the greater part of the Roman bronzes occurring in Switzerland. Its graceful and spirited design has been successfully reproduced in the photograph. Lastly, in the little selection from the recent find at Baden, may be noticed a seated Priapus, a favourite household god in Roman times, having his lap filled with fruit. This little figure is by no means devoid of spirit in its execution. With the bronze deities that have been briefly mentioned there were also found a number of Roman culinary and household appliances of bronze and iron. Of objects of this homely description the examples are comparatively uncommon, except in the richly-stored depositories of such remains as have been disinterred at Pompeii or Herculaneum, and on a few other ancient sites; and in those great centres of luxurious civilization it will be remembered that the entire contents of the dwellings, even to the least important relics of daily life, have been found overwhelmed in the fearful catastrophe, and now present at the Museum at Naples that detailed minute evidence in regard to domestic usages that we seek elsewhere in vain. Amongst the various culinary or other appliances found at Baden with a group of household gods, or not far from the spot where they lay, were two objects of remarkable description; one of these is an iron implement with six small hemispherical cups affixed at one end of a long slender handle. It is supposed that this implement was used for cooking eggs, possibly for poaching them (*œufs en meuble*). A sketch in outline, of the same dimensions as the original, will show the construction with accuracy. The other implement is a fine *librilla*, or stilyard, of bronze, of excellent workmanship; length, nearly 4 ft. In present times workers in metal excel in the use of the file, but the Roman and the Middle Age artificers were more skilled in wielding the hammer. A second stilyard was also found; these objects

are, however, not very rare on Roman sites, but are more commonly of small size. Two of these, now in the Museum at Zürich, may deserve mention as having *three* hooks. This unusual arrangement is shown in the sketch sent for examination. In Rich's "Dictionary of Antiquities" no such specimen is given; the stilyards, as there shown, have two hooks only. Possibly some example with three hooks may have occurred with Roman relics in England."

"Supplementary Notes on the ancient portraits of our Lord," by Mr. ALBERT WAY, were then read. (Printed at pp. 109—119 of the present volume.)

Mr. C. D. E. FORTNUM read the following "Notes on a Vase or Urn of the later Bronze Period, from Marino, near Albano, Italy:—" "In the year 1817 a discovery was made at Marino, not far from Albano, of certain curious earthenware hut-urns, and other cinerary vases, of so singular a character, and discovered under such singular circumstances, that they excited the greatest curiosity among the archaeologists of those days, and have been ever since regarded as objects of unusual interest. I have the pleasure of exhibiting to this meeting an example of these sepulchral vases, which I procured on my last visit to Rome. For an account of the history of this discovery and its results, I would refer to a letter by Dr. Alessandro Visconti, addressed to Signor Giuseppe Carnevali in 1817, on the subject of those urns, found near Alba Longa, by which we learn that on January 7th, 1817, excavations for deepening the soil were made in a vineyard belonging to Signor Carlo Tomasetti, at Marino, near the road to Castel Gandolfo; a layer of peperino rock was broken through, beneath which fragments and one entire vase were found. Nigh at hand Signor Giuseppe Carnevali, of Albano, found several others under similar circumstances. Together they then examined the vineyard of Signor Tomasetti, and on the 4th of February, in the presence of many respectable and learned persons, beneath a thickness of about 20 in. of the solid peperino rock, in a white cretaceous soil, various fragments anciently broken, but no whole vase, were found. These pieces were compared with the others at Signor Carnevali's house, and found to correspond in character, and other similar discoveries were attested. Visconti describes one vase, a large jar 3 palms high (30 in.) as containing a cinerary urn of the form of a hut, in which were calcined bones, an *unguentarium*, bronze fibula, a bronze wheel, and a clay object like the trunk of a tree; round it were a number of other vases, four of barrel shape, one an *askos*, supposed for wine, oil, milk, honey, water, &c.; a rude figure of a man in terra cotta, a lamp, three paterae and a shallow bowl. The urn was marked with zig-zag and meanders, and the door closed with a bronze pin. Near the jar a small bronze lance head, two knife blades, and a stylus were discovered. This vase and its contents are figured in Dr. Birch's "History of Ancient Pottery," vol. ii., p. 197, reduced from Visconti. Subsequently Signor Carnevali died, his vases being left for sale in the hands of Depoletti at Rome. Specimens were secured for the Museo Gregoriano: Baron de Bonstetten purchased some hut-urns, and a fibula ornamented with a human tooth; others were dispersed. Dr. Visconti supposed the age of this pottery to be previous to 1176 B.C., as the production of a race anterior to the Trojans, by whom Alba Longa is said to have been built. Similar hut-urns, but differing in the nature of the clay, have been found in various parts of Germany, and on

the eastern side of the Baltic; also by Sir Charles Fellows in Lycia. Niebuhr supposed they are works of the Pelasgians, who, coming from Asia Minor and Thessaly, divided, some going northward to Scandinavia and some to Italy.

“It is the opinion of Owen, of Ramsay, Quekett and of Hunt, that under certain circumstances the peperino might indurate from the state of sand in the course of not very many centuries. In vol. xxxviii. of ‘The Archaeologia,’ at p. 188, published in 1860, is a very interesting paper entitled, ‘Remarks on certain Ancient Pelasgic and Latian Vases found in Central Italy,’ by Joseph Beldam, Esq., F.S.A., who was fortunate enough to secure some of the Carnevali specimens from Depoletti; these he afterwards presented to the British Museum, which already possessed one of the hut-urns. In vol. xlii. of the ‘Archæologia’ (published in 1869) at p. 99, is an excellent paper by Dr. L. Pigorini, director of the Museum of Antiquities at Parma, and Sir John Lubbock, Bart., F.R.S., F.S.A., ‘Notes on the Hut Urns discovered at Marino.’ They quote the opinion of Dr. Birch on the subject of hut-urns found in Germany as being distinctly Teutonic and of the bronze weapon period (Hist. Anc. Pot., vol. ii., p. 392). The finest of those found at Marino are in the Museo Gregoriano; others in the Kircheriana, and some in private collections at Rome, in the museum at Parma, the British Museum, and a hut-urn in the possession of Edmund Oldfield, Esq., F.S.A.

“Baron de Bonstetten and the Duke de Blacas (Mem. dell. Soc. Ant. de France, xxvii.) were fortunate in securing examples of the hut-urns and others. Both thought them extremely ancient, others doubted their great antiquity. Ampère (‘L’Histoire Romaine à Rome’) believes that the entrance to the tombs (beneath the peperino) was lower, and opened on the ancient road. To set this matter at rest, in 1866 Dr. Pigorini, Professor Ponzi, Cavalier Roza, and Cavalier Michele Stefano de Rossi visited the spot. They found that the position of the sepulchre was not accounted for by the presence of the road, and was such as satisfied them that the interment was anterior to the deposition of the peperino. De Rossi, in his report (1867) confirms these views. Similar vases (but no hut-urns) have been found at Golasecca, near the southern extremity of the Lago Maggiore, at Villanova, in the Bolognese, and at Bologna. With some of these, objects of bronze and iron were found. Dr. Pigorini describes nine of the hut-urns only. He considers these objects from Albano to be of the transition period, between the bronze and the commencement of the iron age. On the nature of the ware, Visconti says that ‘the material, the manufacture, and the colour of the earthenware present a relic of a former age, which differs from all others hitherto known.’ And again, ‘their material, according to the analysis, and their form, clearly indicate that they bear no relationship to those of the Roman sepulchres.’ The chemist, Alessandro Conti, says, ‘The material of the ancient earthenware found in Albano differs from the common clay, by the addition of a certain quantity of volcanic sand.’ Blacas says, ‘Le matériel employé à la confection de ces vases est une argile noirâtre mêlée de sable volcanique;’ and Bonstetten writes: ‘La haute antiquité de ces poteries fut ainsi parfaitement démontrée, d’ailleurs la grossièreté de leur travail, la bizarrerie de leur forme, et la composition de leur pâte, dans laquelle on reconnaît encore des traces de cendres volcaniques, indiquent déjà que ces urnes n’étaient ni Romaines ni Etrusques.’



“To these remarks Dr. Pigorini adds, that ‘the vessels in question present three descriptions of material. The first is pure clay, mixed with volcanic sand, grains of which are in some instances visible in the fractures; the second is clay mixed with sand before described, but of a paler kind, and hence purer and finer; the third, in other respects, not unlike the second, contains a large quantity of a material, apparently carbonaceous, which imparts to it a beautiful black colour.’



Height,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in., Diameter,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in.

“The nearest approach to the form of the urn now exhibited is that at No. 11 on plate X., at p. 112 of the 42nd volume of the “Archæologia,” but wanting the remarkable pedestal-like elongation of the foot of that example, which is preserved in the Vatican Museum.”

The Hon. SECRETARY reported the progress made in the arrangements for the annual meeting at Southampton, which were highly satisfactory.

#### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Sir JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A.—A deed of grant, 18 Henry VII. William Olyver and others to John and Thomas Olyver; showing the existence of a guild at Blyston, Cornwall.

By Mr. TALBOT BURY, F.S.A.—A chamfron of steel, engraved with an ornamental pattern of beautiful design. The side pieces are connected with chains, fastened by straps and buckles. It came from the Armoury at Constantinople some thirty years since, when the store of ancient armour was disposed of, and is probably of the 14th century.

By Dr. F. KELLER, late President of the Society of Antiquaries of Zurich.—Photographs of bronze figures, of the Roman period, found in Switzerland; sketch of implement for cooking eggs; sketch of *librilla*, or stilyard.

By Mr. C. GOLDING.—“Original MS. account of the King’s band of Gentlemen Pensioners, II, Charles I.” in excellent condition. In the

"Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica," as Mr. J. Gough Nichols pointed out, a similar roll is printed for the year 1618, which was then in the possession of the late Sir Charles G. Young, Garter-King-at-Arms. It exactly corresponds in form and character with that now exhibited. In the Public Record Office are seven rolls of Accounts of the Gentlemen Pensioners of the reign of Charles I. Among them is one for the eleventh year, apparently a duplicate of that belonging to Mr. Golding, but it is in such bad condition that they can scarcely be compared. The Rolls came from the vaults in Somerset House, and are all more or less injured. The accounts begin in the reign of Philip and Mary, and there exist thirty-four rolls of that reign and Queen Elizabeth. In 1611 the Earl of Northumberland was accused by an old servant of complicity in the Gunpowder Plot, and one of the charges against him was that he had persuaded his brother to admit Thomas Percy as a "gentleman pensioner" without taking the oath of allegiance. Many particulars about members of the corps, which comprised many persons of rank and military men of position, may be found among the State papers of the time. See a letter from the King to the Earl of Northumberland, 18th May, 1603, setting out the conditions of their service. In Pegge's "Curialia" (1781, quarto) is "A memoir regarding the King's Honourable Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, from its establishment to the present time."

By the Hon. W. O. STANLEY, M.P.—A cake of copper, weighing 29 lbs. 6 oz., impressed with a Roman stamp, found in Anglesca.

By Mr. C. D. E. FORNUM, F.S.A.—A vase-urn of the later bronze period, from Marino, near Albano, Italy.—Roman lamp, with portraiture of our Lord (?), in early Byzantine style.—Medal, with profile of our Lord, fifteenth century; barely 3½ inches in diameter. (This is figured in Mr. Way's "Notes," facing p. 109.)

By Mr. E. M. DEWING.—Four photographs of a sculptured stone or column, apparently of a memorial character, found at Godmanchester.—Anastatic drawing of a mural painting lately found in Bramford Church, Suffolk, representing a cross, with angels. The stone found at Godmanchester is 29 inches long, 8 inches thick, and 10 broad, and is probably of the twelfth century. On one side is carved a full length figure of an ecclesiastic with the name THOMAS as a superscription. The hands are uplifted in the attitude of blessing, and above the inscription is an angel. On the reverse which seems to be divided into three equal compartments—at the top is an angel holding a censer; beneath, a fillet. Then a *vesica piscis* enclosing our Lord in blessing attitude, nimbed. On the spandrels above the *vesica* are  $\Lambda \omega$ . On the spandrels below are two ornamental volutes. Beneath runs the inscription:

WILL. COKE. TLE. P. . . . . 18. [Patris  $\zeta$ ]

Upon the subject of this piece of sculpture the Rev. Dr. Valpy French contributed some remarks to the Society of Antiquaries in the month of February last.

By Mr. E. PRYSS.—Bronze weapons found near Flixborough, in the north of Lincolnshire, about three or four miles south east of the point where the Trent falls into the Humber. They were discovered by a plough being used which turned up the ground deeper than before. They consist of seven celts of bronze, one looped; a spear-head, with socket, entire; a fragment of spear head, the point only, three inches in

length; a sword broken into four pieces, point missing. See Arch. Journ., Vol. X., pp. 69, 70, for an account of the discovery of bronze objects at a spot close to that from which Mr. Pepys brought those shown by him. Many of the celts are there figured.

By Mr. F. Ludd Flint, through Mr. T. Dodd.—A Roman fibula, with enamel, of good but not uncommon type, found at Canterbury.—Miniature bust in terra cotta, of a helmeted head, not antique.—Copper coin of Constantine.—A thin piece of deal wood, shaped apparently to fit as a lid of a box,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 1 inch in greatest breadth, on which is fixed a strip of thin metal, with a male and female figure roughly engraved thereon in the costume of the early part of the eighteenth century, probably German.

## Notices of Archæological Publications.

SHAKSPERE AND TYPOGRAPHY. By WILLIAM BLADES. Trübner, 1872.

MR. BLADES has served the cause of scientific bibliography so well by his volumes on Caxton that many of us were rather sorry to hear he had ventured into the interminable labyrinths of Shakspearian speculation. It would be a pity, we thought, that so clear a head and so unerring an eye should go the way which has led so many other enthusiastic spirits into obscure and aimless controversies. But a glance at "Shakspeare and Typography" has dissipated our fears. Mr. Blades has not failed to bring something valuable before us -- something which he only was likely to find. The book consists of three chapters and an Appendix. The first is devoted to a review of the various theories which have at different times been put forward as to Shakspeare's occupation, enumerating, among others, the authors who have endeavoured to make him a butcher, a skewer sharpener, a lawyer, a surgeon, a musician, a botanist, a sorcerer, and so on; and to prove that in religion he was a Romanist, Protestant, or an Atheist; and finally, that he was not himself, but Lord Bacon, or that he was nobody at all, but a myth. This chapter is exceedingly amusing, and merely as a piece of historical information well worth reading. Chapter II. contains Mr. Blades's own theory. He puts it forward so modestly, that although it is manifestly no more improbable than any of the others, we are hardly able to say whether it is seriously meant. Yet when we find that a certain Richard Field was Shakspeare's fellow-townsmen and contemporary, that Field was a printer, and was married to the daughter of Vautrollier, the great printer, whom he succeeded; that Field actually was the first to print any work of Shakspeare's, we are obliged to allow the possibility that Shakspeare had some connection with the press, if not as a printer, as a corrector. And we find further that among the books published by Vautrollier were precisely those from which Shakspeare may, and probably must, have derived the knowledge he shows of certain branches of foreign literature; and finally, that many allusions occur throughout his works. Mr. Blades puts this information in his third chapter -- to the press, titles, prefaces, punctuation, imprints, and so on, including *Othello's*

"Here's a young and sweating devil,"

which Mr. Blades ingeniously refers to the haste and heat of a printer's messenger.

But to our mind the most important part of the book is the Appendix. Here Mr. Blades appears to have made a real discovery. His suggestion that many of the typographical errors and various readings which so perplex the Shakspeare student are to be attributed to what printers call a "foul case," deserves more attention than any other so-called Shakspearian discovery that has been made for many years. By a diagram showing the old form of a case of type, he enables us to judge for ourselves of the probability of his suggestion. He gives only one or two examples, but they are, if not conclusive, at least very remarkable; and if we hesitate to follow him any further, it is because this is not the place for such a discussion as that we should entail. We have read Mr. Blades's little book with great pleasure, and while we hope he may not be drawn into the "great Shakspearian controversy," we cannot but acknowledge with thanks the work he has here given us.

W. J. L.

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ARCHÆOLOGIA CANTIANA, VOL. VIII, 1872.

It is four years since the Kent society favoured its members with a volume. This is not from any want of activity on the part of the managers of a very flourishing community. It is the first maxim in the art of public speaking, "Do not speak unless you have something to say, and stop when you have said it;" a paradoxical sentence on which the Kent society seems to act in the publication of these volumes. In the fifteen years of its existence it has only put forth eight volumes, but these are of the highest antiquarian value, and contrast well with many publications of the kind, all the matter with which they are filled being of importance, there being no surplusage, and the illustrations being of a singularly clear, if not an *ad captandum* character. The present instalment brings the proceedings of the society down to the end of the thirteenth annual meeting, which was held at Sittingbourne on the 3rd and 4th of August, 1870. The chief papers it contains are on the Jute, Angle, and Saxon; Royal Pedigrees, by Mr. Haigh, who also contributes an article on Runic Monuments in Kent; some documents relating to a passage in the history of the Twysden Family, communicated originally by the lamented Mr. Larking, and illustrated by Canon Jenkins; some Parochial Inventories, taken in Kent in 1552, and annotated by Mr. Coates, Mr. Scott Robertson, and others; a further selection from the Charters of Cumbwell Priory; and an account of Mr. Dowker's Researches in the Roman Castrum at Richborough. There are also, in an appendix, some minor notes of great interest, including a fresh refutation of the "recurrent fiction" of the loss of the body of Henry IV. on its way to the tomb in Canterbury Cathedral. On the whole, an excellent volume has been added to the series which Mr. Godfrey Faussett and his coadjutors have presented to the antiquaries of their county.

W. J. L.

## Archæological Intelligence.

EXCAVATIONS AT CARDIFF CASTLE.—Many of our readers will remember that at the time of the recent visit of the Institute to Cardiff, the President of the Meeting had commenced the removal of some of the plaster and modern brickwork with which the interior of the castle had been altered and concealed. These works have been continued, and we understand that it is ascertained that the centre of the building was occupied by a great hall, of which the oriels are still seen on the east front, and which also had large windows, of a Perpendicular character, in the west or outer wall. The hall does not ascend to the top of the building, but only occupies one floor, having had a flat ceiling. We also understand that Lord Bute has commenced considerable excavations along the line of the wall which divided the outer from the inner ward. The wall, of great thickness, and with foundations of unusual depth, extends across the court from the Black Tower to the foot of the mound, and is continued in a north westerly direction beyond the mound to the outer wall of the castle. There are indications showing that originally it was carried up the mound, to join the polygonal shell still extant there. Traces have been found of a gateway in this wall, near the outer gate, by the Black Tower, and at the other end was probably a second gate, and certainly, within and parallel to the wall, a very strong portcullis gate, leading from the inner ward to the foot of a steep flight of stairs, which lead to the Keep. Connected with the gate was a drawbridge across the ditch of the mound. This was worked between two walls, the one the ward wall, the other a parapet resting upon a large round-headed arch, which spanned the ditch, and so allowed its waters to flow into the bridge pit. Near this gate is a well. The ditch of the mound is now being opened, and it is already evident that the ditch is much older than the wall which traverses it. The interior of the Keep has been probed, but contains no foundations. It is curious that while the outer wall of the castle has on the outside no foundations, though supported inside by 5 to 10 ft. of earth, the cross wall is sunk some 8 or 10 ft. in the earth. The above cursory account is written after a very hasty visit to the spot, but the operations are evidently carried forward, in a very methodical and judicious manner, by Lord Bute himself; and it is to be hoped that, when completed, he will draw up an account of them, with plans and sections. Those who remember Lord Bute's letter upon the excavations of Jerusalem, published some years ago, are all aware that he has a genius for topography. We hear that excavations are also in progress at Castel Coch.

Early in the month of June, of the present year, a Roman magisterial chair, or throne, was discovered at a small country place near Aquila, in

the Abruzzi. It is of that kind known as *bisellium* (one of which is figured in Mus. Borbon., vol. ii. tav. 31), and is made of bronze, inlaid with silver. The feet are formed as four griffins, with silver claws and eyes; the arms, to the right and the left, as two horses, lying down; the back and all the framework is ornamented with *intarsia* work of silver, representing hunting scenes, battles, sacrifices, domestic scenes, &c., and containing many hundred figures of the most exquisite and artistic execution. This remarkable work of antiquity, unrivalled of its kind, is estimated as worth 3000*l.* It was purchased by Signor Castellani for 400*l.*, who, with a patriotic munificence which does him the highest honour, has presented it to the Capitoline Museum at Rome.

News of some remarkable early Christian antiquities have also come to us from Spain, where they have been recently discovered. One is an object of great interest. It would seem to be the bronze plaque of a standard—a *labarum*—with the well-known monogram of Christ, the *chi rho*  $\chi\rho$ , sustained by two eagles, and believed to have been of the time of Constantine.—Also a *thuribulum*, or censer of bronze, ornamented with the cross and the dove.

Accounts from the south of France speak of the acquisition of two early Christian rings of interest—one of bronze, having the  $\chi\rho$  engraved upon the bezel, and surrounded by a coronet of ivy; the other a child's ring, of gold, inscribed LVCLIE  $\chi$  VELLE. The tomb which yielded this ring, also contained two earrings of gold and pearl, the lower portion of the drops ornamented with five dots connected by smaller

ones in the form of a cross,  $\begin{matrix} \circ \\ \vdots \\ \circ \cdot \circ \cdot \circ \\ \text{A} : \omega \\ \circ \end{matrix}$  and the letters *alpha* and

*omega*. Also a gold *collier*, with pendant shells and pearls, but not having any Christian emblem. Another necklet of gold and pearls, with the Greek cross  $\chi$  eight times repeated, and centred with a wreath of laurel. A silver spoon, with the inscription N.E.VI VIVAS. A *collier* of

jet, the central oval head engraved with A  $\chi\rho$   $\omega$  surrounded by a wreath

of vine leaves, grapes, and ears of corn, surmounted by two doves.

We trust that the information which has been so kindly supplied concerning these very interesting objects, will be followed up by more detailed notices of them.

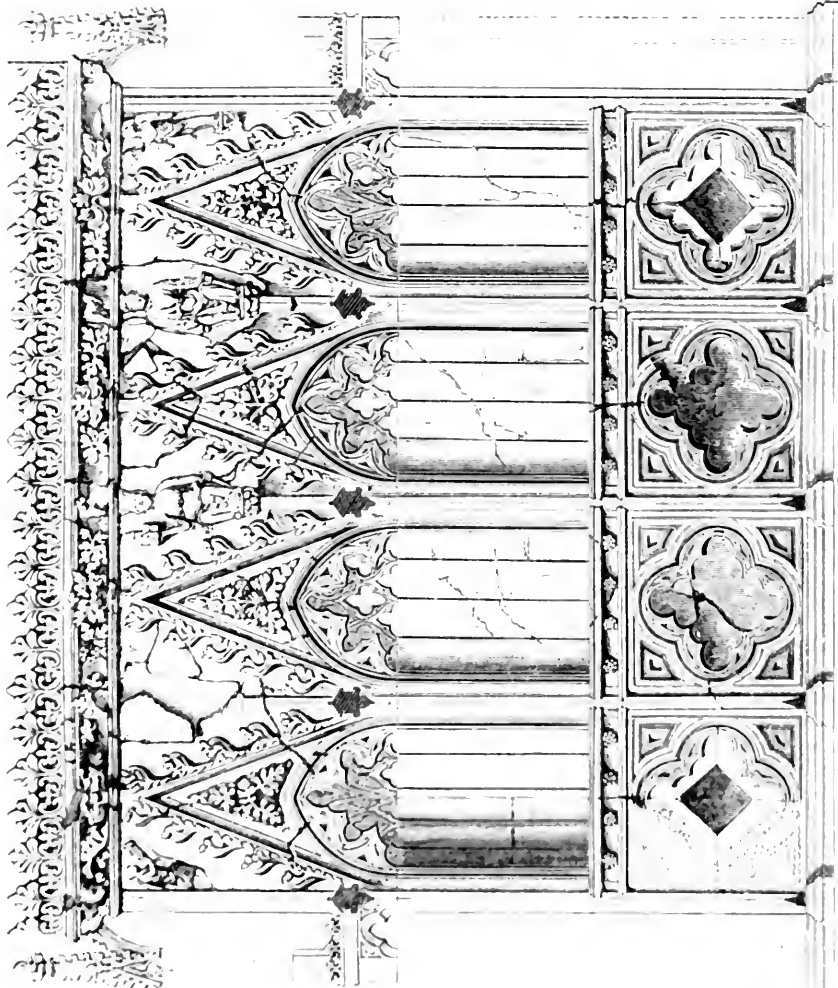
“Alderley Edge and Neighbourhood, Past and Present” is the title of a work about to be published, by subscription, in illustration of a district of Cheshire of the highest interest to the archæologist, abounding in architectural buildings of great beauty, and with special characteristics, as well as in scenes highly picturesque. In the district are found three out of the small number of black and white timber churches existing in the whole of England. The halls of Baguley, Bramhall, &c..

are excellent specimens of domestic architecture, and there are many examples of the style special to Cheshire and the adjacent counties to be met with round Alderley. The churches are very rich in monumental effigies, and the neighbourhood is full of the historic associations of the ancient knightly families long settled there. Much additional information respecting this locality has come to light since Mr. Ormerod published his valuable "History of Cheshire" in 1819, and the collection and arrangement of these materials has been undertaken by Mr. J. P. Earwaker, B.A., the honorary secretary to the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society. The work will be illustrated by photographs by Mr. A. Brothers, and will form a royal quarto volume, price two guineas; small paper copies, one guinea and a half. Intending subscribers should communicate with the author at Brocklands, Alderley Edge.

Mr. W. COPELAND BORLASE, F.S.A., who for some time past has devoted careful attention to the examination of ancient interments and sepulchral urns in his county, announces for immediate issue, to subscribers, "*Nenia Cornubia*," an essay illustrative of the funereal customs of the early inhabitants of Cornwall. The work, to be published by Messrs. Longmans, will form one volume, 8vo, with many illustrations; price, 16s. The name of the distinguished archaeologist of the West, whose treatise on the Antiquities of Cornwall, published in 1769, still occupies a high position in researches of its class, cannot fail to confer on the labours of his descendant an increased interest.







# The Archaeological Journal.

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SEPTEMBER, 1872.

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## THE SHRINE OF ST. ALBAN.

By J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, F.S.A.

It is not often that an object of such size as the shrine of St. Alban is so completely recovered after having been lost for more than three centuries. I think, therefore, that some account of the finding, as well as of the monument itself, will be of interest, the more so as the history of the finding throws considerable light on that of the destruction of the shrine. It is convenient to use the word *shrine*, for we have no other single word which will serve the purpose; but what has been found is, speaking strictly, the marble base, which carried the *feretrum* or shrine proper. In the widest meaning of the word it is but a part of the shrine.

To understand what follows, it is necessary to remember the plan and condition of the eastern part of St. Albans Abbey Church: the main building originally opened eastwards into the Lady Chapel by five arches, three in the central span, and one in each aisle. But in the year 1553, fourteen years after the surrender of the Abbey, these five arches were walled up, and the church west of them was made parochial, whilst the eastern portion was desecrated—part of it was made into a schoolhouse, and the rest became a public thoroughfare. It is most likely that the chapels which had been formed in the outer wall of the south sanctuary aisle were destroyed at the same time.

The recovery of the shrine was begun several years ago by the late Dr. Nicholson, who caused the central of the five eastern arches, and that next to it on the north, to be opened out, and found in them a considerable quantity of wrought Purbeck marble. Sufficient was not found to give any clue to the general design, but the fragments were at the time believed

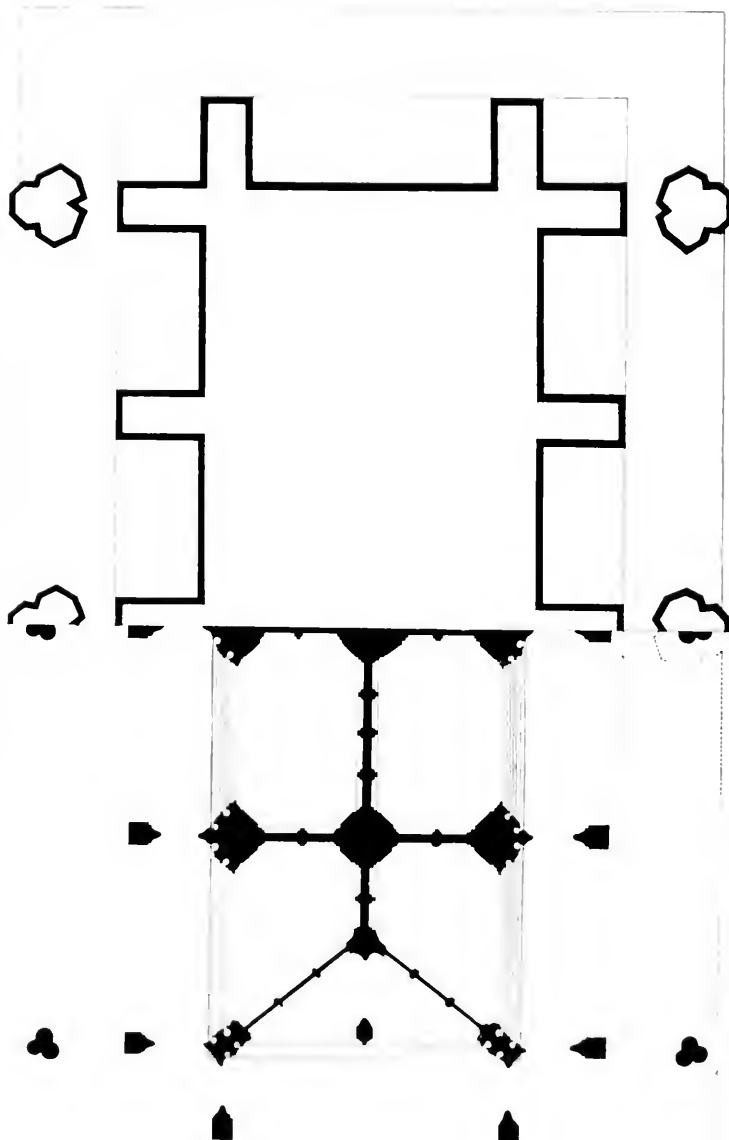
to have belonged to the shrine, and were carefully preserved, in the hope that more would be forthcoming. They now prove to be a large part of the moulded plinth and of the side panels of the niches, and a short length of the beautiful carved cornice.

Nothing more was found until February in the present year, when, Sir Gilbert Scott having ordered the removal of a modern wall-casing in the south aisle, there was discovered behind it a great number of fragments of chalk, elaborately worked and painted. These were carefully sorted out from the rubbish with which they were mixed, and in a short time Mr. Chapple, the clerk of the works, reported that he had "discovered the shrine." This unfortunately happened at a time when, from a cause in which all must sympathise with him, Sir Gilbert Scott was unable personally to attend to the matter, and so it fell to my lot to represent him then, and now to write this account, of which no one can feel more than myself how inferior it is to what it would have been had it come from his pen.

On going over to St. Albans, I found that there could be no doubt as to the newly found fragments belonging to the shrine. Mr. Jackson, the foreman of the works, who deserves to be named as one of the chief agents in the recovery of the shrine, had, with infinite patience, fitted together the shattered pieces—nearly two hundred in number—and had made out the forms of the ten niches; he had, in fact, obtained the plan of the upper part of the monument, thereby rendering the working out of the rest of the design, as the pieces came to hand, a comparatively easy matter. In spite of the difference of material, it appeared, on comparing them, that the new fragments and Dr. Nicholson's belonged to the same work, and more were seen to be built in the walls blocking up the two southernmost of the five arches. We began to cut some of these out, but in doing so exposed others to view, and, therefore, stopped until we could obtain leave to pull down the whole walls. This being granted, we opened out the northern of these two arches. The upper half contained nothing of value, but the lower proved extremely rich; from it we obtained almost the whole of the basement of the shrine, and the greater part of the next stage up to the springing line of the arches, and also some of the cornice. The arch



THE SHRINE OF ST ALBAN.



PLAN THROUGH MULLIONS.

PLAN THROUGH PLINTH.

SCALE.

5 Feet

in the north aisle was next opened, but none of the shrine, except a few small splinters, was found in it. That in the south aisle was left for a time, in order that a photograph might be taken of the painted inscription and the little wooden image before they were removed. But a week later there were found in it the whole of the south side, from the springing of the arches upwards to the cornice, one figure only being missing, and also the corresponding portions of the east and west ends, and of one bay of the north side. This was the richest find of all, and also the last of any importance; for we now possessed the whole shrine, except the detached buttresses to be mentioned presently, and the upper part of three out of the four bays on the north side. The fragments of one of the missing gables were afterwards found under the pavement in the south aisle, but they are very much decayed.

The fragments were found in such regular order that there was no difficulty in assigning the proper place to each as it came to light; and as the lowest step still remained in position to mark the site of the shrine, the work of rebuilding was commenced as soon as the requisite authority and funds for the purpose could be obtained. And now, in spite of its having been smashed to hundreds of fragments, scattered in various places, and used as common walling stone, the shrine of St. Alban rivals in completeness, and far surpasses in beauty and genuineness as an ancient monument, the clumsily rebuilt and much patched-up shrine of St. Edward in Westminster Abbey.

The form of the shrine of St. Alban is shown by the illustrations. Two low steps carry a sort of tomb-shaped basement, eight feet six inches long, three feet two inches broad, and two feet six inches high, each side of which is divided by vertical lines into four square panels, and each panel ornamented with a richly moulded and sub-cusped quatrefoil. The ends have each one panel filled with a curiously elongated quatrefoil, divided in the middle by a vertical rib. The main divisions of the basement are carried up into the next stage, which consists of ten large niches, four on each side and one at each end. These niches are separated from one another by thin slabs of marble, ornamented on both sides with sunk panels, and the end niches are divided into two by slender mullions. The niches are

elaborately traceried and groined inside, and in front have delicately cusped and sub-cusped arches. Above the arches are crocketed pediments, the *tympana* of those at the sides being decorated with beautifully-carved natural foliage, whilst the larger end *tympana* contain subjects—at the west the decapitation of St. Alban, and on the east the scourging of Amphibalus. There have been seated figures in the spandrels between the pediments. One of these is missing on the south, and is, except the buttresses, the only important loss on that side; the remaining two represent kings, that in the middle holding a model of a church, and the other holding a lance. There is a third king at the west end in the spandrel between the sub-arches, and he, like the first mentioned, holds a model of a church. It is not quite clear whom these represent; one of them must be Offa, but no other kings appear to have been benefactors to such an extent as to justify their being represented as founders. Only one of the three figures, which have been in the spandrels on the north side, has been found; it represents a bishop or abbot in eucharistic vestments. The half-spandrels next the corners of the shrine contain censing angels, all eight of which have been found. A splendidly carved cornice runs round the shrine above the pediments, the finials of which form part of it. And above the cornice the structure is roofed with thick slabs of marble, the edges of which are worked so as to form a cresting round the whole. This topmost member is not part of the recent find, but has been lying in the church for some years, and is said at one time to have formed part of the pavement. The inscription which Dr. Nicholson placed on the site of the shrine was cut on a portion of it.

Standing on spurs of the plinth, opposite the principal divisions and at the angles, there have been detached buttresses, connected with the main structure by transoms at the height of the springing of the niche-heads, and by half-arches butting against the cornice, the enrichment of which they penetrate. Of these buttresses, fourteen in number, very little has been recovered. Their general form can be made out from the spurs, upon which they stood, and from the connecting arches and transoms, of which latter three complete examples have been found, giving not only their own form but that of the shafts above and below them. Of the



upper arches only one has been wholly recovered, but considerable portions of others remain where they have joined the cornice. The buttresses have terminated with pinnacles, a large part of one of which remains, but not enough to fix its height with absolute certainty.

In the lower step of the shrine, that which was found still *in situ*, in the pavement of the church, there are six curiously-shaped sinkings, which, till lately, were often pointed out as the positions of the pillars which carried the shrine; they are now found to be quite outside of it, and range three on each side, exactly opposite alternate buttresses. One stone has been found, which fits and explains the shape of the marks. It is a sub-base, made up of three octagons, and evidently intended to carry a triple pillar.<sup>1</sup> No corresponding upper base or capital has been found, but there are a number of fragments, made up of three circular shafts twisted together, which fragments, however, do not correspond sufficiently to enable us by fitting them together to obtain a complete column, and so obtain the height. These six pillars probably carried the six candles, which, as early as the time of Abbot William de Trumpington, were placed round the body of the saint. They are much too slender to have carried a canopy over the shrine, and those at the corners are not placed as we should expect to find them had such been their purpose.

Except the heads of the niches inside, which are of chalk, the whole shrine, and its steps, buttresses, and candlesticks are of Purbeck marble, the hardness of which has not prevented its being worked with the utmost elaboration. The pieces have been run together with lead, and in one case where a groove was made too large for the panel it was to receive, it was evenly lined throughout with lead, to reduce it to the right size. Some of the stones used were very large; for instance, all the four pediments on the south side and the figures in their spandrels were worked in a single slab, and the heads of the ten niches were formed out of only four blocks of chalk. On the other hand, very small pieces have been used; in some parts even the mouldings are worked separately, and planted on to plain panels; the smaller pieces have been secured to their places with what appears to be pitch. It seems as if the heads of the

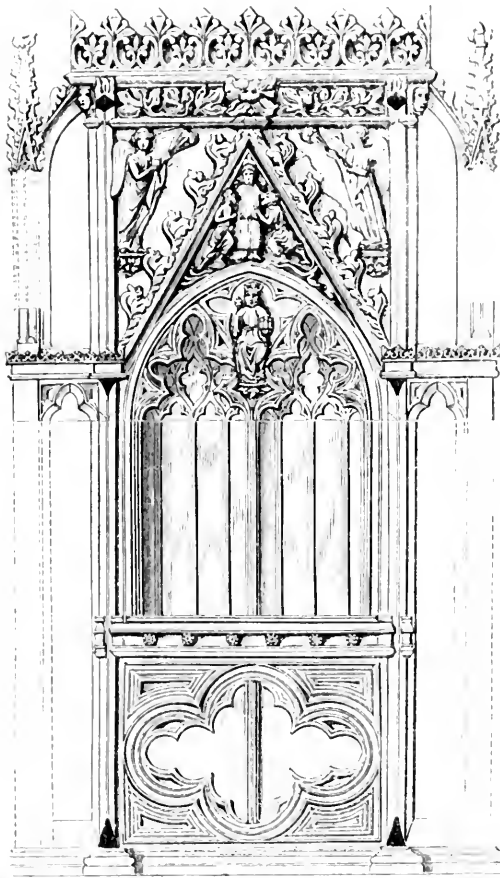
<sup>1</sup> See wood-cut on p. 211.

detached buttresses had been worked in the same pieces as the adjacent parts of the cornice ; for those are found in all cases to be worked in separate stones, the main stones of the cornice being notched to receive them. The clumsiness with which these pieces are fitted contrasts curiously with remarkably careful and elaborate carving upon them.

The carved foliage is throughout most excellent. It is a good deal varied both in choice of subject and manner of treatment ; most of it is purely natural, but in places, notably at the east end, there appears that conventional curling of the leaves which is characteristic of the "Early perpendicular," rather than of the "decorated" style, whilst the top brattishing and the smaller one on the transoms of the buttresses are treated in a way which, so far as I am aware, is peculiar to themselves. Although the disposition of the upright leaves is late, they have at first sight a curiously "Early English" look, and some have imagined them to be parts of the thirteenth-century shrine re-used in the fourteenth. But a close examination leaves no doubt that they are of the same date as the rest of the work. Had they been found with early work, their singularity would have been as remarkable as it now is. A noticeable feature in the upper brattishing is the great use which has been made of the drill in its production.

The figure carving is not so uniformly good. The king at the east end is a beautiful figure, and the seated figures between the gables at the sides are, though not so good, still quite up to the average of fourteenth-century statuary. The censing angels at the corners are not all of equal merit, but none of them are very good, and the side ones are unpleasantly out of scale with the seated figures, with which they range. The placing of subjects in the end gables was one of those blunders not uncommon in mediæval works, but which are almost unaccountable in men of such taste and judgment as the designers of this shrine must have been. The figures are necessarily small and in constrained attitudes, and they are either the work of an inferior hand, or the sculptor has worked as if he felt all along that under the circumstances it was hopeless to expect a good result.

The chalk work, that is to say the interiors of the niches above the springing line, is painted. The ribs of the groining are of various colours, and the cells are left white, and



SCALE OF FEET

The Shrine of St. Alban, East Front.



powdered with a few conventional roses. The heads of the ends and sides of the niches have had the tracery gilt, and the flat painted alternately red and blue, the principal red compartments having each three leopards in gold, and the corresponding blue ones five fleur-de-lys. The smaller compartments have had flowers similar in form to those in the groining. Just above the springing line of the tracery, where the panels sunk in the marble backs and sides are continued in the chalk work, the latter is painted in imitation of the marble. The gold is mostly perished, and the figures can now with difficulty be made out; but the other colours are still bright, though they have faded much since they were first brought to light. Measures have been taken to preserve them as much as possible from further decay.

There remains to be noticed the three lozenge-shaped openings in the base of the shrine. They occur in the eastern and western bays on the south side, and in the western only on the north. What is their meaning I am unable to decide; the best suggestion I can give is that they are a tradition of an earlier shrine formed, as we know to have been usual in the twelfth century, with a hollow base pierced at the sides in order that pilgrims might crawl in at one side and out at the other.

There is a difficulty about the date of the shrine. Before the discovery it used to be said on seemingly good authority that the shrine of St. Alban was set up by Abbot De Marinis in 1308, but the work now found can hardly be so early as that. Sir G. Gilbert Scott having kindly promised a note on the dates of the shrines, I shall not enter further into the question.

The shrine in its present form appears never to have had an altar belonging to it; at any rate it was never attached to the structure as in that of St. Edward at Westminster, nor can it have been very close to it, for the steps are, if anything, more worn with kneeling on at the west than at any other part. It is most likely that the high altar was looked upon as the altar of St. Alban, and continued to be so even after the erection of the great reredos.

The body of the Saint appears to have been at St. Albans in the *feretrum* itself, and not in the marble base as we now find it at Westminster, and this agrees with the account of the *feretrum* left us by Matthew Paris. There is nothing to

indicate the form of the *feretrum*, which appears simply to have stood upon the base, and been entirely independent of it. Nor is there any very distinct indication of the means employed for its covering or protection. At each corner of the top slab we find a hole, which seems intended to receive an upright rod three-quarters of an inch in diameter, and there is one like hole in the middle of the south side, and six rather irregularly placed at the west end. The north side and east end are imperfect, so that it is not certain whether they had similar holes. These holes *may* have held guide rods to keep a suspended cover in its place, but there is nothing to show how such a cover was suspended.<sup>2</sup> Besides the larger holes there are at regular intervals all round the upper slab, and close to its edge, small holes about a quarter of an inch in diameter. These holes are pierced with the same drill which is so much used in the crestring; they pass diagonally quite through the corner of the slab, and appear at its side immediately above each of the smaller leaves. These piercings may have been intended simply to give so many points of shadow in the crestring; but if so, it seems strange that they should be directed upwards and quite through the corner, instead of being drilled horizontally into the marble, which would have been easier to do, and would have better served the purpose. It is just possible that they received the ends of a number of small iron rods forming a kind of cage or herse over the *feretrum*, but such a herse cannot have existed at the same time as a moveable cover sliding on rods in the larger holes. Perhaps the cover of the *feretrum* was in this case a pall of some rich material supported by the herse of iron wires.

The state in which the fragments of the shrine were found seems to indicate that it was not destroyed at the surrender of the Abbey in 1539, but in 1553, when the Lady Chapel was cut off from the rest of the church. And this would account for our having recovered so little of the buttresses

<sup>2</sup> In the ridge rib—the wooden vaulting there is a hole exactly over the centre of the shrine, and a short distance to the south there is a second hole in the boarding of the ceiling of the Abbey. The holes are so placed that it would be possible for a coil or chain suspending a cover over the shrine to pass through the first, and after going over a pulley above

the ceiling, to return to the floor of the church through the second. But the holes are little more than an inch in diameter, and it is scarcely likely an object so large as the cover must have been, would be raised and lowered by a chain small enough to pass through them. There are many similar holes in different parts of the ceiling.

and candlesticks, which being slender, and detached from the main structure, would be very likely to be broken away, and to disappear during the fourteen years in which the church was disused, and probably neglected. The complete recovery of the main structure, and the circumstance that fragments of the same parts were usually found near together, shows that the shrine was broken to pieces at the same time as the walls in which it has been found were being built, and most likely for the express purpose of supplying material for them.

Besides those of the shrine of St. Alban there have been found, both in the arches I have spoken of and in other parts of the church, a large number of other fragments, many of which are of great beauty. These, though cared for, are as yet very imperfectly sorted and fitted together, owing to the want of special funds for the purpose, and the unwillingness of the Restoration Committee to do it out of the general fund at their disposal. We have, however, been able to identify sufficient of the shrine of Amphibalus to give us its design complete except the plinth, of which somewhat oddly none has yet been found. It is of chalk, and in the disposition of its parts much resembles the shrine of St. Alban, but is much smaller, being only about six feet long and three feet broad. There are only two bays to each side, and one at each end, and the divisions between them are more marked than in the other shrine. The figures between the gables are contained in niches, the canopies of which form part of the cornice, and there do not appear to have been any detached buttresses. The panels of basement are ornamented with curious interlacing tracery, amongst which at one end are letters forming the words *St's amphibalus*, and at the sides the initials *RW*, together with fleur-de-lys and dogs' faces. The initials are, as Mr. Mackenzie Walcott has pointed out, those of Ralph Whytcherche, a sacrist who placed the *feretrum* of Amphibalus on a tomb of white stone—*operis interasilis*. On one end of the shrine there are considerable remains of colour and gilding, but the remainder appears never to have been painted.

Considering the large number of images which have been removed from the adjoining parts of the church, particularly from the great reredos, it is remarkable that so few fragments of statuary have been found in the walls which have been

pulled down. The lower part of a figure of St. Erasmus, a part of an arm probably of St. John Baptist, and the whole of a very fine statue of St. George, are all that have been met with, except a few pieces of figures, on a small scale, amongst which is the trunk of a small crucifix. From this we may gather that the images were not removed at the time when the church was made parochial.

We cannot hope that all the fragments which have been found can be restored to their old places, but they should not for that reason be the less taken care of. Many of them are of great beauty, and corresponding portions may at some time be found to them. I would suggest that they be all labelled as to where they were found, and not stacked together, but placed where they may easily be examined. The Lady Chapel, which is now only used for a Sunday school, and, when re-united with the church, is not likely to be required for ecclesiastical purposes, seems to be just the place for the preservation of these shattered relics; indeed, the chapel should be treated as one of them, not "restored," but put into substantial repair and left to tell its own tale.

[In the following letter, Sir Gilbert Scott explains how the difficulties with respect to the date of the St. Alban's Shrine may be reconciled.]

I AM asked to state my opinion on the probable date of the substructure of the shrine of St. Alban.

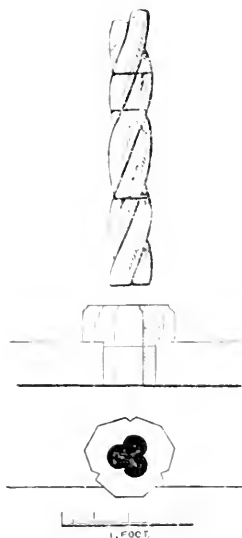
If we are to believe the statement of Thomas Walsingham, we should set it down at once as having been made under the direction of Abbot John de Marinis, in 1308; as he says that this Abbot caused "the marble tomb, which we now see, to be constructed at a cost of eight score marks." As, however, Walsingham wrote two generations later, I think we are at liberty to test his statement by the character of the work. Some parts of the carving of the cornice might very well agree with the date assigned, while other parts of the same look very much later, and the tracery in the internal partition is in style identical with that of the windows of the Lady Chapel, erected some years later by Hugh de Evensden. On the other hand, the foliage of the cresting on the top, as well as that to the horizontal mouldings of the buttresses, looks very much like 13th century work.



It seems clear, however, that the early-looking details must give way to those which have a late character ; as it is easy to follow an early fashion after its general relinquishment, but next to impossible to anticipate a fashion before its establishment. The evidence, therefore, seems to me to point to a later date than that of De Marinis, who died in the very year in which he is said to have carried out this work.

My own impression is that he might have so far commenced it, or ordered it to be commenced, as to have the credit of being its author ; but its execution must have been in reality long delayed. I should attribute it to Evensden, who succeeded De Marinis, and held the Abbacy till 1326, and I should suppose the work not to have been completed till close upon the last-named period

GEO. GILBERT SCOTT.



Sub-base and triple pillar.

See p. 236.

ON THE HISTORY OF THE SOUTH-WESTERN PORTION OF  
ENGLAND.<sup>1</sup>

By the LORD HENRY SCOTT, M. P.

IN delivering to you the opening address as President of the Historical Section of this Meeting of the Archæological Institute, I feel there are so many who are far more competent than I am to initiate the interesting discourses which will be delivered in this section during the ensuing week, and whose historical knowledge and research fit them rather than myself to occupy this chair, that some apology is due to you for the position I occupy by the invitation of the Institute. It is more, therefore, as one holding a certain position in the county which is visited by the Institute, desirous of bidding it welcome and assisting to promote its success, that I appear here as your President; and asking your indulgence for the short-comings which I know must accompany it, I will endeavour to put before you this slight historical sketch which I have prepared.

In performing the duty I have undertaken, I feel that I labour under a great disadvantage: it should have devolved on one who has been born and bred in this Royal county, who has grown up amidst its local history, and whose mind has been from youth filled with its traditions. I yield to none, however, in the interest I feel in the county of my adoption, in which I have a home, perhaps one of the most historically interesting and picturesquely beautiful within its borders.

To put even this slight sketch before you, I have had to search for materials in such books as were accessible, and greatly have I regretted in this study to find that this great Royal county, equal nearly to Yorkshire in extent—once the metropolitan county of England—abounding in the most interesting associations of the common history of our

<sup>1</sup> Address delivered to the Historical Section of the Annual Meeting held in Southampton, August 2nd, 1872.

country, has no really good historian. When we remember that the county has within its limits the ancient city of Winchester, the *Caer Gwent*, or White City of the Britons, founded (if we may believe traditions preserved among its muniments) 892 B.C., the *Venta Belgarum* of the Romans, the *Wintan Ceaster* of the Saxons (whence its present name), the capital city of the kingdom of Wessex, and destined under Egbert to become the chief city of the whole Saxon Heptarchy, where Ethelwolf convened the whole council of the nation, and placed upon its cathedral altar the grant of endowment, by which that church still holds its possessions; where Alfred reigned, where all his enlightened policy was framed and enacted, and where his bones were laid to rest under the shadow of Hyde Abbey—a city which long retained under the Normans its former rank and standing, even when London was but rising into power—remembering all this, I say, it must be a matter of surprise and regret as much to you as to myself, that there is really no chronicle worthy of such a subject, certainly none equal to those which other counties, such as Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, or Warwickshire, possess. I am therefore placed in a considerable difficulty, as I can neither refer for my own information, nor recommend to the Members of this Institute, a work which is really worthy of the name of a good County History.

We are of course much indebted to Warner for his sketches of the south-western part of Hampshire, and also for his collection for the history which he was not able to complete. The defect was sought to be remedied by the Queen's late librarian, Woodward, but his removal from Winchester to Windsor, and his subsequent death, prevented the completion of this work. His work has been supplemented by Lockhart and others, and published in three volumes, and contains most accurate accounts of Winchester and other large and important towns. Still it has not wholly filled the vacuum.

Another great want exists in Hants—there has never been formed a County Archaeological Society, such as those of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Somerset, Sussex and Kent, which by their publications have thrown so much light upon the antiquities, manners and customs of each of the above-named counties—not that the meetings of a county society should supersede those of the central

association, but rather act as feeders to it. The Institute deals with the general history of the whole country; the local association investigates all the minute details of one particular district, so that the two combined furnish scope for all antiquarians, and serve to remedy a defect so well described by Mr. Freeman, the President of the Historical Section of last year at Cardiff, when he said,—“The local historian who does not raise his eyes to general history is undoubtedly a very poor creature, but I venture to think that the general historian, who thinks himself too great to cast his eye downwards on local history, is a poorer creature still. The facts gathered together by the local antiquary may be put to use by those who know better than himself how to arrange them in their due place and order.”

This, then, appears to be the great advantage of such meetings as the present, that it brings the general historian and the local historian face to face for their mutual edification.

In attempting to give a short sketch of the history of our county, it is impossible for me to go into a detailed account of every object of historical or archaeological interest in it, and I must leave it to those who will follow me to deal with the various points which they have specially studied, and which they will put before you in the most interesting form.

I have already alluded to Winchester, which takes us back almost to the earliest point of our county's and country's history.

It would appear that in the British period there were several districts to which the natives gave the appellation of Gwent, or open champaign country, in distinction to the vast wooded tracts of impenetrable forest. For instance, there were the Gwent of the Belgæ, Hampshire; the Gwent of the Silures, Monmouthshire; and the great eastern Gwent of the Iceni, whose capital was Norwich; and even Kent is by some supposed to be a softened form—*caint*—of the same word. In the centre of the Gwents the natives established their strong places of abode and defence, and Winchester was selected as the protected site of the capital of the great Gwent, or open down country of Hants. Here the Britons remained till attacked by the Belgæ from Gaul, who, landing, we may suppose, at Southampton, pressed their

way forwards through the Vale of Itchen, and took possession of the Gwent, driving the original inhabitants before them, till they reached the boundaries of Hants, where still are to be traced the Belgic earthworks erected for their defence.

The Belgæ had, however, to succumb to the Romans under Vespasian, who established themselves in all the native strongholds, especially at Winchester and all the chief places of the Gwent, changing the name, and Latinising it into *Venta*—thus *Venta Belgarum*, *Venta Icenorum*, *Venta Silurum*. We have only to look at any map in which the Roman roads are delineated to see what an important position Winchester must have held as a centre in Roman times of a network of Roman roads—one great road leading northward to *Calleva*, the great city of Silchester (whence London could be reached in one direction, and Cirencester, by the Ermine Street, in the other); one leading southward (whence came all the traffic from Gaul) to *Clauentum*, or Bittern, the ancient Southampton; one leading westward to Salisbury and to Bath; one leading south-east, in communication with *Porchester* and *Chichester*, while lesser lines lead off to *Tachbury* and *Kingwood*, to *Lepe*, to *Rue Street* in the Isle of Wight, to *Carisbrook*, and on to the coast.

Upon the retirement of the Romans and the establishment of the Saxons, they in turn took possession of the great fortresses of the county. They settled at *Venta Belgarum*, converted again the Latin *V.* into the Saxon *W.*, called it *Wintan*, and, adding “ceaster” for capital, made it *Wintan-ceaster*, or the City of *y<sup>e</sup> Winte*, from which it derives its present name; and the Saxon *Winton* still survives as the ecclesiastical appellation of its present bishops.

Time would fail me to trace the various changes that have taken place since *Wintan Ceaster* became the capital of *Wessex*, and King *Kynegils* being converted to Christianity, in 635, founded the first Christian church upon a Roman temple of *Apollo* and a Saxon temple of *Dagon*. It is well known that here *Egbert* first gave the name of *Anglia* to his United Kingdom; here *Alfred* reigned and rests; here *Edgar* (959) first established *Winchester measure* as a standard for his dominions; and *Canute* here hung up before the altar the crown which he refused to wear, after the well-known rebuke

to his courtiers on the sea-shore at Southampton. The cathedral, which Professor Willis has so ably described, and which to this day bears traces of the Saxon period, is a noble monument of the piety and unstinted munificence with which it was sought to make God's house surpass in beauty and grandeur all other buildings. Queen Emma, the mother of Edward the Confessor, here justified her innocence by passing through the fiery ordeal of walking unseathed over hot ploughshares.

Walkelyn, first Bishop of Winchester after the Conquest, nearly rebuilt this cathedral, and a long line of succeeding bishops, amongst whom are conspicuous St. Swithin, Henry de Blois, Peter de la Roche (*De rupibus*), William of Wykeham, the founder of the ancient and celebrated college, Cardinal Beaufort, Waynflete, Bishop Montagu, and Bishop Andrews, is now represented by that much revered and able prelate, our present bishop, who so worthily fills the chair at this meeting as your President. It was Winchester which first heard the sound of the curfew bell, and there that book of titles to property, so hated by the Saxons, was compiled and named by them *Domesday Book*. There the splendid Abbey of Hyde, within whose precincts the body of King Alfred rests, lasted to the time of Henry VIII., when it fell with other monastic institutions; and the Castle, Hall, and Palace of King Charles II. attest the partiality with which it was viewed by the sovereign of England. It must be a satisfaction to you to know that this Hall, where the assize courts have hitherto been held, is being restored to its ancient beauty, and will form a part of the new county buildings.

In passing away from Winchester, we should cast our eyes a little lower down the river to the Hospital of St. Cross, where the dole of bread and beer is still given away faithfully, even to modern pilgrims; and then, following down the valley of the Itchen, we at last reach Southampton. This town cannot boast the same antiquities as Winchester, but its interest is also very considerable. Its name is found in the ancient British town Anton or Hantone, which is situated on the river An or Anton, and gave its name at once to the present town and county. Bittern was the site of the Roman Clausentum, the remains of which may be seen in the garden and ground which now belong

to Mr. Stuart Macnaghten, and are attached to his residence. The river An or Anton rises near Andover in the upper part of the county, and passes (by the Test) into what is now called the Southampton Water, close to the Clausentum of the Romans. At what period Hantone was changed into Southampton, and Hants into Hampshire, is a question which local authorities may be able to decide; in the Saxon Chronicle it is first named, and afterwards mentioned in Domesday Book as Hanton Schyre, and the town called Hantone. It is not improbable that the county was converted into Hampshire, and the town into Southampton, when Henry VIII. made Southampton a county itself, independent of Hampshire. South Hampton is supposed by some to have been so called to distinguish it from Northam, when the Saxons, abandoning Clausentum, moved further south, to the point of land upon which the town now stands. It suffered severely from the invasion of the Danes, especially in 833; and once Sweyn, the Dane, passed a winter there, holding the town for its ransom of £10,000, which Ethelred the Unready had promised to pay. The memory of Canute's stay here, and his rebuke to his courtiers, may well be recalled before we quit this early period of its history. During the Norman period it reached its greatest prosperity. Henry I. made it a burgh; King John gave it the first charter, and had a palace in it; and merchants flocked here from all parts of the East. Hence sailed the fleet of Cœur de Lion for Palestine, and here the armies embarked that were to be victorious at Crecy and Agincourt. Here also Philip of Spain, attended by the Spanish and Flemish squadrons, landed to meet Queen Mary at Winchester. But in these embarkations, and the pageants which accompanied them, we must not forget the peaceful but all-important departure from Southampton of Winfred, a native of Crediton, in Devon, educated at the Benedictine monastery of Nurseling, who went forth with a band of missionaries to preach the gospel to the savage tribes of North Germany. He is better known to us by the name of St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, Archbishop of Mayence, and martyr. Leland gives a good description of this town, as it was in his time, with "its eight bar gates, its great double dyke full of water, and the four towers on its walls. The East Gate is strong, but nothing so large as the Bar

Gate, and St. Mary's Church of New Hampton standing without the gate." He speaks of "the glory of the castle having a donjon or dungeon, which was both large, fair, and very strong; and further, that there be three principal streets in Hampton, whereof that which goeth from the Bar Gate to the Water Gate is one of the fairest that is in any town of all England. It is well builded for timber building. There be many fair merchants' houses in Hampton. There cometh fresh water into Hampton by a conduit of lead, and there be certain coslelets into this conduit within the town." Such was Southampton when Leland wrote of it in the reign of Henry VIII. Now it may claim a high position as one of our great seaports and principal towns; and none will dispute, that, seen from the west, its appearance is most picturesque, with its ancient walls, old houses, and glittering spires.

The termination of the Saxon period in our history, and the rise of the domination of the Normans, turn our thoughts to that portion of this county with which their race and line of kings is more immediately associated—I mean the New Forest, perhaps the most beautiful monument they have left us of their time. However we may question the manner in which it was established, and condemn the severe and inhuman laws made for the protection "of the king's beastes," we owe now a debt of gratitude to the first Norman sovereigns and to their successors who have preserved to us this national treasure. In these days, when acre after acre is being built upon in our land, when it is often hard to say where the town ends and the country begins, it is no small boon to possess such a grand open space available for health, recreation, and the study of natural beauty, that great gift of God which man alone can mar, but which, when beheld in its wild native garb, softens, civilises, and soothes man's heart, and is a medicine to heal the sickness of the toil and turmoil of life. Accessible as the New Forest is to our fellow-countrymen who have not the means or the power to resort to foreign climes, it is a special boon to our working classes, and as such we must all feel bound to preserve it from encroachment and enclosure. Having said this much in praise of this lovely feature of our county, with which I am myself so well acquainted, I will endeavour to give you a slight sketch of the historical associations connected with it. That the ancient Britons held this country and made a gallant fight for



it against the Saxon invaders, we cannot doubt. In 495, Cedric and his Saxons invaded this part of the country, landing somewhere at the mouth of the Itchen. Dr. Guest has put it on record that shortly after, in the year 501, a Saxon named Port landed at Portsmouth,—perhaps affording a double derivation of its name. He is said to have engaged the British prince or king, Natan Leod, the prince or chief of Natan or Netley (not the Netley whose graceful ruins adorn the shores of the Southampton Water, but Netley Marsh, a large district in the parish of Eling). This Natan Leod is supposed to have been no other than Ambrosius, who has given his name to a farm still called Ambrose Farm at that remarkable camp formed by Vespasian, which still exists near Lymington, and is known as Buckland Rings. Driven to the westward, and making a stand here for the grand forest district which extended in those days from the Hamble to the Avon, he was killed at Chardford or Charford on this latter river, which takes its name from Cedric's ford. Numerous burrows attest that the fight must have been severe in this district, and that the inhabitants had learnt the art of sepulture by incremation from the Romans. But to come to the later period when the forest was enlarged, as *enlarged* it only was by William the Conqueror, we now know how much exaggerated was the account given to us by monkish historians of its *formation* by that king, and the story of Rufus's death, while hunting in the forest which was his father's ruthless work, has often—to use a hackneyed quotation—served “to point a moral and adorn a tale.” Many of you will visit the actual spot where the fatal arrow from Tyrrell's bow struck him down, and you doubtless know of Tyrrell's ford, and the fine paid to this day by the owners of Avon for letting the regicide pass. The name of the charcoal-burner in the forest, Purkis, who bore the king's body by the King's Lane (still known as such) to Winchester in his cart, is still represented by some who claim an unbroken descent from him. For many a year the kings of England were not however deterred by the ill-omen of Rufus's death from repairing to the forest to enjoy the pleasures of the chase. The Normans have left us many a relic both of their piety and their power, and perhaps the greatest of the former class is one which has been least spared by the hand of the destroyer, *i.e.*, the lovely Abbey of Beaulieu,

described in the Charter of King John as the "Bellum Locum Regis, or the King's Beau Lieu." Of the magnificence of this abbey we have many records. It was forty years in building, and King Henry III. with all his court were present at its dedication. The wife of Henry VI. took refuge there, and it was there that the last meeting of the Lancastrian party was held, just before the battle of Barnet. Its sanctuary harboured for many years the person of Perkin Warbeck. Netley, the fair daughter of Beaulieu, was founded from this abbey.

We have besides the abbeys or priories of Titchfield and Christchurch, the preceptories of the Templars of South Baddesley, Godsfild, and Selborne, to mark the religious work of that age.

Nor can we forget the many castles scattered through the land which owe their origin to the Normans. The great Castle of Merdon, the remains of which stand in Hursley Park, built by Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, and the fine Castle of Carisbrook in the Isle of Wight, with which is associated a touching picture of the most eventful period of our history, attest the valiant spirit of their time. Our sea-coasts were much exposed to the attacks of enemies, and the sea-coast towns felt alike the fury of the Norsemen or Danes, and the attacks of the French and Dutch even in later days. Three times has Lymington been destroyed by the French, Southampton was twice attacked in the fourteenth century, Portsmouth was once burnt to the ground; and those who aver that England can never be invaded, may make a note of the fact that the French once penetrated as far as Odiham before they were repelled. It would be endless for me to dwell on every incident of historical interest which has occurred in the county; I can but mark the outline, and, as I have shown to you the grandeur of its historical monuments in their prime, so I must point to their ruins, which are all we have now left to cherish. In proportion as this county was rich in its religious establishments, so the more heavily did the hand of destruction fall upon it in the time of Henry VIII. The splendid abbeys of Beaulieu and Netley, the priories of Titchfield and Christchurch, are all in ruins, while some of the smaller houses have passed away from view altogether. In this present day, however, the appreciation of what is old, and the desire to preserve it, are at work to keep intact as

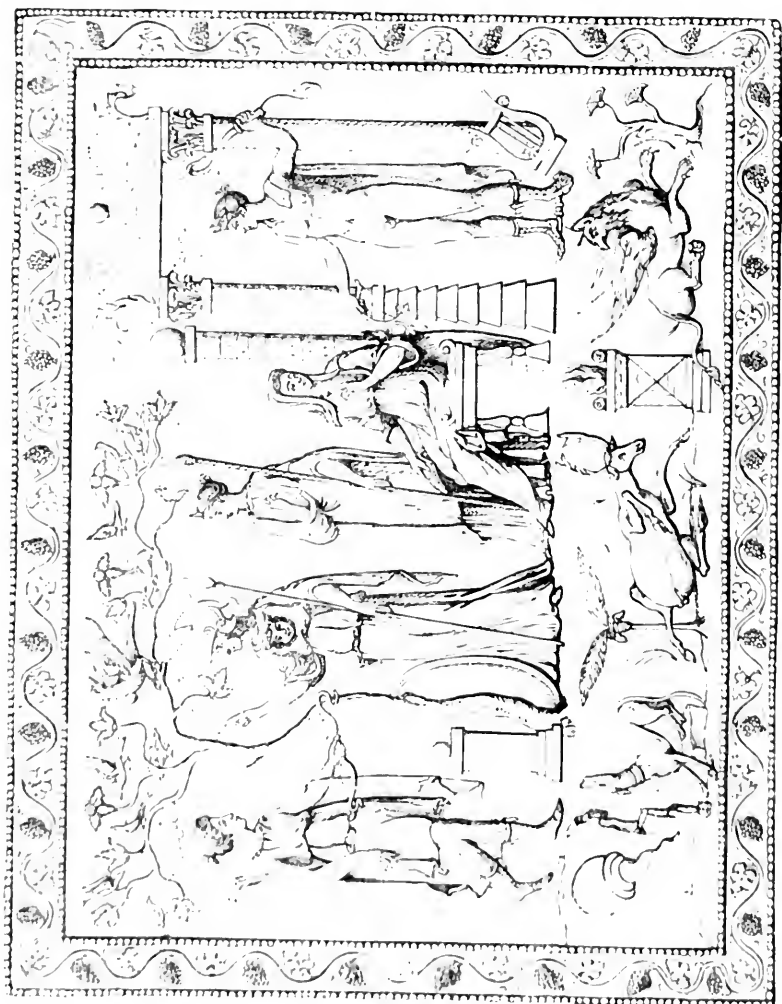
much of these beautiful monuments as remain to us ; while the sole anxiety of those who possess the land that the monks formerly held, must be (and I believe I may speak for others as for myself) to make sure that those who depend upon them should feel no loss of pious care for their welfare, and no lack of religious ministrations and ordinances.

To us in this county how full of interest is the period of the Civil War ! Can we forget the act with which it virtually began, in the murder of the Duke of Buckingham by Felton in Portsmouth ? or the gallant defence of Basing House (so rightly called Loyalty House) by the noble-hearted ancestor of our present Lord Lieutenant ? The battle of Newbury, on the border of our county, rings in our ears, and we can also claim the battle-fields of Basing Down, Cheriton, and Alton. We cast our eyes down to Hurst, and then across the Solent, to gaze on the grey towers of Carisbrook, to mark its deep moat and high walls, and we think with pity and sorrow of the royal captive who in his prison endeared himself to all, and more than wiped out by his holy resignation any mistakes of a more prosperous time. Winchester suffered severely during this time of revolution, and the destruction caused by Oliver Cromwell's cannon will not be easily forgotten there. It was he who dismantled the Royal Castle, levelled that of the Bishop at Wolvesley, threw down the fortifications of the Norman tower and west gate, and whose soldiers sacked and desecrated the cathedral, destroying the monuments and taking away the books and plate. At the Restoration, however, more peaceful scenes dawned again upon the town, and it became the favourite resort of Charles II. and his courtiers, who came here after the busy turmoil of London to enjoy their holiday. His palace now stands to mark this point in our history. We may remember that William III. was the first after Charles II. to attempt to repair the ravages which amidst the license of the civil wars had been committed in the New Forest ; and the Act known by his name is a sort of starting point in the modern legislation on this subject. We indeed should be well content if now, as then, its only object was the preservation of timber, not its destruction. The era of the Georges brings us to the time when from the great seaport of Portsmouth our gallant sailors went forth to victory, and returned with their prizes to its harbour. The name of Nelson, and that gallant ship, the Victory, which bore his flag

at Trafalgar, will never be forgotten by Englishmen ; long may this ship be kept in Hampshire waters as a monument of those times, and may Nelson's noble name be as well represented in future generations as it is at present.

Hampshire men will associate with Strathfieldsaye the memory of more than Roman greatness—that of one whose equal we have never seen, and probably never shall see in our day. None of us that ever saw the Iron Duke could forget him ; he is a pattern to us all of devotion to his country and duty to his sovereign, and when England is again assailed, may we again find one like him to step forward in defence of her greatness and honour. Nor can we forget our Hampshire poet, who now lies in the churchyard at Hursley, and whose writings have shed such a happy religious influence in our own land and beyond the Atlantic. His house and grave are even now places of pilgrimage, and should not be forgotten in enumerating the most illustrious localities in our county. There is a saying of one whose memory is cherished in Hampshire, one who but yesterday passed away from us, one who seemed to link us with those great men whom we have lost. It was this : that “ *the first step towards loving one's country was to love one's county.* ” Such were the words of the late Lord Palmerston, and truer words were never spoken. Our Constitution happily has made each county into an independent self-governing community for many purposes, and yet all are tied together as one nation. Our counties, however, speak to us of family associations, local traditions and interests, around which grow our human affections. To us, therefore, these histories and these associations are realities ; they form our part of our country's life, they find their place in our country's history, they bring us together in that common interest in our country's welfare which under God's blessing has made us a happy and contented people. Every age leaves its mark in the history of a country, and so of the world, and in like manner the history of a county leaves its mark on the history of its country—the buildings we rear, the monuments we raise, speak of the social and religious life of the age and of the men who lived in it. Let us then remember that upon each one of us rests the responsibility of making our country's history, and that by our actions, individually as well as collectively, it will be judged whether we have fulfilled the high mission that God has set before us as a nation.





THE CORBRIDGE LANY

## THE CORBRIDGE LANX.

By C. W. KING, M.A.

THE numerous vestiges of Roman occupation in the Northern Marches, and especially near the line of the great Mural Barrier, deservedly claim attention, not less for their remarkable number and variety of inscriptions and sculpture, than as examples of antique art highly decorated in workmanship, and of unusual intrinsic value in their material. Besides the golden relics connected with the *cultus* of the *Dææ Matres*, found near Newcastle and figured in this Journal,<sup>1</sup> the silver vessels brought to light in 1747 near Capheaton, Northumberland, enriched with a profusion of mythological subjects, hitherto unexplained,<sup>2</sup> numerous precious relics of Roman taste and luxury have been revealed near the great monument of Roman subjugation, and the stations *per lineam valli*. Of these may specially be cited the beautiful *patina* of silver found in 1736, now unfortunately destroyed, the unique vestige, of its class, of Christianity in Britain at that early period, and bearing the monogram composed of the Greek letters X and P;<sup>3</sup> and, lastly, the silver *lanx*, to which the following observations relate. These two precious objects were brought to light near *Corstopitum*, Corbridge, on the Roman Wall.

The *lanx*, in possession of the Duke of Northumberland, is familiar to many in our Society, not only by numerous representations and notices in archaeological works, but chiefly through the kind courtesies of the liberal patron of our exer-

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Journal, vol. viii., p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> They are figured in the *Archæologia*, vol. xv. p. 393, plates xxx.—xxxiii. This remarkable treasure-trove is now in the British Museum.

<sup>3</sup> A drawing has been preserved in the

minute books of the Society of Antiquaries of London. See also Camden's *Brit.*, (d. Gough, vol. iii. p. 509; and the "Lapidarium," by Dr. Bruce, No. 653, under "Corbridge."

tions in years past. It will be remembered that, by favour of the late Duke (Algeron), the precious original was entrusted to us for exhibition on occasion of the meeting of the Institute at Newcastle, in 1852; subsequently, by his Grace's indulgence, we were likewise permitted to make more leisurely examination of the curious mythological details with which the *lamp* is enriched. An electrotyped facsimile was sent by the Duke, in 1860, to one of our monthly meetings in London.<sup>4</sup> A full account of this sumptuous production of Roman art,—of the discovery, in 1735,—the claim also and ultimate rescue by the lord of the manor, the Duke of Somerset, as treasure trove, has been related elsewhere. It may suffice here to state that the costly dish was noticed by the daughter of a Corbridge blacksmith; the glittering angle projected from the bank of the Tyne, near Corbridge, and attracted the girl's notice.

The *lamp*, it may be observed, measures 19 in. by 15 in.; the weight is 149 oz. It had, when found, a raised base or rim attached to the under side, which was cut off by the smith and sold in Newcastle.

We are indebted to Dr. Collingwood Bruce for the use of the accompanying woodcut. It may suffice to indicate the various portions of the design that render this important example of Roman iconography peculiarly interesting. The reader, who may desire to appreciate with accuracy the style of art, and the mythological details, will be gratified by examination of the admirable engraving by Mr. Holl, from a careful drawing executed by Mr. Scharf. This has been recently given by permission of the Duke of Northumberland, amongst the costly illustrations of the "Lapidarium Septentrionale," published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle under Dr. Bruce's editorial care. (See p. 340.) A fully detailed statement will there be found of various suggestions that have been offered in regard to the signification of the design, with references also to engravings and other published notices of this most important monument of classical Toreutic art.

The subject of the chasing is the Delphic Oracle, expressed by the various deities connected with its establishment. The principal figure is the *Pythia*, Phemonoe, seated on her bronze throne over the orifice of the prophetic cavern, holding in her hand a full *spindle*, as being guardian of the

<sup>4</sup> Arch. Journal, vol. xvii p. 261.



decrees of Fate, and listening with all attention to the dictates of the god who inspires her responses. *Apollo* standing within his shrine, in the attitude of one declaiming, utters to her his oracles in hexameter verse, holding aloft his unstrung bow with his left hand, and with the other extending a branch of a tree of singular appearance, upon which some remarks will be offered when we come to consider the various attributes and symbols introduced into the piece. By the Pythia's side stands *Themis*, daughter of Earth and Goddess of Justice (a character denoted by the long sceptre in her hand); she holds this place by right, for she was the first owner of the Oracle, which she afterwards ceded to Diana, who immediately transferred it to her brother: a transaction fully detailed by Æschylus in the prologue to his "Eumenides."

Next to *Themis* stands *Minerva*, with shield reposing on the ground, holding up her finger to enjoin attention to the utterance of the god. This gesture appears to be occasioned by the entrance of Diana, and her obstreperous hound, for it would be too far-fetched a supposition to credit the late Roman *cælator*<sup>5</sup> with the knowledge of that deity's transient ownership of the shrine.

The accessories form perhaps the most curious portion of the whole *tableau*. The spreading *tree*, above the heads of the two goddesses, despite its *metallic* stiffness and contortion, is probably nothing more than a conventional tree, merely introduced for the sake of affording a perch to Apollo's peculiar bird of augury, the *raven*, "*oscinem corvum*," and the *hawks*, his attribute in his other character of the Sun-god, as the same bird was of his prototype, the Egyptian Phre. There were, indeed, certain celebrated trees in bronze decorating the sacred inclosure at Delphi: notably the immense palm-tree, the gift of the Corinthians, described by Plutarch in his interesting tract, "*De Pyth. Orae. xi.*;" and another with dates of gold, supporting a *Minerva* in gilt metal, dedicated by the Athenians to commemorate their double victory on the Eurymedon. This latter is mentioned by Plutarch (in his *Life of Nicias*) and by Pausanias,<sup>6</sup> who

<sup>5</sup> The use of spiral columns in the architectural portions proves that the design cannot be earlier than the reign of Severus.

<sup>6</sup> *Descriptio Græciæ* I. 15. 4. His very detailed account of the statues and relics

at Delphi, as existing in the middle of the second century, will afford archaeologists, dissatisfied with my interpretation of the scene before us, plentiful materials for making out another exposition more to their own liking.

quotes the old historian Cleodemus about the strange omen presaging the Athenian disasters at Syracuse, how a vast flock of crows alighted upon their *donarium*, and pecked to pieces the owl, spear, robes of Pallas, and the dates of her tree.

This brings back our attention to the *branch* held forth in Apollo's hand; in which it is impossible to recognise the bay twig, the customary badge of the god, in the character in which he is here depicted. It is unmistakeably cut from a chesnut tree—one having no connexion with this god under any of his many titles—the trees consecrated to him being the palm and the bay; from either of which were woven the wreaths given for prizes to the victors in his games. The only conjecture that suggests itself to me in explanation of the anomaly is that the Roman artist, to add stronger expression to the character filled by the god in the present scene, has chosen to equip him with a sprig of the oracle-giving *φηγὸς* of Dodona. That the latter was the *chesnut*, not the *oak*, as commonly understood, is evident from the distinction Pausanias makes between its fruit (as the sole edible mast) and that of other *ἄφῆς*; <sup>7</sup> as well as from the name *Δῖος Βάλανος* appropriated by the Greeks to the sweet, or Spanish, chesnut. To the famous *omphalos*, "the centre-point of earth," is given due prominence, in the shape of the conical pillar in front of Apollo; it was made, Pausanias tells us, of white marble.<sup>8</sup> The present figure of this primæval monument is highly valuable, as it has the look of a faithful picture of the original; for, although it regularly forms the seat of Apollo on the coins of the Seleucide, yet the minuteness of the space there available reduces the copy to a merely conventional representation. The pillar at the back of Themis, supporting a celestial *globe* (or, perhaps, sun-dial) is frequently introduced in sculptures and gems representing astrologers and their operations, and may therefore be reasonably supposed to have reference in this place to the visible presence of the solar deity.

The subjects filling the exergue remain to be noticed. The dwarf *tree* at the right hand extremity, with its singular fan-shaped terminations, can be meant for nothing else than the palmetto, which doubtless was then cultivated at Delphi

<sup>7</sup> I. 17, 5, for the nature of the tree at Dodona; VIII. 1, 6, for its fruit, the discovery of which he assigns to Pelæus, the civilizer of the original Arcadians.

<sup>8</sup> It exactly corresponds in shape to the Hindoo *Lingam*, the universal emblem of the Creator, and was in all probability the original globe of the holy place.

with the same care as at Nice at the present day, and with a similar religious destination. Next comes the *gryphon*, compound of lion and eagle, and the regular attribute of Phœbus, whose presence it accompanies, or replaces, upon the Greek coinage from the earliest times. He is looking back very wistfully at his proper prey, Diana's *stag*, from which he is separated by the intervention of the *great altar*, upon which all who consulted the Oracle were bound first to offer sacrifice. The indecorous attitude of the stag, as he rolls upon the ground, may be supposed given to the animal in order to express the sense of security inspired by the sanctity of the place, although in such close proximity to his natural enemy; it is in modern phrase "the lion and the lamb lying down together." One cannot, however, avoid suspecting a deeper motive in the selection of this pose for the creature—it allowed incidentally the exhibition of the *fascinum*, that potent amulet whose presence was indispensable in all displays of pomp and luxury liable to bring down upon the possessor the ever to be dreaded stroke of the Evil Eye. Next we see a weird-looking flower, which can be intended for none other than Apollo's favourite, the *Hyacinthus*; and certainly it bears some resemblance to the fleur-de-lys, the plant that has the best claims to be identified with that insoluble problem of ancient botany. Diana's *hound* may be left to speak for himself; and the row is closed with the famous fountain, *Castalia*, tumbling down from its native rocks.

The *running vine* forming the border to the chasing indicates the festive destination of this magnificent piece of plate, which, however, falls rather under the denomination of "pinax" than of "lanx," the normal shape of the latter being *circular*, as appears from Horace,<sup>9</sup> from the application of the name to the scales of a balance, and, pictorially, from the "lanx satura" carried by the figures of Bonus Eventus. The "*pinax*," on the contrary, is called "quadrangular" by Athenæus, when speaking<sup>1</sup> of one of such enormous size as to contain a boar roasted whole; but the material was still of *board* (the proper meaning of the word), with threads of gold let into it, or, in modern phrase, ornamented with *piqué*-work.

<sup>9</sup> Sat. II. 4, 40.

<sup>1</sup> In his amusing description of the Wedding of Caranus (IV. cap. 5).

In introducing here the following observations by a distinguished corresponding member of our Society, no apology will be necessary. The brief outline of the Baron de Witte's view of the details displayed on the Corbridge lanx was indeed not destined for publication. In connection, however, with the difficult mythological details under consideration, the opinion of so erudite a student of antiquities, whose attention has long been specially devoted to the elucidation of classical art, as displayed in the most precious monuments of Greek and Roman iconography, cannot fail to prove a welcome supplement to the foregoing dissertation, which was composed before the receipt, and quite independently of the Baron's communication.

“ Je n'ai pas oublié la promesse que je vous ai faite de revoir avec soin le sujet de l'Apollon Hyperboréen sur le *lanx* d'argent de *Corstopitum*.

“ Il me semble que le sujet peut s'expliquer de la manière suivante.

“ Apollon arrive du pays des Hyperboréens à Delphos. Il tient d'une main des épis, et de l'autre son arc. Le temple de Delphos est indiqué par l'édicule supporté par deux colonnes d'ordre Corinthien. Un autel formé de plusieurs assises de grosses pierres est placé devant le Dieu. Sa lyre est posée à terre contre une des colonnes du temple. A ses pieds est le griffon, animal consacré tout particulièrement à l'Apollon Hyperboréen : plusieurs monuments montrent Apollon monté sur un griffon.

“ Une femme voilée assise sur un siège sans dossier, le dos tourné à Apollon, se retourne vers le Dieu et exprime par sa main gauche levée son étonnement. Dans sa main droite se voit un objet difficile à expliquer. Est-ce le *plectrum*? Est-ce un rouleau (*volumen*).? Est-ce un autre attribut? On pourrait penser aux prémices envoyées par les Hyperboréens à l'Apollon de Prusias dans l'Attique (Paus. i. 31, 2), *ταῖς τε ἀπὸ τοῦ κορυφίου μὲν ἐν καδάμῃ πρῶτον*. Ce seroit une des vierges hyperboréennes, Opis où Heccaerge (Paus. v. 7, 4), qui tiendrait les prémices enveloppées dans de la paille de froment. S'il s'agissait d'un monument qui appartenait à la belle époque de l'art, on pourroit donner une explication plus sûre et basée sur les traditions religieuses ; mais comme nous avons sous les yeux un monument de basse époque, où souvent les idées religieuses sont mêlées et confondues sans

règle, il devient difficile de préciser le caractère des personnages. Doit-on reconnaître dans la femme assise la Pythie ? C'est encore possible, et peut-être cette explication est-elle préférable, parce qu'elle est plus simple. Quoiqu'il en soit, derrière cette femme assise est une colonne surmontée d'un globe qui semble indiquer le Stade de Delphis. Plus à gauche sont deux déesses qui se tiennent debout ; dans l'une on reconnaît facilement Pallas, au casque, à l'égide et à la lance. La seconde, la plus rapprochée de celle que je désigne sous le nom de Pythie, n'a d'autre attribut qu'un sceptre. C'est peut-être Thémis, qui autrefois avait possédé l'oracle de Delphis. Au devant de ces deux déesses vient Diane en costume de chasseresse, armée de son arc. La déesse a blessé un cerf étendu aux pieds de la Pythie. Entre ce cerf blessé et le griffon est un autel chargé d'offrandes. Aux pieds de Diane est son chien de chasse, et tout auprès, à gauche, on remarque un vase renversé d'où s'échappe l'eau ; ce vase doit indiquer la source Cassotis, qui coulait dans l'intérieur du temple. Entre Diane et Pallas est un autel chargé d'offrandes, et un grand arbre dans lequel on doit reconnaître un platane ; dans les branches de l'arbre sont plusieurs oiseaux, et entre autres le corbeau consacré à Apollon ; contre le tronc du platane est posé le bouclier de Pallas. Il est question du platane dans les traditions de Delphos (Plin. Hist. Nat., xvi. 44 ; Théophrast. Hist. Plant., iv. 13).

“ J'ai publié, dans les Annales de l'Institut de correspondance archéologique de Rome, un article sur la topographie de Delphos, et vous y trouverez (année 1841, p. 1 et suiv.) des notes exactes.

“ Puissent ces quelques renseignements vous offrir quelque intérêt.

“ JULES DE WITTE.”

ON THE ALIEN PRIORIES IN THE ISLE OF WIGHT, AND THEIR  
SEIZURE BY EDWARD THE FIRST.

By the Rev. E. VENABLES, Precentor of Lincoln.<sup>1</sup>

THE Alien Priories of England, during the three or four centuries of their existence, were a standing, and at times, a very inconvenient memorial of the subjugation of the country by a foreign power. The fact of the Norman Conquest was stamped, as it were, on the face of the land, long after our Sovereigns had become Englishmen, by these little settlements of aliens dotted everywhere over it, owing allegiance to a foreign Monarch, paying obedience to a foreign Monastic House, and transmitting the greater part of their rents and profits to their spiritual heads beyond the seas. When England had been only recently brought under the Norman yoke, and the larger part of her territory was held by Norman lords, and her kings were far more Norman or Angiovine than English, these *Alien Priories*—by which, as is well-known, we understand cells appurtenant to the great foreign Religious Houses, from which they commonly received their Priors, and in most cases their Monks, and to which they returned their receipts—presented nothing that appeared at variance with a sound national policy, and little that could be distasteful to the national mind. It was only a reasonable arrangement that when a benefaction of land or tithes was made to any one of the French monasteries by a Norman lord, an offshoot of their establishment should be planted on the estate, in order to secure the profitable cultivation of the land, and the faithful transmittal of the rents and revenues. In fact, the Prior and Monks of an alien priory were little more than the stewards and servants of the larger house, owing their existence, as a corporate body, rather to the temporal advantage of the mother-monastery than to the spiritual benefit of the district in which it was founded.

To take an example from the district now before us—

<sup>1</sup> Read in the Historical Section of the Southampton Meeting, August 7, 1872.

the Isle of Wight. The Abbey of Lire,<sup>2</sup> in the diocese of Evreux, was founded by William Fitz-Osbern, the early friend and zealous coadjutor of Duke William of Normandy. To him, on the Conquest of England, among other large possessions, William granted the lordship of the Isle of Wight. Still Norman at heart, Fitz-Osbern availed himself of this grant to enrich his Norman abbey. This he endowed not only with the tithes of six of the largest of the island parishes, Arreton, Freshwater, Godshill, Newchurch, Niton and Whippingham, but also with lands. These lay in various parts of the island, but chiefly in and about Carisbrooke, his own feudal fortress. There, on the hill over against the castle, Fitz-Osbern founded a small religious house—not yet needing to be characterised as an *alien* priory—with a prior and a handful of monks, under whose superintendence, if not by their own actual labour, the land was to be cultivated, and who, after discharging the cost of the maintenance of the house, were to be accountable to the Abbot of Lire for the profits of their farming. A later example is afforded by the little priory of Appuldurcombe, which was founded by Isabella de Fortibus, Countess of Albemarle, towards the latter part of the reign of Henry III., with the object of securing the revenues of the manor to the Abbey of Monteburg, in the diocese of Coutances, founded by Richard de Redvers, her ancestor, in 1090. Of the two remaining alien priories in the Isle of Wight, St. Cross and St. Helens, we know little or nothing. St. Cross was a cell of the Cistercian Abbey of Tiron, in the diocese of Chartres; St. Helens a cell of a house of Cluniac monks, whose name has not been discovered.

But with the lapse of time and the entire change of relations between the two countries, a complete change of feeling towards these foreign colonies sprang up, and the members of the alien priories came to be regarded with jealousy and dislike as interlopers. When the provinces of France in which the chief monasteries were situated ceased to recognise the King of England as their sovereign, and he had ceased to have any beneficial interest whatsoever in

<sup>2</sup> The site of this monastery in its Latinised form gave his name to the celebrated Biblical Commentator, Nicholas de Lyra, who was born at Lire of Jesuit parents, about A.D. 1290. He is the

"Lyra" of the well-known lines, alluding to him as a precursor of the Reformation,—

"Si Lyra non lyrasset  
Lutherus non saltasset."

them, it was natural that the existence of these minor houses, drawing their sustenance from the estates with which they had been endowed and transmitting it to a foreign land, should be regarded as a grievance. This feeling would be exasperated to one of decided hostility when the two countries were at war with one another. Our kings would most excusably look upon it as an anomaly no longer to be tolerated, that the resources of their kingdom should be drained by these religious colonists for the benefit of their enemies, and would take measures to check so great an evil. The alien priories might not unreasonably be regarded with suspicion, as little nests of traitors, centres of sedition and disaffection, availing themselves of their position to obtain and furnish information to the king's foes, and capable, when opportunity offered, of doing some serious mischief to the king and his realm. This suspicion might be often quite unfounded. Many, perhaps the majority, of the alien priories were little humble establishments,—at Appuldurcombe there were but a prior and two monks, and only a prior and one monk at St. Helens and St. Cross,—quietly tilling their ground and performing their religious duties without thought of conspiring against the sovereign of the land. But the apprehension awakened was so reasonable, and the fact of the revenues of English estates being regularly sent to France to nourish the king's enemies so shocking to national feeling, that we cannot be surprised that among the first consequences of warlike relations between the two countries, was a sweeping edict relating to these alien priories. Their property was taken into the king's hands, their estates were managed by the king's officers, and in the case of those whose houses were situated near the sea-coast, and who might, therefore, hold treasonable communication with the enemy, or facilitate their descent on the country, the religious themselves were removed to a less suspicious locality in the interior.

The documents I have the pleasure of introducing to your notice have reference to the earliest instance of this stern dealing with the alien priories. If such harsh measures were justifiable anywhere, they were certainly so in the Isle of Wight. No part of our coasts needed more careful guarding. In the occupation of a hostile force the Island would prove a source of weakness and distress. The Danes had



found it a most convenient naval fortress from which their ships made descents on the Southern shores of England, and to which they returned to enjoy their booty. Were the French to become masters of so strong a position, the injury to the realm would be incalculable. How, then, was it consistent with the safety of the kingdom to suffer Frenchmen to draw the rents of estates, or even to permit them to continue as residents in so important an island?

No sooner, therefore, did Edward I., in the year 1294, find himself not unwillingly drifting into a war with France, than we find him issuing the writ now before us, directing that all the priories "de terra et potestate Regis Francie" in the kingdom, together with all their lands, tenements, goods, and chattels, "should be taken into the king's hand, and that in the case of the Isle of Wight priories, in common with those near the sea-coast generally, the priors and their monks should be removed to the interior of the country."<sup>3</sup>

It may be convenient that we should here give a glance at the events of this stormy period. An uncomfortable feeling had been for some time growing up between the maritime population of the two countries. Piratical descents, followed by severe reprisals, became frequent on both sides. The mariners of the Cinque Ports in 1292 made a hostile attack on the coast of Normandy, and the following year ravaged the whole sea-board of France. In 1295 the French landed at Dover, and were not beaten off till they had inflicted great damage; while in the next year, 1296, Prince Edmund ravaged the French coast, and captured the city of Bourdeaux.

The indignation of Philip IV. had been roused by the conduct of the seamen of the Cinque Ports, and in 1293 he had summoned Edward, his vassal, to answer for the misdeeds of his subjects. This summons Edward had treated with contempt, and in the following year, the date of the

<sup>3</sup> Tanner (*Notit. Monast.*, Preface, pp. vi, vii), when speaking of this precautionary measure, places it two years too late, the twenty-fourth year, 1296, instead of, as we see from the writ before us, the twenty-second year of Edward I., 1294; "The king," he writes, "in the twenty-fourth year of his reign seized all the alien priories during his wars with the

King of France, and removed all the alien monks twenty miles from the sea-side, that his enemies in France might have no assistance from them." In 1539 we find an order of Edward III. for the removal of the prior and monks of Appuldurcombe to Hyde Abbey, near Winchester. Worsley, *Appendix*, No. lxxix.

writ, authorising the confiscation of the alien priories, Philip declared the fief of the king of England forfeited. Edward renounced his fealty to the French crown, and conscious that this could imply nothing but open war with France, he took active measures to prepare himself for the conflict by raising forces at home, protecting his coasts with armed men and defensive works, and strengthening himself by foreign alliances, especially that with Flanders.

It is to this period that the two documents belong that are now in the Public Record Office, London; and which, through the kindness of my friend, Mr. Burt, I have the opportunity of bringing before you, relating to the confiscation of the property of the Alien Priories in the Isle of Wight. They both travel over pretty much the same ground, and contain, to a considerable extent, the same particulars. The earlier of the two comprises the account rendered by Richard of Afton,<sup>4</sup> of the property, real and moveable, of the five Alien Priories, viz., Carisbrooke, St. Helens, St. Cross, and Appuldurcombe, which, in compliance with the writ of 1294, in the month of August, 1295, he had taken into the king's hands, and delivered over to Simon Stake, on the 17th of the following November: together with a detailed report of the defensive works executed by him and Gilbert of Arden, the inspector of such works, for the protection of the coast of the Island "against the King of France and other the king's enemies." The second document is an Inquisition taken by the aforesaid Simon Stake on the Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday following the Feast of St. Clement, November 23rd, and the subsequent Monday, A.D. 1296, of the goods and chattels of the five priories we have named, seized for the king by the above-mentioned Richard of Afton and Gilbert of Arden. The returns are made on oath by seven witnesses, "juratores." Among these we may notice the name

<sup>4</sup> Afton is a manor in the parish of Frohwater. It had belonged to Euf. Toti; but at the time of the Domesday Survey was in the king's hands. The family that took its name from the manor was one of the most considerable in the Island in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Two of the family, Robert and William of Afton, made grants of the tithes of the tithes to the Abbey of Jure. Richard of Afton, the maker of this return, appears repeatedly as a

confidential agent of the lady of the island, Isabella de Fortibus, the steward of whose household he was; and it is inferred by Worsley, from a variety of circumstances, that he promoted the sale of the lordship of the island to Edward I. This sale was effected in 1290, at Stockwell, in Surrey, Nov. 12, 1293, when Isabella was on her death bed. In 1295, the year of this return, Richard of Afton was associated with Sir Adam Gourdon in the Wardenship of the island.

of Henry of Oglander, a member of a family which from the time of Henry I. to the present day has without a break held a leading place in the Island; Russell, of Yaverland, the ancestor of the noble house of Bedford; Every of Standen, together with the humbler names of John the Forester, Adam the Carpenter, Adam the Tanner, &c.

The form of the reply of the jurors is in every case the same. They first assert ignorance of the removal of any treasure in gold or silver, or of any debts due to the prior. They then proceed to state that on a certain day Richard of Afton and Gilbert of Arden entered the priory, expelled the prior and his brethren, and took possession of their goods and chattels, of which they proceed to furnish a priced inventory. We have a similar inventory in the earlier document, Afton's return containing a few additional particulars of some interest. For instance, we find that by the king's command the palfrey and sumpter-horse belonging respectively to the prior of Carisbrooke, and the proctor of the Abbey of Lire (employed to collect the tithes, rents, and dues belonging to that abbey in the Island), together with the prior's white horse, and the horse of the prior of St. Cross, were returned to their owners; and that at Carisbrooke the military equipment with which each house was provided, "*ad salvacionem terræ*," was also restored.

The first item in Afton's account is, in each case, the money received from the debts due to the houses, together with the tithes and the rents of their tenants. This is followed by the inventory of agricultural stock and produce, corn and other grain, horses, oxen, and cows, sheep and lambs, wool, cheese, geese, chickens, &c. This is succeeded by an account of the expenses of working the land, repairs of buildings, &c.; and, lastly, by the articles of military furniture belonging to each priory. The second return corresponds in the main with the first; but being simply a return of goods taken into the king's hands, there is no account of expenses.

One leading point of interest in these documents lies in the evidence they afford of the state of agriculture and the stock of a farm, and of the prices of ordinary farm produce, at the end of the thirteenth century. We see that as Professor Thorold Rogers<sup>5</sup> has remarked, the same kind of

<sup>5</sup> History of Agricultural Prices, i. 326.

stock which is now kept on an English farm was kept five or six hundred years ago. Oxen and cows, horses, pigs, sheep, and poultry, were reared on these Isle of Wight farms in the days of Edward I. just as they are now. The first thing that strikes us in examining the returns is the small number of horses that were kept on these farms. Excluding the riding and pack horses, we find only ten used for agricultural labour. Of these, six were "affri" or "stotts," *i.e.*, coarsely shaped small horses, able to subsist on the poorest fare, and do the commonest drudgery, still common in country districts. The average price of "affri" in 1269, as given in Professor Rogers's elaborate and painstaking work, quoted above, was 6*s.* 9*d.* One at St. Neots, in 1275, is set down at the unprecedented price of 19*s.* 9½*d.* A common price was 10*s.* The three "affri" belonging to St. Helens are valued a little below this—at 5*s.* each; while the three at Appuldurcombe are not priced at more than 20*d.* each—sorry drudges we may conclude they were. The cart-horses, "equi," at Appuldurcombe and St. Cross stand at 20*s.* The prior of Carisbrooke was a grander gentleman than any of his Island brethren, and boasted of a riding-horse, "palfridus," of his own, valued at 4*l.* 13*s.*, and a pack-horse, "equus summarius," for his luggage, valued at 1*l.* He also had a white horse, worth 10*s.* The proctor of the Abbey of Lire, who made his home in the same priory, was similarly equipped, his horses being valued at 2*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and 13*s.* 8*d.* respectively.<sup>6</sup>

Only three bulls appear in these returns; at Carisbrooke, Appuldurcombe, and St. Cross, and, as usual, they are cheap; the first valued at 10*s.*, the other two at 5*s.* This nearly agrees with Professor Rogers's average for this year, *viz.*, 6*s.* 9*d.* Cows appear in a tolerably large number—52. Of these twenty-six are noted as unsound, "debiles," and therefore priced lower, *viz.*, 4*s.* a head; the others are valued at 6*s.* at Carisbrooke, where the stock generally was evidently of a superior kind and better kept, and 5*s.* elsewhere. This is

<sup>6</sup> To illustrate these prices, I may mention that Earl Clare, in 1284, purchased a black horse for 3*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and a palfrey for 5*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* When a riding horse was needed in 1303, for the use of the warden of Merton College, one was bought by the College at Aylesbury for 6*l.*; while,

in 1363, when a hack was required by the Provost of Queen's, to carry him to Avignon on the business of his College, one was purchased for him for 2*l.* 10*s.* The horse bought for the use of Edward II., in the last year of his reign, range in price from 6*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to 7*l.*

considerably below Professor Rogers's average, viz., 8s. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. The young oxen, or bugles, "boviuli," used for draught, number twenty-four, and run from 4s. 6d. to 3s. a head; the calves, twenty-six, running from 3s. 4d. to 1s. The number of pigs kept is in accordance with the importance of the animal in mediæval economy, when salted meat was necessarily the almost exclusive fare during half the year. The readiness with which pork takes salt, and the nutritive power it preserves after curing, marked it out as the most suitable flesh meat for storing for the supply of the table during the winter. We find as many as 110 pigs, "porci," and 68 sucking or young pigs, "porcelli;" besides four designated as "hogs," and six as "sows." The largest number, viz., 82, was, as we should expect, kept at Appuldurcombe, where the woods, in which they could pick up mast and acorns, were the most extensive. The price of pigs is either 2s. or 1s. 6d.; below the average of the year, viz., 2s. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; and of the "porcelli," 6d.

The Isle of Wight has been, at all times, famous as a sheep country. The mildness of its climate renders it a very favourable district for early lambs, the flocks being almost entirely free from the casualties they are exposed to in more northern and severer parts. The whole number returned in the accounts before us, including 206 wethers, muttons, "multones;" 323 ewes, "oves matrices;" 166 lambs; and 4 rams, "hurtardi," amounts to 699. The downs of Appuldurcombe, then as now, fed the larger proportion, 403. Whether by oversight or not, only lambs, 106 in number, appear in the Carisbrooke return. The prices run from 8d. to 1s.

The Island wool has been long celebrated for its fineness. "Not Lemsters self can show a finer fleecce," writes Drayton. At the period of this return, 1204-6, the price of wool was, from some unexplained cause, suffering from a depression unparalleled till the year that followed the Black Death of 1348. The wool at Carisbrooke is noted as "debilis," and is valued at only 40s. a sack, *i. e.*, 1s. 3d. a petra, or stone. At Appuldurcombe it was slightly higher = 1s. 6d. a stone. Some of the prices given by Professor Rogers, this same year, are:—Farley, 1s. 1d. and 1s. 2d.; Gamlingay, 2s. and 1s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. The quantity is but small—3 sacks at Carisbrooke and 4 pisæ 5 petra, *i. e.*, about 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  sacks at Appuldurcombe.

Professor Rogers remarks<sup>7</sup> on the difficulty affecting an inquiry into the price of wool in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, from the extraordinary variations in the number of pounds contained in the *petra*, or *stone*. He speaks of no less than thirteen of these variations, and in some cases two or even three recognised in the same locality, *i. g.*, a *petra* of 7 lb., 14 lb., and 16 lb. used at Gamlingay. In this case, at least at Appuldurcombe, we can determine the weight of the *petra* with tolerable accuracy. The return specifies that 10 *petrae* go to a *pisa*. Now a *pisa* was half a sack; and if we regard the sack as containing 52 cloves, or 364 lb., the *petra* would amount to one thirty-second part, or  $11\frac{3}{8}$  lb.

Poultry is found only at St. Helens and Appuldurcombe—10 ducks and 12 chicken at the former, and 80 chicken at the latter, all at 1*d.* a head; about the usual price at the period of which we are speaking.

Turning now to agricultural produce, we find the entire return amounting to  $216\frac{1}{2}$  quarters of wheat, 107 of barley, 59 of oats, and 20 of drage, a grain pronounced by Professor Rogers to be “clearly of the same character with barley, and frequently malted.” The year of the return was one in which “prices had fallen considerably; but wheat was uniformly dear, barley a little below the proportion, and drage still less; oats rather cheap.”<sup>8</sup> The prices in the Isle of Wight are somewhat lower than the averages given by Rogers:—wheat, 6*s.*, average 6*s.* 9*d.*; barley, 4*s.*, average 4*s.* 4*d.*; oats, 2*s.*, average 2*s.* 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*; drage, 3*s.*, average 3*s.* 2 $\frac{5}{8}$ *d.* There are returns of two pounds of malt, “braseum,” and “cursal,” or “scurril-braseum,” of inferior grain. The better kind was priced at 1*s.* at Carisbrooke, and 6*s.* at Appuldurcombe; the average for the year being 7*s.* 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, and the inferior, 2*s.* Its badness may be inferred from its falling so much short of the average—5*s.* 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*

The only other articles of agricultural produce occurring in the inventory are sides of bacon, “bacones,” of which we have 7 at Carisbrooke, valued at 2*s.* each, “quia debiles;” cheese, two “pondera,” *i. e.*, weys of 2 cwt., at the same Priory, priced together at 16*s.*—below the average of

<sup>7</sup> Hist. of Prices, i. p. 267.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. i. p. 192.

9s. 2½*d.* the wey; and 25 lb. of "cepum—hard snet for making candles—at 1*d.* a pound.

Allusion has already been made to the articles of military equipment entered in these returns. I take it such would have been found in larger or smaller numbers in every religious house during these stormy periods, when personal violence was so rife. But they would be especially necessary in establishments lying so near the sea-board, and in a district so peculiarly liable to, and, in point of fact, so constantly suffering from hostile descents as the Isle of Wight. The military furniture at Carisbrooke may be given as a type of the whole. The inventory comprises a breastplate, a hauberk, one corslet, a pair of iron shoes, an aketon (a coat of mail), two lances, and a pair of "treppæ." The monastery of St. Cross contained a crossbow with its quarrels; those of St. Helens and Appuldurcombe two pairs of mustelers.<sup>1</sup>

The profits of the Abbey Mill also appear in the Carisbrooke account.<sup>2</sup>

The St. Helens return contains several curious items. This diminutive establishment supported a vicar to serve the parish church, and an English monk with his boy, "garcio." The wages of this monk amounted to 17s. for seven weeks and two days, being at the rate of 4*d.* a day. His name was Fremond. He was of Wenlock Abbey in Shropshire, and appears to have had a great capacity for running the priory into debt. He had pledged a piece of cloth of gold, "baudekinum deauratum," to the Vicar of St. Helens for 60s. "ad commodum domus Sanctæ Helenæ;" and was also indebted to Roger, the parson of Brading, for a quarter of wheat, two quarters of pulse, a quarter of barley, and one of vetches, and 15s. to John le Saglier of Southampton for wheat bought of him. Other burdens lay on this little Cluniac house. The prior had sold a livery to a certain Herneburgha de Makingham for 30 marks of silver, which sum he had carried away with him to France when

<sup>1</sup> Probably for "trappe," the coverings of horses. In the "Romance of Richard Cœur de Lion," of the fourteenth century, we read:—

"A messenger ther come rydand  
Upon a stede whyt so mylke,  
His trappys wer of tuely sylke,  
With five hundred belles ryngande,"  
(p. 60).

<sup>1</sup> "Mustilers." In "Statutes of the  
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Realm," vol. i. p. 231, under "Statuta Armerum" is this passage: "E qe tuz les baueors qe baners portent, seent armes de maustilers, e de quisers, e de espaulers, e de baeyn, sans plus." The word is there translated "maustilers." It may have been a kind of body armour.

<sup>2</sup> "Item de exitu moture molendini de viij. septimanis, j. quarteriam dimid' man-corn, precium quarterii vj."

he left this Island in obedience to the ordinance of the king, to the very great injury of the house, "ad maximum dampnum domus." Another right to a livery for himself as a monk, "ut monachus," and his servants, was enjoyed by Richard le Estur,<sup>3</sup> the vicar of the parish, whose wages, including those of his "serviens," were 3*d.* a day. The establishment of this little house, maintained at the conventual table, consisted of three lads, "garçiones," belonging to Richard the vicar, and Fremond the monk, one shepherd, "bercarius," one mower, one "daye," dairykeeper, and three footmen, "pedones," the cost of whose maintenance for six weeks amounted to 73*s.* 6*d.* When the property was taken into the king's hands, the whole establishment seems to have been broken up. The Prior, as we have seen, went to France, 13*s.* 4*d.* being paid him for travelling expenses; the English monk went to Carisbrooke; and the vicar and his dependents received their wages, and with Herneburgha of Makingham, a compensation for their livery from the king's exchequer.

The wages of the Prior of St. Cross were at the rate of 3*d.* a day. These were only paid for five days; and as wages were paid to an English monk from the Feast of the Assumption to that of St. Edmund the King, amounting to 24*s.* 6*d.* for himself and 8*s.* 2*d.* for his "garçio," the Prior of St. Cross, like his brother of St. Helens, must have had notice from the king to quit the realm.

It appears that the Prior of Carisbrooke had granges at Slete and at Chale; and that the Prior of Appuldurcombe had a provost, "prepositus," at Swainston, and a reeve at Brighston.

The concluding portion of the earlier document supplies us with a detailed account of the money received by Richard of Afton for the execution of the defensive works of the island, "for fortifying, defending, and safely keeping the Isle of Wight against the King of France and other the king's enemies." The items include entries for felling timber, quarrying stone, the formation of walls, ditches, barriers, and brestages, the wages of carpenters and masons, the construction of three warlike engines and four springalds, with the charges of an immense number of footmen and horsemen, of horses

<sup>3</sup> A member of the ancient family of the chief landholders at the time of the Domesday survey, recorded at Gatsfield, descended from one



armed and unarmed, ("cooperti" or "discooperti") cross-bowmen, messengers going and coming, men sent to search for arms on the mainland; the wages of overseers of the works, on whom was laid the additional duty of exciting the workmen to faithful labour, and watching over the engines and springalds, barriers and brestages, as well as of inducing the inhabitants to take up arms, and the infantry to keep faithful watch,—wages paid to three horsemen and as many footmen for conducting to London a certain suspected party, a knight arrested in the island for having been known to hold intercourse with one Thomas de Frobeville, convicted of enmity to the king and his realm. The whole brings before us a scene of din, hurry, bustle, noise, and activity, bespeaking the apprehensions entertained by the king and his advisers of a hostile descent on the shores of the Island, and of the urgent need of placing it in a state of complete defence with as little delay as possible. The whole of this portion of the document will reward careful examination, as an interesting page of mediæval military history, rich in picturesque detail.

## THE LAMBETH MAZARINE TESTAMENT.

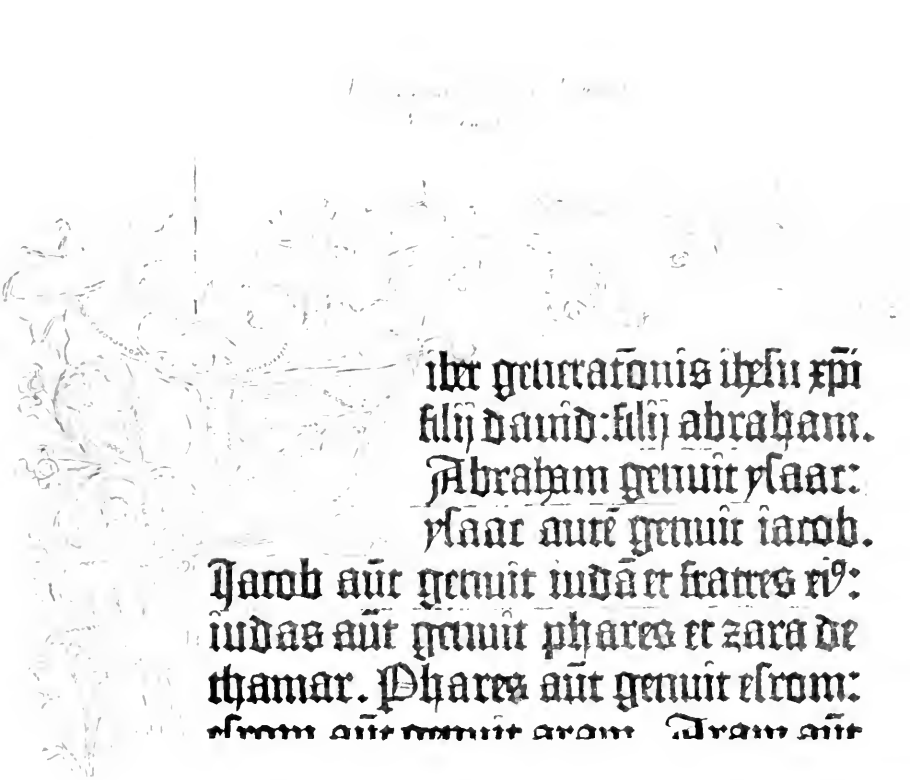
By the Rev. W. J. LOFTH, F.S.A.

THE great obscurity which envelops the history of the invention of printing is well illustrated by the present volume.

We had occasion recently, under the guidance of Dr. Van der Linde's book on what he calls the "Haarlem Legend,"<sup>1</sup> to see how many collateral stories complicated the true story, and how hard a matter it has been to tell the true from the false. It is much better to make up our minds to the fact that the real history of the great invention is not known with any degree of certainty, and this, too, for a reason, which the discovery of the Testament at Lambeth puts prominently before us. It is this: The first printed books were made to look as like manuscripts as possible. They deceived the literary men of the 15th century, and they even deceived the bibliographers of the 18th century: the first, because they were not acquainted with printing, the second, because they were not thoroughly acquainted with writing of this character. We need not, therefore, be surprised to find that this book has always been reckoned at Lambeth as a manuscript, a fine manuscript, no doubt, but not in any way specially remarkable among the crowd of more curious, more magnificent, or more important manuscripts in the same noble collection. During some joint researches conducted by Mr. Kershaw, the librarian, and Mr. Sims, of the British Museum, the identity of the book with part of the Mazarine Bible in the Museum was established, although it had even deceived so acute an observer as the late Dr. Todd, and was named in his catalogue of the Archiepiscopal manuscripts.

The Mazarine Bible is the first edition of the Vulgate. That, at least, is the technical description, and includes these minor points:—that it is the first Bible printed, the first book printed with metal type, the first work of the first firm of

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Journ. vol. xxviii, p. 311.



iber generatōnis ihesu xpi  
filij dauid: filij abraham.

Abraham genuit ysaac:  
ysaac autē genuit iacob.

Jacob autē genuit iudā et fratres ei⁹:  
iudas autē genuit phares et zara de  
thamar. Phares autē genuit esrom:  
esrom autē genuit aram. Aram autē



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iudas autē genuit phares et zara de  
thamar. Phares autē genuit esrom:  
esrom autē genuit aram. Aram autē



printers, and therefore the most interesting printed volume, intrinsically, in existence. The name by which it is usually known is derived from a copy having been found and first identified, or recognised, in the library left by Cardinal *Mazarin*, by the celebrated *De Bure*, who died in 1782.

This work is generally believed to have been begun by Gutenberg in or about 1450, and, perhaps, carried to a conclusion by his partners, Fust and Schoeffer, from whom he separated in 1455, or earlier. We are thus able to approximate to the date of the Bible. The Paris National Library has a copy on vellum, in which the rubricator by whom the headings of the chapters and pages were supplied, has put his name in the last page, and the date at which he finished his work: "Henry Cramer, August, 1456." So that it must have been printed, or even finished, in or before 1455. *Trithemius* says in his *Chronicle* that he was told by Peter Schoeffer that this edition was executed about 1450; and there are one or two other early allusions to it, one of the earliest being by *John Schoeffer*, the son of Peter, in the colophon of his edition of *Trithemius*, 1515. We may, I think, safely conclude that the historians of printing are not wrong in making the assertions about this book with which I commenced; and I have only further to name Mentz as the probable place, perhaps I may say with certainty, *the* place where it was printed. The cost of printing it must have been very great. According to one of the authorities named already it amounted before twelve sheets were finished to 4000 florins. But, as Fust seems to have foreseen, the cost was nothing in comparison with the price which Bibles fetched in MS. Fust is said to have gone to Paris and actually to have sold his Bibles there as MSS., and to have died in Paris of the plague in 1466. Be this as it may, we cannot but see a curious example of his success in the book before us, for there is every reason to suppose it was thus bought perhaps with a parcel of real MSS., and imported shortly afterwards to remain among MSS., and be itself reckoned as one for perhaps four centuries.

The entire book, of which the volume in the Lambeth Library is a part,<sup>2</sup> consisted of 641 leaves, according to Horne; but no two copies are quite alike, some having

<sup>2</sup> The volume was exhibited at the monthly meeting of the Institute, April 5, 1872.

additional matter not in others. Each page is printed in two columns, each column has forty-two lines, except the first nine, which have only thirty-nine, and the tenth which has only forty. There is no title-page, no paging, and there are no initial letters, except by the labour of the illuminator. The volume is unusually rich in this respect.

There are seven examples of the complete Bible on vellum, as well as this New Testament. Of these two are in England, the Grenville copy at the British Museum, and that which belongs to Mr. Henry Perkins. Nineteen copies are on paper. There is one in the Bodleian Library, and one in Lord Spencer's collection. Mr. Kershaw has kindly communicated the following exact description of the volume in his charge:—

“The Lambeth volume contains the New Testament only; it consists of 128 leaves of pure white vellum, measuring 16 in. in length by 12 in. in breadth; the margins being from  $2\frac{1}{4}$  in. to 3 in. in width. The writing ‘*Novi testamenti versio vulgata Latina*’ on the fly-leaf is probably that of Bishop Gibson, who was chaplain and librarian to Archbishop Tenison. To Gibson, the Lambeth Library is indebted for the acquisition of the ‘*Codices Gibsoniani*,’ fourteen volumes in folio, and also for the compilation of the catalogue of printed books in that library. The special features of the Lambeth Mazarine Testament are as follows:—The text commences with the prologue of St. Jerome to the Gospel of St. Matthew, and ends upon the verso of fol. 128, with the rubricated words ‘*Expl' Apocalypsis.*’ The *incipits* and *explicits* are rubricated and written in by hand, as are likewise the names of the several books in the upper margins. The volume is richly ornamented with illuminated initial letters, both large and small, the latter in great profusion. The larger letters are usually upon a background of burnished gold, the body of the letter is composed of intertwining leaves, somewhat of an angular or Gothic character, and terminating in fruit or flowers. The outer margin of nearly every pattern is relieved with white, thus giving to the ornamental features of the volume a very brilliant and glittering appearance.

“At the period (1450) of the supposed printing of the Mazarine Bible, it is somewhat difficult to decide on the *style* of embellishment of the Lambeth volume. Foreign influ-

ences were then so greatly affecting the English school of illumination as to obscure established characteristics. But the bold floreated ornament with bracket borders, known as English 15th century art, together with the foliage interweaving with the gold bars, which separate the columns of text, tend with other features, to a decided opinion in favour of English workmanship. One point of a different character which gives much curious interest to the Lambeth volume, maintaining, at first sight, the illusion as to its being written by hand, is the fact that each page of the vellum had been prepared as though for the office of the scribe. Horizontal and perpendicular lines are ruled to guide the hand of the copyist, as was customary with mediæval MSS. From this circumstance it might be inferred that the present copy was among the earliest printed."

I have not been able to come to the same conclusion as Mr. Kershaw regarding the style of illumination. To my eyes it looks foreign—I should say Flemish. But I give this opinion with the utmost deference to superior authority.

Mr. Tupper, who has prepared the fac-simile which illustrates this article, has sent some very careful notes respecting the two copies of the Mazarine Bible in the British Museum, and this Lambeth Testament. From them I gladly extract the following :—

"In respect of the printing, there can be no doubt that the two Bibles in the British museum (the King's copy on paper, and the Grenville copy on vellum) and the Lambeth Testament were produced from the same types, and, so far as I have examined, the three *Testaments* are from the same setting of those types: my examination, however, has necessarily been very partial, and a side-by-side comparison might possibly show some exception in respect of the identity of setting. The propriety of this reservation will be evident when I mention that a portion of the 1st book of Kings in the King's copy, is not of the same edition (*i.e.* is not from the same setting of types) as the corresponding portion in the Grenville copy. This, I believe, has not before been noticed, despite the conspicuous fact of two rubrics in that portion of the King's copy being the only printed rubrics in the book. That the portion in question belongs to a *later* edition, seems a fair conclusion, but demands further investigation."

(Then follow remarks on the difference in size between

the printed matter of the paper and vellum copies, such difference being due to contraction of the latter substance, but identity of print not rendered questionable thereby : and facts warranting the conclusion that at least a considerable portion of the three copies belong to same edition.)

“Whilst the three copies of the Testament maybe considered identical so far as the black or printed portion is concerned, the illuminations and rubrications (which are hand work) differ widely. The King’s copy has the name of each book rubricated at the head of the pages, the numerous unprinted capitals are inserted in red, and the printed capitals have the usual red vertical dash put on them. The “Incipit” and “Explicit” sentences to all the prologues and books are likewise rubricated. In the Old Testament portion, the headings are omitted from the Psalms, the large initials are ornamented, and three pages are boldly and not very elaborately illuminated with floreated scrolls, birds, &c., (the human form being in two instances introduced), the work, probably of a more religious than accomplished illuminator, judging from the fact of the illuminations to S. Jerome’s prologues being far less imposing than those to the Sacred Books themselves.

“The Grenville copy has the same portions rubricated as the King’s, save that there are no head-lines, neither are there any illuminations throughout the book, further than the substitution of blue for red in some of the capitals, and the large initials being put in in very simple devices of blue and red.

“The Lambeth copy, likewise, has the same portions rubricated as the King’s; the head-lines have blue initials, and the illuminations, which are very numerous, are executed with great care and taste. There is no attempt at the human form, but the scroll-work, flowers, birds, &c., are well drawn, the gilding is brilliant and judiciously introduced, and the minute details are elaborately manipulated. Moreover, there are perpendicular and horizontal lines bounding the text or printed matter, and fine lines between the lines of print, *just as in old MSS.* And here is the gist of a comparison of the hand-work in the three copies. In the other two Testaments there has been no artistic effect attempted, whilst in this, I venture to think, every leaf shows the artist’s work. These ruled lines have not unreasonably been supposed to indicate that the vellum having been prepared for the scribe, was afterwards used for the new art of printing, and upon this hypothesis it would follow



that in all likelihood this copy was one of the, if not *the*, earliest printed. Now, if we have rightly concluded, that, at all events, some of the pages of the three copies belong to one series of impressions, the priority of printing cannot amount to much, and a side-by-side comparison might, if necessary, settle the matter ; but assuming that the vellum had been ruled for the scribe and afterwards printed on, how does it happen that the page following the end of the Ep. to Coloss. which (doubtless in behoof of printing arrangements) is *un-printed* (in all the copies) is likewise *un-ruled*? Also, that a similar un-printed page at the end of Ep. of Jude (in all the copies), has merely the vertical margin lines ruled? Furthermore, the horizontal or writing lines (between the printed lines) in very many places, especially towards the end of the vol., are in parts of the pages omitted, a thing very unlikely to occur had the ruling been done on blank vellum : but what I conceive to be quite conclusive, is the fact that the lines are traceable in several instances *overlying* the print.

“ Were these lines, then, ruled for the purpose of deception, for the purpose of passing a printed book as a MS. ? I think not. Specimens of the new art would have been deemed much greater curiosities than MSS., and hence more valuable. However anxious the inventors and earliest practitioners of the art may have been to keep their *modus operandi* secret, they did not fail to draw attention to the wonder and beauty of their productions : Thus in 1457, (about the time perhaps when this book was being illuminated) Fust and Schoeffer, in the colophon to the well known Mentz Psalter, extol their work which was “ ad inventionem artificiosam imprimendi ac characterizandi absque calami ulla exaratione sic affligiatus : ” and our own Caxton, in the first book printed in the English tongue, says : “ Therefore I haue practysed and lerned at my grete charge and dispense to ordeyne this said book in prynte after the maner and forme as ye may here see, and is not wreton with penne and ynke as other bokes ben, to thende that euery man may haue them attones, ffor all the bookes of this storve named the recule of the historyes of troyes thus enpryntid as ye here see were begonne in oon day, and also fynysshid in oon day.” Having been his own scribe, that which naturally struck him as of peculiar value in “ prynte,” was the fact that as many copies as he wanted were taken from each

successive portion of his book almost simultaneously : all the copies of the beginning were made in one day, and all the copies of the ending were made in one day.

“ If we would solve the mystery of these ruled lines, I think we must bear in mind that disguise—the *suppressio veri*—was not in the 15th century considered so necessary to the beautiful as it came to be afterwards : that *expression* and *meaning* were then, in fact, essentials of all works of art : that these lines (the very skeleton, so to speak, of MSS.) which were never attempted to be erased nor disguised, and which might, as it were, be *felt* guiding the hand of the scribe, would have been sorely missed by the æsthetic illuminator, and (why not ?) introduced by him for effect simply, though now functionless.

“ Touching the fac-simile ; the King’s (paper) copy has been chosen for comparison as the nearest presentment of the types ; accurate measurement shows a slight difference in size between it and the vellum copies. More printing-ink is taken up by paper than by vellum, and hence looks blacker. The type alone being the subject of comparison, a mere outline of the illumination is given. The character, as will be seen, is that of the German scribe of the period, but necessarily more uniform in appearance. The fact of our now using a character of print different from that of MS. may have given rise to a conclusion as to an attempt at fraudulent imitation not founded upon then existing conditions.”

As an additional fact, Mr. Tupper points out that the text is a close imitation of the finished hand of the German scribe of the time, but of course has a more uniform and heavier appearance, and that Caxton used a type extremely like it, both in form and size, for head lines and for a Book of Psalms.

It is certainly most curious to find that the deceptive efforts of the first printers have been successful for 400 years at least, and the congratulations of all antiquaries are to be offered to Mr. Kershaw on the very interesting discovery which has been made during his tenure of office at the Archbishop’s Library.

I may take this opportunity of saying that the Lambeth Library is open to the public on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and that by the courtesy of the Librarian and the honorary officials, there is not the slightest difficulty about seeing this remarkable volume.

## EXPLORATIONS IN ROME, 1871, 1872.

By JOHN HENRY PARKER, C.B.

THE great and important excavations now being carried on in Rome by the Italian Government are entitled to the cordial thanks of all archæologists, and it is with great regret that we observe any drawback ; but we are bound to call attention to the fact that a ruin which has been restored is thereby deprived of much of its value in an historical point of view, and becomes work of the nineteenth century in proportion to the extent of its restoration.

The excavations that have been made in Rome during the winter season that has just passed, have been so numerous and so important in their results, that it is difficult to know where to begin to give an account of them. Those made by the Italian Government are by far the most important, but their very extent and importance makes it desirable to begin with those in which the English archæologists have been more immediately concerned, as they were only permitted to continue and complete the works already begun. These were at the Mamertine Prison and at the Porticus of Caracalla. It was fortunate for us that Signor Rosa, "the Royal Superintendent of the department of Archæology for the Roman Province," acting in the name of the Government, declined to give permission to undertake anything fresh, as the expenses of what we had in hand proved quite as much as our "Exploration Fund" could afford. In completing these two works we have done good service, and have demonstrated the truth of what was previously only conjecture.

In the Mamertine Prison we have cleared out the subterranean passage, one hundred yards long, of the time of the kings of Rome, which formed the communication between the different parts of that great prison in the middle of the city. The vault of the passage is built of the large blocks of tufa, usual at that period, and is of the semi-

hexagonal form called Etruscan vaulting, the same as the oldest parts of the Cloaca Maxima. This passage had been filled up with earth and rubbish for centuries, and being at a great depth, and below the level of the drains of the modern street that has been made above (partly upon the vaults of the old prison), this task proved a very arduous, tedious, and expensive one, but the results are so important towards proving the truth of Livy's History in these particulars, and explaining several passages in other classical authors, that the money has been well spent. It is now a matter of demonstration that this is the prison made by King Ancus Martius "in the middle of the city,"<sup>1</sup> and that the prison was a very large one, divided into different parts, and three storeys high. The part at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, on its eastern side (now cellars under the houses in the Via di Marforio, and the Vicolo del Ghettarello) was called the *Lautumia*, and also the *lowest prison*. These cellars we have now rented for some years for the purpose of exploring them thoroughly, and making researches from thence under the street; for this vaulted passage runs under the present street for nearly its whole length. At the north-east end we have not been able to clear it out to the proper entrance, as we were stopped by water which we could not get rid of; but we found another short passage of brick leading into this stone passage from one of the chambers (now cellars). At the south-west end it opens into the lower chamber of what is called the "Prison of S. Peter," where I had discovered a doorway long walled up, and obtained leave to open it (not without some difficulty). The upper part of this great prison was rebuilt in the time of the Emperor Tiberius, as we know by an inscription still remaining on the cornice of the wall of the upper storey; but the portion so rebuilt is of travertine, according to the custom of that period, not of tufa. The lower storey being underground, was not rebuilt, being probably considered as only foundations; but from its low level it was liable to be flooded at certain times of the year, and for that reason when the upper part was rebuilt in the time of Tiberius, A.D. 22, the floor of the lower part was raised by being filled up with earth to the height of 7 or 8 ft., and the floor of the storey above was also raised in the same proportion. This is shown by the

<sup>1</sup> A. U. C. 49, B. C. 713; Livii, Hist. lib. i. cap. 33.

holes for the beams of the old floor, which still remain in the walls of some of the rooms. The subterranean passage has a drain under it, which is in some parts under the pavement; this drain had been choked up by neglect, and a part of the passage itself had thus become a drain. This was traced by the persons employed passing along under the Forum Romanum, and eventually into the Cloaca Maxima. The history of this prison is well known, and the account of the imprisonment of Jugurtha in it as related by Sallust has been noticed on previous occasions. The existence of a far greater part of this ancient prison, much more than was previously supposed, is now clearly proved, although many were quite incredulous about it.

The other work on which we were previously engaged was the Porticus of the Thermæ of Antoninus Caracalla, often called the Thermæ of the Antonines. This Porticus or arcade completed the great work of the Thermæ, and was between the main building and the Via Appia; probably it faced that street, and ran down one side of it. The line of the street or road has been slightly changed in that part, and it is probable that it ran along in front of the Porticus, where we have found remains of an old paved street, with the raised footpaths, called *crepedines*, on each side of it, and slight remains of a temple on the other side, which passes under the present Church of SS. Nereus and Achilleus. Our explorations in that direction were again stopped by water. At the south end of the Porticus, between that and the main building of the Thermæ, we had ascertained in previous years that the ground had been intentionally raised as much as 30 ft. against the back wall of the Porticus (on the top of which wall are remains of an aqueduct), and the great main building. In this made earth, at the south end of the vineyard of Mr. Brocard, we had also found painted chambers, at the depth of 30 ft. from the surface of the ground in that part; but as the ground in front of the Porticus is 20 ft. below the level of what it is at the back, the paved street in front of it would correspond in level with the building, to which these painted chambers belonged.

This building I had for some time conjectured to have been the Palace of the Emperor Hadrian, called in the Regionary Catalogue of the fourth century, *Privata Hadriana*,

or the private house of Hadrian. This house had been built on the low level of the old street, made at the bottom of the trench, or the fosse-way of the time of the kings. In the second or third century the level of the streets through Rome was raised in many places to make them more convenient for carriages, and to be above the level of the ordinary floods of the Tiber. For this reason, these great *Thermæ* were built on a much higher level than the old palace had been. But there are a great series of subterranean chambers under these *Thermæ*, as there are under many of the palaces in Rome, for use in the hot weather, as in India. It seems probable that a part of the private house of Hadrian was preserved and used for these subterranean chambers. It is hardly possible that the chapel of the Lares, or household gods of Hadrian, could be wilfully destroyed so early as a century afterwards, when it could be preserved for use as a subterranean chapel.

This part of the palace is in the adjoining vineyard of the Cavaliere Guidi, who had excavated it some years since, and made an exhibition of it by the name of the *Villa of Asinius Pollio*. That name was given to it at the suggestion of Signor Pellegrini, who has the well-deserved reputation of being a good antiquary, but in this instance his conjecture was erroneous. Asinius Pollio lived in the time of Cicero, more than a hundred years before the time of Hadrian. The whole construction and decoration of this building is of the time of Hadrian; still the extent, which is so great, and the distance from the previous excavations of Guidi, might lead many persons to think that this could not be part of the same building. To ascertain this point, as we could not afford to excavate the whole series of chambers at that depth, a tunnel was made through from the chambers excavated last year to those which Guidi had excavated previously. In making this tunnel, seventy yards long, two more painted walls had to be cut through, and we came to the foot of a fine marble staircase, going up from this low level to that of the *Thermæ* above. It is now a matter of demonstration that the whole of this great building was one large palace. The expense, however, of excavating the whole of this site, valuable as the work would have been, was too great for our resources.

Attention having been now directed to this subject, the

Government will doubtless sooner or later take it in hand ; but they have enough already in hand to last them for the next fifty years. I will now proceed to speak of their great works. The Government has undertaken to excavate the whole of the Forum Romanum, and the Palatine Hill, with the slopes round it on all sides, down to the Via Sacra on one side, the Circus Maximus on the other, the Forum Romanum at the north end, and the Colosseum at the other. For this great work the Parliament has voted £1200 a year, and several hundred men are employed upon it, under the direction of the Cavaliere Rosa, who had for some years the management of the excavations for the Emperor of the French. In many respects it could not be in better hands, but Signor Rosa is unfortunately too fond of *Restorations*, which destroy the genuine character of the work, and make it work of the nineteenth century instead of work of the time of the Roman emperors. In the Forum Romanum last year he built thirty-nine new bases of brick to correspond with one ancient base which was of travertine, and it is doubtful whether there ever were any pillars where he has placed these bases, or any vault or roof over a great part of this long raised platform of the Basilica Julia. That great building was begun by Julius Cæsar, and finished by Augustus, who enlarged it very much, and altered the plan of it, so that what had been the breadth became the length, as we are told by the cotemporary authors. The north end towards the tabularium and the temple of Saturn was covered in, and the arches of that part remain. They are built of travertine, according to the fashion of the day, corresponding closely to the arch of Dolabella on the Cœlian, dated by an inscription upon it of A.D. 10, when Dolabella was Consul in the time of Augustus. These stone arches do not extend more than a third of the length of the great platform. The brick bases that Rosa has built are carried on to the farther end of it, and the marble pavement was cut through in several places to admit them.

In justice to the Italian Government, I must state the fact that they have now forbidden any more *restorations* to be made.

There can be no doubt that too much work has been thrown upon Signor Rosa, who has been obliged to leave a great deal to other persons who are often very ignorant.

The weeding of the Colosseum, about which there has been a great outcry, was really necessary, but it was done in a hasty, careless, slovenly manner, in Signor Rosa's absence, by ignorant people, and some mischief was done in consequence, but not much. The weeds and shrubs will soon grow up again: they were only of fifty years' growth, and another fifty years will probably make it necessary to have the building weeded again. The weeds and roots of shrubs will displace the stones, and injure the building, if long neglected.

The excavations now making under the direction of the Government are very important; they have been carried on from the arch of Septimius Severus, where the excavations of the Duchess of Devonshire were left off, some thirty or forty years since, to the temple at the corner of the Palatine, with the celebrated three columns, the name of which has been so long disputed, but which may now be considered to be the temple of Castor and Pollux. The foundations of the temple of Julius Cæsar have recently been found close to these on the eastern side, between those columns and the temple of Antoninus and Faustina. In this direction the work is going on vigorously. The original Cloaca Maxima has been found near to these columns, at the northern end of the platform of that temple. The Cloaca now in use and so called, is mediæval, on a higher level, and rather farther north.

The digging is still going on vigorously in this direction, or was when I last heard, which was quite recently; but they have an immense mass of earth to remove, as the earth dug out during previous excavations was all thrown here fifty years ago, and has become quite solid. The general orders are to clear away everything down to the pavements, and where there were old streets, this is the right way of going to work, and good results are brought out day after day. A little farther to the south, between the Arch of Titus and the Colosseum, another gang of men have been at work, and have brought to light a great deal that is interesting. The remains of a mediæval tower, built of old materials taken from some wall or gate of the time of the kings, have been found; these seem to indicate the site of the Porta Mugionis, but this is doubtful. Beyond this, nearer to the Colosseum, but on the higher level, between the paved road



and the cliff of the upper part of the Palatine, they have found remains of bath chambers belonging to the *Lavacrum Publicum* of Heliogabalus, and the gratuitous baths established by him with the hypocaust to warm them. In this part also remains of a temple were found, believed to have been that of *ORCUS*, mentioned by Lampridius in the life of Heliogabalus, and the dedication of which was changed to that of the Sun by that emperor. One long, large swimming bath had been since converted into a church, probably about the eighth century; the round apse and the lower part of the walls remain. Behind this church, and under the cliff, are other bath chambers of the third century.

In the great *Thermæ* of Caracalla another gang of men have been at work, and, having only general orders to go upon, they have, in my opinion, done rather *too much*. The general orders are to clear everything away down to the pavements, which is quite right in the streets, but within the walls of a great public building this is going too far. The fragments of the vaults of the upper storey, with the mosaic pavements on the surface, are very interesting and important, and a large proportion of these have been destroyed and cut up into blocks of a convenient size for building purposes. The masses of vault are so solid and hard, that the men were obliged to have recourse to blasting with gunpowder in order to break them up, to the great alarm of the gardeners who live near, who thought that the lofty walls would be shaken down by the concussion. Of the pieces of marble columns and the capitals that are found here, some are preserved on the spot (as they all should be), others are carried away to museums or for other purposes. A sort of local museum is formed, or being formed, within the work, but it is *not* confined to things found there; several objects, known to have been brought from other places, are placed there. The same is the case on the Palatine Hill, where another local museum is being formed, and this also is *not* confined to things found on the Palatine, as it ought to be; a number of very prettily-carved sarcophagi are placed in the corridors of the Palatine museum. This has misled some French and German correspondents of scientific journals, who have stated to their respective countrymen that interments must have been permitted on the Palatine, because they have seen these sarcophagi there, not for a

moment supposing that they had been brought there from the catacombs, after resting for awhile in the Government warehouses, which are overflowing. Still in the Thermæ of Caracalla, on the whole, the work is well done, and the results are good; by clearing away down to the old pavements, the whole arrangements of the chambers are being clearly brought to light, with the baths of every description—hot, cold and tepid, and large swimming baths. Other large halls have been used for gymnastic exercises only, with galleries for spectators. Nothing has been done towards excavating the subterranean chambers, but this work will follow hereafter. Neither has anything yet been done towards clearing out the subterranean passages, which are very numerous in Rome, and which would be interesting objects of investigation, which the archæologists would have carried on if permitted to do so; but they have never hitherto been able to obtain permission. The great activity of the present Government does certainly afford reason for their wishing to keep the matter in their own hands.

Among the recent discoveries in the Forum Romanum is a series of large brick pediments on the eastern side, with fragments of the marble columns that have stood upon them; they extend nearly from the arch of Septimius Severus to the temple of Julius Cæsar, on the eastern side of that of Castor and Pollux. These pediments are of the time of Diocletian, that is of the beginning of the fourth century. They are said to have been along the side of the Via Nova, or that branch of it that led to the Via Sacra. Another branch is said to have gone to the west. Near the south end of this line of pediments, and near the temples, the remains of a fountain were also found, with a semi-circular basin. These are quite distinct from the *restorations* of bases on the platform of the Basilica Julia, and the paved street passes between that platform and these pediments. The one on which the column of the Emperor Phocas stands seems to have been a continuation of them.

The discovery of the foundations and the podium or basement of the temple of Julius Cæsar is important, and effectually settles a long-disputed question, when only one temple was known on this site, as to *which* it was; some passages of the ancient authors seemed to indicate that the temple of Castor and Pollux stood on this site; others, with equal clear-

ness, that the temple of Julius Cæsar was here ; now we see that both were side by side, with a mere passage between them, between the corner of the Palatine and the temple of Antoninus and Faustina. We may expect soon to find the foundations of the arch that stood here also. Close to these remains of the temple of Julius Cæsar some fragments of a set of Fasti Consulares were also found, containing the first two lines beginning with the first King, Romulus, the son of Mars. The inscription on one of these is—

ROMVLVS · MARTIS · F · REX · ANA · · · ·  
 DE CAENINENSIBVS K · MAT · · · ·  
 MARTIS · F · REX · II.

This tablet (*tabula*) is of the time of Augustus, and of course can only show the belief of the Romans at that period.

The early character of the construction of the walls of the great prison of the kings, is really stronger evidence, because it shows that this building was erected at the time when Livy and Dionysius say it was. Another great public building adjoining this has also been more carefully examined during this season. Although no recent *excavations* have been actually made there, a good deal of exploration has taken place, and so much information that was new and unexpected has been found, that it has excited a great deal of public attention. This great public building belongs to the earlier part of the history of Rome ; it forms one side of the Forum Romanum, though not actually in it, having been separated from it by the old wall that enclosed the Capitoline Hill, before its union with the Palatine. In this wall was the gate of Saturn, some slight remains of the foundations of which have been brought to light, between the temple of Saturn and the temple of Concord. This great building was originally called the *Capitolium* ; it is now called the *Municipium*, because it contains, and always has contained, the offices of the municipality ; but these offices occupy the two upper storeys only, which are above the level of the Piazza del Campidoglio, an open square on the Capitoline Hill. On this side the building is only two storeys high, and the front was rebuilt by Michael Angelo. But on the side next the Forum, the building, being built against the cliff of the hill, is there five storeys high, the upper two being the only part inhabited. There is reason

to believe that these two upper storeys were originally of wood only, and were burnt in the time of Sylla ; the other three storeys are of the massive stone-work of the time of the kings, and were considered as foundations only, and therefore let alone when the upper part was rebuilt. These walls, built of blocks of tufa each of a ton weight, four feet long and two feet thick, like the wall of Romulus on the Palatine, are as good a foundation as could be desired. A short description of this important building seems necessary, and it could not have been explained until quite recently. On the lowest storey, nearly level with the Forum, are two doorways only ; these open to staircases, passing behind the storey above, which may be considered as the ground floor ; the two doorways and a few steps only being at the lower level. The ground floor, then, is the *Arvarium*, or public treasury of the kings, and is admirably calculated for the purpose ; it is a long narrow passage, the back of which was cut out of the rock, and it is divided into a series of small square chambers, admirably calculated to stow away the square blocks of bronze, which formed the money of Servius Tullius, who reigned soon after the time when this treasury was built.

This building is mentioned by Terentius Varro, as one of those that were considered in his time to have belonged to the city of the Sabines, on the Hill of Saturn, before the union with the Romans on the Palatine. Varro wrote a hundred years before the Christian era, and his testimony therefore is valuable ; but as he also lived nearly seven hundred years after the erection of the building, it cannot be considered as decisive. It seems more probable that this great mass of building was erected immediately after the union of the two hills, by enclosing them in one wall to make one city (as recorded by Dionysius). By mutual consent the Hill of Saturn was made the Capitol of the united city, from which circumstance this great building was originally called the *Capitolium*. The storey next above this and closely connected with it (in fact part of the same construction), is the *Tabularium* (or Public Record Office, where the bronze tables or tablets were kept). In front of this was an open arcade or *porticus*, which remains, though the arches are blocked up, but one of which has been opened to show what they were. It has been thought dangerous to open the others, but there is reason to believe the fear is groundless.

The third storey, which is the intermediate one, equally the third from above and from below, is believed to have contained the *senaculum* or Senate House at the eastern end, with an easy staircase up to it, and at the western end the offices for the clerks of the Treasury. The doorway at the foot of the western staircase is of the time of the early Empire, or perhaps earlier; it was long concealed by the platform of the temple of Saturn, and is now only partly visible, the lower part being still blocked up. From this doorway rises a remarkably steep, straight staircase, or flight of steps going up direct to the third floor, with no doors or openings into it until that level is reached. It passes behind the *Ærarium* and the *Tabularium*, and the inner part of it is cut out of the rock. Cicero in his oration (*pro Fonteio*) mentions this staircase, and writes, "Was it easier to climb the Alps than to climb the steps of the *Ærarium*?" This reference to the steps is very remarkable, and is an important confirmation of the fact that this is the staircase of the *Ærarium*. The third floor appears to have been much damaged by the great fire in the time of Sylla, some early portions of the old wall which remain being here filled up with later work, but the stairs at this eastern end can be clearly traced up to this level, and are quite different from the others, being carried round the corners of a square space, so as to make the ascent easier than by going straight up. This doorway to the *senaculum* was covered by the platform of the temple of Concord, in the same manner as the doorway to the *Ærarium* was concealed by that of the temple of Saturn, and which is still concealed in that manner.

At the foot of the Capitoline Hill, in the Via di Marforio, four pits were dug in April, 1872.

1. In the open place at the south end opposite to the Church of the Crucifixion, under the inscription which records that the statue of Marforio had stood there. In this part all was "made earth" to a great depth.

2. Near the old steps to the Capitol; here some modern drains were found and repaired, they being *over* the old subterranean passage, and the water that escaped from the drain fell into that passage.

3. Inside the line of the agger (the ridge across the street). The soil here was found to be made earth to a great depth on the eastern side of the street, but tufa rock on the western side,

under the Capitol. The houses on that side seem to be all built on the ledge of the tufa rock.

4. In the northern part of the street outside of the ridge. Here are brick walls of the time of Trajan, under the present houses, and a tufa wall at the southern end of the pit under No. 81 D. This appeared to be the end of the tufa wall, with a vaulted chamber built up against it, belonging to the Forum of Trajan. Marble columns have also been found at the same place.

*Apparently* the houses on both sides of the Via di Marforio are built on the old tufa wall in this part. This is only a short distance to the south of the tomb of Bibulus. The Vicolo di Marforio turns off to the east, just outside of the site of the supposed line of the old tufa wall, which crosses the street, and makes it almost impassable for carriages. This ridge was ascertained, as we expected, to be caused by the agger and wall of the kings passing under the street at this point. Outside of the wall to the north, we found by the difference of level that we were in the great fosse, part of the Forum of Trajan being made in it, of which there are remains in the cellars of the houses on the eastern side of the street. On the ridge we found the connection of the wall of the kings with the foot of the rock of the Capitoline Hill, under a house which had been rebuilt a few years since; and Signor Visconti had told me that he had seen this wall there, but he called it the wall of Servius Tullius, but the construction shows it to be before his time. It is the beginning of the wall that enclosed the Hill of Saturn and the Palatine *in one city*. The arch of Trajan stood in the line of this wall at the south end of the Forum, probably on the site of an old gate. After crossing the great fosse, the wall arrives at the foot of the Quirinal Hill, and then turns to the right or south as far as the Torre dei Conti, which was built in the middle ages upon an old tower of tufa at that angle of the second city of Rome. Part of this wall at the foot of the Quirinal was used to enclose that side of the Forum of Augustus, but was certainly built before that time. It was used because it stood there, and it would not pay to carry it away, for it would have cost as much to move these great stones, each a ton weight, as to bring others from the quarry. Doorway arches were cut through the wall, either in the time of Augustus or during the Republic, probably the latter, as the one that remains

(miscalled the Arco di Pantano) is of the Gabii stone called *sperone*, which was generally used in the time of the Republic, before the Romans, had possession of Tivoli or Tiber, with its quarries of travertine. There was a similar doorway arch at the end of the next street (where the remains of the temple of Pallas stand), which is shown in a drawing of Palladio, to whom this ruin was given by the Pope as building materials, and who has preserved this record of them. This street had been the "Forum transitorium" of Nerva, and a wall of travertine was built to divide the Forum from that of Augustus. This wall is about twenty feet high, and is inserted at an angle in the lower part of the old wall of the kings, which is sixty feet high and twelve feet thick. This junction is still visible behind the houses on the side of this street at the north-east corner.

The great wall of the second City of Rome must then have passed at the back, or eastern side of the Velia, with the great fosse, now the Via del Colosseo, outside of it; then turning at an angle in front of the Colosseum, and at the further end of the great platform, where the Church of S. Francisca Romana now stands. It continued along the south-east end of the Palatine, and at its foot, with the great fosse continued outside of it, now to the Via di S. Gregorio, then turning the angle of the Palatine, we find it on the western side towards the Circus Maximus, again behind the houses, and in a garden. Soon after this it arrives at the towers under the Church of S. Anastasia at another angle. These towers, of which the lower part only remains, have been called the *Pulvinarium*, or cushioned gallery of the kings, by the side of the Circus Maximus; they may have been used for that purpose, but were not likely to have been built for it. At this point there are two towers close together, which might have been necessary to protect an angle of the fortification. The wall then crossed the valley to the bank of the Tiber, with part of the river Almo near its mouth for a wet ditch, and on the bank of the Tiber the fine tufa wall called the *Pulchrum Littus* was built, of which we have remains in several places, and by which we can trace it along the Tiber to the bridge called Ponte Rotto, and beyond that to the other bridge called the Ponte Quattro Capi, which goes across to the island. This old tufa wall then turned again at an angle to join the western side of the line of

Saturn, with a great fosse outside of it, where the fish-market was made, and under the Church of S. Angelo in Pescheria (or "the angel in the fish-market"). There was a double line of defence, as was usual, across this valley,—the Ghetto and the fish-market are now in the great outer fosse, and a portion of the outer wall remains under the church. This was for many centuries the boundary of THE CITY at that point; and the Porta Triumphalis was built there, the remains of which now form the porch of that church. The cliffs on the north side of the Hill of Saturn were considered a sufficient defence to complete the circuit. This was a mistake, as we know that the cliffs were scaled and the Capitol was taken.

Some excavations have been also made by Signor Rosa near the arch of Janus, and here remains of a wall were found, of the same character as the wall of Romulus against the cliff of the Palatine. This confirms my view that the original entrance to the fortifications of the Palatine was at this point, the Aqua Argentina having served as a wet ditch from the Luperéal, in which it rises, to the point where it falls into the other stream coming from the Quirinal, afterwards made the Cloaca Maxima. This stream had been the ditch under the north-end of the Palatine, and at the point of junction there would naturally be a drawbridge, and a tower, and a Janus or gateway-arch with four faces would be the more convenient where four roads met, from the Palatine, the Capitol, the Forum Romanum, and the Forum Boarium. This is the natural entrance to a zig-zag road up the north end of the Palatine, and the terrace at the foot of the upper cliff, against which the earliest wall in Rome is built, and in which a gateway is cut, called by Signor Rosa the Porta Romana, but which may be the Porta Mugionis, because the cattle would come up this way from the Forum Boarium, the Smithfield or cattle market of ancient Rome. The arch stands over the principal stream, and close to the point of junction of the two streams.

We now come to what is usually called the PALATINE proper, the level surface of the hill within the scarped cliffs and old walls. In this part great excavations have been continued, and much has been discovered. A work of the earliest period has been found in the form of a small temple built of tufa, of the same character as the wall of Romulus round the Roman Quadrata. Remains of the earliest wall had



been already found on three sides of the arx or citadel of the Palatine called Roma Quadrata, and on both sides of the great fosse across the middle of the hill, the bottom of which was on the same level, or nearly so, as the Summa Via Sacra, on which the arch of Titus stands.

This temple is the earliest in Rome, and can hardly be any other than the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, built by Romulus in the year 4 of Rome. There are also remains of a grand flight of steps reaching up to this temple from the western side, built of the same large blocks of tufa, and of the same early construction. This must be the *Scala Caci*, or steps of Cacus, mentioned as amongst the earliest constructions in Rome, the situation agreeing exactly with the notice we have of it. This temple is recorded by Livy to have been built *in capitolio*, which has been understood to mean on the Capitoline Hill; but the Hill of Saturn, at that time, was in possession of the Sabines, the union of the two hills not having taken place until some years after that date. This discovery led me to investigate the history of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and I have arrived at the conclusion that it must be the temple excavated by Bunsen some years since (in the garden of the Prussian Embassy), which is precisely on the top of the Tarpeian rock, or that part of the Hill of Saturn that was used for a place of public execution. This temple is recorded to have been built in that situation by the two Tarquins, to commemorate the conquest of Gabii; and it was a place of importance. The temple itself is small, as they usually were; but it stood in a large space which was surrounded by a portico or arcade, of which we have the back wall only. The arches and decorations were probably of wood and *bronze*, according to the fashion of that period, and have long since disappeared. But the large space enclosed in the heart of the city and of the citadel indicates a place of importance. The building material both of the temple and of the wall of the porticus, is stone from the quarries of Gabii, and it is the earliest instance in Rome of the use of that stone.

The next important discovery on the Palatine is the great reservoir for water for the house previously discovered, and which I believe to be the house of Hortensius, purchased by Augustus, and inhabited by him for forty years, as we are told by Suetonius. This house was that of an ordinary

citizen, with no mosaic pavement, and no fresco paintings, because Augustus wished to live the life of an ordinary citizen. But the Senate was not satisfied with such a residence for their chief, and a few years afterwards they added state apartments to it, as we are told by Dion Cassius (himself a Roman senator, a century afterwards). Augustus, we are told, had chosen this site because it was near the house of Romulus, and in the Arx. These remains are in the arx or citadel, and the site of the house of Romulus is recorded to have been very near to this spot. The house usually called the house of Augustus, under the Villa Mills, is part of the great palace of Domitian, whose brick stamps were found in the wall by Nibby, and the plan of the adjoining building in this part of the hill clearly shows it to have been so. Signor Rosa has been misled by what are called the Roman traditions, which are usually the conjectures of learned men in past generations. This large reservoir would be more properly called a *Castellum Aquæ* than a *Piscina*. It was no doubt part of the additions made by order of the Senate to supply the house and the fountains with water. Some leaden pipes, with the name of Julia stamped upon them, were found there last year. There can be little doubt that Julia lived in the same house as Augustus. In the southern portion, formerly the pontifical part of the hill, some other considerable excavations have been made in the place which Visconti calls the Stadium, and these seem to show that it could not have been the Stadium, but was more likely the Gymnasium. The Exedra or State seats have been excavated, and some paintings of the third century found on the walls.

Near the remains of the early temple before-mentioned, and so near as to touch it on the northern side, are remains of the platform and marble steps of another temple of the time of Augustus, and at the foot of these steps a fine marble statue of a goddess, or an empress, was found. The head is wanting, but the figure is a grand one, of a size larger than nature. Various conjectures have been made relating to it, but they are only conjectures.

Some excavations have been made in the platform on which the church and monastery of S. Francisca Romana now stands, but outside the monastery, towards the Colosseum, five great fragments of a large column of porphyry have been found, probably one of the double row of columns

of the Porticus Livie, of which the plan was found in one of the fragments of the Marble Plan of Rome, excavated in 1869, which agrees remarkably with this site, the basis of the double row of columns remaining on several parts of this platform, which is partly made on the rock at the north end, but on a late wall at the south end, opposite to the Colosseum. At the south end there are steps up to it, exactly as represented on the Marble Plan.

In making the new street from the railway station to the Quirinal Palace, near the Via Mazzarino and Via dei Serpenti, the excavators have met with the subterranean chambers of some large building of the first century, with massive walls faced with brick, a mosaic pavement, and a crypto-porticus, or subterranean arcade or corridor, the walls of which are faced with *opus reticulatum*. The name of this great building has not yet been ascertained. In digging the foundations of the great public building for the offices of the Treasury near the Porta Pia, they have found a portion of the wall of Servius Tullius, in the horn-work to protect the Porta Collina, on the south side of the road leading to it within the modern Porta Pia. The other portion of the horn-work is in the garden of Sallust (now of Spithoever) on the northern side of the road. Here they have also found a head of Cybele, of the natural size, in Greek marble; the head has the corona of towers, but it is slightly damaged.

In the course of what is called the *restoration* (♯) of the wall of Rome, the remains of the Porta Salaria have been demolished, and in doing so some interesting tombs have been brought to light. They are chiefly of the first century, and perhaps a little earlier, one resembling the tomb of Bibulus (c. B.C. 20); but the most interesting and curious of these are the tombs of two young scholars, who had been successful competitors in the *Lustra*, or open competitive examinations of those days, and these two prizemen died soon after their success. One of these occurred in the sixth *Lustrum*, and the person commemorated obtained the Latin verse prize at the age of thirteen, as we are told in the inscription, which is all that we have of this tomb. His name was—

LVCIUS VALERIUS PVENS.

The sixth *Lustrum* was in the time of the Emperor Domitian (A.D. 91).

The other of these tombs is far more interesting and important, because we have the effigy of the youth perfect. He is represented in the toga, and carries in his hand a scroll, covered with a Greek inscription, which we are told by another inscription in Latin on the flat surface of the slab, were the Greek verses which he had recited extempore, and by which he had gained the Greek prize against fifty-two competitors in the fifth *Lustrum*. The Latin verses by which he obtained the Latin prize, are also inscribed upon the flat surface of the tomb, together with another inscription as the record of these facts by his parents mourning for his loss. He seems indeed to have been a promising youth, and had probably overworked his brain too young, a caution to other scholars. His name was, --

QVINTVS SVLPITIVS MAXIMVS.

The fifth quinquennial *Lustrum* was also in the time of the Emperor Domitian (A.D. 86).<sup>2</sup>

The remains of the old paved road, and of an aqueduct, were also found under this gate at a considerable depth.

In the public burial-ground near the church of S. Lorenzo, outside the walls formerly called the *Campus Veranus*, two elegant small marble statues have been found this season. One represents the goddess TELLVS, or the Earth, personified. The figure is seated, and holds a sceptre in the left hand; the right hand is broken off. An inscription on the base states that AVLYS HORTENSIVS CERDO dedicated this statue to "Mother Earth," TERRAE MATRI.

A. HORTENSIVS · CERDO · DEAE · PIAE ·  
ET CONSERVATRICI · MEAE · D. D.

The Cavaliere De Rossi has carried on his excavations in the Catacombs of Pretextatus and of S. Calixtus, opening some new corridors and finding some new inscriptions, of which an account will appear in his excellent Journal, the *Bulletino di Archaeologia Christiana*. The monks of S. Agnes<sup>3</sup> have also carried on some important excavations in their catacomb. These are of great interest and import-

<sup>2</sup> The Cavaliere Visconti has written a book on the subject of this tomb from the inscriptions upon it, with a fac simile of my photograph of it.

<sup>3</sup> These good monks have been helped

by the "Roman Exploration Fund," and have applied for fresh assistance, which will be given as soon as the Fund admits of it.

ance ; they have opened a passage through from the entrance on the eastern side of their church, passing under the church, and under the great staircase by which we descend into it ; that church having been originally the burial chapel at the entrance of the catacombs, was always below the level of the ground. This passage or corridor then passes under a part of their garden, and there is an exit from it in the mausoleum and Baptistery of S. Constantia. In the course of these excavations they have found the lower chambers of no less than five pagan tombs, with passages from them into the catacombs. According to the theory of the Roman Catholic priests, *all* these passages were made in the sixteenth century by persons in search of treasure, but it seems rather doubtful whether they were not made by the families to whom the tombs belonged, after the lower chambers were full, to make more room for bodies. It is well known that the ground set apart for a tomb and a family burial-place was sold in perpetuity to that family, and the right of burial extended to any depth. It seems probable that many parts of the great catacombs were originally made to give more room for burial to the families to whom the tombs above belonged.

## Original Documents.

### GLOUCESTERSHIRE CHARTERS.

SINCE the printing of the two charters previously given (vol. xxviii., pp. 159-60), four other documents have been discovered among Dr. Carne's muniments, three of which are closely connected with the two preceding, and refer those rather to Gloucestershire than to Herefordshire, though the names of some of the persons mentioned belong to both counties.

The first, by Robert Ruphus of Brochampton, gives to Radulf le Frances, of the same place, lands in Wittewell, and is without date. William Long is mentioned as a former holder, and the witnesses are Guy, Lord of Clopell, Ralf Musard, William Liber of Brochampton, John son of Andrew, Robert of Gloucester, and Geoffrey Stoke. The deed is in excellent preservation, clearly and finely written, in good black ink. In appearance it is of the reign of Edward I. There is nothing in this deed to indicate with certainty its County. There is in Gloucestershire, Brockhampton, a hamlet of Bishops Cleeve, and a Brockhampton near Sevenhampton. Near the latter is Whitall farm, which may be a corruption of Wittewell. No Clopple or Cloppeley appears in Gloucester or Hereford. There is a parish so called in Bedfordshire, once a seat of the Abbinis'. Ruphus is not found; but in Essex, temp. Hen. III., was Dominus W. de Ruffha. Ralph is a common name in the Musard family between Hen. III. and Edw. I., in the Counties of Berks, Derby, and Gloucester. The castle called "La Musardere" was in the latter County.

The second charter, dated at Cloppeley on the Sunday next before the translation of St. Martin, 19 Edw. II., is by Nicholas le Frense, evidently the same with Nicholas le Franceis of the charter already printed, and is granted to William his brother. Here Cloppeley is described as near Sevenhampton, and therefore in Gloucestershire, which also fixes Brockhampton. Of names of persons, we have Robert the Hatter, Robert Brid or Bird, and Henry Reynor, and of places, Brockhamton, Cloppeley where the charter is dated, Sevenhamton, Woldene, and Helewelshide. The witnesses are Robert Solers, a Hereford name, John Olive, a name preserved in the adjacent Shapton-Olive, Robert Oudebi (Owdeswell is a place near), Luke de Monte, Nicholas de Amnesforde, John de Walleye, and John le Heir or Eyre.

The third charter is without date, but evidently of the same period, and probably a little later than that by Dionysia Herbert, which included

Geoffrey David of Cloppell, whereas this mentions William his son. But the dates cannot differ much, since Nicholas le Ffrense or Frances again appears, as does Nicholas le Heyr. Omeford is no doubt Ameford, and may be the adjacent Andoverford on the Colne. This charter is in excellent order, and remarkably legible, though the ink is pale.

The fourth charter also relates to Gloucestershire, but does not appear to have any connection with the preceding. Amenev, or Ampney-Crueis, is a parish two miles N. E. of Cirencester. The name,<sup>1</sup> Peter infra Portam, among the witnesses, needs explanation. This charter is a very perfect and remarkable specimen of floriated writing. Many of the large and longer letters have their extremities flowered with great grace and minuteness: a species of decoration almost unknown in a mere private conveyance.

*Carta Roberti Ruphi.*

Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Robertus Rупhуs de Brochamton, dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Radulfo le Frances de Brochamton et heredibus suis, pro servicio suo unum mesuagium cum dimidia virgata terre arabilis, cum pratis et cum bosco et cum aliis pertinentenciis suis, in villa de Wittewell et extra, illud scilicet quod Willielmus Longus quondam tenuit in eadem villa, Habendum et tenendum de me et heredibus meis, sibi et heredibus suis, vel suis assignatis, libere quiete bene et in pace, in jure hereditario et in feudo, in boscis planis in viis et in omnibus aliis pasturis congruis ville pertinentibus, Et licebit eidem Radulfo predictum mesuagium cum predicta terra et cum omnibus pertinentenciis suis dare vendere ligare tam in egritudine quam in sanitate<sup>2</sup> et assignare cuiunque voluerit. Reddendo inde annuatim mihi et heredibus meis, ipse et heredes sui vel sui assignati, tres solidos ad quatuor anni terminos, videlicet ad festum Sancti Michaelis novem denarios, ad festum Sancti Andree novem denarios, ad festum beate Marie in Marcio<sup>3</sup> novem denarios, et ad festum beate Johannis Baptiste novem denarios, pro omni servicio seculari exactione et demanda, salvo servicio domini Regis, ad tantum tenementum pertinente. Et ego vero Robertus et heredes mei predictum mesuagium cum predicta dimidia virgata terre et cum omnibus pertinentenciis predicto Radulfo et heredibus suis vel suis assignatis, contra omnes homines et feminas in perpetuum warrantizabimus acquietabimus et pro predicto reddito defendemus. Pro hac autem donacione concessione et carte mee warrantacione, dedit michi predictus Radulfus ad magnum negocium meum, quatuor marcas et dimidiam sterlingorum pre manibus. Et ut hec mea donacio concessio et carte mea confirmacio rata et stabilis in perpetuum permaneat, hoc presens scriptum sigilli mei impressione roboravi. Hiis testibus Guyone domino de Cloppell, Radulfo Musard, Willielmo Libero de Brochamton, Johanne filio Andree, Roberto de Glouveria, Galfrido Stoke et aliis.

An oval seal of green wax. In the centre a fancy cross. Legend, 'S: Roberti Rупhi.'

<sup>1</sup> May not "Petro clerico Petro (*if*) infra Portam" mean one person, "Peter, clergyman of St. Peter within the Gate?"

<sup>2</sup> An unusual phrase in a licence to alienate. The statement of the expenses of conveyance inserted on this charter,

"debet mihi dietus Radulphus ad magnum negocium meum quatuor marcas," is also not common.

<sup>3</sup> This word is written "Mrcio," with contractions over the "r" and "c."

*Carta Nicholai le Ffrense. 19 Edw. II.*

Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Nicholaus le Ffrense de Brochampton, dedi concessi et hae presenti carta mea confirmavi Willielmo le Ffrense fratri meo, unum mesuagium et unam aeram terre cum pertinenciis suis in Cloppeleye juxta Sevenhamton, quod dictum messuagium jacet inter mesuagia Roberti le Hattere, et dicta aera terre jacet divisa, unde dimidia aera jacet apud Woldene juxta terram Roberti Brid ex parte una et terram Henrici Reyner ex altera, et alia dimidia aera terre jacet in Helewel-slade juxta terram dicti Roberti Brid ex parte una et terram domini Episcopi Herefordensis ex altera, Habendum et tenendum dicto Willielmo et heredibus suis et assignatis suis dictum mesuagium et dictam aeram terre cum pertinenciis suis, libere quiete integre et in pace de capitali domino feodi illius, per servicia inde debita et consueta. Et ego vero dictus Nicholaus et heredes mei dictum mesuagium et dictam aeram terre cum pertinenciis suis predicto Willielmo et heredibus suis et assignatis suis, contra omnes mortales warantizabimus in perpetuum et defendemus. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti carte sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus, Roberto Soleres, Johanne Olive, Roberto Oudeli, Luca de Monte, Nicholao de Ammesforde, Johanne de Walleye, Johanne le [H]eir et multis aliis. Data apud Cloppeleye die dominica proxima post festum translacionis Sancti Martini anno regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi nondecimo.

The seal is wanting.

*Carta Willielmi filii Galfridi David. Sine dato.*

Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Willielmus filius Galfridi David de Cloppeleye, dedi et concessi et hae presenti carta mea confirmavi Stephano de Cranebroc, duas aeras terre mee jacentes in campis de Cloppeleye, quarum una dimidia aera jacet in Cloppeleye inter terram Episcopi et terram Thome Capal, et una dimidia aera jacet ad capud predictae aere et dimidia inter terram Roberti Andreu et terram Willielmi de Calcumbe, et una dimidia aera jacet in Lindene juxta terram Episcopi et est capitalis, et una dimidia aera jacet in Elevelles slade juxta terram Episcopi, pro quadam summa pecunie quam mihi dedit pre manibus. Habendum et tenendum predictas aeras terre cum omnibus suis pertinenciis de me et heredibus meis vel meis assignatis, predicto Stephano et heredibus suis vel assignatis suis libere et quiete bene et pacifice in perpetuum. Reddendo domino feodi unum quadrantem inde per annum ad festum Sancti Michaelis pro omnibus serviciis secularibus querelis et demandis. Et ego vero Willielmus et heredes mei vel mei assignati predicto Stephano et heredibus suis vel suis assignatis, predictas aeras terre cum omnibus suis pertinenciis contra omnes homines et feminas warantizabimus acquietabimus et defendemus in perpetuum. Et ut hec mea donacio concessio et carta mea confirmacio sit rata et stabilis in perpetuum, hanc presentem cartam meam sigilli mei impressione roboravi. Hiis testibus, Willielmo de Templo, Johanne de Omeford, Roberto Andreu de Cloppeleye, Nicholao le Ffrense de Brochampton, Nicholao le Heyr de eadem, Willielmo le Heyward de eadem, Roberto de Winton clerico, et multis aliis.

The seal is wanting.



*Carta Ricardi de Rayhale. Sine dato.*

Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Ricardus de Rayhale frater Ewgenie uxoris Philippi de Matesdone relaxavi et omnino quietum clamavi pro me et heredibus meis vel assignatis meis, Philippo de Matesdone de Ameneye Sancte Crucis, et heredibus suis vel assignatis suis in perpetuum, totum jus et clamium quod habui vel aliquo modo habere potui, tota medietate illius virgate terre quam dictus Philippus de Matesdone mihi dedit in villa de Ameneye Sancte Crucis, cum omnimodis suis ubique pertinentiis et eum medietate mesuagii sui juxta mesuagium Willielmi le May in perpetuum. Ita quod nec ego nec heredes mei vel assignati mei in tota predicta dimidia virgata terre cum medietate mesuagii predicti et cum omnimodis suis ubique pertinentiis decetero aliquid juris vel clamii exigere poterimus nec debemus. Pro hac autem relaxatione et quieta clamancia dedit michi predictus Philippus viginti solidos sterlingorum pre manibus. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus, Johanne de Mareys, Johanne de Campedene, Willielmo de Sancto Georgio, Nicholao de la Hyde, Willielmo de Ameneye clerico, Johanne filio Stephani, Willielmo Caufel, Petro clerico, Petro infra portam, Galfrido le Paumer, Waltero le May et aliis.

The seal is wanting.

*Carta Henrici Prat.*

[8 Mar. 10 E. III. 1336.]

Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Henricus Prat de la Newelonde dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Henrico Henthlan de eadem et Juliane uxori sue, tres pecias terre arabilis jacentes in villa de la Newelonde cum suis pertinentiis, quarum una que dicitur Cadelesakar jacet in Grenewey, videlicet in latitudine et in longitudine inter terras Johannis de Bykenor, Johannis le Cartare, Hugonis le Moul, et Nicholai Achard, altera vero pecia que vocatur Chynchymelond jacet apud la Heyenassche, scilicet in latitudine et in longitudine inter terram meam ac terras Rogeri Ely, Willielmi Kedeford, et viam regiam ducentem de la Heyenassche versus le Whytekyvestreet. Tercia quidem pecia vocata le Mantelput jacet apud la Heyenassche glate in latitudine et in longitudine inter terras Johanne Ely, Willielmi Kedeford, et Willielmi Borryeh. Habendum et tenendum dictas tres pecias terre cum omnibus suis pertinentiis prefatis Henrico Henthlan et Juliane uxori sue, ac heredibus vel assignatis suis, de capitalibus dominis feodorum illorum, bene et in pace in feodo et hereditate in perpetuum. Reddendo inde annuatim capitalibus dominis predictis quatuordecim denarios argenti in festo Sancti Michaelis, scilicet pro terra que dicitur Cadelesaker sex denarios, et pro aliis duabus peciis predictis octo denarios, pro omni servicio seculari consuetudine et exactione. Et ego vero predictus Henricus Prat et heredes mei prenomintas tres pecias terre cum suis pertinentiis prefato Henrico Henthlan et Juliane uxori sue ac heredibus vel assignatis suis contra omnes mortales warantizabimus et defendemus in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti carte sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus, Johanne le Palmere, Willielmo ate Clyve, Willielmo ate Court, Roberto de Bykenore, Nicholao Rollyn et aliis.

Data apud la Newelonde, quinto calendarum Aprilis, anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum decimo.

A small lump seal of reddish wax, device indistinct.

The Newland here mentioned seems to be the parish and town of that name situate in the western part of Gloucestershire, near the border of Monmouth.

G. T. C.

## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

April 5, 1872.

The LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, President of the Institute, in the Chair.

The Hon. SECRETARY, in the absence of the author from town, read "Notes on the Recently-discovered Portions of the Mazarin Bible in the Archbishopal Library at Lambeth," by Mr. S. W. Kershaw, librarian. The Rev. W. J. Loftie added some supplemental "Notes," and drew attention to the various early printed books exhibited by Sir W. Tite and others, in illustration of the subject. [These "Notes" are printed at length at page 242 of this volume.] The Rev. J. Fuller Russell contributed some observations on the same subject; and in expressing the thanks of the meeting to the writers of the "Notes," the noble Chairman added some remarks.

In the absence of Mr. G. G. Scott, Mr. MICKLETHWAITE gave some "Particulars of the discovery of the remains of the sub-structure of the Shrine of St. Alban," which he illustrated with sketches and photographs. [Printed at page 201 of this volume.] Mr. Talbot Bury drew attention to several interesting points in the arrangements of such objects, and made suggestions as to the actual position and form of the *feretrum*. He had no doubt whatever that the remains lately found had appertained to the actual Shrine of St. Alban.

The SECRETARY then read the following letter, received by him from Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P., in reference to his recent acquisition of part of the site of the temple at Abury:—"I fear it will be impossible for me to come to the Archaeological Institute on Friday, and have really very little to tell about Abury. Last year a property there was sold, comprising the smaller section of the circle: which, if you remember, is cut into four parts by the cross-roads which pass through it. This portion was sold in cottage allotments, and would no doubt have ere now been built over, thus endangering the standing stones, and destroying one of the best views of the vallum. Fortunately, Mr. King, the Rector of Abury, knowing the interest I felt in the place, wrote to me on the subject, and I at once asked him, if possible, to arrange with the several purchasers to surrender their plots and take corresponding pieces elsewhere; offering, if this could be arranged, to purchase the land in question at the price they had given, so as to preserve the place intact. With the assistance of Mr. Kenam, and some few small concessions, this was happily effected; and I am sure that the thanks of all archaeologists are due to Mr. King and Mr. Kenam for their timely interference in the matter." The noble Chairman, in conveying the thanks of the meeting

for the communication from Sir John Lubbock, expressed his high admiration of the public spirit which had prompted him thus to secure to the nation so interesting a monument of antiquity.

#### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By special permission of His Grace the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.—The Mazarin Testament, from the library at Lambeth Palace.

By Sir W. TULL, C.B., M.P. —Wycliffe's New Testament, MS. fifteenth century; Coverdale's Bible, 1535; Tyndale's version of the New Testament, 1536; Coverdale's New Testament, Paris, 1538; "The Byble in Englyshe," printed by Edward Whytechurch, London, 1553.

By Mr JOHN HENDERSON, F.S.A. (Hon. Treasurer).—A metal casket of Persian work, damascened with gold and silver. The seated figures have been covered with gold. Date, the latter part of the thirteenth century.—A metal box of Persian work and unusual form, with gold and silver damascening. Probable date, the middle of the fourteenth century.

By Mr. A. G. GEOGHEGAN.—A bronze spear head; a Roman fibula; a boss, or personal ornament, found at Bishop's Castle, Orkney. The fibula resembles in general fashion a harp-shaped enamelled fibula in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, which is figured by Mr. W. B. Scott in his "Antiquarian Gleanings in the North of England," pl. xxxviii. That beautiful object was found at Risingham, Northumberland. Length, about 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. It is also figured, more correctly, in Dr. Bruce's "Roman Wall," third edition, p. 431. The boss is of silver, ornamented with the rose and thistle in high relief; it was probably an ornament for a leathern belt or shield, as it is without any appearance of having been used as a clasp or buckle. It was found in the ruins of the "Bishop's Castle," under a heap of stones, at Kirkwall, Orkney.

By Mr. ANDREW CORRIE.—Ten Norwegian coins (probably of the twelfth century), eight of which only were perfect. These examples of the early Scandinavian coinage, though comparatively uncommon, are well known to numismatists, and special treatises have been published regarding them. They are small, thin, fragile disks of silver, probably of base metal, and bear rude ornaments, or initials, supposed to indicate the Episcopal See, or other local division in which they were struck. The device is on one side only, the coin having been produced by a punch; and no reverse is found. The examples now brought before the Institute were found under the floor of a church in "Bayen's Stift" in Norway.

By Mr. J. A. SPARVILL BAYLY.—Pottery found near the site of the Roman ferry at West Tilbury, Essex. It consists of a large cinerary urn, of fine light coloured unglazed material, 17 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. in height, and about as much in its greatest diameter, of a globular form, tapering towards the neck and base, the base 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. in diameter, the neck broken off, but with mark of place of handle (*t*) near the top; an urn of bright black ware of the Upchurch type, 1; in. high, 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. at the top, broken at the top, the sides scored with lines in compartments, in reversed order, giving the appearance of chevrons; two patere of Samian ware, plain, one slightly broken, with potter's names on the base; one small perfect semi-cylindrical pot or vase, plain; two fragments of a large vase of Samian, richly ornamented; three small pieces of coarse pottery, scored or punctured, resembling that known as Gaulish. See vol. xxvi., p. 190, for

examples of pottery, and other objects found near the same place, and kindly sent by Mr. Meeson of West Thurrock for exhibition to the Institute.

May 5, 1872.

SIR SIBBALD D. SCOTT, Bart., F.S.A., in the Chair.

MR. G. T. CLARK desired to draw the attention of the meeting to the loss the Institute had experienced, since their last gathering, by the decease of Professor Westmacott. The Professor had long been a member of the council, in whose deliberations he had always taken an active and earnest part. His high attainments and his distinguished professional knowledge were combined with a lucid and agreeable manner of expressing his opinions; and he had on very many occasions rendered most excellent service to those studies which all who took an interest in the Institute were anxious to promote. He felt sure that the feeling of deep regret at the decease of Professor Westmacott would be general and sincere. The meeting having expressed their cordial assent to these remarks, Mr. Clark proceeded to give a discourse entitled, "Some Account of Guildford Castle" (printed at p. I of this volume).

Several observations having been made by Colonel Pinney and others in commendation of the memoir, the Chairman, in conveying the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Clark, suggested that it seemed very desirable to give the Institute the opportunity of visiting the spot that had furnished so good a subject of discourse, and that it might not be difficult to arrange a special excursion to Guildford under Mr. Clark's guidance. This suggestion met with hearty approval, and Mr. Clark cordially assented to apply upon the spot the lecture he had given.

MR. G. M. ATKINSON read the following, "Notes on an Ancient Celtic Fibula, exhibited by Mr. Geoghegan." "Through the kindness of my friend, Mr. A. G. Geoghegan, I have the pleasure of bringing before the notice of the members an interesting specimen of ancient Celtic art, and beg your permission to offer a few observations upon it and similar kinds of ornaments. This brooch was found about the year 1861; but the place and name of the finder is not known. It was dug up in the neighbourhood of Omagh, co. Tyrone, Ireland. A watchmaker in Omagh bought it from a pedlar to melt up as old silver; but knowing my friend's 'failing' for antiquities, he brought it to him to look at. Mr. Geoghegan immediately purchased it, and was thus fortunate in preserving this beautiful specimen of ancient art. It is composed of silver, and the ornamentation is essentially Celtic in character. The bow terminates in two serpent-heads, with extended jaws. The interlaced knots at each corner, and the raised circular bosses with radiating lines, all belong to the mystical school of western art, and were possibly identified with the serpent-worship that may have prevailed in Ireland at a remote era. The size of this brooch shows it belonged to some important individual; for one of the ancient Brehon laws declare 'that the size and value of the brooch shall indicate the rank of the wearer.' The 'Aide Airgít' is mentioned, and 'Delge oir,' brooches of gold, having crystal inserted in them, for the sons of Kings of Erin, and brooches of silver for the king of a province or territory, but the sons of each king are to have similar brooches as to material, and the ornamentation of all these should appear on the

brooch. Dr. O'Donovan, the translator of the Brehon Laws, remarks that each brooch was carved or ornamented according to the rank of each

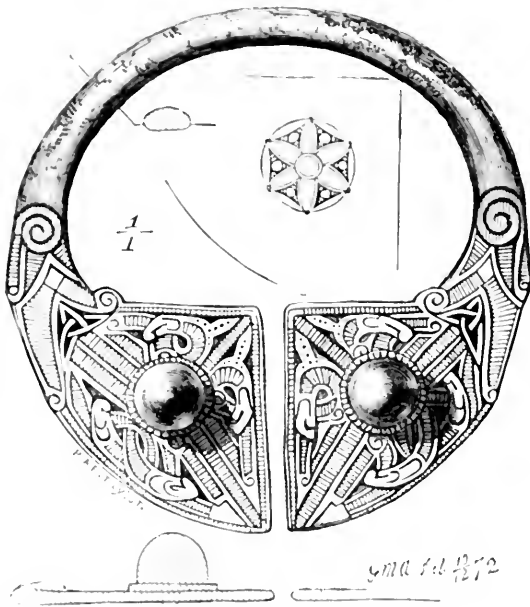


FIG. 1.—Brooch in the possession of A. G. Geoghegan, Esq.  
sections and ornamentation of back of boss.

king. As none of those hitherto discovered seem to exhibit anything like armorial bearings, it is possible that the brooches of the different ranks were distinguished by the nature of the inlaying or variety of the carving. The four interlacing serpents on this brooch may have such a signification. We have something like this idea in the length of the dress formerly worn in England, the Sovereign having the train; the noble wore his dress to the ground; the serf's dress was quite short, &c. Colours also indicate rank, I believe. The date of this brooch, judging by analogies of ornamentation, as we have none inscribed, is perhaps about 1100. The Book of Kells is said to have been written in the seventh century, and this style of ornament died out in the twelfth century. The first idea of a brooch is that of a ring with a pin attached, and we find some very primitive objects in that fashion. I have seen a small branch of a tree twined into a hoop do duty; but if we take the so called ring money, No. 1, fibula very commonly found in Ireland, and flatten the rims, we would very soon get the form shown, No. 3. This ring money found in Ireland is formed of gold, and is not uncommon; but I do not recollect any instance of a pin being found attached. On the Continent the same form is found in bronze. The pin is in its place, and the object as a brooch is found complete. No. 3 is from a sketch I made in 1866, of such a brooch in the Berlin Museum, II. 1110, from Calbe, on the Saale. Similar brooches are figured in Professor Worsaae's catalogue of the Royal Museum, Copenhagen, p. 51, No. 231, and in

the Norwegian Archaeological Society's Journal for 1870, No. 3, plate 1. It would seem as if this raised central hoop was found in wearing to be inconvenient. There is a reproduction (from the Messrs. Waterhouse, jewellers, Dublin) in the South Kensington Museum of an ancient brooch,

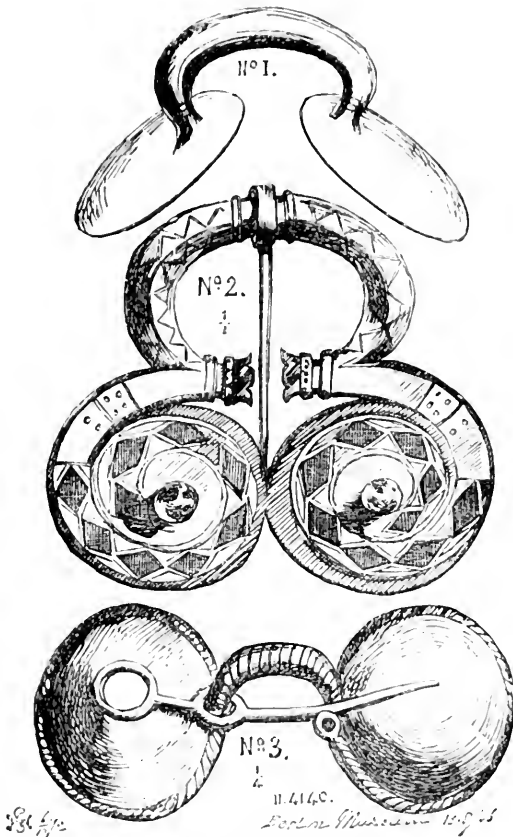


Fig. 1.—No. 1. "Ring-money" brooch.  
No. 2. The "Moor brooch."  
No. 3. Brooch in the Berlin Museum.

known as the "Moor brooch," which I think illustrates the change, No. 2. It is simply this form of ring money or fibula flattened, and it is remarkable that this identical form is in use at the present day among the people of Thibet. There is such a brooch, through the kindness of Mr. William Taylor, exhibited in the South Kensington Museum, and I have seen many others: Mr. Taylor's is just twice the size of the Moor brooch. The ring-formed fibula, with the bulb ends, is well developed in all the so-called arbutus-berry pattern brooches, and attained perfection in the exquisite specimen preserved in the Royal Museum, Copenhagen. It is figured in Professor Worsaae's catalogue of the Royal Museum, No. 410. The balls or bulb ends are partially flattened and ornamented in niello.

The taste in design exhibited on it has only to be seen to be appreciated. In vol. vi, p. 56 of the *Archæological Journal*, Mr. Albert Way figures several specimens of ring money, and at p. 57 gives Colonel Vallancey's conjecture 'that these penannular ornaments might have served as nose-rings, the opening serving to clip the *septum* of the nose.' At p. 60 he gives representations of two excellent examples with dilated extremities; and at the January meeting, 1849, p. 70, a silver fibula found in Westmoreland, and another found in co. Antrim, Ireland, were exhibited, which will well illustrate the type of brooch with ball-like ends, arbutus-berry pattern. In vol. vii, p. 78, Feb. 1, 1850, an example is given of a very large brooch, diameter of the ring  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in., length of the axis  $7\frac{1}{4}$ , but without ornamentation. At vol. xviii, p. 165, under the date March 1, 1861, Mr. R. H. Brackstone is reported as exhibiting a ring-brooch, a specimen found in the co. Westmeath, and a penannular brooch with cavities for enamel, found in a barrow at Skryne, near Tara, co. Meath. The armlets and anklets worn by people in Eastern countries, with the addition of a pin, may be easily adapted to serve the purpose of a brooch. A ring flattened and ornamented, the pin attached to the back, is not an uncommon form of brooch. Visitors to the different museums will recollect many examples. If this flattening was developed, we should get the round disk-like form of which, ornamented, we have a good example of in the Lorn brooch preserved in the British Museum; but the finest examples that we have are of the same penannular end shape as the brooch now under consideration. This form offers great facility for ornamentation. The most notable brooch is that known by the name of "Royal Tara," now in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. The 'Hunterston' brooch is also very remarkable; and it will be in the recollection of the members that on the occasion of the late Lord Dunraven's exhibiting here the very beautiful chalice, found at Ardagh, he had also four very fine specimens of brooches, which were found at the same time and place with the chalice." (*Arch. Journ.*, vol. xxvi, p. 293.)

In the absence of the writer, the Hon. SECRETARY read some remarks "On an unique implement of flint, found in the Isle of Wight," by Mr. Albert Way. This memoir will be given in a subsequent portion of the *Journal*. Mr. Hewitt observed that there could be little reason to consider this curious object to be a warlike weapon. He thought probably its very singular form was partly natural and partly artificial.

#### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

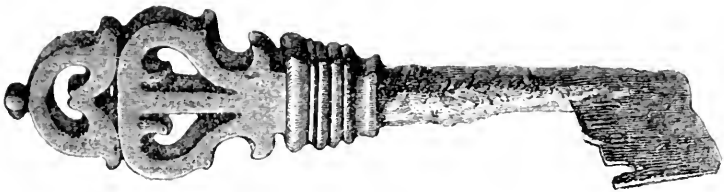
By Mr. J. HENDERSON. Three Russian enamelled bowls of the seventeenth century. One is of silver gilt 8 in. in diameter, decorated with flowers inside the bowl, and with a swan on the bottom medallion. On the outside are portraits on raised or *repoussé* medallions, and with two seated figures at the base of the bowl. The ground of the outside is engraved with scroll work, the work of Solwichegodsk, and known as the enamel of Onstissol. These bowls were used by princes and dignitaries of the church for washing the hands. A smaller bowl of silver gilt,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in. in diameter, decorated with flowers and birds, and with engraved coats of arms relating to some of the Russian provinces between the outside circles of floral ornamentation: - 1. Double-headed eagle



crowned; 2. Tzar of Russia on horseback; 3. Crest of Astrachan and Kazar; 4. St. Michael of the Ukrain; 5. Solwytehegodsk fabric of enamel. It has the date 1648 in old Russian letters, and has been used as a drinking-vessel. It is said to have belonged to the Tzar Alexy Michaelowitch, the father of Peter the Great.—The third bowl is of Moscow enamel on copper, 5 in. in diameter, and ornamented with flowers both inside and outside on a clear white ground of enamel; from the collection of Count Bezborodsko. The two smaller bowls are ornamented with very delicate and vivid scroll-work.

By Mr. ALBERT WAY.—Cast of a tri-brachial object of flint, found in the Isle of Wight.

By the Rev. C. W. BINGHAM.—Key found at Cheselborne, Dorset, probably of the fourteenth century. The ward portion is of iron, and much corroded; the handle of bronze is perfect. The excellent floriation of the handle will be seen by the accompanying wood-cut.



Key found at Cheselborne, Dorset.

By the Rev. GREVILLE CHESTER.—A small collection of bosses of shields and other objects of metal (Italo-Greek?) found between Capua and Caserta; together with an object of bronze found near Pompeii.

By Mr. E. J. SANDARS, of Bournemouth.—An implement of the Palaeolithic series, obtained from the river drift by which the cliffs of that part of the coast of Hampshire are capped. It was found early in the present year at the foot of the cliff about half a mile west of the pier at Bournemouth, and lay on the shore, where it was fortunately picked up by Mr. Robert N. Hamond, of Fakenham, by whose permission it was exhibited. It is of unusually large dimensions, measuring nearly  $8\frac{1}{4}$  in. in length, by  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. greatest width. This valuable example has been generously presented by Mr. Hamond to the Christy Museum. An account of the various specimens found in the gravels of the presumed course of the ancient river Solent is given by Mr. Evans, "Ancient Stone Implements," pp. 557, 559.

By the Rev. J. BECK.—A small box of leather, on a wooden frame, found in a vault in the Cathedral of Maestricht; a label is attached describing it to be for the collection of money for an altar there.

By Mr. A. H. SODEN-SMITH.—Brass seal of John, sixth Lord Fleming, of Biggar, in Lanarkshire, circa 1590;—quarterly, 1st and 4th argent, a chevron with a double tressure, flowered and counter-flowered with fleur-de-lis, gules, for Fleming; 2nd and 3rd, azure, three cinquefoils, argent, for Fraser. Crest, a goat's head erased, argent, armed, or. Supporters, two stags, proper, attired, and un-guled, or, each gorged with a collar, azure, charged with three cinquefoils, argent. Motto, *Let dead shaw*.—Three fragments of Samian ware, with potter's marks, found near Castor, Northampton—the Roman Durobrivæ.

June 7, 1872.

Sir EDWARD SMIRKE in the Chair.

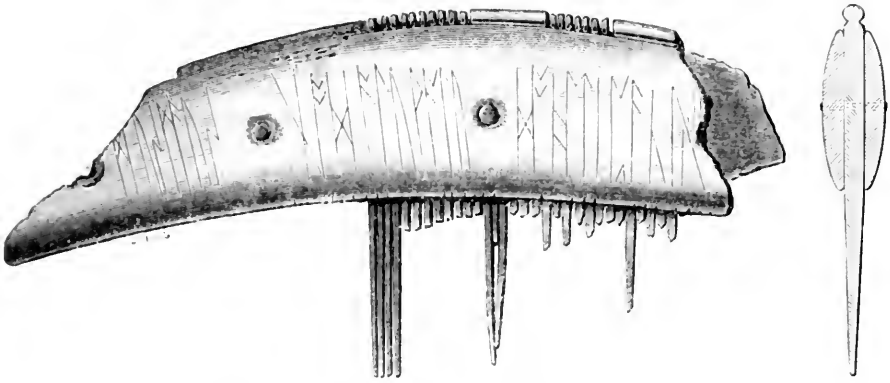
The Hon. SECRETARY announced that Tuesday, July 2, was fixed for the special Excursion to Guildford, when Mr. Clark would give a lecture upon the Castle founded on that he had already given at the rooms of the Institute, and Mr. Parker would discourse upon the church of St. Mary, Abbott's Hospital, and other objects of interest in the town.

Mr. C. S. GREAVES read "Remarks upon a Runic comb, jet and glass beads, arrow heads, and other objects of flint, lately found near Whitby," and which were exhibited by him.

He was able, through the courtesy of Mr. John and Mr. William Ditchon, of Whitby, to exhibit several articles of antiquarian interest which they had found in the neighbourhood of that place. The most interesting of them was a comb, upon which there was a Runic inscription. He confessed that he was unacquainted with Runes himself; but the comb had been examined by Mr. Haigh, one of the highest authorities upon such a subject, and by whose kind permission he (Mr. Greaves) had had the great advantage of reading the remarks he had made upon the comb. From them, and from such other sources as had been accessible, the following statement had been prepared.

"Mr. Haigh thought that the comb consisted of three pieces: two pieces of the leg-bone of a deer on the outside, and a plate of ivory between them in which were the teeth. But some doubt may exist whether the middle part does not consist of several pieces; as the closest examination that was practicable, whilst the comb was fastened up in its case, led to the inference that there was a division at the left of the teeth now remaining, and another between two of the heads of the teeth at the right hand. It seems probable that this may be the case, as teeth cut across the grain of a bone would probably break, and several pieces would make it easy to cut the teeth lengthways. The comb was united by rivets of iron. When it was found a piece of each end of the comb had been broken off and, unfortunately, part of the inscription at each end was gone. There is a small indented ornamentation along the bottom of each side, and along the top of the middle at intervals there are what appear to be intended to represent the heads of the teeth. The teeth are cut with great regularity, and the whole is an excellent specimen of workmanship for the period at which it was made. The figures of all the Runes that remain are perfectly clear and distinct, and are beautifully engraved. They are Anglo-Saxon Runes, as appears plainly from Ballhorn's Runic alphabets,<sup>1</sup> but they are about double the length of his specimens. Mr. Haigh at once read all the remaining Runes, and he then endeavoured to conjecture what the missing Runes might have been. The woodcut has a correct copy of the Runes still visible on the comb, and beneath it is the inscription as first restored by Mr. Haigh, with the corresponding English letters under it. The letters which remain are DE-SMETS GODALWALD DORHTREYAN (do and nel being monograms); and Mr. Haigh thinks that there is no difficulty in recognising two verbs, 'sme' and 'helpan,' apparently in the subjunctive present tense. 'Sme in 'is' 'to look closely,' 'consider,' &c.; helpan 'to

help.' The object of 'smæ' is 'us,' the dative or accusative plural of the first personal pronoun; and the subject of 'helipæ' is 'god alnwaludo,'



GO DUSMEUS GODALUWALU DOHELIPÆCYN NIÆSUSÆS

Runic Comb, found near Whitby.

which would be 'god awalda' in the later W. S. dialect; 'god alnwaldo' in the O. S. dialect of the *Heliand*, 'good all wielder.' It seems most natural to supply 'go' at the beginning, making 'godu' a noun of the same form as 'flodu.' At the end 'helipæ' requires a noun or two in the genitive case: 'cyn' must be the beginning of 'cyninges' or 'cynnias,' king or kin, and Mr. Haigh thinks it more probable that the last words were 'cyningeas .Edwines,' King .Edwin, than 'cynnias ussies,' our race, and that the name of his successor S. Oswald, Oswaldos or Onswaludos, would be too long. At first Mr. Haigh thought the meaning of the whole inscription, as he restored it, was 'May God regard us. The good all ruler may he help our kin.' But further consideration led him to think it meant 'May God regard us. May good all wielder help King .Edwine.' Dr. Charlton agrees with Mr. Haigh in his opinion. And it should seem that there can be little doubt on the matter: for the Saxon forms of our words 'God,' 'us,' 'good,' 'help,' and 'kin' or 'king,' five out of seven words still appear in this inscription, and the only doubt is as to the missing letters.

"Mr. Haigh, from the fulness of the vowels in two of the words, refers the inscription to as early a period as possible consistently with its Christian character, which limits it to A.D. 625, as the earliest period. The following facts may, perhaps, afford ground for some conjecture as to the owner of this comb.

"Edwin, the greatest prince of the Heptarchy, who was renowned for the strict execution of justice and the reclamation of his subjects from a licentious life, married Ethelburga, daughter of Ethelbert, King of

Kent, and she was the means of inducing him to embrace Christianity,<sup>2</sup> and thus to become the first Christian king of Northumberland. Their daughter Eanfleda married Oswy, King of Deira, and they had a daughter, Elleda. Oswy made a vow that if he conquered Penda, King of Mercia, he would dedicate his daughter to a monastic life, and grant a number of manors for the support of religious institutions. He conquered Penda, and gave six manors to found Whitby Abbey, and placed his daughter under the care of St. Hilda, the daughter of Hereric, a prince of Northumberland, and niece of King Edwin, and who had already established a nunnery at South Shields, and was then Abbess of Hartlepool. She then removed to Whitby and became the first Abbess of Whitby Abbey, which was founded in 657, and died in 680, when she was succeeded by Elleda. Eanfleda, after Oswy's death, spent her widowhood in Whitby Abbey, and she, Oswy her husband, Edwin her father, and Elleda her daughter, were buried at Whitby, and so was St. Hilda;<sup>3</sup> and though it is not known where Ethelburga was buried, the probability is that she was also buried at Whitby. Here, then, are four illustrious ladies connected with Whitby Abbey, and when the beautiful regularity of the saw-cut teeth of this comb and the superiority of its workmanship are considered, it is easy to conceive that, peradventure, it may have been an appliance of the toilet, or may have adorned the head of one of these illustrious ladies. Possibly it may have been preserved by being buried with one of them, as the Saxons were accustomed to bury combs with their dead.<sup>4</sup> And here may be mentioned what is at least a remarkable coincidence. Edwin was christened in St. Peter's Church, York, on Easter-day, the 12th of April, 627; two years before that time, Boniface the Pope wrote a letter to his "glorious daughter, Queen Ethelberga," which is preserved in Bede.<sup>5</sup> In this he praises her piety, bitterly regrets that her glorious husband still serves abominable idols, and strongly urges her to use every endeavour to convert him, and concludes with presenting Ethelburga with a silver mirror and a gilt ivory comb (*pectinem eboreum inornatum*).

Mr. Haigh raises the question whether this may not be the very comb so given by Pope Boniface. That the inscription is of the time of Edwin, Mr. Haigh has no doubt, and he asks whether, in the inscription, we may not have the expression of Ethelburga's anxiety for her husband's conversion? Several points seem here to arise. The inscription is plainly Anglo-Saxon. Is it probable that any one was at that time in Rome who knew Anglo-Saxon? or that there was an engraver there capable of engraving this inscription? On the contrary, is not the probability greater that the whole was executed in some place where Anglo-Saxon was spoken? The gilding may well have perished in the lapse of time; but would not any gilding have wholly obscured the slender Runes? unless, indeed, it only covered other parts of the comb. The origin of Runes is as much shrouded in the mists of antiquity as their reputed introducer, Woden; but it is known that they were very commonly used in spells and enchantments, and hence they incurred the enmity of the Church.

<sup>2</sup> Home, *Hist. England*, 42, 43.

<sup>3</sup> Robinson's *Whitby*, 35.

<sup>4</sup> *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xiv, 17, 275, 276;

xv. 177; xviii. 77. A comb was always

provided for solemn mass, xviii. 371. Church of our Fathers, vol. i. 122.

<sup>5</sup> *Lib. 2*, cxi.

In 1001 they are said to have been laid aside entirely in Sweden at the instance of the Pope and a British Bishop, and afterwards in Spain.<sup>6</sup> When this opposition to Runes began has not been discovered; but the point seems to deserve mention when the question is whether this comb was sent by a Pope. A point in the Pope's letter deserves attention; he sends the benediction of St. Peter, *that is*, a silver mirror and a gilt ivory comb (benedictionem beati Petri, Apostolorum principis, id est, speculum argenteum et pectinem eborum inauratum). Now in Stuart's 'Sculptured Stones of Scotland,' the comb and mirror frequently occur together on the early stones there given; and the same figures are on the tomb of the Princess Anna, at Iona, A.D. 1543.<sup>7</sup> This naturally raises the question whether there is not some hidden and mysterious signification in these conjoined emblems.

"Next were shown two jet beads, which are pierced longitudinally; the longer one is exactly similar to a bead represented in Arch. Journ., Vol. 24, p. 257, which was found in Holyhead Island by Mr. Owen Stanley. This bead, like the upper one there given, is flatter on one side, but it is exactly the same length and breadth in the middle as the second there given. The second bead here is the same length as the third there given; but it is thicker for the greater part of its length. On the page cited a figure is given of a necklace, of which the beads, together with some oblong pieces of jet, are supposed to have formed part. Whitby is so celebrated for the production of the best jet, and it has been got there in such remote times, and the similarity of these beads to those found at Holyhead is so striking, that the probability is that the latter came from Whitby."

He (Mr. Greaves) thought that he could solve Mr. Way's difficulty in the paper on these beads,<sup>8</sup> as to the kind of implement by which so fragile a material as jet could have been drilled. He produced a flint drill found at Eskdaleside, six miles from Whitby, which appears to be precisely the sort of tool to drill such beads. The size and square shape of the head would enable a person readily to rotate the drill with the right hand whilst he held a piece of jet in the left hand. Probably a piece of jet of a greater thickness than that of the intended bead was first prepared. A thicker piece with a rough outside could be held much more firmly in the hand, and the thicker the jet the less danger there would be of splitting it in the course of the drilling. Jet beads are now first cut out with a chisel, then drilled with a lathe, and then worn down with another lathe, the wheel of which is sandstone, and polished on another wheel with listen or a border of woollen cloth and rouge. So that at present the hole is drilled through a thick piece of jet, which is reduced afterwards, and this supports the suggestion made as to the mode of drilling in ancient times. It is very possible that the holes may have been drilled from each end so as to meet in the middle. In order to test this suggestion Mr. Greaves has since obtained some rough pieces of jet from Whitby, and has found that the drill produced will drill a hole in jet without breaking it. He held the jet in his left hand and rotated the drill with his right, and he found no difficulty in boring a hole, except in the time it occupied, which he conjectures might be six hours

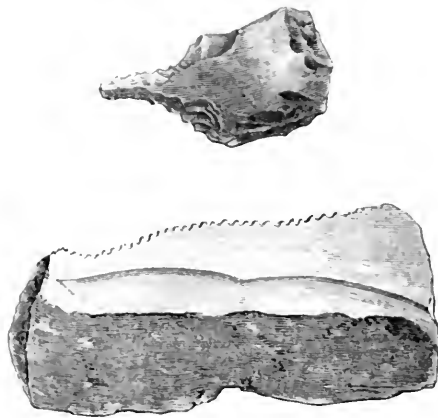
<sup>6</sup> Anc. Univ. H. xix. 260.

Journ., vol. xiv. 88, 89, and 192.

<sup>7</sup> Graham's Ant. Iona, plate xlv. Arch.

<sup>8</sup> Arch. Journ. vol. xxiv. p. 260.

for a bead an inch long. Of course the length of the bead bored by such a drill could not exceed double the length of the drilling part, even



Flint drill and saw, found near Whitby.

if the holes were drilled from opposite sides of the jet; and this renders it clear that the longest jet ornaments must have been bored by some other means.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Greaves next produced a flint-saw, with peculiarly small teeth (see woodcut). This clearly was made for some very fine work, and it may have been used for cutting jet into rectangular pieces like those found at Holyhead,<sup>3</sup> or into pieces intended to be made into beads. On a trial Mr. Greaves has since found that this saw cuts jet very readily. The only difficulty that occurs with such a saw is that, as it gets thicker from the edge, it is necessary to cut a slice of jet out in the same way as in sawing green wood a slice is cut out to set free the working of the saw. The dark part of the flint-saw is the natural surface of the flint; each of the sides has been made by striking off one flake, and the back not shown has been made by striking off a single broad flake. The blows have been struck at the top.

Mr. Greaves also produced a flat circular flint, which had been ground to a very smooth edge for about half its circumference, from A along by A to A. It has been regularly clipped on both sides into its present shape, and the clips are as smooth as if they had been regularly polished. In the centre there is a natural flaw in the flint, which looks like hard earth, surrounded by flint (see woodcut). This seems to have been intended to be held in the hand with the ground edge outwards.<sup>2</sup> Another flint produced was about two inches long, and nearly circular at one end, but gradually reduced by grinding to a sharp semicircular edge at the other end. Possibly it may have been used as a wedge.

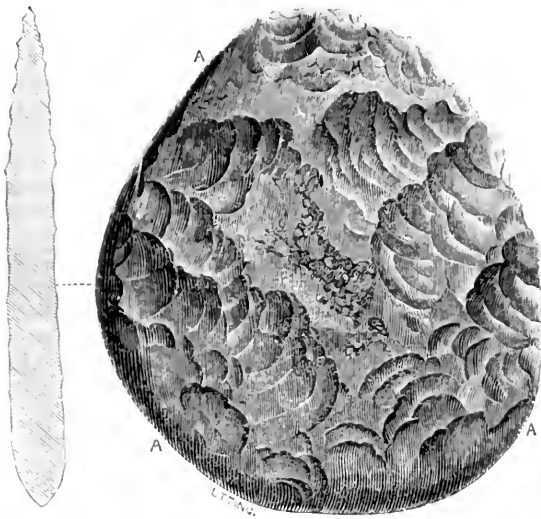
Three beads, called Drill beads, or snake stones, were produced. Two of them had evidently been formed by twisting or turning the material of which they were made whilst it was in a pliable state into their present shape, and then vitrifying them. The third was very remarkable.

<sup>2</sup> See Arch. Journ., vol. xxv. 155; Evans's "Ancient Stone Implements," 249.

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Journ. vol. xxiv. 257.

<sup>3</sup> See Evans's A. S. I., ch. xiii.

It was very dark, coloured with a zigzag pattern in white. How these beads were coloured and formed seems a mystery. The first notice of such beads that has been found is in Camden.<sup>3</sup> Gibson says that in



Circular flint, and wedge (?), found near Whitby.

most parts of Wales it is the common opinion of the vulgar that about Midsummer eve it is usual for snakes to meet in companies, and that by joining heads together and hissing, a kind of bubble is formed like a ring about the head of one of them, which the rest by continual hissing blow on till it comes off at the tail, and then it immediately hardens and resembles a glass ring, which, whoever finds (as some old women and children believe) shall prosper in his undertakings. These rings are called *Glenien Nadroedh*, i.e., *gemmæ anguinae*. In Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire they are called *Maen Magl*. They are small glass amulets, commonly about half as wide as our finger rings, but much thicker, of a green colour usually; but some of them are blue, and others curiously waved with blue, red and white. Gibson had seen twenty or thirty of them, and also two or three earthen rings, but glazed with blue, and adorned with transverse streaks or furrows on the outside. And he thinks it very likely that these snake-stones were used as charms or amulets amongst the Druids of Britain in the same way as the snake eggs amongst the Gaulish Druids, as described by Pliny.<sup>4</sup> At p. 695 four engravings of these curious beads are given.

Next came specimens of flint arrow heads. There appear to be three distinct kinds. The barbed head, the leaf-shaped head, and the head sharpened at both ends alike. It was supposed that possibly these differences might arise from the heads having been formed by different races; and Mr. Robinson, of Whitby, had mentioned that in one place near Whitby the arrow heads found on one side differed from those on

<sup>3</sup> Brit. 683, by Gibson.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. Nat. lib. xxix. c. 3

the other, which led to the supposition that a battle had there occurred between two tribes using different weapons. But Mr. Way states that at Bournemouth, where there seems to have been a long occupation, all kinds of flint arrow-heads are found indiscriminately. He also suggests that they may have been made for different purposes, and also that after failing to make a barbed head out of a flint, it might be worked up into a leaf-shaped head. Mr. Way also states that close to the station at Red Hill waste chips have been found by hundreds at a place where there is no flint; this shows that flints were carried to be manufactured at distant places, and that there were manufactories of them, and possibly the differences may be explained by the manufacturers making the different kinds to serve their customers' requirements. Some of the heads are so small that they probably were intended for killing birds, or small animals.<sup>2</sup>

Lastly, a correct, though rough, sketch of the top stone of a Runic obelisk, which was lately turned up in the Hole-of-Oreum quarry, near the cliff edge, on the north side of the Abbey at Whitby. It has formed part of a four-sided pillar, broad at the base and narrowing upward. The length is 18 in., by 9 in. across the bottom, and the diminished breadth at the top is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Plainly moulded at the angles, the surfaces are charged with the scroll work pertaining to these primitive monuments, which has been assigned to the 7th century. The summit has come to a point on which some ornament may have been fixed. There are no signs of lettering on the stone, as the characters for an inscription would occur on the lower or wider portions of the pillar; and these, if not already shot into the sea with the rubbish, might possibly be the reward of a search. As such memorials were mostly sepulchral, the present fragment, in all probability, has belonged to one of that character, from the nearness of the monastic "Cemetery of St. Peter," to the quarter where it was found. The chequering agrees with the kind on the well-known obelisk at Hackness, in the vicinity of Whitby, exhumed on the side of the convent established in that place by St. Hilda, after she had founded, with the aid of King Oswy, the convent of Streonshalh the predecessor of the Abbey of Whitby. The piece in question, now laid near the Hall lodge, belongs to that class of monuments to which Charlton alludes when he tells us that Borwick, the incumbent of Whitby, in the early part of the last century, dealt the blow of destruction to whatever remained of the Abbey tombstones, for a reason, among others, that they were "relics of popery."

A short notice was communicated, through Dr. Thurnam, of the discovery of some cinerary urns of unusual character at Dewlish, Dorset.

In September, 1871, a small barrow about midway between Dorchester and Blandford was examined by Mr. James Brown, of Salisbury, to whose kindness the Institute is indebted for photographs of two remarkable urns that were brought to light by his excavations. (See the accompanying woodcuts). The barrow was of small dimensions, measuring about 4 ft. only in height. In the centre was found an urn of cylindrical form, 11 inches high, in fashion similar to an ordinary flower-pot; it contained burnt bones, and was placed erect, surrounded and

<sup>2</sup> See Arch. Journ. vol. xii. 253; Wible, Catal. Mus. Roy. Acad.; "Horned Pot"; and especially Evans's *work on Ancient Stone Implements*, c. xvi., 333, 339, 341, et seq.

<sup>3</sup> Extract from a Whitby paper.





Sepulchral urns found in September, 1871, by Mr. James Brown, in a barrow at Dewlish, Dorset. Both of the urns contained burnt bones.  
(Height, about 10 inches.)



covered over by large flints, of which two or three cart-loads had been collected to form a sepulchral cairn; amongst these were found three rudely formed flint implements similar to those that are occasionally found on the surface in the immediate neighbourhood. The urn is of very rude pottery, with rows of indentations that may have been produced by the thumb-nail. Near this vessel, which was about half full of incinerated bones, lay a round piece of pottery of the same kind of coarse ware, that had possibly formed a cover for the urn, a circumstance, however, of extremely rare occurrence, or it might have been the bottom of another sepulchral vessel that had decayed.

In the Deverel barrow, distant about three miles from the site under consideration, and opened by Mr. William Riches in 1825, several urns of the like peculiar form were brought to light, and they are figured in his narrative of that highly curious group of early interments. The vessels there found were presented to the museum of the Scientific Institution at Bristol, and since they have been suffered to perish by neglect and decay. The example lately obtained by Mr. Brown at Dewlish has a greater degree of interest to the antiquary, the type being comparatively uncommon, although certain specimens may be found in the valuable work by Mr. C. Warne on the sepulchral pottery of Dorset.

At a short distance from the central deposit, a second urn of a very different type was found near the margin of the mound: it was surrounded by black burned earth containing pieces of charcoal, and measured about 10 inches in height. It is of much thinner and better ware than that first described: it contained burned bones, and was scored with plain lines around the neck, having also at intervals some small perforated loops or ears, through which a string might be passed, for attaching some covering over the mouth of the vessel. This contrivance, which has occasionally occurred in sepulchral vessels found in Dorset, and figured in the valuable work by Mr. Warne above mentioned, is well deserving of consideration, as a feature of detail that may throw some light on the usages connected with these ancient mortuary deposits. The fashion of the Dewlish urns is well illustrated by the photograph submitted to the Meeting.

Dr. THURNAM, M.D., F.S.A., sent some observations on the urns found in this barrow.

“The urns found by Mr. Brown in the barrow at Dewlish deserve a few remarks. That containing the central deposits seems of flower-pot shape—the fifth variety of cinerary urn according to my classification. This form is not peculiar to any district of England, but is extremely prevalent in Dorsetshire, and out of eighteen urns from the barrow at Deverell, situated three or four miles from Dewlish, there were four of this type.<sup>7</sup>

“The other urn, found in the skirt of the barrow (in which situation other deposits of the same kind would probably be found on further examination) is a much rarer form of fictile vessel. It belongs to my seventh and last variety—the globular urn. Such urns are generally of superior fabric, the clay more finely tempered, thinner and more compact than in the other types, and the surface somewhat red and smooth. They are generally of medium size, from 7 to 11 inches in height. Their rounded

<sup>7</sup> Miles, Deverell Barrow, 1826, pl. ii. 2; v. 3, 11; vi. 12.

globular form, with the mouth somewhat produced, and the lip upright or slightly everted, recalls the common form of Anglo-Saxon urn; but they are distinguished from these by the style of ornament, which in the British cinerary urns under consideration consists of parallel grooves round the neck and shoulder, sometimes varied by zigzags. In many also there are small knobs or ears, two, three, or four in number, arranged at intervals round the shoulder, which knobs are often pierced as if for the insertion of a fine string or thong. These small holes, where they exist, are always placed horizontally.

"The great peculiarity about these urns is connected with their geographical distribution. So far as appears at present, they are almost exclusively confined to Dorsetshire, and very much so to the central district of that county, between the towns of Blandford and Dorchester. There are several in Mr. Durdan's collection in the former place, and out of eighteen urns from the celebrated Deverell barrow as many as ten were of this form. Seven or eight are figured by Mr. Charles Warne, F.S.A., from four Dorsetshire localities, three of which are on or near the Ridgeway, in the southern division of the county. Their greater prevalence is, however, very marked in the central division already referred to, and which corresponds very closely with 'Section VIII.' of Mr. Warne's 'Map of Ancient Dorset.' Mr. Warne figures two from Whitechurch in this district; and in addition to the large number from the Deverell barrow, and that from Dewlish now described, others were, several years ago, found at Littleton and Charlton Marshall near Blandford,<sup>8</sup> and as late as last year, by the Rev. C. W. Bingham, at Plush, about five miles to the north-east of Deverell and Dewlish."

"No such urns are in the Stourhead Collection formed by Sir R. C. Hoare, or are known to me as found in any Wiltshire barrow, nor yet in those of Somerset or other western counties. In the British Museum there is a single urn from one of the Seven Barrows at Lambourn, Berkshire, which may be classed as of globular type. It has characteristics, however, which serve to distinguish it from the globular urns of Dorsetshire. It is of coarser make, and, instead of the small ears, has four large imperforate knobs at the shoulder. I am informed that numerous similarly shaped urns were found at regular intervals in the skirt of the barrow, but that they were in fragments, having been injured by the plough. The specimen in the British Museum is, perhaps, the only one obtained in a perfect condition."

Mrs. Kerr lent a photograph of Keys of the 13th century, which had been found in the river Arno, and which were supposed to have belonged to the Torre della Fame at Pisa, in which the Conte Ugolino della Gherardesca, his two sons and two nephews, were imprisoned. The keys were found at a depth of three metres, at a part of the river facing the *Via San Frediano* (formerly the *Via degli Anzani*) leading immediately to the "Hunger Tower."

Mr. C. D. E. Forster thought some additional interest might be given to the exhibition of the photograph of the Keys supposed to have been those which turned the fatal locks upon the miserable Ugolino, by directing the attention of the Meeting to what is probably the most

<sup>8</sup> Barrow Diggers, 1839, p. 91, pl. 8.

<sup>9</sup> Proc. Soc. Ant., 2nd S. v. 112.

touching and forcible delineation of that fearful history which plastic art has bequeathed to us, upon which he sent the following Notes.

“In poetry the pen of the great Alighieri has placed the horrid scene before our minds in words which never can be equalled; the last few lines of the thirty-second and the first half of the thirty-third canto of the *Inferno* being devoted to that narrative. In the former Ugolino is found gnawing . . . ‘Even as bread through hunger is devoured’ the nape and skull of his betrayer, the Archbishop Ruggero, and in the latter he describes the agonies of his and his children’s famine.

“The sculpture I refer to is a work in relieve, modelled in *terra cotta* by the hand of Pierino da Vinci, the nephew of the great Leonardo. This able sculptor, after studying in the school of Il Tribolo, became, as some have believed, a pupil of Michel Angelo, or, at least, a follower of his school, and attained an excellence of manner perhaps nearer in sentiment and in character of design to that of the great master than any other follower whose works are known to us. So much was this the case, that the bas-relief in question, and other sculptures by Pierino, had for centuries been regarded as productions of the great Michel. It is probable that two or more *replicas* of the *terra cotta* I allude to were executed by Pierino, and by some mistake it has been supposed that the work was cast in bronze for the Gherardesca family. This in all likelihood arose from the statement in Vasari’s biography, in which he says that a bas-relief of that subject was modelled by Pierino in wax, afterwards to be cast in bronze; and again, he says that on the completion of the model it was so cast. It is, however, well known that Vasari is occasionally somewhat inaccurate.

“I was fortunate enough several years since to purchase at Florence one of these *replicas*, which had been hanging for many years previously in a house not far off from that inhabited by Michel Angelo in the Via Ghibellina, and had always been supposed a work by that master. Happening, however, to know the composition from casts, taken as I had supposed from the bronze in the Gherardesca Palace, and feeling satisfied that the *terra cotta* was a work of that period, I thought that possibly it might be the original model from which the bronze was cast. On making the acquaintance of Count Welfreddo della Gherardesca, I learnt that the bronze was more than apocryphal, and had never existed; that the work executed by Pierino for the Gherardesca was in *terra cotta*, and actually in the possession of Count Welfreddo, it never having left the family; but that it was believed by them that more than one *replica* was actually executed at the time for other members of the family, descended from the ill-fated Ugolino. Count Welfreddo examined my *terra cotta*, kindly showing me his, and the conclusion we arrived at, after a careful scrutiny, was that they were by the same hand, and of the same period; in fact, *replicas* by Piero’s *stecco*. He courteously gave me a photograph taken from his bas-relief in exchange for one from mine, and also presented me with a copy of the work by Antonio Zobi—‘*Considerazioni storico-critiche sulla catastrofe di Ugolino Gherardesca*,’ 4to, Firenze, 1840.

“I now have the pleasure of exhibiting a photograph taken from my bas-relief, in artistic illustration of the fearful history of which the keys were the supposed instruments. The bas-relief represents a group, consisting of Ugolino, whose mental gaze of agony, his eyes being already

dim, is met by a weird and haggard figure of the demon of famine, floating above him; before are his starving children, the younger, Gaddo (an exquisite piece of modelling) just sinking in death. The moment represented is probably that when, in Dante's words:—

Poesia che fummo al quarto di venuti,  
Gaddo my si gittò disteso ai piedi  
Diando: 'Padre mio, che mo mi ajute?'  
Quivi morì. . . .<sup>9</sup>

next day to be followed by—

Vid'io cascar li tre ad uno ad uno  
Fra 'l quinto de e' l' sesto.<sup>10</sup>

“Beneath is the allegorical figure of the river Arno, into whose waters the Keys were hurled.

“Pier Francesco, more generally known as Pierino da Vinci, was born at Vinci, a *castello* near Empoli, about the year 1520. He was the son of Bartolomeo di Ser Piero, the brother of the great Leonardo. Pierino died of fever at Pisa, whither he had conveyed himself from Genoa, not having completed his twenty-third year.”

Mr. Burt drew attention to a remarkable seal attached to a small deed, brought by Sir John Maclean. “The seal was an antique gem in a mediæval setting, having Arabic characters in the centre, of which no previous example had come before the Institute. The characters were, however, so faint that they had defied the skill of one of the best Oriental scholars of the day, who could only pronounce them to be Arabic, and as being probably a personal name. The use of antique intagli as settings for mediæval seals was common, and there are many notices of them scattered among archaeological publications. Very few, however, of the matrices of such seals have been found, and none have yet been met with having inscribed letters in Arabic. Mr. Henderson had kindly sent, for the gratification of the Institute, his well-known example of such a gem in a mediæval setting. It is a small oval, representing Mercury engraved on cornelian, with a silver setting, inscribed “*Sigillum Secreti*.” Some years ago the Duke of Northumberland exhibited a gold ring set with a gem apparently of the 13th or 14th century, found at Prudhoe Castle (*Arch. Journ.*, iv., p. 161). And on another occasion, the Rev. C. R. Manning exhibited (*Arch. Journ.*, vol. xiii., p. 280) an impression from a privy seal of silver which seems to have greatly resembled that shown on the present occasion by Mr. Henderson. Other examples are doubtless known. The late Mr. Hudson Turner gave some “Remarks on Personal Seals,” which is printed in the fifth volume of the *Journal of the Institute*, in which are instanced some grotesque misapplications of legends to the subjects engraved.

“The earliest-known instance of the use of an antique gem as a personal

<sup>9</sup> As translated by Longfellow.—

“When we had come unto the fourth day, Gaddo  
Threw himself down outstretched before my feet,  
Saying: ‘My father, why dost thou not help me?’  
And there he died. . . .”

<sup>10</sup> “I saw the three fall one by one, between  
The fifth day and the sixth.”

seal, is the *secretum* of John, Earl of Montagne (afterwards King), about the year 1170. It represents a male bust which may be intended for one of the later Emperors. In vol. xi., p. 266, of the 'Journal,' is a memoir by Sir F. Madden upon seals 'en placard,' in which it is shown that the early Frankish sovereigns used antique gems or pastes representing profiles of Greek or Roman princes, and which were thought by Mabillon and others to represent the Sovereigns themselves. In vol. xviii. (p. 297) is a report of a discourse by Mr. Waterton, on the history of gem-engraving, in which he showed that the Byzantines continued to practise the art of gem-cutting with indifferent success for some ages, but at the end of the eleventh century it had completely declined even at Constantinople. He continues: 'Some few gems of the middle ages have been spared to us, but their execution is of the rudest form. The signets, which were as much required as ever, were either seals of metal, or antique intagli set in rings, with their subjects interpreted in a religious sense, and legends added with a new interpretation.' Of the curious perversions of legends which occurred under such conditions, several instances were given.

"The most interesting examples of antique gems used as *secretis*, are to be seen figured in Mr. D. Laing's valuable Inventory of Scottish Seals, first series. The 'Collectanea Antiqua' of Mr. C. Roach Smith; a memoir by Mr. C. W. King on the 'Use of Antique Gems in the Middle Ages,' in vol. xxii. of the 'Journal'; and the 'Archæologia' of the Society of Antiquaries, may also be consulted with advantage by any one wishing to follow up this interesting subject of inquiry."

#### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. C. S. GREAVES.—A runic comb, jet and glass beads, arrow-heads and many other objects of flint, lately found near Whitby, Yorkshire.

By Dr. THURSAM.—Photographs of Urns found in a barrow at Dewlish, Dorset.

By Mrs. KERR.—Photograph of Keys of the 13th century, found in the river Arno at Pisa, supposed to have been those of the Torre della Fiume; also photograph of the modern edifice built on the spot where the Torre della Fiume stood. In some of its cellars the foundations of the ancient structure still exist.—Impression of an English consular seal found in the Arno, probably seventeenth century.

By Miss FEARINGDON.—Copper matrix of personal seal, lately dug up near Tewkesbury, late 14th century, round, about 1½ inches in diameter. In the centre a cross or star (?) of eight rays; legend—"S. ADAM DE LA POUNT."

By Mr. HELYAR of Coker Court, Somerset, through Sir JOHN MACLEAN.—A Deed of the latter part of the 13th century, whereby Roger, son of Geoffrey de Pridul, released to Selina and William Pettieru, certain dues from land, in consideration of the yearly render of a pair of white gloves. The seal is an antique gem, slightly elliptical in form, placed in a mediæval setting, with the legend—"† S' ROGER . . . . . IDI VAUS." ('The seal of Roger, son of Geoffrey Vaus' †) In the centre are inscribed some Arabic characters.

By Mr. HENDERSON.—A personal seal of the 14th century, being an antique gem in a mediæval setting, legend—"SECRETUM SECRETI."

By the Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER.—Ancient Christian vestments found with a skeleton in a rude coffin of sycamore wood in the mounds of Atreeb, Lower Egypt. In several places the figure of a castle worked in blue thread upon a separate piece of cloth, was attached to the upper portion of the garment.

By Mr. READY.—A miscellaneous collection of objects chiefly acquired in Burgundy;—Nine spurs of various periods, including a fine pair, gilded, with large rowels; a very fine single spur of gilded brass; this remarkable collection is of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, mostly in good condition, and exemplifying many interesting varieties of fashion;—A large collection of spoons, chiefly late mediæval; ten spoons of earlier character, of bronze, including some probably Roman, and curious;—A bronze fork;—Eleven knife-handles of brass, mediæval;—Three clasp-knives of brass;—A steel (for striking a light *t*) of steel inlaid with gold;—Two bodkins or hair-pins, one of them silvered;—A chape of a scabbard, of brass, with fine foliage-heads, &c., chased in relief, a tasteful piece of work, sixteenth century (*t*);—Two crimped ribbands of brass gilt, of uncertain use, they may have been attached to some object of altar decoration or the like (*t*);—Three little lions sejant, of brass, such as might form the base of a pedestal (*t*);—A brass spout, in form of an animal, of rude workmanship;—Two very rude animals *couchant*, a very rude bronze animal (a ram *t*), the back pierced, probably the foot of a priket candlestick, such as sometimes have been considered Roman;—Another very rude form of a horse (*t*);—Small figure of Cupid, probably Cinque cento work, it may have held a nozzle for a candle, or some ornament in the hand, affixed to an ebony pedestal;—A silver clasp;—A button of perforated work;—Two pendant ornaments, gilt metal, one of them being a cross, the other an eagle displayed, good work, 13th century (*t*);—Fragment of a *Cofre Limoricensis*, an enamelled ridged shrine of Limoges work, 12th—13th century, one of the ends of the shrine—it represents an evangelist or apostle—a good fragment;—Six discs of Limoges enamelled work, oval, or pointed oval, portions that have been affixed to shrines or the like, 12th—13th century work;—Part of the enamelled coating of a staff of a crosier or processional cross, gilt metal chased for enamel;—Eleven shrine demi-figures, probably of Limoges work, 12th—13th cent., mostly very rude representations of saints or apostles;—Eleven portions of enamelled copper plate, 12th—13th cent., fragments of the casing of shrines, crucifixes or the like;—Hexagonal foot of priket candlestick, a good enamel, 12th century, probably Limoges work;—Ditto of circular form, 13th cent. (*t*);—Plate of enamelled gilt metal, a crucifix, the figure engraved, on the reverse the divine hand in benediction, within a cruciferous nimb, foliated decoration, the plate fitchy at foot, 13th cent.;—Twelve crucifix figures, some have enamelled portions, eyes of enamel, some of good early design, apron reaching to the knees; simple 13th century crowns. *All* have the heads bowed on the right shoulder; all have the legs affixed separately (not crossed); all are bearded; two have a torse round the brows; a curious series of crucifix figures, probably French work;—A cruciform plate, Limoges work, 12th century, the crucifix attached by rivets, a good fragment;—Crucifix of brass, drapery reaching to the knees, a remarkable crown formed with small plain crosses instead of leaves as usual;—Crucifix figure, long drapery to knees, enamelled blue,—all the



figures of this type have a girdle hanging down to the lower edge of the skirt or apron, and of different colour ;—Numerous Monstrances of copper or mixed yellow metal, for enclosing relics and the like, all of 15th century, strongly gilt, the foot, in four instances, is sixfoiled, in others round ; three are cylindrical (raised on a foot or stem, like that of a chalice) ; they appear as if intended to enclose a bone, or some object of rather lengthened form, that may have been contained in a cylinder of crystal or glass, and surrounded by the metal work, which is open, with arches or other pierced work, so that the relic enclosed might be seen ; a little hinged door at the end of the cylinder of metal was adapted for insertion of the relic, within its transparent receptacle : the door in question bore the sacred monogram  $\text{IHS}$ , or some other sacred ornament engraved upon it ; the whole was surmounted by a finial, or spire, or some such ornament, but these are now lost. Three are of different fashion ; the stem supported a little shrine or oblong ornament, like a small chapel with angle-buttresses, gabled roofs, &c., the sides being pierced with small arches. One has an elegantly formed hexagonal (?) structure, placed upon the stem and pierced with arches on each of its sides ; it probably bore a pyramidal cover or spire, but those elegantly designed portions are lost or imperfect. All appear to be of 15th century work, except one which may be *circa* 1550 : this had a glass or “beryl” inserted on one of its sides, probably to cover a relic, and be kissed by the faithful. The forms of these objects are much varied and of interest, although of comparatively late character, and all are sadly imperfect. There is a monstrance, or transparent Pyx, in which the Holy Sacrament was borne in processions, or exposed on the altar ; it is of mixed metal strongly gilt ; the stem is tall, ornamented with a knop enriched with enamels, alternately red and black : on this stem there is a circular flamboyant or radiated frame, within which has been a crystal receptacle for the sacramental water (Compare Puzin, p. 163, No. 5).

There are also several ciboria, in shape of covered cups ; they were used for the reservation of the Eucharist, and resemble in several respects the chalice, with the exception that they have covers, of semi-globular shape, which were surmounted by little spires, probably terminating in small crosses, now lost. All are about the 15th century in date. One has an inscription around the cover which cannot be explained. ✠ *pater* || *dei* (?) in good lettering ;—A brass globular box, on a low stem, the upper moiety ornamented with pierced work of elegant 16th century design, it opens with a hinge, and was closed by a catch. It was lined with lead (?) and is a *Pomme Chauffée*, for warming the hands during the long services of the church. The heat was produced by a ball of heated metal, or other substance enclosed within.—A good Pyx of gilt metal, with a conical cover : on this cover, and also on the box, there are escutcheons, barry, argent and azure ; probably Limoges work, 12th century ;—A flat Pyx of gilt metal, convex cover, the box concave within, possibly for chrism (?) ; a little opening on one edge may have been for a spoon (?) ;—A gilt metal Pyx, with low conical lid, surmounted by an orb and little cross ;—A diminutive octagonal lamp, with four spouts or nozzles,—some ornament was appended at the bottom ; this is a curious

<sup>2</sup> See Arch. Journ., xxii., p. 69, for the account of a silver globular calfactory, exhibited by the late Canon Rock.

little object, and may be late Roman (*l*):—Two Pyxes of metal, diameter about  $2\frac{5}{8}$  and  $2\frac{1}{8}$  inches: one of them has been silvered; it has had a figure (our Lord *l*) affixed on the surface, 15th century; the other, of



Pomme chaufferette.

yellow metal, has a figure of the Saviour seated on the rainbow, his feet on an orb or mound, late 16th century:—A singular box of gilt metal, measuring about 3 in. long,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  in. diameter; on the cover, which is hinged on, is engraved a flower of feeble design, and within the cover is affixed a singular little receptacle that closed with a sliding plate; the general form of this strange article may be described as in some degree like the flower of a thistle (*l*); the intention is unknown; there is no feature of any sacred kind upon it:—A pretty silver box, diameter  $2\frac{1}{4}$  in.; around the edge is the Meander or Greek fret, well executed; on the cover is a medallion in bas-relief, the subject being Rebekah at the well; this is protected by a disc of horn; French work, 16th century and quite *racine*.

# Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

## BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR 1871.

### RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
To Balance at the Bank, 31st December, 1870	30	13	1
"    in the House (including Petty Cash)	37	2	8
" Annual Subscriptions, including arrears and payments in advance for 1872	522	18	0
Entrance Fees	29	8	0
Sale of Publications, &c.	24	1	10
Life Compositions	10	10	0
Interest on Investments	16	4	4
Miscellaneous Receipts	15	12	6
Balance of Receipts, Carriage Meetings	283	10	2
Investment Account	209	5	0

### EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
By Publication Account:			
To Bradbury & Evans, Printing Journal	196	14	10
" Engravers, &c.	111	3	3
House Expenses Account:			
Rent of Apartments	155	0	0
Secretary's Salary	100	0	0
Stationery	8	14	0
Insurance	2	5	0
Repairs to Apartments, &c.	14	7	4
Library Account:			
Paid Binders, and for Purchase of Books	280	6	4
Petty Cash Account:			
Messengers, Attendance, &c.	42	11	11
Paid for postage, and delivery of Journal	31	2	3
Cleaning, Repairs, and sundries	6	12	10
Coals, Gas, &c.	1	5	6
Carriage of parcels, Bookings, &c.	3	2	9
Cabs, omnibuses and portage	1	1	6
Investment Account:			
£220 New Three per Cents, valued at	209	5	0
Balance in the Bank, 31st Dec. 1871	223	16	1
"    " in Hand, including Petty Cash	43	19	9
	567	15	10
	£1169	10	7

Audited and found correct, { JOHN MACLEAN, }  
 1 July, 1872. { R. H. SODEN SMITH, }  
} Auditors.

Presented to the General Meeting held in London, on the 11th July, 1872, approved and passed.  
 (Signed) T. M. POT DE MALAHIDE, Chairman.



## Notices of Archaeological Publications.

A CATALOGUE OF A SERIES OF PHOTOGRAPHS FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM, TAKEN BY S. THOMPSON. First Series. Catalogues of the seventh part by A. W. Franks, M.A., S. Birch, LL.D., G. Smith, and W. De G. Birch. Introduction by C. Harrison. 8vo. London: W. A. Mansell & Co.

THE value of photography to the study of archaeology has long been known, but its application on an extended scale to the publication of the contents of public museums, is the most recent feature of the art. In the autumn of this year, Mr. C. Harrison published a series of photographs of the most remarkable objects of the archaeological collections of the British Museum, with a catalogue of the whole, prefaced by an introduction from his own pen, giving a summary and general view of the entire subject of the study of antiquity. The catalogues of the various sections were prepared by officers of the different departments. Mr. A. W. Franks drew up that of the Prehistoric, Ethnographical, British and Medieval; Dr. Birch, the Egyptian, Greek, Etruscan, Roman, and the Assyrian with the collaboration of Mr. G. Smith. The mediæval seals were catalogued by Mr. W. De Gray Birch. These catalogues, in seven divisions, comprise 1041 photographs, and since their publication others have been added, as the marble from the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, while others are about to appear of the collection of Cyprian antiquities, collected by General di Cesnola, and the celebrated Assyrian tablet recounting the Chaldean account of the deluge. Next to seeing a monument itself the inspection of its impressions, cast, drawing, or photograph, is the most important to knowing its character. For smaller objects, impressions are alone portable, and for the purpose of publication or diffusion, drawings on engraved plates were required, but in the present day, photography eclipses the efforts of the best and most careful artist, and as absolute truth and accuracy is required by the student, whenever it can be obtained, the photograph is unrivalled; it neither distorts nor fails to give the details of objects of ancient art. The cases in which it is baffled are few. It cannot indeed reproduce colour, but its treatment is inexorable in giving form and outline. The price of each photograph of the series now under consideration is 2s. unmounted, when mounted, from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 9d., and the whole series costs £128 to £140. Sets of the different sections can be procured from £6 10s. to £37 7s. 6d., according to their size and mounting. It is impossible in a short criticism to enter into details of so vast a subject, but in following the order of the catalogues, the importance of some of those of the principal divisions can be pointed out. In the first stone period, or the palæolithic, there are the most important of the numerous remains found at Bruniqeuil, when France is supposed

to have been inhabited by tribes like the Eskimaux. These comprise the horn and bone implements and those of mammoth ivory, made at a period when the use of metal was unknown. The outlines and carvings of these tools exhibit the mammoth, the reindeer and the horse, drawn with a spirit and fidelity hardly to be reconciled with the primitive tools then in use (No. 10). Of the neolithic or polished stone period, are many interesting specimens from all quarters of the world, from England to Japan, comprising bone and stone instruments from the pile dwellings discovered in the Swiss lakes (No. 23), and others from the Genista caves at Gibraltar (No. 24); while the bronze period has the principal monuments of that class, the imperfectly baked terra cotta urns, celts, caldrons, trumpets, and bronze helmet from Saxony (No. 39). Excellent illustrations of these prehistoric remains are given in the threshing machine set with flint flakes from Aleppo, and another with lava from Teneriffe, showing one of the uses of the numerous flint flakes found with monuments of the period. The ethnographical section, one of the most important for the study of prehistoric art, is well illustrated by the photographs taken from the valuable collection formed by the late Mr. Christy, and deposited in Victoria Street. It is richest in specimens from Oceania, for China and India are represented in the collections of the India Office, more than by those of the British Museum, which contains only a nucleus of the civilization of the Eastern hemisphere. The stone coloni of Easter Island, called Hoa-haka-nana-la, and Tau-ta-re-gna, are the most remarkable, as they offer attempts at sculpture by a race whose arts were inferior to those of the primitive races of Europe; which race, however, never effected any sculpture more colossal than the monolithic beam of a cromlech. The Christy collection is exceedingly rich in American antiquities, and amongst the most remarkable photographs are the Mexican skull covered with mosaic of obsidian, turquoise, pyrites: the flat dagger with mosaic handle (No. 99); the Mexican sacrificial collar (No. 96), the stone seat from Hoja, Ecuador (No. 131); the bronze buckler from Ipijapa, in the same state (No. 132). The Egyptian collection has been extensively selected, and is illustrated by general views of the galleries. Objects of all ages have been photographed. In the sculpture, the red granite head of Thothmes III. (No. 203), that of Amenophis III. (No. 210), and the remarkably fine and characteristic lion of Amenophis III., from Mount Barkal in Nubia (No. 201), may be particularly cited, while amongst the smaller objects the inscribed board hung up in a school and giving directions in rhetoric and grammar (No. 280), and the glass vase with the name of Thothmes III. (No. 283), the oldest dated specimen of the semi opaque material often found in the Isles of Greece, and the sepulchre of Etruria, is a remarkable specimen. There are also photographs of a papyrus (Nos. 264—271), celebrated as the best preserved in Europe; the ritual of the superintendent of the cattle of Seti I., of the 19th dynasty, about B.C. 1350, a very successful application of the art to the class of Egyptian antiquities and most acceptable to Egyptologists. Not less interesting than the Egyptian specimens, are the photographs of the Babylonian and Chaldean antiquities of the Museum, also accompanied by general views of the galleries. Amongst them are the bricks which supplied the absence of stone in the alluvial plains of Chaldea for public buildings, and are inscribed with the names of the monarchs in whose reigns they were made (No. 365a), the slabs of the palace of Assur bani-

pal, the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, representing his campaigns against Teumman, king of Susia, B.C. 650, and his lion hunts (No. 459), the wars of Sennacherib, B.C. 705 (No. 432), the black obelisk found at Nimrud recording the tributes rendered by Jehu and Hazael king of Syria, and the annals of the thirty-one campaigns of Salmanser II., B.C. 850. The number of clay tablets photographed is considerable, including the principal historical monuments of the reigns of Tiglath-pileser II., B.C. 538, Esarhaddon, B.C. 680, Assur-bani-pal, B.C. 664, and the later discovered tablet of the same reign, giving the Chaldean mythical account of the deluge lately translated by Mr. G. Smith, which will form a supplement to the original series. The Assyrian section is followed by the Greek antiquities, which commences with views of the galleries. The marbles of the Parthenon, so familiar in all respects, are already known, and have been engraved and even reproduced in small casts and models. The series comprises the whole. It is not necessary here to go into details of that great artistic epos the Parthenon. It is sufficient to state that all the remains of this edifice in the Museum have been photographed, and give a complete series, and would alone form an important contribution to the study of Greek art. It is in its Greek galleries that the Museum is principally rich, and the series gives some of the principal sculptures. The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus is well represented both by a general view of the gallery and the photographs, of the colossal horse of the chariot on its apex, the statue of Artemisia, and a selection of the choicest and best preserved examples of the frieze. The splendid collection of Lycian marbles discovered by the late Sir Charles Fellows, are not so well given. This unrivalled collection from Xanthus and other sites, is perhaps more important for the history of art than the marbles of the Mausoleum. It exhibits in the Harpy tomb one of the oldest examples of Asiatic-Greek art, while the so-called Trophæic monument of Xanthus has a series of bas-reliefs representing the exploits of Harpagns and conquest of Lycia, in a way suggestive of the idea that the Roman triumphal columns were copied from these marbles, as the Xanthian frieze had itself copied Assyrian or Egyptian reliefs. These marbles are represented in a series of views of the gallery (Nos. 603—607), but special photographs of some of the best sculptures would have been preferable to render justice to these peculiar monuments of a mixed Asiatic-Greek race, who spoke another Aryan tongue. To this division will be added the principal objects of the Cypriote collection of General Cesnola, recently purchased for the United States. These monuments, also of Asiatic-Greek art, exhibit the influences of Egyptian and Phœnician art, owing to the mixed population and repeated subjections of the island to Egyptian and Asiatic rule. Some instructive examples of the art will be seen in a case containing Mr. Lang's collection from Dali, recently placed in the Assyrian transept. The Cypriote language was also of the Aryan family, but the strength of the Phœnician settlements is shown by the inscriptions of Melkiadeen, a Phœnician monarch of Cettum and Idalium, about B.C. 370, found in that language. To Cyprus, Phœnicians or Egyptians brought the worship of the cow-headed Athor, subsequently modified to that of the Phœnician Astarte and the Greek Aphrodite in alliance with that of the god Reseph Mical, perhaps Ekatos, or Apollo, or Dionysos. With a view to render the series instructive, some of the best smaller objects, such as fictile vases, bronzes, engraved stone, glass, and the miscellaneous

paraphernalia of Greek art have been engraved. Unfortunately, some vases, owing to colour, are intractable to photography, and only offer hazy indications of their art. The Etruscan and Roman series has a similar series of views of galleries and principal objects, both of marble and other materials of the glyptic art. The antiquities of Britain of the historical period are well represented. The prehistoric have been already mentioned. Both Celtic and Anglo-Roman remains are so well known and studied that it is only necessary to point out a few of the principal examples, such as the British shield of a Celtic horseman (No. 901), the remarkable helmet like a jester cap (No. 903), and the bronze statuette of the supposed Britannicus or the youthful Nero. In the mediæval part, the hill *Barran Coulain* of St. Culan, A.D. 908 (No. 922), the walrus ivory chessmen from the Hebrides (No. 921), and some fine examples of Arabic, Persian, Venetian, and German glass and majolica, complete this portion of the subject. There is also a sub-division of seals, or the sphragistic art. It is the most complete collection of great seals of England yet published. And as all classes, both foreign and English, are included, it is an important contribution to the study of this interesting and continuous sequence of mediæval art.

The photographs are the most remarkable and extensive contribution to the study of archaeology as yet published in this form. The public spirit with which Mr. C. Harrison undertook and carried out his scheme, and the admirable way in which Mr. Stephen Thompson the photographer has executed them, cannot be adequately praised. Some branches are still wanting, as Numismatics, which can be admirably produced by photography, with a truth of detail impossible to convey by engraving, and Palæography, which, under certain conditions, is capable of being well shown by photography. This last division will, it is understood, appear in a continuation or supplement of the original designs of Mr. Harrison.

Of all substitutes for the object itself, photography is the most portable and most faithful in all cases where it can be advantageously used. It is nature-portrait, the object reflected on the larger retina of a lens, and permanently fixed. Hereafter, when it is more permanent, it may supersede all other methods of figuring objects of archaeology.

STREAMS FROM HIDDEN SOURCES. By B. MONTGOMERIE RANKING.  
London: H. S. King & Co., 1872.

It does not often happen that a book of research is interesting to the general reader. It is more usual to find work of the kind utilised by some writer who could not have made the investigations from which he derives his information. But in this book, Mr. Ranking has united the good offices of the bookworm and the storyteller. He has arranged in a readable form seven stories from the mediæval romances, Caxton and the *Gesta Romanorum*, the *Morte d'Arthur* and the *Legenda Sanctorum*, and has prefixed to each story some account of the accessible sources from which he has taken it. The title of the book is thus doubly unfortunate, for not only does it lead us to expect tales from Sanscrit or the Sagas; which to English readers, are more or less recumbite, but it seems to assume that no one but the author is able to interpret the pages of crabbed black letter in which they are recorded. We would fain believe that not Mr. Ranking, but some editor, is responsible for this title.



The book is, however, of great value to the reader who desires to make himself acquainted with the legends and romances which form the subjects of so many ancient carvings, paintings, and pieces of tapestry. The author gives us the names of all the chief books in which versions of each story may be found, together, in some cases, with a brief reference to the Eastern or other origin of the "plot" of the story. In the course of his introductory remarks, he is thus able to indicate the place where many others may be found, besides those of which he has given a detailed account, and if only as a dictionary of this kind of information, his book, which is prettily printed and attractive outwardly, may be found very useful to the student.

One of the critics has blamed Mr. Ranking for not telling more of the origin of some of his tales in the prolific literature of the East, but he has gone far enough; and could only have done more by swelling his book to a size and price which would have wholly defeated its purpose.

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WE have been favoured with the perusal of a very interesting *Mono-graphie* by the Abbé Martigny, in the form of a letter addressed by him to M. Edmond Le Blant, "Sur une Lampe Chrétienne inédite," discovered at Saumur-en-Auxois (Côte-d'Or). On the disk is figured Jonas recumbent beneath a plant, in front of whom the marine monster, which, by its action, would seem to have deposited him beneath this umbrageous bower, is represented. Its shade is, however, diminishing, the worm having already sapped its root, and Jonas raises his hand over his head to protect it from the sun's rays. The writer refers to other lamps bearing this well-known type, and particularly to two, one figured by Bellori, having the Good Shepherd in the centre surrounded by the cycle of Jonas, Noah, the sun and moon, &c., the other in the Vatican. Also to a fragment of a terra cotta vessel in the Kircherian Museum. He further refers to a bronzo lamp figured by Bellori, on which the Jonas is represented in high relief, beneath the large ring handle for suspension formed as a branch of gourd, encircling the early form of the  $\text{X}$ . The subject on the Saumur lamp differs, however, from the general type in the form and position of the marine monster and otherwise. The vagueness of the Biblical description of this monster has permitted the early Christian artists to vary its form in accordance with their own imagination; generally it is represented with an enormous head at the end of a long and slender neck, a huge body supported on two paws and prolonged in a spiral tail, terminating with a fan-shaped fin.

The tail of that under consideration is concealed beneath or behind Jonas, and the position of its body (differing from that generally depicted) is advanced in a direction away from, while the head is turned towards him, over its back. But the form of the body is more remarkable, in that its raised back approaches in outline to that of the dolphin or porpoise, or other species of that marine family, probably an intentional resemblance. This idea is supported by the character of the surrounding border, composed of small dolphins alternating with ivy leaves, a peculiarity unique on Christian lamps.

The learned Abbé writes: "On pourrait, je crois, avec toute vraisemblance, appliquer au sujet qui nous occupe quelqu'un des attributs que

les anciens, Aristote, Sénèque, Plin, Elien, et, après eux, les écrivains chrétiens ont assignés à ce poisson. Ils représentent le dauphin comme l'ami de l'homme, et lui attribuent une sollicitude toute particulière pour ses restes mortels. L'antiquité chrétienne se plaît à enregistrer des faits qui viennent à l'appui de cette ingénieuse et touchante théorie. Pour m'en tenir à un seul, je cite les actes de S. Lucien où il est dit que le corps de ce martyr, précipité dans la mer, en fut retiré par un dauphin qui le transporta sur le rivage, afin qu'il pût recevoir les honneurs de la sépulture. Le poisson ou monstre quelconque qui accueillit Jonas au moment où il était sacrifié à la sécurité de l'équipage, le sauva des périls de la mer et, après une hospitalité de trois jours et de trois nuits, le déposa sur la plage, joue à son égard le rôle d'un affectueux dauphin, et c'est à quoi, si je ne m'abuse, l'artiste a voulu faire allusion."

Hence the adoption of the dolphin by Christians at an early period, as shown on the sarcophagus of Petronilla, on tombs in the cemetery of Domitella, and elsewhere. Lamps and coronas of gold, ornamented with that figure, were suspended in churches in the fourth century; Constantine gave such to his Basilica. Another curious and unique representation on the Saumur lamp is that of the worm sent by God to gnaw the root of the plant, and which is seen beneath the figure of Jonas.

The Abbé Martigny suggests that this lamp may be of the latter half of the fourth century of our era. The emblem of Jonas occurs on monuments from the second to the fourth century, as shown by De Rossi. The leafy shade is sometimes represented as a bower or cradle and sometimes as a branch of a fruit-bearing wild gourd, the *cucurbita* or *coloquinte* — *Κολοκίθη*—probably the plant still to be seen growing upon the sandy hills of the Philistine shore. St. Jerome, on the contrary, in translating, defined it as the ivy, *hedera*, while St. Augustin maintained that it was the *cucurbita*: hence arose a discussion among the faithful in Africa.

On the lamp under consideration the latter plant is rudely represented as trained on a trellis, whence the Abbé Martigny infers that the lamp was made anterior to St. Jerome's version of the history, given in 384, which spread rapidly, and was more generally adopted by the Western Churches. The Western artists accordingly altered their representations of the subject, as may be seen on sarcophagi of the fifth and later centuries in Italy and Gaul, instance one in the museum at Arles, published by Millin; on the other hand the catacombs of Rome offer no example of the ivy-shaded bower, their painted and sculptural decoration being of an earlier period. It may, therefore, be surmised that the people of the locality in which this lamp was discovered had been converted to the faith as early as the fourth century, an inference supported by the fact that the material of the lamp is similar to that of other antique pottery found at Saumur, in the vicinity of which place a pottery would seem to have existed, and among the fragments of which coins of the sons of Constantine were found. We know that some part of Burgundy was converted to Christianity by S. Benignus and others in the second century, and it is not unreasonable to presume that Saumur was not isolated from their influence.

## Archaeological Intelligence.

"The Art Treasures of Lambeth Library; a Description of the Illuminated MSS. and Illustrated Books, with outline Lithographic Illustrations," is the title of a work which has just been published by Mr. S. W. Kershaw, M.A., Librarian. This Manual gives a sketch of the Library, and describes the general and artistic features of each illuminated MS., followed by a list of the paintings contained in it. These Art Treasures have never been specially noticed, and are only generally known by the Catalogue of the MSS. compiled by Dr. Todd. A small number of copies only are printed, price 15s., for which application should be made to the Author, the Library, Lambeth.

We are glad to learn that Part VI. of Sir John Maclean's valuable "History of Trigg Minor in Cornwall" is in a forward state, and that subscribers may expect to have it delivered very shortly. This Part will complete the first volume of this publication, to the preparation of which the Author has devoted several years of patient study and research, and will be accompanied by carefully-compiled indices to names of persons and places, and to subjects. The present volume will extend to nearly 700 quarto pages, and will be illustrated by about thirty full size plates, and a number of engravings of ancient crosses, armorial bearings, &c. The work is particularly rich in genealogical matter. Another volume will complete the laborious task the Author has taken upon himself. Subscribers' names should be sent to Sir John Maclean, F.S.A., Pallingswick Lodge, Hammersmith.

Publication is announced of the "Fasti Monastici Aevi Saxonici," giving an alphabetical list of the Heads of Religious Houses in England previous to the Norman Conquest, by Walter De Gray Birch, of the British Museum. This is a subject upon which many archaeologists must have often found difficulties, and they will be pleased to find that it has been taken up by one so able to deal with it. The publishers are Taylor and Co., Little Queen Street, and the price is 5s.

Capt. T. P. White, R.E. (of the Ordnance Survey), F.S.A., Scot., proposes to publish "Archaeological Sketches of the District of Kintyre, Argyllshire." This district of the Western Highlands is rich in early relics, which Capt. White's occupation has given him special facilities of noting and sketching. The interesting subject of the topographical nomenclature of the district will also be specially dealt with. The work will be in 4to. and contain above a hundred illustrations; price to subscribers 11. 11s. 6d.; publishers, Messrs. Blackwood, Edinburgh and London.

"No. 1" of a new Antiquarian Journal entitled "LONG AGO. A Monthly journal of Popular Antiquities" has just been published in London, price 6d., office, 86, Fleet Street. It proposes "to follow in the honoured footsteps of Sylvanus Urban, Gent."







No. 1



No. 2

Gold Rings in the Possession of A. W. Franks, Esq.

# The Archaeological Journal.

DECEMBER, 1872.

## ON A ROMAN KEY-LIKE FINGER RING OF GOLD, AND A BYZANTINE BICEPHALIC SIGNET OF THE SAME METAL.

By C. DRURY E. FORTNUM, F.S.A.

ON two former occasions<sup>1</sup> I have ventured to direct attention to certain finger rings of the Early Christian and immediately succeeding periods, the great interest of which arises from typical representations occurring upon them, symbolic of the, then, newly-promulgated and adopted faith.

Through the kind courtesy of my friend Mr. Augustus W. Franks, Director of the Society of Antiquaries, I am now enabled to supplement these notices by a description of two rings, recently added to his choice *Dactyliotheca*, each of which is of singular interest and rarity.

It may be recollected that in my last paper (at page 290 of our twenty-eighth volume) I described and figured a key finger-ring of bronze, the projection from the bezel of which is pierced with the figure of a Greek cross, corresponding to the wards of the latch-lock it was intended to open, and I urged that this device warranted the presumption, that it had been made for the use of a believer in that symbol of the atonement. In confirmation of my opinion I referred to a key-ring, of similar model, preserved in the Christian Museum at the Vatican, and which is believed to have been found in one of the catacombs.



The key-like ring now under consideration might seem to have been formed for similar use, but is of a more noble material and far more dainty fashion. In this respect nothing indeed can be more elegant, the artistic workmanship corre-

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Journal, vol. xxvi. p. 137, and vol. xxviii. p. 266.

sponding with the beauty of the design. (Woodcut No. 1.) Its form is a wide hoop of flattened gold, twelve times fluted or channelled externally, and ornamented with a foliated and pierced scroll-work edging. Each fluting has a central square piercing, in which one letter of the inscription is reserved in the metal, and from which the ground is entirely cut away (*découpé-à-jour*). I have ventured elsewhere to designate this style as *champlevé-à-jour*. It is the *interrasile opus* of Pliny's day, and was in use from the time of Severus; an ornamentation of which I know no finer example than this ring.

The inscription round the hoop reads *MVLTVS ANNIS*, the twelfth space being occupied by a leaf; while on the upper side or *chaton* the words  $\frac{ACCIPERE}{DVLCIS}$  occur in double line, between three plain bands of the metal. Thence projects the tongue or lift, by which, if practically serviceable, a latch may have been raised, opening the door or lid of casket, cabinet, or other treasure house, the contents of which would gladden our antiquarian eyes could we but see them. The piercing or seeming wards of this projecting tongue, is as a diaper of Greek crosses, nine in number, attached by pellets of the metal, and bordered laterally with a corded edging, on the top with scroll ornament. The width of the hoop is  $\frac{4}{10}$ ths of an inch, its diameter  $\frac{7}{8}$ ths, and the projecting tongue  $\frac{5}{8}$ ths long by  $\frac{6}{10}$ ths wide; the weight of the ring is 192 grains.

Another fine ring, ornamented with the words *AEMILIA ZESES* in *opus interrassile*, belongs to the Duke of Northumberland, and is figured in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. vii. p. 192. In vol. xxvi., at page 141, I have described and figured a more humble example from my own collection.

I have been informed that a key-ring of silver occurred among the *trouaille* at Ostia in 1858, but, if published, I cannot now quote the reference to it; the present is, however, the only instance, of which I am aware, of a ring so formed in the more noble metal.

I term it a key-like ring from its correspondence in form and character with others of the same class in inferior metal, but that it was intended for use as a key may, I think, be open to doubt. That it was fashioned as a birth-day, or New Year's gift, from one member to another, of a Christian family, of the latter half of the third or earlier years of the fourth century, is, I believe, more probable. The arguments



used in favour of the Christian origin of my bronze key-ring<sup>2</sup> confirm the latter inference. The kindly words upon it are such as may be found both on pagan and Christian rings and ring-stones of that period, for the most part, however, conveyed in the Greek rather than in the Latin language.

In support of the former suggestion I have figured another bronze key-ring from my own collection, found at Rome; devoid of ornamentation, but corresponding in form, and probably of about the same period as its more noble contemporary. This was undoubtedly made for service as a key.



In the Waterton Collection, at the South Kensington Museum (No. 551, '71), is one with a circular lift, pierced with seven holes, and attached to the hoop by a neck, as is the case on mine.

Our information on the origin, uses, and import of these key-rings, which are found abundantly on various Roman sites, and in great variety of form, is still very imperfect. Learned writers<sup>3</sup> have connected them with various quotations from the classic authors, having reference to the habit of securing the casket or the wine cupboard of ancient days, but in so doing they have frequently superadded confusion to our imperfect knowledge; the method of securing by the impression of the signet ring on clay or wax, attached to the door by a cord or otherwise, being sometimes confounded with the rings in question, which were presumably formed for turning locks or lifting latches. That they were for both these uses is assured by an examination of various examples in collections, and by a reference to the figures given by Licetus,<sup>4</sup> Montfaucon, and other writers. The lateral wards attached to a pipe projecting from the ring-formed handle can be for no other use than turning on a central pin, and driving the bolt; while on other varieties the projecting tongue could only be used for lifting a latch, on the plan of the so-called "French latch-lock." One

<sup>2</sup> Arch. Journal, vol. xxviii, p. 290.

<sup>3</sup> See Gorlaei, Dactylioth. 42, 205-209.

<sup>4</sup> Licetus de Anulis, 1645, figures seven varieties, of which one is a latch. Six are with pipes; of these Nos. 2, 5 and 6 are, I suspect, the original cuts, which

Georgius Longus and Francisco de Corte have badly reproduced. One of them has the figure of a rudder between two ears of corn engraved on the bezel. His No. 8 is precisely similar to one in my collection.

example in my own collection combines both these arrangements, a piped key projecting from one side of the finger ring, and a double-tongued (one half unfortunately injured) latch-key from the other; it could, therefore, open and close two distinct locks of small size and probably was so used. Notwithstanding, it has been doubted whether these key-rings were really intended for use; but if merely emblematic why the great variety and intricate arrangement of the wards on some of the examples in our collections? almost equalling those of the larger keys of bronze and iron which have descended to us from Roman times. That they were frequently used as talismans in a darker subsequent age is probable. Boldetti tells us that it was the custom for the Pope to send keys (?key-rings) to great princes, to some of gold, which had been lowered through an opening in the altar of the confessional into the vault, to touch the tombs of the Saints Peter and Paul; referring particularly to some sent by S. Gregory I. (Pope A.D. 590—604.) This statement has been referred to by the learned Abbé Martigny and other writers. Boldetti figures some found in the catacombs, and it has been supposed that they might have had talismanic powers from having been placed in contact with the relics of saints. He also tells us that, in his day, silver key-like rings were suspended to the necks of children as charms, said to have come from the Santa Casa at Loretto. He, however, figures one (No. 37) which he distinctly states to have been used for the ordinary purposes of a key.<sup>5</sup>


<sup>5</sup> Boldetti, Osservazioni sopra i Cimiterj De' S. S. Martiri, lib. II. cap. xiv. p. 597. "A numeri 36 e 37 si veggono delineate due Chiavette di metallo in-scrite negli Anelli trovati in diversi Cimiterj L. Puro di quella del N. 36 potrebbe ascrivervi al pio costume de i Cristiani antichi di toccarvi le Reliquie de i Santi, o altre cose Sagre, e poi per devozione portarle o in dito, o addosso; e corrispondendo in ciò la loro pietà alla Fede, venivano con esse ad esser pre-ervati da i mali. Anzi i sommi Pontefici costumarono di trasmetterle a i gran Principi in luogo di Reliquie, e massime quelle d'oro calate prima da una piccola finestra dell'Altare della Confessione del Principe de'li Apostoli S. Pietro *ad lauriondam Sanctitatem*. Di una di queste chiavi trasmessa da S. Gregorio Papa in dono a

Gio: Ex Console così parla il medesimo Santo: '*Clavem parvulam à Sanctissimo corpore Beati Petri Apostoli pro ejus benedictione transmissimus*' (S. Greg. I. l. I. c. 26 and c. 31). Ed altrove '*Beati Petri Apostoli vobis claves transmissi, que super agras posite multis solent mirabilis curare*'; e scrivendo a Childeberto (c. 6, l. 5). '*Claves Sancti Petri, in quibus de Vinculis Cætorum ejus inclusum est, excellunt vestro divicimus, ut collo vestro pensæ à malis vos omnibus tæantur*'. Il che diede poi occasione alla pietà de i Fedeli di restituirne altrettante d'oro da collocarsi ne i Cancelli della

<sup>1</sup> Upon this statement Mr. Waterton founded the opinion that the huge, so called, "papal rings" contained filings of St. Peter's chains.

Kirchmann refers to key-rings, but without giving any very definite explanation, nor does Longus throw much additional light on the matter. Licetus, writing of the use of the signet to secure treasure, &c., further refers to key-rings. Mr. Waterton supposed that they were used by slaves. Edwards<sup>6</sup> repeats the opinion advanced by some Roman archæologists, that they were given at marriages, and emblematic of the possession of the husband's household goods by the wife. Others suppose that they were given to the affianced bridegroom by the future bride's father, in token that his house was opened to his son-in-law. Mr. King thinks that they must have been the secret keys, *crypto claves* of the ancients, as being concealed when turned inside the hand.

But few deny that some, at least, among these bronze key-rings must have been made for practical purposes, as a convenient and safe form of portable key for opening the casket or the cash-box; a fashion which has been renewed in our own times.

The doubt, however, again arises as to whether the beautiful and delicately-formed ring of nearly pure and soft gold, now under notice, could really have borne any such practical application; and this doubt is strengthened by the fact, noticed by Mr. Franks, that the projecting tongue or lift is attached to the hoop, not merely by a neck, but in all its breadth; differing herein from those of bronze which I have figured. The latter would pass through and up the inverted  T-shaped key-hole, whereas it is difficult to conceive an arrangement which would permit of the up-

Confessione di S. Pietro in contrassegno di gratitudine per le grazie ricevute per mezzo delle altre donate loro da i Papi. Rimane anche oggi l'uso di sospendere dal collo, o da gli omeri de i Bambini alcune chiavette con anelli di argento fatte a somiglianza della chiave, che dicono essere della stanza della B. V. che si trova in Loreto, sperimentate di molta virtù per il contatto della medesima, o pure di qualche altra insigne Reliquia.

"La piccola chiave poi delineata al No. 37, congiunta coll' anello, e sigillo, era di quelle, che gli Antichi in uso appunto di sigillo, e di chiave da aprire, e chiudere gli Scrigui, come riflette l'erudito Nicolai, per non ismarrirle, sempre portavano in dito a guisa di anello." (Jo.

Nicolai di sigtis, antiquor, cap. 44, de acquir: vel amittend: poss:

"*Mere claves sunt cum annulo, qualis et hodie in nostris Clavibus, que sunt longiores, scapo digiti inscribantur, et annuli sigillatorii quò commodius verti possent intrà claustrum; Scapum quippe non habent, quo teneri queant quippe sit instar manubrii. Excepto annulo totà intrà claustrum mergebantur.*"

"Festo ancora fa menzione di alcune chiavette, che costumavansi mandar in dono alle Donzelle, come annunzio di felicità nel futuro parto. '*Clavium consuetudo erat mulieribus donare, ob significandam partus facilitatem.*'"

<sup>6</sup> Hist. and Poetry of Finger Rings, p. 196.

ward passage of such a tongue as that upon Mr. Franks's ring.

In the collection of Lord Braybrooke is a finger ring of mixed metal, "similar to that of many of the Roman denarii," with a broad tablet bezel on which a lion passant is represented in high relief, and gilt. Thence projects a tongue or flap, but not hinged, rounded at the end and "incuse" with figures, which may represent a central vase, on either side of which a bear is seated, facing his fellow. Seven minute holes open between the vase and the limbs of the bears, which have been supposed to have some reference to the Pleiades. It was found in December 1853, in the Borough field, Chesterford, with Roman remains. Here we have the openings in the tongue (doubtless somewhat filled in by the oxydation of the metal), which also is affixed to the hoop in its entire breadth.

In the Museum at Basle, Mr Franks informs me that there is another ring of the same class, of gold, with the inscription FELIC . AVROR . worked in niello on the bezel, from which projects a tongue of pierced work formed as two eagles, with some object between them. It was found at Augst, and may be of the Merovingian period.

Both these examples would be equally impracticable as latch-lifting keys.

Considerably modified, but partaking of the same character as to form, is the well-known ring in the British Museum, bearing in niello the name of Ethelwulf (A.D. 836-838), the father of Alfred the Great, the pyramidal projecting tongue of which is ornamented with eagles on either side of a central standard. This ring is also figured in the *Archæological Journal* in a paper on Niello by Mr. Waterton, vol. xix., p. 326.

May we not, therefore, infer that these rings were fashioned, not for practical purposes, but as representative of their earlier, as also contemporary, and more useful prototypes, and possibly emblematic of that office or position in the household or the family, which entitled the holder to the possession of the key-ring? Or were they merely eccentric developments of antique fancy, of which we have abundant parallel instances in our own day?

Another form of ringed key, which in the smaller examples became, and was probably worn as a key-ring, of later date

and probably Byzantine origin, is figured by Licetus, at fig. 4 on his folding-plate, but he omits the *chaton*, a characteristic feature seen on all those specimens which I have examined. They consist of a short-stemmed and piped key, suspended to a ring, which passes through an eye purposely formed, and kept in position by a projecting shoulder on either side; the substance of the ring, thicker where the key is suspended, diminishes towards the opposite point of the circle, where it is attached to a circular button-like bezel incised with inscription or figures. A series of these keys, of various sizes, is preserved in that rich mine of antiquarian wealth, the British Museum. One, I believe unique, is in the possession of my friend, Mr. R. H. Soden Smith, F.S.A., the hoop and bezel being of silver, and the key of bronze; the subject engraved on the *chaton* is too indistinct to be recognisable; it seems to represent a man fishing. There is every reason to believe that this was worn as a finger ring. Possibly the double security of locking and sealing may have been attained by the use of this curious variety.

The second ring which I have to describe is one also of unusual type, and remarkable for the amount of ornamentation with which it is covered. (Woodcut No. 2.) In form it consists of a rectangular bezel or table, perfectly plain, but on which two portrait heads, confronting each other, male and female, and beneath a Greek cross, are deeply incised. The hoop is formed of a series of small circular discs, having a pellet of gold on either side of the point of junction with each other and with their attachment to the bezel of the ring. On each of these is a bust, with leaves in the background; they seem to be alternately male and female, as shown by the cruciform fibula on the shoulder of the former, and the ear-rings of the latter. These busts are engraved and filled in with niello; their drawing is carefully finished, but marks the decadence of art.

There can be no doubt that this fine Byzantine *bicephalic* ring was used as a signet, and that it belonged to a person of high position; possibly a matrimonial or betrothal gift. It has been suggested that the heads resemble those of the Emperor Leo. I. and Verina (A.D. 457-74), but it is doubtful whether they are Imperial portraits. They are probably of man and wife, and are deeply and well incised. The male figure is clad in a toga, which is fastened on the

left shoulder by a large cruciform fibula, worn with the point upwards. This would seem to be of the same kind as that massive one of gold found at Odiham in Hampshire, and figured at page 46 in Vol. ii. of our Journal, which is now preserved in the British Museum. His hair is closely cut over the head, with whiskers and moustache. The hair of the female is dressed in a frizzed (?) coil or roll behind, whence small ringlets, four of which are shown, fall over the forehead; in her ears are ear-rings formed of two large beads or pearls, a string of which adorns her neck. Her dress consists of a simple under-garment, covered by one which falls over either shoulder. The workmanship of this ring is massive, but rather rude; it weighs  $445\frac{1}{2}$  grains. I am inclined to ascribe it to the middle or perhaps the earlier half of the fifth century. It is clearly of similar character,



although, to judge from its superior art, possibly of somewhat earlier date than that more simple one in my own collection, described in the Journal, vol. xxviii. p. 291, and which may probably be of about A.D. 440; both are of gold.

This fashion of double portrait signets was in use in earlier times, as witnessed by many well-known gems and metal rings. Mr. King refers to one of gold in the Uffizi at Florence, having the busts of M. Aurelius and L. Verus incised on the metal.

As might be surmised, the habit of engraving in intaglio on the metal for the signet, worn as a ring, existed at a very early period, both among the Etruscan<sup>7</sup> and Italiote inhabitants of Italy, and from still earlier times in Egypt. By the Greeks it was much used at various periods on bronze, iron, silver, and gold, as also by the Romans, and its practice was probably more or less retained among the

<sup>7</sup> A recent learned writer on the glyptic art has stated that no rings of bronze had come under his observation which were anterior to the later times of the Roman Empire. My own collection affords bronze rings of form, and incised in intaglio of sufficient depths for sealing, with subjects of purely Tyrrhenian character. Egyptian signet rings of

bronze engraved with hieroglyphics also occur. One in the Lonsdale collection is engraved in Fairholt's "Facts about Finger Rings," p. 77; "Rambles of an Archaeologist." Another is in my own possession. Greek and Roman engraved bronze rings of early date are also well known in collections.

Byzantines when the sculptor's art was dead to the barbarized nations of the west.

The engravings of the two rings now described are of the dimensions of the originals. It is presumed that they were found in Egypt, where they had been preserved in the Demetrio collection until acquired by Mr. Franks.

## GAULISH FORTRESSES ON THE COAST OF BRITTANY.

(AR CHASTEL COZ, THE OLD CASTLE, FINISTERE.)

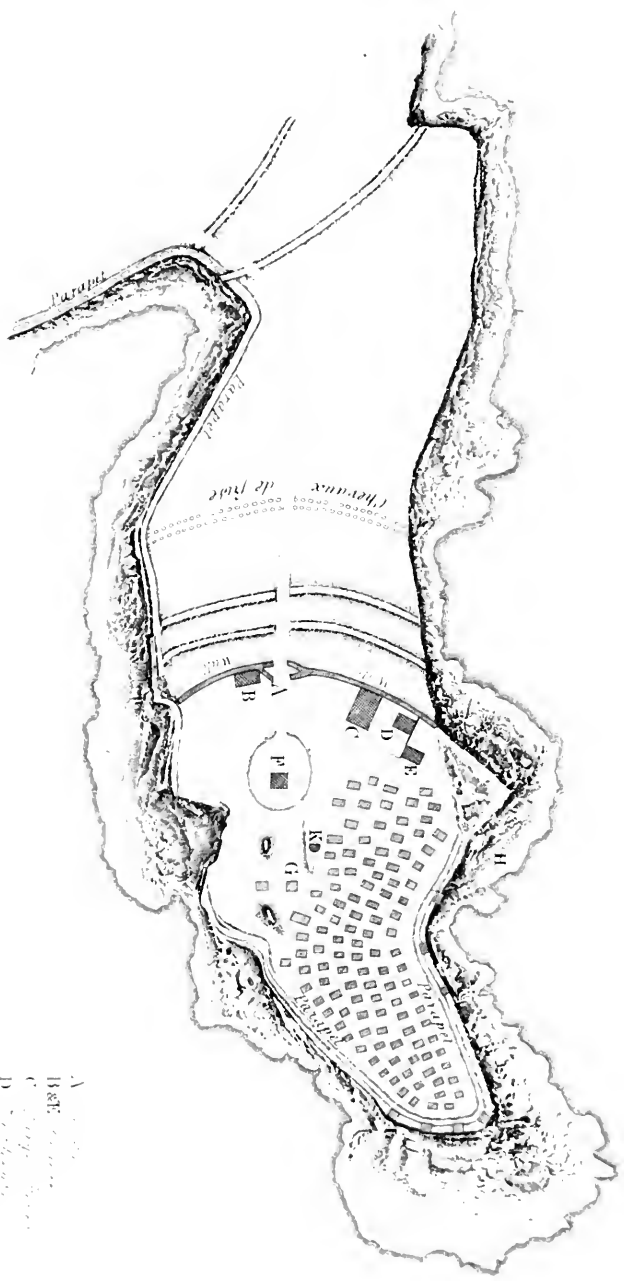
By R. F. LE MEN, of Quimper.

ABOUT half way between Douarnenez and the Pointe du Raz, and following the Roman road, which runs parallel to the coast-line, the traveller reaches the bourg (or what in England would be called a village) of Beuzec-cap-Sizun. This bourg, situated on the summit of an almost uncultivated plateau, from which the sea is visible, was formerly the chief place of a deanery and territory known in the middle ages as Pagus-cap-Sizun. It embraced within its limits eleven parishes, and must formerly have been a place of considerable importance, if one may judge from the number of Roman and Celtic monuments still remaining. It is bounded on the north and west by the sea, on the south by the Bay of Audierne and the river of Pont Croix, and on the east by the small streamlet called Riz, which runs into the Bay of Douarnenez.

The ancient parish of Beuzec, so called from St. Budoc, a Breton saint of the sixth century, has become so much reduced since its transformation into a commune, at the end of the last century, that the traveller can find no accommodation of any kind. The church, with the exception of the tower (a copy of the remarkable one at Pont Croix), is devoid of all details of interest.

The bourg is little more than a mile from the sea, which is reached by a narrow path across a wild heath, rapidly descending as it approaches the shore. At this point an immense rock, with almost perpendicular sides, and rising the height of about 150 ft. above the level of the shore, forms a small peninsula connected with the mainland by a narrow tongue, which is not always safe to cross with a strong west or north-west wind. This work is called by the natives Ar Chastel Coz, or old castle; and its claim to be called a castle is fully borne out by the strong defences constructed by men at a period when such a work, in con-





*Plan of Castle St. Augustin*

- A. Bastion
- B. E. Bastion
- C. Ramp
- D. Bastion
- E. Bastion
- F. Bastion
- G. Bastion
- H. Bastion
- K. Bastion
- L. Bastion



nection with its natural defences, was impregnable. These defences consist of five entrenchments, with two lines of stones set up edgewise, and running right across the tongue of land which gives access to the rock.

The following is the arrangement of the various defences. At the entrance of the peninsula, and where the slope of the ground is such as almost of itself to serve as a defence, two banks start from a common point above a little creek, and run divergingly towards the south-west, thus forming an angle. They have no ditch or fosse on either side of them, and are about a yard high. The one which runs a little more to the south is composed of stones and earth, and loses itself on the hill which commands the beach at a distance of 44 yards from its commencement; the other, formed almost entirely of blocks of granite, runs right across the strip of land. Beyond these two lines of defence the ground slightly inclines towards the north as far as that part of the isthmus where it rises to the platform of the rock terminating the peninsula. It is exactly at the spot where the ground thus begins to rise, and nearly 110 yards from the two lines just mentioned, that a system of defence occurs which I have not observed in other ancient fortresses in Lower Brittany. It consists of two rows of stones, from 2 ft. to 3 ft. high, set upright, like little *menhirs*, in two rows, 4 ft. 8 in. apart, and running across the whole breadth of the neck of land. Some of these have been removed, principally in the central portion of the lines; but the rows are very perfect at each extremity, and reach to the very edges of the precipices on each side, thus completely intercepting all approach to the interior.

The escarpment which separates these lines of stones from the rocky platform has three entrenchments accompanied with fosses, and placed about 13 or 14 yards from each other. The first two are composed of earth and stones, one of them measuring in height, from the bottom of the fosse, 2 yards 8 in., and the other, 11 yards 4 in.; the third and innermost one, which touches the platform, serves as the base of a wall, 2 yards 2 in. thick, of dry but regular masonry. In its centre is the entrance, 5 ft. wide, the sides of which are flanked by two large blocks of stone. The height of this third line, including the wall on its summit, is 20 ft.

On the other side of this line stretches the platform divided by a rocky crest into two slopes of unequal extent, the western one of which is not very steep, while the other forms an escarpment on the eastern side. It is on this crest that the buildings of the semaphore and *corps de garde* now stand. A parapet with its *chemin de ronde*, constructed of earth and stones, some of them being of considerable size, runs round on the west, north, and east sides of the platform, and continues following the precipice as far as the entrance to the peninsula, where it ends, after having turned the little creek, from which start the two diverging lines already mentioned. In this particular portion it is formed entirely of large upright stones placed near each other. This parapet, which is in its highest parts about a yard high, appears to have been made, not so much with a view to defence, as to prevent dangerous accidents to the inhabitants, especially during storms, and at night time, when a false step might cause immediate destruction.

The whole surface of the platform, and especially the western slope, is marked with shallow depressions of a somewhat rectangular outline, and surrounded with a ridge of earth of greater or less height. These depressions are the sites of ancient dwellings, and are so numerous and so regularly arranged that they remind one of the cells of a beehive, or the cellular tissue of certain plants. More particularly in the evening, when the sun's rays fall obliquely, is this arrangement conspicuous. Notwithstanding, however, the care exhibited in this economical use of all available space, still there was apparently not sufficient room, for several dwellings have been established outside the parapet on the steepest slopes, giving the appearance, as it were, of hanging over the sea. Some of these have been partly destroyed by the falls of rock, which are constantly taking place in different parts of the coast.

A group of six houses alongside of the third wall which defends the entrance to the platform on the south side deserves more particular notice. The first two, of triangular form and very small dimensions, have been built inside the wall one on each side of the entrance-gate A.<sup>1</sup> The third, B, situated a little more than two yards to the east of this

<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested that these two walls. They seem more like guard chambers are simply forked ends of the same. See plan.

entrance, is of rectangular form, 30 ft. long, by nearly 17 ft. broad, touching the rampart, and constructed of flat stones of a moderate size sunk in the ground with their sides touching. Other stones are placed above this first course, or range, so as to form as regular courses as the material permitted.

About 32 yards to the west of the main entrance occurs the most important structure of the whole fortress C. Rectangular in form, like the preceding one, and also resting against the ramparts, it measures 14 yards long by 9 broad. The walls, nearly a yard thick, are of dry masonry, but the stones are smaller than those used in the building B, and are arranged very carefully. An enclosure, the banks of which at present are very low and composed of earth and stone, runs from the north-west angle and connects it with a building E, of the same rectangular form as the preceding, placed about 12 yards further to the west, and constructed exactly in the same manner as B, but measuring only  $5\frac{1}{2}$  yards by 3. (See fig. 9.) A kind of court, in which a depression of the ground indicates the remains of a house, lies between the rampart and the enclosure which connects the two houses C and E.

In company with M. Grenot, in the month of June, 1868, I first visited Castel Coz, which, up to that period, seems to have been unknown to antiquaries. In 1869 I made several other visits, and on one occasion with Mr. Burt, one of the honorary secretaries of the Royal Archaeological Institute, but without discovering anything which could throw light on its origin and history. Some small fragments of pottery, which were evidently ancient, but of no decided character, and a few irregular flint chippings, which had been brought by moles to the surface, did not give sufficient grounds for forming any opinion. There was, indeed, a striking resemblance between this fortress and the entrenchments so common in Finistère, and usually assigned to the middle ages, and in or near which are constantly observed traces of dwellings similar to those at Castel Coz, in connection with the conical *butte* or mound, which is surmounted usually by the remains of a rectangular tower. On the other hand, there was some analogy with the fortified places, enclosing traces of circular habitations, as lately noticed in France, and more particularly in Wales and Scotland, and which are

sometimes regarded as places of refuge for the inhabitants anterior to Roman times. In this difficulty I thought that the spade and pickaxe would answer such questions more satisfactorily than the most ingenious conjectures; and having been provided with the means by a small grant from the Council-General of the Department, with the assistance of M. Grenot, I commenced operations in September, 1869.

During fifteen days' digging, the houses (B, C, E, among others) were proved to be rectangular, with one exception, which, abutting against the rock, was semicircular. The ordinary dimensions of the rectangular sites were  $5\frac{1}{2}$  yards in length and 3 yards 1 ft. in breadth. They had not the carefully-executed masonry of the houses B, C, E, but were simply hollows sunk in the ground down to the bare rock, varying in depth from 2 ft. to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft., and the outline marked by a low ridge of earth. The walls are simply the sides of the natural rock, except where, in some instances, occurs a kind of dry masonry of small stones roughly put together. In the majority of cases the fire-places are of circular form, and of little more than a yard in diameter, and placed about 6 in. under the level of the ground, being surrounded by pointed stones placed upright in the ground.

At the time of the discovery, one of these hearths still retained some cinders mixed with animal bones and a great number of shells of the common limpet. A second fire-place was also found in the house E, with cinders and charcoal upon it. (See fig. 9.) It is formed of a large stone placed against the wall on the south side.

The fire-place in the house C differed altogether from those of the other houses. (Fig. 10.) It occupied the south-west angle of the chamber, and was of rectangular form. Two blocks of unwrought stone bounded it on the north and east sides. A third stone inserted in the wall near the angle projected about a foot above the level of the floor, as if the hearth or fire-place had been originally covered entirely with stones. In the interior its breadth is 4 ft. 8 in., its length 3 ft. 3 in., and the opening between the two stones one or two inches more than the length. No traces of doorway or staircase were found in any of the houses examined; the open space in the eastern wall of the chamber C, and which, at first sight, might be taken for a doorway, has been caused by the falling of the stones.

Hence it is probable that the occupants descended into their abodes by means of ladders or wooden stairs. It is also to be remarked that each house is complete in itself, and in no case has been divided into two parts by a cross wall, as is frequently the case in similar dwellings in Wales and Scotland. Excavations were made in ten houses, which led to the discovery of a great many objects, of which the following is an account :—

I.—Twenty mill-stones, or rather large stones on which grain was crushed—of these seven are entire—the others have been more or less broken in early times. They are all of granite, and from variety of form may be divided into five classes.

(1.) Two rather thin and long grinding-stones with straight sides. Their extremities are equally rounded and raised, and of the same thickness. The upper face hollowed out, somewhat like an English saddle, and the lower one smooth and rounded. The length slightly exceeds 16 in. and 12 in., and the breadth is about 7 in. These mill-stones have been formed of flattened stones, the sides of which have been cut away to diminish the breadth. The depression on their faces has been produced by the friction of a muller, pushed backwards and forwards by the two hands. When used, they were probably placed on the knees of the person crushing the grain.<sup>2</sup> (See fig. 1.)

(2.) Five stones, four of which are incomplete, thicker at one of their extremities than the other. The under side is slightly flattened, the upper one hollowed out, but in an oblique direction. These belong to the most common type of primitive implements. Mr. Albert Way has noticed several in his account of the objects discovered by the Hon.

<sup>2</sup> Two similar millstones and one muller were found, two years ago, by M. Briot in digging up a wood on his estate of Kerlagattu, about two miles from Quimper. A bronze statuette of rude character, representing the god Mars, and many portions of Gaulish vases enclosing burnt bones, were also found at the same time. A few months back M. Grenot and myself found several flint chips and quartz pebbles, which had served as percussors. The ground, in which all these objects were brought to light, occupied an elevated position, and was formerly

surrounded with entrenchments, traces of which still remain. On the same estate, and within a short distance from this fortified place, M. Briot, from twelve to fifteen years ago, destroyed several graves, consisting of hollows of little more than five feet long, covered with flat stones, the sides being formed of stones placed edgewise on the ground. These graves, which are of a type common in Finistère, and which are, in fact, nothing but little dolmens entirely buried in the ground, contained, at the time of their discovery, some polished stone celts.

W. O. Stanley in circular dwellings near Holyhead, and described in the *Journal of the Institute* and in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.<sup>3</sup> I have myself mentioned in the latter publication some that have been found in Brittany,<sup>4</sup> under menhirs and dolmens, and in the subterranean gallery of La Tourelle, near Quimper. Since the publication of that account M. Grenot has discovered four more of the same kind in a covered alley near the village of Gonesnac'h, about ten miles from Quimper. These kinds of mills are still in use in parts of Asia, Africa, and America, and have been accurately described by Dr. Livingstone in the account of his travels. He states that, in South Africa, "they use a block of granite, syenite, or even schist, from 16 in. to 18 in. square by 5 in. or 6 in. thick, while the muller is a piece of some similar hard rock about the size of an ordinary brick, and convex so as to fit the hollow of the under stone. The woman grinds, kneeling, and with her two hands moves the convex stone, much as a baker does his dough, backwards and forwards. From time to time she adds a little grain, which, when crushed, falls on a mat placed there for the purpose."<sup>5</sup> In the specimens I have seen, the surface used in this rubbing and crushing the grain is frequently regularly worn away, through its whole extent sometimes. In some specimens it is hollowed out in the centre and furnished at the top and sides with a rude moulding of greater or less projection. The museum at Vannes contains one or two of these millstones which have been found in dolmens. When the mill has long been in use, this surface becomes worn away, and the extremity by which the meal or flour escaped is

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Journ.*, xxiv. p. 229; *Arch. Camb.*, third series, xiv. p. 385.

<sup>4</sup> *Arch. Camb.*, third series, xiv. p. 205. The Museum of St. Germain possesses two similar millstones; one from Ablesville, the other from a tumulus near the Grand Salet Lake, in Utah, in the United States of America. They have also been found in the lake of Neufchâtel (Mourel), "Matériaux pour l'Histoire de l'Homme," iii. p. 263; in the grottoe of Bouy-Haute (E. O.), and of Sacary, near Tournon (*ibid.*, ii. p. 139; iii. p. 212); in the Cave of Bodeillac (Arige), collected from M. le Comte de Lamar at Vannes, &c.

<sup>5</sup> The Zambesi and its affluents. In

that part of Algeria where the Arabs still live a wandering life, the women who have the duty of preparing the food of the family make use of Roman mills, which are composed of two stones, one convex, the other concave. The former she turns with her right hand, inserting the grain with her left hand, through a small aperture made for that purpose. The meal is caught on some material placed for that purpose. When the tribe is on its travels, the woman carries the mill on her shoulders. M. Olivier, of Quimper, formerly a sub-officer of Spahis in Algeria, is my authority for this account.





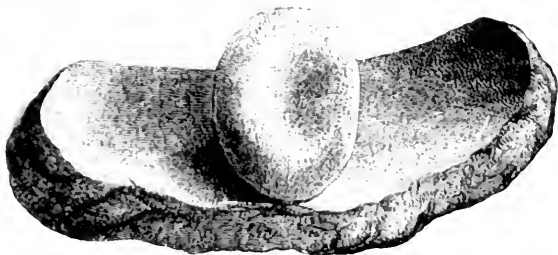


Fig. 1.—Length about 15 inches.

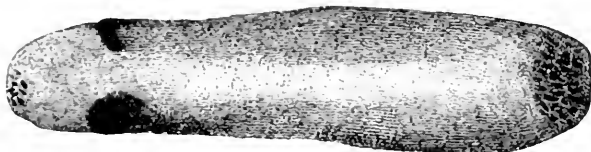


Fig. 2.—Length 6 inches.

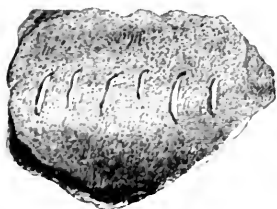


Fig. 3.—Original size.

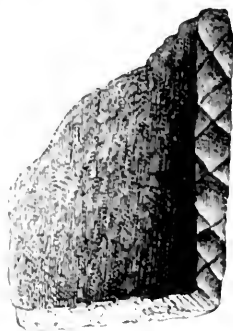


Fig. 4.—Original size.



Fig. 5.—Original size.

Ancient relics found in Castel Coe.

Fig. 1. Stone on which grain was crushed with a muller. Similar stones have been found in Angkor by the Hon. W. O. Stanley. Fig. 2. Pestle with hollows for the fingers. Fig. 3. Pottery marked by the finger nails. 3, 4, 5. Fragments of pottery, original size.

very much reduced in thickness. This portion is, therefore, almost always found broken.

(3.) A millstone with its upper face perfectly flat. It is the only specimen of this kind that I have seen.

(4.) Eight small flat millstones, of oval form, and measuring about 12 in. by 7 in. The upper face of these is either flat or very slightly convex. These millstones from their lightness were probably supported on the knees by the left hand, while the right hand worked a flat muller-face. They are all more or less fractured. A similar millstone was found some few years ago in the *oppidum* of Castel Mur, on the sea-coast between Castel Coz and the Pointe du Raz. M. Grenot discovered a second near Audierne, in a place near the coast, called Trez-Goarem, where, among some chips of flint and quartz and pieces of very coarse pottery, there were indisputable traces of Roman occupation.

(5.) Four round granite pebbles, 10 in. long and from 5 in. to 8 in. in breadth, bearing on one of their faces evident marks of friction. These appear to be millstones in a half-finished state.

(6.) The half of a kind of porringer (*écuelle*), nearly 6 in. in diameter, holding an intermediate place between millstones proper and the stone mortars found in circular habitations in England, but which are entirely wanting in Castel Coz. It is made out of a hard reddish granite with a quantity of quartz crystals. It is also well polished by long use. It was found in the chamber E. A similar object, both as regards its form and dimensions, was found a few years ago under a rock near the town of Tregunc (Finistère), where are so many menhirs and two rocking-stones.

With the exception of the last mentioned article, all these millstones came from the great chamber C.

II.—About a hundred mullers (*molettes*), the greater part of which are more or less broken, some being round, others flat, and measuring from 2 to 8 in. in diameter. These are simple rolled stones collected from the beach, and require no particular description. One of them, however, has been worked with considerable care, and reminds one of the ordinary mullers used by painters in grinding their colours.

III.—Twenty pestles (*pilons*), formed of straight long stones brought, like the last mentioned, from the shore, some being round, others flat, from 4 to 8 in. long. (See fig. 2.)

All of them have their extremities marked with traces of percussion. Some of them present on each side towards their upper extremity little hollows to receive the thumb and middle finger, while the forefinger pressed strongly on the instrument when in use. In one of these implements, the sides of which are unusually flat, these little cavities have been replaced by dotted work (*pointillé*), and evidently with the same object, namely to prevent the fingers slipping on the smooth face of the stone.<sup>6</sup>

IV.—Eight small quartz oblong stones, a little more than 3 in. long, and narrower in their middle. These seem to have served as burnishers.

V.—Sixty hammers or percussors, being mostly irregular pieces of granite, more or less angular, and having natural depressions, such as to receive the fingers. Others are formed of flattish quartz boulders, or compact *grès*, of oval form, and very smooth. Several of these last mentioned have an artificial cavity, or kind of fretted work (*pointillé*), which is excellently adapted for assisting the grasp. They all of them bear marks of percussion, so as to leave no doubt of their use and object. One of them, however, is of a different form, being spherical. It is a pebble of quartzose *grès*, and has many traces of hard usage as a hammer. These various types of hammer were also found in the subterranean chambers of La Tourelle, near Quimper.

VI.—Nineteen sharpening stones, many of which are of a fine hard grain. They have evidently been used for a long period, and are furrowed with lines produced by some sharp-pointed implement. The largest of them bears on its surface marks of oxide of iron. Their length varies from 2 to 10 in., and one or more of them were found in all the excavated chambers in Castel Coz. They are exactly like those found at La Tourelle.

VII.—Eight buttons or spindle-whorls of baked clay, without any ornament, and measuring in diameter from 6 to 8-5ths of an in., and 4 to 6-5ths in thickness. Some of them are equally convex on both sides; others having on one side the form of a truncated cone, and more projecting than the other. They all came from the large chamber C, except one, which

M. Paolo Livy has found in a dwelling on the Lac de Fimon (Venice) a stone cut, in which a small hole has been

worked, near the handle, to receive the finger. (Montillet, "Matériaux pour l'Histoire de l'Homme," i. p. 323.)



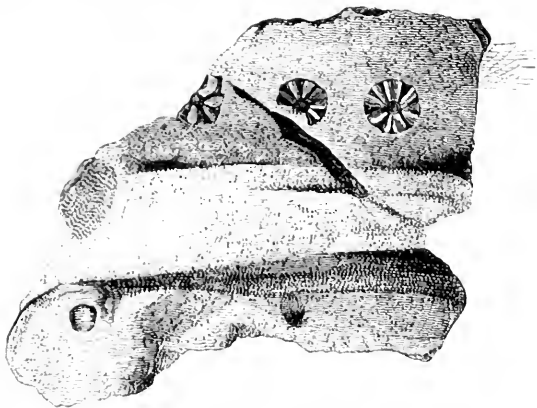


Fig. 6.—One-third original size.

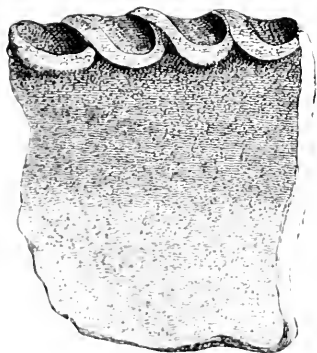


Fig. 7.—Original size.

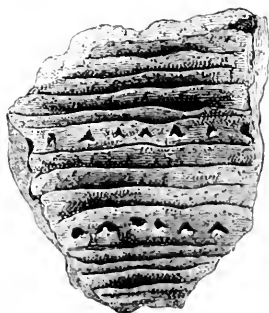


Fig. 8.—Original size.

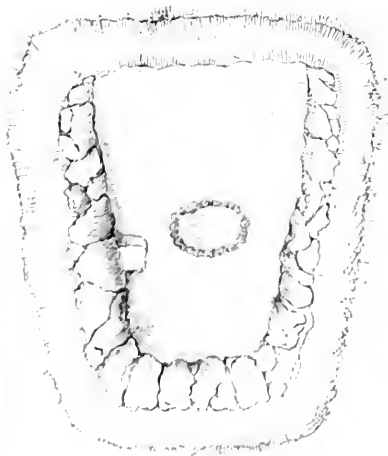


Fig. 9.

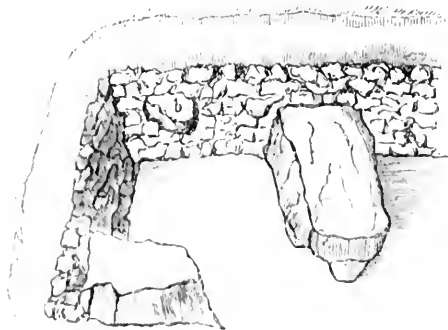


Fig. 10.

Ancient relics found in Castel Coz

Fig. 6, Fragment of a large vessel impressed with ornaments like spoked wheels. Fig. 7, Fragment with ornamental rim. Fig. 8, Fragment with triangular punctures and parallel line. These wood cuts are from drawings by Mdlle. Le Men. Fig. 9, Interior of the house E, with two fire places. Fig. 10, The place in the house C.

was found in a kind of enclosure or court, contiguous to the chamber, but about a yard from the wall of it. Archæologists are not yet agreed as to the intended use of these objects. They are considered to be either spindle-whorls, buttons of garments, amulets, or marks of distinction. It is possible that they have served more than one use ; but it is certain they are found in large numbers in caves, in dolmens or cromlechs, and with lacustrine remains.<sup>7</sup> They have also been found in Palestine associated with the most primitive productions of human industry. They must, moreover, have continued in use during the occupation of Brittany by the Romans, for I found seven or eight specimens while excavating a Roman settlement a little more than half a mile from Quimper. Mr. Stanley also discovered several in the circular habitations of Ty-mawr, near Holyhead, with Roman coins and pottery. A large number of those found in Northern Europe are made of stone, while those found in Brittany are more frequently of baked clay.

VIII.—A button of bone with a central aperture, and which has served the same purpose or purposes as the articles just described. Its interior diameter is nearly an inch, and its thickness about half an inch. One of its faces is conical, the other convex, and it bears traces of fire.

IX.—A ring of white glass, having a slight violet tinge, and broken in two pieces. The interior diameter measures two-fifths of an inch, the exterior about twice as much. There was also found part of a blue bead of a necklace.

X.—Half of a bead of a necklace in blue glass.

XI.—A plain bronze ring, having an interior diameter of about an inch. It has on its inner face a kind of projecting moulding.

XII.—A very small bead of a bronze necklace.

XIII.—A bronze implement 2 in. long, terminated at one of its extremities by a ring. It is difficult to conjecture the use of it, unless, perhaps, it may have been a kind of punch or a bodkin.

XIV.—Twelve portions of stone celts or axes, among which are three with cutting edges. One of them is of flint, three are of quartz, and the others of a fine and compact *grès*.

<sup>7</sup> In the Museum at Vannes are spindle-whorls of burnt clay exactly similar to those found at Castel Coz. These were discovered in the dolmens of Keriaval, of

Mane Kerlud (Carnac), of Er Hourich (in La Trinité-sur-Mer), of Resto (Moustoir-ac), and of Mane-lud and Mane-er-Hroeg (Locmauer).

XV.—The lower part of a bronze sword, still having one of the pins by which the handle was secured.

XVI.—Ten fragments of swords of oxidised iron. They appear to have belonged to two different weapons, one of which was curved, and little more than 1 in. in breadth. The second, which had only one cutting edge, was somewhat less broad.

All the above objects, commencing with No. VIII., came from the chamber C.

XVII.—Several flint chips, which have served as points of arrows, knives, or scrapers. These flints have been procured by the inhabitants of Castel Coz from the pebbles found on the sea-shore near their abode. These pebbles, which are generally of small dimensions, give a somewhat irregular cleavage, and hence the implements thus manufactured do not display that excellence of working that occurs in other parts of France, where flint is not only much more abundant, but occurs in larger masses. These chips were found not only in all the excavated houses in the Castel, but throughout the whole extent of the fortress, and even on the outside of the entrenchments. Close to these chips were found a great many of the cores from which they had been detached.<sup>b</sup>

XVIII.—More than a hundred sling-stones which have been worked into their present form by natural agency alone. Their average length is about 2 in., and they were discovered in all the houses, especially in C, where they were heaped up in a mass. In addition to these there was in all the houses that

<sup>b</sup> It is not always safe to trust to flint chips, if found near the sea, as evidences of early occupation, unless accompanied with objects of such a kind as to furnish some grounds for assigning to them a high antiquity. In examining, a few months ago, one of the finest covered alleys in Fini-tère, in the commune of Plodivance, near the Bay of Audenne, I noticed in the interior several flint chips, which I could not understand, as the floor of the gallery bore no traces of recent excavation. A peasant, however, soon advised the my lord by informing me that, when they wanted a flint for their tinder-box, they took some flint pebbles from the shore and broke them on the massive stone of this gallery. Even to this day the Bretons, in some

remote districts where the common match-box has not yet penetrated, obtain their fire by reducing the thoroughly-dried roots of oak and other trees to charcoal on a strong and quick fire. This charcoal is then placed quickly in a little horn or bone box secured with a cork attached by a small copper chain. By means of a flint and steel fire is obtained either for domestic purposes, or lighting pipes when employed in the field. The carbonised roots are called *tout*, and the *tout* box was once an indispensable article in a Breton tannhouse. Pelletier, in his dictionary of the Breton language, at the word *tout*, says that at the commencement of the seventeenth century this kind of tinder was almost universal in Higher as well as in Lower Brittany.



were examined a great number of larger stones of a round form, but which appeared to be too large to be used with a sling, although they may have been intended to be thrown by hand against the enemy.

XIX.—An immense number of fragments of hand-made pottery, as various in form as in the quality of the earth of which they had been made. They may be divided into three groups.

(1.) Vases of considerable dimensions, from 15 to 20 centimetres across, and in height from 0·25 centimetre to 0·35 centimetre. They are made of coarse clay containing little silicious pebbles, and are badly baked. They are of various colours, grey, brown, and reddish, all three colours sometimes being found in the same vase. The bottom is flat and thick, and slightly projecting, and bearing all round it marks of the pressure of the thumb in joining it more firmly to the body of the vase. Some of them have a spheroidal form, with a pattern formed by the impression of a finger or nail, surmounted by a short neck. The neck is frequently surrounded by one or two projecting fillets marked by oblique impressions, so as to give the appearance of a twisted rope. Others more or less resemble the form termed *ollaire*, and that called *pot-à-fleur*. They terminate with straight or slightly curved limbs, which are ornamented either with finger marks or by oblique lines, which in some instances are crossed by others, thus forming the cross of Saint Andrew. (See fig. 4.) None of these vases had any traces of a handle.

(2.) Vases of a small or moderate size, of fine clay well baked, without traces of silicious particles, with a few exceptions, where they exist in very minute quantities. These were also hand-made, but made with great care by means of stone or wood implements, which have left, both on the inside and outside, numerous traces of their employment. Some of these are of brown or grey earth, frequently covered with a black coating called *vernis de graphite*, being apparently produced by black lead, and which readily disappears by washing. Others again are of a more delicate material and reddish colour, and, if dry rubbed, exhibit a brilliant red patina, not unlike some kinds of Samian ware. These vases are, for the most part, cups with receding stands and projecting brims, and some of them are not more than 4 centimetres deep, with diameters from 8 to 25 centimetres.

Similar vases have been found in the dolmens of the Morbihan and of Finistère. Some have a spheroidal form with the rims furnished with a small moulding, the form of which appears to bear a resemblance to Roman pottery. Their ornamentation consists of chevrons and parallel lines, sometimes separated by rows of points. Two fragments have impressions of a circular form, which seem to have been effected by a round tool with a flat end impressed on the soft clay.

(3.) Thick vases, of large dimensions, of red clay, in which occur, instead of the silicious particles, small portions of *schiste talqueux* presenting numerous white specks. The material is soft, greasy to the touch, easily scratched with the nails, and cut with a knife as easily as soap. The very numerous fragments of this kind seem to have been portions of large flat-bottomed shallow bowls and spheroidal-shaped vases, very similar to the vessels still commonly used in many communes of Finistère for carrying milk to the towns. The rims of both kinds of vases have projecting flat lips, the upper face of which is hollowed out into one or two deep grooves, which go all round the edge. Their ornamentation consists of spirals, or concentric circles, and of series of parallel lines cut obliquely by other lines. A kind of *dolium* made of the same clay, 15 millimetres in thickness, and which, in its entire state, must have had its greatest diameter measuring 45 centimetres, is ornamented with a series of impressions measuring 25 millimetres across, representing wheels of eight spokes, reminding one of the bronze Gaulish wheels which are found frequently in France.<sup>9</sup> (See fig. 6.) The edge is also hollowed out by a deep groove or channel, and furnished with an upright handle, pierced with a small hole a centimetre in diameter.

Lastly, there is a very large vase, the exact form of which it is not easy to determine from its remaining fragments, which have projecting ribs or mouldings about the size of a little finger of ordinary dimensions. Those ribs occur only in the exterior of the vessel. This vase is of white clay, and is totally dissimilar from any of the preceding ones. These fragments of pottery were found in all the houses that were excavated, and especially in C; and, although nothing

<sup>9</sup> Numerous examples have been figured in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.

but fragments were found, they occurred in such numbers that it was not difficult to ascertain the exact forms of the principal type.

XX.—Eight discs of clay, of which the diameters vary from 22 millimetres to 6 centimetres. These are, in fact, nothing but portions of vases ground into their present form. They were found in several of the houses, but their use seems uncertain. Similar objects were found in the tumulus of Mane-Rumentur, in Carnae, and are at present in the museum of Vannes.

XXI.—Several hundred little round polished stones of different colours, and which were collected from the shore. They were found in all the houses to which they had been brought from the beach, but for what object is unknown. Mr. Stanley, who has also found similar stones during his excavations at Tynawr, near Holyhead, asks if they might not have been intended for some kind of play. The conjecture is very plausible, but it is still a conjecture, to which I take the liberty of adding another. There exists in the Indian Seas, the Maldivian Islands, &c., a little yellow shell of the division *Cypræa*, and vulgarly known as *Monnaie de Guinée* (*Cypræa moneta*). These shells are picked up by women three days before and after the new moon. They are then sent to India, Siam, Africa, &c., where they are used as money by the Negroes. Is it not possible that these little pebbles might have been employed in a manner somewhat analogous to the *Cypræa moneta*, or, at least, have served as counters?

XXII.—Some portions of clay, burnt into brick, and bearing impressions probably of wicker-work, and found in chamber C amidst charcoal and burnt bones.

XXIII.—A large number of shells of the common limpet (*Patella vulgata*), which are excessively common among the rocks of Castel Coz and the whole line of sea-coast. They were found embedded in a mass on the hearth of one of the small habitations, and also in C. From the effect of time, they have become brittle to the greatest degree.

XXIV.—A great many bones of mammalia of various kinds and sizes, which, from my imperfect knowledge of comparative anatomy, I am not able to assign to their different species. Among them, at least, is the tusk of a wild boar, about three inches long. They are all more or

less broken, many of them longways, and many in consistence are like rotten wood. These were found in the same places as the limpet-shells.

XXV.—A portion of the rim of a vessel of Samian ware, and certainly of Roman make. It was found just below the turf, in such a position that it may have been brought to the place after the habitations had been demolished.

These numerous objects here described were found very unequally and variously scattered among the different houses of the fortress. The smaller houses contained only mullers, percussors, sharpening-stones, flint chips, sling-stones, and some few fragments of pottery scattered about on the ground. Not a single dwelling contained a millstone, or ornament, or sufficient fragments of pottery to make up a vase. The houses, in fact, were apparently stripped of the most important implements, and of all objects more particularly valued by their owners. On the contrary, in the large chamber C, besides hammers, mullers, sling-stones, flint chips, which were found in great numbers, there were found twenty mill-stones, stone hatchets, arms of metal, divers ornaments, and, lastly, the *débris* of hundreds of vases. I use the term *débris*, as there was not found a single entire vessel, although among them were some which must have been nearly half-an-inch thick. The greater part of the mill-stones, mullers, stone hatchets, and all implements which might have been adapted either for defence or other personal use, were broken to a greater or lesser extent. Most of these objects bore manifest traces of a tool, either a pointed hammer or metal punch, which had been employed in breaking them. It is clear, therefore, that this destruction must have been intentional. On the other hand, the collection of arms, implements, and vases found in chamber C was so large that, in their entire state, they could not have found room, even supposing that the four walls of the chamber had been furnished with ranges of shelves over one another. These, therefore, may have been brought out of the smaller houses and collected into the principal one for the more secure and speedy destruction of all the resources of the castle. To make certain of their object they made an immense fire, which extended along the south side of the building. Into this they threw the various implements, having previously broken them. This appears to have been

the case from the cinders and charcoal among which they were found, and from the fact that all of them bear marks of the violent heat to which they have been exposed. The same thing had occurred on the hearth where the burnt bones and shells mentioned above were discovered. These facts seem to warrant the conjecture that the same persons who took this castle were the authors also of this destruction. One thing, however, appears to me, from a careful examination of the whole ground, that, after the sacking and destruction of the castle, it was then finally and for ever abandoned.

After the description of this castle and the objects contained within it, follows naturally the question, who were the inhabitants? They could not be Bretons of the early Middle Ages, because the arms and implements of that people were totally different from those of the occupants of Castel Coz. I do not wish to suggest that, as regards industrial details, the Bretons were much more advanced: I am even convinced that in some respects (as, for example, that of pottery) they were their inferiors; nor were their habitations better constructed, but iron, which is so rare in our fortresses, was in general use with them. The Bretons had besides borrowed from Roman civilization certain implements and forms of vases, which are entirely wanting at Castel Coz. Nor was it the Romans race that left such extensive traces of residence in so many parts of our country of so lasting and decided a character. The Romans, besides, were too skilful tacticians to establish themselves in such situations as that of Castle Coz, where they could not take advantage of their military superiority. We have, therefore, no alternative but to place as far back as the time of Gaulish independence the occupation of this fortress.

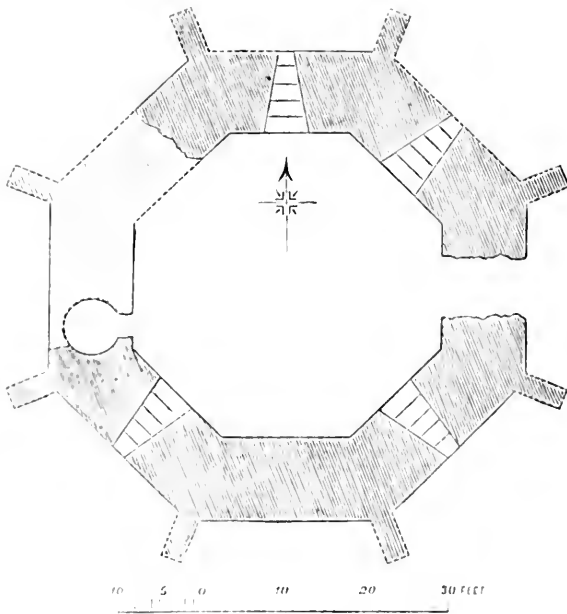
The comparison of these habitations with others noticed in France and in certain other localities, the Gaulish origin of which is established by historic documents, does not permit us to doubt that Castel Coz was a Gaulish *oppidum*, analogous to those which Cæsar has described in his Commentaries. The place was, moreover, admirably calculated for a place of refuge to a population accustomed to rough weather, and to whom the most simple conveniences of life were unknown. Not only were the inhabitants safe from all attacks of enemies, but nature had supplied them

with resources which would permit them to sustain a siege without fear of being starved out ; for, from the middle of a large rock, which rises to the west of the fortress, issues a spring of water very abundant during the greater part of the year, and never dry in the hottest part of it. It was from this source that the workmen employed in the excavations supplied themselves ; and, although my visit was at the end of the summer, yet it still furnished a satisfactory quantity. On the other side there was a plentiful supply of shell-fish close at hand, and even at the present time this part of the coast is celebrated for its abundance of fish, so that one is almost sure of meeting with fishermen at the extreme north of the peninsula—the only spot where a descent to the sea is possible. About 150 yards to the east is an abundant stream, whence in ordinary weather a supply of water could be had ; and, even in case of a siege, it was possible to reach it by means of boats.

It was not easy to ascertain the precise number of houses in Castel Coz ; but I endeavoured to arrive at some approximation by placing a small square of paper secured by a stone wherever a depression in the ground marked the site of a house. When I had placed all the squares of paper I had, namely, 108, there yet remained a great number of houses not thus marked out, so that I was not able to complete my operation. But I think that I may, without any exaggeration, place the whole number at from 150 to 200 ; which, allowing five persons to a house, would give us a population of between 750 and 1000.

The foregoing memoir has been reproduced from the *Archæologia Cambrensis* by courteous permission of the Cambrian Archaeological Association, and with corrections and additions by the Author, from whose careful and important investigations of Gaulish remains further notices of a very remarkable class of ancient vestiges may be anticipated.





Ground Plan of Odham Castle, Hants.



## ODIHAM CASTLE, HANTS.

By G. T. CLARK.

ABOUT a mile north-west of the town of Odiham, in the tything of North Warnborough, stands what remains of this ancient Castle. It is placed on the left bank of the White-water, a rather copious stream, which rises about two miles south, and flows northwards to fall into the Loddon at Swallowfield. About the Castle the ground is low and flat, and in consequence very wet. The Basingstoke canal has been carried across the marsh, and being now abandoned and choked with weeds, adds to the dreariness of the scene. The place no doubt was always one of strength, and the open woodland about it was favourable to the preservation of game, and to the wilder kind of sporting in which the Plantagenet monarchs took great delight.

Whatever may have been the extent of the Castle in its great days, its remains in masonry are confined to a single tower, now in a very dilapidated condition. This tower is an octagon, described within a circle of about 29 ft. radius, the faces, not quite equal, averaging 22 ft. 6 in. The walls, casing included, were 10 ft. thick ; the interior faces, therefore average 14 ft. 9 in., and the interior diameter from face to face is 38 ft. At each angle is set a buttress of 4 ft. projection and 2 ft. breadth, rising to the summit, or nearly so, of the building, now about 60 ft. high, and which, the parapet and part of the wall being gone, may have been 8 ft. higher. As the tops of some of the upper windows remain, it may be inferred that the height, when complete, did not exceed 68 ft.

The material of the tower is a conglomerate of small flint nodules grouted in a large quantity of very good mortar. The whole exterior seems to have been faced with small ashlar blocks, possibly of Caen stone. The casing is

gone, but the mortar has preserved the beds of the stone more or less perfect. The same stone was used in the interior for dressings for the openings, and for a band about 4 ft. high at the base of the wall, and for the groining of the internal angles. In these two latter positions some of the ashlar has been left undisturbed. About one-third of the tower, including most of the two western faces, has fallen, but though the remainder is very rough, and a mere mass of flint conglomerate, held together by the excellence of the mortar, the cores of the buttresses remain, and enough of the recesses of the window openings to show something of their original form and dimensions.

The tower is composed of a basement and two stories. The basement floor is about 6 ft. below the exterior ground level. It was about 12 ft high, and six of its eight faces appear to have been pierced. Of these openings five within commence at 1 ft. from the floor. They were round-headed, and 4 ft. wide. They converged upon an ordinary loop, and as the sill rose by six steps, the base of the loop was about a foot above the exterior ground level. Three of these recesses are tolerably perfect. The sixth opening, judging from an appearance in the wall above, may have been the door into the base of a well-stair, ascending in the wall to the summit. Such a stair there was likely to have been, and the hollow in the wall is more like that for a staircase than for a chimney shaft or a garderobe vent, and the weakening of the wall by such staircase would account for its having fallen on this side. The stair, if such it was, occupied the south end of the south-west face. Two of the openings in the basement have been called doorways of entrance from without. What remains scarcely leads to this conclusion, and it is exceedingly improbable that there should have been a door on the ground level, when there certainly was one on the first floor. Sir E. Home's plan, mentioned below,<sup>1</sup> shows a sort of staircase in the centre of the tower, as though descending to a sub-basement floor. Of this not a trace is visible, and in so wet a soil a chamber much below the surface would be usually full of water. As regards the ground-floor entry, it is very possible that here, as usual, a basement window may,

<sup>1</sup> In the *Archæologia*, vol. xxix. plate xliii, is given a plan of Odham Tower, but accompanied by no description, and

without date. It was laid before the Society of Antiquaries by Sir E. Home in 1810.

in modern times, for the convenience of entry, have been converted into a door, and so the present appearance produced.

The first or state floor was about 30 ft. high. Its south face was occupied by a very capacious fireplace, with a bold hood and mantelpiece of ashlar, now gone, and it had a round back and a large circular chimney shaft carried up vertically in the thickness of the wall. Of the other seven faces two are gone, and four are pierced with lofty round-headed arches, about 8 ft. broad, and slightly splayed. These no doubt terminated in small coupled windows. In the east face is an opening without splay, evidently a doorway, and no doubt the main entrance, with an exterior stair, as at Brunless and Coningsburgh. In an adjacent face is a large square locker.

The upper floor also had a fireplace, a smaller one above that on the state floor, and in front of its chimney shaft. This lesser shaft seems to have been of ashlar. The arch of the fireplace is of three pings, each of large thin red tiles, having a very Roman aspect. In this floor the window recesses were ranged in pairs, two in each face. Of these three and a half pairs or seven window arches remain. In the east face is a small locker. This story may have been 18 ft. high.

The floors were of timber, and composed of large beams, laid about 6 in. apart. As the wall is the same thickness throughout there are no sets-off, and the walls are pierced with square recesses for the beams. As these recesses are not parallel but radiating, it is clear that the floor rested, as in the Wakefield Tower in the Tower of London, upon a central pier or post.

There are no traces of any mural chamber of any kind.

The history of this tower, the character of its casings, the thickness of its walls, and the round-headed figure of such arches as remain point to the Norman, or commencement of the Early English period. Nevertheless, it is in plan very unlike the usual Norman structures, and the buttresses, clearly original, are characteristic of a very much later period. If it be Norman or transitional, it is very late, indeed in the style as late as the reign of Richard I., but it must be confessed that the buttresses are much more in harmony with the date of Richard II.

The tower stands near the centre of a roughly-circular

platform, about 38 yards diameter, slightly raised above the marsh, and surrounded by a ditch. Beyond this ditch there is, on the north-east front another enclosure with its ditch, and the canal seems to have been carried through something of the same character. All this looks as though there was an earlier fortification of earth and timber, probably the seat of the Saxon Odo, of whom nothing is known or surmised but his name.

There are no traces of any other masonry than the tower, and if it stood alone this would account for the otherwise marvellous exploit, of the castle having been held out by thirteen men for many days against the Dauphin's army. Of course, the extent of wall which so small a garrison could defend would be very limited, but with a tower such as Odiham, well victualled, and a fire-proof door, an army, especially if unprovided with mining tools or military engines, as with an invading force would not be improbable, could do but little. Nevertheless, some of the records relative to the Castle indicate other buildings besides the tower, though all traces of them are now gone.

Odiham has no history before the time of Domesday. That it was the seat of a Saxon lord is to be inferred from its name, though some authorities repudiate "Odo" and his "Hame," and substitute for him Woodyham, Oodyham, Odiham, an etymology no doubt applicable enough to the district.

In Domesday King William is recorded as holding Odiham in demesne; Earl Harold had held it. It is twice mentioned in that record, and was in the hundreds of Edefeleand Bernesplet, though a hundred of Odiham is also named. Nothing is said of a Castle, nor does the name of the Bishop of Winchester, to whom it has usually been attributed, occur, either then or afterwards, in connection with the lordship, borough, or Castle. Among the royal tenants occur certain "Taini regis," who were represented in the reign of Edward I. by the "Homines et sokemanni regis," who then had common of pasture in Odiham.

Richard I. held Odiham. In the first year of his reign certain payments are entered upon the Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer connected with it. Roger fitz Renfrid accounted for 20s. for a cowhouse or vaccary there; Wm. de Bend, for 100s.; and the sheriff accounted for 12*d.* for land held by Richard de Rollos. The town also fined 20s. for a murder.

Odiham is frequently mentioned on the same rolls in the reign of John, who was there nineteen times in nine years, for at least forty days in all. In the third of John, Wm. de Bend' is probably represented by Adam de Bengeres, who appears with Richard de Rollos.

5 John. The men of Odiham had a charter concerning the manor and they held the vill in fee farm at a fine of 100 marks or £35 4s. rent.

6 John, 1204. King John was here on the 28th July. Probably he had a palace here, for such there certainly was a little later at Odiham, and it is said to be represented by a farm house still known as "Palace" or "Place Gate." 11th March, Hugh fitz John was to have his corn at Odiham, then in the King's hands, and (26th May, 8 John, 1206) John fitz Hugh was allowed in his rent the value of his chattels which the bailiff of Robert de Vipont had taken, saving the stock sold from the same manor for the King's use by his orders.

9 John, 1207. On the 23rd June the King was at Odiham; and on the 29th, John fitz Hugh was to take and hold the manor until the men there had paid the debt due to the King. 10th Aug. the same John was ordered to have 20 mares from the King's treasure for the works at Odiham; and 26th Oct., a new bed was ordered for Woodstock and another for Odiham, in which no doubt King John slept when there in December for three days. There also was an order for payment for making the ditches there at the King's command (Close Roll. p. 94 b). In 11 John, £50 was ordered for works there. In February, May, and October of the same year, 1210, John was at Odiham; in 14 John, 1212, he went from Lambeth to Odiham, and arriving on Sunday, 6th May, tested documents there. On Monday 3s. were paid for the hire of three carts, travelling two days and resting one, conveying the wardrobe from Lambeth, also 13*d.* to Ferling the huntsman and Thos. de Porkericiis, with the hounds, for their expenses and sleeping one night on the road. John then left, but returned to Odiham on the 10th; while absent on the 8th at Freemantell, he paid 6s. for the heads of six Welshmen,—ghastly trophies sent to him. On the 10th 5*d.* were paid for cords bought at Winchester to string the crossbows, besides expenses for hiring carts. John was seven days at Odiham in the May of this year, and afterwards in December. On 25th May he paid 5s. to Stephen de

Guildford for a wolf caught by his master's dogs at Free-mantell.

15 John, 1214. Money had been spent by John fitz Hugh on repairs of the King's castles of Windsor and Odiham. The King was at the latter place in January.

Magna Charta was tested 15th June, 1215, 17 John. In the preceding May the King was at Odiham, from the 21st to the 25th, and from the 28th to the 30th, seven days. On the 29th he addressed the letter to Pope Innocent, in which he pleaded the contumacy of the barons as the reason why he could not go to the Holy Land. On the same day the castle of Devizes was ordered to be repaired, and Hugh de Beauchamp's lands were to be taken possession of if he was with the rebels. From the 31st of May to the 3rd of June, the King was at Windsor. On 4th June he was at Odiham, whence he went to Winchester and was there from the 5th to the 8th. He thence paid a hasty visit to Merton, but was at Odiham on the 9th, it is said with seven knights only. On the 11th he was at Windsor, and there remained, visiting Runnymede, from thence to grant the Charter, and returning to Windsor till the 21st, when he was again at Runnymede. And so to and fro till the 26th when he was at Odiham for a day. In that year there was also a charge for putting garrisons into Odiham and other castles.

At this time John seems to have been preparing for the struggle by collecting what he had portable of value. The Prior of Reading brought to him at Odiham, on the 26th June, a silver cabinet and an ivory cabinet with precious stones and reliques, a gold cup given him by the Pope, much silver and silver-gilt plate, various rolls of the royal chamber and of the Exchequer and his seal, all which had been deposited in Reading Abbey. On the following day he was at Winchester, and there received by Adam, the cellarer of Merton, more plate and jewels, sapphires, balas rubies, &c., which had been in keeping of the convent there, and again on the same day a very much larger quantity also of plate and jewels, brought by Michael, a canon of Waltham, from the custody of the house there. The details of all these valuables are given at length on the Patent Rolls. From Winchester he went to various places in Wiltshire and the south of England.

In the following year, 1216, 17 John, the King was at Odiham for the last time for five days in April, and on the 15th

ordered twenty tuns ("dolia") of his prisage wines to be sent there from Southampton. He issued thence an immense number of instruments and finally left for Farnham on the 18th. On 21st April, the manor of Odiham was to be transferred by Bartholomew Peche to the Seneschal, Engelram de Cygoin, or his attorney, who seems to have been John fitz Hugh, to whom it was again transferred on the 29th. The transfer however was confined to the manor, for by a mandate of the 31st of May, directing seisin to be given to Fitz Hugh, the Castle was specially retained in the King's hands.

How strong the place was appears from the resistance it opposed in this year to the Dauphin Louis and the invading army. Marlborough, a very strong castle, had surrendered, when the French appeared before Odiham. The tower, says Wendover, was held by three knights and ten soldiers, who were besieged in form. On the third day when such engines as were with the army were in place, and an assault had been made and failed, the garrison sallied out, and captured a number equal to their own as prisoners. After eight or, as some accounts say, fifteen days, the thirteen surrendered on terms, retaining their horses and arms and their liberty. Wendover says the tower belonged to the Bishop of Winchester, but all the evidence seems to show that neither the Castle nor domain were ever alienated from the crown.

The first mention of Odiham in the reign of Henry III., is an order to De Cigoin to allow Bartholomew de Peche to hold the rents of the vill for his sustenance in the King's service (18th April, 1 Hen. III., 1217). John fitz Hugh appears to have been in opposition and to have been dispossessed, for on 12th Aug., he returns to his fidelity and is allowed seisin of the manor and hundred of Odiham. The great Earl Marshall's policy was to pardon and reward all who gave in their adhesion to the new Sovereign. The Castle was kept up even to storing the ditches with fish, for John de Venuz was ordered (4th Ap. 1222, 6 Hen. III.) to allow to Cygoin twenty breams from the King's marsh of Woolmer, for stocking "our ditches at Odiham." On 2nd May, 1222, 6 Hen. III., two tuns ("dolia") of the King's prisage wines were ordered from Southampton to Odiham. 16th Nov. 1222, 7 Hen. III., the King had let the manor of Odiham to farm for £50 per annum, but regard was to be had to the rights of the "Men of Odiham." 15th Jan. 1224, 8 Hen. III., the

Archbishop of Canterbury, who holds the Castle of Odiham, is directed to give up to Engelram de Cygoyn all his chattels and farming stock at the Castle (Close Roll, p. 581), and again, on 20th Feb., the Constable of Odiham is directed to permit Engelram to remove all his chattels, stock, mares, &c., from the park of Odiham, and what he bought with his own money. This done, the King seems to have taken to farming on his own account, for on 23rd Feb. following, the treasurer is directed to pay to Walter de Kirkeham and Walter de Brackel £100 to defray their expenses, and to Ralph Brito 50 marks for the purchase of oxen for the King's ploughs at Windsor and Odiham, and for seed for the lands there. Further, on the 5th of May, by virtue of an order directing the distribution of wine from Southampton to certain of the royal residences, a tun ("dolium") of spiced wine was sent to Odiham. On 4th June in the place of Henry de Feslegh, deceased, Gilbert de la Dene is appointed a verderer in the forest of Odiham, and is to take the usual oath.

In 18 Hen. III. the royal forests of Windsor and Odiham were committed to the care of Engelram de Cygoyn—then a very old servant of the Crown, and (20 Hen. III.) he had also the park of Odiham. In 21 Hen. III. Alianor, Countess of Pembroke, the King's sister, had the Castle, and afterwards (33 Hen. III.), as Countess of Leicester, the manor. Meantime, however, (28 Hen. III.) her husband, Simon de Montfort, held the park as the King's tenant. In the same year De Cygoyn had a writ of "allocate" for £40, due to the King for two years rent of the manor of Odiham; also in the same year, however, De Cygoyn was dead, and the Sheriff was to receive from his executors all his ploughs and stock, and to deliver them to De Montfort.

In 30 Hen. III. Richard le Male held the manor. The Bishop of Bath and Wells had a grant of three acres of land out of Odiham to augment the park of Dogmersfield. In 34 Hen. III. John, the representative of the De Beninges family, long connected with Odiham, had been outlawed, and inquiry was directed as to what he held in chief there, which appears to have been three virgates. In 35 Hen. III. William de Synago had a grant of Stapelegh in the parish of Odiham, and Gilbert de Eversley appears among the tenants, as (38 Hen. III.) does Wm. Villers for two acres.



It appears from a document of this reign, printed by Rymer, that upon William, the son of Durandus Nanus (the dwarf), proposing to become a monk, the King allowed his land to pass to his cousin Margaret, wife of Alexander de Barentin. The land lay in Warnburn (Warnborough) and Odiham, and had been purchased by Durandus "de suffacio" in the time of Henry I. with the King's consent. The land carried with it certain rights of herbage, cutting firewood, enclosing within hedges, &c., and the whole was evidently held direct from the Crown.

The chief interest of Odiham ceases with the reign of Henry III. Edward I. was much engaged in the North and West, and the value of fortresses in the interior of England was small under a Prince whose sway no Englishman ventured to contest. His visits to Odiham were but few. The park or forest seems to have been kept up, but only as a place of diversion, and the Castle probably was allowed to fall into decay.

2nd Sept. 1274, 2 Ed. I., the King was at Odiham. In the third year of the reign John de London, the King's Escheator, was to hold the Castle during pleasure. He probably did not hold it long, for (10 Ed. I.) it was committed to Nicholas le Gras in succession to Ralph de Sandwych, and in 12 Ed. I. Hugh le Despenser had it. In 27 Ed. I. the Castle, park, town, and hundred of Odiham were included in the ample jointure settled on Queen Margaret, and described as "Castrum et villa de Odeham et appuramentum (emolument) parci ibidem;" or, in another schedule, "The castle and vill, with the park and hundred and appurtenances in the county of Hants." In 33 Ed. I. John de Beauchamp of Fyfhed held the manor.

Edward II. appears to have seen little of Odiham. In 5 Ed. II. the Castle, which Queen Margaret had, was committed to Robert le Ewer during pleasure. In 9 Ed. II. Robert atte Burgh had licence to enfeof for Stapelegh Manor and Odiham Manor with suit of court, and a document of this date throws some light on the extent of the hundred of Odiham, which, it appears, included the vills of Odiham, Greywell (now Grewell), Monks Hartley, Helvethan (now Elvetham), Wynchesfelde, Dogmersfelde, Bynteworth (now Bentworth), Brocham (now Burkham), Lassham, Shaldene (now Shaldon), Weston-Patrik, Horefeld and Lys—the two last only not having been identified.

Of all these Odiham only belonged to the King. Next year (10 Ed. II.) Thomas de Warblyngton held the manor, and (12 Ed. II.) Ewer again held the Castle, manor, vill, hundred, and park. The change was perpetual—inspired probably by perpetual distrust. In 13 Ed. II. Hugh le Despenser, junior, held the Castle and manor, and (15 Ed. II.) the former was again committed to Ewer. In this year the King's circumstances probably led him to look to his strong places, for William de Kyngeston, clerk, is made receiver and keeper of provisions, stores, &c., within the Castle. In 17 Ed. II. Margery de Burgh held the Castle and suit of court, as had (18 Ed. II.) John de Loxle and Constantia, his wife. In this year is an order to repair the King's houses within Odiham Castle.

Edward III. seems to have turned Odiham to account as a place for breeding horses, and he kept up the Castle. At his accession John de Meriet and Maria his wife had the manor, and (4 Ed. III.) John de Mohun had it, and it was in the hands of Joan, widow of John, 6 Hen. IV. The custody of the Castle was then in John Wodelok—he paying for it £60 per annum, and Nicholas de la Beche had the reversion after the Queen's death. In 5 Ed. III. the King committed to Master William Mareschal the care of the great horses, and the supervision of the royal stud in the park at Odiham. The King himself was there October 25th. In 7 Ed. III. Sir Bernard Brocas had a grant of the lordship for life. In 14 Ed. III. Richard de Rokeland was keeper of the colts ("pullanorum") in the King's park at Odiham. In 1346 (19-20 Ed. III.) the Battle of Nevile's Cross was fought, and King David Bruce was taken prisoner and committed to Odiham, where he stayed the better part of fifteen years. In 25 Ed. III. John atte Berwe held twelve acres in Odiham of the Castle of Winchester, and William Talemache and others held four virgates of land there; and (33 Ed. III.) the Sheriff is to provide oats, litter, and carriage for the support of the royal stud in the parish of Odiham, and there is a specified allowance for grooms, their robes, and their shoes. In 38 Ed. III. the people of Odiham had been making free with the boards and timber purchased for the King's work at the park. Five years later (43 Ed. III.) Walter Walsh holds the Castle, vill, &c., providing carpenter, park-keeper, and

tiler for the repair of the houses outside and inside the Castle, except the covering of the great tower and the working stone for the Castle walls. He was also to feed the beasts in the park. In 46 Ed. III. Elizabeth, wife of James de Wyndesor, held the manor.

It appears from a record (2 Ric. II.) that Odiham contained places called Shepcote, Smethes, Romeles, and Dunton. We read also of the "campus de Odiham"—probably the common field. In 5 Ric. II. Henry Esturmy held the manor—probably the son of a man of that name who had it 33 Ed. I. In 15 Ric. II. Alianore, wife of William Fremelesworth, has Le Potto and other lands in the parish.

The Castle does not seem to have attracted the notice of royalty during the reigns of Henry IV. or V. In the former reign Lord Beaumont had it for life, probably after the death of Joan de Mohun. The domain was still held by the Crown. In 19-23 Hen. VI. a jury affirms that within the King's manor of Odiham was a house called "le Shippe," which Joan, Queen of England, held in dower. Also, in 1450 (28 Hen. VI.), the lordship, manor, and hundred of Odiham, for which £21 7s. 3d. is paid by John Basket, Esq., forms an item in the royal civil list, and in 1454 (32 Hen. VI.) the "Castrum, dominium, manerium et hundredum de Odyham" form a part of the jointure settled on Queen Margaret, who, indeed, seems to have had a previous settlement (22 Hen. VI.). Later in the reign (35 Hen. VI.) William Warbleton has a grant in fee of the office of Constable of Odiham Castle and park.

In 1467-8 (7 & 8 Ed. IV.) Odiham again was included in a royal jointure in favour of the Queen of that Prince.

In 1 R. III. the King took advantage of his brief power to appoint Richard Hansard Constable and porter of the Castle, parker and warrener of the lordship, and steward for life. Whatever might be the arrangements as to its mesne lords, the principal officers seem to have been always appointed by the Crown, and in the Act of Resumption of 1485 (1 H. VII.) is a saving clause in favour of the right of Nicholas and John Gaynesford to the offices of steward of the manor, Constable and porter of the Castle, and keeper of the park and warren—all held for their lives. The interest of the Crown was not finally extinguished until the reign of James I., who alienated the whole.

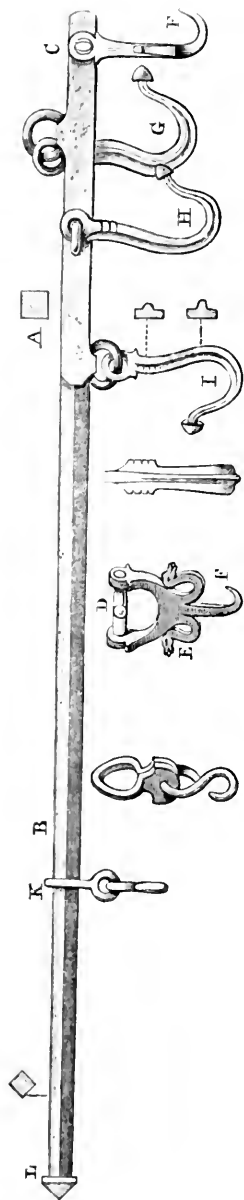
BRONZE STEEL-YARD FOUND WITH ROMAN REMAINS AT  
BADEN, IN ARGOVIE.

By Dr. FERDINAND KELLER.

IN the account in our previous number<sup>1</sup> of Roman ruins discovered at Baden, in the autumn of 1871, mention was made of a small room which was originally provided with a hypocaust. At a later period, when the house was rebuilt, and alterations made in its arrangements, it seems to have served the purpose of a store-room, for in it, and close about it, there came to light those implements of bronze and iron, to which reference has already been made. In this present number, from among the many implements of iron, we will select three as deserving our particular attention.

Our illustration represents a Roman balance—*statera*, or *trutina*—destined for weighing heavy objects, and therefore made of iron and very strong. The weight, allowing for some loss of metal by oxidation and injury, amounts to probably some 11 lb., Swiss weight =  $5\frac{1}{2}$  kilos. The beam of the balance—*scapus*—is a quadrangular rod, 1 metre 19 centimetres long, divided into two uneven lengths of 36 and 83 centimetres respectively. At the extremities of the shorter one (A), which is rather thick, is a triple hook (E), on a moveable axis (C, as seen sideways, D in front), on which hangs the weighing-plate—*lanx*—close to another hook (F), for hanging up any articles for weighing. On three sides of this shorter portion are three strengthening pieces, pierced to admit rings moving on an axis. Attached to these are hanging hooks—*ansa* (G, H, I), which form the turning-points of the lever. On the longer part (B), which meets the shorter obliquely, is the weight attached to a running slide (K), while the scale is marked on the sides of the rod. This ends in a knob (L), to prevent the weight from sliding off.

<sup>1</sup> See "Indicateur d'Antiquités Suisses, 1868-1871," vol. i. p. 338; also p. 189 of the present volume of *Archæological Journal*.



Length of the original, about 48 inches.

Bronze *librille* or steel-yard, of remarkably good workmanship; found with culinary implements, and also works in bronze, of high artistic character, in excavations at Baden, Canton of Aargau, in the North of Switzerland.—See *Indicateur d'Antiquités Suisses*, 1868—1871, vol. I, p. 338. (Comp. Caylus. t. iv., 304, vii., 171)



Close to this steel-yard another was found, something shorter, but in other respects quite similar.

So far, these steel-yards before us correspond with the Roman examples preserved in museums, and described in many archaeological works; as, for example, in the Museo Borbonico and Overbeck's Pompeii. They differ, however, from the usual examples of this kind, as also from those made known by Caylus (vol. iv., pl. 94—97), inasmuch as, being destined for weighing *light*, *heavy*, and *very heavy* objects, they are furnished with *three* hanging hooks, and *three* distinct scales. The others have only two hooks and two scales, marked on opposite sides of the rod. In the triple division of the rod its shorter portion terminates on a pivot, on which the hook of the weighing-scale hangs. This can be set at will in the direction of either of the three hooks, and its respective marked scale.

The same arrangement is met with on a small bronze steel-yard which we have in the museum at Zurich, with the weight belonging to it.

Unfortunately, in the case of the example before us, the scale arrangement, which on two sides of the rod is only hard to make out, is on the third almost destroyed. Meanwhile, it is sufficiently clear that the cyphers, cross-strokes, and points, marked on the metal by the chisel, have been done in the most careless and inaccurate manner. The result of this defect in an instrument of otherwise so excellent a construction is that such goods only could be weighed where half a pound more or less did not matter. The steel-yard is usually held in the position it assumes in our illustration. The hook nearest to the central point of the lever (I) is naturally destined for the lightest objects, and on its respective scale single pounds can be read off, though truly in our example not safely. The scale for the middle hook (II) begins with the number XXXX., whence it follows that only objects above 40 lbs. weight could be weighed by this hook.

The scale runs thus :—

V·I·I·I·I·V·I·I·I·V·I·I·I·V·I·I·I·V·I·I·I·XXXX.

The perpendicular lines betoken pounds; the points half pounds.

The scale at the third hook (G), for weighing the heaviest objects, begins in like manner with 40 lbs. (XXXX). The fives

and tens are here separated by points, which stand for pounds.

X···V···X···V···X···V···X···V···XXXX.

A parcel of nearly double this weight could be weighed on this hook.

The fault in these scales is the circumstance that the weight is not given in numbers on the scale ; but at each weighing there must be a fresh reckoning from the first mark, which renders the use of the instrument troublesome.

This steel-yard must be especially regarded as a splendid specimen of iron-work, which surprises even experts. Each piece—for instance, the hook for the weighing scale, with its points terminating in the heads of animals ; the hanging hooks with their moulded strengthening ribs, &c., are carried out with a taste equal to their practical cleverness. When we consider that the Roman workman relied less on his very imperfect file than on the skilful use of his hammer, we are impressed with no less favourable notions of the handiwork of the Romans than we are by a study of their casting operations.

In conclusion, we will observe that, according to the estimation of experts, this steel-yard is fully equal to weighing from 200 to 250 kilos.

[The Institute is indebted to the kindness of Mr. W. M. Wylie, F.S.A., for the foregoing translation of the memoir by their learned correspondent at Zurich, of which the original was given in the "Indicateur" of Swiss antiquities.]

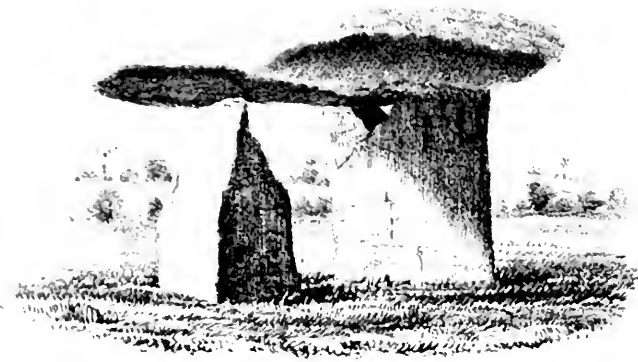




STEWART & LIGNON, CROMLECH

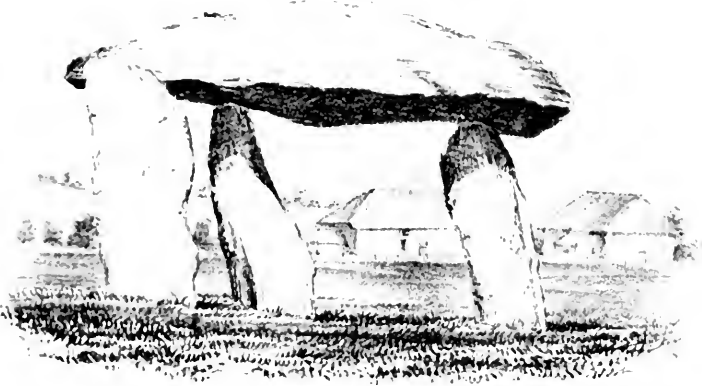
THE STONE AGE MONUMENTS OF GREAT BRITAIN  
AND IRELAND

PLATE I

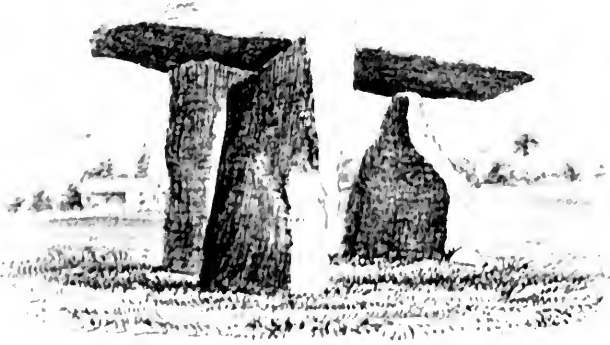


From South

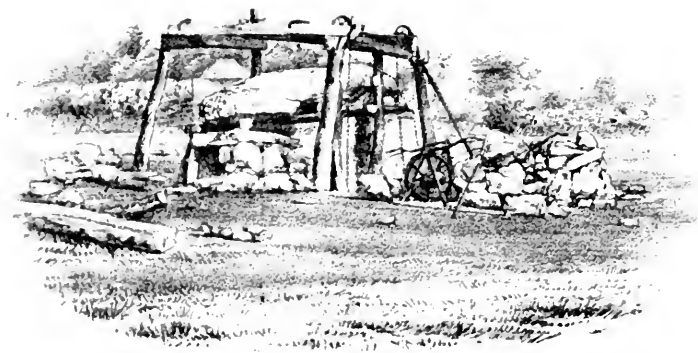
No. 2



From North West



1894



Remains of the Oven at 1802

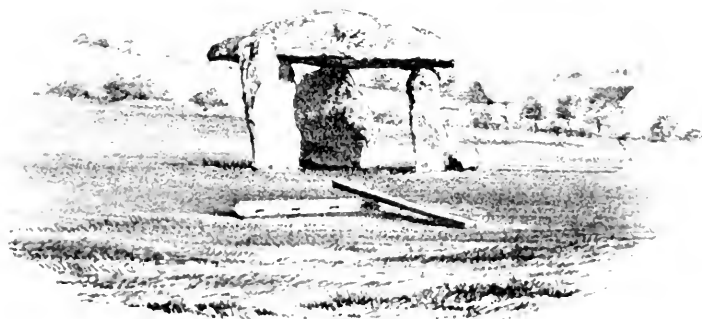
Nº 5



How high the stone 21<sup>st</sup> Feb 1862

*Remains of the*

Nº 6



Remains of the Oven at 1802



NOTICE OF THE FALL AND RESTORATION OF "THE SPINSTER'S  
ROCK," OR CROMLECH, IN THE PARISH OF DREWSTEIGNTON,  
IN THE COUNTY OF DEVON, AND OF STONE CIRCLES AND  
AVENUES FORMERLY EXISTING IN ITS VICINITY.

By G. WAREING ORMEROD, M.A., F.G.S.

"The Spinster's Rock," or Drewsteignton Cromlech, is situate in a field adjoining Shilston Farm in the parish of Drewsteignton, about two miles to the west of the parish church. This Cromlech has been mentioned in most of the historical and descriptive works relating to Devon, but the fullest notices are in Polwhele's *Historical Views of Devonshire*, 1793, and *History of Devon*, 1797; in a memoir, signed N. E., "On some of the more remarkable Monuments of Devon," contained in *Essays by a Society of Gentlemen at Exeter*, 1796; and in Rowe's "Perambulations of Dartmoor," 1848, republished in 1856, which work was an extension of *Antiquarian Investigations in the Forest of Dartmoor*, by that author, contained in the "Transactions" of the Plymouth Institution, published in 1830. About the middle of the last century Mr. William Chapple of Exeter wrote a treatise, entitled "Description and Exegesis of the Drewsteignton Cromlech;" this is noticed in Rowe's "Dartmoor" (pages 42 and 118, edition of 1856), but of this treatise I have not been able to procure further information. In the following pages the consideration of the purpose for which the Cromlech was raised has not been entered upon.

The stones which form the Cromlech are of granite, probably procured in the immediate vicinity. Before the fall the upper stone, or quoit, rested on the tops of the southerly and easterly uprights, and against the bevilled inner side of the top of the northerly stone; the greatest length of the quoit is 15 ft., taken parallel to the sides about 14 ft., the medium 13 ft. and a half; the greatest breadth 10 ft., medium breadth 9 ft. 10 in.; thickness about 2 ft.; according to Chapple, as quoted in Rowe's *Dartmoor* (page 42,

edition 1856), it contains nearly 216 cubic ft., and weighs sixteen tons and sixteen pounds. At page 110 of the Essays above mentioned there is an engraving of the Cromlech from the north-west, taken from a drawing by J. Swete, and "N. E." describes the quoit as 14 ft. and a half long from north to south, and from east to west 10 ft. wide, and the height from the ground as above 6 ft. Mr. Samuel Lysons made a drawing of the Cromlech in 1807, and in his "Devonshire" (page cccvii) the measures are given as about 12 ft. in length and 9 ft. in width, and the height of the supporting stones as from 6 ft. to 6 ft. 6 in. to the under side of the covering stone. This last measure was about the height at the time when the fall took place; very little change, if any, had therefore taken place in the height to the under side of the quoit during the sixty-six years preceding the fall. The dimensions of the quoit as first stated may, I think, be relied upon; those given by "N. E." as from north to south and east to west are not correct, and those given by Mr. Lysons are only approximate.

I much regret that I did not take exact measures and a plan before the fall; as the restoration is not quite a counterpart of the original Cromlech, the present dimensions will not supply the deficiency. On Monday, 27th January 1862, I endeavoured to take a photograph of the Cromlech, but in consequence of the deficiency of light was not able to succeed. I was there about three-quarters of an hour, and there was no sign of the adjoining land being disturbed, and on the following Friday, 31st January, the Cromlech fell. On Wednesday, 5th February, I took a photograph of the Cromlech in its fallen condition, and there was no sign of the land being disturbed save where it had been broken up by the accident. The following is the minute entered in my journal: "The southerly and easterly stones had given way, and the quoit had fallen leaning against the northerly stone, and the two others were under it; judging by the small depth of stone in the ground it is a wonder that it did not fall before." The accident probably arose from the following causes: the upright stones had only a hold of from 18 to 24 in. in the ground; as above stated, the quoit rested on the tops of two stones, and against the bevelled top of the third; the southerly and easterly stones, as shown in diagrams in The Essays, page 110, and in Lyson's "Devonshire," page cccviii., leaned

slightly to the east, and the position of the quoit resting against the bevelled side of the top of the third caused it to act as a wedge; the soil under the Cromlech is of light granite gravel, and this had been saturated by the winter rains, and the field was in the course of being broken up for a wheat crop, so that the adjoining ground furnished very little lateral support; the wedge-like action of the quoit therefore pressed back the northerly stone, and the quoit, assisted by the sloping position of the two other stones, threw them out of position; the southern was partly broken, and the eastern lifted out of the ground; by natural causes, therefore, and not by wilful mischief, I think the fall was caused.

The restoration was made by the direction of the late Mrs. Bragg of Furlong, the owner of the estate, at the cost of twenty pounds, under the superintendence of the Rev. William Ponsford, the rector of the parish; the persons employed were John Ball, a carpenter, and William Stone, a builder, both living at Chagford. Previous to the fall I had taken with the *camera lucida* sketches of the Cromlech and these were used at the restoration, but were not followed exactly, as the eastern stone has been put up nearly at right angles with the position it formerly occupied, and the quoit, instead of laying against the northern stone, rests in a notch cut in the bevelled top. On account of the position in which the quoit had fallen the restoration was difficult; a strong framework was erected over the stone to carry the pulleys, the quoit was laid on two horizontal beams, one end of each of these rested on a pile of stones which was increased in height after each lift had taken place; to the other end a chain connected with a powerful crab was attached, and a screw jack was placed below; by this means the stone was gradually raised, and, to prevent accident, after each lift it was secured by the insertion of blocks. When raised to a proper height the stone uprights were put in position, and the quoit was lowered upon them. In the course of restoration the ground on which the Cromlech had stood was excavated, and a pavement of large blocks of granite was made round the uprights, fixing them firmly in their places, and to make them more secure a hole was cut through each of the uprights, in which a thick bar of iron was placed resting horizontally on the granite pavement.

The restoration was finished on Friday, 7th November, 1862.

I watched the excavation of the ground on which the Cromlech had stood for a portion of the time; and had any remains been found during my absence, I feel no doubt that they would have been given to me or Mr. Ponsford; but nothing was discovered, and the ground did not differ from that of the adjoining part of the field.

To the west of the Cromlech several stone circles and avenues formerly existed. Polwhele, in his *Historical Views of Devonshire*, p. 61, and *History of Devon*, vol. i. p. 150, when describing the Cromlech, writes thus:—"Towards the west of the Cromlech are several conical pillars, about 4 ft. high. On the south side there are three, standing in a direct line from east to west. The distance from the most western to the middle is 212 paces, from the middle to that on the east 106, just one-half of the former, by which it would seem that an intermediate pillar at least had been removed. In a parallel line to the north are two others remaining erect, the one from the other distant about 52 paces, nearly one-fourth of the greatest space on the opposite line. The area between is 93 paces, in the midway of which, at the eastern extremity, stands the Cromlech." He further adds (*Historical View*, p. 94; *History of Devon*, vol. i. p. 154):—"At Drewsteigton the Cromlech is placed on an elevated spot overlooking a sacred way and two rows of pillars, and several columnar circles." The Cromlech was visited by "N. E." prior to 1796, by Lysons in 1807, and by Rowe prior to 1830, and these remains are not noticed by either of them, probably on account of the intervention of the lane. Whilst residing at Chagford, near the Cromlech, from 1855 to 1869, I carefully examined the fields where I thought these remains were situate, and made many inquiries, but I could not either find the remains, or gain any information respecting them. In the spring of 1872 Mr. King, of Crediton, who had also searched for these remains without success, informed me that the Rev. William Grey had made a plan of them, and the following description is copied from Mr. Grey's journal, containing the notes taken on the spot:—"Wednesday, 4th July, 1838. Visited first from Moreton the Druidical circles above the Cromlech. The Cromlech lies in a field about 110 yards to the east.



Here are two concentric circles of stones, the inner circle having entrances facing the cardinal points, that to the north being 65 paces in length and 5 broad. The outer circle, besides these, has avenues diverging towards N.E., S.E., S.W., and N.W.; a smaller circle seems to intersect the larger, of which the avenue eastwards is very evident." Mr. Grey informed me that he visited and measured these remains, in company with his brother, at 9.30 A.M., on Wednesday, July 4, 1838, and that the plan was made on the spot, and finished up at the hotel at Okehampton that same evening. The remains, mapped by Mr. Grey, are unquestionably the "Sacred way," the "Two rows of Pillars," and "columnar circles" noticed by Polwhele. As Mr. Grey's plan does not include the pillars on the north and south, it is probable that at the time of his visit the work of destruction had commenced. The fields on which these remains existed were examined by myself this year, 22nd March, 1872, and again on 12th September. On the first occasion they had been recently ploughed, so that there was every opportunity for making a careful inspection. In the easterly field I could not find a trace of the remains; in the westerly some stones were visible near the gate opening upon the common; but, after studying the spot, with the map in hand, they could not be identified as forming part of these remains. There is an upright stone, larger than those mentioned by Polwhele, in the field to the south of that in which the Cromlech stands, but the distance is far beyond that given by Polwhele to the row of southerly stones. On the common, 56 ft. to the west of the point where the division hedge joins the outside boundary, there is an upright stone, 4 ft. 6 in. high, 4 ft. 8 in. in girth at the bottom, and wedge-shaped at the top, which, from its character, may have been one of the old stones, and by its position might have either formed a part of the north-western avenue, or a prolongation of the row of stones mentioned by Polwhele as being to the north of the Cromlech. On the common, in an angle formed by prolonging the northern and north-eastern avenues, three stones run from east to west, crossed by two from north to south; these are large rounded stones, and in their character do not resemble those found in avenues or circles, and I think that they are only boulders that have been left where the excavations for

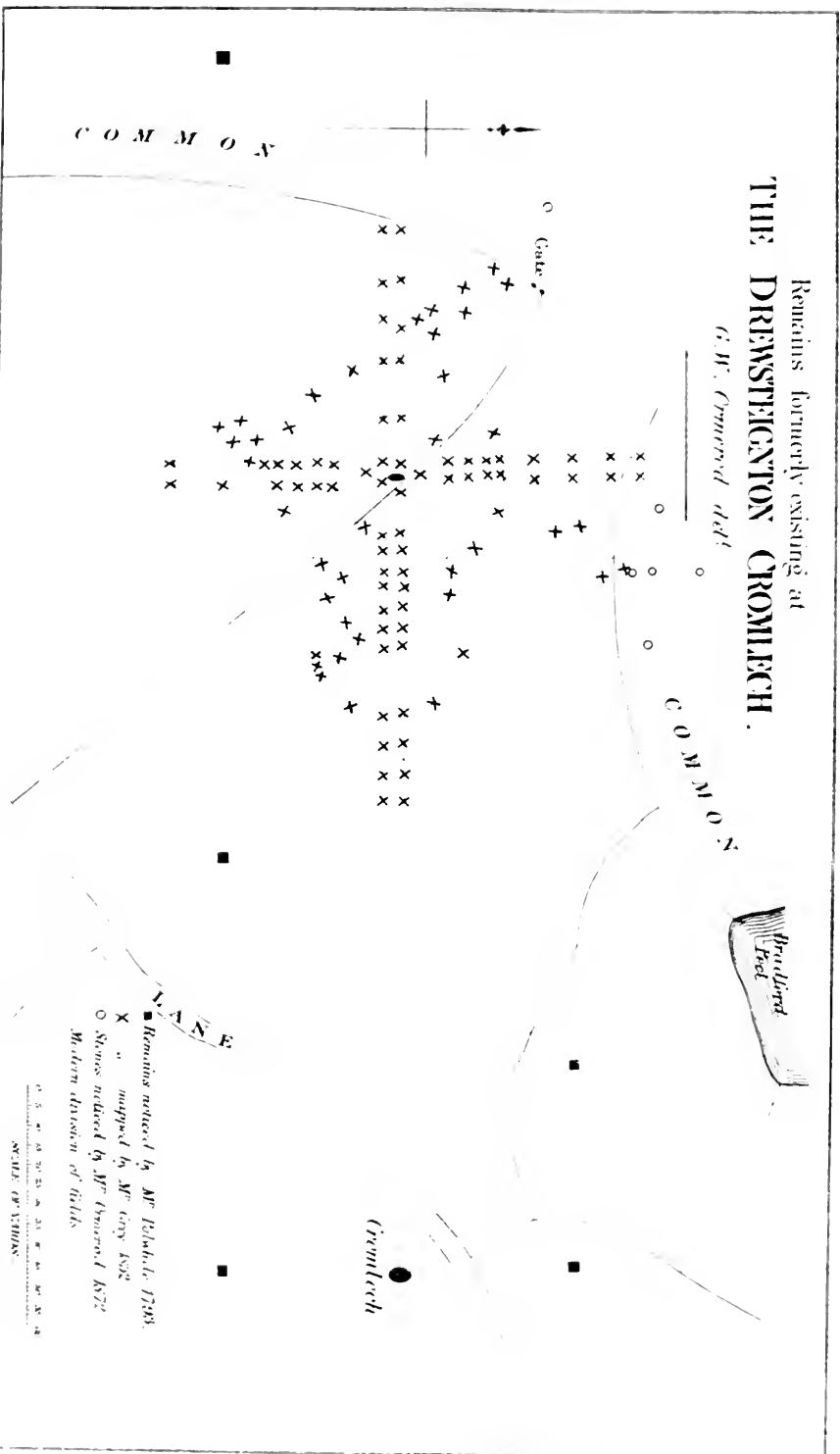
clay and tin streaming were made. With two exceptions only, I have not been able to find any persons acquainted with these remains. My friend, Mr. Samuel Hunt, of Chagford, M.R.C.S., informs me that he remembers the "Via Sacra," or stone avenue, leading to the Cromlech, and that about the year 1832 complaints were made, because stones had been removed for building purposes. Mrs. Ponsford, the widow of the late rector, also tells me that she remembers being shown the "Via Sacra" certainly as late as 1848, but does not remember the circles. The "Via Sacra" is the avenue in the plan leading to the Cromlech. A few years since, by permission of the tenant, a quantity of stones were taken from the eastern field to build a farm-house in the neighbourhood. This probably was the last step in converting the site of these curious remains into a level-surfaced field.

As the measures in Mr. Grey's survey are given in paces, and the points of the compass only approximately, the plan cannot be regarded as strictly correct; but I showed it to him when nearly completed, on the 24th May, 1872, and he said that it was right; since that time my valued friend has died.

The lithographs of the Cromlech, Nos. 1, 2, and 3, are from sketches taken with the *camera lucida* by the author, July 7, 1855; that of the fallen Cromlech, No. 5, from a photograph taken by him February 5, 1862.

Remains formerly existing at  
**THE DREWSTICHTON CROMLECH.**

*G. H. Omernod del.*



■ Remains noticed by Mr Tolpelt, 1788.  
 X " " mapped by Mr Gray, 1822.  
 ○ Sites noticed by Mr Omernod, 1872.  
 Modern division of fields.

1:5000  
 SCALE OF YARDS



## Original Documents.

### LLANTRISSAINT BOROUGH CHARTER.

CHARTER of Confirmation to the Borough of Llantrissaint by Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and Lord of Glamorg. 20 October, 3 Henry VI. [1421].

Richardus Comes de Warwyck Dominus le Despenser et de Glamorg' et Morg' omnibus fidelibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint, Salutem. Inspeximus confirmacionem Richardi de Bello Campo Comitis Wigornie Domini le Despenser et de Glamorg' et Morg' et de Bergeveny et Isabelle consortis sue quam fecit burgensibus nostris de Lantrissen in hec verba.

[24 Aug., 9 Hen. V., 1421.] Richardus de Bello Campo Comes Wigornie Dominus le Despenser et de Glamorg' et Morg' et de Bergeveny omnibus sancte matris Ecclesie ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, Salutem. Noveritis nos inspexisse confirmacionem Domini Thome filii et heredis Domini Edwardi le Despenser et Domine Elizabethhe consortis sue Domini Glamorg' et Morg' quam fecit burgensibus nostris de Lantrissen de eorum libertatibus in hec verba.

[18 Feb., 20 Ric. II., 1397.] Thomas le Despenser Dominus Glamorg' et Morg' omnibus ballivis nostris et omnibus ad quos presentes littere pervenerint, Salutem. Noveritis nos inspexisse confirmacionem bone memorie Domini Edwardi patris nostri nuper Domini Glamorg' et Morg' quam fecit burgensibus nostris de Lantrissen de eorum libertatibus in hec verba.

[2 Jul., 32 Edw. III., 1358.] Edwardus le Despenser Dominus Glamorg' et Morg', omnibus ballivis nostris et omnibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint, Salutem. Sciatis nos inspexisse cartam bone memorie Domini Hugonis le Despenser avunculi nostri Domini Glamorg' et Morg' quam fecit burgensibus nostris de Lantrissen in hec verba.

[1 Maii, 20 Edw. III., 1346.] Hugo le Despenser Dominus Glamorg' et Morg' omnibus Ballivis et Ministris suis ac aliis fidelibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint, Salutem. Sciatis nos de gracia nostra speciali concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse dilectis burgensibus nostris ville nostre de Lantrissen quod ipsi et eorum successores liberi sint per totum dominium nostrum tam in Anglia quam in Wallia, et eandem libertates habeant sicut habere solebant tempore antecessorum nostrorum, et sicut burgenses nostri de Kerdyll habent ex concessione nostra, ita quod ipsi liberi sint cum marchandis in dominio nostro predicto et alibi, ac etiam quod de omnibus bonis et rebus suis tam videlicet merchandis quam aliis quieti et liberi sint imperpetuum de theolomo nauagio pontagio pavagio picagio et kayagio, nec non de omnibus aliis custumis et consuetudinibus infra dominium nostrum predictum. Con-

cessimus eciam quod burgenses nostri predicti et successores sui libere legare possint omnia burgagia sua per ipsos adquisita tam de tenementis quam de redditibus cuiuscunque et quibuscunque ad voluntatem eorum voluerint. Et quod eidem burgenses nostri distringi non debeant exire antiquas libertates ville nostre predictae contra eorum voluntatem ad aliqua facienda. Et tales sunt bunde libertatum eorum, videlicet a terra vocata Lloyn Crym ex parte orientali usque ad regalem viam que ducit a predicta villa usque ad patriam de Glyn Rothme, et a via que ducit de campo vocato Brinruth usque ad vadum quod dicitur Rydyponthelik ex parte occidentali, et a terra tunc M<sup>e</sup> ap Cadogan Dorthy in boreali parte usque ad terram dominicam manerii nostri de Cloune in parte australi, et a terra dominica eiusdem manerii nostri in parte orientali usque ad terram tunc Rees ap Oweyn et participum suorum in parte occidentali, et a quodam fossato vocato Klavyth Gwylykyn vaehan in parte boreali usque ad vadum vocatum Rid Golyn ex parte australi, simul cum una aera terre et prati que jacet per se iuxta altam viam que ducit de Brinruth versus Coubrugge. Concessimus eciam quod burgenses nostri predicti esse non debeant receptores denariorum nostrorum nisi tam de denariis exeuntibus de balliva Prepositatus eiusdem ville nostre, nec aliquis seldam apertam de aliquibus merchandis nec tabernam nec corf faciant in eadem villa nostra nisi fuerit cum predictis burgensibus nostris locamum et scotamum et infra guldam libertatum receptus. Nec non concessimus eisdem burgensibus nostris quod ipsi et successores sui guldam inter eos facere possint quo tempore et quandoeunque voluerint ad proficuum ipsorum. Et quod distringi non debeant pro debito alicujus nisi debitores et plegii pro eodem fuerint, et quod nullus ballivus noster colore ballive sue summoniciones seu attachiamenta faciat seu infra bundas predictas distrincionem capiat, nisi tantum Constabularius castri nostri de Lantrissen et ballivi eiusdem ville qui per ipsos burgenses fuerint electi, et quod mercatores cum eorum merchandis alibi non transcant quam per regales vias per villas de burgis. Ita quod nos nec heredes nostri tolietum nostrum nec aliud custumum nobis debitum aliquo tempore amittamus. Concessimus eciam quod nullus de burgensibus nostris predictis capi nec imprisonari debeat pro aliquibus eos tangentibus dum manucepcionem seu plegium possunt invenire, nisi casu felonie cum manuopere tantum capti fuerint seu pro aliquibus nos aut familiam nostram specialiter tangentibus. Et de omnibus rebus infra libertatem ville nostre predictae factis prefatos burgenses nostros tenementa seu catalla eorum tangentibus inde inquisicio capi debeat quod illa inquisicio sit terminata per inquisitores et non per alios, et quod iidem burgenses nostri nec eorum successores aliquam . . . . . sacionem faciant nec aliquem fugitivum in aliqua ecclesia custod . . . . . burgensibus nostris quod per ordinacionem Constabularii nostri predictos ordinaciones et clamaciones libere facere possint de assisa panis et servicie et de aliis rebus eandem villam tangentibus quando eumque necesse fuerit ad emendacionem eiusdem ville et proficuum populi. Ita quod non erunt legum proclamaciones in Comitatu nostro Glamorg' aliquo tempore facta. Volumus eciam quod Constabularius noster de Lantrissen de cetero teneat omnia Hundreda ville eiusdem de mense in mensem de omnibus placitis et querelis, tam de clamore lutesio sanguine fuso quam de transgressionibus debitis e invencionibus quam eciam de aliis diversis contractis, exceptis placitis corone forestallis et honosoken et placitis terre. Nos vero predic-

tus Hugo et heredes nostri omnes libertates predictas predictis burgensibus nostris contra omnes gentes warrantzabimus et in perpetuum defendemus. In cuius rei testimonium huic presente carte nostre sigillum Cancellarie nostre de Kerdyff duximus apponendum. Hiis testibus Domino Matheo le Soor tunc Vicecomite nostro Glamorg' et Morg', Thoma le Warde, Domino Johanne le Norreis, Domino Thoma ap Aaron, militibus, Pagano de Turbervill, Lewellino vachan, Me ap David, et aliis. Datum apud Kerdyff quarto die mensis Maii anno regni Regis Edwardi tereii post conquestum vicesimo.

Preterea concessimus eisdem burgensibus nostris de gracia nostra speciali quod ipsi et eorum successores habeant decetero housbot et heibot de mortuo bosco in boscis et in forestis nostris de Meiskyn et Glynrothnei rationabiliter sine impedimento forestariorum nostrorum, Et quod iidem burgenses nostri habeant libertatem quod dicitur Stonputhe in omnibus molendinis nostris de Meiskyn ad blada sua molenda, sicut alii liberi tenentes habent et habere solebant.

Concessimus etiam predictis burgensibus nostris quod ipsi in omnibus boscis nostris de Meiskyn et Glynrothnei et in forestis nostris liberi sint de panagio porcorum suorum cum paturagium acciderit, salvo tamen nobis et heredibus nostris cum tantum sint in forestis nostris pro quolibet magno porco unum denarium, et pro quolibet porco dimidii anni obulum, et pro porciolis et porcellis minoris etatis nichil, et quod iidem burgenses et eorum successores libere poterint habere averia sua in patriis de Meiskyn et Glynrothnei ad custodienda absque tallagio et reddito advocacionis nobis et heredibus nostris portandis. Et quod nullus ballivus forinsecus de cetero faciat officium Coronatoris infra bundas libertatis ville nostre predictae nisi tantum Constabularius noster de Lantrissen qui pro tempore fuerit.

Et nos vero predictus Edwardus le Despenser omnes libertates predictas pro nobis et heredibus nostris tam de novo per nos concessas quam a predicto Domino Hugone le Despenser avunculo nostro prius datas, predictis burgensibus nostris et eorum successoribus ratificamus et confirmamus per presentes in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti carte nostre sigillum Cancellarie nostre de Kerdyff duximus apponendum. Hiis testibus Domino Gilberto de Ellesfeld, tunc Vicecomite nostro de Glamorgan', Domino Ricardo de Turberville, Domino Johanne le Norreis, militibus, Willielmo Fleming, David vachan ap David ap Me . . . Me vachan ap Me ap Jorverth, et aliis. Datum apud Kerdyff secundo die Julii anno regni Regis Edwardi tereii tricesimo secundo.

Nos vero predictus Thomas le Despenser et heredes nostri omnes libertates predictas predictis burgensibus nostris et eorum successoribus ratificamus et confirmamus per presentes in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti carte nostre sigillum Cancellarie nostre de Kerdyff duximus apponendum. Hiis testibus Domino Johanne de Sancto Johanne, tunc Vicecomite nostro de Glamorg', Domino Laurencio de Berkeroles, Domino Willielmo Stradelyng, militibus. Johanne Basset et Roberto Wallys, armigeris. Domino Thoma Orewell', Archidiacono Landavensis, Domino Johanne Cris, Magistro Rogero Croke, Magistro Henrico War, clericis et canonicis ecclesie Landavensis, et multis aliis. Datum apud Kerdyff decimo octavo die Februarii anno regni Regis Richardi secundi vicesimo.

Nos vero predictus Richardus de Bello Campo Comes Wigornie Domi-

nus le Despenser et de Glamorg' et Morg' et de Bergeveny omnes libertates predictas pro nobis et heredibus nostris predictis burgensibus nostris et eorum successoribus ratificamus et confirmamus per presentes in perpetuum. In ejus rei testimonium huic presenti carte nostre sigillum Cancellarie nostre de Kerdyff duximus apponendum. Hiis testibus Domino Johanne Stradling, tunc Vicecomite nostro Glamorg', Domino Johanne de Sancto Johanne, Domino Edwardo Stradling, militibus, Watkyn Morton, tunc Constabulario de Kerdyff, Jenkin ap Davy ap Lewelyn vachan, Lewis Mathew, Howell ap Grono ap Ivor, Roberto Mathew, Morgan ap Lewelyn ap Jevan, armigeris, et aliis. Datum apud Kerdyff vicesimo quarto die mensis Augusti anno regni Regis Henrici quinti post conquestum nono.

Et nos vero predictus Ricardus Comes de Warwick Dominus le Despenser et de Glamorg' et Morg', et Isabella consors nostra, pro salute animarum nostrarum et omnium antecessorum et heredum nostrorum, omnes cartas donationes concessiones et confirmationes supradictas ratas habentes et gratas eas pro nobis et heredibus nostris predictis burgensibus nostris ville nostre predictae de Lantrissen et eorum successoribus, concedimus immovamus acceptamus ratificamus et confirmamus per presentes in perpetuum. Volentes et concedentes quod iste carte donationes concessiones et confirmationes de omnibus suis libertatibus fidehiter et inviolabiliter observentur in perpetuum, aliqua interruptione non obstante. In ejus rei testimonium huic presenti carte confirmationis nostre sigillum Cancellarie nostre de Kerdyff duximus apponendum. Hiis testibus . . . . de Sancto Johanne tunc . . . . . Domino Johanne de Sancto Johanne, Domino Johanne Stradling, militibus, Henrico Slacke, tunc Constabulario de Kerdyff, Dayd Mathew, Lewelyn ap Jevan Mabeo, Morgan ap Lewelyn ap Jevan, armigeris, et multis aliis. Datum apud Kerdyff vicesimo die mensis Octobris anno regni Regis Henrici sexti post conquestum tertio.

This charter is clearly written, upon parchment 21 in. broad by 15 in. deep, occasionally worn away by frequent folding, but otherwise fairly legible.

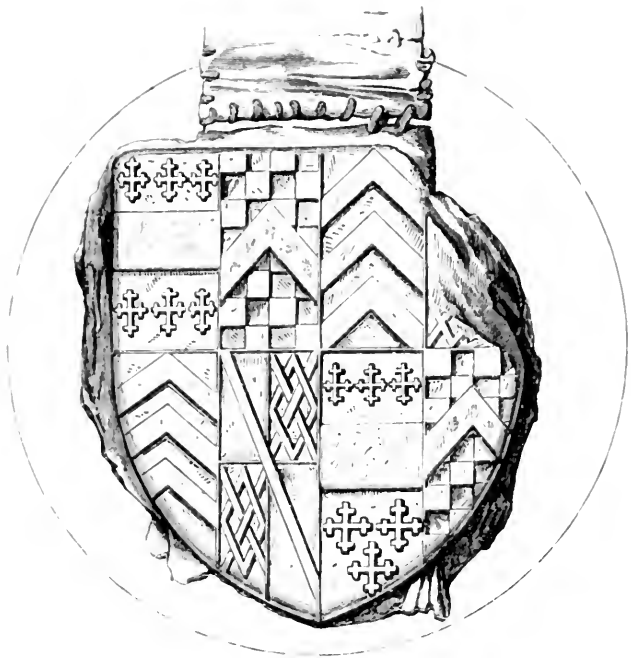
The seal, now much chipped, and worn, has been a very handsome one, of about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. diameter, cut with unusual clearness and boldness, and formed of very durable green wax. The margin is gone, but the central part is tolerably perfect. Upon the one side is an armed knight riding to the proper left, and upon his small full bottomed shield the arms of Beauchamp and Newburgh quarterly. The caparisons of the horse have been emblazoned, but are worn so nearly smooth that only traces of le Despenser quartering de Clare can be detected.

Upon the reverse is a large broad, though pointed, shield. It bears quarterly of four grand quarters, I. and IV. Beauchamp impaling Newburgh, Earl of Warwick, II. and III. de Clare impaling le Despenser.

The charter is endorsed "At Mr. Draper's house in Cardiff the 27th day of October 1662 this parchment writing was by us the Commissioners subscribed shewed the day time and place above mentioned unto William ap Evan at the time of his examination before us

THO. THOMAS  
JOHN CARSE  
HEN. BASSITT."







RICHARD BEAUCHAMP was the head of that branch of the great family of the name that descended from Walter of Elmley Castle temp. Hen. I., and, upon the extinction of the lines of Bedford and Eaton, became chief of the whole race, of which he was the most powerful and the most distinguished member.

Richard was g.-g.-g.-grandson of Wm. Beauchamp, who married Isabel sister and heir of Wm. Mauduit, Earl of Warwick. His father, Earl Thomas, died 2 Hen. IV., 1401. Richard was born at Salwarp, in Worcestershire, 28 Jan., 5 Ric. II., and 4 Hen. IV. had livery of his inheritance. He at once took part with the King against Owen Glendwyr, and was present at the battle of Shrewsbury. He afterwards visited Palestine, travelling thither through France and Italy in great state, and returning through Muscovy and North Germany. He then became Captain of Calais, and attended the Council of Constance at the head of the English deputation, escorted by 800 horse. He afterwards took a distinguished part in the wars of Henry V. in France, and aided at the siege of Rouen.

Under King Henry's will he became guardian of the infant Henry VI., whom he served faithfully for sixteen years, dying at Rouen 36th April, 17 Hen. VI., 1439. He was particularly celebrated for his personal strength and courage, and for the magnificence of his mode of life. He was a principal in most of the great jousting matches of his day, and seems to have been unsurpassed as a skilful and courteous Knight.

The Earl married first Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Thomas Lord Berkeley, by whom he left daughters only. His second wife was Isabel, daughter and heiress of Thomas Lord le Despenser, Earl of Gloucester, Lord of Glamorgan and Morgan, and widow of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Worcester and of Lord Abergavenny, his uncle's son. She died within a few months after her husband, her will being proved 4th February following. Their son was Henry Duke of Warwick.

The date of Isabel's marriage is not recorded, but it must have been after 1421, the date of her first husband's charter to Cardiff, and probably after 1423, the date of her own charter.

The Earl's usual style was "Comes de Warrewyk et de Annarle, Signor de Lisle et Capitaine de Rouen," but in the Harleian Charter, 53 H. 17, the legend on his seal is "Comes Warwici et Albermarle, Dominus Despenser." In Glamorgan he retained his main title only, and added to it those acquired by his marriage. He was created Earl of Annarle or Albermarle in 1417, for life only.

The arrangement of the quarterings upon Earl Richard's seal is somewhat peculiar. His paternal arms are quartered with those of his wife, but the contents of each quarter are impaled, probably to give greater space, and therefore more boldness to the bearings. Beauchamp, the Earl's own coat, impales Newburgh, the accepted coat of the Earldom of Warwick, and to de Clare, as the greatest of the families which have held the Lordship of Glamorgan, is given the precedence before le Despenser, the paternal coat of the Countess. The seal of the Harleian charter, cited above, bears quarterly Beauchamp and Newburgh, and on a shield of pretence, quarterly, Clare and Despenser. Crest, a swan's head and neck. Supporters, a bear and a griffin.

The present Charter confirms and recites four others: 1. That by Richard

Earl of Worcester, Countess Isabel's first husband, dated 24 Aug., 9 Hen. V., 1421. II. That by Thomas le Despenser, Lord of Glamorgan, &c., Countess Isabel's father, dated 18 February, 20 Ric. II., 1397, before his promotion to the Earldom of Gloucester. III. That by Edward le Despenser, Lord of Glamorgan, &c., the father of Earl Thomas. It is dated 2 July, 32 Ed. III., 1358. IV. That by Hugh le Despenser Lord of Glamorgan, &c., uncle to Lord Edward, dated 4 May, 20 Edw. III., 1346. This last is, of course, the real charter.

Some remarks occur as to the witnesses of the several documents, taken in order of date: I. Sir Mathew or Mayo le Soor, knighted after 1340, and Sheriff 1346, was Lord of Peterston and St. Fagans. He witnessed Cardiff charters in 1338 and 1340. The family came from Backwell, co. Somerset, and had long been in Glamorgan. Sir Mathew was the last. He married Maud, daughter and heiress of Philip Huntley, and his three daughters married Wolfe of Wolfes Newton, Howell ap Griffith and Peter de Vele, which last had St. Fagans. Le or la Warde is unknown in the county. Sir John le Norreis was of Penlline and Llanvihangel. He witnessed, before knighthood, Cardiff charters of 1338 and 1340, and after knighthood in 1358. His ancestor, Sir Robert, was Sheriff under Robert Consul and William Earl of Gloucester. Sir John left four daughters, co-heiresses, of whom Lucy, the second, carried Penlline to the Turbervilles of that place. Sir Thos. ap Aaron was of Brigau, and son of Aaron ap Howell vachan by Bettine, daughter and heiress of Sir Simon Walsh, of Llandough by Cowbridge, by Elizabeth Bawson or de Baiocis, of Brigau. He was knighted after 1338, and married Jane, daughter of Llewelyn ap Kynfrig, and had Sir Jenkin, whose daughter carried Brigau to the Thomases. Pagan de Turberville was of Coyty Castle, and head of a family who, though "Advene," often married with, and always sided with, the Welsh. Pagan married Gwenllian, daughter of Sir Richard Talbot. On the failure of his male heirs, his four daughters inherited, and Katherine, who married Sir Roger Berkerolles, had Coyty. Llewelyn vachan, or the little, may be of Senghenydd, ancestor to the Lewis's of Van, but is more probably the second son of Llewelyn ap Kynvrig ap Howell ap Madoc ap Jestyn. His father was of Llantrithyd and Radyr, according to the Welsh pedigrees, and married a daughter of Sir Ralph Mayloc. He himself was of Miscin. Madoc ap David is lost.

II. Sir Gilbert de Ellesfield is unknown in Glamorgan, save as High Sheriff in 1348 and 1358, but it appears by an Inquisition of 18 Edw. III., that one of his name had lands in Berks and Wilts. Sir Richard Turberville witnessed a Cardiff charter in 1358; he may be either the father or the second son of Pagan, probably the latter. William Fleming, who appears also in 1358, was no doubt a member of the Flinston family, John Basset of that of St. Hilary or Beaupré, and John Wallys, or Walsh, one of a family who came from Somerset, and whose connection with Llandough has been mentioned. John Walsh seems to have held Hatton co. Somerset, of the honour of Gloucester. Orwell was an ecclesiastic; the others are Welsh.

III. Sir John St. John, Sheriff in 1397, was of Fommon, and acquired the adjacent castle of Penmark by marriage with the heiress of Umfraville. Sir Lawrence Berkerolles, the last of the name, was a knight of Somerset and Monmouthshire, but seated at East Orchard in Glamorgan.

His name appears amongst the tenants of the Honour of Dunster, and he had Coyty from his mother, the coheir of Turberville. His sister Gwenlian carried East Orchard to the Stradlings, and Sir William, the next witness, was probably her son. The rest are ecclesiastics, and unknown.

IV. Sir John Stradling, Sheriff in 1421, and as such a witness to the Earl of Worcester's Cardiff charter, was no doubt the seneschal of Havod-y-Porth, Margan 1425, and Kenfig 1460; a cadet of St. Donats, and ancestor of the Stradlings of Wilts. Sir Edward was his elder brother. Sir John St. John was probably the great grandson of Sir John St. J. and Elizabeth Umfraville. Watkyn Morton was probably an English burgess of Cardiff with Welsh connexions. Jenkin ap David ap Llewelyn vaehan seems to have been the great grandson of the Llewelyn vaehan already mentioned. Of the Mathews, there were three brothers, David, Robert, and Lewis Mathew, of Llandaff, the first generation who adopted that surname. Robert was ancestor of the Mathews of Castel-y-Mynach, and David, then knighted, is said to have been standard-bearer to Ed. IV., at least forty years after the date of this charter. Howell ap Grono ap Ivor was of Llansamnor, which, on his death childless, passed to Elinor his sister, who married Richard ap Howel (Herbert) of Perthir and had John Gwyn, ancestor of the Gwyns of Llansamnor. Llewelyn ap Jevan Madoc seems not unlikely to be the Llewelyn ap Jevan Mady of the Welsh pedigrees, sixth in descent from Madoc ap Jestyn. He was of Abergorky. Morgan ap Llewelyn ap Jevan was probably seventh in descent from Madoc ap Jestyn, and his elder representative. He was of Radyr, and married Eva, daughter of Evan Gethyn. Catherine, their daughter and coheir, seems to have carried Radyr to her husband Thomas Mathew.

In the containing charter of 1424, the Sheriff, Sir Oliver St. John, knighted before 1421, is of Fommon, and probably brother of the next witness.

Of the places named in these charters Llantrissant, guarded by its triple hagiocracy, still remains, perched high up in a notch between two still higher summits, much resembling a Greek town in its position, its white exterior, and in some other particulars within. One fragment of the castle still predominates over the whole, and the meadow is still pointed out where Edward II. was captured. The town retains something of the constitution granted by its ancient Lords, and preserves its one remaining parchment with religious care. To it, as to its sister borough of Cowbridge, has been accorded a share in the somewhat doubtful advantage of, with Cardiff, returning a member to Parliament. Formerly the parish was of vast extent, but by degrees the chapels have become churches, and the Vicar of Llantrissant is responsible for a diminished though not unimportant area. Glyn Rothne or Rhondda and Miskyn are two extensive Lordships granted to the Herberts by the Crown, and still held by Lord Bute. Elwyn-Crwn is the present name of two houses upon the northern boundary of the borough, and the Manor of Clun remains to its south-west. Housbote and heylbote and the right of pannage in the woods of Miskyn are no longer of value, the woods having been exhausted by the infant manufactory of iron in the reign of Elizabeth.

The boundaries of the borough are not followed out in the usual

way. Only the extreme points at the four quarters seem to be indicated.

It is remarkable that the Charter of Hugh le Despenser here preserved, and dated 1316, is silent as to any previous charter of incorporation. Nevertheless such there evidently was, as it takes for granted the existence of Burgesses, Burgages, and elected officers of the borough. 'Confirmasse' also supports this view. Cardiff is in a similar case, its earliest charter from its Lords being by Hugh de Despenser in 1338. With him, however, concurs his wife, the de Clare heiress.

The privileges either granted or confirmed in 1346 are,—

1. The burgesses, as their antecessors were, and as their successors will be, are free throughout the Lord's dominions in England and Wales : free with their merchandize and chattels from toll, wall-tax, bridge-tax, payage, pickage, and quay-tax, and from all other customs.

2. Any burgess may will any burgage tenements or rents by himself acquired to whom he shall please.

3. No burgess to be constrained for any purpose to pass beyond the ancient liberties and bounds of the town as laid down.

4. Burgesses not to be receivers of the lord's taxes, save those proceeding from the bailiwick of the town.

5. None shall keep stall or shop or tavern in the town save those paying scot and lot, or members of a guild within the liberties.

6. Burgesses may form a guild.

7. Burgesses not to be distrained for another's debt unless they have become bail.

8. The lord's bailiffs are not to distrain or summons within the liberties. This can only be done by the Constable of the lord's castle or by the bailiff elected by the burgesses.

9. Traders with goods to traverse the town only by the highways, so that the lord's customs be not evaded.

10. No burgess who can find bail may be imprisoned, save for felony when taken in the fact, or when it affects specially the lord or his household.

11. In all lawful inquisitions relating to the property of the burgesses the inquisitors to be burgesses.

12. Burgesses not to be called upon to watch for any fugitive taking refuge in a church.

13. The lord's constable may make proclamation of assize of bread and ale, and of all matters touching the town when necessary.

14. The constable to hold Hundred Courts for the town monthly for all pleas, as hue and cry, bloodshed, debts, &c. ; but pleas of the Crown, forestal or forfeiture, honesoken or manslaughter, and pleas of the land are excepted.

To which franchises are added by Edward le Despenser ;

15. Housebote and heybote and reasonable rights to dead wood in the forests of Miskyn and Glyn Rhondda.

16. The usual right of free tenants to Stonputhe in the lord's mills of Miskyn.

17. Right of pannage of hogs in Miskyn and Glyn Rhondda, saving only to the lord and his heirs, for each great pig, 1*d.* ; for each pig six months old  $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* ; for porcoles and porcelli of under growth nothing.

18. Burgesses' cattle to have free pasture on the waste, without tallage or rent.

19. No stranger bailiff to fill the office of coroner within the liberties, save only the constable of the castle.

'Locamum et scotamum' are scot and lot, assessment to the town contributions. 'Assisa panis et cervisie,' the fixing the price of bread and ale. 'Clamor hutesii' is the hue and cry, or pursuit of an offender who has shed blood. 'Forestallum,' the intercepting and buying up food on its way to market, to keep up its price; 'Honesoken or hamesoken,' the immunity of a man's house, the violation of which is burglary. Housebote is the right to take timber for house repairs in the lord's woods. Haybote, to take underwood for repairing fences. Stonputhe is a very rare word indeed; probably the right to put in a stone and use the lord's mill. 'Pannagium,' is the right to feed hogs on beech-mast or acorns in the lord's woods. 'Porcella' and 'Porciolus' mean a little pig. 'Redditus advocacionis,' the rent of avowry, or the lord's protection.<sup>1</sup>

G. T. C.

[The Council of the Institute desires to acknowledge the kind liberality of "G. T. C.," in presenting the Journal with the woodcut of the fine Seal figured above.]

<sup>1</sup> See vol. vi., p. 164, for illustrations of this term and its meaning.

## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

July 5, 1872.

Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P. and V.P., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN adverted with great regret to the recent decease of Sir Thomas E. Wymington, Bart., one of the Council, who had rendered the Institute great service. His house at Stamford Court was full of objects of archaeological interest, and the singular series of family pictures painted on the walls of a room at the top of the house was in itself worth a visit. Sir Thomas had brought many objects for exhibition at the meetings of the Institute, and in many ways contributed to the success of their monthly, as well as their annual meetings. His death was a great loss to the Institute; to his own family it must be much heavier, and he hoped the meeting would pass a vote of condolence to Lady Wymington on the occasion. This having been formally proposed by Mr. Parker, was unanimously agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN then introduced the Rev. E. Kell and Mr. F. Laukester as representatives of the Mayor of Southampton, who was prevented attending by an attack of gout. The Rev. E. Kell assured the members that the Institute would be cordially welcomed at Southampton, and spoke at some length upon the many objects of archaeological importance with which the town and neighbourhood abounded.

Mr. J. T. Wood drew attention to the excavations in progress at Ephesus, and exhibited photographs showing some of the results which had been obtained, and a plan of the excavations. Among these were a group of architectural fragments and portion of a sculptured column, which showed without doubt that the site of the celebrated Temple of Diana had been reached, the column being one of the *columnæ calata* described by Pliny. A great deal had been effected; all doubts as to the site of the temple had been solved; but there was still much more to be done, and funds were wanted. He ventured to submit that it was a case in which Government aid should be given, and trusted the meeting would follow up the action of the Society of Antiquaries in the matter, and memorialize the Government for assistance. Professor Donaldson eulogised the energy and skill shown by Mr. Wood, and spoke highly of the importance and value of the work. He moved that a memorial be addressed by the Council of the Institute to Her Majesty's Government, soliciting a vote in aid of the continuance of the explorations.

The CHAIRMAN, thinking that an excellent case had been made out in favour of a grant from Government in aid of the excavations, submitted the proposal to the meeting, and it was carried with acclamation.



Mr. BURTT read some "Notes," by Mr. Albert Way, "On a copper matrix, bearing the Holy Lamb," which had been lately found at Bristol.

"Mr. J. F. Nicholls, of the Bristol City Library, has sent for exhibition an impression of a copper matrix found in June, 1872, in the works for the new pier in the river Avon, at Bristol. It lay in the bed of the river, at a depth, as stated, of 40 feet, embedded in clay, and just above the alluvial soil. The plate is of an irregular-square form, about two inches and an eighth in diameter, and nearly a quarter of an inch in thickness. It bears in intaglio the device of the *Agnus Dei*; the reverse is quite plain, without any trace of a handle or other adjustment. There are three slight flaws in the work, and on that account, it had been conjectured, the object, supposed to have been intended for a seal, might have been thrown aside, and the irregular margin not cut away, so as to bring the work to the usual circular form used for sealing. Around the head of the lamb there is a cruciferous nimbus; with one of the fore legs it holds a triple-tailed gonfalon, and the part of that streamer nearest the staff is ornamented with a kind of saltire-shaped device, having a quatrefoil in its centre. The lamb stands on a scroll, or band, with plain ends cut off square. The legend is as follows:—✠ AGNVS : DEI QVI TOLLIS : PECCA MYNDI MISERERE. The contracted word *pecca* is obviously for *peccata*. The date of the work seems to be the close of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century.



Medallion of copper found in the River Avon, at Bristol.

"The irregular form of this object, and its general character, appear to suggest that it was not intended for use as a seal, as has been conjectured, but for some other purpose. Mr. Nicholls mentioned that it might have been, as imagined, a seal of one of the religious houses in Bristol, possibly of that of the Templars, and that its purpose was for casting badges or religious tokens, of lead or other material, for distribution to pilgrims or the like. It has been purchased for the somewhat extravagant price of 7*l.* by the Knights Templars Lodge of Freemasons at Bristol. Mr. Addison has given, in his "History of the Knights Templars, and the

Temple Church in London,"<sup>1</sup> a seal of circular form, with the device of the Holy Lamb, as on the relic found at Bristol, with the legend ✠ SIGILLVM TEMPLI. On certain documents the seal of the order is found, the device being the head of a man with a long beard and a small cap: the legend is, TESTIS SVM AGNI.

"The Agnus was doubtless a device regarded with special veneration, and probably considered to possess certain talismanic or physical virtues. The Agni of wax, blessed by the Pope, and formed from the Paschal candle, to be presented by the Holy Father with great solemnity, as related in the "Ordo Romanus," were treasured as efficacious against evil spirits, pestilent infection, tempests, fire, and sudden death. Matthew Paris, relating that the church of St. Alban's was twice set on fire, in the time of Abbot John de Hertford, about 1235, deploras the want of wonted efficacy of the Agnus of wax blessed by the Pope, which had been placed on the summit of the tower.<sup>2</sup> Several examples are known of small boxes or ornamental capsules, in which the hallowed relic was preserved, and worn by the faithful.

"It should appear that besides the "impressio Papalis cerea in qua Agnus Dei figuratur," prepared at Rome with so much solemnity, there were other objects bearing the same device, and made in our own country or elsewhere, by special permission of the Holy Father. In 1773 a round matrix was found near Shaftsbury Abbey, and exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries: it was supposed to have been used for fashioning such sacred objects. By a statute of Henry VIII., such seals, or their impressions, subjected the possessor to the penalties of *perjurium* for the first offence. For the second the offender was accounted guilty of high treason."



Medallion found at Newport, Monmouthshire, belonging to O. Morgan, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that he had a similar matrix brought him about forty years ago at Newport, and it was probably of the thirteenth century. It is figured above.

<sup>1</sup> Page 81, see also Pref. p. xi. and p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> M. Paris, *Gesta Abbatia Johannis*, p. 142.

Professor BUNNEL-LEWIS, of Queen's College, Cork, read a memoir on "Archæology as a branch of Classical Education :"—A celebrated editor of Terence had commented severely on the teaching of hexameters to the neglect of the ancient metres sung at home and in the streets, and the prosecution of classical studies in modern times, and especially in this country, deserved equally severe criticism. Possessing, as we do in our national collections, master-pieces of Greek art, and electrotypes and photographs of others elsewhere, the materials for an improved mode of teaching were in rich profusion around us. Archæology should be made part of our educational system, as an aid to a just appreciation of ancient literature ; and in these days of material progress the student had no time to spare for an unprofitable pursuit ; present circumstances gave it an additional claim on our attention. Archæology assisted in dissipating the utilitarian objections to classical studies, for the antiquary who collects fragments that have survived the wreck of time was able, by the aid of the ancient writers, to reproduce a civilization in many respects the most perfect the world has seen. Archæology animated the dry bones of philology and textual criticism, till they rose up, endowed with vigour and motion. As an example, the arch of Titus might be referred to, with its many illustrations of objects and persons, either represented naturally or by types. These examples and numerous other carvings threw a flood of light on many passages of both classical and sacred writers. And such objects as those then exhibited by the lecturer—terra-cotta lamps from Cyprus, showing the dove and pomegranate, a Bacchante holding a knife in the right hand and the hind quarters of a kid in the left ; the story of Actæon, and a figure of Victory standing on the crescent moon and crowning Night, with the seven stars of the great Bear as a wreath ; a lamp from Syracuse with the Christian monogram ; a Roman bronze lamp in the form of the *caliga* ; objects of personal ornament, &c., from Cyprus ; and a collection of original coins and electrotype copies, were additional illustrations of the argument.

The lecturer concluded with an account of what had been done at Queen's College, Cork, as regards the teaching of archæology in the illustration of the lectures of the professors of classics by means of coins, original works of antique art, casts, photographs, and electrotypes.

Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B., then gave an account of "Archæological Researches in Rome during the Past Winter" (printed at p. 249 of this volume). In conveying the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Parker for his very interesting discourse, the Chairman spoke of his own visit to Rome in the year 1827, and the excavations he then saw in progress.

#### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the CHAIRMAN.—An oval medallion in enamel by Christian Vermuth. On the obverse, on a mottled crimson ground, is a small enamelled portrait in relief of the bust of Frederick Augustus III., Elector of Saxony and King of Poland. On the reverse he is represented wearing his crimson electoral robe and crowned cap, ascending a lofty flight of steps ; and above his head, in the heavens, are seen the sun and moon, to which he is looking up. Above, on a scroll, is the motto, "Tendit ad astra cursum." On the right hand is a column, on the pedestal of which is a shield, bearing what seem to be the dimidiated arms of Poland impaling Saxony ;

the Polish arms (if such they are) are, however, wrongly coloured, the field being argent and the Eagle gules, whereas the correct arms of Poland were gules, a single-headed eagle displayed, argent. On the shaft of the column is the inscription, "Natalibus lxxvi. post primum Lutheri Reformã — Jubilium." The date of the confession of Augsburg was 1530; the first jubilee of 100 years was in 1630; and the sixty birthdays bring the date to 1696, the year of the birth of Augustus III. He succeeded to the Electorate in 1733, and was elected King of Poland in 1734—the probable date of the medallion. Beneath the shoulder of the bust is seen the name Vermuth. Christian Vermuth was a Saxon medallist, and appears also to have worked in enamel, producing in that material portraits in relief from the dies of his medals. He had also Imperial privileges, and executed a large series of Imperial medals of mixed metal and enamel, of which he published a descriptive catalogue at Gotha in 1745, where he had fixed his residence, and these medals he advertised for sale at the Leipzig autumnal fair in that year;—A pack of playing cards, which appear to be French, as the names of the suits are all French, as is also the name of the maker, Charles Maligne. The marks and emblems of the suits, however, are those which were used in Italy from the XV. century downwards, viz., Coupes, Batons, Espies, and Deniers, on the deuce of which latter suit is seen the maker's name in full length, with the date 1777. The four suits are complete, with the exception of one card, the valet or knave of swords, or spades. The pack of Tarat cards wants only one—No. xv., Le Diable—and, with these two exceptions, the pack is complete. The Tarat cards are as follows:—

- |                         |                           |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Le Bateleur.         | 12. Le Pendu              |
| 2. La Papesse.          | 13. La Mort.              |
| 3. L'Impératrice.       | 14. Tempérance.           |
| 4. L'Empereur.          | 15. (wanting). Le Diable. |
| 5. Le Pape.             | 16. La Maison Dieu.       |
| 6. L'Amoureux.          | 17. L'Estoile.            |
| 7. Le Chariot.          | 18. La Lune.              |
| 8. La Justice.          | 19. Le Soleil.            |
| 9. L'Erémite.           | 20. Le Jugement.          |
| 10. La Rone de Fortune. | 21. Le Monde.             |
| 11. La Force.           | 22. Le Mit (no number).   |

La Papesse may bear some relation to our game of Pope Joan;—A silver gilt pomander, probably Italian, as the names of the perfumes are in that language:—Viole—Maschette—Ambra—Gesamini—Cedro—Rose—Garofole—Naransi. Each quarter holds one. There is, moreover, a central bottle, and a small bottle at the top, as also at the bottom. On the bottom is engraved an escoccheon for arms, surmounted by a Cardinal's or Archbishop's hat; the arms have, however, been removed. Probable date, end of sixteenth century;—An episcopal ring, set with dark sapphire; found in 1857, in a garden in hamlet of Morton, in parish of Dinton, county of Buckingham, thirteenth century;—Gold signet ring, bearing the arms of the family of Acklam, an ancient Yorkshire family; a manchet within an orde of cinquefoils; latter part of sixteenth century.

By Mrs. JARVIS.—A very small lady's finger ring of plain gold, probably of the seventeenth century, lately found at Rochetts, Essex.

By Mr. J. F. NICHOLLS, of Bristol.—Matrix of a medallion of an "Agnus Dei," lately found in the river Avon.

By Mr. J. H. PARKER, C.B.—Photographs, plans, &c., illustrating archaeological researches in Rome.

By Professor LEWIS and the Rev. S. S. LEWIS.—A small collection of Greek and Roman coins; specimens of pottery and other antiquities, comprising a Roman lamp of bronze in the form of a soldier's boot; lamps and glass vase from Cyprus; Cypriote jar from Idaliium; a Roman lamp, Venus Victrix and Cupid. Also an *Genochoë*, Romano-British, found near Cambridge.

By Mrs. WICKHAM FLOWER.—Ancient gold earrings from Cyprus.

By Mr. J. T. WOOD.—Plan showing excavations on the site of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus; photograph of a group of architectural fragments found at Ephesus; photograph of sculptured column of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus.

By Professor DONALDSON.—Nine matrices of seals.

These were acquired at various periods, some in Italy, and others in Paris, and are all most probably reproductions from authentic impressions of the original seals.

1. "SIGILLVM COMMVNIE DIVIONIS." Dijon, in France. A circular seal,  $3\frac{3}{8}$  in. in diameter. In the field, which is circular and is  $1\frac{5}{8}$  in. in diameter, is a figure on horseback to the right, bareheaded, with a hawk on the right hand, near which is an eight-rayed flamboyant sun, and, in front of the horse, a crescent. Round this field is a circle about  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. wide, on which is the legend in fourteenth-century characters. Outside this is another circle of twenty divisions with semicircular arches, containing boldly projecting heads of varied character and expression, one head in each arch; but this portion is less perfect than the inner. There is engraved in the "Trésor de Glyptique," by Le Normant, "Secaux des Communes," pl. xiv., a seal very similar, but it differs in having no arches over the heads in the outer circle.

2. "SIGILLVM COMMVNITETIS VILLE CONDOMENSIS." Condom, in France. A circular seal, 3 in. in diameter. The device is a fortified town (of the twelfth century), with five square towers, four of which have arched gateways. In front of the largest tower is a bridge with three pointed arches, under which a river is flowing; from the gateway of this tower a knight on horseback is issuing to cross the bridge. In the town is seen the Cathedral; its gable end is surmounted by a cross, and there is a central tower.

3. "SIGILLVM SANCTI QUIRACI PROVINI." Provins, in France. A circular seal,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. in diameter, probably of the fourteenth century. The device is a three-quarter figure of the saint in full costume, a crosier in his right hand and a cross in his left. In the field are two eight-pointed stars, and four small groups of three dots each. St. Quiriac is the patron saint of Ancona; the Cathedral there being dedicated to him.

4. "CRISTOFFE DE LORRAIN CHEVALIER SEIGNEUR DE RABON." Rabon, in the Hautes Alps of France. A circular seal,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. in diameter; probably late in fifteenth century. The device is a knight in armour on horseback, galloping to the right. On his left arm is a shield, charged with a bend. His mantle floats in the wind, and in his raised right hand

is a sword, crossing behind his helmet, which is surmounted by a plume and has the vizor down. The ground is *parsemé* with flowers.

5. "S. CONVENTUS CLAREVALLES." Clairvaux, in France. A circular seal, nearly 2 in. in diameter, of late fourteenth-century character. The device is three niches surmounted by elaborately enriched canopies, flanked on each side by a smaller niche. In the centre niche is a figure of the Virgin and Child, and in each of the two niches next it is the figure of a bishop with a crozier.

6. "SIGILLVM CAPITOLI DE MVXIO." A circular seal,  $1\frac{1}{16}$  in. in diameter, of thirteenth-century work (*l*). The device is a figure of St. Peter seated on a chair, the arms and feet of which have the head and claws of a griffon. The figure is fully robed, and has a tiara on the head. In the right hand are the double keys; in his left a volume resting against his chest. On the field are distributed the letters, "SC'S PETERVS."

7. "S. DN'I JACOBI CVRIALIS D. SALERNO DEI GRATIÀ EP'I BISIGNANENSIS." Bisignano, in Italy. A seal of the *vesica piscis* form,  $2\frac{1}{8}$  in. long by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. wide, of late fourteenth-century work. The device is in three divisions. In the lowest division is a narrow square-shaped panel with a trefoiled head, containing a robed figure standing, possibly episcopal; on each side is a shield charged with a bend indented. The middle division is a square compartment with three flat-arched foliated heads, one over each of three figures occupying the field. The centre figure is that of the seated Virgin, with the infant Jesus standing on her left knee; on her left is a saint, with a sword in the right hand and a staff in the left; on her right is a similar figure, with a palm branch (*l*) in the right hand. All have nimbi. The upper division has a richly canopied head in three divisions, under which is seated God the Father, on his throne, his head encircled with a nimbus. He bears in front the Saviour on the cross.

8. "S' CAPITOLI S'CE MARIE SCOLA GRECOR'"—probably of some Institution at Venice. A seal of the same form as No. 7, 2 in. long and  $1\frac{5}{16}$  in. wide, probably of the fifteenth century. The device is a figure of the Virgin seated on a throne, with the infant Jesus on her left knee and a sceptre in her right hand. She is under a deeply recessed canopy with a trefoiled head, resting on a slender *spiralled* column on each side, surmounted by capitals.

9. "S' CRIMALDI PORIS S'CE CATARINE D' MUR." Modena, Italy. A seal of the same form as No. 7,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. long by  $1\frac{1}{16}$  in. wide. The device is a full length figure of St. Catherine crowned and richly robed, her feet resting on a trefoiled arch, under which is a small figure of a monk praying. On each side of her is a row of alternate flowers and crosses placed vertically.

#### SPECIAL EXCURSION TO GUILDFORD.

Tuesday, July 2, 1872.

IN accordance with the wish expressed at the May meeting of the Institute, when Mr. G. T. Clark gave his Address, "Some account of Guildford Castle" (printed at p. 1 of the present volume), this day was fixed for the special excursion to Guildford, a visit extemporised to suit the convenience of members in town in union with the gentry of the neighbourhood.

The party left the Waterloo Station of the South Western Railway by ordinary train at 11.30 A.M. The number of persons from London was not considerable; but invitations having been freely issued in the neighbourhood of Guildford, a large number of ladies and gentry availed themselves of the opportunity thus offered to them, and joined the members of the Institute, when they arrived from London. Among them were Mr. Octavius Morgan, M.P., Mr. G. T. Clark, Sir E. Smirke, Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B., the Hon. Mrs. Way and Miss Way, Mr. and Mrs. J. Gough Nichols, Mr. J. G. Nichols, jun., Mr. Talbot Bury and Miss Bury, Col. Pinney, Rev. J. B. Deane, Rev. R. P. and Mr. Coates, Mr. J. W. Bernhard Smith, Mr. Henry Ross, Mr. Burt (*Hon. Sec.* of the Institute), the Mayor of Guildford and Mrs. Shoolbridge, Mr. G. Cubitt, M.P., Mr. Leveson Gower, Mr. J. More Molynaux, the Hon. G. C. Norton, Rev. Dr. Monsell, Mr. R. A. C. Godwin Austen, Gen. Twemlow, Rev. R. Trimmer, Mrs. Trimmer, Col. Ross, Rev. Dr. Merriman, Capt. Deane, Mrs. Deane, Capt. Dyer, Rev. C. Kerry, Rev. Mr. Letchworth, Rev. Mr. Somerset, Mr. and Mrs. Lidgate, Capt. and Mrs. Vickers, Mr. T., Mrs., and Miss Tamton.

The church of St. Mary was the first object visited, and here Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B., exhibited a ground plan of the church, carefully made upon a large scale, so as to show the various changes and alterations it had undergone. Mr. Parker then gave his discourse upon the structure (which has been already printed at p. 170 of the present volume), and pointed out, with great care, the peculiar features of the building, both in the interior and exterior.

On leaving the church, the party proceeded to Abbot's Hospital, in the High Street. This is a collegiate establishment for aged persons, founded by George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1619, having a common hall, with its appurtenances, library, and chapel. It is a very good example of such an establishment, being almost entirely unaltered, and the slight restorations which have been made being well done. In the chapel are two windows of excellent painted glass, which attracted much attention, and were the subjects of considerable discussion. In the quaint-looking library, a room over the entrance gateway, panelled with oak, and having a highly carved mantelpiece, was exhibited a large and remarkable collection of flint implements, &c., which had been chiefly found in the neighbourhood. Upon these a short but able discourse was given by the Rev. C. Kerry, the owner of the collection. In the windows of this room are the arms of the founder of the Hospital, with the motto of the foundation conceived in the spirit of the time, "Clamamus Abba pater."

Descending the High Street, towards the Angel Hotel (in which luncheon was prepared), many of the party inspected the crypts under that hostelry, and a house (doubtless also an inn) on the opposite side of the road. These are each of six bays, well vaulted and groined in the Early Decorated style,—probably thirteenth-century work,—and are divided into aisles (*t*) by two columns with plain capitals. Each had two high windows towards the street, the level of which must then have been the same as at present. Sir E. Smirke took the chair at the luncheon, and, after an excellent repast, the Mayor of Guildford addressed some pleasant words of welcome to the Institute. Mr. Lidgate, the proprietor of the Castle school, supplemented the remarks of the

mayor by saying that no difficulties were thrown in the way of those who wished to see the Castle. The Chairman, in the name of the Institute, shortly acknowledged the cordial welcome they had received, and as there was still much to be done, proposed their speedy adjournment to the Castle grounds. Here, on the summit of the mound, and in front of the keep, Mr. Clark gave the discourse upon the Castle which has been already noticed, and, after his references to the building generally, went carefully over those minor portions of his lecture which dealt with existing remains of the structure, and conducted the party from one point to another as best suitable for the examination. Col. Pinney moved a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Clark for his excellent lecture, which was passed by acclamation.

The Caverns, which are at a short distance from the Castle, were then visited, Mr. Clark leading the way. By the kind directions of Lord Grantley, excellent arrangements had been made by Mr. T. Russell, his lordship's agent, to enable the visitors to traverse throughout these remarkable quarryings in the chalk cliff. They were well lighted up with candles, and men were placed at intervals to give information as to the exact locality, and direct the wanderers in this underground maze, which of course seemed of much greater than its real extent. The subject of the Caverns had been discussed by Mr. Clark, and reference was made by him to a little work noted below,<sup>1</sup> which had been lately published, but in all the conclusions of which he did not quite agree.

A small party went, under the guidance of Mr. Parker, to inspect Loseley House, a good example of an Elizabethan mansion, the seat of Mr. J. More Molynaux; but the greater number of visitors turned at once homewards, carrying with them very agreeable reminiscences of the day's proceedings.

## ANNUAL MEETING AT SOUTHAMPTON, 1872.

August 1 to August 8.

THE Inaugural Meeting was held in the large hall of the Hartley Institution, at noon on Thursday, August 1. Lord Talbot de Malahide, accompanied by the Marquis of Bristol, the Lord Henry Scott, M.P., Sir E. Smirke, Sir J. Ramsden, Rev. W. Tilson Marsh, Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B., Canon Meade, Col. Pinney, and the officers and members of the Institute, were received by the mayor and chief members of the Corporation of Southampton, wearing their civic robes, and accompanied by their insignia of office. The Mayor of Southampton (H. J. BURNAS, Esq.), being in the chair, rose and welcomed the Institute to Southampton. In so doing he expressed his deep regret at the unavoidable absence of the President of the meeting, the Bishop of Winchester, who had that morning been summoned elsewhere by legal process, and who, in common with other people, had no alternative but to obey. He was able to state, however, that his lordship fully intended to be with them as soon as he could, and that they would not be deprived of the pleasure of hearing an

<sup>1</sup> *Notes and Speculations on the Guildford Caverns*, by Capt. E. R. James, R.E. Pp. 64. Asher and Walbrook, 19, High St., Guildford.



address from him. He was sure that nothing would give the Corporation of Southampton greater pleasure than to feel that the Institute would leave that town with agreeable feelings of satisfaction. It had been usual, in other places, to have a formal address presented to the Institute by the Mayor and Corporation, and one had been voted by the Corporation, but was not ready for presentation; in lieu of which he hoped his words of welcome would be accepted as a temporary substitute.

His Worship vacated the chair, which was then occupied by Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, on behalf of the Bishop of Winchester, as President of the meeting, and in very cordial terms he acknowledged the welcome of the Mayor and Corporation, remarking that he was very glad to hear that, notwithstanding the "improvements" in Southampton, they had still many interesting antiquities remaining in the town. After adverting to the early history of that part of England, his lordship spoke of the peculiar good fortune of the meeting in securing the presidency of the Bishop of Winchester, who had so often charmed them by his eloquent and instructive orations. Regretting much the circumstances which had interfered with the bishop's attendance at the opening meeting, he proposed that the Bishop be requested to take the chair when it was convenient to do so.

The Rev. BASIL WILBERFORCE expressed his great regret at the unavoidable absence of the Bishop, who had been subpoenaed to Guildford in an action for libel. He had promised, however, to attend the Mayor's *soirée* that evening, and hoped to be with them on the morrow.

The ARCHDEACON OF WINCHESTER had been requested to say a few words of salutation to the archaeologists on the part of the clergy, and he thought he had some right to do so, as the name of this Institute had been formed, after some discussion, at the house of his father-in-law. He well remembered the great meeting at Winchester some years since, and he thought they might now have a great meeting at Southampton. He continued: "When archaeology was rightly understood, their acquaintance with the times that had gone by was really an instrument of life to them. They did not pore over the dust of antiquity to put their eyes out, but they inquired into antiquity with the view of ascertaining the power and the light which existed in days which had gone by. Therefore they took what was presented to them, not simply as records of time, but as records of human progress and thought, remembering that we were made by those who had gone before, and that it would be most ungrateful for us not to recognize the merits of our forefathers." After referring to the address delivered in 1845 at the Winchester meeting, by the Bishop, who was then Dean of Westminster, the Archdeacon proceeded to speak of the discoveries which had been made in the Cathedral there since that meeting, and chiefly in regard to the tomb of William Rufus.

Sir EDWARD SMIRKE acknowledged the welcome which had been so well expressed towards the Institute on the part of the clergy by Canon Jacob.

Lord HENRY SCOTT, M.P., bade welcome to the Institute on behalf of the landed gentry of the county. He knew that the Institute would be heartily welcomed wherever they went, and he was sure the landed gentry would vie with one another in showing an interest in what the Society came to look at. He continued his remarks by a rapid sketch of

the chief points of interest in the county, and its early historical associations.

Dr. BOND, Principal of the Hartley Institution, on behalf of societies of a kindred nature, had the greatest pleasure in welcoming the Institute among them. He assured them that they would look upon the Institute as missionaries, come to revive the drooping condition of archaeological study among them, a revival of which they stood very much in need. They welcomed the Institute with great cordiality, and trusted that their visit would be the occasion of the establishment of a society specially devoted to archaeological researches.

The MAYOR of BRISTOL, thanked Dr. Bond for his gratifying remarks on behalf of the local societies, which he was sure would be cordially received by the Institute, and sympathised in the wish that an Archaeological society should be formed in Southampton. He regretted much that his stay with the meeting would be short, as he was very sure that they had a very instructive and interesting bill of fare before them. He might mention a subject he thought would interest them—that he had seen the draft of a bill drawn by Sir John Lubbock, having for its object the preservation of our national monuments, which would, he thought, be of great value to all archaeologists, and which would be introduced in the next session of Parliament.

Mr. STEWART MACNAUGHTEN hoped he should have the pleasure of showing the remains of the Roman station at Clausentum (now Bitterne) to the Institute. He should be glad to see all who could come at the conclusion of the perambulation of the town that day, or at any period during the meeting.

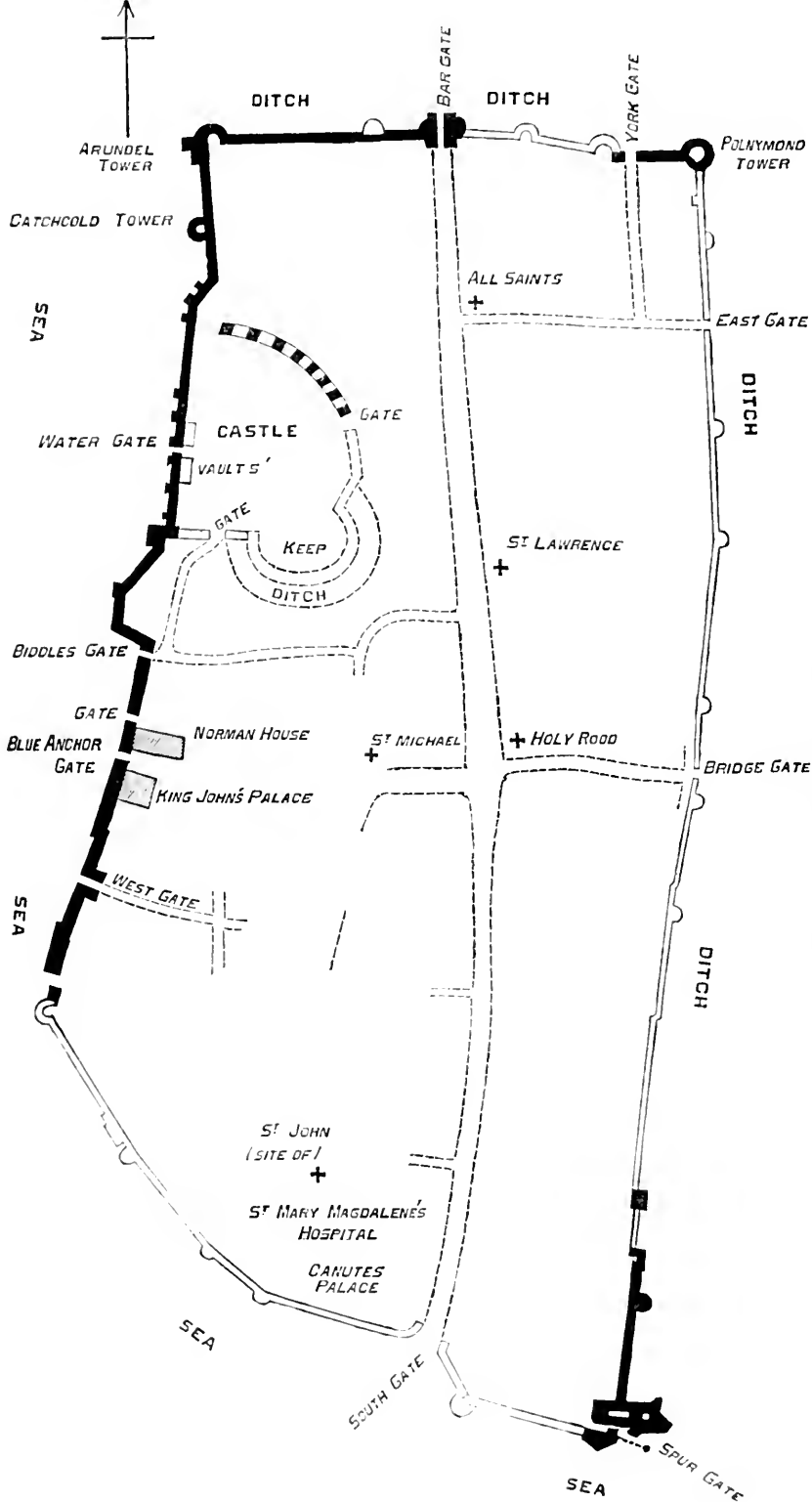
Mr. BURT then announced the further proceedings of the day, and the meeting terminated.

At three o'clock a large party assembled at the Bargate of the town, and under the guidance of Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B., made a perambulation of the remains of the walls and ancient defences of the town.<sup>1</sup> These enclose a roughly rectangular space averaging about 370 yards East and West, by 770 yards North and South. This area is divided longitudinally by the main street, but the Western part is the larger moiety containing the castle. There was an East and a West gate, but not at all opposite to each other, nor were the roads cruciform. There is no reason for attributing to this rectangular plan a Roman origin; it was probably dictated by the figure of the ground.

The earthworks of the castle were considerable. The naturally high ground was scraped and pared and somewhat raised, and near the centre of the area the highest point was surrounded by a circular ditch, the contents of which being thrown inward converted the raised platform into an artificial mound. This was doubtless the Saxon fortress. The later rectangular area was also well defended. It had the sea for its ditch nearly at the foot of the wall along the West and South fronts. Along the East a broad and deep ditch, wholly artificial, and in part at least admitting the sea, ran along the front of the wall, and divided the

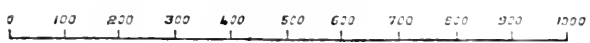
<sup>1</sup> The following account, slightly condensed, is taken from the "Builder" of Dec. 25th, 1877. The Council desire to acknowledge with thank, the kindness of the Editor of that publication in per-

mitting them to use the block of the ground plan illustrating the article mentioned above, entitled "The Ancient Defences of Southampton," by G. T. C.



Plan of the ancient Defences of Southampton.

SCALE OF FEET





town from a strip of lower land which slopes towards the river Itchen, and is now covered with dwellings. Along the North front a ditch was cut across the ridge; but the tradition of its being deep enough to admit the sea is probably an exaggeration. The North and East walls were not much affected by the irregularities of the ground, but the South and West fronts were curved and broken from that cause. The South-West angle is largely rounded off. Of gates there were the North or Bar gate, still standing; the East gate, removed; the Spur gate, remaining; the South or water-gate, removed; the West gate and the postern, preserved; Biddle's or Bridle gate, removed; and the castle water-gate, closed up.

The mural towers were chiefly drum, or half round. The North front is flanked by two drum towers, and West of the Bar is one, and East of it two, half round. Upon the East wall, North of the East gate, was one; and South of it, six, of which one remains, half round, and one rectangular. At the South-East angle, the South wall was prolonged eastwards as a spur tower, covering the ditch; this remains. Upon the South wall there were six towers, including the South flank of the spur gatehouse, and, on the opposite flank, the Bogle tower. All but one are half round. The West wall had many buttresses and few towers. There was one where the South wall of the castle joined the town wall; and near the North end is a fine half-round tower—an addition.

Passing to the details, the North gate, called the "Bar," is a large handsome structure about 60 ft. broad by 60 ft. deep in the centre. It is of two stages, pierced below by a central and two lateral passages, and contains above a chamber, 52 ft. long by 21 ft. broad, used for public purposes. In each wing is a staircase. That to the East is old; that on the West may have been so. The side passages are modern. They communicate with the central roadway by two cross arches on each side, of which the two next the North are original, and probably led into the flanking towers. An examination of the central passage shows the original gate to have been Late Norman; at least a round-headed portal there placed is probably in that style, though it has rather a Decorated aspect. Then in the Early Decorated time two bold half-round flanking towers were added, and still remain. At this time the rear was probably re-faced, and four windows and a centre niche inserted, and the council-chamber enlarged, and probably the East staircase added. The Norman gatehouse had an upper room, of which a round-headed door, with a foliated head, remains. Next, in the Perpendicular period, a bold projection, three sides of an octagon, was added to the front. The gateway thus advanced is flanked by two bold narrow buttresses, which run up to a very bold corbel table, having six machicolations in the central face, and three in each of the oblique lateral ones. The battlements are good Perpendicular, and carried round the rear towards the town; one embrasure is occupied by an alarm-bell. This gate has been much injured by restorations. The openings to the rear, archways and windows, have been re-faced; but they preserve much of their old type, and have a Decorated aspect. The main passage has been cut away and widened, and the portcullis grooves are gone. When the ditch in front was filled up, a century ago, all trace of the drawbridge was lost.

West of the Bar much of the wall remains, but is so blocked in by houses as to be visible with difficulty. Forty-six yards from the gate is

the site of a half-round tower, beyond which the wall extends in a straight line to Arundel tower, so called from Sir John Arundel, an early governor. This is a drum, 22 ft. in diameter, which caps the North-East angle of the town. This tower is 50 ft. to 60 ft. high, and seems to rise out of a rectangular mass of masonry, possibly added to strengthen it. Here the internal level is 30 ft. or more above the external, being a part, no doubt, of the old earthworks.

Continuing along the West wall is a bold half-round tower, 20 ft. diameter and 30 ft. high, of excellent rough ashlar, with bold machicolations at the level of the adjacent curtain. This is Catehoid Tower. Built against the bank it looks solid, or like a bastion, but it is said to be hollow, though how entered does not appear. This tower, with the adjacent wall for some feet, is apparently a Perpendicular addition to what seems to be a Decorated wall. Beyond the tower is a flight of modern steps, ascending 30 ft. to the summit of the wall, which is there common to both town and castle. The wall then runs forward obliquely, probably to allow of the inclusion of the earthworks of the castle. It seems in substance Norman. The salient is capped by a rectangular buttress, the hollow angles of which on each side are crossed by low pointed arches, pierced as garderobes, as at Porchester. This buttress tower is of Decorated date.

Then follows about 131 yards of straight wall, probably Norman, about 38 ft. high, and backed to the summit with earth. Upon it a small rectangular buttress marks the junction of the North wall of the castle with the town wall. Further on are five rectangular buttresses of various dimensions. The three first are evidently additions upon the Norman wall; the rest seem original. Part of the wall here is divided into two stages by a bold horizontal bead. Below are two narrow windows of about 18 in. opening, resembling large loopholes, and which seem to have had square heads. Above are traces of two windows, apparently round-headed. There must have been an interior chamber, now closed. The central buttress is broad and flat, and here are traces of the old water-gate of the castle, which must have been reached by steps, the ground behind being above 30 ft. high. Close North of this water-gate is a large vaulted chamber, built against the town wall, and now closed. This part of the wall ends in a rectangular projection, probably the root of a tower, marking the junction of the castle South wall with the Town wall. From hence the wall is low and thin for a short distance, marking the end of the castle ditch, and on the rising ground of its counterscarp is the root of another square tower, marking the re-commencement of the regular town wall, which then turns inwards so as to protect Biddle's Gate. This gate opened into a steep and rather narrow ascent called Sinnell Street.

At Biddle's Gate commences a very curious part of the wall, which, as far South as a little beyond Blue Anchor postern, is unlike anything in England. The original wall, here about 30 ft. high and 4 ft. thick, with the soil nearly level within and without, seems to have served not only for the town wall, but for the wall of several dwelling houses within it, the doors and windows of which are visible in the wall, though now closed up. These openings show the wall to have been Norman, and of a moderately early period. This wall was not found sufficiently strong for the purpose of defence, and a second wall, also 4 ft. thick, was built

against it on the outside. But this second wall was built like an aqueduct or arcade on tall and slender piers, from which spring arches mostly semicircular, but some pointed and two probably much later, above which was the parapet. The arches are about 12 ft. span. The result was to increase the rampart to a walk of 5 ft., with a parapet of 2 ft., and probably a rear wall of 1 ft. An arcade so placed afforded great shelter for those attacking the wall from without; but to obviate this, while the piers touched the wall, a space like that for a portecullis, a chase about 2 ft. broad, was left between the arch and the wall, by means of which any one standing at the base of the wall could effectually be molested with missiles or a long pike. Eighteen arches of this arcade remain. The arrangement is a very curious one, and supposed to be singular. This masque or outer wall may be of late Norman date, but is possibly Early English. The piers interfere much with the earlier doors and windows. The wall where double is 35 ft. high. There are traces of some kind of building outside a part of the wall.

A hole broken through the wall into Blue Anchor yard, shows the rear of the wall, and a little further South is Blue Anchor postern, an original archway in the wall, much cut about and enlarged, but of which the portecullis chase worked from the battlements still remains.

From the postern a very steep winding narrow lane leads up into the town, between lines of ancient houses, of which two, one on each side, next the gate, are Norman. Both are curious, but that on the South side especially so. It is the shell of a Norman house, of the age of the older part of the wall. It is called locally King John's Palace, but is in truth an ordinary Norman private house, and a very curious one. The principal room was on the first floor. The roof is gone, but the door and windows remain. These are coupled, small, round-headed, and divided by a short column, with a slightly sculptured capital. The space within the walls is 43 ft. by 45 ft. There is a good Norman fireplace, with hood and flanking columns. In the South and part of the East wall is a mural gallery. The house on the Northern side of the lane is 44 ft. by 15 ft. There is a good view of the town wall, and a plan of the two houses, in Parker's "Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages" (vol. i. p. 34).

South of the postern the wall ceases to be double, and is all of one date, and about 6 ft. thick. In this part is a flattish rectangular mural buttress tower, much blocked in with houses, but having its South hollow angle crossed by a garderobe. Near this is a high pointed doorway, evidently an insertion, of 21 ft. opening, leading into Collis-court, and about 60 ft. further is the West gate-house.

This is a perfect and plain rectangular gate-house, 30 ft. deep by 21 ft. broad, without buttresses, flush with the wall outside, and of bold projection within. It is pierced by a high pointed vault, of 12 ft. opening. The passage has been a good deal mutilated with a view to widening it. Near the centre was a good recessed doorway, the profile of the head of which is still traceable where it has been roughly cut from the wall. Between this and the inner face are two square portecullis grooves, and just within the inner entrance is a chase, 18 in. broad, over the head of the arch. In the vault, in front of the central door-case, are nine holes, about 1 in. square, three in the crown line, and three along each haunch. These latter converge towards the central line.

The gate-house has a porteuillis chamber on the first floor, and a second floor above this. An open stair against the south side leads to the battlement, from which a door, an insertion, opens into the porteuillis chamber. These upper rooms are plastered and papered, and nothing can be seen in them.

South of this gate the wall gradually sinks, and finally has been pulled down and removed. It may be traced as far as the site of a half-round tower, and some remains of an arch. Beyond this, also, the line of the wall may be traced as far as the site of Bugle tower, 180 yards from the West gate, and which caps the South-West angle of the town.

The South wall is almost wholly destroyed, and the foundation either removed or covered up by the broad and handsome quay which now intervenes between the base of the wall and the sea. This front was more or less convex, or rather polygonal, the angles being capped with drum towers. There are some traces of the South gate-house. In the rear of this part of the wall are the site of St. Mary Magdalene's Hospital, and in Porter-lane what was called Canute's Palace. A representation of the South gate before 1784 is preserved by Grose. It had a low, broad Edwardian arch, with bold machicolations above, and toward the East it was protected by a long flanking wall, parallel to its approach. It was removed 1830-40.

Forty yards from the South gate was another half-round tower, and thence the wall ran straight East for 83 yards, when it reached the South-East angle of the town. In the rear of this part of the wall, in Winkle street, is "God's House," a Norman church, now restored very badly, and converted into a French Protestant place of worship.

At the South-East angle of the town, in the end of the East wall, is a gate, called God's House Gate, or South Gate, but which should be called Spur Gate, as it opens upon a work of that class. This gate-house is rectangular, quite plain, and without buttresses, having two upper floors. Its dimensions are 28 ft. broad by 23 ft. deep, and the South end projects as a low salient of two faces, upon the South wall, now removed. The passage is vaulted with a high pointed arch 12 ft. broad. Like the West gate, it had a central recessed doorway, now much cut away, and two porteuillis grooves. The vault in front of the door is supported by two, and in rear of it by three, cross-ribs. Altogether in substance this gate-house resembles that of the West gate, and is of Early Decorated date. Its front may have been rebuilt when the Spur tower was added.

The spur work projects from the Northern flank of the gate of the gate-house for about 80 ft. It is composed of a sort of lofty gallery, or curtain, terminating in a rectangular tower, about 22 ft. square, with buttresses capping the two East or outer angles diagonally. It is of three storeys, and is built across the Eastern ditch, no doubt to contain and protect its sluice communicating with the sea, which originally flowed up to the wall of the tower. There are seen large arches in the North and East faces, which look as though there had been a passage for boats; but these seem really to have been arches of construction only, intended to throw the weight of the building upon the corners, which probably are more deeply founded than the curtain. In the North face is also a large modern arch, a relic of the canal which was to have been carried beneath the tower. The spur-work and the gate house were long used as a Bridewell. All still bear marks of that degrading occupation. The



whole spur-work is good Perpendicular. Leland calls this the South gate, and the spur-tower the Castellet. Grose gives a view of it about 1770. From the Spur gate the town wall is tolerably perfect as far as the first half-round tower, 60 yards. From hence the wall may be traced 35 yards to a flat buttress, 14 ft. broad and 3 ft. deep, of which there are some remains. Beyond this, at 37 yards, is the site of a rectangular tower, 30 ft. broad and 24 ft. deep. These two are said to be additions of the time of Edward VI. They look much older.

From hence to the North-East angle of the tower the wall has been pulled down, but its line may be traced, partly by occasional foundations, partly by its materials which have been used in the houses built on its site, and partly by the direction of the lane called "Back o' the Walls," which runs along its rear, and by the parallel road which runs along the counterscarp of the ditch, and is called "Canal-walk," from an abortive canal which was carried along the line of the ditch at the commencement of the present century.

The East gate spanned East Street, and was taken down in 1772. Grose gives a drawing of it, and attributes its erection to the year 1339, 13 Ed. III. Between this gate and the North-East angle was one mural half-round tower.

Of Polymond Tower, which caps the North-East angle, there are considerable remains. It is a three-quarter drum tower, about 28 ft. diameter. From it to the bar, 160 yards, the wall, or part of it, remains, but so clustered with buildings as to be inaccessible to ordinary visitors. Here are remains of two half-round towers and a breach in the wall, called York Gate, probably representing a postern.

The East ditch is marked by a depression, in part due to the canal. The North ditch is completely obliterated and built over, and its breadth is not recorded, and has not been ascertained by probing. If Hanover Buildings mark its counterscarp, it was 46 yards broad; but if, as is much more probable, its limit is marked by Cold Harbour, it was only 24 yards, which tallies with that along the East front.

The Castle was very probably the oldest, and perhaps the only, pre-Norman fortification connected with the town. It occupied nearly the whole of the North-Western quarter of the walled area, and included also the highest ground. In plan it was a rough semicircle, the chord of 124 yards being the town wall, and the arc measuring about 300 yards. There is, however, also a considerable knoll, on the South-East of the area, of about 45 yards diameter, about half of which lay outside the curved *encinte*.

This was the keep. Leland calls it the dungeon (donjon), and the "glory of the castle." "It is," says he, "both large, fair, and very strong, both by works and by the site of it;" and other writers describe it as a lofty mound. As usual, in forming such works, advantage was taken of high ground to make it the base of an artificial mound encircled by a deep and broad ditch. The keep, no doubt a shell of masonry like Arundel, towered above the rest of the works. Of the curved wall of the *encinte* a part remains to the North. It was built on piers about 8 ft. square and 9 ft. apart, a round-headed arch with a tendency to a point connecting these. The tops of these arches were about 12 ft. above the base of the piers, and upon them rested a wall, which carried the battlement. The arches were buried in a bank of

earth about 15 ft. high. This bank has been removed to allow houses to be built up to the wall, which now, therefore, stands like a Roman aqueduct. The foundation is excellent, so that this plan was adopted solely to save material and to profit by the older bank. The roughness of the masonry shows the height of the bank, above which the remaining wall rises about 4 ft. It is much to be regretted that this curious piece of Norman wall has been so badly treated. About 90 yards of it remain, including eighteen arches. It stops at the Castle Lane, where was the main gate of the Castle, removed at the end of the last century.

The wall, beyond the gate, was continued up the mound to the keep and beyond it, till it reached the Southern gate, whence it was continued till it again struck the town wall. Thus the keep was upon and formed part of the *encinte*, as was usual. From the South gate, also removed in the last century, a winding road, commenced from the wall, led down to Sunnall street, a few yards within the postern.

Besides these two gates, the castle had a small water gate in the wall towards the shore, reached probably by a flight of steps or a subterranean passage, as the outlet was so far below the platform of the castle. To the North of this gate is a large subterranean vault, now closed; and, judging from the openings in the wall, there was a corresponding vault to the South. Probably these were connected with the gate.

The whole area of the castle is high, and much of it has been still higher, the mound having been lowered, the ditch partially filled up, and the bank along which the wall was built having been removed.

To judge from the material evidence afforded by an inspection of the works, it would appear that the castle represents the Saxon or Danish earthwork, probably the earliest strong place, and was composed of a truncated mound, its circular ditch, and a bank of earth encircling an area of which the mound or a moiety of it made part.

The Normans, probably in the reign of Henry I., enclosed the castle and town in a rectangular wall, and dug the East and North ditches. Also the castle was enclosed with a wall built in part on arches, and a shell keep placed on the flat summit of the mound. The wall of the castle, and much of the West wall of the town, and the two houses in Blue Anchor Lane, may be attributed to this period.

Then it became necessary to strengthen the town wall, and this was probably done in the reign of King John, who, it appears, remitted to the citizens £200 out of their fee-farm rents for the enclosure of their town and the thickening of the wall, and perhaps the West and Spur gates were begun at that time.

Much must have been done to the fortifications during the reign of Henry III. or Edward I. To this date are probably due the older drum towers and much of the wall connected with them, and the recessing of the Bar gate and the addition of its flanking tower.

It appears that the town was attacked by pirates and sacked in October, 1338, 12 Edward III., and in consequence it was strengthened in the next year. The South and East gates may have been of this date, and the Spur tower and its gallery, unless this latter be, with the completion of the Bar gate, the work of Richard II. This king seems to have done much to the castle.

The vault indicated on the plan as on the North side of the water-gate

is at present wholly under ground, being built against and within the exterior wall, its floor being about the level of the footing of the wall. The vault measures 55 feet 3 inches North and South, by 19 feet 6 inches East and West, and is about 25 feet high. Sir H. Englefield says it has much the air of a chapel. Others call it a guard-room to the water-gate. A chapel would scarcely have stood North and South, and a guard-room, especially so large a one, however necessary for a main gate, would be quite out of place beside a mere postern. The vault was entered a short time since through a long closed-up opening in the West wall, but the writer has been unable to learn what was then observed.

To the South of the water-gate is, or was, a similar vault, indicated by the openings in the wall, one 3 feet and one 1 foot from the ground, both long since built up. Probably these two were the substructures of two buildings which formed a part of the exterior wall, and were used for stores or cellars.

It is difficult to speak too highly of the large scale-plan of Southampton executed under Sir H. James, upon which the lines of the old wall, and position of other objects of antiquity, are shown in a manner which leaves nothing to be desired.

Under the able guidance of Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B., the large party traversed the site of the greater portion of these ancient defences of the town, and various favourable spots were selected *en route* for dissertations upon the principal points. Arriving at Porter's Lane, near the South gate, Mr. Parker pointed out the remains of the Norman building which went by the name of Canute's Palace. It had been a very fine building, but, with other interesting structures had almost disappeared, owing to the increased prosperity of the town. Proceeding on to the Maison Dieu Hospital, another theme was afforded for some severe comments upon "restorations." This had been known by Mr. Parker as one of the very rare instances of a Norman house of the twelfth century, perfect in all its details, the oldest house in England of its kind, but it was now entirely destroyed. "Why was it not simply repaired?" would be asked. As time did not permit for making the entire circuit of the walls, of which but too small evidences remain at some points, a short road was taken to St. Michael's church. This was a small Norman structure, originally, to which additions had been made at subsequent periods. In it is a remarkable font of the twelfth century, and a brass lectern of the fifteenth century. Here the perambulation was brought to a close for the day; but a small party proceeded to inspect the remains of Roman Clausentum at Bitterne, on the invitation of Mr. Stuart Macnaughten, by whom they were most hospitably entertained.

In the evening a *soirée* was given in the Hartley Institution by the Mayor and Mayoress. This was on a very brilliant scale, and the invitations, which embraced the officers of the American ships then in the Southampton water, and their ladies, were very generously issued, the number of those present being not less than six hundred. Part of the entertainment consisted of a concert in the Hall of the Institution. The museum of the Institute was thrown open to the visitors during the early part of the evening, and the pleasant hospitality of the chief magistrate of Southampton to his guests, and his exertions to entertain them, were without limit. In one of the intervals in the musical performances, the President of the Meeting appeared in front of the orchestra, and in an amusing speech

proposed that three cheers be given to the Mayor of Southampton, whose birthday it happened to be. This was of course complied with.

The following is the address of the Corporation of Southampton to the Institute :—

To the President and Members of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and burghesses of the town and county of the town of Southampton, in Council assembled, cheerfully welcome your Society upon the occasion of your holding your Annual Meeting in Southampton.

We believe the many and varied historical associations in and in the neighbourhood of Southampton will afford you a pleasing opportunity of obtaining much valuable historical information connected with the early history of this town and county.

We trust your visit to Southampton will be in every respect agreeable to your Society, as it will be to the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood.

We desire to express our earnest hope that you will have every reason to be gratified with the decision made by your Society in selecting this town for your Annual Meeting.

Given under our Common Seal at Southampton, this 1st day of August, 1872.

(*Seal.*)

Friday, August 2.

At 9 A.M. the general meeting of Members was held in the reading-room of the Hartley Institution, the Rev. J. Fuller Russell in the Chair. Mr. Burt, *Hon. Sec.*, read the balance-sheet for the year 1871 (see p. 295) and the Annual Report for the past year, as follows :—

Report of the Central Committee of the Royal Archaeological Institute  
for the year 1871-72.

“Your Committee have many gratifying circumstances to refer to in relation to the general affairs of the Institute.

“The great success of the last Annual Meeting of the Institute, the first which has been held by the Society within the limits of the Principality of Wales, calls for the first expression of satisfaction on the part of the Committee. On that occasion the numbers attending the meeting were much larger, and the attendance of distinguished persons more considerable than at any previous meeting for many years; the character of the memoirs and discourses submitted to the attention and study of the members was very able and interesting; the reception of the members and visitors by the inhabitants of Cardiff and of the surrounding country was of the most hospitable and cordial character, and the financial result of the Meeting to the pecuniary condition of the Institute was very advantageous. Several very interesting memoirs contributed to that Meeting have appeared in the “Journal” of the Institute, and have done much to sustain the high character of the published proceedings of the Society.

“An experiment, to which, after some hesitation, the Council felt

justified in giving their assent—the revival for a particular purpose of one of those Special Exhibitions which were many years ago so successfully inaugurated and carried out by the energy and cordial co-operation of the Members of the Institute, and which contributed so largely to the feeling which has made somewhat similar ‘Exhibitions’ a prominent feature of modern times—has been lately brought to a satisfactory termination by the publication in the pages of the ‘Journal’ of a ‘Catalogue of a Loan Collection of Books printed before 1600.’ The contributions of her Most Gracious Majesty and of many distinguished persons to that Loan Collection, and the publication of the able discourse given by the Principal Librarian and Secretary of the British Museum upon the subject as mainly illustrated by the examples of early and rare typography then brought together, are circumstances of so gratifying a character as seem to call for the special acknowledgment of the Council of the Institute. And while the character of the literary contributions to the Journal have during the past year been such as fully to sustain its previously high character, the Council desire that the members generally should be acquainted with the fact that the large amount of illustrations that have often accompanied those contributions have been furnished by the liberality and friendly help of the Hon. Mr. Owen Stanley, of Mr. Fortnum, and Mr. Albert Way.

“In connection also with the subject of the advantages and utility of the ‘Journal’ of the Institute, the Council desire to draw attention to the progress of a scheme for a ‘General Index’ to the first twenty volumes, which has been most kindly undertaken by the energy and industry of various members. Several of those members have completed their portions of the self-allotted task, and so large has been the number who have promised to subscribe to the special expenses necessarily incidental to such a work, that its satisfactory progress is now ensured, and its completion will not be unnecessarily delayed.

“Co-operation with public bodies of a kindred character has always been one of the leading principles of your Institute, and during the past year several circumstances have occurred showing the propriety of such a course of proceeding and its pleasant and agreeable results. The rescue from utter ruin of the noble Chapter House of Westminster Abbey, which was mainly owing to the action of the Society of Antiquaries and of members of this Institute, was the occasion of a recent and gratifying demonstration within its walls, under the presidency of one of the distinguished Vice-Presidents of the Institute, the Very Rev. the Dean of Westminster. On that occasion one of your Hon. Secretaries had the opportunity afforded him of giving an account of the comparatively unknown remains of that distinguished foundation, which it is hoped will shortly appear in the pages of the ‘Journal’ of the Institute.<sup>2</sup>

“The special excursion of members of the Institute and their friends from the metropolis to visit Guildford, only a few weeks since, is another agreeable circumstance, presenting a forecast of others of a similar kind, in which it may be hoped that the noble structures of St. Alban’s, Waltham, and other places may be the subjects of similar interesting discourses.

The subject of the prosecution of investigations upon the site of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus was brought before the members of the

<sup>2</sup> Printed at p. 135 of this volume.

Institute at the last monthly Meeting held in London; and in obedience to the wishes of that Meeting, the Council of the Institute have forwarded to her Majesty's Government a memorial cordially supporting the prayer of the Society of Antiquaries and of the Dilettanti Society for the contribution of pecuniary aid for the continuation of those investigations at Ephesus, and which is now under the consideration of the Treasury.<sup>3</sup>

Among the books relating to archaeological pursuits which have been published during the past year, appear two works, the most important and suggestive probably that have been placed in the hands of antiquarian students since our researches assumed a precise and scientific character. These are the invaluable manual 'Flint Implements in the Drift,' by Mr. John Evans, F.S.A., and an old member of the Institute, that presents for the first time a complete illustrated classification of the relics of that description in all their remarkable variety; and the attractive dissertation on Megalithic Monuments, by another member of the Institute, Mr. Fergusson, entitled 'Rude Stone Monuments,' in which a new theory has been advanced by that accomplished author, who has sought to establish the date of all the striking monuments hitherto regarded as prehistoric, namely, cromlechs, circles of erect stones, alignments, and many others to which special attention has been in late years addressed, and to ascribe them to Post-Roman times, regarding all these vestiges of mysterious antiquity as having been suggested by Roman influence. Whatever may be our conclusions in regard to the grounds of the author's somewhat startling theories, which have not found acceptance with those archaeologists most conversant with such subjects, we cannot fail to recognise and appreciate the admirable illustrations, and the stores of information from all countries, now first brought together for our instruction. If we hesitate to receive Mr. Fergusson's speculations on the mysteries of Stonehenge, of Abury, and Carnac, of Arthur's mighty stone in Gower, and many other vestiges of their class, we cannot fail to admire the novel daring of the author in these days of Prehistoric devotion, and to regret that Giants and Fairies, our respected friends, also the Druids, Celts, and early Britons, must forthwith yield to all-conquering Rome. The 'Rude Stones' of these islands, and also of India, Asia Minor, and Algeria, are henceforth to be viewed as satellites of the Imperial invaders from the Eternal City, according to the theory advanced in the work to which we have drawn attention.

It has been customary in each successive year to recall to the Society, with some suitable tribute of remembrance, the friendly co-operation and encouragement, in the course of our undertaking, that it has been our privilege to receive from those members whose loss we have had to lament during the year that has elapsed since our previous yearly gathering. The period that has passed since the dispersion of the members who shared at Cardiff the cordial welcome of our distinguished friends and fellow labourers in that pleasant field of antiquarian investigation, has been marked by more than ordinary occasions on which the Institute has had to deplore the loss of those whose honoured names had for many years been foremost in our lists of the most zealous and valued

<sup>3</sup> In the course of the meeting a letter from the office of H.M. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whitehall, to the President of the Institute, was read, conveying the

gratifying intelligence that H.M. Government had voted £3000 in aid of the explorations at Ephesus.

of supporters. The expression of our grateful appreciation of their hearty sympathy, constantly evinced throughout the course of our exertions, has in several instances been recorded at our Meetings in the metropolis. The lively feeling of regret will not be less truly felt on the present occasion, when, in accordance with annual usage, we are permitted to take some passing retrospect of the progress of archaeological affairs in general, with all that may more particularly affect the welfare of our Institute.

“Amongst the honoured friends whose recent loss we have to lament, are :—

The Earl of Dunraven, of whom a special notice has already been given in the pages of the ‘Journal.’<sup>4</sup>

The Very Rev. Canon Rock,

Professor Westmacott.

The Count de Salis. (Contributor of a valuable memoir at the London Meeting).

Charles Buxton, Esq., M.P.

Sir Thomas E. Warrington, Bart., a zealous supporter of our Worcester Meeting, and a cordial and able helper on many later occasions.

Charles Faulkner, Esq., F.S.A.

Joseph Somes, Esq., F.R.G.S.

George Hudson, Esq., by whose liberality a very large portion of the heavy expenses of the Annual Meeting at York was contributed.

J. Stewart Forbes, Esq.

A. Bellasis, Esq.

Amongst several local archaeologists not members of the Institute, but by whose friendly communications and assistance the Society has frequently benefited, may be mentioned.

Charles Spence, Esq., many years resident in the West of England, from whom in the earlier period of the operations of the Society many interesting facts and observations were received.

Samuel Tymms, Esq., the well-known Suffolk antiquary, a frequent and very obliging correspondent and co-operator at the Bury Meeting.

The Council have now to submit the following list of Members retiring in due course, or whose places are vacant, and their recommendation of names to fill the vacancies :—

*“ To Retire :*

*One Vice-President.*

Dean Stanley.

*Six Members of Council.*

The Earl Amherst.

The Very Rev. Dr. Rock.

Professor Westmacott.

Sir T. E. Warrington, Bart.

Sir S. D. Scott, Bart.

W. F. Veruon, Esq.

*To Succeed :*

*Vice-President.*

Sir S. D. Scott, Bart.

*Council.*

Rev. W. J. Loftie.

Sir John Maclean.

F. H. Dickinson, Esq.

J. Hewitt, Esq.

Rev. R. P. Coates.

F. C. J. Spurrell, Esq.

*Auditor.*

Sir J. Maclean.

*Auditor.*

W. D. Jeremy, Esq.”

<sup>4</sup> See p. 75 of the present volume.

The Rev. E. L. Barnwell having made some comments on the criticism upon Mr. Fergusson's book, embodied in the Report;<sup>3</sup> its adoption was moved by the Rev. J. Lee Warner, seconded by Mr. Crabbe, and carried unanimously.

The Rev. J. Lee Warner made some remarks upon the satisfactory prospects of the General Index to the Journal, and then the subject of the place for the Annual Meeting in 1873 was brought forward.

Mr. Burtt stated that invitations had been some time since received from Glasgow, Leeds, and Exeter, and a deputation was then in attendance from the latter place, to support the recommendation that the meeting for 1873 should be held in that city. At the suggestion of the Bishop of Winchester (who then occupied the chair), Alderman Gidley, of Exeter, was introduced. He submitted to the meeting a resolution of the Town Council of Exeter, repeating the invitation for the Institute to meet in that city, speaking of its many claims upon the members, and assuring them of a hearty welcome. The Mayor of Exeter had fully intended to have joined in the deputation, but had been prevented by indisposition. After some discussion, the Rev. Canon Meade proposed that Exeter be the place for holding the annual meeting in 1873. This was seconded by Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B., and carried unanimously. Mr. Spiers suggested that the consideration of the claims of Dublin as a place for the meeting of the Institute should not be longer deferred. Mr. Burtt assured the members that Lord Talbot had always been consulted with reference to the place of meeting, and he had not as yet recommended Dublin. A vote of thanks having been passed to the chairman, the meeting was dissolved.

At ten o'clock a meeting of the Historical Section was held in the Hall of the Hartley Institution. The Bishop of Winchester, President of the meeting, occupied the chair. He said that he had great pleasure in introducing the Lord Henry Scott, who would read an Address as President of the Section. He was sorry to say that he should not be able to hear much of the Address, as he had to hold a confirmation in a neighbouring town, but he was sure the meeting was in able hands. The Lord Henry Scott, M.P., then delivered an Address "On the History of the South Western portion of England" (printed at p. 212 of this vol.). Lord Talbot expressed the thanks of the members to Lord Henry Scott, of whose labours he spoke most approvingly. He thought it his duty to support the two chief suggestions made in the essay they had heard - to get a good county history, and to have a good county Archaeological Society. The vote of thanks having been passed and acknowledged, the Rev. J. Austen related a tradition as to the origin of the name Hampton. The Rev. F. W. Baker then read a memoir on "The Abbey of Beaulieu."

"The Cistercian Abbey of Beaulieu (Bellus Locus Regis) was founded by King John, A.D. 1204, and the circumstances which led to its foundation are recorded in the Charters of the Abbey, still preserved in the British Museum, among the Cottonian MSS., from which we learn that the monarch being beyond measure, but most unreasonably, enraged at the Abbots and monks of the Cistercian order, summoned the

<sup>3</sup> See Arch. Camb. Fourth Series, Fergusson's work, "Rude Stone Monuments," vol. i., p. 17, for a review of Mr. Lee Warner's work.



heads of the Order to a Parliament which he held at Lincoln, and then threatened to have them trodden to death beneath the horses of his attendants. But during the following night the king was visited with a fearful dream, which diverted him from his cruel purpose. It seemed to him that he was led before a certain judge, around whom the Cistercian Abbots were standing in order, and the judge having heard their complaint, ordered the Abbots to inflict a severe scourging upon the royal back. This they did; and when the king awoke the next morning he declared that he still suffered from the effects of the punishment.

“This dream he related to a certain ecclesiastic of the court, who assured him that the Almighty had been above measure merciful to him, who had thought fit to afford this paternal correction to him,—and advised him immediately to send for the Abbots, to express his sorrow, and to make them restitution. This accordingly he did. He granted them a charter for a new Abbey, and he endowed it with a large tract of land in the New Forest (9000 acres), declaring that he had done so by the Divine suggestion. He also endowed it with the manors of Great and Little Farringdon, in Berkshire, Great and Little Coxwell, and several other lands and possessions. He also directed his treasurer to pay one hundred marks towards the building of the Abbey, and issued an order to all Cistercian houses to contribute their help towards the same object.”

“The church, as appears by the Waverley Annals, was completed in 1227, but the solemn dedication did not take place till 1264, when, on the nativity of St. John Baptist, the whole Abbey and church was consecrated with great pomp, in the presence of King Henry III., his queen (Eleanor of Provence), Edward Prince of Wales, *Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cornwall, King of the Romans*, together with many prelates and nobles; the Bishops of Winchester, Worcester, and Lichfield; William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, Gilbert de Clare, De Vere, Bohun, and Bigod.

“The King, it is said was so gratified with the splendour of the Dedication Feast, that he remitted a considerable fine, which the Abbot had incurred by a trespass in the New Forest.

“No sooner (proceeds the Chronicler) had the solemn dedication been complete than Richard Earl of Cornwall took thirteen monks from the bosom of this church to found a monastery of Hales Owen, near Winchcombe, in Worcestershire.

“This was *not* the first migration that took place from Beaulieu, for King Henry III. had previously transferred a convent of thirteen monks from thence and established them at Netley Abbey, which he then founded upon the banks of the Southampton Water.

“A third migration again took place from Beaulieu, A.D. 1246, when John de Ponti, prior of Beaulieu, started, with twelve followers, to found the abbey of Newenham, in Devonshire, as recorded in the Waverley Annals: ‘*Hoc anno fundata fuit Abbatia de Newenham Filia Tertia Belli Loci Regis.*’

“The first person of distinction destined to receive interment in the Abbey was Isabella, wife of Richard, King of the Romans. She was daughter of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, and the widow of Gilbert de Clare. Hollinshed tells us that Earl Richard greatly lamented her loss, and honourably buried his wife at Belland of Beau-

Hen.' Her heart was sent to Tewksbury, where her brother was Abbot.

\* Her grave was recently discovered in front of the high altar at Beaulieu, and the body was wrapped in lead, which, being unrolled, the skeleton, head, and teeth were in a fair state of preservation, but no rings or ornaments were found. A tombstone had some years previously been removed from that spot, and is now preserved in the chancel of the parish church, bearing this inscription :—'Hic jacet Isabella prima uxor . . . . . ' the remainder of the inscription is wanting.

\* There is also in the same chancel a much larger tombstone, with a royal crown, always supposed to have covered the remains of Queen Eleanor, mother of King John, but there is no inscription to indicate that such was the case; and, on the contrary, the annals of the monks of Fontevraud testify that Queen Eleanor took the veil of their order in 1202, and died two years afterwards, and was buried by the side of Hen. II., at Fontevraud, where her tomb, with its enamelled effigy, was to be seen till the French Revolution, and the beautiful statue is still preserved there.

\* Several of the Abbots of Beaulieu were men of note in their day, and three of them were promoted to Bishoprics. The second Abbot, Hugh de Beaulieu, was appointed third Bishop of Carlisle. The King sent him, with strong letters of commendation, to the pope, and commanded his treasurer to pay thirty marks for his expenses in attending the Council of Verona. He built the choir of Carlisle cathedral.

\* In the reign of Richard II. Tidman de Winchecombe, Abbot of Beaulieu, was private physician to the king, and was promoted to the Bishopric of Llandaff, and afterwards to Worcester.

\* In the first year of Hen. VIII., Thomas Skellington, Abbot of Beaulieu, was raised to the see of Bangor, and was a great benefactor to the cathedral of Bangor. He finished the Bishop's palace, and built the porch and oratory over, as recorded on an inscription over the great gate-way. He also built the cathedral and the tower as it now stands, on which are inscribed 'Hoc Campanile et Ecclesiam hanc Thomas Skiffington fieri fecit.' At his death his heart was sent to Bangor, and his body was interred at Beaulieu, close to where the gospel was wont to be read.

\* (In more recent times Beaulieu has furnished a Bishop to the Colonial Church. The present Bishop of Newcastle (Tyrrell) has been incumbent of Beaulieu, and has adopted the Abbey arms—a pastoral staff issuing from a royal crown—as the arms of his Australian see.)

\* Many special privileges were granted to Beaulieu by successive popes—the chief ones being that the Abbey precinct was to be entirely free from episcopal control, and to have the right of sanctuary. Hither in the year 1471 came the unfortunate Margaret of Anjou, with some of her staunchest followers. She had sailed from Harleux, with her son, Prince Edward, and his bride, Anne of Warwick. She landed at Weymouth, and went thence to Cerne, but hearing of the decisive result of the battle of Barnet, she fled for sanctuary to Beaulieu, where she was met by the Countess of Warwick, who had, on her arrival at Portsmouth, heard of the death of her husband at Barnet. There came also the chiefs of the Lancastrian party, and at Beaulieu they held their last Council, a few days only before the battle of Tewks-

bury. The Queen and her son left Beaulieu with Somerset to join her forces at Gloucester, and thence to Tewksbury, where 'the aspiring blood of Lancaster sunk in the ground.'

"In 1497, Perkin Warbeck, having landed at Whitsand Bay and besieged Exeter, and being defeated at Taunton, sought sanctuary at Beaulieu, where he was kept strict prisoner by Lord Daubeny and an armed force, till, lured out by promises of the King, he was committed to the Tower, and was executed at Tyburn.

"In the year 1539, Thomas Stevens, Abbot, with nineteen monks, surrendered the Abbey possessions into the hands of Henry VIII., he receiving a pension of 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* The deed of surrender, with names attached, and the seal of the Abbey, is still preserved in the Public Record Office.

"In the same year, Henry VIII. granted to Thomas Wriothesley, Esq., afterwards Earl of Southampton, all that manor of Beaulieu, with all its rights and appurtenances, the great close of the Abbey, the tower, the bells, with its three chapelries attached. From him it descended to Henry the 2nd earl of Southampton, and the friend of Shakspeare; thence to the 3rd and 4th earls; the latter leaving only daughters, his property was divided between—

"1. Rachel Lady Russell, who inherited Stratton.

"2. Frances, who married the Earl of Gainsborough, and inherited Titchfield. And

"3. Elizabeth, who married Ralph Lord Montagu, and inherited Beaulieu. He was the builder of Montagu House, now the British Museum, and was afterwards created Duke of Montagu. He was succeeded by his son, John Duke of Montagu, who married the daughter of the great Duke of Marlborough, who, leaving only two daughters, Beaulieu became the joint property of Isabella, whose husband was created Earl Beaulieu, and whose son died in their lifetime, and of Mary, who married George Earl of Cardigan, afterwards created Duke of Montagu. His only daughter marrying Henry, 3rd Duke of Buccleuch, Beaulieu passed into the family of Scott, and is now the property of Lord Henry Scott, M.P. for South Hants.

"Of the remains of the Abbey, the most interesting to the archaeologist is the old Gate House, popularly known as the Abbot's Lodging, which was converted many years ago into a modern dwelling-house, and is now being most carefully restored for Lord Henry Scott by A. Blomfield, Esq.

"The Abbey church was entirely destroyed, but its foundations were some years since most carefully excavated, and their position marked, by the direction of the Duke of Buccleuch, to whom, and to his son, Lord Henry Scott, the warmest thanks of all antiquarians are due, for the careful preservation of every relic of interest that has been at any time discovered upon any part of the monastic property.

"The old refectory of the Abbey has been appropriated as the parish church, and contains that well-known unique specimen, in perfect preservation, of the monastic reader's pulpit, approached by a beautiful arcade of arches, constructed in the thickness of the wall.

"About a mile from the precincts is the Abbot's Well, situated in a picturesque nook in the woods that crown the hills, and covered over by a groined chamber, which the Lord of the Manor has lately most

tastefully restored to its original proportions. The spring is never-failing and supplies the whole of the village with the purest water.

"At St. Leonards Grange, about three miles distant, are the remains of an ivy-covered barn, the great 'Spicarium' of the Abbey, 226 ft. long, and there are also some exquisite fragments still standing of a Late Decorated chapel, which may possibly be again roofed over and appropriated to the purposes of worship.

"Many of the farms still retain the names given them by the French Cistercians who first reclaimed the lands and established the colony there, such as 'Benfré,' the Cow Farm, and 'Bergerie,' the Sheep Farm. Few spots can be found which so thoroughly exhibit the type of a Cistercian settlement, with its winding river, its numerous fish-ponds, its retired woods, its open heaths, and its sloping vineyards, and which will amply repay the visit of the lover of nature or antiquity."

Lord Henry Scott having expressed his high sense of the value of this communication, and of Mr. Baker's labours in working out the investigations on the site of Beaulieu, a vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Baker, and the meeting adjourned.

In the afternoon an excursion was made by railway to Romsey and Porchester. Arriving shortly after one o'clock, the numerous party, accompanied by Lord Talbot de Malahide, Lord Henry Scott, M.P., Sir E. Smirke, Mr. T. H. Wyatt, and the principal members of the Institute, were met at the Town Hall by the Right Hon. W. F. and Mrs. Cowper-Temple, the Mayor of Romsey (Mr. George), the Vicar (the Rev. E. L. Berthon), Mr. Wyndham Portal, and other local gentry. Here they were soon joined by the President of the meeting, and the Vicar proceeded to read a memoir "On the Abbey Church of Romsey." Commencing by a reference to the fragmentary character of the records of the noble Abbey, he would only notice them when necessary to elucidate the structural discoveries made within the last few years. By closing the churchyard against burials, explorations had been possible which could not have been attempted earlier, and from these he had arrived at a correct understanding of the surroundings of the church and the changes that had been made. Glancing at the early history of the Nunnery, from its foundation by Edward the Elder, and continuing to the time of the Abbey of the Princess Mary, the daughter of King Stephen, special attention was directed to the probability of the chief part of the present structure being her work. The architectural details of the church of the twelfth century were then discussed, with the aid of a large coloured sketch, and the subsequent changes made in the structure were passed in review, and an account given of the various discoveries lately made in connection with them, and of the restorations in progress. These were illustrated by many fragments of masonry, and numerous plans, sketches, and drawings. A cordial vote of thanks having been passed at the suggestion of the President of the meeting, the large party then proceeded to the Abbey, where the Vicar pointed out the most important features of the structure, and adverted to those which illustrated the chief points of his lecture.\* After some very hospitable attentions to many of the visitors by the Mayor of Romsey and the Vicar—time not

\* See "Romsey Abbey Church, by the Rev. J. L. Petit," in the Winchester volume of the Archaeological Institute, 1845.

permitting them to turn to account the Hon. Mr. Cowper-Temple's kind invitation to visit Broadlands—the party proceeded towards Porchester, where they arrived at about five o'clock, during a heavy shower of rain. Proceeding at once to the church within the *enceinte*, Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B. discoursed upon its more important features, referring specially to the beautiful ornamentation and fine general execution of this twelfth century church. Passing then to the ruins of the Castle, Mr. G. T. Clark, who had met the party at Porchester, took up the office of *cicerone* and led the way to the Roman gateway on the strand of the bay, and discussed the importance of a position which was then called "Portus Magnus," and which defended the settlement on the estuary of the Southampton Water. After making a perambulation of the chief portions of the ruins, Mr. Clark pointed out the evidences of the additions made at various times, and concluded by an epitome of the historical associations of the place in connection with the Sovereigns of England.<sup>7</sup> The kind exertions of Mr. Parker and Mr. Clark having been duly acknowledged by their audience, return was made to Southampton. At 9 p.m. a *Conversazione* was held in the Ordnance Survey Office, by invitation of the Director General, Major-General Sir Henry James, R.E. Here a remarkably varied collection of objects was displayed for the gratification of the visitors, whose numbers were, however, somewhat reduced by the fatigues of the day and the bad weather they had experienced. These objects comprised flint implements found in the immediate neighbourhood, drawing of ancient forts, a model of Stonehenge, plans of Clausentum, of Southampton and its ancient walls, of Netley Abbey, and of Silchester. The greatest interest was, however, shown respecting the models of the Pyramids, about which the director explained his theory of their construction and object; the original photographs of the late surveys made at Jerusalem, exhibited by the electric light, and obligingly explained by the Rev. G. Williams; and by the collection of National MSS. in the charge of Mr. W. Basevi Sanders, Assistant-Keeper of the Public Records, which were at Southampton for the purpose of being photo-zincographed, —together with illustrations of that process.

Saturday, August 3.

This was the day appointed for the excursion to Christchurch and Beaulieu. Leaving Southampton at 9 a.m., Christchurch was reached at 10 o'clock. Here the party was received by the Mayor and some of the Corporation, and having been joined by the Vicar (the Rev. Z. Nash), Mr. Parker conducted them round the exterior and then over the interior of the noble church of the Priory. The visitors being brought together in the choir, a short memoir upon the church by Mr. B. Ferrey, the architect, a native of the place, was read by the Hon. Secretary. This commenced with a short *résumé* of the history of the monastery, and in speaking of Flambar, the architect of Durham Cathedral, the portions of the church and domestic buildings at Christchurch, attributed to him, were discussed and compared with his works elsewhere. After Flambar's time the chief indications of the architectural history of the church were derived from the dedication of altars. The architectural

<sup>7</sup> See memoir by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, "On the History and Architecture of Porchester Castle" in the Winchester volume of the Institute.

features of the church are of no common order, there being specimens of every style of English art, from the earliest form of Norman down to the decadence of the Perpendicular period, even to the introduction of cinque-cento ornamentation. After referring to some of the more important of these features, the discoveries made within the last few years were adverted to, and the writer concluded with an earnest appeal for the preservation of the fine screen separating the choir from the nave. At the conclusion of the paper, the Rev. E. Kell, in expressing his thanks to the writer, said there was a tradition that the church was built on the site of a Roman temple, and a leaden cist had been found containing the bones of birds which had been sacrificed. Mr. Parker cordially agreed with Mr. Ferrey that on no account ought the screen to be removed. He then passed in review the principal characteristics of the church, drawing special attention to the reredos of the altar, one of the finest examples in England, and which he hoped would on no account be "restored." Proceeding down the aisles, Mr. Parker paused at several points to draw attention to various parts of the structure, and then passed to the exterior, where he performed a similar office. An adjournment was then made to the ruins of the castle, the Norman house being first visited. Mr. Parker thought this was clearly a Norman building of the time of Henry II., with rich window openings. As to the bridge close by, he thought it was most probably Edwardian. A short walk led to the ruins of the keep of the castle, about which Mr. Parker thought it difficult to form a judgment from such slight remains, but it was apparently a Norman keep, built upon one of those mounds which the Saxons often threw up. The existing remains were most probably of the time of Henry II. These were carefully examined and some discussion here ensued, the local tradition that the castle was a Saxon work being brought forward—an idea which did not meet with general approval. Time had now arrived for refreshment, and at 1 o'clock the train started on the return journey for Beaulieu Road Station, where the Railway Company obligingly allowed the excursionists to disembark and take the carriages which were in attendance. Upon reaching the picturesque village of Beaulieu an accession was made to the numbers by the arrival of the President of the meeting and a considerable party. They were all most courteously received by Lord Henry Scott, the owner of Beaulieu, who first explained the relative positions of the clock house, the mill, and other out-lying buildings, and then proceeded to discuss the "Palace House," as the ancient gate-house with its modern additions was called. Mr. Parker and the Rev. F. W. Baker added some observations in reference to various details of the structure. The interior of the building was then visited, Lord Henry Scott leading the way, and remarking upon the special points of interest. Passing upstairs into a lofty and noble apartment, the story was told of its development from a low eoled chamber of very different appearance. Mr. Parker thought it probable that this was a chapel over the gateway with a room behind it; he was much pleased at the conscientious restoration which had been carried out here. A perambulation was then made of the other Abbey buildings, under the guidance of the Rev. F. W. Baker. When the cloisters were reached, attention was drawn by Mr. Stevens, of Salisbury, to a small collection of pottery and other objects, which were the results of the examination of some barrows in

the neighbourhood made in anticipation of the meeting. The refectory, now the parish church, was next visited, and here the well-known and beautiful pulpit, boldly corbelled out and reached by an elegant arcade in the thickness of the wall, attracted universal admiration. Mr. Baker told the story of the condition of the building when he first knew it, and of the subsequent improvements that had been made there. Lord Henry Scott and Mr. Parker also contributed some observations upon the monumental stones and various portions of the structure. The other parts of the site having been examined, the grounds in front of the "Palace House" were again reached. Here was a large tent amply provided with excellent refreshments to which all were invited, and to which they did full justice. Thanks were given to the noble owner of Beaulieu by the President of the meeting in a pleasant and discursive speech, which was suitably acknowledged by Lord Henry Scott. The carriages being again *en route*, a delightful drive through the New Forest brought them to Lyndhurst, where the "Queen's House" was visited, and some few relics of forestal customs were shown. Delay having occurred at Beaulieu by a passing shower, it was decided to abandon the projected visit to Rufus' Stone. The drive was continued to Lyndhurst Road Station, where the train was waiting for the return journey to Southampton, which was reached at about 7.30 p.m.

Monday, August 5.

At 10 a.m., the Section of Antiquities met in the Hall of the Hartley Institution. The President, Sir Edward Smirke, read "Observations upon the Records of the Town of Southampton." In the year 1837, the Record Commissioners made extensive inquiries respecting Corporation muniments, and in reply to those inquiries the Corporation of Southampton gave very full information. They instructed a gentleman named Allein to make a thorough examination of their documents, and he compiled a careful report upon them. But, owing to the changes in the officials, this report had been entirely lost sight of and forgotten, and the meeting of the Institute would be of service to the Town by reviving this account of its muniments, of which he simply proposed to give an abstract. He might also refer to the history compiled by Dr. Speed, who lived about 100 years ago, and who left behind him some excellent MSS. containing a history of the Town which he was sorry had never been published. Sir Edward then glanced at the various classes of documents, —the charters, books of remembrance, books of by-laws, brokers' books, weighing books, accounts of the port, which included Portsmouth, the Isle of Wight, and the whole coast westwards as far as Melcombe or Weymouth, county-court books, books of the Admiralty court, a court in which the Silver Oar, now doing duty as a mace, was then carried before the Mayor as a symbol of Admiralty jurisdiction. Having given many remarks upon the nature of some of these records, Sir Edward commented upon the condition in which he had found the collection, which was far from satisfactory. He had had every facility possible shown to him in making his examination, but the documents were not kept in a proper place, or in a proper manner. He had met with every courtesy; he had seen everything he wished; but he begged leave to say to the Corporation that they ought to provide a fit place for their records, and

to have them arranged so that everything referred to by Mr. Allchin could be found at once. On the proposition of the Rev. J. F. Russell, a vote of thanks was passed to Sir Edward for his able address.

The Rev. J. G. Joyce, B.A., F.S.A., Rector of Stratfieldsaye, then gave an account of "The Excavations at Silchester." Referring to the previous visit of the Institute to Silchester twenty-two years ago, at which time no systematic excavations had been attempted, Mr. Joyce spoke in the first instance of the history, position, and extent of this Roman city. He then described the walls and gates, and dwelt particularly upon the very recent discovery of the great East gate. Passing on to buildings within the town, he continued: "Archæology is deeply indebted to the munificence of the present Duke of Wellington, the owner of the estate, for the very important contributions which Silchester is now yielding to our knowledge of the Roman period in Britain." Excavations upon a systematic plan were commenced in 1861, and had been continued to the present time. "Blocks" of dwelling-houses have been laid open, some of which show plainly additions and improvements made to them at various times, and numerous coins and other objects of interest had been found in the course of the operations. The "Forum" also had been entirely opened out, and appeared to have been on a very important scale. The various arrangements of the structure for the administration of the business of this apparent centre of the Roman power in the South west of England were clearly discernible, and presented features of singular interest. The discourse was illustrated by copious and beautifully executed drawings and sketches, as well as by specimens of many of the objects referred to. At its close the President of the meeting proposed a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Joyce for his memoir, which will appear as a substantive article in a future number of the Journal.

The President of the meeting then delivered an Address, which the untoward circumstances already noticed had prevented being given at the Inaugural Meeting. He said he was sure all present would sympathize with him in the position of having to deliver an Inaugural Address in the middle of a meeting. They all knew what a stale egg was, and he had to produce before them that day an egg which had evidently been sat upon. He hoped they would not set upon him for doing so, for then his only chance would be a long rope, whereas he had only the shortest possible "yarn" then allowed him. It was evident that what he should have to speak about was the general purpose and idea of these gatherings and meetings, and the good that they and he might be able to deduce from that particular one. Many people, when an antiquary was coming to them, expected something amusing and sometimes rather absurd, but there was a far deeper side of archæology upon which he should like them to rest. Perhaps it was stated almost as beautifully as language could do it by the great Lord Bacon in his book *Advancement of Learning*. He said: "Antiquities are history defaced, or some remnants of history which have casually escaped the shipwreck of time." A beautiful idea in itself, and then he went on to speak of what constituted the true antiquary; and then he set a deep view of the whole of their pursuits before them. Returning to his old idea of the shipwreck of time, he spoke of antiquaries as persons who, "by an exact and scrupulous diligence and observation, out of monuments, names, words, proverbs, traditions, private records and evidences, fragment of stone, and the like, do save and recover



something from the wreck and deluge of time." He (the Bishop) did not agree with Bacon that it was history defaced. It was more especially the establishing of the remaining facts out of which history had to be formed, because history itself, as they commonly understood it, was far nearer theory about facts than a mere relation of the facts themselves. Such a pursuit as they were engaged in was full of every advantage, especially to a people in a high state of civilisation, and that, he thought, every reasonable man would see in a moment. There could be no future to a people about whom there had been no past; the future developed itself just as it did in life in the world around. The future carried it out of the past. Dead vegetable matter made the *humans*; into that the roots of the living tree were struck, and because there had been vegetation in the past there was vegetation in the future. And so it was with regard to the higher life of a nation. Unless there was a past to which it could refer, there could not be in it any high sense of its own mission in the world. New peoples were predatory; they came, as the Goths of old, to plunder and overrun countries which had a past and extinguish them, and as they acquired for themselves a past they began to develop a future out of the past, and so that which had led them to love and venerate the past did, in fact, give them the best standing point for helping in the present to make provision for the coming of the future. He did not want to bring the old times back again: in common things such a reintroduction would be grotesque, in deeper matters dangerous; but they would understand the present around them far better if they could trace the present back into the past, see what it arose out of, what it had been the development of, and what it contained to serve for the future before them. There was nothing which so tended to keep the mind of men from rash experiments, from those things which destroyed nations altogether, by the sudden idea crossing the mind that some very great result might be obtained by the entire subversion of everything. There was nothing on the one side that more guarded a people against such a course than by having a veneration for the past, and nothing more truly directed those shapings of the present, which every reasonable man knew he had to give way to, than the being able in the new shaping to have before him the old out of which he was going to shape it, so that his shaping might only carry out more completely the purposes for which that which he was now altering began to exist. They might see all that he had ventured to suggest when they looked round the grand old Cathedral they were to visit that day. With it grew up the life of England, out of the remains which were left at the Saxon invasion, which extinguished the earlier Christianity. Out of the restoration of the Saxon element as it became historic, developing itself through a series of great Priests and Princes, the wonderful building had been erected. The Bishop concluded: "I see the clock is staring me in the face, and I can only ask you to forgive what has been so hastily said, because time, which to the antiquary is so valuable, and the railway train stop for no one."

A hurried vote of thanks having been passed to his Lordship at the suggestion of the Mayor of Southampton, the meeting was adjourned, and the members present, with many others who had not ventured out in consequence of the bad weather, braved it to visit Winchester and St. Cross. Winchester having been reached shortly after one o'clock, the Hall of the ancient Castle was visited, the Mayor and Town

Clerk of Winchester, and several other members of the Corporation being present to receive the Bishop and the members of the Institute. Mr. Wyatt, the architect of the buildings now in process for assize and other county purposes, was expected to be present; but having been called away to London, Mr. Parker said he would say a few words about the place, which was, however, very fully described in the Winchester volume of the Institute some twenty years ago, and therefore the members might be assumed to have some knowledge of it. They would see that its plan was that of a parallelogram. It was built in the first twenty or thirty years of the thirteenth century, in Henry III.'s time, but Edward I. made considerable alterations in it. It was a very fine Hall of that period, corresponding with that at Westminster. These royal halls were used for various public and quasi-public purposes, for banquets and the like, and this no doubt was used then, as now, as a court of justice. Happily the walls constructed in modern days for that purpose, enclosing a bay at each end, were about to be cleared away. Over the East end was the Round Table of King Arthur, well known as one of the curiosities of Winchester. He directed special attention to the mouldings of the arches and the clustered shafts of the pillars, saying that as a whole it was a very fine specimen of an Early English Hall, but so much disfigured that they could hardly form an idea of what it had been. At both ends there were fine Early English triplet light windows, with detached shafts, and on the West wall traces of the original wall painting, with the remains of lancet windows in the South wall.

Passing to the City Muniment Room over the West gate, the Town Clerk displayed to the visitors such treasures as had not been temporarily removed to the museum at Southampton. The Church and Hospital of St. Cross were the next objects of interest; and here the large party was received by the Master, and kindly entertained at luncheon in the well-known Hundred Men's Hall. Thanks having been returned by the President of the meeting, progress was made to the church, where Mr. Parker discoursed upon its special features at some length.<sup>1</sup> Discussing the recently-executed decorations of the walls, he remarked that the colours were probably more brilliant than they were originally, and, to his mind, they did not sufficiently bring out the architectural forms. Mr. Parker pointed out that one of the present windows in the North transept was originally a door communicating with the Infirmary, so that the sick might be able to join in the services of the church. Moving on to the College, the party were met by the Rev. Mr. Lee, the Warden, and courteously conducted by him over the chapel, the library, and domestic buildings. The Cathedral was next visited; and here the party received a considerable addition to its numbers. Mr. Parker again obligingly acted as spokesman, and passed in review the general history and the main characteristics of the structure.<sup>2</sup> At the conclusion of the discourse, the fine altar screen was the subject of special remark, and other portions of the structure were also observed upon by the Rev. J. G. Joyce, Sir Stafford Carey, and others.

<sup>1</sup> See Winchester vol. of the Archaeological Institute, 1845. For an article "On the Hall and Round Table at Winchester" by Edward Sumke, Esq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* "On the Architecture of the Church and Hospital of the Holy Cross

By F. A. Freeman, Esq., B.A."

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* "The Architectural History of Winchester Cathedral. By the Rev. R. Willis, M.A., Jacksonian Professor in the University of Cambridge."

The crypt was next inspected, and on returning to the choir the Rev. W. Collier took the opportunity of referring to the mortuary chests containing the remains of the early kings; and the Rev. J. G. Joyce at some length urged strong objections against the late removal of the tomb of William Rufus. This led to a somewhat animated discussion, in which the President of the meeting, Archdeacon Jacob, the Rev. W. Collier, and Mr. Parker took part. The perambulation of the Cathedral being afterwards completed, the party returned to Southampton. A *Conversazione* was afterwards held in the Museum, in which Mr. E. T. Stevens, of Salisbury, read some observations upon "Flint Implements."

"Although much has been written about the three Human Culture-Periods—the Stone Period, the Bronze Period, and the Iron Period—yet there still appears to be some misconception on the subject.

"For instance, the Stone Period is regarded by many as a mere measure of time,—as affording us the first glimpses of man's existence,—and as giving us an insight into his first efforts to learn the mechanical arts, to be followed in due and regular succession by the discovery of the use of metals, and the consequent advent of the Bronze and the Iron Periods. It cannot, however, be too often repeated, that the Stone Period, as a whole, does *not* afford a measure of time. The Stone Period is a thing of the present as well as of the past; it exists to-day in some countries—it is actually being watched as it expires in others—and it existed elsewhere thousands of years since.

"People living in their Stone Period are those, who, being wholly unacquainted with the arts of metallurgy, use, and use exclusively, natural substances,—such as wood, stone, shell, bone, horn, and the teeth and claws of animals, in the manufacture of weapons, and cutting instruments.

"The one great characteristic of the Stone Period is a total ignorance of the arts of metallurgy. Native copper and meteoric iron to men living in their Stone Period are but malleable varieties of stone, capable of being hammered into convenient forms without the labour of grinding.

"Following upon the Stone Period there appears to have been in some countries an actual Copper Period—a period when native copper was melted and cast into tools and implements. Then came the Bronze Period, when the discovery was made that by adding tin to copper a valuable alloy was produced, much harder than copper. Finally, there is the Iron Period, when the art of reducing iron from its ores was discovered, and this metal superseded the use of both stone and bronze in the manufacture of cutting instruments, and for many other purposes.

"Let it not be imagined, however, that the use of stone implements ceased during the Bronze and the Iron Periods; so far from such having been the case, some forms of stone implements, and certain methods of working stone are actually considered to be typical of these more advanced culture-periods.

"As regards the sequence of the Stone, the Bronze, and the Iron Periods, it would seem that the use of this or that substance was discontinued the moment any other substance better adapted for the special work to be done was discovered; thus the Australian discards his knife-blade of quartz, so soon as he finds that a blade of European glass has a keener edge, and this glass blade in its turn is superseded by some stray

fragment of iron. On the other hand, the use of stone is still retained, even among ourselves, when that substance is well adapted for the purpose to be accomplished; thus our modern corn-mill does not greatly differ in material or principle from the ancient stone quern.

"Nevertheless, the entire question is by no means so simple as some writers would have us believe that archaeologists imagine it to be. I doubt whether anyone but the writer of 'Non-Historic Times' thinks that we flatter ourselves with the idea that because we have succeeded in arranging some thousands of bits of stone or bronze in glass cases, that therefore we understand the history and the manners and customs of long vanished races of men."<sup>2</sup>

"At the very outset of the inquiry we find that there is no absolute uniformity in the sequence, or duration of the Stone, the Bronze, and the Iron Periods. In some regions the Stone Period has lingered on much longer than in others, whilst in certain countries there appears to be no evidence of the existence of a Bronze Period. But, in every country there seems to have been a Stone Period, although it does not follow that the ancestors of the present occupants of the soil were the stone-using people.

"In some instances even, two stone-using races may have succeeded each other, as in New Zealand."<sup>3</sup>

"It must not be supposed that these Periods indicate with precision the state of culture arrived at by any given race or tribe. The degree of civilisation to be attained by a people would depend upon many other circumstances than their acquaintance with, or ignorance of, the use of metals. Foremost among these would be the possession of domesticated animals, the practice of agriculture, and such sub-division of labour as would lead to traffic and commerce. Any attempt, therefore, to form a general scale of civilisation founded upon the Stone, the Bronze, and the Iron Periods can scarcely be satisfactory.

"The system proposed by Mr. Tylor, which connects the Stone Period with savagery, the Bronze with barbarism or low civilisation, and the Iron with that of the middle level of civilisation and onwards, is perhaps the least open to objection. It will be generally conceded that men in their Stone Period live in a state of savagery, but, as Mr. Tylor himself has pointed out, the pre-historic people who lived in their Swiss *glacibenton*, although in their Stone Period, possessed domesticated animals, cultivated cereals, raised flax, and practised the arts of spinning and weaving.

"On the other hand, the iron-using Kaffir and Hottentot are in general culture actually below, instead of above, the standard attained by the bronze-using Mexican and Peruvian."<sup>4</sup>

"Mr. Hobbler Westropp has proposed to connect the earlier, or chipped Stone Period (Palæolithic), with the hunting phase; the later, or rubbed Stone Period (Neolithic), with the herdsman phase; and the Bronze Period with the agricultural phase of life."

<sup>2</sup> Non-Historic Times, in "Quarterly Review," April, 1870, p. 475.

<sup>3</sup> For more ample particulars of the culture possessed by the "Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain," pp. 1-12.

<sup>4</sup> E. B. Tylor, "Transactions International Congr. Pre-hist. Archaeology," 1878, pp. 13, 14.

<sup>5</sup> Hobbler M. Westropp, "Pre-Historic Times," Ed. & Daily, 1872.

“That the savage is usually a hunter will be admitted, but that this savage hunter does not grind the stone implements he uses is contrary to the fact; at all events in modern times. What shall be said of the entire aboriginal race of North America?—they are not herdsmen, they never have been herdsmen, and yet very few classes of stone implements from that country are unrubbed, and, strangely enough, one of these, the so-called flint hoe, is connected with a still higher phase in the proposed scale—the agricultural. Indeed, in America, agriculture was practised by the stone-using races to a considerable extent. Almost all the tribes south of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and west of the Rocky Mountains, grew maize. The tribes east of the Mississippi, principally towards the north, were all, however, in the hunter state when first encountered by Europeans. At all events, in North America, rubbed stone implements are not characteristic of the herdsman phase, which indeed never existed there at all; and I doubt whether it can be shown that rubbed stone implements were not equally in use in North America by both the hunting and the agricultural tribes. Nor can it be urged, so far as America is concerned, that great skill in the manufacture of stone implements is necessarily indicative of any advance in general culture, for some of the more highly-finished stone arrow-heads are made by very degraded tribes inhabiting the Rocky Mountains.

“I admit that the bronze-using Mexicans were agriculturists, but the proposed system of classification connecting the hunting phase with the use of chipped stone implements, the herdsman phase with the use of rubbed stone implements, and the agricultural phase with the use of bronze is wholly inapplicable to, at least, the entire continent of North America.

“It would be beyond my limits to pursue this branch of the subject further. Sufficient has been said to show that, in dealing with these periods, no general arguments as to culture can be deduced from the remains found in different countries and districts; each series of facts must be separately and cautiously investigated before an opinion can be safely pronounced upon it.

“The stone hatchets and implements in use by modern savages are, for the most part, fashioned by the processes of “flaking,” “pecking,” and “grinding.” In this respect they resemble the more ancient specimens found upon the surface soil, and in the tumuli, of nearly all countries. Such implements are usually made of the toughest varieties of stone to be found in the neighbourhood; and in chalk districts flint was the material chiefly employed. The stone hatchets of modern savages also bear a general resemblance in form to the pre-historic rubbed stone hatchets, and, as I have before said, they are to be classed together as belonging to the Neolithic, or New Stone Period.

“I commenced by saying that the Stone Period *as a whole* does not afford a measure of time; but what is true of it as a whole is not true of one of its parts, the Palaeolithic, or Old Stone Period, which has a distinct bearing upon time *relative*.

“The implements belonging to this Period are found in undisturbed beds of gravel, or in caves beneath unbroken layers of stalagmite, associated with remains of animals, some of which are extinct, such as the mammoth, whilst others, such as the musk-sheep and the rein-deer, have migrated to distant and, at present, colder regions.

"Stone implements of the Palaeolithic Period, so far as we at present know, were made exclusively of one or other of three varieties of stone—flint, chert, or quartzite. There is, I believe, but one solitary exception at present known, a pointed ovoid implement of true Palaeolithic type made of felstone. It was found at Gravel Hill, near Brandon, and is in the collection of Mr. John Evans, who has recently figured it in his magnificent work on the 'Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain.'<sup>6</sup>

"This unique specimen, however, in common with those of flint, chert, or quartzite, is fashioned entirely by flaking or chipping. It would appear that the people of the Palaeolithic Period were wholly unacquainted with any other method of fashioning stone. The processes of pecking and grinding seem to have been unknown to them, if we except the instance afforded by a few small boulders (found in certain cave deposits), in which shallow depressions have been made by "pecking."

"Palaeolithic implements have been obtained by Mr. Read from four different excavations in the neighbourhood of Southampton, one being at Freemantle, and the three others on Southampton Common; one (the Town Pit) is stated to be more than 160 ft. above the mean sea-level. Other palaeolithic implements found in various parts of Hampshire are exhibited in your temporary Museum. Some of these were obtained from the eastern shore of Southampton Water, in the neighbourhood of Hill Head, and some were found on Southsea Common, east of Portsmouth.

"On the other side of Spithead, at the Foreland or more eastern point of the Isle of Wight, a single Palaeolithic implement has been found. Several examples have been obtained from the gravels near Bournemouth. It would seem that the Avon and Stour were, in remote times, affluents of a river running from west to east, and a portion of this river, now widened out by the sea, has become the Solent, between the Isle of Wight and the mainland. The course of this ancient river was probably a little to the south and seaward of the present line of coast at Bournemouth; and some of the gravels which formerly lined its valley now cap the cliffs for some distance between Poole Harbour and Hengisbury Head, as well as those farther east.<sup>7</sup>

"Other Hampshire Palaeolithic specimens in your temporary Museum were found at Ashford, near Fordingbridge, and at Brockenhurst.

"But to return to the consideration of the antiquity of Palaeolithic implements. It is, of course, contended that the antiquity of these implements is at least as great as that of the gravels in which they are found. If this be conceded the matter becomes a mere geological question.

"My observations upon the antiquity of these gravels shall be as brief as possible, and I will confine my remarks to the gravels near Salisbury, as being those with which I am best acquainted.

"The rivers Willy, Avon, and Bourne flow into each other at Salisbury. The two former, the Willy and the Avon, are divided near their point of union by a tongue of land, which, near the village of Bemerton, rises to the height of about 80 ft. above the present river level, and is overspread at this spot by a layer of implement-bearing gravel. A similar bed of gravel occurs at Milford Hill, upon the neck of land

<sup>6</sup> Fig. 442, p. 510.

<sup>7</sup> Evans, "Ancient Stone Implements," p. 556.

which divides the Avon from the Bourne. These gravels consist of stones washed out of the geological deposits which occur up-stream, the upper greensand and the chalk. Blocks of 'sarsen' and beach pebbles are also present, indicating the former existence of Tertiary beds which rested upon the chalk.

"The flints, which form such a considerable part of these gravels, are sub-angular, that is, they have not been subjected to sufficient rolling-action to reduce them to the condition of beach-pebbles, their general appearance being that of stones to be found in a river-bed. Indeed, it appears that these gravels at Fisherton and Milford actually formed the beds of rivers which long since flowed in the same direction as our Avon and Bourne, and that the present valleys have been excavated to the depth of from 70 to 80 ft. by the eroding action of these streams.

"The excavating power of these rivers was doubtless formerly much greater than it is at present, and, in attempting to measure the requisite period which has elapsed for the excavation of these valleys to their present depth, this circumstance must be taken into account. From the character of the fauna, the comparative abundance of the reindeer, the presence of the musk-sheep, etc., we know that the climate of the Quaternary Period was of great severity, and, consequently, that the accumulations of ice and snow upon our Wiltshire downs must have been considerable.

"Probably, towards the spring of each year, torrents, like the Shrewton flood of 1841, resulting from a sudden and rapid thaw, swept down our valleys with almost resistless force. But another cause of floods has to be considered, and this is the formation of ground-ice, which played an important part in the transport of some of the larger blocks of 'sarsen,' and indeed of the gravels themselves. In rapid streams, when the water becomes sufficiently cold to reduce the temperature of the bed of the river to the freezing point, ground-ice is frequently formed. The gravel of the river-bed becomes coated with ice, and this ice, being lighter than water, after acquiring certain dimensions, rises to the surface, carrying with it large stones and the gravel to which it adheres. Ground-ice is a great cause of floods in the upper part of the Rhine and the Danube. These rivers have a rapid current, and do not freeze over their entire breadth, but large blocks of ice float upon the surface. These blocks are hurried along by the stream, impinge upon each other, become heaped together, and ultimately barricade the river. This accumulation of ice-drifts, however, is not itself the immediate cause of floods; these take place when a thaw 'commences in the upper part of the river, above the point where the latter is completely frozen, the masses of ice, drifting with the current and unable to pass, are hurled upon those already soldered together; thus an enormous barrier is formed, which the water, arrested in its course, cannot pass over, and hence overflows to the right and left, breaking the dykes, inundating the plains, and spreading devastation far and near.'"

"It is at such times that the ground-ice greatly increases the mischief, for, becoming detached from the bottom and rising towards the surface, it unites itself to the under side of the masses already in place, and renders the barrier more difficult to remove.

\* Engelhardt, "Annales de Chimie et de Physique," 1866. Translated in "Smithsonian Report" for 1866, p. 125.

"That floods, probably arising from the causes I have mentioned, did sweep down our valleys seems proved by the fact, that particularly in the narrow valleys of the Avon, all the hill-sides against which the stream would have impinged present bold escarpments, whilst the hills at the sides of the valley not exposed to this wearing action have the usual swelling outline so characteristic of a chalk district.

"But we have not only to take into account this far greater mechanical excavating action of the Quaternary rivers. The surface of the chalk beneath the gravel is extremely uneven, and deep 'pot-holes' are of frequent occurrence; some of these extend downward into the very substance of the chalk to the depth of from 20 to 30 ft. This wasting of the chalk is due, not to any mechanical force, but to a powerful chemical eroding action arising from the presence of carbonic acid in the water, and this chemical action was doubtless a very active agent in deepening our valleys. The rain that falls upon our downs by contact with decaying vegetable matter becomes charged with carbonic acid, and, in consequence, acquires the property of acting as a solvent of chalk or any other calcareous rock with which it may come in contact. Nor is the quantity thus removed year after year inconsiderable, for every gallon of spring water, in a chalk district, contains about seventeen grains of carbonate of lime, and by calculation it has been found that in each square mile of such a district upwards of one hundred and forty tons of chalk are thus dissolved, and carried away by our rivers, annually.<sup>9</sup>

"But when due allowance has been made for the great excavating power of the Quaternary rivers, there still remains the fact, that, since the Palæolithic implements found in the valley-gravels were fashioned, a period has elapsed of sufficient duration to deepen our Wiltshire valleys some 70 or 80 ft.

"There are also other indications of the antiquity of the Fisherton beds, and consequently of the flint implements found in them. 'Rivers in a state of flood, or passing even at a moderate speed over soft or incoherent soil, are always turbid, owing to the presence in their waters of earthy matter which they are transporting towards the sea.'<sup>1</sup>

"This solid matter, being only held in suspension by the velocity of the current, sinks to the bottom, and forms shallows or banks, when the waters from any cause become still. Here and there, at the sides of our Wiltshire valleys, are patches of brick earth which were deposited, in the manner described, by the Quaternary rivers.

"The streams of the Avon and Wiley unite at Fisherton, and the very extensive deposit of brick earth that occurs there indicates the position of the still water which in the Quaternary period existed behind their actual point of union. This brick-earth attains a maximum thickness of no less than 30 ft. in Harding's and in Baker's pits. And yet this deposit is evidently not the result of catalysmic action, for delicate and minute shells perfectly unjured occur throughout the deposit. Moreover there is distinct lamination in the strata, showing that it was a

<sup>9</sup> Evans, "Ancient Stone Implements," p. 42.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 583. If the velocity of a river be 200 yards per hour, it is sufficient to clear up fine clay, if 300 yards, fine gravel,

if 4,200 yards, fine gravel; and if a little over two miles per hour, it is capable of transporting shivery angular stones of the size of an egg.



sedimentary deposit from turbid but tranquil water—a fact of much significance in regard to the time occupied in the deposit of the bed.

“Towards the base of this brick-earth, and, consequently, of a considerably more recent date than the implements found in the gravel at the higher level, remains of the cave-lion, cave-hyena, mammoth, rhinoceros, musk-sheep, and reindeer occur; and in this brick-earth a Paleolithic implement was actually found beneath remains of the mammoth. Any calculation, therefore, as to the probable antiquity of the flint implements found in the gravel must be based upon these considerations. I may add that the conditions at Salisbury do not greatly differ from those observed elsewhere.

“It cannot be attended with much advantage to attempt to measure the period by years which would have been required to deepen our Salisbury valleys some 80 or 90 ft.; and then, further, to calculate how long a time must be still allowed for the quiet deposit of a buttress-like accumulation of brick-earth, 30 ft. in thickness, against the side of one of these eroded valleys. But however remote this period may be, we have in it the measure of the antiquity of the flint implements found in the gravels at Bemerton and Milford Hill. We can, at all events, establish the comparative, if not the positive, antiquity of Paleolithic implements, and this is all that is absolutely needed by the archaeologist.

“A passing word on the supposed non-artificial character of Paleolithic implements. It was only when geology demonstrated the immense antiquity of these objects, that the slightest doubt of their human workmanship was manifested. The Paleolithic implements found at Hoxne, in 1797, by Mr. Frere were figured in the ‘Archæologia,’ and Mr. Frere’s account of them was duly published by the Society of Antiquaries without doubt or question. And a similar Paleolithic implement, now in the British Museum, ‘found with elephant’s tooth opposite to Black Mary’s, near Grayes Inn Lane,’ London, was preserved, and classed, for more than a century and a half, as a British stone weapon.

“A glance at the rudely-chipped Paleolithic implements in your temporary museum—and they fairly represent their class—will show you how little remains to tell us of the habits and customs of the people who fashioned them.

“There are no arrow-heads, no corn-crushers, no pottery, not a particle of worked bone. To learn something of the habits of the people of the Paleolithic Period we have to explore the caves and rock-shelters which served for their homes, and we must in these break up the solid floor of stalagmite which seals over the remnants of their feasts, and the thousand and one objects which were in daily use by them. There is then no lack of information; we find that these Paleolithic men—these men who lived contemporary with the mammoth, were hunters, taking to their caves the fleshy parts only of the larger animals they had killed in the chase. They do not appear to have made pottery, and as we do not find any implements with which corn is likely to have been ground, they were probably unacquainted with agriculture. They, perhaps, clothed themselves with skins: at all events among the myriads of flint implements found in the caves there are very many precisely like the flint ‘scrapers’ still in use by the Esquimaux for dressing hides. Then there are delicate bone-needles, each with a neatly drilled eye,

leading us to suppose that the skins were not thrown loosely over the person, but were cut into suitable forms, and sewn together.

"It may be objected that it would be extremely difficult to sew leather with a bone needle. But, possibly, the passage of the needle was rendered more easy by subjecting the leather to some previous treatment; and we know that Esquimaux women chew the leather upon which they are about to work in order to prepare it for sewing.

"No implements for spinning—no spindle-whorls—are found in the caves with remains of this early period; but the cave-folk probably used sinew-thread, and spun it by simple hand-twirling on the thigh. The Laps still prepare sinew-thread in this manner, and it is an art practised by the New Zealanders and many other savages.

"Even in this remote period of man's history we do not only learn that he had wants to supply, and that he sought by the exercise of his ingenuity to supply those wants; we find him feebly but distinctly feeling after art—decorating objects with carving, and sculpturing the forms of his fellow-man and the contemporary animals, such as the mammoth and the reindeer, upon pieces of ivory, horn, bone, and stone.

"Several of these sketches and carvings are extremely spirited, and nearly all show, at least, the attempt to copy nature. In order to appreciate the importance of this fact, it is necessary to observe how few modern savages make any attempt to copy natural objects with fidelity. Perhaps the Esquimaux furnish the solitary exception.

"When savages wish to represent any natural object, they usually adopt a purely conventional treatment; and, what is very remarkable, this conventional treatment becomes peculiar to themselves, and is not shared in common with other savage tribes. Having once adopted a conventional form for any particular object, they copy it, and it only, over and over again.

"No one, for instance, can mistake the typical 'man' of the Marquesan: you see this hideous caricature of the human countenance in collection after collection, and it is always line for line the same. Speaking generally, modern savages (with the exception of the Esquimaux) caricature, rather than copy, nature. Like an inexperienced artist, the savage seizes upon some prominent characteristic and exaggerates it, instead of preserving the natural proportions and the graceful outlines of the original. I will not go so far as to say that the cave-people, those men who lived contemporary with the mammoth, produced works of high art, but they certainly possessed a skill in drawing far in advance of that attained by most modern savage tribes. As far as we know, this skill in drawing was possessed by but a limited number of the cave-people, and it appears to have perished with them.

"The later stone-using pre-historic races did not inherit it, at least no sculptured representations of animals or natural objects to be referred to this later period have reached our time; and even during the Bronze Period such figures are extremely rare. Sir John Lubbock says, 'they are so rare, that it is doubtful whether a single well-authenticated instance could be produced.'

"This remark, however, cannot be intended to apply to the New World, for the sculptured stone pipes found in the Ohio mounds furnish

us with moderately faithful representations of animals such as the frog, toad, vulture, toucan, beaver, and man; and these belong to the Bronze Period of America.

“ Let me not be misunderstood : I have but spoken of the state of art and culture that existed among a very limited number of the people of the Paleolithic Period, and it is highly probable that these cave-dwellers of Dordogne were in their skill in drawing far in advance of their contemporaries in other regions. Nevertheless, at this extremely early period in man’s history, it is very interesting to find *any* evidence of art-tendency—any evidence of the existence of a faculty which so completely distinguished Paleolithic man from the brute. From some unknown cause, after this first glimpse of its existence, this artistic feeling remained latent during the many, many generations of men who lived in what we regard as more advanced culture-stages, the Neolithic and the Bronze Periods.

“ I would add that although some of the cave-people were probably contemporary, indeed were perhaps one and the same, with some of the Drift-people, and that both lived in the Paleolithic Period, yet the entire Paleolithic Period must have ‘extended over a very considerable space of time, and neither all the cave-deposits nor all the river-Drifts can be regarded as absolutely contemporaneous.’<sup>3</sup>

“ There can be little doubt, however, that some of the cave-relics are intermediate in point of time between the earlier river-Drift and the Neolithic Period.

“ My remarks upon the Neolithic Period must necessarily be brief. During this later Stone Period the art of working stone other than by flaking was practised ; and, consequently, tough varieties of stone (which could not have been fashioned by flaking) came into use. Hatchets were ground at the edge and polished on the surface, and many new forms of weapons and implements invented. No lesson is more completely forced upon us by an examination of the objects of the Stone Period than the absolute power of man to grapple with, and overcome natural difficulties. Man’s patient labour, his powers of reasoning, and his inventive faculties, have at all periods led to results which, once achieved, were not lost, but were transmitted to his posterity ; and each generation has thus started from a higher and still higher vantage-ground of accumulated knowledge. I allude only to man’s knowledge of the mechanical arts, and of those arts which tend to the general ease and comfort of life. His mental and moral condition lie beyond my subject.

“ There does not appear to me, however, to be any *necessary* connection between the merest babyhood in the industrial arts and a low state of mental power or moral culture, although it is highly probable that the prehistoric stone-folk were in general culture much upon a par with the stone-using races of modern times. Pre-historic archaeology and history alike tell us of man’s progressive advancement in the industrial arts. And this brings me to the question of the classification of stone implements according to their form, and to the inquiry whether all forms and types of these implements are the result of development ; whether we can trace the passing of one form into another—whether the Neolithic Period is but a development of the Paleolithic Period. It is

<sup>3</sup> Evans, “Ancient Stone Implements,” p. 426.

remarkable that 'tongue-shaped' Paleolithic implements occur only in the valley-gravels.

"I believe also that implements of this type are found chiefly, if not only, in what are considered to be the older valley-gravels. On the other hand, 'scrapers' closely resembling, if not identical in type with, those of the Neolithic Period occur in profusion in cave-deposits of Paleolithic age, and are met with, although very sparingly, in the valley-gravels. We are, perhaps, scarcely in a position to say that archaeologists have 'found no tools or implements of intermediate forms that might indicate a gradual improvement and progress from the rude Paleolithic types to the polished and elegant implements used by Neolithic man,' or that 'the one set of tools is sharply marked off from the other.'<sup>4</sup>

"We are in the habit of pleading the imperfection of the geological record, but had *all* the stone implements used by man reached our time, we could from them have formed but a most inadequate notion of the various implements and weapons in use by him during the Paleolithic and Neolithic Periods. Take, for example, a trophy of weapons from Australia, and how inconsiderably would they be represented by the rudely-shaped hatchets and the few flakes used for edging the spears. What do they tell us of the boomerangs, the shields, the clubs, the throwing-sticks? Among the most zealous promoters of the 'development-theory' is Colonel Lane Fox, and few men possess anything approaching to his knowledge of the varying forms of implements and weapons in use by modern savages, as well as of those which were in use by pre-historic races of men. If we take a sufficiently representative collection of implements and weapons in use by the aborigines of Australia, we shall find that it is possible to trace back, by imperceptible gradations, the most complex and artificial form of boomerang, club, or shield, to a straight stick.

"This in the individual case is doubtless the result of direct development; and I believe that each tribe, when unmolested, has for the most part worked out for itself its own discoveries and inventions, and that comparatively few have been received by transmission from others. I say 'when unmolested,' because savagery loses confidence in itself in the presence of a higher civilization, and the savage becomes more or less dependent upon the arts of the higher and more favoured race.

"The Rev. R. H. Codrington, of the Melanesian mission, informs me that the art of making sails according to the native method is possessed in a certain island by but a single individual, and will perish with him; whilst, in another island, the method of making fish-hooks of the native pattern is already wholly lost. Mr. Codrington also adds that, so recently as 1863, shell was the only substance used in the island of Mota for cutting-instruments; but that, in 1869, iron instruments (obtained by barter) had come into such general use there that the native-made shell instruments were only to be obtained with difficulty. We have, therefore, in the case of Mota a distinct retrogression in the industrial arts; the islanders are more helpless, more dependent upon European civilization, now than they were ten years since.

"But to return to the question of development of form, and of general

<sup>4</sup> Evans, "Ancient Stone Implements," p. 564.

<sup>5</sup> Geikie, "Antiquity of Man," in "Geol. Mag.," April, 1873, p. 176.

progress in the art of working material during the Stone Period, I have said that Paleolithic implements were fashioned by the process of flaking or chipping, and only by those processes, and that during the Neolithic Period other modes of working stone, namely, by pecking and grinding, were discovered and practised. But the process of flaking or chipping was not discontinued during the Neolithic Period; on the contrary, it was still further developed; it was not only effected by the rough-and-ready method of percussion, but it was supplemented and perfected by the discovery of the art of flaking by pressure—an art still practised by the Esquimaux, but apparently unknown to the people of the Paleolithic Period. This art of flaking by pressure was even practised by some bronze-using races, as by the ancient Mexicans; but we have no reason for supposing that they received this art by transmission from the Esquimaux, or *vice versa*: it is probable that, in each instance, the process was independently discovered; and that this was so is supported by the fact that the Esquimaux and the Mexican methods of flaking by pressure differ wholly from each other.

“As our collections of stone implements increase, and as our acquaintance with these objects extends, we shall not be struck by their general resemblance in type so much, as by their infinite variety in form. It could scarcely be expected that much difference would exist between the forms of simple wedge-shaped stone hatchets, and yet they differ essentially from each other. Some have an oval section, some are nearly round in section, whilst others have straight sides. Some are long and tapering in form, and others are short and broad. Neither will it be found that this difference in general type is without significance in regard to locality, and therefore probably in regard to the independent discovery and use of the special form. The wedge-shaped stone hatchets exhibited in your temporary museum from two of the Salomon Islands (Florida and San Cristoval) differ as a group in general form from each other; and that no mistake is made in locality would seem to be established from the fact that they were all sent me direct from the islands by Mr. Codrington in 1871. Again, the groups of wedge-shaped stone hatchets exhibited from England, France, Switzerland, Denmark, and the West Indies will be found, as groups, to possess special typical peculiarities. We may reasonably expect that still further light will be thrown upon this branch of my subject. At one time, and that not long since, it was the practice to sneer at ethnographical collections; but now we begin to find that the clubs, the paddles, the shields, from any particular island or country differ considerably, as a group, from those obtained from any other country. There is an individuality about each; each group, both in form and in ornamentation, has been thought out, has been invented separately and distinctly. Indeed, so much is this the case that a skilled ethnographer will tell you that a particular club originally made in the Fiji islands was subsequently ornamented with carving by a New Zealander; or that another club originally made in the New Hebrides is now found to be ornamented with Fiji patterns.<sup>6</sup> The implements and weapons of modern savages are usually peculiar in form and ornamentation to the people by whom they are made and used, and as the few pre-historic stone relics which have survived to our

<sup>6</sup> The specimens to which I refer are to be seen in the Christy collection.  
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time present similar typical peculiarities, we may conclude, I think, that speaking generally, each race or tribe worked out its own inventions and its own forms of implements, and did not receive them by transmission from any other people.

"Whilst fully admitting that progress is a very prominent feature of pre-historic times, I still think that the progress was for the most part independent and original, and that we might consequently reasonably expect to find breaks in the continuity of development such as now appear to exist between the Palaeolithic and the Neolithic Periods. Nevertheless, it is both a cheering belief and a sound scientific opinion that the culture-history of mankind is probably not the history of a course of degeneration, or even of equal oscillations to and fro, but of a movement which, in spite of frequent pauses and relapses, has, on the whole, been forward; and there has been from age to age a growth in man's power over Nature, which no degrading influences have been able permanently to check."<sup>7</sup>

A vote of thanks was presented to Mr. Stevens for his able discourse.

Tuesday, August 6.

This was the day for the Silchester and Basingstoke excursion. The ordinary train, leaving Southampton at 8.45 a.m., conveyed a considerable party to Basingstoke, where a special train was in attendance on the Great Western Railway, to convey them to a point of the line nearest to Silchester. This was near a road which crossed the railway by "Jackdaws' Bridge"; and here carriages were to have been in attendance. By some error, however, many of the conveyances did not arrive till a large number of persons had walked a considerable part of the distance, though they were afterwards gladly used, as the weather became broken, and it rained heavily when the party arrived at the East gate of the Roman Calleva. After a short delay on account of the weather, the Rev. J. G. Joyce conducted his followers to the Amphitheatre outside the city, and discussed its special characteristics. Returning to the East gate, the perambulation of the city was made in a direction South-west to the South gate of the city, from which a good general view of the enclosure was obtained. Along the whole distance the walls are more or less perfect. They seem to have been about 16 ft. high, by about 9 ft. thick, set on massive "footings," and formed of courses of large flints, placed in a rough herring-bone fashion, with layers of stone slabs as bounding courses, at intervals of about 2 ft. The flints seem to have been set dry, and the hot mortar of lime, sand, and pounded tile poured in a fluid state among them. In some places the lower portions of the wall have suffered much by spoliation, the upper courses grimly standing out with picturesque effect. The whole circuit is rather more than a mile and a half. Returning to the East gate, Mr. Joyce was able to show the sill upon which the massive portal had turned, and which had been discovered by the Ordnance surveyors within the last few months. The weather again interfered with the proceedings, and then time had arrived for luncheon. This was provided in a tent, which was well supplied with refreshments, and after due acknowledgments had been voted to his Grace the Duke of Wellington, for his great liberality in continuing the excavations of that

<sup>7</sup> Tylor, "Early History of Mankind," p. 199.

interesting spot, and to Mr. Joyce for his courteous and able discourses, some of the more remarkable relics which had been found were submitted to the attention of the visitors. These consisted chiefly of frames and cases, in which coins were displayed, and the famous and unique legionary "Eagle" which had been found in the "Treasury" of the Forum, under a thick layer of wood ashes. Upon this almost sacred object Mr. Joyce expatiated with some pride, picturing its bearer as chosen for his prowess and high character, officiating at the sacrifices before a battle, and perhaps, in the present instance, tearing away the eagle from the staff at the storming of the city of Calvea, and thrusting it among the timbers of the roof of the important municipal building which had been defended to the last. The streets of houses were then visited, and many singular discoveries pointed out. From thence the party were led to the Forum, where the remains are on a grand and noble scale, and where Mr. Joyce concluded his careful and able remarks by some general observations upon this Roman capital of Southern England. The Rev. J. Collingwood Bruce added some remarks, and again expressed his thanks, and those of the visitors generally, to Mr. Joyce for his kind attention to them.

Returning to Basingstoke, the party assembled at the ruins of the "Chapel of the Holy Ghost," which are so conspicuous an object to all travellers on the South Western Railway. Here they were received by the Vicar, the Rev. Dr. Millard, who discoursed upon the establishment of the Brotherhood founded by Lord Sandes, under licence from Henry VIII., and the chapel built by them. There were thought to be evidences of the influence of Italian art in some of the remains of this highly decorated structure—the final ruin of which was completed by the Parliamentary army in the famous siege of Basing House. Dr. Millard's kind offices were again exercised in Basingstoke Church, an interesting building of the "late decorated" period. In it was seen the painted glass which had belonged to Holy Ghost Chapel, and which had been lately found at Mottisfont Abbey. In the Town Hall some excellent refreshments were kindly provided by the Mayor and Corporation, who took the opportunity of displaying some of their muniments for the gratification of the visitors. Old Basing House was the next object of interest, and here the visitors were met by the Vicar, who conducted them to the best points of view. Old Basing is chiefly known as the site of Basing House, the scene of the gallant defence of the Marquis of Winchester against the forces of the Parliament. The Church also is well known to ecclesiastical antiquaries for its light Perpendicular architecture, its painted glass windows, and for the shields and crests of the ancient family of Paulet, its founders and patrons, and many of whom, including "Polly Peachum," the celebrated Duchess of Bolton, are here buried.

But the most interesting relic of Old Basing is of far earlier date: this was the seat of the great Barons Port of Basing, afterwards represented by the still-flourishing house of St. John, and who, though high among the nobles of the Conqueror, are reputed to have been of Saxon descent, and to have retained the ancient Saxon domain and chief seat of Basing. The earthworks, though mixed up with the garden walls and works of Basing House, are still tolerably perfect, and are exceedingly curious. A circular platform, a little raised above the adjacent ground, and about 72 yards in diameter, is surrounded by a bank of earth, from

10 to 14 ft. high, and about 15 yards broad at its base. This is in its turn surrounded by a ditch from 20 to 30 ft. deep, but close to the bank only in a part of its circumference, being bowed outwards at two points, so as to include two roughly semicircular platforms. The entrance on the North side is through one of these platforms. It is by a notch cut through the bank. There seems to have been an outer ditch, part of which is occupied by the old Basingstoke canal. Basing House stood on the Eastern platform. The central area seems to have been some kind of garden or "plaisance." It was walled round, and much of the wall, of red brick, is seen along the axis of the bank.

There can be little doubt but this very remarkable earthwork was thrown up for the defence of the stronghold of the Ports or their Saxon progenitors before the Norman Conquest.

The return to Southampton was not effected till a late hour.

Wednesday, August 7.

The Section of Antiquities (Sir E. Smirke in the chair) met at 10 A.M., and the Rev. J. P. Bartlett read a memoir on "Romano-British Pottery found in the New Forest," which he illustrated by examples. A meeting of the Historical Section followed, under the presidency of Lord Henry Scott, M.P.; and, in the absence of the writer, a memoir on "The Alien Priors of the Isle of Wight, and their seizure by King Edward the First," by the Rev. E. Venables, Precentor of Lincoln, was read by the Hon. Secretary. [This has been already printed at p. 230.] Mr. B. W. Greenfield then gave a discourse "On Monastic decorated Tiles found in the South of Hampshire," which was illustrated by a large collection of coloured drawings. An encaustic tile found at Beaulieu some years since, bearing the insignia of Richard, King of the Romans, the brother of King Henry III., had been the moving cause of the lecturer taking up the subject. He had found in the pavements of Winchester Cathedral, the Hospital of St. Cross, the churches of Romsey and Christchurch, and the ruins of St. Denys, Beaulieu, and Netley, specimens of precisely the same tiles, made apparently from similar moulds. Going over the whole series of illustrations, Mr. Greenfield discussed at some length their relations to each other, and their heraldic insignia and decorations, concluding by appropriating the first-mentioned tile from Beaulieu to Isabel, wife of Richard, King of the Romans. In the discussion which ensued the Chairman, Mr. Parker, and Mr. Burt contributed some observations upon the subject. Thanks having been voted to the respective authors, an adjournment was made. At 1 p.m. a special steamer conveyed a party to Cowes, to visit the Isle of Wight. The morning had been so wet and stormy that a telegram from the Mayor of Newport advised the postponement of the excursion; but this was impossible. The number of visitors was consequently much smaller than it would have been had the weather been more propitious. Fortunately the weather cleared up, and a more beautiful afternoon could not have been desired. From Cowes the visitors proceeded by railway to Newport, where carriages were in readiness to convey them to the Museum—a small collection of early remains found in the island, housed in a very simple manner; thence to the Town Hall, where the Corporation monuments and pieces were displayed to view, and to the Church, a modern structure containing an



Elizabethan monument. Progress being then made to Carisbrooke, the fine church was first visited. This was originally a building of the twelfth century, which has received additions and alterations, and in which are some interesting monuments. Thence the visitors proceeded to the well-known example of the Roman villa in the vicarage grounds, and from thence to the Castle. A careful perambulation was made, and then Mr. Parker, the *cicerone* of the day, discoursed upon the principal features of the structure. Any existing remains of the castle of William Fitz Osbern, the follower of William the Conqueror, are now so indistinct or overgrown with ivy that Mr. Parker pronounced that nothing earlier than the "Edwardian" period was to be seen. Returning to Newport, a most pleasant surprise awaited the party at the Town Hall, where refreshments were very liberally provided by the Mayor of the town, and greatly enjoyed. A suitable acknowledgment of this cordiality on the part of the Mayor of Newport having been moved by the Rev. F. W. Baker, and heartily responded to, the return journey was made to Southampton. At 9 P.M. a *Conversationne* took place in the Museum.

#### Thursday, August 8.

At 10 A.M. a meeting of the Section of Antiquities was held in the Hall of the Hartley Institution, the Lord Henry Scott in the chair, in the absence of Sir E. Smirke. The Rev. J. H. Austen read a memoir "On the vestiges of the early occupation of the South of England." Prefacing his observations with remarks upon the early conditions of the district, the writer discussed at some length the sepulchral remains of the earliest-known character, exhibiting numerous and well-executed drawings in illustration. Many of these showed some remarkable forms of sepulchral deposit. In the course of his observations the difficulties of obtaining water in the early native fortresses were dwelt upon by the author. A discussion ensued, in which Mr. Stevens, of Salisbury, Sir Stafford Carey, and the Rev. E. Kell took part.

The Ven. Archdeacon Wright then read an account of "The Domus Dei at Portsmouth," upon which he was writing a memoir for publication. In remarking upon this communication the Chairman spoke of the energy and skill shown by the writer in his attempts to revive the condition of this relic of a mediæval charitable foundation. Thanks having been passed to the contributors of these memoirs, and acknowledged by them, the Rev. E. Kell brought forward a resolution calling attention to the threatened destruction of the ancient earthwork known as Caesar's Camp at Wimbledon, and strongly recommending the Council of the Institute to take such steps as might appear necessary for its preservation. This was seconded by Mr. Stevens, of Salisbury, and after being spoken to by the Rev. J. H. Austen and Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B., was put from the chair, and carried unanimously.

At noon the concluding meeting took place in the Hartley Institution, Lord Henry Scott occupying the chair in the absence of the President of the meeting, and the Mayor and Corporation attending in their robes of office. Expressing his feelings of great satisfaction at the general results of the meeting, as to the memoirs that had been read, and the excursions taken, the Chairman called upon Mr. Parker to move the first resolution.

Mr. Parker then proposed that the best thanks of the meeting be given to the Mayor and Corporation of Southampton and the Council of the Hartley Institution for the use of that building for the purposes of the meeting. In doing so he spoke of the excellent accommodation afforded by that building, and of the kind treatment accorded to the Institute. The Rev. J. Fuller Russell having seconded the resolution, it was carried by acclamation.

The Mayor of Southampton, in acknowledging the vote, spoke of the retention of the objects of antiquity still existing in the town, and in reference to the Bargate spoke of the advisability of the roadway being carried on each side of it if the traffic of the town required further facilities in that quarter.

Mr. Batten next moved that the thanks of the meeting be given to the contributors of essays and memoirs. Several excellent contributions of such papers had been made, and some excellent discourses had been furnished by local antiquaries, who were entitled to the best thanks of the Institute. Mr. G. M. Atkinson seconded the proposal, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. Greenfield, in reply, thanked the meeting for their vote on behalf of the writers of essays. As regarded himself, he was glad to have had the task of collecting and recording the examples of inventive genius in past ages. He had never before had such a favourable opportunity of expressing his ideas upon the subject. He thought the visit of the Institute would much tend to promote the love for the preservation of such mementos of the past.

Mr. Burt proposed, and Mr. Crabbe seconded, a vote of thanks to the contributors to the Museum. This was acknowledged by Mr. E. T. Stevens.

Col. Pinney proposed a vote of thanks to the Mayor of Southampton, the Lord Henry Scott, the Mayors of Newport and Basingstoke, for the kind hospitality afforded by them during the meeting. Mr. Mackie seconded the motion, which, having been carried, was briefly replied to by the Mayor of Southampton.

The Rev. F. W. Baker then proposed thanks to the Local Committee for their help in the preliminary arrangements. They were much indebted to the secretaries of that committee, the Rev. E. Kell, Mr. F. Lankester, and Mr. J. N. Pocock. He hoped those gentlemen would not consider their labours quite at an end, but would endeavour to carry out the suggestion for the formation of a local archaeological society. Mr. Burt seconded the motion, bearing testimony to the valuable help afforded, and especially by Mr. F. Lankester. The Rev. E. Kell acknowledged the compliment. In reference to the suggestion as to a local archaeological society he thought the Literary and Philosophical Society fully embraced the subject, but the visit of the Institute would do much good in stimulating its study. The Rev. J. P. Bartlett also responded on behalf of the Committee.

Lord Henry Scott said it now rested with him only to bring the meeting to a conclusion. He was sure they had all enjoyed themselves very much. After touching upon some of the events of the week, his Lordship repeated his advocacy of a local archaeological society. The Mayor of Southampton proposed a vote of thanks to Lord Henry Scott for his conduct in the chair, which having been seconded by the Rev. E.

Kell, and carried unanimously, was briefly replied to by Lord Henry Scott, and the proceedings ended.

#### THE MUSEUM.

This was formed in the two new class-rooms of the Hartley Institution, which were obligingly prepared for the purposes of the meeting. The rooms opened into each other, but they did not afford the space of many of the temporary museums previously formed by the Institute, nor was the collection to be compared in extent with many of previous years. It contained, however, numerous very interesting objects, and local antiquities were well represented. Conspicuous on a long central stand in the first room, was a noble collection of Corporation plate and Insignia of office. Among these may be specified a gold chain and badge, enamelled with the arms of Southampton, and the inscription, "Presented by Bereber Baril, Esq., 1792," on one side, and a figure of Justice standing, with the words "Administer justice in mercy" on the other; a silver Oar, typifying Admiralty jurisdiction, presented by Arthur Atherley, mayor in 1700; three silver-gilt Maces, one being of the year 1662; a silver-gilt tankard of the year 1702; a sword of state and gold collar, belonging to the town of Southampton. The borough of Portsmouth made a brilliant display, sending (among other interesting pieces) two Maces and the Mayor's gold chain; a silver-gilt salt-stand, dated 1525, and inscribed round the edge, "Si Deus nobiscum, Quis contra nos?" others dated 1582 and 1595; three silver goblets, dated 1597; the "Berry" cup and cover, inscribed, "This sweet Berry from Benjamin did fall, Then good Sir Benjamin Berry it call;" the two famous silver-gilt flags, presented by Louise de Querouaille, Charles the Second's Duchess of Portsmouth in 1683, and inscribed accordingly; other tankards and goblets, a silver dish, spoons, and other articles of luxurious table furniture, many of them bearing the recognised early plate marks. Winchester contributed the well-known "Warden's cup," set round the edge with sapphires and rubies, one large Mace, and three smaller Maces. Yarmouth also sent a silver-gilt Mace.

Turning to the case where the objects of supposed earliest date were displayed, a goodly assortment of flint implements was shown; the Blackmore Museum at Salisbury furnishing some remarkable specimens, well worthy to be a text for the able discourse delivered upon the subject by Mr. Stevens, and which has been already given (*see* p. 393). Mr. Wickham Flower, of Croydon, also sent numerous examples of flints, while specimens of those found in the immediate vicinity were sent by Sir J. C. Jervoise, Bart., Rev. E. Kell, Rev. J. H. Austen, and others.

The Right Hon. W. F. COWPER-TEMPLE, M.P., sent the beautiful gold torques, formed of two fine twisted strands, which had been found upon the Palmerston estate near Romsey. From the Winchester Museum came a great variety of objects,—the standard weights and measures and Warden's horn referred to in the Winchester volume of the Institute (p. xlv.); an Anglo-Saxon fibula, Roman pottery, and other objects; various pieces of armour; several specimens of mediæval pottery; spurs, pilgrims' tokens, wooden records of Pamber Court Leet, &c. The Hartley Institution exhibited four other Winchester measures of bronze. Objects

of the Roman period were well illustrated by those contributed by his Grace the Duke of Wellington, through the Rev. J. G. Joyce, as a selection from the great store-house of Silchester:—these were chiefly specimens of iron-work, pottery, and tiles. Mr. Yonge sent three querns found at Otterbourne, fragments of pottery found with one of them, and a piece of timber, supposed to be part of a Danish vessel burnt in the river Hamble, A.D. 886. Sir G. J. Stucley, Bart., contributed a bronze female figure found at Pompeii, a bronze cast of Caius Marius in the seventh year of his consulate, a double-headed and-bodied bronze figure, also a bronze ring and marble vase. The Mayor of Southampton also sent two fine bronze figures. The Rev. E. Kell sent a Roman tile from Clausentum, a bronze fibula and bracelet from Vindonnum, and fragments of Samian ware from Netley; while the Rev. J. H. Austen sent a Roman amulet, a fibula, and other articles of that period. The same gentleman also contributed specimens of Kimmeridge coal money, iron spear-heads and other weapons, some Cingalese writings, and miscellaneous objects. Mr. Cumberland sent a bronze palstave and a leaden steel-yard weight.

Dr. MILLARD, the Rector of Basingstoke, contributed a small enamel painting of St. Michael, three Italian bronze plaques, a draught-man in wabrus tusk of twelfth century, and a small pectoral cross of gold. The Rev. Greville Chester sent some early Christian vestments found in Lower Egypt (*see* p. 292). The Rev. E. L. Berthon, vicar of Romsey, brought the scalp of a lady found in a lead coffin under the foundation of a part of Romsey Abbey Church, a cope of the sixteenth century worked by the nuns of Romsey, and a mason's tool used in building the Lady Chapel in 1305. The Rev. A. Wodehouse sent the alabaster figure of St. John found under the flooring of Easton Church, Hants, of which a notice has already appeared in the Journal (*see* p. 91); and Mr. Jackson sent two sculptures in alabaster, portions of an altar-piece, one representing the Adoration of the Magi, and the other Delilah cutting Samson's hair. Mr. Severn Walker brought a processional cross, a bronze cross fleury, a small crucifix, and a sacring bell with clapper. Mr. Bonham Carter, M.P., exhibited the original matrices of the fine seal of Southwick Priory, one of the most remarkable specimens of sphragistic art.

Of enamels and ivories the display was small. The Rev. J. F. Russell brought a pair of devotional tablets, and a leaf of another tablet, *circa* 1300; a group in high relief, representing the Blessed Virgin and holy women, fourteenth century; an enamelled plate of the twelfth century, a fine example of *champlevé* work. Mr. Nightingale contributed a leaf of a diptych of the fourteenth century, a Lombardic plaque of the twelfth century, a Byzantine plaque of the same period, and two later examples; and Mr. J. G. Nichols an ivory carving of Sir Martin Frobisher by Marchant. Mr. Greenfield sent four carved oak panels, and other carvings were contributed by the Winchester Museum. Two excellent examples of watches of the seventeenth century came from Admiral Love. These were presented by Oliver Cromwell to Ralph Hawtrej, Esq., and his wife, of Eastcott House, Ruislip, in acknowledgment of their reception of his troops while he held a commission at a little inn at Uxbridge, still called the Treaty House. Other watches were sent by the Rev. J. F. Russell and Sir G. Stucley, Bart. Sir Stafford Carey brought a medallion, in wax, of Pierre Carey, high bailiff of Guernsey,

the work of Abraham Symon in 1644. Mr. Nightingale brought a miniature, in enamel, of Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, and Mr. Nichols a case of nine miniatures of Oliver Cromwell and eminent persons of his time. A few specimens of arms and armour were sent by Mr. Adye, Mr. Gubbings, the Rev. A. Walters, and Mr. Robins. Mr. Ready's curious collection of miscellaneous objects of metal and enamel occupied a good portion of one of the cases. They have been already described at p. 292. Among the miscellaneous objects should also be noticed gloves of brown Spanish leather, formerly belonging to James I.; a purse worked with beads and sash, said to have belonged to Charles I.; and presentation copies of Dr. Watts's works, with his autograph, exhibited by the Rev. J. F. Russell; and a collection of photographs illustrating archaeological researches in Rome, by Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B.

Views of Southampton and the neighbourhood were contributed by Mr. Peirce, the town-clerk, who sent eight old engravings of the gates and portions of the walls; the Rev. E. Kell also sent sixteen views of objects of interest; and the Misses Prianx a large collection of water-colour drawings of similar objects. These ladies also contributed a small brass coffer, said to have belonged to Cardinal Mazarine. Sir J. C. Jervoise, Bart., sent two plans of ancient earthworks in Hampshire. Mr. Spiers exhibited a large collection of drawings in water-colour, chiefly of Oriental scenes. Pottery from the New Forest, from the neighbourhood of Southampton and elsewhere, were sent by the Rev. J. P. Bartlett (in illustration of his discourse referred to at p. 406), the Winchester Museum, the Hartley Institution, Mr. Yonge, Mr. Ready, and Mr. Robins. Among these were a singular brown earthenware bowl with thirteen handles, several "grey-beard" and other jugs and bowls of peculiar form and style.

Ancient deeds and MSS. made a goodly show. His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch sent the charters of Beaulieu Abbey; the Rev. E. L. Berthon exhibited the Letters Patent of Henry VIII., granting the church of Romsey Abbey to the Corporation of that town; Mr. Greenfield brought three deeds of the time of Edw. I., and one of Edw. VI. Col. Stretton, the Rev. J. F. Russell, and Mr. Severn Walker contributed ecclesiastical and illuminated MSS., while Mr. Adye and Mr. Sturges Bourne contributed some later MSS., among which were Letters Patent of George IV., William IV., and Queen Victoria, appointing Wardens of the New Forest. Mr. Bonham Carter, M.P., exhibited two Caxtons, Mr. Bassett a Bible dated 1673, and Mr. Pamplon a horn book.

The Central Committee desire to acknowledge with thanks the following donations in aid of the expenses of the Southampton Meeting, and of the general purposes of the Institute:—The Right Hon. Russell Gurney, M.P., *5l. 5s.* G. Selater-Booth, Esq., M.P., *5l. 5s.* The Mayor of Southampton, *5l. 5s.* Rev. J. E. Wigram, *5l. 5s.* Right Hon. W. Cowper-Temple, M.P., *2l. 2s.* C. Barton, Esq., *3l.* Stuart Macnaughten, Esq., *2l. 2s.* J. Henderson, Esq., (*Hon. Treasurer*), *2l. 2s.* The National Provincial Bank, *5l.* C. S. Greaves, Esq., *2l. 2s.* Lady Trench, *1l.* W. C. Humphreys, Esq., *2l. 2s.* Capt. Best, *1l.* Sir E. Smirke, *2l. 2s.* Sir J. C. Jervoise, Bart., *5l.* J. H. Forbes, Esq., *2l. 2s.* Rev. G. Southouse, *2l. 2s.* J. Moseley, Esq., *1l. 1s.* R. G. Beamish, Esq., *1l. 1s.* Rev. J. M.

Lee, 1*l.* 1*s.* Rev. Dr. Millard, 1*l.* 1*s.* Rev. C. Beckford, 1*l.* 1*s.* Dr. Bond, 1*l.* 1*s.* Mr. Phippard, 1*l.* 1*s.* Rev. J. S. Davis, 1*l.* 1*s.* Rev. F. Hopkins, 1*l.* 10*s.* Dr. Langstaff, 1*l.* 1*s.* Rev. D. Jenkins, 2*l.* 2*s.* Dr. Osborne, 1*l.* 1*s.* W. Ayle, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.* W. Williams, Esq., 2*l.* 2*s.* H. Green, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.* Dr. Griffin, 1*l.* 1*s.* Rev. H. E. Moberly, 2*l.* 2*s.* Rev. J. Bullen, 1*l.* 1*s.* C. Harrison, Esq., 1*l.* 1*s.*

## Notices of Archaological Publications.

THE ART TREASURES OF LAMBETH LIBRARY, a Description of the Illuminated Manuscripts, &c., including Notes on the Library, by S. W. KERSHAW, M.A., Librarian. 8vo. London: Pickering, 1873.

THAT good work which the late Dr. Maitland ably performed in regard to the "early printed books in Lambeth Library," Mr. Kershaw has done carefully and well for "the illuminated MSS., and some of the illustrated books which have never been *specially* described," in that famous collection. Mr. Kershaw's volume, however, contains more than a description of these rarities. Eighteen pages of it are occupied by "Notes on the Library," and by an "introductory" chapter on "the significance of illuminated MSS. in their relations to *history, symbolism, and practical uses.*" Then follows a concise explanation of the terms Missal, Breviary, Gradual, Psalter, and Hours, and allusions to certain examples of these classes of Service books now existing at Lambeth. The "Notes" afford some interesting details respecting, *e. g.* the foundation of the Archbishopal Library by Archbishop Bancroft, in 1610; its augmentation by his successor, Abbot; its loss, by plunder, of the books and MSS. of Archbishop Laud,<sup>1</sup> in 1644; the removal, after that Primate's impeachment, of its remaining volumes to Cambridge at the suggestion of Selden; their reclamation by Archbishop Juxon, in 1660-63; and their reinstatement at Lambeth by Archbishop Sheldon, in 1678. The Library, we are informed by Mr. Kershaw, has been subsequently increased by the bequests of Archbishops Sheldon, Tenison, Secker, Manners-Sutton, and Howley, and now comprises 1,300 volumes of MSS. (which are divided into seven sets or series, named after their respective donors) and, altogether, nearly 30,000 books which, in 1828, were deposited by Archbishop Howley in his Palatial Banqueting Hall, which was rebuilt by Archbishop Juxon soon after the Restoration. In addition to the above particulars, the "Notes" contain a graceful tribute to the ser-

<sup>1</sup> One of the mortal crimes alleged by Prynne against Laud, was the offence of having "twentie two small Popish Houres of our Lady, Breviaries, Mannalls, Prayer bookes, standing altogether in a blinde corner of his study," and "severall loose pictures in fine vellum . . . gloriously and curiously gilded and set forth with most exquisite colours, some having one, others, two or three pictures apeece in them, of Christ and the Virgin Mary in

severall shapes and formes, with glories about their heads, and sometimes crosses on their backs, and the Holy Ghost in form of a dove; pretty babies for young children to play with, but most insufferable puppets, for an old childish superstitious Archbishop seriously to dote on, if not to reverence, adore, and kindle his private devotions by." *Canterburie's Doome*, fol. 1645, p. 66.

views of former eminent custodians of the collection,—Wharton, Gibson, Wilkins, Ducarel, Todd, Maitland (with whom when occupied by his duties as Librarian, we have often tarried, enjoying his shrewd wit, or profiting by his varied learning), and Stubbs, the present Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford.

Mr. Kershaw's "introductory" chapter, while perhaps presenting but little new to the student in that fascinating department of ancient art, "Illumination," and its distinctive schools, furnishes useful information to the general reader, who will learn from it that "illuminations, after a classical and oriental model" (of which the libraries of Rome, Florence, Milan, and Vienna possess splendid examples), were produced "during the early centuries of the Christian era;" that when the social and political convulsions of the Latin Empire constrained the "craft and mystery" of the scribe and the limner to seek "a new home and protection in the greater tranquillity of Western Europe," there arose the "celebrated and unique Anglo-Irish school of illumination, which flourished from the sixth to the tenth century, simultaneously with the (so-called) Anglo-Saxon school, and, on the Continent, with that of Charlemagne; that "the characteristics of all these schools remained in greater or less force till the twelfth century, when their more special indications gradually disappeared, or were merged into the next succeeding style;" and that in the three following centuries the monasteries maintained a regular establishment, including at least a staff of artists, copyists, and binders, for the production of illuminated books.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> In the Middle Ages, books were generally bound by monks. Charlemagne, by charter, in 790, gave to the abbots and monks of Sithin an unlimited right of hunting, in order that the skins of the deer should be used in making covers for their books.

<sup>3</sup> There were no less than seventeen hundred MSS. in the Abbey of Peterborough previous to its dissolution. Frederick Schlegel (Lectures on the History of Literature, Ancient and Modern) shows that from the age of Charlemagne, MSS. were multiplied in the West with more profusion than at any period in the most polished times of antiquity, so that the writings of Greece and Rome were now studied and commented upon in remote regions, which, had it not been for the vast society of the Church, by means of communication with Rome, and the intercourse which was carried on between monasteries, their fame would have never reached. The learned Vaillon, in his treatise on monastic studies, calls attention to the immense manual labour exercised by the Cistercians and Carthusians in producing MSS. for the public, and in reviving, correcting and collating the works of the Fathers. In illustration of this fact may be mentioned the collection of the Latin Fathers on which, written in the most beautiful

characters, and illuminated with exquisite paintings, which is, or was in the *Libreria Medicea* in the cloister of St. Lorenzo at Florence, and the splendid choral books and Bible, in twenty two volumes, of the Carthusian Monastery of Ferrara. Of the Abbot, William of Hirschau, it is related that he procured copies of holy and profane books to be written out in beautiful letters, in which employment twelve monks of the house sat daily engaged (*Chron. Hirsang. An. 1071*). Estates and legacies were often bequeathed for the support of the "scriptorium" of Abbeys. *See Arch. Jour. xx. p. 355.* "The Gifts of Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester, to the Monastery of Peterborough," by Mr. Albert Way, in which, at p. 350, are many curious particulars about the books presented by the Bishop. In England, the library at Peterborough, above mentioned, was not alone. St. Osmond, Bishop of Salisbury in 1078, formed a library there, which he himself enriched with the works of his own hands, translating books for it, and even binding them himself. The library of the Grey Friars, London, the Abbey of Leicester, the Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, the Priory, Dover, and those at Crowland and Wells, with many others, contained noble collections to which all



Religious sentiment entered largely into the treatment of illuminated art. In the cloistral silence of many a sheltered abbey, secluded from the world and with minds at peace, patient monks delighted to embellish the pages of heavenly wisdom with the pure creations of their spiritual fancy; and some of the old illuminated tomes with their exquisite pictures, rich in colour as the tints of a summer's sunset, with figures drawn in the most graceful manner of the antique, with elaborate designs and gorgeous golden capitals and decorations, unite the perfection of the classic style and the devotional art of the recluses<sup>1</sup> who produced them. "It is interesting," writes Mr. Kershaw, "to observe how the chief incidents of Scripture and Catholic faith are rendered according to the spirit of the time. Thus, at the end of the thirteenth century, both at home and abroad, the reproduction of certain figurative representations was abandoned, and instead thereof, a vigorous transcription from actual life was developed."

To the communication of Great Britain with the French and Flemings, is mainly due, according to Mr. Kershaw, the origin of illuminations among those nations; and the improvements introduced by the Van Eycks, and their great pupil Hans Memline (who sometimes condescended to paint miniatures), into the Flemish School influenced to a great extent the illuminators of England and France, as is admirably exemplified by the celebrated Bedford Missal in the British Museum, and the Psalter and Devotional Books of the Duke de Berri, in the Imperial (now National) Library in Paris.

Although the invention of printing dealt a deadly blow to the calling of the calligrapher, printed books, both on vellum and paper, continued for some time after to be adorned with illuminated illustrations. Of these, the Mazarine New Testament at Lambeth, recently described by

persons had access. At Crowland it was ordained that the greater books, of which there were more than three hundred volumes, were never to be taken for the use of remote schools without licence of the Abbot; but smaller ones, of which there were more than four hundred, might be lent to boys and acquaintances of the monks, but only for one day (*Hist. Ingulphi*, 105). Some valuable and interesting "Notes upon Ancient Libraries," by the Hon. Secretary of the Institute, Mr. Burt (see "Notes and Queries," vol. i. pp. 21-23), contain a description of a document, which is, in modern language, a Power of Attorney, executed by the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, appointing two of the monks of his church to be procurators for the purpose of receiving from the Convent of Anglesey in Cambridgeshire, a book which had been lent to the late Rector of Ter-  
rington. Its precise date is uncertain, but it must be about the middle of the thirteenth century. Mr. Burt also alludes to an indenture executed in 1343, whereby the Priory of Henton lent no less than twenty books to another monastic establishment. These documents,

as Mr. Burt observes, "would seem to establish the existence of a system of exchanging the literary wealth of monastic establishments, and thereby greatly extending the advantages of their stores. Both are executed with all the legal forms used in the most important transactions, which would support the opinion of their not being special instances: but they are, in either case, curious and satisfactory evidence of the care and caution exercised by the monks in cases where their books were concerned; and one cannot but regret that when the time came that the monasteries were destined to be dissolved, and their books torn and scattered to the winds, no attention was paid to Pale's advice for the formation of 'one solemn library in every shire of England.'"

<sup>1</sup> Such, for example, as were DON SILVESTRO, a Camaldulan monk of the monastery of the Angeli, Florence, in the fourteenth century, who executed works (some of which still remain) so beautiful for their care and design, that they received the applause not only of monarchs, but even of professors in the best age of art; and the "Blessed" FRA ANGELO DA FIESOLE, who, as Vasari relates, "it is

Mr. Loftie in this Journal,<sup>5</sup> is a magnificent specimen; and several, including an almost unique Parisian Missal, printed on vellum by Jean du Pre, in 1189, and a precious book of Hours printed by Pignonet and Vostre in 1196, were exhibited at the rooms of the Institute in 1871.

Passing on from the *history* to the *symbolism* of illuminated MSS., Mr. Kershaw remarks that Christians at first "restricted their visible representations of sacred personages and actions to mystic emblems. Thus the Cross expressed Redemption; the Fish, Baptism; a Ship, the Church; the Serpent, Sin or the Spirit of Evil." The relation between Pagan and Christian art, he thinks, "holds a strong place in the history of symbolism, and shows that Pagan forms adapted to Christian meanings have been the great key to classic-Christian art." Of this connection, he observes, "the walls and ceilings of the catacombs in Rome offer many illustrations, in which almost the first outlines of sacred art" appear "clothed in the classic garb which continued to exist, possibly, till the twelfth century." The phases of symbolism are too numerous to allow more than the mention, on the part of Mr. Kershaw, of a few leading examples, *as, e. g.*, the palm branch, assigned to martyrs; the crown, to royal saints; the roll, to prophets; the book, to Apostles and Evangelists; the nimbus, aureole, triangle, circle, and square either accompanying or typifying events and persons.

Mr. Kershaw's observations on the practical uses of illuminated MSS. are brief, but to the purpose, and we agree with his assertion that those precious monuments of mediæval piety and skill "are a key to interpret the phases of national character, costume, manners, life and thought of our ancestors." To adopt the words of Lady Eastlake, "through them history has been transmitted with a continuity and fulness not to be found in any other forms of art, or, it may be said, in any forms of literature."

There are about thirty illuminated MS. volumes in the Lambeth Library, and of these at least fourteen present superior specimens of art, from the eighth to the sixteenth century. These are arranged under *countries* and in *order* of date, and minutely described by Mr. Kershaw. In an Old Testament (S. Jerome's Latin version) beginning with Genesis and ending with the Book of Job, the Library possesses an unusually fine example of German art of the twelfth century. The huge folio contains six full or three-quarter page illuminations, and the embellished letters (a lithographed outline copy of one of which from Mr. Kershaw's Manual, by the kindness of the Archbishop of Canterbury, is here given), occupying a fourth of the page, are composed of branches interlacing each other in graceful symmetrical forms, combined with grotesques as dragons' heads, &c., a style of ornament characteristic of the illuminations of that period. Of portions of the New Testament, the Library has, among others, the venerable "Gospels of Mac Durnan," an exceedingly rare and interesting specimen of "Hiberno-Saxon art," practised in Ireland as early as the fifth century. Each Gospel is preceded by a seated figure of its author, "most grotesquely delineated," and is written in an exquisitely clear and sharp minuscule hand. This book appears

<sup>5</sup> supposed never took up a brush without a previous prayer, never painted a crucifix without bathing his own cheeks

with tears."

<sup>6</sup> *Idem*, pp. 212-8.



A burl lathe







to have been in the possession of Maelbrigid Mac Durman, or Maelbrigid the son of Durman, Abbot of Derry and Bishop of Armagh, who deceased about 927.<sup>6</sup> The Library also possesses a priceless copy of the Apocalypse, of the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century, and comprising seventy-eight delicately yet brilliantly coloured drawings of the principal scenes in the Revelation, heightened in many instances by resplendently gilded back-grounds. We have examined this wonderful MS., and admire especially the grandeur of its pictured angels. The courtesy of the Archbishop enables us to present the reader with a faithful reproduction of the design of one of the above series of paintings, which represents St. John falling down to worship the Angel, and has, in the original, a background of deep blue, and a broad border of burnished gold. At the end of the Apocalypse are twenty-eight pictures, inferior perhaps, in some respects, to those which precede them, and by a different hand, but singularly weird and striking; and at the beginning of the volume the archaeologist will be delighted to find a full-length painting of an attenuated tonsured monk, vested in a black gown with hanging sleeves, who is busied in colouring a statue of the Blessed Virgin and Child, which stands on the sculptured capital of a short pillar or pedestal.

Of the *Missal*, the Lambeth collection contains but one (a French) copy worthy of special mention. It is of the use of the Church of Limoges, and of the second half of the fifteenth century.

Of the *Breviary*, the Library has a splendid example, which formerly belonged to Archbishop Chichele. It is a folio MS., adorned with numerous very delicate small miniatures, capital letters, and elegant borders, by an English artist early in the fifteenth century.

Of the *Gradual*,<sup>7</sup> it possesses one fine specimen, well written, with

<sup>6</sup> A MS. note upon the fly-leaf, says Mr. Kershaw, further records, "This book was a present from King Athelstan to the City of Canterbury." In it are placed three entries in "Saxon." The first of these is very curious as being a letter from Wulfstan, Archbishop of York to King Canute, and perhaps the earliest one of the kind known. The translation of it is as follows: "Wulfstan, Archbishop, greets Cnut King his Lord, and Aelgyfe the Queen humbly. And I make known to you two, liege, that we have done even as the certificate came to us from you with regard to Bishop Aethelnoth: that we have now consecrated him. Now pray I for God's love and for all God's Saints that ye show respect unto God and to the Holy Order. That he may be deemed worthy of those possessions that others were before him, namely Dunstan the Good and many another: that he may be also thought worthy of rights and honours. And thus it may be for both of you profitable before God and eke honourable before the world." Aethelnoth was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury on the 13th of

November, 1020.

<sup>7</sup> The *Gradual* or *Gradale* (the Grayel, Graiel, Greyle, &c., of English Monastic Inventories, Wills, and other documents) "is so called," says Mr. Kershaw, "from the *degrez* contained in it." This definition is insufficient and obscure. The origin of the term Gradual in its relation to the class of Office book so named, is due to the circumstance that those volumes contain *inter alia*, the anthems sung after the Epistle in the Communion Service (when rendered chorally) of the Roman Church, which are called *gradalia* from an ancient custom which once prevailed of chanting them on the *gradus*, i.e. steps of the Ambo, or pulpit, in which the Epistle used to be recited. Lyndwode's gloss upon the term is, "*Gradale*, sic dictum a Gradalibus in tili libro contentis. Stricte tamen ponitur *gradale* pro eo quod gradatim ponitur post Epistolam: hic tamen ponitur pro Libro integro in quo continerentur officium aspersionis Aquæ benedictæ, Missarum inchoationes, sive officia, Kyrie, cum versibus, Gloria in excelsis, Gradalia, &c."

musical notes and rubrics, by an English scribe towards the close of the fifteenth century.

Of the *Hymns*, the Library is rich in having five examples, of which two are of English, and two of French art, of unequal merit, and all of the fifteenth century.

Of the *Psalter*, the collection contains six copies, all more or less illuminated, and one of them,—a superb illustration of French art, about 1320,—is nobly embellished with eleven large initial letters, each occupying nearly half the page, and enclosing subjects of rare beauty both in design and execution.

In addition to the MSS. of the Holy Scriptures and the Services of the Church, Lambeth Library also includes some miscellaneous ones of considerable value. Amongst them are the "Diets and Sayings of the Philosophers" (a work printed by Caxton in 1477), a small folio of the fifteenth century, affording the only portrait known to be extant of Edward V.; a grand folio "Chronicle of St. Alban's," of the same period, stored with quaint paintings of historical events, evidently by a French pencil; a volume of Miscellaneous Treatises in Latin, ranging from the tenth to the fifteenth century, and comprising an "Anglo-Saxon" illustrated transcript of the well-known treatise of Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, "De Virginitate"; Genealogical and Heraldic Collections relating to the English and French nobility, many of them in the hand-writing of Cecil, lord Burleigh, and decorated with coloured coats of arms; an exceedingly valuable and interesting MS., consisting of copies of various Records relating to the rights and privileges of the clergy, collected and written on vellum at the expense of Archbishop Laud in 1637; and a very important series of Registers of the Archbishops of Canterbury from 1274 to 1714. The printed books in the Lambeth Library, possessing illustrations, are about eighty in number, and, in Mr. Kershaw's estimation, "display various degrees of excellence and interest, both as regards the style of the engravings, and the subjects illustrated." Our space only allows us to allude to them.

Liberty to examine the Lambeth MSS. has, up to a recent period, been "beset with unavoidable difficulties." These, however, exist no longer; and visitors to the Library will receive from its accomplished curator obliging attention. Literary men, art students, and art lovers, antiquaries, and ecclesiologists will be well rewarded by an inspection of the "Treasures," which Mr. Kershaw has done so much to bring to light; and with him we feel sincerely grateful to the present urbane and highly-gifted occupant of the Metropolitan throne, for allowing his Librarian to publish the able and useful Manual which has been the subject of this notice.

J. F. R.

\* This MS. was exhibited in the temporary Museum of the Institute at Rochester in 1863. —Arch. Journ., vol. xx., p. 383.



## Archæological Intelligence.

PUBLICATION is announced of a work entitled "The Antiquities of Cyprus, discovered by General Luigi Palma di Cesnola." This work refers to the collection which excited so much interest last year in London, and which was purchased for the United States. It consists of photographs by Stephen Thompson, printed by the Alcthetype process, from a selection made by Mr. C. T. Newton, of the British Museum, with an introduction by Sidney Colvin, M.A. There are thirty-six plates, representing above one hundred objects. Price, complete, 4*l.* 4*s.* The plates can be had separately. London: Mansell & Co., 2, Percy Street, W.

The Rev. J. Harwood Hill, F.S.A., Rector of Cranoe, Leicester, has just completed the second and concluding part of "The History and Topography of the Hundred of Gartree, Leicestershire." It is in folio, and replete with illustrations of the churches and monuments in the district. The pedigrees in the volume are also an important feature of the work. The price is 50*s.*

The work projected under the title "Alderley Edge and Neighbourhood," by J. P. Earwaker, B.A., and referred to at p. 199 of this volume, has grown so much under the author's hands that he has thought good to extend the title. It is now proposed to entitle the volume "East Cheshire; Past and Present," price two guineas, for which the author desires to be favoured with names of subscribers at Brocklands, Alderley Edge.

Antiquaries and others who have supported the "Bulletin Monumental," directed for so many years by M. de Caumont, will be pleased to hear that the lamented death of that distinguished archæologist will not cause the publication to cease. It will be continued under the direction of M. de Congny, whose address is "Château de la Grille, près Chinon." The price is fifteen francs the volume for France, yearly, and eighteen francs for other countries.

Mr. Mayer, of Liverpool, has just issued the second volume of "Vocabularies" to his important and very interesting work, "A Library of National Antiquities," which is privately printed by him. The "Vocabularies" are from MSS. in public and private collections, and are edited by T. Wright, Esq., F.S.A.

The Perkins Library, which was recently mentioned in the *Archæological Journal* as one of the few which contains a copy of the Mazarine Bible on vellum, has just been sold by auction at Hanworthy Park. With the exception of Gutenberg's Bible on vellum, and a second copy on paper, which were sold on the last day, the books are arranged alphabetically. The features of the first day's sale were a magnificent

manuscript Bible of the 13th century, in two folio volumes, containing many illuminations, probably of the Italian school; a copy of the printed Bible of 1462, the first with a date, on vellum; a "Bible Historice" of the 14th century, containing 130 miniatures, by a French illuminator; the English Bibles of 1535 and 1537, both almost perfect, and many other editions. The second day comprised a good many illuminated MSS., chiefly books of Hours, some printed on vellum, by Verard and others: the "Cent Histoires" of Christine de Pisan, a very fine MS., with 115 historical miniatures of the highest importance; two "*Evangelistaria*" of the 9th and 12th centuries, and Caxton's *Confessio Amantis* of 1483. On the following days among the treasures disposed of were a fine 4to book of "Hours," a French MS. of the 15th century: *Græciani Collectio SS. Canonum*, a fine folio, full of miniatures; Caxton's "Hygden," two folio books of "Hours," of the 15th and 16th centuries, both finely illuminated; a MS. of Lydgate's "Siege of Troy;" MS. Romances, and many fine Missals, both MS. and printed;—several remarkable MSS., including a *Vita Christi* and a *Pontificale*; Shakespeare's four folios of 1623, 1632, 1664, and 1685, all perfect; and finally the Mazarine Bible, in two volumes, on vellum, with two leaves in facsimile; and, as a last lot, a very fine copy on paper, quite perfect.

The valuable collection of antiquities made by Signor Castellani has at length been acquired by the Government for the British Museum—a subject of great congratulation to all archaeologists. One of the most remarkable objects in this collection is the bronze head supposed to be of Aphrodite, in which we have an undoubtedly original and cardinal work by one of the great sculptors of the best period of Grecian art. It is supposed to have been found in Thessaly, but the history of its discovery is not yet fully known. An Etruscan sarcophagus of *terra cotta* is perhaps the most important object which has yet been discovered in that material. It is of the largest size, and the cover is surmounted by a male and a female figure reclining together, as at a banquet. At one end, Achilles and Memnon, armed for the fight, are taking leave of their mothers and female friends. On the longer front the fight is represented in the centre; on either side are friends, and on that of Memnon a genius is flying upwards. The wailing Eos and her companions are represented at the other end, while the back is occupied by what appears to be the picture of the funereal feast. An inscription in the Etruscan character is painted round the upper edge, seeming to denote that the sarcophagus was occupied by a lady. Besides these two most important objects, there are numerous carvings in ivory and amber, and fictile vases. Altogether the acquisition is one of the richest that our National Museum has made for very many years.

The publication in Paris is announced of a fellow volume to that recently published there, entitled "Les Collections Célèbres d'Œuvres d'Art en France," to be called "Works of Art in the Collections of England." It is to consist of fifty folio plates engraved on copper, each specimen accompanied by a short descriptive text. Price ten guineas. Messrs. Williams and Norgate are the London agents.

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## STATEMENT OF THE ACCOUNTS FOR 1872.

WITH AN EXPLANATION OF THEM, AND A CONCISE HISTORY OF  
THE FUND AND WHAT HAS BEEN DONE WITH ITS AID.

# ROMAN EXPLORATION FUND.

## *Subscriptions received in 1872.*

	£	s.	d.
An-onymous . . . . .	100	0	0
The Marquis of Westminster . . . . .	50	0	0
A. Kewenau, Esq. . . . .	50	0	0
Rev. J. F. Stevin . . . . .	30	0	0
The Marquis of Salisbury . . . . .	8	0	0
John Murray, Esq. . . . .	5	5	0
Paul Baker, Esq. . . . .	5	0	0
Rev. J. Abbiss . . . . .	5	5	0
Charles Wilshire, Esq. . . . .	4	0	0
F. Herries, Esq. . . . .	4	0	0
Sir Augustus Paget . . . . .	4	0	0
Miss Monk . . . . .	4	0	0
J. T. White, Esq. . . . .	2	0	0
T. B. Wadley, Esq. . . . .	2	0	0
Rev. H. H. Skyns . . . . .	2	2	0
James Hoff, Esq. . . . .	2	2	0
R. Tizler, Esq. . . . .	1	0	0
Mrs. Hayward . . . . .	1	1	0
Rev. C. Wilson . . . . .	1	1	0
Balance due to the Treasurer, 1872 . . . . .	280	16	0
	136	16	6
£417 12 6			

## *Payments in 1872.*

Balance due in 1871 . . . . .	105	16	6
To Cav. Gnidi for excavations . . . . .	183	0	0
To Dr. Fabio Gori for assistance and expenses . . . . .	73	0	0
To Signor Di Mauro, engineer, for plans and drawings . . . . .	43	16	0
To the monks of S. Agnes, donation towards excavations in their Catacomb . . . . .	12	0	0
£417 12 6			

Audited, CHARLES BECK,

Rome, January 22, 1873.

## ROMAN EXPLORATION FUND.

To those who have not seen these accounts for previous years, and who do not know Rome, some explanation of them seems necessary.

The fund is open to all the world, and the antiquities of Rome are of equal interest to the inhabitants of all the provinces of the old Roman empire. Among the contributors to this fund have been a well-known and distinguished lady who wishes to remain anonymous, and who continues to give a hundred pounds a year to it, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, the University of Oxford, the Society of Antiquaries of London, the Société Archéologique de France (of which the venerable M. de Caumont, the father of French archaeology, was the founder and the acting head for forty years), and several individual members of both the English and French societies. Among them are other persons of distinction, such as the Marquis of Westminster, the Marquis of Salisbury (Chancellor of the University of Oxford), Gore Langton, Esq., M.P., and other members of both Houses of Parliament. ARCHAEOLOGY is necessarily neutral and international; the Pope and the King of Italy, M. Thiers and the Emperors of Germany and Russia, might each subscribe to it with propriety, if they liked to do so.

The payments require explanation to strangers. The Cavaliere Guidi is a dealer in antiquities, who has for many years kept a gang of navvies in his employment; and they are excellent excavators, and very careful to preserve all objects found; but the object of our excavations has not been to look for statues or other works of art, but to investigate the historical topography of Rome by means of these excavations (and we have always found what we have looked for). Guidi and his men were frequently employed by the Pope; and when we found the short agger of Servius Tullius from the cliffs of the Caelian, to those of the Aventine, with the aqueducts upon it, and the remains of the Porta Capena in it, Guidi induced his HOLINESS to go and see it, and his Holiness said there was no denying that this was part of the wall of Servius Tullius (which had previously been denied by the local antiquaries).

Dr. Fabio Gori is a friend of Guidi, and has been long accustomed to direct his men in their researches, and he is a learned antiquary. Being a native of Subiaco, not of Rome, he is more free from the prejudices of the local school, or what are called the "Roman traditions" (which are only the conjectures of former generations of local antiquaries during the last three centuries). Dr. Gori was of great service to us in tracing out the line of the aqueducts from Subiaco to Rome, and accompanied his friend Signor Ernesto di Mauro, the surveyor, in making the excellent map of their course from Subiaco to Rome on which also the other antiquities are marked, and being on a very large scale it is by far the best map of the antiquities of the Campagna that has ever been made. Signor

di Mauro continues to make plans and drawings of all the antiquities that are discovered from time to time. Dr. Gori (who has just been appointed Professor of Archaeology in the University of Rome) had also obtained permission for us to do many things by asking for them in his own name that would not have been granted if asked in the name of an Englishman, owing to the local jealousy of strangers, which is notorious in Italy, and is one of the most striking proofs of the ignorance of the people. The payments to Dr. Gori include many small items, such as the rent of the cellars, which we have ascertained to be the underground chambers of the great Prison of the Kings of Rome, agreeing exactly with the legendary history preserved by Livy.

The donation to the excellent monks of S. Agnes was to enable them to make excavations in that portion of their Catacomb which is between the Church and the Mausoleum and Baptistery of Constantia, by which we are enabled to show that an original entrance to it was through a pagan tomb, and that four other pagan tombs have a communication from the lower chambers into the Catacomb. This is a demonstration that the Catacombs were general cemeteries for three or four centuries, and were not *exclusively* Christian as the Roman Catholic authorities have always taught. One of the entrances to the Catacomb of S. Prætextatus and to that of Calixtus is also through a pagan tomb, and there is reason to believe that this was also the case in that of S. Priscilla. We have not only taken plans, sections, drawings, and photographs of all the antiquities that have been found, but have also had photographs taken, not only of the fresco paintings, but of the plans and drawings, so that for a trifling expense the historical student in any part of Europe can now obtain accurate information on all the long-disputed questions respecting the historical topography of Rome. Our historical photographs are distinguished from all others (as we have said) by the use of a six-foot rule painted alternately black and white, placed against the wall to measure the size of the stones or the thickness of the bricks, which are the safest guides to the dates of the building. The first principle of the modern science of archaeology is that the construction of the walls and the architectural details are the same at the same period everywhere. Thus by selecting some one well-known historical building as a type of each period, we have a certain guide to the date of all other buildings of the same architectural character. We are assured by the photographers that our photographs are highly appreciated by the well-educated Germans, who buy many more of them than either the English or the Americans.

As it is quite possible and probable that this will be the last account of the expenditure of the Fund that I shall have to render, it will be useful to recapitulate what has been done with the help of this Fund, not only directly by excavations, but indirectly also, by inciting others to emulation, and by exploring what has been done by others at the same time. It will be more interesting to take the objects made out in their chronological order, not only in the topographical one, the latter is more useful on the spot, the former to persons at a distance.

1. We have ascertained that a very ancient wall of tufa, of the character in use at the time of the foundation of Rome, exists on three sides of *Roma Quadrata*, an oblong space at the north end of the Palatine Hill, with a wide and large fosse on the southern side of it, the earth



supported by tufa walls on each side of this fosse. That at the northern corner of the Arx, Citadel, Keep, or Capitol, of the original city of Rome, on the Palatine Hill, there are the foundations of towers to support a higher wall, just at the point where the huts of the Romans might have been knocked down by stones thrown by a catapult from the Hill of Saturn opposite. These towers were evidently begun only, and left unfinished, having been used as foundations for buildings of the time of the Republic and early Empire. Within the space mentioned as *Roma Quadrata* are the foundations of a temple, and a great flight of steps leading up to this from the western side of the hill has also been found. These are of the same construction as the walls; and that construction is of as rude and early character as the other walls of the time of Romulus. These fortifications would have been perfectly useless when the Hill of Saturn and the Palatine were united in one city and enclosed by one wall.

We have also found the LUPEREAL, a cave under the north-west corner of the Palatine Hill, just in the situation where we ought to find it, according to the legendary history; it is just above the level of the ordinary floods of the Tiber, on the edge of the *Vallis Murcia*, then a swamp full of canes ten feet high. In this cave are the springs of the Aqua Argentina, a natural stream of water that speedily falls into the larger stream that runs through the Cloaca Maxima. Against this cave are remains of chambers of the time of Augustus, who says that "he made the Lupereal." This cave is also just at one corner of the Circus Maximus, which also agrees with history. The present entrance to the Lupereal is down a well fifteen feet deep, at the corner of the Via de Fienili and the Via de Cerchi, and it is partly under the latter modern road. The present employment of it is as a mill-dam for a modern mill made on the bank of the Cloaca Maxima, to make use of the Aqua Argentina before it falls into that stream. In the cave are remains of an ancient open aqueduct to carry the water.

2. Of the second period, we have parts of the second wall of Rome, built to enclose the two hills, which is of rather later character than the earliest wall, but still of very early character. Of this second period (which extends over more than a century) we have remains of several buildings of importance. Firstly, the great public building originally called the CAPITOLIUM, which included the *Erarium*, or Treasury, the *Tabularium*, or Record Office, the *Senaculum*, or Senate-house, and the *Municipium*, in which were the offices and law courts of the Municipality. The Corporation has always retained its hold on the two upper stories of this ancient building, now called the *Municipio*. We have also found the principal subterranean chambers of the great prison of the kings of Rome, built by King Ancus Martius, added to by Servius Tullius. This is allowed by all to be the *Inferior Carcer in Lantianis*, mentioned by Livy, although the Roman antiquaries dispute whether the small prison, called "the Prison of S. Peter," was part of the same great building, or another prison a hundred yards from it. This is of no great importance. The walls of both are chiefly of the time of King Ancus Martius; the upper part and the vaults of both have been rebuilt in the time of Tiberius. We have found a subterranean passage of early Etruscan character leading from one to the other, but this may have been used for other purposes. One of these purposes appears to have been to drag along the bodies of persons strangled in

the prison, and then thrown into the Tiber, as mentioned by Sallust. We have traced the lower end of it to the Cloaca Maxima, at a short distance from the river.

3. Of the third period, the time of Servius Tullius, we have remains of his great Agger on the eastern side of Rome, where it was a mile long, but has been almost entirely destroyed; and we have traced his short *aggeres* across the valleys, from the cliff of one hill to that of the other. We have also found remains of the ancient tufa wall to support the cliff and earth of the hill, when each was a separate fortified village, before the time of Servius Tullius, as we are told by Livy. The great Agger goes from the cliff of the Quirinal, at the north-east corner of Rome, to that of the Esquiline, halfway down on the eastern side of the city; the cliffs of that hill then formed the wall, and it turned the corner as far as the church of S. Clement; then a short agger across the valley to the fortress, now the monastery of the Santi Quattro Coronati; then the cliffs of the Caelian. On the other side of that valley are the great fosse between the east end of the Caelian hill and the Lateran (across which a bank was made for the aqueducts, with a road by the side of them), then, again, the cliffs of the Caelian along the south side, with the river Almo for a wet ditch as far as the angle on which stood another ancient fortress, now the Villa Mattei (or Celimontana), which protected the approach to the Porta Capena, and the second short agger from the cliff of the Caelian to that of the Aventine, then the cliffs of the Aventine to the Tiber (on which cliffs there are very considerable remains of the wall of the Latins, who were settled there in the time of the early kings). Then from the Aventine to the Capitol, the ancient tufa wall, called the *Pulehrima Littus* (which had formed part of the second wall, also forms part of this third wall, and so across to the Capitol, then another short agger which has been traced), to the cliff of the Quirinal, and following this to the north-east corner, the point from which we started.

The Arx or Citadel of each of the seven hills, as a separate fortress, has also been traced. The separate character of the walls of each of the three periods in the time of the kings is very distinct when once pointed out.

1. In the walls on the Palatine *only* the vertical joints are wide enough to admit a walking-stick.

2. In the second period the stones are closely fitted together, as in the second wall, the Capitoline, the Prison, &c.

3. In the third period the stones are held together by iron clamps, which are not found until the time of Servius Tullius; but some of the iron clamps themselves were found in the interior of part of that wall, which was pulled down in 1871 to enlarge the railway station. These iron clamps on the surface of the wall have usually rusted and split the stones, and fallen out, and thus have left only large holes in the edges of the stones. This fashion of construction continued in Rome for five centuries or more; we find similar holes again in the Coliseum. The stones of Servius Tullius have often been used again, and can then be readily distinguished by the holes in the edges of the stones *not fitting* one another, as in part of the great prison rebuilt in the time of Tiberius, where the springing stones, the most essential part of the construction, are of travertine; the stones of the arches are of tufa taken from the walls of the Robur Tullianum.

Of the time of the Republic we have few buildings remaining, and these are of no great importance; the best is the Emporium, of which the construction is very rude. In the time of the Emperors the application of the usual tests of archaeological evidence has been found equally useful. Knowing that the "construction of the same period is always the same," we had only to choose some one good, well-ascertained historical type of each period, and then compare the construction of other buildings not dated with them. By means of these historical types we ascertained that, as a general rule, the brickwork of each century is the easiest guide to the date of a building.

In the first century, nine or ten to the foot.

In the second, only eight.

In the third century, six.

In the fourth century, four.

This is a general guide, and a remarkably useful and safe one. When the wall is intended to be cased with marble or plaster for painting this rule does not always apply; but in general the bricklayer did not know or care whether his brick wall was to be cased or not; he laid his bricks according to the manner in which he had been taught to lay them as a good workman, and would not lay them in any other manner: it was the same then as now, and the quality of the bricks themselves is always a safe guide. These rules for brickwork, therefore, can generally be depended on; and so can the thickness of the mortar and the size of the small diamond-shaped wedges of tufa in the *Opus reticulatum*. Applying these archaeological tests on the Palatine to the Palaces of the Cæsars, we see how little reliance can be placed in what are called the Roman traditions, which were only the conjectures of learned men living in the last three centuries, who had often much less opportunity than we have of forming an opinion. Their *traditions* place the House of Augustus on the site of the Villa Mills, on the southern side of the great fosse of Romulus. There is no authority whatever for this conjecture; the construction is entirely of the time of Domitian; it is part of the great palace of his time, built partly over the great fosse of Romulus, in which was the State Palace—"the St. James's Palace of the time of the Empire." The real palace or House of Augustus, we are distinctly told by Suetonius, was that of an ordinary citizen, named Hortensius, which he chose because it was in *the Arx* of Romulus, and near the place where the House of Romulus then stood. "This house had no ornament, and the Senate were not satisfied with it; but Augustus refused to give it up, and lived in the same rooms for forty years." The Senate, therefore, a few years afterwards added state apartments to it. We have exactly such a house excavated in 1870-71, miscalled the House of the Father of Tiberius, because there is an underground passage from it to what is called the Palace of Tiberius, on the top of the north-east corner of the Palatine. But the construction of that house is of the time of Trajan and Hadrian. The real House of Tiberius is on the western cliff, near the Velabrum, the construction of it is the same as that of the northern wall of the Prætorian Camp, which is an historical type of his time. The Palace of Caligula is down below, "near the Forum Romanum," as we are told by Suetonius, that he used the temple of Castor and Pollux as a vestibule to it, and we find there the brick walls of the first century, but not in the palace above,

which is of a different character of construction, of the time of Trajan and Hadrian. Many other doubtful points might be settled in this manner, not by conjectures or assumptions, but by demonstrations. In our historical photographs these distinctions can be seen as well as in the walls themselves. We make our photographer use an English six-foot rule, painted alternately black and white, so that the number of bricks in a foot may be counted on the photograph as well as on the spot, or the size of the stones of the kings measured. These photographs are really valuable historical documents; many of the objects they represent have since been destroyed.

The exact sites of the Porta Trigemina, the Septizonium, and several other disputed points could be settled in a week, with sufficient funds and permission to dig. Upon the great Agger of Servius Tullius were rows of houses of the time of the early Empire on each side, with a paved road under it at the bottom of the great fosse at the foot of the agger. Each house was three or four stories high, but had no back windows, and had a reservoir of water in the cellar, supplied by an aqueduct which ran along the foot of the inside of the agger at the level of the ground; the fosse was from fifteen to twenty feet deep below that level. Several of the remains of those houses have been destroyed within the last two years, and some in this month of February, 1873. There is reason to believe that the small portion of the great Agger that is left has similar remains upon it, and that a perfect section might be obtained, showing the bank 50 ft. high, the two fosses, each from 15 to 20 ft. deep, paved at the bottom, and the houses upon the sloping sides of the bank. Unless some great effort is made, we shall soon lose all traces of this great Agger, and obliterate a very important chapter of the history of the capital of the civilized world for many centuries. The Antiquities of Rome are of as much importance for the history of the fine arts to all the provinces of the old Roman empire as to the Italians, or even more. They have more of ancient art remaining in their provincial cities than the western nations have. If all will unite to save the more important objects of interest, much may be done; if not, they must go. Poverty has hitherto preserved them; the total stagnation of the Pontifical government was favourable to the preservation of antiquities; but this is at an end; stagnation has been succeeded by the most wonderful activity and energy; such a change was surely never witnessed before. The Italians seem to feel that they have to remedy the effects of three or four centuries of stagnation, and are doing their best to make up for lost time. They know the real value of their antiquities, and are anxious to have them preserved; but they cannot afford to do so without help, *and this help must be immediate, and not be deferred, or it will be too late.*

In the summer of 1871 an attempt was made to form a "Roman Exploration Company," in which those interested in the matter, and able to *invest money*, might do so in this company, instead of only giving *donations*. If they had done so at the time it was proposed, all the money then invested would have been at least *quadrupled* by this time. The population of Rome is increasing so rapidly by its being made the capital of Italy, that the value of land and houses has increased in quite a marvellous manner, in some cases ten-fold or more, and quite four-fold on the average. Several important properties, which I could *then*

have bought at very reasonable prices, have now been sold at more than four times the amount. Among these was part of the house or palace of Pudens the senator, the friend of S. Paul; where Caractacus and the British royal family resided when they were in Rome as hostages, at the time when S. Paul was also there. They had been admitted by the Emperor Claudius into the Gens Claudia when he pardoned Caractacus. This site ought to have been bought for the site of an Anglican church, as I tried in vain to persuade the committee of the S.P.G. That portion is now being built upon; but another part of the same large palace (the cellars of which, of the time of S. Paul, or earlier, extend all along one side of the street) might perhaps still be obtained, though at a much higher price. The construction of the brick walls of these cellars is nearly the same as that of the brick walls of the Pantheon of Agrippa, with alterations of the second century. The church of S. Pudentiana is made over some of these cellars; but they are very numerous, and indicate a palace of considerable extent.

An idea seems to prevail among my friends in England (among whom, I am thankful to say, I may reckon most of the principal archaeologists of our day) that the "Roman Exploration Fund" has done its work; that the pride of the Italian nation has been roused, and they have taken the matter into their own hands, and will not allow foreigners to interfere with it. This is only *partially* true. The Italian parliament does vote £1200 a year (30,000 francs) for the purpose of carrying out Signor Rosa's plan to excavate the whole Palatine hill with the slopes round it, including the Forum Romanum, the Via Sacra, the Clivus Sacer, and the Summa Via Sacra, on one side, and the Circus Maximus on the other. This is a great and glorious work to do; it will take about forty years to do it at the present rate. Our grandchildren may see it done; but for the present generation it is hopeless. In the meanwhile there are several important historical sites that have been in dispute for centuries, each of which might be settled in a week, if the necessary funds were forthcoming and permission obtained, which there is reason to believe can be done.

The only portion of the great eastern Agger of Servius Tullius that now remains perfect, is a small piece of it between the railway station and S. Maria Maggiore; and this is sold to a building company, and will soon be destroyed, unless it is preserved by purchasing it from the company. It seems very desirable that a great effort should be made to rescue some of the most interesting antiquities within the walls of Rome before it is too late. The Italian government limits its works to the Palatine Hill and the slopes round it; this will take them forty years, as we have said, judging by what has been already done, first by the Duchess of Devonshire, then by Napoleon I., then by the Emperor of Russia, then by Napoleon III. and the Pope, and since by the Italian government.

There is good reason to believe that if the British House of Commons would make a grant of £20,000 to the Roman Exploration Fund, which is open to all the world, that the example would be followed by the Germans and others, and will be thankfully received by the Italian government and the Italian people. They are constantly regretting that they cannot afford to preserve such interesting historical monuments. The Emperor of Germany excavated the Catacomb of S. Generosa, on the bank of the Tiber, two or three years since, and is known to take

an interest in archaeology : he preserved a curious old church at Soest, at my suggestion, some years since. The French and the Russians have already done their part ; the English have done a little, but very little, and the Americans less ; but our American cousins are beginning to take great interest in the matter, and may also be stirred up to act seriously for preserving those important evidences of the truth of history. The name of *Exploration* was properly given to this Fund, instead of *Excavations* ; because, although explorations in Rome must chiefly be made by means of excavations, we can sometimes explore subterranean passages and cellars without excavation, and we can take advantage of the excavations made by others for our purpose. There is reason to believe that a great part of Rome is undermined by subterranean passages, and that many cellars contain remains of ancient buildings of importance. This is the real *Roma Sotterranea*, not the Catacombs, which are two or three miles from the city, under vineyards.

The monks and nuns are now permitted to sell their gardens and vineyards, which occupy more than half the space within the walls of Rome ; and although there is a great demand for them, the price would still be moderate compared to what it must be ten years hence. Upwards of 2000 houses are now building in Rome ; but many more will be wanted, with manufactories and warehouses, to avoid the heavy duties at the gates. It is known that upwards of 7000 government clerks for the Finance department are still waiting in Florence until the new offices are ready, and houses will be wanted for them and their families.

THE EXCAVATIONS ARE NOW SUSPENDED FOR WANT OF FUNDS.

## HISTORICAL MONUMENTS IN ROME PROPOSED TO BE PURCHASED WITH THE ROMAN EXPLORATION FUND.<sup>1</sup>

### 1. The Luperéal or Wolf's Cave.

Now a mill-dam. This mill should be bought and pulled down, and the whole line of the Aqua Argentina should be excavated and left open for future generations of archaeologists to study. It rises in the cave, and falls into the Cloaca Maxima, after a very short course along an open channel or aqueduct of stone or marble.

### 2. The Tarpeian Rock, the place of public execution.

The lower part of this is concealed by cellars and warehouses of small value, to one-third of its height. These should also be purchased and destroyed, and the whole original height left open.

### 3. The great Prison of the Kings of Rome.

Four large subterranean chambers of the prison have been found in the district called the Lantornie. They are now cellars under houses, and might be purchased for a moderate price.

### 4. The great Agger of Servius Tullius, on the eastern side of Rome.

Of this about a hundred yards still remain intact, and that is all that now remains.

5. One of the short Aggers of Servius Tullius, which connected the scarped cliff of one hill; the original fortifications of the separate fortified villages, with those of another hill on the opposite side of the narrow valley which had served as a fosse. The one that is most desirable is that between the Caelian and the Aventine, which was excavated three or four years since, in which were found the remains of three aqueducts, and the site of the Porta Capena. At the west end of this agger is a portion of the Piscina Publica, that is, the great filtering-place of an enormous public bath, now a vineyard. A strip of ground of sufficient width might be purchased there; part of this is also sold to a building company.

6. The site of the grove of the Camœnæ, and the Fountain of Egeria, in the same valley, just outside of the old wall and southern gate of the city, under the cliff of the Caelian. Part of it is in the garden of the monks of St. Gregory, who will be obliged to sell it shortly; another part is in the grounds of the Villa Celi-montana, formerly called the Villa Mattei; but the villa and garden are on the hill; this is only part of a vineyard in the valley. The excellent Baron Hoffman, who is the present proprietor, is willing to make arrangements for this part to be left open.

7. The lower story of the Septizonium, called "the finest tomb that ever was built." This lower story is said to exist underground, in a garden between the Palatine and the Porta Capena.

8. Part of the Golden House of Nero and Thermae of Titus, with the Sette-Sale, the great reservoir for the Thermae. This part has never been excavated, and much may be found there. This part is private property, and might be purchased. Only the part that has been excavated belongs to the Government.

<sup>1</sup> Provided the money can be raised for the purpose, Mr Parker's idea is that a great effort should be made to preserve these interesting historical records before it is too late; the rapid manner in which the new City of Rome is rising shows that many of them must soon disappear if not

purchased. The Italian people are doing as much as can be expected of them in preserving the Palatine and the Forum. The educated classes in all the provinces of the old Roman Empire should bestir themselves to assist them.

9. The site of the Temple of Pallas or Minerva, in the Forum Transitorium of Nerva, now a bakehouse, hiding the lower part of the fine columns on which is the rich entablature with the figure of Pallas.

10. The house at the south end of the great wall of the kings, which formed part of the second wall of Rome to enclose the two hills (the Palatine and the Hill of Saturn) in one city. These houses conceal the junction of the wall of travertine, of the time of the early Empire, that divided the Forum of Augustus from the Forum Transitorium of Nerva, where it is built into the lower part of the great wall of the kings at an angle.

11. To purchase and pull down the munnery which occupies the site of the greater part of the Forum of Augustus. This must be sold shortly. The archaeologists have been rigidly excluded from that ground for the last fifty years.

12. To purchase the remains of the Torre de' Conti, a mediæval tower built upon an old tower of tufa, of the time of the kings, which formed an angle in the wall of the second city of Rome. It is now a warehouse for timber and a timber-yard.

13. The cave-reservoir, at the mouth of the Aqua Appia, within which is a large inner cave with a natural spring of water in it. This part is always knee-deep in water; it may probably have been the Cave in which the cattle were concealed in the time of Romulus. The only entrance to it is by a narrow doorway through which the aqueducts passed. It is near the Marmorata, and the Porta Trigemina, under the Monastery of S. Alessio and the Priorato, or priory of the knights of Malta, this will also have to be sold.

14. Another cave-reservoir, under Santa Sabba, on the Aventine, in which several aqueducts cast their remaining water into the specus or conduit of the Aqua Appia, the earliest and lowest of the aqueducts.

15. The Amphitheatrum Castrense and the Vivarium, mentioned by Procopius, now in the garden of the monastery of Santa Croce, in Gerusalemme, which also must be sold shortly.

16. The porticus of the Thermae of Caracalla, or arcade begun by that emperor, and finished by his successor, Heliogabalus, with a bath-chamber under each of the arches; two of which have been excavated. It is now a vineyard, which is for sale.

17. The vineyard of the Cavaliere Guidi, in which are considerable remains of the private house of the Emperor Hadrian, with mosaic pavements and painted chambers, miscalled the "House of Asinius Pollio." The Cavaliere is willing to sell it.

18. Another vineyard, adjoining to the last, at the south end and west side of the great Thermae, containing the Piscina or Reservoir of the Thermae and a considerable part of the outer wall and outer buildings on the north and west sides of the main building in the centre.

19. Another vineyard, on the eastern side of the Via Appia, containing the remains of the Thermae of Commodus and Severus, under a small hill, called Monte d'Oro.

20. Another vineyard, on the western side of the Porta Appia, or di S. Sebastiano, within the wall, in which are the most perfect part of the Corridor of Aurelian for the sentinel's path, with a painting of the Madonna, said to be of the sixth century, and the interior of the Porta Ardeatina, a gate house of the first century, and several tombs.



P.S.—Since the above was written I have seen a statement in a Roman newspaper of March 22nd that Signor Rosa has given permission for the demolition or the burying again of the most perfect part of the Forum of Trajan, in order to please a certain Marquis who is a friend of his, and who wishes to enlarge his gardens in that manner. Signor Rosa has already given his permission for the demolition of the remains of the “LAVACRUM of Agrippina,” which were dated by an inscription found upon them.

The two objects which interested Mr. Gladstone the most, when I had the honour and the pleasure of showing him the antiquities of Rome some years since, were first, the western cliff of the Viminal Hill (opposite S. Vitale), where could then be seen at one point of view walls of the time of the kings of Rome, part of the Citadel of the Viminal, when that was a separate fortified village, before the union of the Seven Hills into one city by Servius Tullius; walls of the Republic, consisting of one site of a house of the time of Sylla, built up against the cliff of the Viminal, and walls of the time of the Early Empire, consisting of the LAVACRUM OF AGRIFFINA, now destroyed.

And secondly, the remains of the FORUM OF TRAJAN, consisting of a double row of shops, one on the level ground, and the other on a ledge of the Quirinal Hill, cut for the purpose. This arrangement Mr. Gladstone considered as the origin of the double row of shops in the Roman City of Chester.

This part of the Forum of Trajan was always open to foreigners in Rome on the payment of a trifling fee, but has been studiously kept locked up by Signor Rosa since the possession of Rome by the liberal Italian Government, and as the English and American people did not know that they were to go half a mile to the Palatine to ask leave to have the key, and call again the next day for an answer, they did not see at all this interesting part of Rome.

It now *appears* that all this was arranged to make the Ministers believe that foreigners did not care about it, and that it might be destroyed without any notice being taken of it. If this very interesting part of ancient Rome is to be preserved, the money must be forthcoming to compensate the Marquis.

This statement of the Roman newspaper of a collusion between Signor Rosa and the Marquis is now officially contradicted; the Marquis wished to enlarge his garden in this manner, but the permission has not been granted, probably because public attention was called to it. The Editor of the *Don Perboncino*, who is generally remarkably well-informed, had good reason for what he stated.

The lower line of shops for a considerable distance is now buried under part of the garden of the Marquis, the upper line is used as a series of greenhouses, and a doorway has just been made into the end one of this

upper line, which, if open to the archaeologists, would be only benefit to them, but they are rigorously excluded, and it is said that the new door is to be closed again. But this is only one example of what is going on in Rome at this moment.

Of the list of objects that I have enumerated as worth preserving, some might be saved for a hundred pounds or perhaps less, such as the collars and coves. Others would require thousands. The site of the Lavernum of Agrippina was sold at seventy francs the square yard, but that was quite an exceptional case, being on the line of a new street.







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