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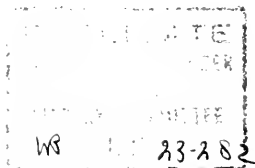
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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Blythborough Church, Suffolk. By A. HARTSHORNE, Esq., F.S.A.	1
On the Age of the City Walls of Chester. By G. W. SURCUSOLE, F.G.S.	15
On the Remains of an Ankerhold at Bengoe Church, Hertford. By J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, Esq., F.S.A.	26
The Finding of Daphne. By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, Esq.	30
Church Notes, chiefly in Berks, Wilts, and Oxford, with a few in Somerset and Gloucestershire	43, 185, 291, 397
On the Roman Occupation of Britain. By G. ESDAILE, Esq.	51
Culverhouses. By R. S. FERGUSON, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.	105
Roman Inscriptions discovered in Britain in 1886. By W. THOMPSON WATKIN, Esq.	117
Toulouse and Narbonne. By F. A. FREEMAN, Esq., D.C.L.	129
Brief Précis of the Description of the Early Sculptured Stones of Cheshire. By the Rev. G. F. BROWNE, B.D.	146
The Church of St. Radegonde, near Tours. By the late Rev. J. L. PETIT	157
The Antiquities of Saintes. By BUNNELL LEWIS, Esq., M.A.	161, 215
Some Account of the Recent Discovery of the Foundations of the Eastern Termination of Lincoln Minster, as erected by St. Hugh. By the Rev. Precentor VENABLES	194
Opening Address to the Section of Architecture at the Salisbury Meeting. By the Rev. Precentor VENABLES	200

Inaugural Address to the Annual Meeting of the Institute, held at Salisbury, By Lieut.-Gen. A. H. LANE FOX PITT-RIVERS	261
The Court Rolls of the Manor of Hibbaldstow. By E. PEYCOCK, Esq.	278
Was Ireland ever Invaded by the Romans? By W. THOMPSON WATKIN, Esq.	289
Valentia Segellamorum. By E. A. FREEMAN, Esq., D.C.L.	311
The Roman Villa at Chelworth, Gloucestershire. By G. E. FOX, Esq.	322
On the Premonstratensian Abbey of St. Mary Alwrick, Northumberland. By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, Esq.	337
On a Hittite Cylinder and Seal belonging to the Rev. Greville J. Chester. By Professor SAYCE	347
Britain a Province of the Roman Empire as treated in the History of Rome by Theodore Mommsen. By the Rev. Prebendary SCARTH, M.A.	351
The Architect of Salisbury Cathedral. By the Rev. J. A. BENNETT, B.A., F.S.A.	365
Supplementary Notes on Roman Forces in Britain. By W. THOMPSON WATKIN Esq.	375
ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS:—	
Lay Subsidy, Temp. Henry IV. Communicated by J. C. L. STAHLSCHMIDT, Esq.	56
Concerning Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex. Communicated by J. C. L. STAHLSCHMIDT, Esq.	301
Brief, concerning Laurence Moigne and others. Communicated by the Rev. A. R. MADDISON, F.S.A.	403
Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute, November, 1886, to July, 1887	83, 203, 303, 405
Balance Sheet, 1886	307
Report of Annual Meeting at Salisbury	407
Excursion in Brittany	431
NOTICES OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS:—	
Popular County Histories.—A History of Berkshire. By Lieut.-Col. COOPER KING, F.G.S.	87

CONTENTS.

Modern Methods of Illustrating Books	92
Memoranda Historical and Genealogical relating to the Parish of Kelton in the County of Somerset. By the Rev. J. F. POYNOR	95
Historic Towns, Edited by E. A. FREEMAN and W. HUNT. Bristol. By W. HUNT.	94
Ogham Inscriptions in Ireland, Wales, and Scotland. By the late Sir S. FERGUSON	96
Some Municipal Records of the City of Carlisle. Edited by R. S. FERGUSON and W. NANSON	98
The Gentleman's Magazine Library, Romano-British Remains. Part I. Edited by G. L. GOMME	102
Ditto ditto Part II.	135
Some Historical Notices of the O'Meaghers of Ikerrin. By J. O'MEAGHER	103
Romano-British Mosaic Pavements. By T. MORGAN	205
The Architectural Designs of W. BURGESS	133
ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTELLIGENCE	209, 137
INDEX TO VOLUME XLIV	139
LIST OF MEMBERS.	113

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE.
Plan of St. Leonard's Church, Bengoe To face	26
(The Institute is indebted to Mr. G. Gosselin for this illustration).	
Remains of Ankerhold, Bengoe Church „	28
Manoir d'Ango, Varangeville „	109
(The Institute is indebted to Mr. Ferguson for this illustration).	
Pigeon House, Manorbier Castle „	111
Pigeon House, Berwick, Sussex „	112
The Institute is indebted to the Council of the Sussex Archaeological Society for the loan of this block.	
Church of St. Radegonde, near Tours. Ground Plan „	159.
St. Radegonde, Tours S.E. Plate I	} To follow <i>ib</i>
„ „ S.W. „ II	
„ „ „ III	
„ „ Details „ IV	
„ „ Chancel „ V	
„ „ „ VI	
„ „ „ VII	
St. George, near Tours „ VIII	
St. Emilion „ IX	
„ „ „ X	

The Institute is indebted to the kindness of M^{rs}. Petit for the greater part of the cost of these illustrations.)

Amphitheatre at Saintes	- - - - -	To face	169
Bridge and Roman Arch at Saintes	- - - - -	„	176
(The Institute is indebted to Mr. Lewis for half the cost of these illustrations).			
Foundations of Norman Apse of Lincoln Minster, Plan I	- - - - -	„	196
Eastern Limb of Lincoln Minster, with Foundations of St. Hugh's Apse Plan II	- - - - -	„	198
Arrangement of St. Hugh's Apse, Lincoln Minster, as restored by J. L. Pearson, Plan III.	- - - - -	„	200
(The Institute is indebted to the Proprietor of "The Builder" for the loan of these woodcuts).			
Plan of Roman Villa, Chedworth	- - - - -	„	323
(The Institute is indebted to Mr. G. E. Fox for this illustration).			
Ground Plan of Alwick Abbey, Northumberland	- - - - -	„	339
Alwick Abbey, View of Gate House and Mr. Doubleday's house, taken in 1774	- - - - -	„	344
Ditto	ditto, East of side Gate House	- - - - -	346
Ditto	ditto, South Front of ditto	- - - - -	To follow <i>ib.</i>
Hittite Seal in the possession of the Rev. J. Greville Chester	- - - - -	To face	348

The Archaeological Journal.

MARCH, 1887.

BLYTHBOROUGH CHURCH, SUFFOLK ¹.

By ALBERT HARTSHORNE, F.S.A.

It is no unusual thing to find in this country a vast and desolate church hard by the grass-grown ruins of an ancient monastic house. These are some of the scars of a violent and bitter struggle, and they are, perhaps, more evident in East Anglia than elsewhere because the wounds were there struck large and very deep. It will not be to the purpose now to go at all into that religious question, or to attempt to treat of the causes of the remarkable decay of commerce which gradually fell upon this once favoured district, further than to say generally, on the one hand, that Blythborough certainly suffered spiritually severely enough, and that commercially, on the other, it fell with the fate, as it had risen with the fortunes, of the ancient capital, sea-wasted Dunwich. Certain it is that the borough on the Blyth has changed, from a once populous centre to almost one of the waste places of the earth—a borough where, before the Conquest, the only “cambitor” of the district would be found, and where, to-day, one can hardly get change for sixpence; a solitude nearly as complete as that of Pæstum.

Yet, in spite of its earlier splendour, it seems almost a natural thing to find in this region of East Anglia, and in the neighbourhood of an ancient capital, a church entirely and systematically laid out in the latest Gothic style that has been happily named by Rickman, the “Perpendicular.”

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, February 3rd, 1887.

It is, indeed, the great style of the district. To mention only two other examples, as we shall have occasion to refer to them later on, in full sight from Blythborough is the sad ruined church of Walberswick with its noble tower dominating the country, and, further off, the spacious church of Southwold set back a trifle from the low cliffs, and sheltering that famous rood-screen, its fine parclose and the rare *Jack o' the Clock*.

Although our set purpose is with Blythborough's Perpendicular church it may do no harm, in the first place, to touch lightly upon the earlier history of the spot, and, without going any further back, we may start with the universal masters—the Romans. That the site of Blythborough was by nature adapted for a centre of some kind of civilization may be at once inferred from its position on a silent highway. It may be sufficient for us now to point out (as Dr. Raven has done in a little paper on Blythborough printed in the Suffolk Transactions) as regards the Roman period, that two roads cross the Blyth at this point. One leads from Aldeborough to Beccles, in a nearly straight line; the other, not so direct, passes from ancient Dunwich to Bungay, and along both these lines we have the familiar names of *Street* and *Stone Street*. Dr. Raven has suggested that here may have been a slightly intrenched camp occupied by a band of Stablesian horse, part of the forces of the Count of the Saxon Shore; that we might imagine a light Liburnian galley in the broad by Walberswick, and horsemen riding away over the stone street for the great camp on the Yare, or through Bungay for Caistor. It is a very likely sketch, but not a stone or tile remains above ground at Blythborough to vivify a picture of an item in the military grasp that held the world. The earth has surrendered no milestone at Blythborough, no legionary tile, no altar dedicated, or soldier's tombstone; only a few urns and funeral remains have been found in the track and of the period of the ancient civilization here which passed away fifteen centuries ago.

From the departure of the Romans to the time of King Edward is a long, and a distracting, and a bloody step. Paganism and Christianity, war and uncertain peace alternate, fitfully brightened by the ministry of such men

as St. Sigbert, or Felix, the Burgundian, or confused and darkened by incessant raids, harryings, and rapine.

Chief among the events that stirred Blythborough in its early days must be mentioned the war in the middle of the seventh century between Penda, the Pagan king of Mercia, and Anna, Christian king of the East Angles. The latter is said to have fallen with his son Firminius at Blythborough, and tradition has long placed the sepulchre of king Anna in Blythborough church. The recondite archaeology of the parish clerk in this matter, apparently based upon the aphorism that "seeing is believing" has appropriated a fifteenth century Purbeck monument for the coeval tomb of the king, which spot is complacently pointed out as the place where Anna lies; and so the tomb of the last of the Swillingtons, upon the same principle, has been set back eight hundred years and becomes the grave of Firminius. To go from fancy to fact, the bones of Anna and his son were first interred in the Saxon church at Blythborough and subsequently taken to Bury, and, as to the Saxon church, not only does not one stone remain upon another, but not one single stone exists at all, at least not recognizable as Saxon work, in the present church. The only memorial of the king and his son now appears to be certain of the series of large crowned Lombardic letters in flint and stone beneath the east window outside. This inscription has, however, never been, as far as we know, quite clearly deciphered. From the death of Anna to the time of the Confessor, all that is known or may be inferred with regard to the story of Blythborough, falls so much into the general history of Dunwich, with its long list of Saxon prelates, that, without going somewhat out of our track and proposed treatment, it will not be to our purpose to follow it in that direction, further than to notice that the place was certainly of considerable importance in the time of King Edward, though it had declined when the Great Record was drawn up. We gather from the Conqueror's Survey that there was a church at Blythborough in Saxon times, and that it possessed two carucates of land, nine villeins, and four bordarii. That church, and any earlier one, as has been before intimated, have totally vanished, but the record is important to us in a way since it brings us at

once upon our ground, for undoubtedly the present church stands upon the ancient ecclesiastical site. This church clearly owes its building to the Black Canons of the Augustinian Priory founded here by the Abbot of St. Osyth, in Essex, to whom Henry I had given the tythes of Blythborough. The date of the first building of this priory was probably towards the end of the first quarter of the twelfth century, the house being planted on ground north-east of the church, and rising above the south bank of the river Blyth. It is not improbable that this particular spot was the site of a Roman encampment. Suckling speaks of the conventual church of St. Mary as "a spacious cross-aisled fabric," and he is probably right; but this statement must be based not so much upon the poor slight views of the remains of the priory in Grose's *Ancient Reliques*, and Kirby's *Suffolk Traveller*, as upon the fact that the house had early acquired considerable revenues, as is set forth in the original charter of 1199, rehearsed at length in a charter of confirmation of 21 Henry VI. Yet, although the number of canons was ever small, the house was not a cell to St. Osyth's, but, as Gardner calls it, "a daughter house." There were only three canons and a prior in 1475, and five altogether at the time of the suppression. The isolated fragments of Norman work, that exist in the parish, prove the early building, and the late pointed arches to be seen in Grose's views show that, as usual, the work of the building went on for centuries. There are also certain evidences, in walls of common buildings near the east end of the churchyard, showing that the monastic walls extended up hill in this direction. The melancholy ruins standing in the field called the Abbey Piece are, to all outward view, mere blocks of wall-core, thickly clothed with the vicious, rampant, vampire ivy, the curse of antiquaries, but beloved of owls, picnic revellers, and sketching young ladies.

When the troubles culminated the Priory fell into the hands of King Henry VIII, who granted it and all its possessions to Sir Arthur Hopton, November 12th, 1538. Within half a century its records had vanished in the usual scandalous manner; indeed, few features are more remarkable or more lamentable in the history

of the Dissolution than the rapidity with which the documentary evidences of the suppressed houses were alienated from, or by, the new possessors, lost, burnt, stolen, hidden, or contemptuously and ignorantly allowed to perish. The number of MSS. which may be found utilized to form the binding of early printed books, shows how great the destruction was on this head alone. The united and priceless evidences of a large part of the common and local life of the nation were comprized in the records of the religious houses, and these were supinely suffered to pass away, and this at the moment when grammar schools were arising, and when the printing press was well advanced in its beneficent course. Equally remarkable, and surely not less to be lamented, is the destruction of the fabrics themselves. It was not alone:—"The swift illapse of accident disastrous" but the wicked and violent havoc of dull fools, or bigoted ignorance and sheer vulgar greed. Thus, for instance, have we seen, as some of the quite minor results, such things as alabaster angels finding a last refuge in a hogsty, and monumental effigies of high ecclesiastics doing duty as gate posts.

Three hundred and fifty years after the death struggle, we, of this generation, can pace the green turf covering of the sites of the houses of the ancient faith with the calmness with which we tread upon the grave of a long dead friend. We can hardly, nay, we cannot possibly realize the agony which thousands of cultivated and generous spirits passed through when the great tragedy came, with its deep salutary lessons. True, indeed, is it, as was said by the greatest critic of antiquity, that tragedy has a purifying power because it displays noble examples of suffering. At Blythborough affairs were certainly not happier than elsewhere, and the historical intelligence to be gleaned now from records is but meagre and imperfect. As to the fabric, the walls of the Priory were pilfered from and dragged all over the country side, and at the latter end of the last century a quantity of material was taken from the then existing remains to make the adjoining bridge, and form its approaches over the Blyth. Thus two centuries and a half after the last Prior had mouldered away, the fabric of the house fulfilled, in one sense, the

obligation determined by an Inquisition taken in 1237, that the Prior of Blythborough should mend Blythborough bridge.

We would not, if we could, trench in any sense any further in or upon the domain over which Mr. St. John Hope rules so well. We believe he has not seen Blythborough, so we would merely say that, even to our unpractised eye, there seem indications in the cornfield of foundations which he so well knows how to render eloquent with history. We trust, therefore, that some day he will re-write from the foundation stones some of the story which has perished with the records.

Our "time runs posting on," but from the Priory Church of St. Mary to the parish church of the Holy Trinity, is but a step. Let us take it.

We see at once that here we have a structure of no common kind, and one which the ordinary resources of the priory could not have provided. As we walk round the church, before going in, we become gradually more aware of the justness of the proportion of the building, the happy combinations of light and shadow, wall and window space—perhaps an extreme critic might think there is too much of the latter—the elegance of the open parapet of the south aisle and porch, and the striking array of traceried windows.

With regard to the material church outside, the walls are formed, as at Walberswick, and Dunwich, of shore pebbles combined with very hard mortar, with an outer surface or skin of irregular split flints of various sizes, with here and there the important addition of a long stone set in endways after the Roman manner, tying the shell to the core. The joints average a width of half-an-inch, and are stuck full, especially in the clerestory walls, of clean sharp flint chips, which have successfully baffled the tooth of time. The flat pilasters above and the buttresses below are set with squared flints, closely jointed. Thus internally the integrity of the wall is completely maintained by the firmness of the mortar, while externally the flint facing is, under its local conditions, practicably imperishable. The relieving arches of the windows are formed of alternate voussoirs of flints, and bricks $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. long and 2in. thick, and the tracery, &c., throughout is of fine limestone. We

have particularized the material of the fabric because it is important to recognize on every opportunity, and, considering the expensive notions of builders now-a-days, how constantly and how successfully the mediæval architects were satisfied to adapt themselves, and, to a certain extent, the character of their style, to the materials which lay ready to their hand in setting up the main fabric of their churches. In its first freshness Blythborough church must have presented a dry and harsh appearance. Since then nature has touched it with the softening tints and mysterious growth of that wonderful parasite lichen. The joints have taken a flat and thin covering of grey, pale yellow, and brown, the stone has acquired a grey covering, the flint almost refuses to be hidden, while, here and there, in places where the moisture would hang longest, are blots of bright Naples yellow, giving a rich and varied appearance to the whole.

Entering the church under one of the buttresses flying with a half-arch over the north door, its admirable proportions become more apparent, and it is impossible to believe that chance had any hand in the design. Here must have been a principle carefully worked out. We know, of course, that Gothic architects, like designers of all periods, worked upon principles, but it would be a bold thing to say that one rule may be applied to the whole course of Gothic. Each style seems to have had its requirements, and the character of the proportion so admirable in the Norman tower at Tewkesbury would certainly be most disastrous in the different style of the central tower at Salisbury. Again, who would venture to improve the former by adding a cubit, raze the parapets of Gloucester, or tamper with the proportions of the western towers of Westminster? Why is the stumpy Norman tower of Stewkeley satisfactory to the eye, and the modern tower and church of St. Paul's, Burton, bewildering and distressing in its proportions? What makes the interior of Westminster Abbey a perfect harmony or the exterior of the New Law Courts, a hopeless confusion of—shall we say—melodies? or discords? It cannot be always a mere question of eye, because men's eyes may be taken to be as capable now as they were in the Middle Ages; we are therefore driven to the conclusion

that in our modern buildings we have not yet sufficiently unravelled Gothic in its really most important quality, however much we may have copied it, or burlesqued it; and it would further appear that until the subject of proportion becomes more generally considered in the modern architectural curriculum, we shall continue to suffer many a pang when moving about the country. Indeed the question of proportion is one of the most difficult and obscure problems into which the human mind can enter. It is, however, now, a question which is incidental, rather than essential to the matter in hand.

As regards the ground plan of Blythborough, it consists of a continuous nave of eight bays, of which the two last to the east, together with a deep walled sacrarium, of the length of two more bays, form the chancel. This continuous church is flanked north and south by aisles running straight through to the sacrarium walls, the chancel and chancel-aisles being divided from the church by lofty screens running north and south, straight across, and one bay eastward enclosing the choir; a vaulted porch with a room over at the west end of the south aisle, and a tower of singular plainness at the west end of the nave completes the plan, which, whatever ancient site it may occupy, has been in no way hampered by any remains of an earlier building. Thus the whole thing being of one period it may be imagined that it is somewhat devoid of the long human interest of churches which have gradually grown from small beginnings; but we shall endeavour to show that, even in its fallen state, Blythborough church gives ample evidences that what it loses in this regard is fully compensated for in other ways, and that in its ancient Perpendicular integrity, thanks to the skill of the Canons, and the gifts or bequests of the Greyses, Hoptons, Swillingtons and others, it must once have been a kind of epitome of fifteenth century ecclesiastical art in most of its branches.

There are many bequests in ancient wills to the building of the church. A few will suffice to fix the date. John Greyse left twenty marks towards the rebuilding of the chancel in 1442; John Aleyn in 1462 gave forty shillings for glazing a window in the chancel; other bequests were made to it in 1453 and 1454, and

some as late as 1473. In 1442 John Greyse gave money for lead for the bell tower, and Henry Tool gave a great bell in 1470. No doubt the chancel, the *ecclesia* proper, was first built, then the nave, and lastly the tower, when money fell short, the whole work being carried out between 1440 and 1475. In 1452 John Hopton founded a Chantry in honour of St. Margaret the Virgin.

Now, there is nothing unusual in the plan, and a casual observer set suddenly down in the church would immediately perceive that he was in a late Perpendicular building; the continuous nave and chancel arcades alone, irrespective of any details, would at once tell him so much, and he would be a dull observer indeed if he did not also immediately recognize that he was in East Anglia and not in West Saxony, and far away from the land of the pestilent Flamboyant.¹ Carrying the eye upwards, it is arrested at the height of thirteen feet six inches by the long line of moulded capitals supporting the arcades, with slightly varied details in the chancel; past the brilliant clerestory of thirty-six two-light traceried windows, it rests upon the roof running in an unbroken length from tower to east wall, and still rich with angels and painting, and teeming with the heraldry of many an ancient house. The east window is modern, and those north and south in the sacrarium are both built up; from the remaining tracery it is evident that they follow the rest. That on the north side shows a plain tracery head of two lights, the south window being, as is often the case, for certain ritual requirements, a much larger window with the remains of tracery showing that it was a fine production, with two stories of tracery, similar to those now remaining in the north and south chancel aisles. The tracery in these windows is a little earlier in character than the others in the nave aisles, which latter are filled with Perpendicular tracery of the usual kind with con-

¹ It may be convenient to recall the general differences between the Perpendicular of these two districts—the land of stone and the land of flint. For West Saxony Martock church is the type, and for East Anglia the church of Brightlingsea is an excellent example.

Windows.—West Saxony: One large

window in each bay; East Anglia: two small windows in the same position.

Capitals.—West Saxony: Square abaci; East Anglia: Hexagonal or octagonal abaci. For more detailed comparison, see Mr. Freeman's "Remarks on Brightlingsea Church," *Journal*, V, xxxiii, p. 425, and on "Martock Church," *Journal*, xxxvi, p. 408.

structing transoms. The whole of these aisle windows occupy the greater part of the space between the buttresses, and, though perhaps a trifle coarse, they are admirable frameworks for the painted glass, which they formerly contained.

It will be remembered that Professor Willis showed long ago, in one of his lucid lectures on the spot, namely at Gloucester cathedral, that there is the cradle of Perpendicular. Many of his audience were then sceptical, but he carried those most capable of appreciating his genius with him, as he took them unerringly step by step to his point.

Once only in a generation arises a Professor and Master such as he was. Perhaps some day another equally gifted will again start from Gloucester; will track this great and essentially English style in all its rapid movements; will map out its ramifications and local peculiarities; and show how its wonderful carpentry and vaulting grew. Then may we hope to have a clear insight into the course of Perpendicular, follow its progress alike through West Saxony and East Anglia, see its tenacity and late lingering at the Universities (particularly in the Bodleian and Clare College), and finally its death in an Elizabethan house, choked by an alien Renaissance.

It is hardly fair to say that the advancing requirements of painted glass, originated Perpendicular architecture, but, certainly painted glass influenced and, perhaps, sometimes determined the tracery. Much of the latter is a harsh and unmeaning skeleton, divested of its proper fitting, but what more beautiful artistic thing than the genuine tracery with its genuine glass!

There must have been a glorious array of glass at Blythborough in its prime, if we are to judge from the quality of what remains, and the accounts that have come down to us. That uncompromising iconoclast, William Dowsing, broke down two hundred and twenty superstitious pictures, but the heads of several of the aisle windows still remain.

As to the rest of the glazing, the clerestories have been newly filled with clear glass, and the aisle windows, with the above-mentioned exceptions, completed, filled with thick glass of a ghastly yellow hue—the very worst of all substi-

tutes for painted glass, and to which the astounding name of "Cathedral Glass" is given. What cathedral is answerable for this sickly abomination, or why "cathedral" at all, we need not stay to enquire. But if we cannot have the real thing, we are tempted to ask on what principle the sight of waving trees, harmless happy birds flitting by, or the blue distance of hanging woods beyond the marsh, are shut out from us here, as not conducive to a proper frame of mind, while at our elbows in the old nave benches are such things as the grotesque figure of a stout friar, a man "whose feet they hurt in the stocks," or the laughable presentment of a sluggard in bed? By all means let us preserve these things, as well as the clumsy wooden saints in the stall frontlets, but let them be tempered, where possible, by the sunshine of nature.

As regards the roof, it runs, as we have said, in an unbroken length from the tower to the east wall, and consists of nine complete bays with an extra half bay at the east end. Each bay is comprised within principal rafters, resting with a low pitch upon short curved struts, and divided by ten plain rafters, laid flatwise; there is a moulded ridge-beam and longitudinal purlins.

Now, this is a construction of the commonest and plainest Perpendicular kind, and the carpenter having done his work, the painter was called in to decorate and emphasize it. The artist accordingly arranged the following scheme. He painted the whole of the timbers pure white. He then painted the boarding between the rafters in alternate sets of three, namely in red, grey, and white. The principal timbers were now decorated with red, purple, and green zigzags, and waves, alternating with the white ground. The rafters were ornamented, alternately, in the upper and lower compartments of the bays with bright red *ihc*'s, having red floriations with green leaves, and with green heart-shaped flowers with red floriations, each flower containing the red letter *h*. At the junction of the ridge with the beams is an elaborate circular boss flanked east and west by angels with brilliant outspread wings, holding shields of arms, and wearing golden coronets.

The red ground of the boarded space between the rafters is alternately spangled, in the three bays, with

large grey and white stars—namely, grey upon red, white upon grey, and grey upon white. Other shields of arms are fixed at the junction of the purlins with the principal timbers, and so the general scheme is completed. It is quite impossible in words to give a comprehensive idea of this intricate and subtle decoration.¹

From the careful examination which Mr. Fox had made of the roof, it appears that the main decorations are stencilled, but not with rigid accuracy, and that the floriations are painted with a free hand.

Standing in the north-east corner of the north aisle, and looking south-west, through the arcades, when the sun is streaming in, and casting the long slanting shadows of the lead lattices down the sloping sills of the clerestory, is a scene of great brightness. Glimpses are caught of the now subdued painting of the once brilliant roof, and the eye lights upon the figures of the angels with their gorgeous wings. They are shown in white or ermine tippets, and are covered with a series of large rainbow-tinted feathering, to the knees where the bodies stop with much propriety against the great grey and crimson cloud-like bosses. The faces are very good, and the treatment of the yellow hair, in broad curling clusters, confined round the temples by plain golden coronets, each with a cross over the brow, is most successful. The whole indicates that if we had not in East Anglia in the fifteenth century, men who could paint such heavenly roofs and angels as Gaudenzio, at least we may be sure that, if the violent end of religious art had not come when, and as it did in England, we were then well on the road to the formation of an English School that might have attracted Italian artists to this country as we now go to Italy.

But it was not to be, and “murder was committed with the sword of justice.”

With regard to the woodwork, the stalls of the Chantry, founded by John Hopton, in 1452, have been much tampered with, and what remains of them has been removed into the chancel. They exhibit in the frontlets a series of clumsy wooden figures of the Apostles, distin-

¹ Through the kindness of Mr. G. E. Fox, Mr. Hartshorne was enabled to lay before the meeting some of his beautiful

drawings of Blythborough roof, which, from their minute accuracy, showed all that could possibly be desired.

guished by their emblems. There are also two quartered coats of Hopton.

The rood screen has been, of course, deprived of its loft, and sawn off four feet six inches from the floor. The parcloles have been whitewashed, and "the very base-string of humility has been sounded."

In the nave are many of the original benches, with short ends, after the manner of the Eastern counties. The heads are carved with subjects, not altogether conducive to reverence, and perhaps the four seasons are also intended. The lectern is a well-known example. There is also a panelled reliquary, now an alms box.

There are eighteen indents of brasses. Among them two of priests, eight of ladies, and eight of civilians; all these are on the floor of the church. There is a military indent on the tomb of John Hopton, and one on that of the last of the Swillingtons. There is also a tomb of a priest in white stones in the form of a cross, and incised with a mullet-footed chalice. The floors are now paved with such a curious assortment of ugliness that it is not easy to eliminate any part of the ancient floor. But it does appear that the first floor was composed of glazed black, yellow, and dark-green tiles.

Among a chaos of coal, coke, broken wood, decayed old hymn books, and hassocks in the tower, is preserved a most rare relic, a wooden *Jack o' the Clock*. This dates from about 1470, and may be compared with another, with which the common enemy has dealt more gently at Southwold.

In the tower is also housed another curious object. This is a great hook, fixed on a pole, with a ring at the other end. This was for use in the case of fire. The old houses in this part of the world were made of wood and plaster, and the practice was to arrest the progress of the flames by making gaps. The burning houses were accordingly attacked with this implement, and, horses being harnessed to the other end, clear spaces were speedily opened. A destructive fire happened at Blythborough in 1678, and perhaps this hook was made at that time on the usual principle of locking the door when the horse was gone.

Such was the wise procedure at Manchester in 1615,

when, after a grievous fire had befallen the town the inhabitants were taxed by local officials, called "myse-layers," for the purchase of "six ladders, xxiiiij buckets, four ropes, and four hookes for the common good of the inhabitants."¹ Objects like these should be specially noticed because they are usually the first to vanish under the improving hand of the restorer.

Perhaps an apology is necessary for occupying so much time on this occasion, but the fact is that in speaking of a place like this, where so many subjects require treatment, the difficulty is to decide what to deal with and what to leave out. The heraldry alone, a subject which, like ancient coins, is almost concentrated history, we have been, for the present, at least, forced to abandon entirely.

But no one with any reverence for antiquity can quit such a place as Blythborough without pondering upon the strange vicissitude of things, as shown in the fallen state of this once important centre. And we revolve these thoughts in our mind as we wend our way back to Southwold along the course of the Blyth; the feelings may be chastened but the eye is refreshed by glimpses of the shining river still stealing on as of yore, quiet and unchanged, "its surface burnished into gold by the hot afternoon sun, and rippled only by the kiss of the stooping swallow, or the light track of the passing waterfly."

¹ See notice of the Court Leet Records of the Manor of Manchester from the year 1552 to the year 1686," by J. P. Earwaker.

ON THE AGE OF THE CITY WALLS OF CHESTER¹.

By GEORGE W. SHRUBSOLE, F.G.S.

Pennant, who was intimately acquainted with Chester, says of it, that the form of the city evinces its Roman origin, but that no part of the old walls exists. The latter part of this passage, written over a century ago, has of late years evoked considerable difference of opinion.

Fifty years ago a zeal was shewn in Chester for the preservation of its local antiquities, of which we cannot speak too highly. Then, for the first time in our local history, we find the claim advanced that a large part of the north wall, on the east side of the Northgate, is *Roman work in situ*. Since then it has figured as such in standard works, and is so marked on the Ordnance map. This opinion received a certain amount of sanction in the Report of the Proceedings of the British Archæological Association for the year 1850. That report gives, in a Paper by Mr. Roach Smith, a "hitherto unpublished" sketch of a portion of "the Roman wall of Chester," and further goes on to explain, that the silence of topographical writers shews, "that if Roman work had been suspected in the Chester City Walls, it had never before been verified²." An opinion much to the same effect was expressed at the Congress of the Archæological Institute at Chester in 1857.

The point in question is an interesting one, and one that the last quarter of a century has given greater facilities for rightly judging than any previous period. During that interval large sections of the wall have been laid open for necessary repair. Besides this, many excavations

¹ Read in the Architectural Section, at the Chester Meeting, August 13th, 1886.

² Journal British Archæological Association, vol. 5, pp. 212—214.

have been purposely made at the base of the wall, at the more interesting points, to ascertain its peculiarities and character. The following notes are based upon observations of the structure of the wall extending over a quarter of a century.

In dealing with the age of the walls, it is my intention to limit my remarks to the one period involved in the question raised by Pennant. Does any part of the Roman wall still exist in the present walls of Chester? It were profitless, as it is well nigh impossible, to judge by mere appearance of the age of a structure on the whole, so destitute of distinctive architectural features, which has had to be repaired or remodelled every century or two. Among much that is uncertain, one period we know stands prominently forward for distinctive recognition in the use of stone, tiles, and mortar in its constructive works, which enables us to distinguish it from all others. I allude to the period of the Roman occupation of Britain.

The position that I take up on this question is opposed to the modern view, believing that, however pardonable may be the claim for the Roman age of any part of the city walls, it is one not borne out by anything to be seen there at the present time.

It is an element not without value in this case, that the older writers on the subject, as Camden, Pennant, Ormerod, Lysons, and Hanshall make no such claim for the walls. We may extend our remarks to still older authorities, with the like result. It cannot be said that their facilities for judging the age of the walls were less than our own. The opinions held by these writers may be summarized in the words of Ormerod:—"The walls of Chester follow the outline of the Roman work, and probably stand on the Roman foundation."

Again, on the general subject, it may be said that historical evidence is against the probability of any portion of the Roman wall being extant. What are the facts bearing on the case? They are to the effect that after the departure of the Romans, Britons, Danes, and Saxons each, in turn, assailed the walls, and helped in their demolition, leaving them for Ethelfleda to rebuild, and, it is said, enlarge. Again, we find in Norman times an imperative order was issued for the rebuilding of the

walls, to be followed by a fine for non-appearance on the part of holders of land. For their history during the next 500 years the Patent Rolls give us an insight into the state of dilapidation, into which they had fallen from natural decay and intestinal strife. Subsequently, in the Civil War, the walls suffered severely; serious breaches having been made on three faces of the wall. In this condition they remained for long enough, until, as the inscription on "Pemberton's Parlour" tells us, "in the eighth year of the reign of Queen Anne, divers wide breaches in these walls were rebuilt, and other decays therein were repaired, 2,000 yards of the pavement were new flagged or paved, and the whole repaired, regulated, and adorned, at the expense of £1,000 and upwards." From this time a trifling toll on Irish linens, imported into Chester, provided a fund sufficiently ample for a time, to keep the walls in good repair.

Under any circumstances, it is impossible to believe that a perishable stone, of the nature of our sandstone, should have held together as a structure for sixteen hundred years. It is not even credible, that two hundred or three hundred yards of it should have remained intact.

It is far more probable and consonant with observation, that there may have been, not one, but four walls, in the space of time over which its existence has been spread

These thoughts by the way. We now proceed to examine those parts of the wall, for which a Roman origin is set up. First of all we take the large stones on the outside of the wall, near Black Friars, midway along the Roodeye.

Here we find a group of massive stones at the base of a sloping bank of clay, some forty feet in height. Recent excavations alongside have shewn that they form no part of a wall properly so called; they are certainly not Roman, since they exist only as a single row of stones, evidently placed there to assist in holding up the clay bank, on the top of which is the modern wall. Railway embankments are secured in like manner. One fact alone disposes of its claim for a Roman origin. The base of the stones rests upon a quicksand, which is the bed of the old river. To have neglected the solid ground above, and to have built the wall of the castrum on quicksands, in a

hole fifty feet below the level, is a mode of proceeding I cannot imagine any military engineer capable of, least of all a Roman engineer. The purpose of the stones being placed there is clear enough. They are the "footings" of a wall, and nothing more.

We next examine the reputed Roman work at the Kaleyards. There we have a broken course of large stones, on the outside of the present wall. To ascertain the purpose of these stones, an excavation was carried down to the base of the principal group. It was then found to be a single course of stone, six or seven feet in depth, having an Edwardian plinth, and strongly inclined outwards. It had evidently at one time been part of a wall, of which these stones formed the outer course. Its history would appear to be somewhat as follows:—Some few centuries ago, the city wall stood on the spot now occupied by these stones; the foundation of clay proved treacherous, aided by the loose ground of the fosse in front, and the outward thrust of the ground of the churchyard. Together these causes proved too much for the stability of the wall; it was pushed outwards to such an extent as to be useless—it was dismantled—but the base of it was wisely left in the place where it was found, and the new wall built inside of the old one, on its present site.

We come now to examine the Roman work *par excellence* of some local authorities. It will be seen on the east side of the Northgate, between it and King Charles' Tower.

Looking over the wall at this point we see a bold precipitous front of sixty feet—twenty feet of wall, and forty feet of rock, cut to form the canal. Owing to the precipitous character of this scarped rock face, on which the wall rests, no examination of it has been possible, since the canal was made in 1778. Two years since, a scaffolding was reared in front of it, for necessary repairs. After some rubbish had been cleared away at the base, there was exposed the base of a plinth, which is Edwardian if it is anything. This opportunity was taken advantage of to thoroughly examine into the construction of the wall. Owing to certain clearances, we now see the wall under exceptionally favourable aspects. Some features are now

exposed for the first time. We select that part of the wall adjoining the Northgate for our examination, as being the more characteristic. Looked at as a whole from the base to the top, it must be confessed that, for genuine Roman work, it presents several anomalies, if not unique features. We are supposed to be looking at a wall which, from its plinth to the cornice, is believed to have been part of the wall of the castrum which encircled Deva on this side. To begin, the base has a very English-like look about it. Then the irregular size of the stones, large and small intermixed, has not the characteristic appearance of Roman work. The whole is crowned by a cornice, an unparalleled example, so far as the walls of Roman castra in England are concerned, and more nearly allied to the debased classic cornices to be seen in the front of some of the gabled houses in Bridge Street, of Jacobean age, than anything Roman¹. We miss here, too, from the wall the well-known bonding tiles, and the characteristic mortar.

In reference to bonding tiles, I have to say that either whole or fragmentary they are of common occurrence in Chester. In some instances they are so abundant as to give rise to the idea, that there has been a manufactory on the spot. A few years ago, near the Watergate, a wall was found built up entirely of these bricks, or tiles. Also, I may observe that a stratum of six or eight feet of brick earth is found everywhere about here to overlie the sandstone rock.

As to the practice of the Romans to use tiles in the construction of the walls of their castra hereabouts, I need only refer to the tiles with the legionary stamp found at *Mancunium* (Manchester), and the instance of Caergwrle, a fortified outpost eight miles from Chester, where we find thin slabs of slate used as a substitute. We find tiles freely used in the "Old wall" of Uriconium, and indeed at every station around Chester.

Here I may remark that where, as in the case of the "Great Wall," constructed without the usual courses of bonding tiles, by way of compensation, the stones were placed with their longer axis to the interior, so that as Dr. Bruce remarks, "Owing to the extent to which the stones

¹ Mr. Roach Smith does instance the occurrence of a cornice in connection with Roman work, but then the site of it is in Egypt.

are set into the wall, the necessity of bonding tiles—so characteristic of Roman masonry in the South of England—is altogether superseded¹.” Walls constructed after this fashion are unknown in Chester. Whereas walls with bonding tiles have been found, leading to the conclusion that the construction of the walls of the Devan castrum was no exception to the ordinary course of building.

As to the absence of mortar in the wall, this is scarcely in harmony with admitted Roman work in the City. To judge by what we find elsewhere, the Romans were prodigal in the use of mortar. The fact of not finding it either between the stones or in the core of the wall, is almost of itself conclusive. Fragments of red sandstone cemented together by lime, and forming a concrete mass, are not uncommon in the filling in of the wall, and, in some cases, form part of the outside. In each case they are old materials used up again.

It may be thought that these points are not altogether conclusive, as to the age of the wall. Accordingly we will extend our investigation to the nature of the wall on the inner face. To examine this, in 1884, a number of openings were made in the Deans' Field, in the rear of the north wall, and the excavation carried down to the rock. The result may be stated as follows :—The outer face of the wall at this point is 19 feet in depth, while on the inside it is only carried down to 11 feet. The outer course of stones, for a depth of eight feet, proved to be only a single row, backed up by earth containing modern *débris*, and notably tobacco pipes and glazed pottery. The foundation of the wall on the inside was merely loose fragments of stone, resting on the ground, at the depth of two feet. A wall thus constructed, with a singular absence of everything Roman about it, it were idle to speak of as belonging to that age, while all its affinities bespeak its connection with the work of the last two or three centuries. This wall we have been examining, I may recall, is that figured by Mr. Roach Smith, as an example of Roman work in the north wall of Chester.²

Other structures in the City such as “Julius Cæsar's”

¹ Bruce's Handbook to the Roman Wall, p. 33.

² Journal British Archaeological Association, Vol. 5, p. 212.

so-called Tower at the Castle, and the Old Shipgate, near the river, have been spoken of as Roman, after very superficial examination, I think. Seeing that neither of these structures alluded to is 500 years old, they are really not in the discussion, and may be dismissed from our notice. Most certainly neither of them was included within the Devan camp, at any period of its existence.

A word here may be said as to the construction of the older portions of the wall.

During the last twenty-five years I have at various times seen hundreds of yards of the present wall laid open for necessary repair; but in no instance have I seen the faintest approach to Roman work *in situ*. The walls average six feet in width, built up of an outer and inner course of stone, the interior filled in with loose stones and rubbish, on the whole very similar to the rubble walls of the cathedral, but of inferior workmanship. The foundation, in every instance, has been loose stones, both large and small, laid very irregularly, and without mortar. All this is very different from the Roman concrete foundations that we are familiar with in Chester. It seems highly improbable, that the wall of the Roman castrum would be less securely constructed at its foundation, than any other Roman work in the city.

A most important factor in this enquiry is the number of years that a massive wall, built of our local sandstone, will endure when exposed to the weather.

In this stone, which exists everywhere in and about the city, under cover of a few feet of soil, the sand grains are very loosely compacted together, and when exposed to the weather it soon disintegrates. Its weakness as a building stone is well seen when examined under the microscope. In the Memoir of the Geological Survey it is stated, "that the inferiority of the stone for building purposes is shewn by the condition of Chester Cathedral before restoration, and St. John's Church Tower before its fall¹." Its inferiority as a building stone we may take as admitted. Its period of endurance we may state to be for small blocks from one to two centuries, and for large blocks from three to four. Five centuries we may take to be the extreme limit of its power, when exposed to the action of the

¹ Memoirs of the Geological Survey, Explanation of Sheet 80, S.W.

weather. We have no building in Chester 500 years old, that has not been repaired. In practice I find that the Civic authorities have recased the more exposed points along the wall, such as the Towers, every 100 or 150 years. King Charles' Tower was recased a few years ago, after the lapse of 100 years; or, to take the case of another Tower, the so-called Pemberton's Parlour, the inscription on its front tells us that it was rebuilt in 1710, a later one tells us that it was recased as now seen in 1882—an interval of 170 years. Or, take again, the case of the Cathedral. Its condition prior to its restoration by Dean Howson is well remembered. Its massive outside walls were decayed to such an extent, as to expose the rubble interior. Pinnacles, and all ornamental work, were gone; the whole looking like the face of a sea-worn rock.

This description applies, be it remembered, not to the Norman Cathedral but to one of much later date; its oldest portion being of the time of Henry VI. In the interval since the erection of Anselm's building, there had been three rebuildings, or recasings of the old structure, and the noble work of Dean Howson was really the fourth building of its kind. This gives us virtually three buildings in 800 years, or an average of 270 for the duration of the structure before needing restoration. It was this reasoning which brought home to the mind of Dean Howson (after giving, in his work on the river Dee, currency to the idea of the Roman origin of the walls)¹ the conviction that the oldest part of the Northgate wall was nearer allied to Jacobean times than any other².

Presuming that the Romans used a local stone wherewith to construct the walls of Deva, the inferiority of the stone being admitted, the assumption of any Roman work on the exterior of the walls having survived to the present day becomes inadmissible. The force of this reasoning is fully admitted, but the facts are sought to be discounted, by stating that the stone employed by the Romans was one superior in quality to the local stone, and brought from a distance somewhere among the Cheshire hills. For this statement there is no authority or foundation in fact. All the evidence to hand goes to shew, that the

¹ The River Dec; its aspect and history, p. 72.

² *Cheshire Observer*, March 1st, 1884.

Romans, in their several works, made free use of our local stone, as may be seen in Handbridge, where several hundred yards of rock surface have been excavated. On one of the rock faces a carving of Minerva still survives, to attest who were the quarriers.¹ To make this point more intelligible, I should state that Chester is geologically situated upon the middle member of the Bunter sandstone series, the pebble beds as they are called, from the presence of quartz or liver-coloured pebbles in the mass. When the examination of the Northgate wall was made by the aid of the scaffolding of which I spoke, the face of the stonework was found studded with these pebbles, which are characteristic of our local beds. Some of these pebbles were removed, and brought away for examination. One of them so brought away by Mr. Shone, F.G.S., was found to contain a fossil shell, known to be associated with these beds. These circumstances conclusively prove that the stone at present seen in the Northgate wall, is not an imported variety from a different geological horizon, but is identical in all respects with the exposure of stone on which the Northgate wall rests. Microscopic examination of the stone shews again that the stone in the Northgate wall is identical with our local stone.

That it was the custom of the Romans to use our local stone is to be seen in the presence of the pebbles (before alluded to) in the various Roman altars and inscribed stones in our Museum. If the Romans considered that the local stone was good enough for the construction of important objects, such as altars, &c., we may safely conclude that they would require no better quality of stone for the wall of the camp.

The geological evidence then, apart from any other, is decisive upon the point, that the present Northgate wall is

¹ It might, perhaps, seem at first sight, that this enduring persistence of the image of Minerva, on an exposed rock surface, for seventeen hundred years, is inconsistent with the tenor of my argument, drawn from the friable nature of the local stone. The two, however, are reconcileable. On several parts of the wall, there are stones bearing the date of repair in incised figures. The projection of hard quartz pebbles, from the surface of the stone,

shews the amount of weathering to be greater than the original depth of the incised figures. But they are still there, and are as legible now as when first cut, shewing that they have been cut back by weathering, at the same time and in the same way as the rest of the surface.

Similarly the chisellings of the Minerva statue might be cut back, and so long preserved in general outline, though the sharp details would be rounded off.

built of stone identical with our local stone. No distinction can possibly be drawn between them. There is, therefore, no warrant for the supposition that the stone has been brought from a distance.

The local character of the stone being thus established beyond question, the wall cannot claim a longer life than is usual with stone of its kind.

Another consideration yet remains to be advanced. It goes to the root of the whole question, as it tends to shew, that the present line of walls, very doubtfully represents the Roman castrum. The extent of the Roman circumvallation has been in the past very much exaggerated. The present southern wall has not the remotest claim to be considered Roman. The latest research would go to show that the western wall certainly, and probably the northern wall, is all outside the line of the original Roman wall; thus leaving only the east wall in part to represent the Roman wall. Respecting this part, the one which has the largest claim to be considered Roman, little has been heard of.

I might supplement these remarks by additional evidence, but I think enough has been said to shew, that there is virtually no foundation for the notion which has prevailed of late years, of the extreme age of the walls.

The way in which the error has arisen is readily explained. The weathering of the stone is likely to deceive those unacquainted with its peculiarities. If the opinion of its age rests alone on a passing or superficial examination, such is the extent of the "weathering" and the seeming antiquity which one or two centuries will confer upon it, that it seems only natural to infer its high antiquity. The fallacy of this reasoning it has been my purpose to indicate.

In bringing these remarks to a close I revert again to Pennant's statement, quoted at the commencement, that no part of the Roman wall is now visible. For my part, after looking at this question of the age of the walls, and I hope fairly, in its several aspects as to their composition, the historical and scientific evidence regarding them, and the probabilities of the case, coupled with what we know is taking place in walls of known age and of similar

composition, I arrive at the same conclusion as Pennant, that no part of the Roman wall is now visible above ground.

If I am required to state the age of the older portions of the existing wall, I know of nothing dating further back than the reigns of James I and Charles I.

ON THE REMAINS OF AN ANKERHOLD AT BENGEO CHURCH, HERTFORD¹.

By J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, F.S.A.

Some years ago a new parish church was built at Bengoe, near Hertford, and the old one was abandoned, dismantled, and left to decay. It must soon have fallen into ruin altogether, but that in 1883 Mr. Gerard Gosselin, of Bengoe Hall, and a few of his friends prevented it by doing the most necessary repairs. Since then more has been done well, though slowly, and there is fair hope that the church may once again be made fit for the sacred uses for which it served more than seven hundred years.

The church is interesting and our thanks are due to them who are trying to save it. It is of the simplest type, with nave and chancel only, the former about 44 feet by 21 feet inside and the latter 24 feet by 19 feet including the apse. They are separated by a wall about 3 ft. 6 in. thick, in which is a chancel arch only 8 feet wide. The date is early in the twelfth century, and the plan is such as was most common in small parish churches at that time. It is rather larger than most examples of the type which have come down to us unaltered, but is just such as very many country churches must have grown from. Here the church still keeps its first simple form, and it has the round east end which does not often remain². It

¹ Read at the monthly meeting of the Institute, December 2nd, 1886.

² Enough examples remain to shew that the characteristic square end, which the English Church inherited from her British parent, did not go out of use in the twelfth century. But I think that the Norman fashion for apses was more widely followed than the fewness of existing specimens might be thought to indicate. In small parish churches, which retain the side walls of their chancels, the western halves of those walls are often of the twelfth century, and the eastern of

the thirteenth or later. And I believe that this nearly always means that an apse had been taken away and a square end put in its place. The English builders soon found out that unless it be vaulted an apse is a very bad ending to a church; so, as they did not often use vaulting in parish churches, they left off using apses, and altered those already built when they had the chance. An old English parish church with an apse later than the twelfth century is very uncommon.

S. LEONARD'S
CHURCH
BENCEO



■ NORMAN
▨ GEORGIAN

$\frac{1}{4}'' = 1'$

40

has been altered in detail, and the alterations are themselves of interest as shewing how the later users of the church tried to counteract the narrowness of the chancel arch, which they had come to look on as a fault. But I will not discuss that matter now. My task to-day is to describe one very curious feature in the building, and, if possible, to explain it.

Soon after the present work was begun a strange hole was discovered in the chancel wall, just at the turn of the apse on the north side. It is about 4 feet high and 20 inches wide. There is no stonework. A roughly rectangular hole has been broken through the flint wall, and the sides of it plastered to something like a smooth face. There is no provision for or mark of a door. And it was difficult to assign any reason for the making of the hole. Yet it was certain that some reason for it had been. Rough as it, is there is enough care bestowed on its making to shew that it was not one of these openings sometimes left in the walls of buildings for the convenience of bringing things in during their construction, and blocked up when done with. Besides it is too small for such a use. It was suggested that it may have been made to bring in a coffin at some funeral. But it is too small for that also; and it needs to be shewn why men should have broken through the wall to bring in a coffin when it was much easier to bring it in by a door. Then it was guessed that it might belong to some extinct stove for warming the church; but neither the position, nor anything in the form of the hole seemed likely for that use. It is too small to have been the entrance to a vestry though the position is a proper one; and certainly there must have been a door had that been its purpose. Yet if the hole had ever more than a temporary use it must have led to some chamber outside, for the church could not have been used if it were open to the weather.

Some further light was thrown on the place a few months ago when a coating of modern cement was stripped off the outside of the wall. Then was found a second hole about the same size as the first, but cut only part way through the wall. It is plastered inside with clay, and was filled up with flints and clay. Rather above

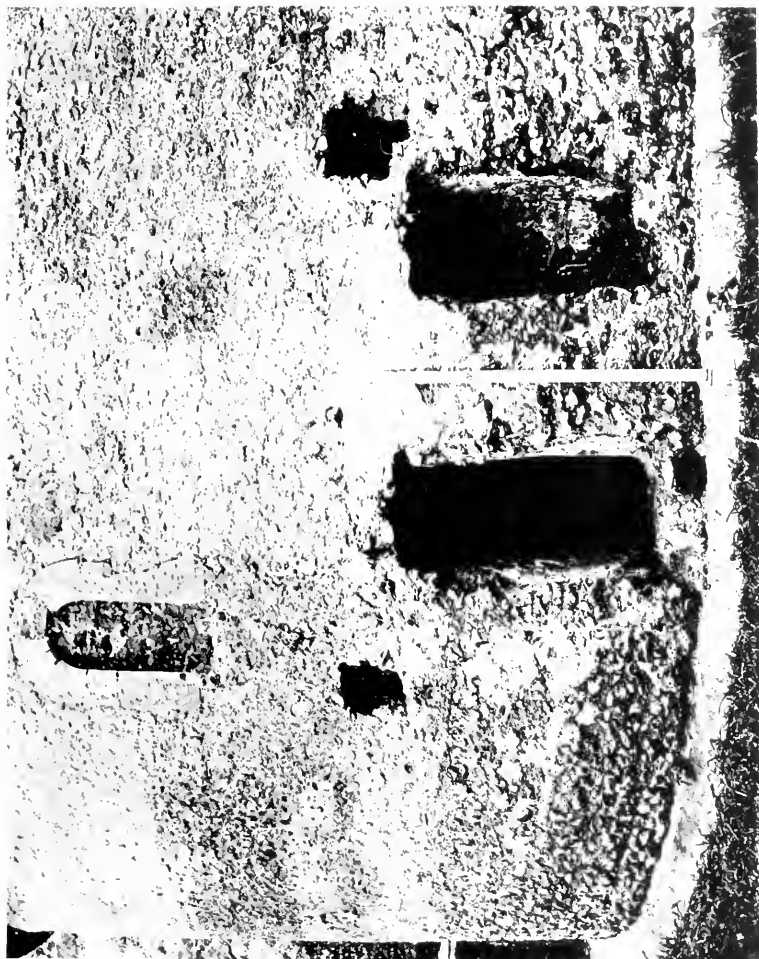
these holes, and east and west of them respectively, are two smaller ones, such as may have received the ends of timbers. These also were found stopped with clay. The annexed illustration explains the work better than any description.

It seems that a little wooden hut has been built at some time against the wall of the church. The smaller holes give its length from east to west—about eight feet inside—and perhaps also its greatest height, about six feet. But this last and the width from north to south are uncertain, for there is nothing to shew what was the shape of the roof, and if there were ever any foundations they are not to be found now. The walls were probably of stud and clay dawbing, and the roof thatch.

The place can hardly have been other than an anker's den. And it must surely have been one of the least commodious. It is remarkable that so few such have been identified, for the number of ankers in England must at one time have been considerable. There is a good deal about them in the second volume of the new edition of Mr. Bloxam's *Gothic Architecture*, and Mr. Bloxam would assign to ankers most of the habitable chambers attached to churches, over vestries and porches and elsewhere. Very likely some such were used by ankers of the easier sort; but I think more were occupied by secular clerks and chaplains, and the anker's place was a hut built outside against the wall *under the eaves of the church*¹ as is said in the thirteenth century *Ancren Riwle* which tells us more about ankers than any other book I know of.

A cell was so placed that the anker need not leave it, either for worship or for any other reason. There was a window or opening through which he might join in the worship at the altar, and at times receive the Sacrament. And there was another window or hatch to the outside through which necessaries might be received and conversation held with visitors or servants. A window or squint is often found from a chamber over a vestry towards the high altar, and there is sometimes one from a porch chamber; but being on upper floors they could not well have the other window, so I take most of them not to have been ankerholds. Though as the degree of

¹ *Ancren Riwle*, published by the Camden Society, pp. 142-3.



REMAINS OF ANKERHOLD, BENGLO CHURCH

strictness varied much and seems for the most part to have been fixed only by the anker himself, it is possible that some may have been so used. The anker of the strictest sort was *inclusus*—permanently shut up in his cell which he entered with the licence and blessing of the bishop. Such a one could scarcely have inhabited an upper chamber.

Whether our Bengoe Anker was *inclusus* or not is uncertain. The entrance to his cell had no door, but it may have been blocked, and a squint or loop towards the altar formed in the blocking. If it were open a curtain must have been hung across it, perhaps a black cloth with a white cross like that ordered in the *Rivle*¹ to be put to the “parlour” window.

The recess in the church wall west of the doorway is the anker’s seat and perhaps his sleeping place. And his bones may lie below; for it seems to have been a custom for ankers to prepare their own graves within their cells².

We find nothing to tell us his date. It may have been any time from the twelfth century to the sixteenth. But the rudeness of the work is I think a sign of early date. If it had been of the fourteenth or fifteenth century I should have expected the opening through the wall at least to have been formed with regular masonry.

¹ *Rivle*, p. 50.

² *Rivle*, p. 116.

THE FINDING OF DAPHNÆ.

By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

Though the name of Daphnæ—the Pelusiæc Daphnæ, as Herodotos calls it, to distinguish it from the Syrian Daphnæ—had long been connected with Tahpanhes of Jeremiah, and that again with Tell Defenneh, yet this connection was dependent on similarity of names alone, and had no monumental confirmation. No examination of Tell Defenneh had been made until this spring, beyond a passing view by travellers. I went, therefore, at the end of last March to a perfectly new ground for excavation; and if the result do not include all the points that deserve examination, it must be remembered that I only spent two months there altogether.

The principal conclusions arrived at are that Tahpanhes, the refuge of the Jewish fugitives, Daphnæ, the frontier fort of Egypt, the stratopeda, or camp of the Karian and Ionian mercenaries—which were the earliest settlements of the Greeks in Egypt—and Tell Defenneh are all identical. The site is about twelve miles west of Kantara, on the Suez canal, in the middle of the Desert between the canal and the delta.

I have before remarked on the importance, archæologically, of working in places whose history does not extend over a long period; a second-rate site, which had an abrupt beginning or end that is exactly known, is preferable to a place which has a less defined history, while another requisite for excavating is that there should not be a great mass of late and worthless accumulation above what is sought for. From the scientific-archæological point of view then, Tell Defenneh is a site of the highest class. Its history, so far as remains go, begins in a single

¹ Read at the monthly meeting of the Institute, November 4th, 1886.

year, about 665 B.C., when Psameticchos I. settled here the army of Greek mercenaries by whom he had fought his way to the throne; building a large fort in the midst of a walled camp. Around this rapidly sprung up a Greek town of traders, which covered the plain for a mile across. Then the end of the Greek period falls as rapidly as its rise, when Amasis removed all the Greek troops from here in about 565 B.C., and absolutely crushed the Greek trade, granting exclusive privileges to the city of Naukratis. Thus the whole Greek period is entirely comprised here in just one century, and that a time before the age of which we are accustomed to obtain any trace in Greek sites. Daphnæ was desolated two generations before the Persian wars in Greece, and before Cræsus, or Cyrus, ruled; it flourished in the days of Draco and the Alcæonidæ, and Solon saw its fall.

Besides the shortness and definiteness of its history, the site has another great recommendation, it is over nearly the whole of its surface entirely free from later remains. As one walks across the plain each potsherd beneath the feet is of the sixth century B.C.; and it is only in one small corner of the site that anything of subsequent times can be found. It is therefore a pattern site for research.

To touch, first of all, on the Jewish connection of Tahpanhes. We now see that this was the frontier fort on the high road between Syria and Egypt; the very first place in which a refugee from an Assyrian invader of Palestine would feel himself in safety; what took place when Jeremiah went down into Egypt with the Jewish refugees, had doubtless been going on during the excessive Babylonian invasions, the fugitives from which would reach Tahpanhes as the first place of refuge on the road, and find there a secure fortress, a high-road of commerce, and a non-Egyptian population, who would not repulse foreigners as the native Egyptians would. Such a place would inevitably be a resort of those who fled from Palestine before the great exodus there, of which Jeremiah gives the account. The connection which is shewn us by the name of the ruins of the palace at present is striking; the Arabs know it as "El Kasr el Bint el Yehudi," or "The palace of the Jew's daughter," and it is to this building that we can most certainly trace

the "king's daughters" of the Jewish royal family, according to the account recorded by Jeremiah. Yet another connection appeared when excavating the Kasr; opposite to the entrance was a great platform of brickwork, raised three or four feet above the ground; and Jeremiah records how he performed the ceremony of laying certain stones in the presence of the Jews, in "the brickwork (or pavement) which is at the entry of Pharaoh's house in Tahpanhes" (R.V.) This passage has been a stumbling-block to translators, even from the LXX downward, but now we see in the ruins of Pharaoh's house the exact explanation of the brickwork, or pavement, at the entry.

It must not be overlooked how important a part this Greek town had in the Hellenization of the Jewish race; before the fall of Jerusalem a large number of the upper classes of Jews had probably here lived side by side with Greeks, learned Greeks, and become accustomed to Greek thoughts and habits during their temporary exiles; while Josephus records, and Jeremiah intimates, that Nebuchadnezzar removed the Jewish refugees who had settled here with Jeremiah, and carried them to Babylon. Thus it is to Daphnæ and not to Alexandria, to the sixth century and not to the third century, B.C., that we must look for the introduction of Greek words and thoughts into Jewish literature.

To turn now to the bearing of this site in Greek history. As I have said, everything Greek here falls between 665 and 565 B.C., according to the statements of Herodotos, which agrees with what we find on the spot. That this site was the stratopeda or camp, we gather from the notice that they were near the sea, a little way below Bubastis upon the Pelusiac branch, a description which defines pretty closely the neighbourhood of Defenneh; and as no other Greek site is known anywhere along the Pelusiac branch, which country I know tolerably well, it is to Defenneh that we must look. Psanetichos I. is said, to have settled the Greeks there, and I found the deposits beneath the corners of the fort bearing his names; Amasis is said to have removed them from there, and all the flood of Greek pottery entirely ceases in his reign. The very name "the camp" shews the object of the place, and we find here a great camp inhabited by Greeks. Nothing is

wanting of the characteristics which are recorded of this settlement.

The most important group of Greek remains found here is, however, more closely dated within the century of the settlement. In two chambers outside of the palace were thousands of pieces of painted Greek vases, thrown out here when they had been accidentally broken; and these vases were accompanied by a curious kind of historical labels, for mixed with them were pieces of the plaster sealings of wine jars, and even whole jar necks sealed up and marked with the king's names. In this way we can date this limbo of broken vases to about 595 to 565 B.C. On sorting over the fragments of painted pottery (all of which I brought to England, about ten thousand in number), it was possible to put together many parts of vases, and some were nearly complete. Two of the best vases, however, were found separately thrown away in other chambers, and hence could be collected and repaired with more certainty. These vases, thus dated are of the greatest value for the history of vase painting, as probably no other find so extensive and of such well defined age, has ever been made in Greece or elsewhere. And what renders this the more satisfactory is that on comparing half-a-dozen varieties, which are identical with those found and dated by the strata at Naukratis, the collection here would be thus placed at exactly the same range, historically, as we have already stated. The data are wholly different, the sites are different, but the chronological results are the same. Generally speaking, however, the isolation between Daphnæ and Naukratis is very striking: and it may even be said that every kind of painted vase commonest at one site is very rare or unknown at the other. This isolation is far beyond what we can conceive of, if the source of the painted pottery was through Greek trade; if Naukratis and Defenneh, two settlements of Ionians, of the same age, trading in all probability to just the same places and certainly to the same coasts, shew an almost total difference in their possessions, the only inference is that the bulk of what we find was in each case made on the spot. Now we know that pottery was largely made at Naukratis; not only are their potters specially mentioned in later ages, but certain varieties are

never found elsewhere, and this year one such bowl was found by Mr. Gardner with the inscription painted on it "to Aprodite in Naukratis," while at Defenneh we find a type of vase, which is wholly unknown before in Greek vases, and is manifestly copied from the Egyptian metal *situla*; and further, on this class of vases are Egyptian subjects painted by Greeks. Thus the local evidences of manufacture exactly bear out the inference drawn from the complete isolation of all the principal types. When we consider that Greeks were certainly largely settled here for trade and manufactures, and that it was far easier to transport a ton of rough clay to Egypt than a ton of fragile and bulky vases, the probabilities of the case also confirm this conclusion.

Not only did the Greeks make vases here, but they had a large iron factory in the camp. Iron ore is found here, lumps of iron slag lie scattered all over a large area, iron scraps and arrow heads are abundant, while a considerable number of tools in good condition have been found. Chisels, knives, pokers, fish-hooks and arrows occur here, just as at Naukratis, while several objects, such as a sword with guarded handle, horses' bits, lance heads, scale armour, a plough share, and some curious rasps of sheet iron are new types. At Naukratis, whose history covers a long range, I concluded that this class of iron work was of the sixth century B.C., and now at Defenneh we find similar objects certainly fixed to the first half of that century.

Beside iron, bronze was also smelted and wrought here. Copper, slag, pieces of crucibles, and scraps of copper are abundant in the camp, while bronze arrow heads are found by the hundred. Bowls, chisels, and knives have been obtained, but bronze is distinctly not so common here as iron, and seems to have been the more valuable metal. Lead was also smelted, as some ore has been found, besides leaden net sinkers.

Jewellers appear to have abounded here; their gold they naturally took care of, but their small weights for weighing precious metals are found here by the thousand; altogether I collected in two months two thousand weights, the greater part of which are of minute sizes not exceeding one or two pennyweights,

and were evidently used for precious materials. Some evidences of the jewellery, however, remain, as gold earrings and scraps are far commoner here than in any other place I have seen, seventy earrings or pieces being found during my stay. Some pieces, moreover, shew the manufacturer's presence, such as unfinished earrings, pieces cut out with a chisel, melted drops, &c. This, therefore, appears to be the most likely source for much of the quasi-oriental Greek jewellery found in early tombs; the Greek workmen here was living in Egypt, yet on the high road to Assyria and Phœnicia, and hence all the circumstances would favour an orientalized Greek style.

Turning now to the Egyptian side of the antiquities, we have first the noble gold handle of a tray, which, though possibly made by the Greek jewellers, is yet purely Egyptian in style. It has been inlaid, but all the stone or glass had disappeared when it was found. It seems to have belonged to a flat tray, probably also of gold, and to have been violently wrenched off: found in this state in a camp we can hardly view it as other than soldiers' loot, and in the civil war between Apries and Amasis, we may well see the occasion when an Egyptian soldier would loot Egyptian plate. This probably was part of the royal table service of Apries, and is certainly the only large piece of Egyptian gold work which has come down to us of a domestic object, neither sepulchral nor religious. It was found with some lumps of silver, buried on the east of the palace.

Another fine object is the gold statuette of Ra, which was found in the little silver shrine, or amulet box, by which it was worn suspended from the neck. The figure is of the best work of the Saitic period, and the box is unique. It was found lying on the denuded surface of the ground by one of my workmen, who brought it up to us unopened, with just the toes of the statuette shewing beneath the lid, which was partially withdrawn.

A silver bowl and silver dipper were also found, along with several pounds weight of silver in lumps, at the S.E. corner of the camp. The bowl and dipper were kept for the Bulak Museum. The amount of silver found in scraps of all sizes, from a few grains weight up to

a pound, probably represent the hoards of people before the introduction of coined money into Egypt in the Persian period. When precious metals were always weighed out, a quantity of scraps of silver of all sizes would be the equivalent of a purse of money in later times. Such hoards then do not represent a silversmith's store, as they would in Roman times, but are rather the parallel to hoards of coins, such as I have found at Naukratis and Tell Nebesheli.

The most important find historically was that of the foundation deposits, beneath the corners of the fort built by Psameticus I. Beneath each corner, within a foot of the bottom of the brickwork, were placed the plaques of different materials all inscribed with his cartouches. On scraping away the sand carefully with the hands the various pieces came to light of gold, silver, copper, lead, carnelian, green felspar, lapis lazuli, jasper, a large plaque of green glazed ware, and a model mudbrick. At the S.E. corner was a larger deposit, and it seems to have been regarded as the more important corner. First there lay lowest of all the set of plaques as at the other corners; but with them was the libation vase of green-glazed ware, and a half disc of alabaster of unknown purport: over these lay a pair of full-sized corn grinders, models of such had been found in other foundation deposits at Naukratis and since then, but the full sized objects—such as were in domestic use—have not been found before; these show that some ceremony of grinding corn existed at the foundation of a building. Over these again were the bones of an ox, not the whole, but the legs, head, and some ribs; they were not burnt, and must have been laid here as a sacrifice, probably in the form of joints cut from the carcase. A few inches of sand had been laid over them, and the foundation brickwork placed upon the whole deposit. This shews us that there was not merely a ceremony of laying samples in the ground, but also a sacrificial rite, and this is borne out by finding under a corner of an additional building of the palace a hole in the sand filled with bird's bones and charcoal, a burnt sacrifice of pigeons probably. Some pieces of lead ore and copper ore were also found in the south-east deposit; and as both lead and copper appear to have been smelted

here, it is possible that these refer to the fort being intended partly to protect the trade in ores from Asia. The whole subject of foundation deposits has yet to be examined, but, judging from the five places in which we have found them last year and this, they will prove a very interesting subject, the more so as they are all undisturbed exactly as they were left in the days of the founders.

Many of the usual little blue amulets of the Egyptian deities were found in the palace and the camp; and though not of value in themselves, they are useful as being dated specimens with which the thousands of others in our museums may be compared. Some curious little figures of captives roughly carved in limestone were found on the east of the palace; they are represented as bound in the usual and unpleasant fashion with the ankles and elbows tied tight together. The only object that has been suggested for a number of such figures is in draughtsmen for playing a game on the sand, into which they could be stuck as pegs. Several silver rings, or bezels, were found which had belonged to various priests and religious functionaries; but which are not of historical importance. The sealings of the wine jars, which have been mentioned before, are of great value historically, as serving to date the age of different deposits or chambers in which they may be found; two whole jar necks, each with their original cap of plaster stamped with the royal cartouches, were turned up, and one of these had been broached in ancient times, and fraudulently plastered over again. These sealings bear the stamp of Psametichos I, Necho, Psametichos II and Amasis. The large quantity of unpainted pottery, which has been found here, is not the least valuable of the results of the exploration, as we now have a fairly complete series of all the forms made in the twenty-sixth dynasty; and in the absence of dated pottery in our museums, such a series is really a part of the foundations for a complete systematic treatment of the subject. Several types of pottery known before at Naukratis and elsewhere are now found complete and dated, and help to fill up our general knowledge of the types as well as confirming remarkably the conclusions arrived at from the stratified deposits of Naukratis. Thus this work at

Defemeñ this year has been the complement and corroboration in many ways of the results of Naukratis the year before; while the comparison of the two places shews many points which neither could have taught us singly.

We will now review shortly the other work which has fallen to us this past season in Egypt. First I went to Naukratis with Mr. Ernest Gardner who was to take up the work there as a Hellenist, and Mr. Griffiths soon after joined us. My business there was only to start the work, and then to leave for a more Egyptian site; but I had the great satisfaction of finding the temple of Aphrodite, and of getting it into full bearing, with the beds of inscribed pottery affording dozens of dedications, before I handed it over to Mr. Gardner on my leaving. This he afterwards worked out with great success, and has brought home even more dedicated pottery than we had from the temple of Apollo last year. After making enquiries I agreed with him to try a mound which I had looked at last year, and the first hour of his digging shewed us a great tomb; we had reached a part of the cemetery, and during the rest of the season he was working out this cemetery mound. Unhappily it was not very rich, probably the better cemetery lies under an Arab village, but it was still a piece of work worth doing. Mr. Gardner found in the town the site of the temple of Hera mentioned by Herodotus; but unhappily it had been nearly all grubbed during the last ten years, and scarcely anything remained. While at Naukratis I tried the approach to the Pan-Hellenion, where I found two marble rams last year; and there uncovered more pieces of similar rams, and a large red granite sphinx, headless, and broken in three pieces, but yet shewing that there had been a grand avenue of sphinxes and rams leading from the landing place on the canal up to the entrance of the Great Temenos or Pan-Hellenion. This seems like a parallel to the earlier avenue of statues which Professor Newton found bordering the Sacred Way at Branchidæ. The fragments of the temple of the Dioscuri I was also happy enough to find at Naukratis, in the temenos I discovered last year; and many pieces of the painted fresco pattern, in chequers of red, blue, and white, besides many more pieces of dedicated pottery were also obtained. The whole of these discoveries were made in

less than a month, though the working out of the temple of Aphrodita and the cemetery occupied Mr. Gardner two or three months more; and seeing that everything was in good bearing I then went over to the opposite side of the Delta with Mr. Griffith to a place I had looked at two years before, called Tell Nebesheh. Here was the back of a great monolithic shrine of granite, which originally weighed some sixty tons, still standing up in the midst of a dusty mound of earth. The first day I dug there we found another of the twelfth dynasty, the second day a piece of a statuette with the Egyptian name of the place; and in less than a month we had found the extent of the temple, the great temenos wall around it, the pylon, and two or three large blocks of sculpture. Besides this we had worked a cemetery there, and opened hundreds of tombs, ranging from about 1200 B.C. to Roman times, but mostly of about 600 B.C.; these tombs afforded many bronze spear heads, always in connection with Cypriote pottery, shewing apparently the presence of a colony of Cypriote mercenaries at this place; and it was remarkable that the bodies lay nearly always with the head to the east, and but once to the south; while in the contemporary Egyptian tombs here the bodies lay nearly always to the west and occasionally to the north, exactly the opposite directions. The Egyptian tombs were also fruitful, hundreds of blue glazed figures of the slaves who were to work for the deceased were found, often more than 200 in one tomb; four bodies bearing a complete set of amulets, fifty or sixty on each body were found untouched, and we removed all the amulets and noted their exact places; I have since mounted them on cards in their original order. The most important result of the work here was finding the name of the city, no less than eight times on different monuments; the position of the city of Am had long been in doubt, but now it is securely fixed to this site. After seeing that this place was in full bearing I then left it to Mr. Griffith, and went on a tenting tour in the Delta to visit several places which were as yet unknown to archaeology. Last year, in the course of studying Ptolemy's geography—that grand work, which is one of the sturdiest strides that science ever made—I had concluded that the site of the long lost city of Buto must be close to a mound

marked Tell Ferain on the map. To this Tell, therefore, I first went, and when I was yet six or eight miles from it I saw the long line of mounds rising above the level horizon; each mile nearer it looked more imposing, and the more certain was I that Buto lay before me. At last, going to the top of the mound, I found I was on but one of three great mounds; two of them were piles of houses rising sixty feet in height and stretching for about a mile, while the third was an enormous enclosure like the great temple enclosure of Tanis; the wall of this area is still over 30 feet high, and the length is 900 feet, the circuit extending over half-a-mile. Within this space are heaps of fragments of stone all from the destruction of the temple; doubtless many pieces of statues remain here, perhaps whole figures, beneath these heaps. Perhaps somewhat of the gigantic monolith shrine of granite, 60 feet in each direction, described by Herodotus might be found. Wishing to note the name of the small Arab village on our side of the mounds I enquired what it was called, and to my great surprise the answer was Ubtu; remembering how Assuan represents Syene, how Assiut stands for the ancient Siut, and Abusir in so many places for Busiris, Ubtu is the exact equivalent of Buto. Here then is a place just agreeing to what we should expect, in exactly the right position, without a rival in size nearer than Sais or Mendes, a city of the first class, and bearing the true Arab equivalent for the ancient name Buto.

After this I visited many other sites, some of them worth working in; and found a curious group of remains in the centre of the Delta which have never been noticed before. There are three large camps, the most striking of which is Tell Tambul; on approaching this one sees a long bank of earth thirty to forty feet high, and climbing up it one finds oneself on one side of a great enclosed plain, about half-a-mile in each direction. The banks appear confused in their nature at first, but on examining different parts I found that the camp had originally been made about the early Ptolemaic time, by a built wall of coarse brick, much like the great temple enclosures; and that after this fell into disrepair it had been re-formed, probably in Roman days, by heaping a bank of earth over it all round, so as to make a camp of the Roman type. This is in

rather a wild district, though it is well within the Delta ; I found the people less polite than usual, and the shekh of the village where I stopped insisted on my sleeping in his house—under lock and key—while he sent off a messenger in the dark to bring up the police early next morning to inspect me, fearing I had some connection with a party of brigands. It is all very well to talk about coming to see old mounds, but you cannot expect a reasonable man to believe that tale. My host was too clever for that. So after I had a very civil greeting from the public officer, I left him to settle matters with the shekh and went on my way.

On my return from this tour I found that Mr. Griffith had been very successful ; following out the buildings we had begun upon he had found a large statue of Ramessu the Great, and some other sculptures at the temple, and three great sarcophagi in the cemetery, one of them a very fine inscribed one of basalt.

He had left to examine another temple site about three miles away ; and there found, among many other things, the remains of a splendid shrine of wood, inlaid with glass mosaics ; the woodwork had unhappily all perished, but the beautiful glass figures were found in the sand by dozens. So soon as I returned, seeing the corners of the temple at Nebesheh left bare after the work was finished there, I thought I would try for foundation deposits. In an hour or two the men reached some pottery, and I took out a couple of dozen model vases in brown pottery from the S.W. corner of the ground on which the now destroyed temple had stood ; these lay just at the water level. Groping down deeper beneath the water I brought up a green porcelain plaque in the handful of sand ; rubbing it clear I read the name of Aahmes (or Amasis) and then knew the founder of the temple, about 550 B.C. ; groping again I found plaques of gold, silver, copper, lead, and different stones beneath the water. Of course the other corners were at once attacked, and there, by making arrangements for rapid baling beforehand, I obtained all the deposits in their original order clearly exposed, and was able to make plans of their position before disturbing them.

I had long noticed that this temple was not in the middle of its enclosure or temenos, and suspected another temple

beneath the surface. Trying several pits I hit on a trace of the enclosing wall around a foundation, and at last we had the whole outline of the foundation of a large temple defined; this, as I expected, was the earlier temple, as Mr. Griffith found a statue with the name of Ramessu II. (about 1200 B.C.) lying on a part of the foundation. This appeared after I had left for Defenneh, and great efforts were made to reach the foundation deposits of the early temple; but the water level of the country has risen so much—probably a dozen feet since it was founded—that it proved impossible without special apparatus.

Mr. Griffith then passed by me at Defenneh, and went on to Kantara: there the mound has been so much dug up by the French engineers of the Suez Canal that but little was obtained. The most important result being rather more than half of a long inscription of Diocletian recording the first wing of the Thracian legion as being stationed here. The inscription is otherwise an exact duplicate of one at Siut, and seems to have been a standard official inscription erected at several places. Of the work which I carried on at Defenneh at the close of this season I have already rendered an account in the first part of this paper. Such has been the result of my last winter's work in Egypt, and I only regret that (for the present, at least) I shall not be undertaking another such campaign with the Egypt Exploration Fund.

CHURCH NOTES, CHIEFLY IN BERKS, WILTS, AND OXFORD,
WITH A FEW IN SOMERSET AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

These notes were taken between 1835 and 1840, before English Church Architecture had been made the subject of critical study, before the days of local Archæological societies, and before Rickman's classification of styles had made much way. The vale of Berks at that time was in a very primitive condition. The road to Bath lay up the Kennet. The cross roads, in wet weather, were almost impassable. Cuckhelmsley Knowe was being carted away for top dressing. Pre-historic stones were employed for building cottages. The Churches, with few exceptions, were uncared for; sheep pastured unheeded in the churchyards; and the Sunday duties were in many cases discharged by men who rode over from Oxford on the Saturday, arriving on Sunday morning. This neglect was not unfavourable to the study of the buildings, which have since been restored, reseated, repaved, and sometimes rebuilt.

These notes were printed in 1843 in the appendix to a large and long forgotten folio account of the Great Western Railway. They have there slumbered peaceably and in an inaccessible form. Their writer, who still survives, has permitted their resurrection, of which our readers will, we hope, approve.

ABINGDON, ST. HELEN.—A large, fine church, having a nave and chancel of equal breadth, two aisles, and a south chapel. In fact four parallel aisles of equal length, forming a spacious rectangle, from the north-east corner of which rises a fine tower, carrying the lofty spire for which the town is so well known.

The prevalent style is Perpendicular. The window tracery of the chapel is better than the rest, but the plinth and parapet mouldings are of the common date, the tower base is early English, of good design but roughly executed. There is much of good Perpendicular roofing and tabernacle work, and one brass.

ABINGDON, ST. NICHOLAS.—Appears to be the eastern part of a larger structure. The present west front has a good round-headed doorway with early English mouldings. The church is chiefly Perpendicular.

ABSTON, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.—A fine church. Tower Perpendicular with a west door beneath an ogee canopy richly crocketed, with finial, flanking pinnacles, and deep mouldings, one of which contains the square four-leaved flower of the fourteenth century. The west window is good. The parapet embattled, with a niche in the central merlon, and a turret at the south-east angle. The nave has some Norman parts. The chancel is chiefly early English. The font fair Perpendicular, and there is some good curiously carved tabernacle work in wood.

ALDWORTH, BERKS.—A tower, nave, south aisle, chancel, and south

porch, tower at west end of nave, broader from north to south than from east to west, and opening to nave by a large and probably an early Decorated arch. The tower is small and low, at present with a ridge roof, but the walls appear to have been lowered. Windows, small and plain; buttresses flat, set on each side of the angle and about four or five feet high. Clearly early Decorated.

The nave is lighted from the tower west window, east end open to chancel, but no dividing arch. In north wall a door and window, but chiefly occupied by three monumental recesses, door probably late Decorated, as is a buttress towards the tower. The window blocked up and disfigured, but shews Decorated mullion; the wall is rough cast. Traces outside of a building or buttresses, and the recesses are later than the wall. One encroaches on the door.

The south aisle is Decorated of about 1320, and separated from the nave by three arches on their piers. There are east and west windows of three lights, with geometrical tracery, and a similar one on the south side. The monumental recesses are original, as is the south door, and of large size.

The chancel has two south windows and one north. The east window is dated 1750, and is what might be expected at that date. The south window next the nave is late early English, say 1290. The other south window is probably late Decorated, and seems an insertion, as is the north window, now blocked up. Of this date is a piscina with stone shelf and cinque-foiled head.

The chancel screen is perfect, in good but late Perpendicular work in oak. The font is a rude cone with a base moulding early English or Decorated. The nave seats and poppy heads in the chancel are Perpendicular. The panels in the latter of the linen pattern. The pulpit and reading pew rather richly carved, of the date of James I. and said to have come from a church in Reading. A modern gallery at the west end of the south aisles. Several enamelled tiles, and a coffin-shaped gravestone. A Decorated cross, dug up in the churchyard, evidently capped one of the gables.

Here are ten sepulchral effigies in stone of rather different dates, but of the fourteenth century, representing, no doubt, the de la Beche family whose castle, still to be traced, stood near. Of these three occupy recesses in the north and three in the south wall, and three rest on low later altars in the nave. These recesses had canopies with crockets and finials. Those to the south are by far the best.

The remaining effigy occupies a recess on the outside of the south wall. Two of the figures are those of females. The others are in armour. There are no inscriptions or armorial bearings. They have not been identified, and deserve careful study in the minute details of the armour.

APPLEFORD, BERKS.—This very small church is composed of nave, chancel and south porch. The nave carries a low wooden belfry. North, west and south doors are Norman. The west window Decorated. One south window is a Norman loop, the other a Perpendicular insertion. The only north window is a modern square hole. Outside the south door, on east side, is a water stoop. The chancel is Decorated. On north side and east end are pointed loops. On south side a small pointed door, and two modern windows. The chancel arch is slightly four-centred, but certainly Decorated. Font octagonal, with a Decorated base.

ARDINGTON, BERKS.—But little known, but deserves close attention. Tower, nave, south aisle, chancel, north and south chapels, and north porch. The tower stands on north side, near centre of nave, and is a curious example of transition from early English to Decorated, square in plan, elevation heavy and dwarfish: two buttresses cap the north angles. Upper windows spherical isosceles triangles, curiously six-foiled. Above is a heavy corbel table of heads, rudely cut, resembling Norman work. Nave early English. A beautiful but peculiar doorway, round headed with detached columns, hollow mouldings, and dog-tooth ornaments. Heavily whitewashed, but seems uninjured. Nave opens into tower by an early Decorated arch. Aisle Decorated, with an excellent doorway, with a band of ball-flowers, doubled over the head. Windows Perpendicular insertions. Chancel and its chapels of date of tower. Chancel arch excellent early English. South window good double loop of early English proportions, but Decorated details. North and east windows Perpendicular insertions, a Decorated piscina. North chapel has a small north door with heavy mouldings, and a detached corbel head over the centre of the drip. A good piscina; a Decorated stall, and a later niche under the east window. The two arches into the chancel are early English, and the pier cap of one has a spear-head moulding of great beauty.

The south chapel opens into the chancel by a Decorated arch, and into the aisle by a four-centred Perpendicular arch, springing from early Decorated corbels. Font, plain octagonal bowl, with a handsome ball-flower band round its lower margin. Tower, chancel, and chapels seem of one date, having an exterior string, common to all. If this be so they present some uncommon combinations, not only of different steps in the Transition style, but of pure Decorated and equally pure early English.

There is a cross in the Churchyard, north side.

ASHAMPSTEAD, BERKS.—Belfry, nave, and chancel. Belfry of timber, with a low spire. It rises out of the nave on upright posts. The work of nave and chancel probably early English, with Perpendicular insertions, including the north and south doors. The font seems to have been an apothecary's stone mortar.

ASHBURY, BERKS.—A large church in excellent repair, and very creditable to Mr. Chambers, the Incumbent. Tower, nave, chancel, north and south transepts, north and south aisles, and north porch.

Base of tower looks Decorated. Upper part Perpendicular. South side a half-road projection for a belfry staircase.

West piers of nave, both north and south sides, shew Norman work and springing stones of Norman arches, parts of an earlier nave of same breadth with the present, which is late Perpendicular; chancel arch Norman, with some Decorated features. Its north pier has recently settled, and the arch has been taken down and replaced with care, but not, it is said, on precisely the old pattern. North transept early Decorated with a 'vesica piscis' in the window tracery. South transept early Decorated with Perpendicular additions, among them a singular opening into the south aisle, filled with tracery. Each transept opens into its aisle by a good early Decorated arch.

The north aisle early Decorated with a good Perpendicular door and other insertions. The south aisle has Norman walls and a highly

enriched south door, the drip of which has a sort of rudimentary toothed ornament, the teeth at longer intervals than usual. The drip corbels resemble those at Sparsholt and Farringdon. There are both early Decorated and Perpendicular windows. The north porch is of stone, with a vaulted roof and an upper chamber entered by a side stair. Over the outer doorway is a canopied niche.

ASTON TIRROLD, BERKS.—A large and somewhat curious church, tower, nave, south transept, chancel, south porch. Tower late Perpendicular. Nave seems on a Norman base. South door plain Norman, rudely executed, outside its east jamb a small stoop, probably early English. North door, if there be one, is plastered over. North window flat-topped, late Perpendicular. South window rather early, with something like Decorated tracery. Transept Decorated, probably once a private chapel. On the east side two brackets for images, at south end a plain but good piscina. Arch into nave seems of date of transepts. Chancel has some Norman work at south-west angle, and a blocked up Norman door. Also trace of a Norman window past the transept. On south side a small early English door. South window modern. North, closed up. East window curious. Its frame is in the Transition style from early English to Decorated; the tracery seems later. The porch modern. The font, a rude cylindrical bowl, with four-sided pedestal with chamfered angles. Pulpit of wood, good design, rudely executed.

ASTON UPTHORPE, BERKS.—The nave is of Norman foundation, with a wooden belfry. North and south doors small, rude, and plain, are original and Norman. North window, a Norman loop. South window, modern. West window, Perpendicular and good. The chancel is either Decorated or Perpendicular. East window late Perpendicular, with a transom. The exterior of the building much disfigured by buttresses. The font stiff Perpendicular with an octagonal bowl. The seats Perpendicular and well carved.

MARCH BALDON, OXON.—The tower, ivy covered, is Decorated, with a good west window; and the nave seems of the same date. The north aisle or chapel is Perpendicular, and has one large window. The chancel is good Perpendicular, and has a piscina with a credence. There are two brasses and some stained glass.

TOOT BALDON, OXON.—A small church with a bell gable, probably Decorated, with a west window. The nave is small, in excellent order. The northern arches spring, with one exception, from flowered pier caps. The southern piers have bell caps. The north aisle is Decorated with a Norman door with plain impost, and a flat-topped Decorated window. The south aisle is probably early Decorated, as is the south transept. The chancel is the same. The south porch, modern. The chancel contains a few coloured tiles, and in the churchyard, south-east, is a cross.

BASILDON, BERKS.—A good late tower. The nave is transition Norman, pointed, with an excellent south doorway. There is a late north aisle. The chancel, of excellent squared and coursed flint work, is a fine example of transition from early English to Decorated. The arch shows the transition pier and cap, the side windows have three lights each, trefoiled, with a large cinque-foiled circle in the head. The east window shows the passage of the early English shaft mullions into the stiff geometrical tracery of the early English style. The chancel south

door has a rich canopy of tabernacle work, much like the tomb canopies at Aldworth. The south porch is modern.

BATH EASTON, SOMERSET.—A noble and chiefly late Perpendicular church, having tower, nave, north aisle, chancel, vestry, and south porch. The tower is large, lofty, well proportioned, with an open embattled parapet, and the usual stair turret on the southern side, no west door, but to the east a niche with a figure, probably of St. John, to whom the church is dedicated. The nave Perpendicular with a drop chancel arch, and remains of a rood staircase on the south. South door seems Decorated. North aisle modern, but in good taste. Chancel, in its present form late Perpendicular, but its east end seems older, and there is a curious exterior recess behind the altar, as at Bathampton, but walled up. Inside, south of the altar, is a bracket for a figure. A good plain piscina, with a corbel supporting a quarter-foiled bowl. South door Perpendicular. Between nave and chancel, in the gable, is a small recess for a sacring bell, of which the supports remain. Vestry, on north side, Perpendicular. South porch excellent Perpendicular. The doorway mouldings charged with heraldic ornaments and flowers; above is a niche, and on the east side a stoop. In the church is a white marble slab to J. J. Conybeare, Saxon and poetry professor at Oxford, with a good inscription of which the letters are in relief and the ground in intaglio.

BATHFORD, SOMERSET.—Tower, nave, three transepts, chancel, south porch. Tower new Perpendicular but good. Nave has a Norman north door with chevron and bead mouldings and hatched drip. The rest flat topped Perpendicular. South aisle and chancel in the same style. North porch Decorated. Font fluted Norman. Pulpit of age of Elizabeth or James, with a text carved round the sounding board.

BATHAMPTON, SOMERSET.—Tower, nave, south transept, chancel, south porch. Tower good example of the smaller class of Perpendicular towers in these districts. Of three stages, with a west window and a good west door with a four-centred arch under a square head, the spandrells filled with foliage. Buttresses diagonal; parapet embattled, with pinnacles at the angles. Stair turret on the north side, rising clear of the battlements. Chancel late Perpendicular, but the lower part of the east end seems earlier. Outside, behind the altar, in a round-headed niche five feet high, is embedded a very rude bas relief of an ecclesiastic, mitred, with remains of drapery on the shoulders. The right hand uplifted in blessing supports a crook, in the left a book. The south transept and south porch are late Perpendicular. In the latter are set up the remains of a knight and lady of the age of Edward. The lady has a peculiar corded bodice.

BENSINGTON, OXON.—A poor and much neglected church. The tower is modern, very ugly and further disfigured by an exterior pipe or chimney. The nave is pointed Norman, with heavy cylindrical pier and flowered bell-caps. The arch mouldings have something of Decorated character. The aisles and chancel are Decorated. There is a south porch. The font circular, large, plain, and probably Norman. There are two brasses, and one has been selected as a convenient standing place for a stove.

BITTON, GLOUCESTER.—A very fine church and well cared for by its resident curate, Mr. Ellacombe. The tower, good Perpendicular of three stages, has diagonal buttresses carrying pinnacles on each of the three

sets off. The west door is particularly good, and the drip corbels are thought to be heads of Edward III. and his Queen. The windows of the upper story are double and closed with stone lattice work, with quaterfoil apertures. The parapet is parallel and embattled, with a small pinnacle on each merlon, and larger ones at the four angles. The stair turret on the north side rises clear of the whole and also has pinnacles, completing the group very handsomely. There is a good west window and a lofty arch opening into the nave.

The nave has Norman north and south doors; the latter plain and good, but converted into a window, the drip of which has two peculiar leaf labels. The north door is more highly enriched. There is a rood stair in the north wall, and two arches now closed appear to have led into transepts. The chancel arch and the roof have been modernized. The north chapel is a rare and beautiful example of transition from early English to Decorated. The two arches into the nave are very good, and there are some enriched sedilia and a piscina. The east door may be modern. The west door, with its lateral recesses is original. This was the chapel of the Newtons of Barrs Court, now extinct. The chancel, spacious and lofty, is excellent Perpendicular with a ribbed and vaulted roof, a good east window, three level sedilia and a piscina. The vestry on the north side is also vaulted.

BLEWBURY, BERKS.—A large and ancient church. Tower late Perpendicular, rather heavy. Nave, five arches on the south and three on the north side. The former, pointed Norman, or Norman piers with later arches, but the two western arches are more lofty and of later date than the rest. The northern arches are good Decorated and the west wall is Norman with two loops. Both aisles are Perpendicular; the south perhaps the earlier of the two, and the roofs are original.

At the intersections of the nave with the transepts are four heavy Norman piers with pointed arches and vaulting, evidently intended as the base of a central tower. The north transept appears to be Decorated and has a good east window. The south transept is earlier, and its south window is early English. This transept opens into the aisle by a horse-shoe arch, evidently so constructed and perhaps early English. The chancel is pointed Norman, vaulted in two bays and groined. Outside is the regular Norman pilaster, but the east and one north window are Decorated insertions. On the south side are two Decorated arches, inserted into the place of the original windows, and opening into a chapel, within which the original Norman pilasters may be seen. Between the chancel and the transepts are hagioscopes, the northern plain, the southern ornamented as though to receive a figure. Behind the altar is a curious Norman recess. The chapel forms an aisle of the chancel, as at north Moreton, and is early Decorated. The font is either Decorated or Perpendicular. There are some brasses. The building is well cared for.

Box, WILTS.—Tower, Perpendicular, central, opening by two plain good arches to the nave and chancel. The parapet is not embattled, but is pierced by a line of small trefoiled arches, and capped with four pinnacles. The spire is eight-sided, and has a good finial. On the north side is a half octagonal projection carrying the belfry stair as high as the first floor.

The nave opens into the south aisle by four modern arches, and into the north aisle by very heavy drop arches and piers with octagonal

shafts and caps. The arches are peculiar, for while the inner moulding forms an ordinary drop arch, the outer mouldings rise a little, so as to form a stilted arch. These seem Decorated, and the west window has a Decorated case with Perpendicular tracery.

The north aisle seems Decorated. The last compartment to the east is vaulted with cross springers, with an exterior buttress to meet the thrust. The windows are flat-topped Perpendicular. The north door modern; as is the south aisle.

The chancel is early Decorated, and its east window of three lights is a good example of the style. The south windows are cinque-foiled Perpendicular. On the north side is a locker with wooden shelf and door, not, however, very ancient. The vestry is on the north side of chancel, and late Perpendicular. The font, Decorated, with large octagonal base with quatrefoil panels, and a square vine leaf in each. No brasses, tiles, or stained glass. Against the west wall are two stone coffins without lids. Built into the south wall of chancel is a small stone coffin about a foot long. In the churchyard are some half-defaced effigies on slabs.

BRADENSTOKE, WILTS.—Clack or Bradenstoke Abbey was a considerable foundation, but a fragment only remains, converted into a farm house. This does not appear to have been part of the church. It is Early Decorated, with windows of two lights, trefoiled, with a large quatrefoil in the head. The central mullions are wanting, possibly there were none: but the effect is excellent. Between the buttresses are some curious semi-circular arches, either Decorated or later, or probably part of a cloister. There is a good Decorated door, and a flat segmental window of the same date, the recess of which is flanked with early English columns with bell cap. One slender Decorated tower remains. There is also a late Perpendicular arch with heraldic ornaments.

BRIGHT-WALTHAM, BERKS.—The tower has a Norman aspect, but may be Perpendicular, as are the windows. The north door of the nave is good Norman, slightly pointed, and the under side of the drip has a billet moulding. The drip of the south door forms part of a Decorated string running along that side of the nave, and upon which the windows rest. Inside the corresponding string is Norman. The upper part of the nave is either early English or early Decorated. The chancel seems in part Decorated. The font is cylindrical and Norman, with intersecting arches around it. There are some brasses, and in the churchyard the base of a cross and a *dos d'âne* coffin lid, with a bust carved upon it.

BRIGHTWELL, BERKS.—A large and handsome church, with modern brick tower. The nave is Decorated with a Perpendicular clerestory. The north aisle early Decorated with some peculiar cinque-foiled windows, with a splendid triangle in the head. The east window is in the same style, but not unlike those of Basildon and North Mereton. South aisle early Decorated, with good trefoiled window with quaterfoils in the head. The south door is rather early English than Norman, and a good example of Transition. Chancel Decorated, with remains of Norman work in the wall. The vestry on the north side is Perpendicular. The rood stair remains. There are three brasses, and in the churchyard a slab bearing a cross.

BRIGHTWELL-BALDWIN, BERKS.—A large, handsome, and somewhat peculiar church; tower Perpendicular, rather rudely built, and the west door and window are included within a large parallel recess, the effect of

which is rich. In the upper stage is a singular north window. Nave and aisles of one date, good Decorated. Arch piers octagonal, perhaps a little too slender. The buttresses of the north aisle good examples of the style. North door has a drop arch. The windows, all original, are either flat-topped or segmental. They are of two lights, trefoiled, and well suited for copying. The windows of the south aisle, also original, are pointed, with excellent stained glass in their heads. One is flat-topped and rudely executed. The chancel is Decorated, with much variety in its windows. The altar hangings are of Cordovan leather. North side of the church is a chapel, apparently Decorated, but later than the adjacent aisle, with some Perpendicular tombs and insertions. In the vestry is a Decorated water drain. In the chancel an original bracket bearing "3 stags heads cabossed," and in the east window "Azure, 3 stags heads cabossed Or."

BRIGHTWELL PRIOR, OXON.—Norman nave with Norman or early English bell gable. The north door a later insertion. The south door and a looped window are original, as is the chancel arch. The chancel is early English. Font probably Decorated. A small but curious church.

BRITWELL SALOME, OXON.—A very small church. Nave, Norman, with a wooden belfry. North door, plain. South door has a good billet moulding. The two north windows modern. South window, flat-topped Decorated. Chancel arch plain Norman. A Perpendicular west window. Chancel seems Decorated. Frame of east window Perpendicular, tracery gone. South window, flat-topped Decorated. South porch, modern. Here are two brasses and many tiles.

BUCKLEBURY, BERKS.—Tower, nave, north aisle, chancel, south porch, tower Perpendicular. On the south face some rude sculpture not clearly seen from below. West door, square-headed, with deep hollow moulding. South door of nave excellent and rich Norman. South wall probably of same date, with Perpendicular windows. Arches into north aisle pointed Norman. The aisle Perpendicular. The door square-headed, and above it is carved 'an eagle's jamb crased.' Chancel has a Perpendicular south door and a window that looks early English, but may be later. Font, modern and ugly. The Churchwardens for many generations have been 'beautifying' the church, and with signal success. It is now utterly disfigured. The church is clearly of Norman foundation, and the south wall original. The arches into the north aisle are next in date, the chancel probably next, and the tower and the rest later.

BURGHFIELD, BERKS.—The tower and spire of timber and of no very great age. The nave is early Perpendicular, the north door good. The window and fittings of the chancel are late Perpendicular, the walls probably older. In the north wall in a recess is a cross-legged knight, in oak. The recess is early Decorated as are the arches opening into the south chapel, but the chapel is modern. Here are a few brasses and the mutilated effigies of a knight and his lady, of late Perpendicular date.

It is reported that this church is to be rebuilt.

BYSHAM, BERKS.—The church of the once famous abbey. The base of the tower is Norman. On the north side of the altar is an altar tomb and canopy, with the Tudor flower. The tomb is Perpendicular, but the canopy seems Decorated. Here are many tombs of the Hobys, the grantees of the Abbey.

(To be continued.)

ON THE ROMAN OCCUPATION OF BRITAIN.

By G. ESDAILE.

I should like to draw attention to a few facts respecting the Roman occupation of Britain, which have hitherto escaped notice, or been slightly passed over. In looking back some 2100 years no one will doubt but that this island of ours was occupied by a people called Britons; it is also universally admitted that they occupied the high ground of the country, and that they had to some extent fortified such inhabited centres.

It is also as certain that this country was invaded and ultimately conquered by the Romans. It will be fair to assume that the latter had some trouble in subduing the Britons, and that, as the Roman tactics involved the making of a camp for the housing and protection of the invading force, so we ought as fairly to assume that, for every British fastness we ought to find remains of the camp that took it, even if such were afterwards abandoned.

In many instances we know that the British town or city was occupied by the conquerors, who would then according to fixed rule rearrange the place to suit their own plans. This may be called a somewhat fanciful idea, but when we remember the Roman art of war, and take into account the number of towns or cities in Britain, ending with or compounded with *chester*, in some form, which number amounts in Domesday Book to no fewer than 119 (not including the Scottish *chesters*), we should admit the argument to the careful consideration which it thereby deserves. To this number of 119, many places will recur to us, such as York, undoubtedly Roman, but not included in the preceding category.

Having therefore shewn that 800 years ago there were at least 120 areas—in England alone—assumed to be Roman because of the coincidence of the name—I will proceed to shew from good authorities—Horsley, Scarth, Wright, Ecroyd Smith, Thompson of Leicester, Drake, and others, that in some of these places there were, or are still existing evidences of areas of Roman enclosure of great extent, for example, as—

at London,	Scarth's "Rom. Brit." p. 13.	3 miles round	=	301 acres.
„ Wroxeter,	„ „ Wright concurs	„	„	„
„ Cirencester,	„ „ p. 141.	2 miles in circuit	=	140 acres.
„ Silchester,	„ „ p. 144.	1½ miles	„	= 80 „
„ Aldbrough,	Horsley, p. 402.	1½	„	= 80 „
„ „	Drake, the Walls	1½	„	= 80 „
„ „	H. E. Smith, p. 13.	25,000 yds	„	= 74 „
„ Leicester,	Thompson, p. 3,	gives the area as		120 „

If to all these measurements of net areas *within* the walls, be added 21 acres for the contents of the walls, the scarp, the fosse, and the counterscarp, the gross area will be materially increased and it would also be necessary to bear in mind that the cincture of wall, scarp, fosse and counterscarp are integral parts of a camp.

Seeing, then, that we have these areas of undoubted Roman origin, and that some of them are of the sizes quoted, notably in excess of 86 acres, it is incumbent upon me to account for the origin of such inclosures.

In 43, A.D., *Claudius Caesar* directed *Aulus Plautius* to invade Britain, which he did, accompanied by four legions. The camp at this time was an oblong 2,320ft. long by 1,620ft. wide, with the angles slightly rounded. This we know from the works of *Frontinus* and *Hyginus* (Antwerp 1607, 1621, and Amsterdam 1660), where a description is given—and see also Smith's *Archæological Dictionary*, where the subject is fully entered into. Seeing that both *Hyginus* and *Frontinus* were military Engineers living in the earlier half of the first century, their statements must be accounted better evidence, both of what they planned and saw executed in Britain than *Polybius*, who flourished 206-124 B.C., or *Vegetius*, who lived in the fourth century.

Having named the authors or expounders of a new theory for the increased size of the camp, I will give some account of it in detail.

The area of the camp, as laid down by *Hyginus*, was of about 86 acres, and was a parallelogram of 2320 feet by 1620 feet—over all—*i.e.*, including the counterscarp, the fosse, the scarp, and the walls on the four sides. There were three gates—the *Prætorian*, the *Dexterior*, and *sinisterior Principalis*, each at a distance of about 765 feet from a central point (*groma*) in the *Via Principalis*; and a fourth gate—the *Decuman*, situate about 1465 feet from the *groma*.

At a point in the *Via Prætoriana*, almost mid-way between the *groma* and the *Prætorian Gate* (advancing towards the latter) was situated the *Valetudinarium* on the left, and the *Veterinarium* on the right; and as the hygienic and curative methods of the Romans, to a great extent, consisted of bathing in its various forms, there should be found remains of buildings of the character of baths and hypocausts within the space allotted to the *Valetudinarium*.

On reference to the square camp of *Cæsar*, the *Valetudinarium*, and the *Veterinarium* are both conspicuous by their absence.

I now propose to apply this fixed gauge of *Hyginus* to the following places, in which—to say the least—if the comparison is wrong, the coincidences are great almost to conviction:—

- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| 1. Chester. | 7. Manchester. |
| 2. Bath | 8. Devizes. |
| 3. Leicester. | 9. Easton Grey. |
| 4. Lincoln. | 10. Caerleon. |
| 5. Aldborough. | 11. York. |
| 6. Malmesbury. | 12. Alchester. |
| 13. The <i>Cæstra Prætoriana</i> at Rome and the possible areas of the <i>Cæstra Penægrina</i> , and of a camp in "Regio" VI. | |

Commencing with CHESTER, which, being at the same time the most perfect of the walled cities of Britain, and having been the depôt of the

twentieth legion, may be assumed to be the best adapted for the experiment, it will be seen that the length of 2320 feet, and the breadth of 1620 feet are found in the distances from Newgate (Nova Porta) to the Phœnix Tower, and from the Phœnix Tower to Morgan's Mount, the parallelogram being completed by the erection of two perpendiculars on the given base lines respectively.

The East "gate" (modern) and the North "gate" (modern) are in the correct relative positions which the Roman gates should occupy. The city having been extended on the south and west, the "gates" on those sides do not now exist, but at the south, on the imaginary line from Newgate westward there have been discovered (in the Garden of the Probate Court, Whitefriars) the foundations of a wall 15 feet thick, confirming the supposition as to the line of wall at that end. The foundation of the north wall from Phœnix Tower to Morgan's Mount is acknowledged by all to be Roman work *in situ*. On the site of the *Valetudinarium* at the corner of Feather's Lane and Bridge Street (*Via Praetoria*) there has been discovered a hypocaust the remains of which are now deposited in the Water Tower Garden. This has been so often described that any enlargement upon it is needless.

At Bath.—The sites of the City gates (north, south, and east) occupy the same relative positions as the *Porta Praetoria*, the *Porta Dexterior*, *Porta Sinisterior Principialis* do in the scheme of *Hyginus*. So also on the same relative site is found the range of baths, the Hypocaust (No. 1) at the corner of York Street and Stall Street (*via Praetoria*) and the Hypocaust (No. 2) at the end of the range furthest from Stall Street. The earlier finds in connection with these Baths are noted by Drs. Spry and Sutherland in their respective works, and the latest in the pages of the Reports and Papers of the Local and County Antiquarian and Archæological Societies.

In Leicester, the remains of the Walls and the Hypocaust (Nichol's "Leic." vol. i, p. 11) found 1667-8, are also relatively placed with regard to the plan of *Hyginus*. The Hypocaust was found at the corner of Blackfriars Lane and High Cross Street (*via praetoria*).

At Lincoln, the remains of the walls on the east and south are also relatively situated with the Hypocaust found at the corner of Bail-gate (*Via Praetoria*), and the Exchequer Gate (Gough's Camden, ii, p. 257 (1739)). The sites of the South and East Gates are in the positions assumed by *Hyginus*. The "Newport" arch (*nova porta*) indicates a later Roman erection.

In Aldborough (*Isurium*) we find a space enclosed more than a mile and a half in compass (Horsley 402, Gough's Camden iii, 59). Drake (p. 24) gives an account of a find of the foundation Walls of a considerable building and the remains of flues &c.; we should be correct in assuming this to be a range of Baths with Hypocaust &c., as the site—Borough Hill—is in the correct relative position as regards distance, from the three points where the three gates should be—those gates being the *Porta Praetoria*, and the *dexterior* and *sinisterior principalis*—

In Malmesbury (the assumed *Bladonia* of Canon Jackson) the foundations of the medieval walls of the town follow the presumed lines—and with the wall beneath the "Culver House"—enclose an area equal to that contained within the lines (2320 ft. × 1620 ft.) and situated approximately correctly, with the site of a Hypocaust recently removed

from the abbey grounds by the present owner. The erection of the Norman Castle, and its subsequent demolition, and the building on its site of the famous Abbey of Malmesbury, and the razing of that edifice, have effectually obliterated all traces of Roman occupation with the exception of the buried Hypocaust.

In Manchester where, from existing remains of walls and from evidence of the removal of others, in recent times, a similar area is shewn to have been enclosed. A Hypocaust, alluded to by Whitaker, and noted by Dr. John Haygarth as such, was found on the same relative site as that (No. 2) in Bath: its position also in accord with the distances from the assumed sites of the gates, at either extremity of the camp on the—*via principalis*.

In Devizes, an area equal in size to the camp of *Hyginus* can be found, and according to Stukeley the fosse had been filled up, and to use his own words, "I found they had made a road of the ditch in most parts round the town; but in several places both that and the vallum are visible enough and it took in the Castle, &c." In the local museum there is a drawing of a Tessellated Pavement, found recently in the cellars of the old Town Hall and still "*in situ*," this pavement is in the correct relative position with the Hypocaust in the *Valetudinarium* and of which it appears to be an integral part.

In Easton Grey, Wilts, we doubtless see the remains of the camp which formed the base of the operations against the British Fortress on the site of Malmesbury. It is bisected by the fosse road and by another road at right angles to the latter, and at the distances from the groma where we should look for the four gates we find a depression which outlines the position of the camp fosse. There are the remains of the later "barrack," which according to Sir R. Colt-Hoare measures 200 yards square. Approximately about the site of the *Valetudinarium* have been found portions of pavements and flues and pillars, leading to the supposition of the correct position of that building. But as there are three feet of rich black soil (said to be of burnt "material") overlying the area, the farmers are loth to have the surface disturbed.

In Caerleon—taking the unintentional testimony in favour of the scheme of *Hyginus*, I find in plan 2 of J. E. Lees' "Caerleon," London 1850—a block plan of the site of *Isca Silurum*; within the walls of which, an area is enclosed—*by the side walls of the breadth*—and such walls themselves are the correct distance apart to form the parallelogramic plan of *Hyginus*.

If part of the Castle mound be taken in to allow of a length of 2320ft. from the counterscarp of the ditch, furthest from the mediæval castle, we find the remains of Hypocausts, marked *q*, *t*, *u*, and *w*, in the detail plan (Lee), amongst which remains and over, between, and amongst them, later Roman buildings have been erected, and such hypocaustal arrangement occupies the correct relative distance from the three sides mentioned, and it is of corresponding size to that given in the scheme of *Hyginus*.

In York, from Bootham Bar to the old course of the Fosse Dyke, we find the length of the camp of *Hyginus*; and from the city wall, adjoining Lord Mayor's Walk, to the city wall parallel with the Lendal, we have the width of the camp. In Stanegate and Groves Lane we find the line of the *Via Principalis*. Unfortunately Duncombe Street occupies the site of the *Valetudinarium*, and so precludes any search, except when the ground is broken to inspect or repair sewers, &c.

In Alcester there are inequalities in the ground—literally in heaps and hollows—following the lines of the walls and fosse, and the over-all circuit is about one mile-and-a-half.

The roads impinge on the sides of the camp at the right points, and on the site of the *Valentinianum* have been found the remains of hypocaustal pillars.

Turning for a moment to Rome, the metropolis of the Roman world, and therefore best calculated to furnish evidence in support of the statement of *Hyginus* as to the size and shape of the camp called “*tertiata*.”

At Rome we find the agger of *Serrius Tullius* enclosing the area of the city of that period. *Outside* that agger was afterwards placed the *Castra Prætoria*, which remained outside until A.D. 271, when *Aurelianus* enclosed a large area beyond the fortifications of *Serrius* and built his new wall up to the north and south sides of the *Prætorian* camp, leaving, however, about 400 yards of the camp extending beyond the walls, and which portion so projecting still exists. This obtruding part is nearly 1620 feet from north to south, and would be so entirely if the breadth of the counterscarp, fosse, and scarp were added, and from the east and stretching almost to the agger of *Serrius*, we find the length about 2320 feet, the approximate length and breadth of the camp as laid down by *Hyginus*. *Constantine* (306-337) cleared away the *Prætorian* camp and removed those parts of the north and south walls, which are wanting to complete the sides; in so doing he would also remove the two gates, the *Porta Principalis dexterior* and the *Porta Principalis sinisterior*. In addition to the necessity of the abolition of these Janissaries of Rome, the demolition of the wall at the west end, and of the parts of the walls on the north and south sides of the *Prætorian* camp, would open up the new baths of *Diocletian*, erected some twenty years before, and so improve the appearance of the city.

As the design in originally placing the camp close to the city was to enable the Emperors to overawe the capital, so the point of danger would be at the west end, where we ought to expect to find the *Porta Prætoria*, but as all above-ground was cleared away by *Constantine*, we do not find any trace of it.

The *Via Principalis* would pass from north to south, across the camp, from the *Via Nomentana* to the *Via Tiburtina* of Bunsen.

In the thirteen instances I have cited, I have been enabled to give the position of the Hypocaust from printed or living testimony in eleven cases; in the remaining two I have but the coincidence that the walls are the identical distance apart to agree with the plan of the military Engineer of the first century, at which period they were all made.

Whilst, in the case of the *Castra Peregrina*, tradition and various writers name *Cæliomontana* as the quarter in which it was situated; on reference to any plan of Rome, but particularly to that of *Picavessi*, we find that the width of the “*Regio XII.*” is exactly the width laid down by *Hyginus*.

There is also in “*Regio VI.*” a length of the camp shown in the boundary of such “*Regio*” possibly pointing out the site of another camp.

I feel that attention has only to be directed to the subject to bring about a correction in one point, at least, of the education of our youth in the idea that Roman Legionary camps in Britain—were perfect squares—from and after A.D. 43.

Original Documents.

Communicated by J. C. L. STAHLSCHMIDT.

Among the papers connected with Lay Subsidies preserved at the Record Office I have found one which seems to me of considerable interest. The Parliament which met on the 3rd November, 1411 (13 Henry IV.), were decidedly liberal. They granted to the King the usual Subsidy of Wools, Leather and Skins—and tonnage and poundage, or to put the grant into modern speech—the usual export and import duties. And they granted him in addition an impost of an entirely novel character, viz. : half a mark on every £20 of annual rent throughout the Kingdom. The words of the Act are—

“Et . . . voz dit^z poveres Communes p assent suis dit, grauntout a Vous ñre tres redoute S^r de chescun homme & femme de quell estat ou condition q[']ils soient eiant^z Terres ou Rent a la value de xxli p an outre les charges & reprises dument trovez vis viiid Forspris Terres & Tenement^z purchase^z a mortmayn devant l'an vyntisme du regne le Roy E fit^z a Roy Henry & forspris ceux Terres & Tenement^z es mayns des Seig[']urs Espirituelx & Religieuses purchase^z en frank almoigne puy le dit an vyntisme & pur queux ils paient les Dismes ovesq la Clergie. Et outre ce de chescun homme & femme eiant xxli de Terre ou Rent entiers outre les xxli de Terre ou Rent avaunt dit^z pur chescun xxli de Terre ou Rent entiers outre les charges & reprises vis viiid . . . pur estre paie^z lendemayn de la Purification de nostre Dame prochein a venir pur ent disposer & ordeigner a la frank voluute de ñre dit S^r le Roy.”

Accordingly letters patent were issued to the Sheriffs and King's Escheators reciting the above grant and ordering returns in accordance therewith. That to the Sheriff of Bedfordshire is printed in full at p. 671 of Vol. 3 of the Rolls of Parliament. No doubt all the others were similar.

The document which I have unearthed, is the return from the Mayor of London—as King's Escheator—and his fellow Commissioners, of those liable to the Tax within the City of London. The transcript has been made for me by Mr. J. A. C. Vincent, which is substantial evidence of its correctness.

It is something more than a mere list of names: it is almost a “City Directory” of 1412. Its ecclesiastical personages range from the Archbishop of York to the Hermit of Cripplegate. Lay folk from “our lady the Queen” to William Ruston with his 3 shillings of yearly Rent. Abbots and Abbesses, Princes, Dukes, Earls, Colleges, City Guilds, Aldermen, Corporate Bodies—many of the ancestors of our present noble

families and a heterogeneous mass of soldiers and citizens, all find their places therein.

How far the return made was correct it is impossible to say—nor does it greatly matter. Dr. Sharpe, our best authority on Medieval City matters, considers that the Bridge House Estates are decidedly undervalued. It may well be so. The early fifteenth century was probably as prolific of “jobs” as the nineteenth—and the rulers of London at that time—if contemporaneous accounts are to be trusted (and I think they are), were certainly not above being bribed. The books of the Brewers’ Company are very conclusive on this point.

I have said above that it forms *almost* a City Directory of the time. No doubt there were some citizens and those too—wealthy ones—who did not possess either freehold or leasehold property and of course they find no place in it. For instance, William Dawe—better known as William Founder, does not appear, though his two rivals in the trade of Bell-founding—Robert Burford and William Wodward—are both to be found. He was certainly living at the time, as I find his name as a witness to deeds as late as 1418.

The list, therefore, is not complete so far as regards the City Merchants and Traders.

It may at first sight seem strange that Ecclesiastics should be included in it, as their taxation was settled by themselves in Convocation, but a reference to the granting words of the act will show clearly the reason. The “tenths” which they paid were based upon a valuation or assessment of the property they had possessed in the 20th of Edward I., and all subsequently acquired property was liable to taxation by Parliament, as if it belonged to the laity. It may be noticed in passing that the Abbey of Grace on Tower Hill must have done pretty well to have accumulated £138 annual worth of City property between 1292 and 1412.

With these few preliminary remarks, I now give the document itself *in extenso*, and for the benefit of anyone who may wish to consult the original, I will just note that the Record Office Reference is

Exchequer—Lay Subsidy, 144-20.

London’ *Extracte Certificacionis Roberti Chicheley Maioris et Escætoris Regis in Civitate Regis London’ Johannis Reynwelle et Walteri Cotton’ Vicecomitum ejusdem Civitatis Ricardi Whityngton’ et Thome Knolles de nominibus singulorum hominum et feminarum terras tenementa et redditus ad valenciam xx. li. per Annum ultra reprisas habencium in Civitate predicta juxta formam concessionis in parlamento Regis apud Westm. in Crastino Animarum anno xiiij^{mo} tento inde facte tam per Inquisiciones quam alias¹ virtute litterarum Regis patencium datarum secundo die Januarii anno xiiij^{mo} eisdem Maiori Escætori vicecomitibus Ricardo et Thome directarum captas in Scaccarium Regis retornatas et in Custodia Rememoratoris Regis remanentes videlicet*

	<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Archiepiscopus Ebor’ per annum in claro	x	xiiij	iiij
Abbas de Tourehill’ per annum	cxxxviiij		
Abbas de Waltham per annum	xviiij	viiij	iiij

¹ *Vias omitted.*

	Abbas de Berlynge per annum		lxvi	viiij
	Abbas de Evesham per annum	xxj	iiij	vij
	Abbas de Gerowdon' per annum		eiij	iiij
	Abbas de Wynchecombe per annum		e	
	Abbas de Malmesbury per annum		xxvj	viiij
	Abbas de Burton' per annum		lx	
	Abbas de Notle per annum	xiiij	ix	iiij
	Abbas de Coggeshale per annum		liiij	iiij
	Prior sancti Joh'is Jerusalem in Anglia per annum	iiij ^{xx}	xix	vij
onerat ^r super comp ^t	Prior de Cartusiens' prope London' per annum	iiij ^{xx}	iiij	xviiij
	Prior de Elsyngspetill' per annum	cxiiij	iiij	viiij
	Prior de Ely per annum		lxxij	
	Prior de Bretisham per annum	viii		
	Prior de Crichirhe per annum	xxxj	ij	viiij
	Hospital' sei Barth'i in Smythfelde per annum	iiij ^{xx}	xix	vij
br'e	Hospital' beate Marie extra Byschopes- gate per annum		ccxlij	xj
	Hospital' sancti Michaelis de Cante- brigg' per annum			cvj
	Hospital' sancti Jacobi juxta Westm.	xxvij	iiij	iiij
on'sup' comp'	Hospital' sancti Egidii extra Barram veteris Templi London' per annum	xxix	xiiij	vj
	Collegium de Derby per annum	xiiij	vj	viiij
	Collegium de Cobbeham per annum	iiij		
	Collegium sancti Mich'is in Crokidlane per annum	iiij ^{xx}	xv	v
	Collegium beate Marie Ottroye per annum		xvij	vj
	Collegium de Bayllihalle in Oxon. per annum		iiij	xij
	Collegium de Mertonhalle in Oxon. per annum			xl
	Collegium beate Marie in Oxon. per annum		vj	xj
	Collegium de Kyngestone superThamis' per annum		ix	xvij
	Collegium de Pountfrette per annum	lviiij	vj	viiij
	Collegium de Chaddesdene per annum		lj	viiij
br'e	Collegium Regis infra Palacium Westm. per a ^m	xlv	viiij	iiij
	Collegium de Sudbury per annum	iiij	xvij	iiij
	Collegium de Shottesbrooke per annum		lx	
	Collegium de Stanforde per annum	viiij		
	Collegium sancti Laurencij Pulteney per annum	lxj	x	viiij
	Domus de Bedlem' per annum		lxxvj	viiij
	Domus de Convers' per annum	xiiij	iiij	iiij
	Domus sancti Thome de Southwerke per a ^m	vij	ix	j

Domus ac Magister sancte Katerine
juxta Turrim London' per annum lx xix v ob

onerant' super comp'	{	Abbatissa Minorissarum extra Algate London' per a ^m	iiij ^{xx}	xvi		vi	
		Abbatissa de Burnham per annum			?		
		Priorissa de Clerkenwell per annum		lvj		xviiij	
		Priorissa de Haliwell' per annum				?	
		Priorissa de Seynt Elyns per annum		cxxx			vij
		Priorissa de Kylburne per annum	xxv		x	v	

br'e onerat' super comp'	}	Priorissa de Chesthuut per annum	xvij		vij		
		Priorissa de Dertforde per annum	xxvij			xiiiij	
		Priorissa de Stratforde atte Bowe per annum	xxj		xij	ij	
		Priorissa de Ankerwyke per annum	x				
		Priorissa de Godstowe per annum [m. 1 dorso]			xxvj		viiij
		Henricus Princeps Wallie per annum	xx marc'	xiiij	vi	viiij	
		Thomas filius Regis per annum		x			
		Johannes filius Regis per annum		ix		iiiij	
		Edwardus Dux Eboraci per annum		v			

Comites	{	Comes Marchie per annum				lx	
		Comes Arundellie per annum		x			
		Comes Westmerlandie per annum		xxvij			
		Comes Oxonie per annum				liij	iiiij
		Comes Marescallus per annum			vj		
		Comes Sar' per annum					xl
		Comes Warr' per annum			x		
		Comes Suff' per annum		xv	vj	iiij	

D'ni	{	Dominus de Clifforde per annum		x	xiiij	iiiij	
		Dominus de Ferereres de Chertley per annum				lxvi	viiij
		Dominus Lestraunge per annum		xvj			
		Dominus de Furnyvall' per annum			xxvj		viiij
		Dominus Lescope per annum			xxvj		viiij
		Dominus de Beaumonde per annum		v	vj		viiij
		Dominus de Bargavenny per annum	viiij marc'	v	vj		viiij
		Dominus de Lovell' per annum		vj	xviiij		
		Dominus Fitz Waulter per annum		ix	xj	xj	ob
		Dominus de Berkeley per annum				cvj	viiij
		Dominus de Haryngton' per annum				cvj	viiij
		Dominus de Grey de Riffyn' per annum				lxvj	viiij
		Dominus de Grey de Codnore per annum		ix	xvij		
		Dominus le Souche per annum		iiiij	viiij		x
Dominus de Cobbeharn per annum		ix	xv		iiiij		
Dominus Fitz Symond' per annum					l		

	Hugo Stafford' Miles per annum	xli ij	iiij
	Johannes Blount per annum	xvj	vj viij
	Johannes Chaumbre per annum	xiiij	xiiij iiij
	Hugo Waterton' per annum	lxxvij	ix
	Johannes Bremer Miles per annum	ix	vj viij
	Johannes Cornewaile per annum	xj	
	Ed's Sandeford' per annum	xix	iiij v
	Ricardus Waldegrave per annum	iiij	xij
	Dominus Will's Marny per annum	viiij	vj viij
	Johannes Chastelyon' per annum	lxxj	j ob
	Will's Argentyn' per annum	viiij	xiiij iiij
	Johannes Dabrichecourte per annum	viiij	xvj iiij
Milites	Johannes Dautesey per annum		lx
	Robertus Litton' per annum	xvij	vj viij
	Rad's Crumwell per annum		xl
	Will's Pecche per annum	xj	xj iiij
	Johannes Eynesford' per annum		xvj iiij
	Thomas Grene per annum	iiij	vj viij
	Thomas Fitz Nichol per annum	vj	iiij
	Johannes Cheyne per annum	iiij	vij x
	Johannes Lumley per annum	xvj	xix xj
	Rogerus Straunge per annum		xl
	Adam Fraunceys per annum	clxij	ix vj
	Robertus Denny per annum	xxiiiij	iiijvj ob
	Johannes Stanley per annum	xvj	vj viij
	Magister Joh'es Cato' per annum	xxvj	
	Henricus Ramme aur [ifaber] per annum	xiiij	
	Will's Grantham aur' per annum	xix	xiiij iiij
	Joh'es Croucher vynter per annum	xxiiij	xiiij iiij
	Joh'es Crosseby per annum	xxxj	xij
	Joh'es Stapilford' per annum	xxj	xvij j ob
	Persona de Honylane ac Executores		
	Rob'i Turk' per annum	xxxviiij	vij v
	Joh'es Frensshe aur' per annum	xxiiiij	x
	Joh'es Alfeld' Draper per annum	xviiij	ij x
	Joh'es Coventre ^c armiger per annum	xv	xj ij
	[m. 2]		
	Rogerus Chaumbre armiger per annum	xvij	xiiij iiij
	Joh'es Pellyng' per annum	xvj	vj viij
	Joh'es Wight' per annum	xvij	xv vij
	Will's Wodehous per annum	xvj	xiiij iiij
	Steph's Hull' per annum	xv	xiiij iiij
	Galfr'us Dallyng' per annum	xxvij	
	Walterus Strete per annum	xiiiij	xiiij iiij
	Joh'es Eynesham per annum	xxxvj	iiij iiij
	Joh'es Philpot per annum	xxxviiij	xvj viij
	Thomas Stable per annum	xij	xiiiij viij
	Joh'es atte Wode per annum	xxij	xij
	Joh'es Colpepir per annum	xij	xviiij viij
	Joh'es Wissingsete per annum	xxix	vj iiij
	Lodowicus Joh'n per annum	xx	vj viij

Joh'es Lever Sadeler per annum	l	iiij	
Walterus Gautron' per annum	xiiij		
Will's Powe per annum	xvj	xvj	viiij
Joh'es Olney armiger per annum	x		
Nich's Whaddon' de Com. Berk. per annum	vj	xiiij	iiij
Joh'es Burgh' per annum	xij	vj	
Joh'e Parker Mercerus per annum	xiiij	v	viiij
Thom' Wotton' Draper per annum	xiiij	vj	viiij
Thom' Walsyngham per annum	xvij	xiiij	xj ob
Will's Fitzhugh' Aur[ifaber] per annum	xiiij	vj	
Nich's Coke per annum	x	xv	vj
Joh'es Costantyn' per annum	xix	xvij	v
Rob's Odyham per annum	x	vij	ix
Joh'es Bryan' per annum	xvij	iiij	iiij
Edwardus Gysoures per annum	iiij		
Will's Middelton Grocer per annum	xvij	xiiij	v
Jacobus Gysoures per annum	xlj	xviiij	viiij
Joh'es Twyford' Squyer per annum	xv		xx
Joh'es Middelton' Mercerus per annum	xiiij	vj	viiij
Thom' Harkestede per annum	xij	viiij	viiij
Joh'es Profit Pisc' per annum	ix		
Joh'es More Bruer per annum	xix	x	
Joh'es Chireheman' per annum	x	vj	viiij
Joh'es Olney Grocere per annum	xx		j
Thom' Chaucer per annum	viiij		
Will's Parker per annum	xviiij	x	
Will's Pountfreit per annum	ix	vj	viiij
Joh'es Teukesbury Aur' per annum	x	vi	viiij
Joh'es Waleys per annum	x		
Rob's Asshecombe Brouderer per annum	xv	xv	viiij
Alanus Walsyngham per annum	xvij	xj	
Magister Henr' Fowler per annum	xxiiij	xiiij	vij
Thom' Farndon' Armiger per annum	xvij	xiiij	iiij
Nich's Bacon' Mercerus per annum	xvij		
Joh'es Polhill' de Com' Kanc' per annum	xxv	xij	
Ric's Spicer per annum	xiiij	vij	
Joh'es Gravesende per annum	viiij		
Thom' Exton' aur' per annum	xij	xiiij	viiij
Galfr'us Michell' per annum	xx		
Joh'es Cheyham per annum	xvj	iiij	
Henr' Trewyn' per annum	xvij	iiij	ob
Will's Michell' per annum	xv	ij	iiij
Thom' Charlton' per annum	xj	xiiij	
Thom' Osebern' per annum	xiiij	viiij	vj
Joh'es Tetteford' per annum	xij		
Will's Vanner per annum	xxiiij	xiiij	
Ric's Prest per annum	xvij	iiij	vj
Thom' Clerc' Peautrer per annum	xiiij	xvij	viiij
Ric's Radewell' per annum	xvij	x	iiij ob
Rob's Arnold' per annum	vij	viiij	
Rob's Burford' per annum	xiiij	x	vij ob

Rob's Chichele per annum	xlij	xix	ij
Ric's Whityngton per annum	xxv		
Thom' Knolles per annum	xxxvij	xiiij	vj
Drugo Barantyn per annum	lv	xvj	xj
Joh'es Shadeworth' per annum	xliij	v ij	ob
Will's Askeham per annum [n. 2 dorso]	lxxvij	iiij j	ob q ^a
Ric's Merlowe per annum	xxxv	xiiij	vj
Will's Waldern' per annum	iiij	xix	
Will's Crowmere per annum	vj	iiij vj	ob
Will's Louthe per annum		x	
Thom' Polle per annum	xxiiij	xvij ix	ob
Nich's Wotton per annum	ix	vj	viiij
Steph's Speleman' per annum	xlvj	vj v	ob
Joh'es Warner per annum	xliij	ij	vj ob
Will's Chichele per annum	x	xviiij	viiij
Henry Barton' per annum	xxj	ix	ij
Thom' Pyke per annum	xj	ij	xj
Will's Norton' per annum	lxiiij	viiij	ix
Will's Sevenok' per annum	xix	iiij	
Henr' Halton' per annum	viiij		
Joh'es Lane per annum	xxiiij	v ix	ob
Walterus Cotton' per annum	xx	vj	iiij
Simon Sewale per annum	xxiiij	x	
Joh'es atte Lee Chaundeler per annum	xxxj	xvj	x
Maior et Communitas Civitatis Lon- don' per annum	cl	ix	xi
Maior et Communitas ac Magistr' Pontis London' ad reparac' et sustentac' dicti Pontis per annum	cxlviiij	xv	iiij
Joh'es Reynewell' per annum	xvj		
Joh'es Pykard' Armiger per annum	lviiij	xiiij	iiij ob
Joh'es Curteys Armiger per annum	xlviij	xv	iiij
Joh'es Pecche Armiger per annum	lj	vij	ij
Ric'us Stacy per annum	xviiij	vj	viiij
Ric'us Pavy Armiger per annum	xl	ij	
Henr' Julian Irmonger per annum	xxxiiij	xvj	viiij
Will's Kelshill' per annum	xxij	x	
Rob's Ramsey Armiger per annum	xxj	xv	vij
Rob's Domenyk' per annum	lxxiiij	x	
Joh'es Garton' Armiger per annum	xv	iiij	xj
Joh'es Maryns Armiger per annum	xiiij	iiij	viiij
Joh'es Sireman' Carpentere per annum	x		
Joh' Wade per annum	xxiiij		xiiij
Ric's Storme per annum	xviiij	xj	viiij
Joh'es Hende per annum	liiiij	xiiij	vij
Executores testamenti Will'i Baret per a ^m	xxij	iiij	viiij
Joh'es Dereham Squyer per annum	xx		
Will's Raylly ¹ lymedraper per annum	xxxj	xv	j

¹ *Quære* for Baylly.

Joh'es Cornwaleys per annum	xl	xiiij	viiij
Thom' Godelake per annum	xiiij	xvj	viiij
Joh'es Boys Armiger per annum	xv	v	iiij
Rie's Henbrigge per annum	xiiij		
Joh's Seynt Jermayn' per annum		xviiij	
Joh's Cosyn' Grocere per annum	xxxvj	x	
Thomas Grey Grocere per annum	xxviiij	iiij	iiij
Rob's Thrisk Clericus per annum	xxix	vj	viiij
Simon Bodham per annum		xlviij	viiij
Joh'es Bokenham Draper per annum	xvj	xiiij	iiij
Rie's Bedewynd' per annum	xvj	xviiij	
Rie's Wynter Stokfisshmonger per annum		iiij	ij xj
Joh'es Southecote Squyer per annum	xxxiij		j
Will's Hide per annum	xiiij	xj	iiij
Alanus Everard' Mercer per annum	xxxvj	xviiij	x
Rob's Fitz Robert per annum	xxxj	v	vij
Nieh's Kymbell' per annum	xxxiij		
Joh'es Walden' Armiger per annum	xxvj	iiij	
Will's Neel de Chichestr' per annum	xv	ij	vj
Thomas Rikhill' per annum	xxj	vij	j
Nieh's Rikhill' per annum	xiiij	xiiij	x
Henr' Rede armourer per annum	xxiiij	xviiij	iiij
Rob's Comberton' per annum	xliij	xiiij	viiij
Thomas Brampton' Armiger per annum	xiiij	vj	viiij
Thomas Cressy & Joh'es Eton' execu- tores testamenti Will'i Parker'	xxxiij		
Thomas Horsham per annum	xx		
Joh'es Weston' Communis Serviens ad legem infra Civitatem London'	xxxiiij	xiiij	viiij
Joh'es Rykhill' per annum	xj	vj	viiij
Will's Venour per annum	x		
Joh'es Slorye per annum	xxxiiij	vj	viiij
[m. 3]			
Thomas Burton' Grocere per annum	xv	vj	viiij
Joh'es Drax Auditor de Scaccario Regis per annum	xiiij	xiiij	iiij
Thomas Duke Skynner' per annum	liij	xiiij	iiij
Nieh's Yelde de Com' Oxon' per annum	xvj	x	
Will's Tristour per annum	xxix		
Gardianus de Flete per annum	v		xxj
Domina nostra Re ^{na} Angl' per annum	xvi	x	
Comitissa Sar' que fuit uxor Joh'is Aubrey per annum	xxvj	xiiij	vj
Comitissa Hertford' per annum	iiij		
D'na de Clynton' per annum	iiij	xiiij	
D'na de Keryell' per annum		xiiij	iiij
D'na de Pyell' per annum	xxiiij	ix	iiij
D'na de Roos per annum		lxviij	viiij
D'na de Bardolf' per annum		xviiij	ij
D'na de Fastolf' per annum	iiij ^{xx}	xiiij	xvj
D'na Margareta Philipot per annum		ex	ij vij

D'na de Beauchamp' per annum			xl
D'na de Nerford' per annum		vj	
Elizabeth' Melchebourne per annum	xxij		ij
Elizabeth' Fraunceys per annum	lxxiiij	iiij	
Matil' Danyell' per annum		lx	
Alicia Darcy per annum		xl	vj viij
Joh'na Turk' piscenar' per annum		xvj	vj
Uxor quondam Joh'is Wakefield' per annum	xxix	ix	iiij
Juliana Pulle per annum	xvij	xij	viiij
Relicta Joh'is Broun' per annum	viiij	x	
Joh'na Blount per annum	xj	xv	iiij
Alicia Carlil' per annum	v	vj	viiij
Alicia Shelleford' per annum	vj		
Alicia Butterwyk' per annum	xvij	iiij	viiij
Emma Trigge per annum	vij		
Rosa Caundissh' per annum	xx	xij	vj
D'na de Bereford' per annum		e	
Alicia quondam uxor Will'i Brampton' per a ^m			evj viij
Alicia quondam uxor Galfr'i Broke per a ^m		vij	vj viij
Margareta Broun' per annum		xxiiij	
Gemnota Preston' per annum		ix	vij
Alicia Langehorne per annum		xiiij	xviiij
Elizabeth' quondam uxor Thome Wel- ford' per a ^m	xliiiij	ix	xj
Avicia Songe per annum	xix	xvij	ix
Relicta Joh'is Doget per annum	vj		vj
Relicta Joh'is Walcote per annum	xlij	x	ij
Relicta Thome Chareilton' per annum	xvij	xvj	
Mag'r Joh'es Combe per annum		vj	ix xj
Joh'es Crepyn' per annum		cxvj	
Rad's Bateman' per annum	ix	xiiij	iiij
Nich's Rasyn' per annum	viiij	xiiij	iiij
D'n's Ric's Haveryng' per annum	vij		
Joh'es Knyvesworth' per annum	vj	vj	v
Will's Bright per annum		xv	
Joh'es Greyland' per annum		viiij	
Rie's Tewelre per annum		xj	vj
Oliverus Croydon' per annum			xviiij
Will's Spicer per annum		vj	
Walterus Colshull' per annum		vj	viiij
Thom' Cook' per annum		vj	viiij
Joh'es Wakeryng' clericus rotul' domini Regis per annum	xj	iiij	
Joh'es Chitterne clericus per annum	xj	vj	viiij
Joh'es Preston' clericus per annum		lxvj	viiij
Joh'es Breche clericus per annum		lxvj	viiij
Rob's Manfeld' provost' de Beverley per a ^m	vij	vij	ix
Joh'es Drye clericus per annum	ix	xv	

Will's Stortford' clericus per annum	xx	xiiij	iiij
Reginaldus Kentwod' per annum	vj	xiiij	iiij
Fraternitas Artis Mercerorum per annum	xiiij	xviiij	iiij
Fraternitas Artis Aurifabrorum per annum	xlviij	x	ob
Fraternitas Artis Pellipariorum per annum	xviiij	xij	viiij
Fraternitas Cissorum per annum	xliiiij	iiij	vij
Fraternitas Sellar[orum] per annum	xix	vj	viiij
Joh'es Baynynge Wolman' per annum	xij	xiiij	viiij
Rob's Broun' per annum	xij	iiij	vij
[m. 3 dorso]			
Margeria Brounynge per annum	lxix	j	ob
Will's Warsop' Capellanus per annum		c	
Rob's Justys per annum	iiij	xliiiij	xj
Joh'es Guy Ismonger per annum	vj	xxj	ob
D'n's Ed's Pole per annum	iiij	viiij	x
D'n's Ed's Fraunceys per annum		eiij	ij
Joh'es Bodenham per annum		eiij	
Ric's Loxle Grocere per annum	vij	ij	ij
Ric's Spiee Armiger per annum	iiij	xj	j ob
Will's Charteseye per annum	iiij	xliiiij	
Joh'es Fyge per annum		lxiij	iiij
Thom' Glenaunt et Will's Glenaunt per a ^m	xj	viiij	
Rob's Dymmok' Draper per annum	iiij	x	viiij
Joh'es Horold' per annum	vj	xij	vj
Rad's Codyngton' per annum	iiij	ij	xj
Henr' Somer per annum		liij	iiij
Joh'es Barbour per annum	viiij	xj	v
Will's Flete per annum		cxj	
Will's Walworth' per annum	ix	xj	
Will's Sudbury per annum		lxxix	vj
Will's Weston' Draper per annum		eiij	
Joh'es Bosome per annum	iiij		
Joh'es Baynard' per annum	xiiij	xviiij	x
Joh'es Derneford per annum	iiij		
Joh'es Sudbury per annum	iiij	xiiij	iiij
Joh'es Pecot per annum	xiiij	vj	viiij
Gregorius Balard' per annum		cvj	viiij
Rob's Rose per annum	x	ij	ob
Uxor Henr' Whitwell' per annum	ix	xix	j
Joh'es Sadeler Vynter per annum	iiij	xviij	viiij
Joh'es Blounvile per annum	iiij	iiij	iiij
Thomas Fullham per annum	vj	ix	viiij
Joh'es Lawneye Grocere per annum	iiij		
Thomas More per annum	x		
Thomas Duffehous Piscenarius per a ^m	viiij	xij	ix
Ric's Bean Grocere per annum ^{v mare'}	iiij	vj	viiij
Joh'es Fynche Wexchaundeler per annum	iiij		

Will's Knyght' Felmongere per annum	vj	
Will's Olyver Grocere per annum	vj	iiij
Will's Wodward' Founder per annum		lix iiij
Thomas Colshull' per annum	iiij	xiiij j
Rob's de Warde per annum	iiij	xvj viij
Will's Tornour Baker per annum	iiij	xj ob
	<small>v marc iiij. s. iiijd. ob.</small>	
Will's Galaundre Clerc' per annum	viij	
Rob's Wolmersty Piscenar' per annum	iiij	
Joh'es Weston' Irmonger per annum		xlviij viij
Joh'es Gore Tailour per annum		liij ij
Henr' Boseworth' per annum	viij	vj viij
Will's Reynewell' per annum	vj	vij iiij
Thomas Reynewell' per annum		lvj viij
Thomas Vale Grocer per annum		xliij iiij
Rogerus Andrewe per annum		cxj viij
Will's Aynesham per annum		lxxij viij
D'n's Thomas Peld' per annum		lxx
Joh'es Beamound' Chaundeler per annum		
Henr' Ertou' per annum	xiiiij	xj
Joh'es Denever Irmongere per annum	x	
Ric's Wynter Stokfisshemonger per annum	iiij	xiiiij viij
Rob's Wydyton' Grocer per annum	xx	
Ric's Maughefeld' per annum	ix	xvij xj
Joh'es Perueys Stokfisshemonger per annum		liij iiij
Thomas Mockyng' per annum	ix	xvij xj
Will's Braybrook ^r per annum	iiij	xj viij
Joh'es Scardeburgh' per annum		lviiij viij
Will's Iver Tornour per annum		liij iiij
Joh'es Rothyng' per annum		lx
Walterus Newenton' per annum		lxvj iiij
Her[edes] Andree atte Vyne per annum	viij	xvij viij
Walterus Redeler Draper per annum		cxv viij
Alicia Same per annum		xlvj viij
Ed's Bys Stokffishmonger per annum		lvj viij
[m. 4]		
Executores testamenti Will'i Bys per annum		lxvj viij
Rob's Rus per annum	vij	xv
Joh'es Swetenham per annum		lx vij
Joh'es Roberd' per annum		lxij iiij
Joh'es Ammour per annum		xl
Rob's Scalton Skynnere per annum		lxxv j
Agnes Haye per annum		xliiiij
Will's Hasarme Armiger per annum		xlvj viij
Joh'es Downer Mynstrall' per annum		xlvj viij
Alex' Farnell' Tailour per annum		lxvj viij
Will's Bryan' Stokffishmongere per annum		xl

Will's Potman' per annum	liij	iiij
Joh'es Elyngham Stokfishemongere per a ^m		l
Alanus Roys Mercer	xlviij	viiij
Thom' Tykhill Mereer	lx	
Joh'es Mersk' Stokfishemongere	xl	
Isabell' quondam uxor Ric'i Abell' per a ^m		xl
Ric's Bedewynd' per annum	xliiij	j
Joh'es Raulyn' Bruer per annum	lvij	
Jacobus Brampton' per annum	xliiij	ij ob
Jacobus Brampton' Armiger per annum	xxx	
Rad's Halstede per annum	xxxviij	viiij
Barth'us Seman' Goldbetere per annum	lxviij	iiij
Ric's Spark' per annum	xxxviij	viiij
Thomas Appulby Vynter per annum	xl	
Simon Lemar' per annum	xxviij	viiij
Joh'es Causton' per annum	xxviij	viiij
Thomas Bristowe per annum	vj	viiij
Isabell' Maughfeld' per annum	xxxiiij	iiij
Rob's Colneye per annum	viiij	viiij
Ric's Tangeley per annum	xviiij	
Steph's Roo per annum	x	viiij
Joh'es Shawe Vynter per annum	xxxviij	vj
Joh'es Hamerton' per annum	xxix	iiij
Executores testamenti Joh'is Duket per a ^m		xx
Hugo Rybrede Piscenar' per annum	vj	viiij
Joh'es Brokhole per annum	xxxj	viiij
Will's Spencer Chaundeler per annum	xxx	
Ric's Caundissl' per annum	xxviij	viiij
Joh'es Palmer per annum	xx	
Rogerus Palmere per annum	xx	
Henr' Palmer per annum	vj	viiij
Joh' Cokayn' per annum	xv	iiij
Ric'us Sandon' per annum	iiij	
Executores testamenti Jacobi Billyng- ford' per a ^m	xxxij	
Thomas Mochillhod' per annum	vj	viiij
Joh'na Relicta Joh'is Olney Junioris per a ^m		xxij iiij
Matild' Smart' per annum	xxviij	viiij
Heremit' infra Crepulgate per annum	xiiij	iiij
Ric's Lynne Taillour per annum	xx	
Joh'es West per annum	xxxv	
D'n's Will's Skelton' per annum	xxiiij	viiij
Rob's Skelton' per annum	x	viiij
Alianora Causton' per annum	xiiij	ij
Joh'es Bailly per annum	xl	
Joh'es Morell' per annum	xliiij	v ob
[m. 4 dorso]		
Lucas Morell' per annum	xxviij	viiij

Joh'es Brawghate per annum	lxxviiij	viiij
Relieta Joh'is Stegan' per annum	xx	
Bernardus Carpentere per annum	xxv	ix
Ric's Brandon' per annum	xxij	iiij
Walterus Ree Squyer' per annum	xxviiij	v ob
Rob's Gogh' clericus per annum	xxxv	
Walterus Welyngton' per annum	xlviij	viiij
Joh'es Broun' per annum	xxij	iiij
Ric's Savage per annum	xxxv	iiij
Thomas Seimole per annum	xvij	ix ob
Joh'es Eem Carpenter per annum	x	viiij
Joh'es Symesson' per annum	xxxv	vij
Thomas Boys per annum	iiij	viiijx
Ric's Brounyng' per annum	xxviij	v ob
Joh'es White per annum	viiij	x
Will's Worsop' Capellanus per annum	e	
Joh'es Okeham per annum	vj	viiij
Thomas atte Brigge per annum	xxx	
Thomas Garbold' per annum	x	
Uxor Joh'is Bronwyeh' per annum	xxvj	viiij
Alicia Burwell' per annum	xiiij	iiij
Joh'es Brampston' per annum	xiiij	iiij
Rob's Fraunkeleyn' per annum	xl	
Henr' atte Hook' per annum	x	
Steph's Serop' per annum	vj	viiij
Will's Lynne per annum	xl	
Rob's Burton' per annum	vj	viiij
Thom' Dreyton' per annum	xxvj	viiij
Ph'us Spencer per annum	xxxviij	iiij
Joh'es Nyansere Armiger per annum	xl	
Joh'es Hynkell' per annum	xx	
Simon Dawe per annum	xx	
Thomas Beelham per annum	x	
Thomas Oxenford' per annum	x	
Ric's Hammes Armiger per annum	xxxviij	iiij
Will's Mersh' Smyth' infra Turrim London' per annum	xlj	iiij
Ric'us Moreok' Bocher per annum	xiiij	iiij
Rogerus Baron' Bruer per annum	iiij xvj	x
Thomas Felawe Bocher per annum	xlj	vj
Nich's Colvile Bocher per annum	xiiij	iiij
Joh'es Edward' Bocher per annum	xiiij	iiij
Henr' Walford' Skynmere per annum	xij	
[m. 5]		
Joh'es Parker per annum	iiij xiiij	iiij
Thom' atte Wode per annum	lxxviiij	ij
Petrus Feriby per annum	xl	
Will's Butte Mereer per annum	vij	vj viij
Ric's Crownere per annum	xl	
Will's Hert per annum	xl	
Ric'us Iklyngton' per annum	xx	
Agn' Usk' per annum	iiij	

Thom' Wynter per annum	vj	x	
Joh'es Whale per annum	vj		
Juliana Weldon' per annum	iiij		
Nich'us Wodehull' per annum		lx	
Joh'es Bungay per annum		xiiij	iiij
Rie' Edmond' per annum	iiij		
Rob'tus Frampton' per annum		lx	
Rie'us Shote per annum		xx	
Will's Neel commorans in Podyuglane per a ^m		xl	
Will's Essex per annum	iiij		
Thom' Freef' per annum		xl	
Will's Wolarby per annum		xx	
Joh'es Asplion' per annum		xxx	
Katerina Lovekyn per annum		e	
Relicta Will'i Whaplode per annum		lxiij	viiij
Relicta Ric'i Odilso per annum		xxx	
Joh'na Beri per annum	iiij		
Nich'us Thurk per annum		lxvj	viiij
Joh'es Howell Mason' per annum		xx	
John' Heukesworth' per annum		xl	
John' Fox per annum		xxx	
Reginaldus Bernewell' per annum	viiij		
Will's Raison' per annum		xl	
Rob'tus Brendwod' per annum	iiij		
Steph's Hervy per annum	iiij	vj	viiij
Joh'es Teyntrell' Mercator Cicestr' per annum		liij	iiij
Cecilia Manhall' per annum	vij	iiij	vij
Margareta Lynne per annum		lxx	
Thom' Barnet de Com' Kane' per annua		lx	
Steph'us Bugge per annum	iiij		
Executores Joh'is Wodekok' per annum	iiij	xiiij	iiij
Relicta Rogeri Jaket per annum	iiij	vj	viiij
Margareta Philipotte Ric' Croulond' et Thomas Godelake tenent conjunc- tim diversas terras et ten' in Warda de Bredstrete et valent per annum	xij	xiiij	iiij
Joh'es Raison' per annum	iiij		
Joh'es Gayton' per annum		liij	iiij
Rob'tus Hall Aurifaber London' per annum		e	
Hugo Angilsey per annum		xl	
Will's Skrene per annum		xl	
Thom' Benet per annum		xl	
Joh' Viveton' per annum		xl	
Rob'us Nippe per annum		xxvj	viiij
Agn' Kelshull' per annum		xiiij	iiij
Joh'es Ashton' per annum		xxxiiij	iiij
Thom' Garthorp' per annum	iiij	vj	viiij
Joh'es Michell' per annum		lxxiiij	iiij
Will'us Multon' de Com' Lincoln' per annum		xxvj	viiij

Rob'us Tendirden' Irmonger per annum	viiij		
Rogerus Wake per annum	xxvj	viiij	
Relicta Joh'is Kente per annum	liij	iiij	
Rob'us Payne per annum	xl		
Margar' Steham per annum	xl		
Thom' Hougat pise' per annum	vj		
Alienora Gate per annum	xl		
Her[edes] Arnaldi Seint Legerez per annum	vj		
Thom' Weston' de Com' Cantebr' per annum	xxxiiij	iiij	
Rob'us Holand' Sherman per annum	xlviij	viiij	
Henr' Hert pannarius per annum	xxvj	viiij	
Walterus Witton' per annum	iiij		
Ric'us Barton' per annum	liij	iiij	
Will's Russell' per annum	iiij		
Joh'es Parker Thom' Glenant & Will's Andeby per annum	vij	vj	viiij
Agn' Giffard' per annum	vj		
Executores Joh'is Bitellesdene per annum	xxvj	viiij	
Albredus Pelette de Ely per annum	xvj		
Will's Coggeshale per annum	vj		
Walterus Aylewyn per annum	xiiij	iiij	
Joh'es Padyngton' per annum	xiiij	vj	
Joh'es Wrynge per annum [m. 5 dorso]	iiij	iiij	
Joh'es Beaugraunt per annum	vij	v	
Henr' Frowyk' per annum	vj	viiij	
Thomas Maundevill' per annum	cxv		
Ric'us Osborn' per annum	ix	xij	iiij
Steph'us Robert per annum		vj	viiij
Alic' Belham per annum		cviiij	
Nich'us Crumwell' per annum		xx	viiij
John' Stombillhole per annum		xxvj	viiij
Agn' Clerke per annum	iiij		
Nich'us Parker per annum	iiij	vj	viiij
Joh' Talworth' per annum		xl	
Joh'es Dawe per annum	xxxiiij	iiij	
Gilbertus Aschurste per annum	lxxiiij	iiij	
Thom' Freek' per annum	xiiij	iiij	
Joh' Russell' per annum	cxj	viiij	
Rad'us Swyche per annum	lxxvj	viiij	
Margar' Foxton' per annum		xl	
Math'us Carlhull' per annum	lxxvj	viiij	
Joh'es Spelman' per annum	xxvj	viiij	
Ric'us Moris per annum	liij	iiij	
Joh'es Lynasey per annum	lxxiiij	iiij	
Rad'us apud le Sarsinshede per annum		cvj	viiij
Joh'es Asplion' per annum	vj	v	iiij

Tenentes quondam D'ni de Audeley per annum		lx	
Margareta Sakevile per annum		lx	
Thom' Costantyne per annum		c	
Ed'us Hampton' per annum		lx	
Thom' Erpyngham Miles per annum		c	
Joh'es Credy per annum		xl	
Will's Chapele' per annum		liij	iiij
Nich'us Cressi Armiger per annum	xxvj		viiij
Thom' Richard' per annum	vj		viiij
Joh'es Liltilton' per annum	xxvj		viiij
Joh'es Everard' per annum	xl		
Tenent' voc' le Iren' on the hop' per annum		xx	
Will's Agh'ton' per annum	iiij		
Rob'tus Newenton' per annum		xxx	
Ric' Geynesford' per annum	iiij	viiij	x
Joh'es Tice Goldebeter per annum		cv	viiij
Pons de Rouchestr' per annum	xiiij		
Alic' Fitz Simond' per annum	xxvj		viiij
Will's Enterden' per annum	xiiij		iiij
Joh'es Cok' per annum	xxviij		vj
Will's atte Aungell' per annum	xiiij		iiij
Galfr'us Wymond' per annum	xxvj		viiij
Will's Bronyng' per annum	xxvj		viiij
Thom' White Tiler per annum	xiiij		iiij
Thom' Wissenden' per annum	x		viiij
Joh'es Shorham per annum	ix		x
Joh'es Kyngeston' per annum	xlj		v
Joh'es Hovell per annum	xxxv		vj
Joh'na Gay [per] annum	viiij	xiiij	iiij
Will's Mildenhale per annum		lxxiiij	v
Rob'tus Louthe per annum	iiij	xviij	
Joh'es Bifield' per annum	xxvj		viiij
Isabella Thorney per annum	lxxv		vj
Joh'es Marchall' Tailleur per annum	lvij		viiij
Nich'us Carperter per annum	xl		
Ric'us Hodoch' per annum	xxiiiij		
Will's Kirkeby per annum	lx		
Hen' Malpas Clericus per annum	xlvj		viiij
Joh'es Wyot per annum		c	
Joh'es Som[er] per annum		ciij	vj
Ed'us Salle per annum	ix		xx
Joh'es Serjaunt Sherman per annum	xxxv		viiij
Joh'es Pynchardon' per annum	xliiiij		vj
Joh'es Bile per annum	lxvj		viiij
Thom' Lekenore per annum	vij	xix	iiij
Rob'tus Knyvet' per annum		cix	v
[m. 6]			
Joh'es Buke per annum		c	
Joh'es Bawde per annum	iiij	xij	
Will's Westbroke per annum		xljx	

Joh'es Clipsham per annum	iiij	
Will's Symmes per annum	xxxv	vij
Georgius Fastolf' per annum	vij	
Relicta Will'i Bonby per annum		xl
Georgius Benet et Joh'es Thebaud executores testamenti Godfr' Cost per annum		liij iiij
Heredes Godfr' Coste per annum	lxvj	vij
Georgius Benet per annum	xxxiiij	iiij
Thom' Cotyngwith' Clericus per annum	xxvj	vij
Elena commorans cum Thoma Chaucer' per annum		cvj vij
Executores testamenti Thom' Kente per annum	vj	iiij vij
Joh'es Moxun per annum		xx
Ed'us Burnell' per annum		e
Rob'us Whityngham per annum	vij	iiij
Will's Bernard' per annum	iiij	
Sara Stokesle per annum	iiij	xvij ix
Rob'us Capperre per annum		xiiij iiij
Relicta Joh'is Mendham per annum		lxvj vij
Joh'na Traynell' per annum	iiij	xiiij iiij
Will's Marowe per annum		cvj vij
Joh'es Morevall' per annum		xxvj vij
Joh'na Bene per annum		xxvj vij
Petrus de Bedlem per annum		xliiij vj
Joh'es Donyng' Bruer per annum		xxxvj
Ric'us Levying' per annum		xxviij
Thom' Berebowe per annum		liij iiij
Will's Kente Peautrer' per annum	iiij	
Thom' Mallyng' per annum	vj	x vij
Adam Smalstrete per annum		xl
Will's Chipstede per annum		lx
Joh'na Trigge pise' per annum		xliiij vj
Thom' Provendr' per annum		e
Joh'es Claveryng' per annum	xij	vij iiij
Walterus Pope per annum		xx
Guido Laurenc' per annum	xj	ix v
Will's Bismere per annum		xl vij
Alic' Barton' per annum		xxiiij
Joh' Southous per annum	xij	xviiij iiij
Thom' Sutton' per annum		e
Ric'us Gille per annum	x	vij iiij
Joh'es Westzerd' per annum	vij	xix vj
Rob'us atte Hill' per annum		xx
Rob'us Bover' per annum		lxij vij
Steph'us Hervy per annum		xxix
Thom' Barnet per annum		x
Ric'us Person Armurer per annum		ev x
Joh'es Clifton' et Joh'es Widmere per annum	xj	vj j
Joh'es Makelesfeld' per annum	xxxij	vii

Will'us Byrche per annum	xxiiij	
Joh'es Exhale per annum	xxvj	viiij
Gilbertus Haywod' per annum	cvj	viiij
Thomas Mortymer per annum	iiij	viiij x
Relicta Barth'i Neef' per annum	xxx	viiij
Rector ecclesie sancti Christofori per annum	viiij	v viiiij
Joh'es Knotte Taylour per annum		xlv viiiij
Steph'us Frankeleyne per annum	iiij	xiiij iiij
Joh'es Hotefte Armiger per annum		xl
Joh'es Sydyngburne per annum		lx
Ph'us atte the Popes hede per annum		xxvj viiiij
Joh'es Norman' Aurifaber per annum	iiij	
Rogerus Kendall' per annum		xl
Will's Pritwell' per annum		lx
Ric'us Hamme Armiger per annum		lxxv
Joh'es Swynflet per annum		xl
Laurenc' Durem per annum		x iiij
Margareta More Chaundeler per annum		v
Dionisius Lopham per annum	vj	xxvj
Ric'us Pollehill' Pelliparius per annum	iiij	vj viiiij
Simon Sampson' Armiger per annum	vj	iiij
[m. 6 dorso]		
Rob'us Bright Girdeler per annum		lxvj viiiij
Nich'us Frankeleyn per annum		xlvj viiiij
Henr' Bray per annum		xxxv
Joh'es Warton' per annum		xl
Will's Crane per annum		cxviiij
Joh'es Marchaunt per annum	viiij	
Th' May per annum		xxx
Ric' Pounfree pisc' per annum	xij	iiij iiij
Will's Turnell' per annum		xl
Joh' Comyn Vynter per annum		xiiij iiij
Will's Curraunt per annum	vij	xvij
Joh'es Curraunt Aurifaber per annum		lxxiiij viiiij
Will's Aston' clericus per annum	vj	xiiij iiij
Rob'us Bright Girdeler per annum	vj	viiij
Joh'es Bernes Aur' per annum	vj	vj
D'n's Joh'es Tutteburi per annum		eiij iiij
D'n's Will's Dier vicar' de Bray per annum		xx
Simon Gaunsted' per annum	vj	ix viiiij
Will's Wassyngham Alutar' per annum		xvj
Alic' Lirper per annum		xxix iiij
Thom' Hall' Mercer per annum	iiij	iiij viiiij
Godfridus Prest Copersmyth' per annum	iiij	iiij iiij
Joh'es Spore Armiger per annum		l viiiij
Relicta Will'i Balham per annum		xlviij j
Relicta Henr' Payne per annum		xxvj viiiij
Joh'es Stachinden' pisc' per annum	iiij	xix
Joh'es Oudeby Clericus per annum		v iiij
Will's Clay Curreour per annum		lxiiij iiij

Joh'es Salman' Curreour per annum	iiij	viiij	x
Steph'us Toppesfeld' per annum		lxxvj	viiij
Will's Turk' Armiger per annum	ix	xvj	viiij
Joh'es Hore Brewer per annum		x	iiij
Thom' Hawe Mee' per annum		xviiij	ix
Joh'es Wolward' Armiger per annum		lxiij	iiij
Henr' Louelich' Pellipar' per annum		vj	viiij
Rob'us Rous Brasier per annum		lviiij	viiij
Alie' Wynchecombe per annum	ix	xviiij	iiij
Ric'us Walworth' Vynter per annum	iiij		
Thom' Cressy Mercer per annum	vij		
Tenentes quondam Joh'is Loveye per annum		xv	
Agn' Redyng' per annum	iiij	xiiij	iiij
Edwardus Pichard' per annum	vij	vj	viiij
Joh'es Twyford' Coteler per annum		xiiij	iiij
Elienora Yonge per annum	viiij	viiij	
Joh'es Eton' per annum		lxxvj	
Joh'es Marcheford' per annum		c	
Thom' Willesden' Armiger per annum	vij	xviiij	
Joh'es Raundes Capellanus per annum		lxx	
Thom' Tendirden' per annum		c	
Joh'na Body per annum		lx	
Thom' Frowik' per annum		lxiij	
Will's Burton' Skryvener per annum		xl	
Will's Everard' per annum		xxvj	viiij
Will's Stonham per annum		xl	
Joh'es Sotheryn per annum		viiij	
Henr' Edward' per annum	vj	v	ij
Joh'es Cressewell' per annum	iiij		
Petr' Brikelsworth per annum	ix	xiiij	vij
Rad'us Bredon' per annum		xviiij	
Joh'es Grauntham Junior per annum	xj	xviiij	
Joh'es Stannton' per annum	xj	xviiij	
Ric'us Waltham per annum		xxx	
Joh'es Bridlynton' per annum		vij	
Joh'es Double per annum	ix	xix	
Joh'es Wetyng' per annum	iiij	vj	viiij
Relicta Joh'is Clophill' pee annum	xiiij	iiij	iiij
Joh'es Longe per annum		xxix	vj
Relicta Joh'is Bradmore per annum	iiij	iiij	vj
Alanus Britte per annum		cvj	viiij
Thomas Appelton' per annum		xviiij	iiij
[m. 7]			
Math'us Rede Armiger per annum		xxxiij	
Eliseus Ongham per annum		lxxij	iiij
Petrus Torold' per annum		vj	
Walterus Bewe per annum	vij	xvj	j ob
Joh'es Herteshorn' per annum		xxxviiij	iiij
Thom' More Clericus per annum	xj	vj	viiij
Ric'us Walgrave Miles per annum		xv	iiij
Joh'es Denton' Armiger per annum		cxvj	viiij

Joh'es Turbek' per annum	xlviij	iiij
Joh'es Blakeden' per annum	lxxj	
Joh'es Randolf' per annum	vj xij	iiij
Rob'us Scotte per annum	xij xiiij	viiij
Joh'es Caunbrigge Armiger per annum	iiij	
D'n's Henricus Hammond' per annum	xlviij	
Will's Prestwik' Clericus per annum	xliij	iiij
Will's Roke Clericus per annum	lxxiiij	iiij
Alex' Waterbaylly per annum	xxvj	viiij
Joh'es Bynham Clericus per annum	lxj	viiij
Guido Baker per annum	lxix	viiij
Joh'es Grene per annum	viiij	ix
Will's Hoddesdon' per annum	xij xiiij	iiij
Will's Mersch' per annum	iiij xviij	x
Joh'es Wigmore per annum	xxxj	j
Margar' Lydzerd' per annum	xxvj	viiij
Joh'es Pope per annum	xxviij	viiij
Joh'es Markele per annum	lxxv	viiij
Rogerus Malpas per annum	iiij	
Joh'es Colbroke per annum	xxvj	viiij
Joh'es Chelmesford' per annum	xlviij	viiij
Agn' Twitman' per annum	xxxvj	viiij
Joh'es Norton' Grocer per annum	lxvj	viiij
Will's Burton' per annum	xviiij	iiij
Joh'es Silham per annum	iiij	
Margeria Ludwike per annum	cxvj	viiij
Agn' Cornewaille per annum	xl	
Joh'es Harper per annum	xiiij	iiij
Will's Wroth' per annum	c	
Persona ecclesie sancti Martini Pomers per annum	xlviij	
Joh'es Ponde per annum	vj vj	viiij
Joh'es Hokelif' per annum	x	
Margareta Adyn per annum	iiij vj	viiij
Joh'es Bally per annum	lxxj	
Will's Cawode per annum in claro	lxvj	viiij
Joh'es Fulthorp' per annum in claro	cxvj	viiij
Niel'us Corwan' per annum in claro	xxx	
Joh'es Mapilton' Clericus per annum	xl	
Joh'es West' Fischemonger per annum	xxx	
Thom' Camell' de Shaftesburi per annum de claro	xl	
Rnb'us Hays Ferroure [per annum]	iiij ix	
Agn' Ikesworth' per annum	iiij	
Joh'es Cole Vynter per annum	liij	iiij
Joh'es Staudelf' per annum	cxj	viiij
Rector de Wiche per annum	xxx	
Joh'es Askwith' per annum	c	
Will's Balle per annum	xl	
Will's Bradforeyn per annum	c	
Thom' Wodhous per annum	iiij	
Agn' Triplove per annum	xxxij	

Relicta Rogeri Puynant per annum	iiij	
Joh'es Hill' per annum		xx
Cristina Shirwod' per annum	iiij	
Will's Bentley per annum	viiij	
Marion' Blith' per annum	xiiij	iiij
Joh'es Frere per annum	xl	
Walterus Chamberleyn' per annum	lxx	
Georgius Cressy per annum	e	
Joh'es Pake per annum	xxxv	
Will's Rames per annum	liij	iiij
Ric'us Lye per annum	lxvj	viiij
Rob'us Langford' per annum	xl	
Joh'es Boston' Draper per annum	cv	
Joh'es Feirehod' per annum	cvj	viiij
Joh'es Cretyng' per annum	xxvj	viiij
Will's Acton' per a ^m Capellanus per a ^m	lx	
Thom' Hokley de Com' Essex' per annum	vj	
Ric'us Welhom' per annum	viiij	
Agn' Heukesworth' per annum	vj	
Rob'us Tirwhit per annum	xl	
Walterus Humspell' per annum	liij	iiij
Joh'es Twyford' Wolpakker per annum	x	
Will's Salman' de Com' Buk ¹ per annum	lx	
Relicta Joh'is Wilman per annum	xxx	
Will's Lye Barbour per annum	xiiij	iiij
Will's Steperanke per annum	xiiij	iiij
[m. 7 dorso]		
Henr' Lyngham per annum	vj	xij
Joh'es Clerke Clericus Corone per annum	iiij	
Joh'es Banke de Scaccario domini Regis per annum	xxx	
Joh'es Ferrour per annum	vj	viiij
Joh'es By-ye lemestr' per annum	vj	viiij
Rob'us Warner per annum	vj	viiij
Will'us Tamworth' per annum	xl	
Joh'es Elyngheam, Serjaunt de armis per a ^m	xx	
Ric'us Meredon per annum	xxvj	viiij
Thom' Hulston de Com' Suff' per annum	x	
Joh'es Bernard' Clericus per annum	iiij	iiij
Joh'es Wikes per annum	xxiiij	j
Rob'us Malton' Clericus per annum	xiiij	iiij
Rogerus Hillom per annum	xxvj	viiij
Joh'es Hogham per annum	xxvj	viiij
Rob'us Kelham per annum	xxxvj	viiij
Joh'es Pryston' per annum	lxvj	viiij

¹ Doubtful ; perhaps "Berk'."

Rob's Ryver per annum	xx	
Will's . . . per annum	xx	
Pl'us Edemun . . son' per annum	xx	
Simon Chaunger per annum	xx	
Joh'es Neweastell' per annum	xviiij	
Will's atte Noke per annum	xxij	viiij
Will's Forster per annum	xxvj	viiij
Will's Lathom' per annum	xl	
Will's Herte per annum	xvj	
Will's Colyn per annum	xxvj	viiij
Joh'es Draiton' per annum	xl	
Relicta Henr' Drayton' per annum	xx	
Thom' Hasle per annum	xx	
Thom' Seyvile per annum	evj	viiij
Rob'us Jacoke Armiger per annum	liij	iiij
Simon Mayhewe per annum	xl	
Cristina Marke per annum	lx	
Nich'us Auncell' per annum	xl	
Joh'es Tettesworth' per annum	liij	iiij
Will's Teler per annum	xxvj	viiij
Joh' Roundell' per annum	xl	
Joh'es Langford' per annum	lx	
Joh'na Relicta Petri Brikeles per annum	xlviij	viiij
Rob'us Athelard' per annum	liij	iiij
Joh' Bokyngham per annum	xxx	
Joh' Mery per annum	xxxviij	
Mich'us Capellanus de Com' Sussex' per annum	xxvj	viiij
Joh' Chamberleyne de Com' Surr' per annum	xv	
Cristina atte Shope per annum	xxix	
Katerina Wascheburne per annum	xxxviij	
Ric'us Worcestri' Clericus per annum	lxiij	
Ric'us Wyot per annum	iiij	
Rob'us Trellove per annum	xxvj	viiij
Will's Cursum per annum	xl	
Will's Hunt per annum	xvj	
Thom' Bassynghburne	ciiij	
Joh' Hulcote Clericus	e	
Joh' Hotie de Tacull' per annum	viiij	
Thom' Crisp Clericus per annum	iiij	
Joh' Mekkyng' per annum	evj	viiij
Thom' Whitby Clericus per annum	l	
Ric'us Russell' per annum	xxj	
Walterus Langford' per annum	xxj	
Ten' nuper Will'i atte Mill' per annum	liij	viiij
Thom' Keuersle per annum	lx	
Joh' Astell' Cappellanus per annum	e	
Will's Widmer' per annum	xl	
Ric' Cruse per annum	xl	
Joh' Cranley per annum	lxxiiij	viiij

Ric' Cranley per annum	iiij	xj	
Executores Joh'is Carbonel'	vij	xv	vij
Will's Pynnore per annum		lxvj	viiij
Will's Foulter' per annum	iiij		
Joh' Cornyssch'		xxix	
Joh'es Parker Coteller per annum		xliiij	
Joh' Flete Junior per annum		xl	
Executores Henr' Payne per annum		lviiij	
Simon Wynhecombe per annum		xl	
Rob'us Prynce per annum		liii	iiij
Henr' Jolipas Capellanus per annum	x		
Mag'r Joh'es Bernard' per annum		xl	
Will's Brakley Capellanus per annum	vj	xvj	viiij
Joh'es Bulstrode per annum		liij	iiij
Thom' Rolf'		e	
Will's Argentyne per annum Armiger		lxvj	viiij
Will's Wynkefeld' Armiger per annum	viiij	xiiij	iiij
[m. 8]			
Joh'es Micol Vynter per annum	xij		
Henr' Hasilmere		xl	
Relicta Kynwardesle		xl	
Joh' Louthe per annum		cix	
Rob'us Mildenhale per annum		xx	
Joh' Pounder per annum		xx	
Ric'us Herewod' per annum		xl	
Gilbertus Hoo per annum	iiij		
Will's Whitman per annum		xiiij	iiij
Simon Benfeld' per annum		xl	
Joh'es Wydnere per annum		e	
Thom' Lyncoln' per annum	ix	vj	viiij
Joh' Clerke Armiger per annum		xl	
Joh'es Thresch' Nett' per annum		cx	iiij
Joh' Smerte per annum		xxvj	viiij
Rob'us Luton' per annum	viiij	viiij	x
Alic' Brian per annum	iiij	xiiij	iiij
Thom' Coffyn per annum	iiij	iiij	iiij
Thom' Broun Grocer per annum	vij	xj	ij
Agn' Corbet per annum		e	
Joh'es Gaver per annum		xxx	
Henr' Sibsey per annum		cxiiij	iiij
Will's Watkyn per annum		xx	
Will's Reynold' per annum		lx	
Joh'es Balsham per annum		lvij	viiij
Joh' Seynt Jermayn per annum		xviiij	
Martinus Godard' per annum		xxiiij	
Rogerus Stoketon' per annum	iiij	v	xj
Rob'us Twyer pannar' per annum		iiij	vj
Henr' Garnet de Seynt Albon'	xj	iiij	vij
Cecilia Sotherey per annum		xv	v
Will's Burcestr' per annum	iiij	vj	viiij
Una Cantaria in ecclesia sancti Antonii per annum		xl	

Ric'us Aillewyn per annum	xxij	ij
Executores D'ne de Holbech' per annum	xij	iiij
Joh'es Sayer per annum	x	
Joh'es Melton' per annum	xl	
Joh' Multon' pellipar' per annum	vj	xxj q ^a
Joh' Aleyn per annum	iiij	x
Executores Will'i Cressewik' per annum	evij	iiij
Joh' Berdegrove per annum	ciij	
Steph'us Edolf' per annum	iiij	vij
Rob'us Guppey per annum	vij	xv
Will's Andeby per annum	lv	iiij
Thom' Elsyng' per annum	xl	
Ric' Bury's per annum	xxxij	iiij
Joh' Clement per annum	lxxj	vij
Joh' Clayham per annum	xxvj	vij
Relicta Joh'is Bere per annum	xl	
Rob'us Russell per annum	xij	vj vij
Ric' Broun per annum	xl	
Walterus Brigge de Reygate per annum	evj	vij
Joh' Dekene Grocer per annum	x	
Joh' Weston' per annum	e	
Joh' Bage per annum	xxxv	
Will'us Frost per annum	iiij	vj vij
Capella de Colehirc' per annum	liij	iiij
Thom' Morsted' per annum	lij	
Joh' Wynhecombe per annum	xxij	iiij
Joh' Ballard' per annum	vj	xij vij
Executores Joh'is Forster per annum	xvj	vij
Joh' Betoign' per annum	lxij	
Walterus Setter' per annum	xij	iiij
Ric' Wodecok' per annum	xxvj	vij
Thom' Wynhecombe per annum	xl	
Ph'us Burton' Armiger per annum	vj	xv
Will's Cast' per annum	xl	
Joh's Hales per annum	iiij	
Will's Raston' per annum	iiij	
Ric'us atte Well' per annum	iiij	
[m. 8 dorso]		
Joh'es Roys Armiger per annum	iiij	vj vij
Capella de Col...er' per annum	xiiij	
Joh'na Blomvile per annum	xx	
Joh'es Scha...on' per annum	x	
Will's Oxenford' per annum	vij	
Joh'es Stratton' Chaundeler per annum	lxxj	vij
Thom' Hethe per annum	liij	iiij
Joh'es Elyngelham per annum	lx	
Joh'na Bray per annum	iiij	
Relicta Joh' Lamby per annum	xvj	
Joh'es Cressi per annum	x	
Joh'es Vyne per annum	xvij	
Henr' Chambre per annum	vj	xij iiij

Joh'es Absolon' per annum	exvij	vij
Will's Beuerich' per annum	xxj	
Rob'us Edward' per annum	xl	
Thom' Eyre Couper per annum	xvij	vj
Rob'us Chesterford' per annum	x	
Joh' Tettisburi per annum	ix	xv
Joh'es Paris per annum	xxxj	vj
Reginaldus Courteys per annum	xij	iiij
Will's Clifford' per annum	vij	vj vij
Will's Enot per annum	iiij	x
Hug' Game per annum	xxxvj	
Joh'es Snypton' per annum	vij	xij iiij
Joh'na Northlond' per annum	xl	
D'n's Joh'es Gerbray per annum	e	
Will's Dive per annum	x	
Joh'es Widmere per annum	liij	iiij
Joh'es Iklynton' Clericus per annum	vij	vij
Alanus Hull' per annum	iiij	
Ed'us Bretnell' per annum	xij	iiij
Joh'es Brikeles per annum	lxxvj	
Hospic' Mercator' Hanc' per annum	e	
Joh'es Wolf' et Joh'es Martyn per annum	vij	
Joh'es Cosyn Clericus per annum	x	
Joh'es Beket per annum	x	
Rogerus Cheyne per annum	xxxiiij	iiij
Ric'us Cliderhowe per annum	e	
Th' Pynch'on per annum	xij	vj vij
Joh'es Borham per annum	iiij	xvij iiij
Walterus Landrise per annum	lxvj	vij
Tenentes quondam Will'i Staundon' per a ^m	e	
Tenentes quondam Vawtot' per annum	xxij	ij
Joh'es Dowbler' per annum	vij	
Joh'es Smyth' per annum	vj	vj vij
Joh'es Megr' per annum	vij	xij iiij
Rob'us Marchall' per annum	ciij	iiij
Joh'es Kyngesmeil' per annum	xxvij	
Will's Est per annum	vij	vj vij
Joh'es Kelsey per annum	xv	x
Godefr' Colvyle per annum	iiij	vj vij
Joh'es clericus ecclesie sancti Dionis'	xxiiij	
Rob'us Uppgate per annum	xxxij	
Rad'us Silkeston' per annum	xxxij	
Jacobus Knyght per annum	xxj	vj
Will's Loveney per annum	vj	
Rob's Whaplode per annum	iiij	xij iiij
Rob'us Writell' per annum	iiij	
Gilbertus Prynce per annum		xlij iiij 9 ^a
Joh'es Aldenham per annum		lv ij
Joh'es Reynold' per annum	xx	
Joh'es Waterman per annum	vij	xv vij

Joh'es Boneauntr' per annum	lv	vj
D'n's Joh'es Salle per annum	l	x
Joh's Asshurst per annum	xxxv	viiij
Joh'es Mallyng' per annum	xx	x
Margar' Dounton'	xliij	ij
Rob'us Donnynge' per annum	iiij	vj
Agn' Berefeyre per annum	xxj	j
Joh'es Savyn per annum	iiij	iiij
[m. 9]		v
Joh'es Gambon' per annum	xviij	ix
Joh' Seder' per annum	xx	
Joh' Storme Capellanus per annum	lxxviiij	
Relicta Joh' Cornewaile per annum	xl	
Jacobus Cok' Coteller per annum	liiiij	
Steph'us Sewale per annum	lxxj	ix
Thom' Barnet per annum	xxxvj	vij
Rob'tus Markele per annum	vij	x
Th' Somerset per annum	xxj	vij
Will'us Beauchamp' per annum	lix	
Inteberugh' Armiger per annum	xiiij	iiij
Relicta Will'i Cumberton' per annum	vij	v
Joh' Denyngton' Coteller' per annum	iiij	v
Joh' Trenchemer' per annum	iiij	ix
Alic' Swanbone per annum		xl
Joh' Prentot Draper per annum		lx
Gui Tirry Baker		xij
Thom' Squirri per annum		xvj
Joh' Hotot per annum	vij	xix
Joh' Wotton' Haberdascher' per annum		xxx
Katerina Streche per annum	lxxiiij	iiij
Nich'us Wilkeshire per annum		x
Walterus Marwe per annum		xl
Thom' Islham per annum	viiij	xiiij
Walterus Chertsey per annum	iiij	xviij
Ric'us Noket per annum		xvj
Rob'us Pope Sherman' per annum		xiiij
Ric'us Bacton' per annum		xl
Hawes Yonge per annum		lxij
Joh'es Creek' per annum	ix	vij
Galfr'us Cook' per annum		xiiij
Will'us Brounyng' per annum		xiiij
Relicta Joh'is Clerke per annum	xxxvj	
Joh' Pounteney per annum	viiij	
Joh' Boock' per annum		xl
Cappellanus de Gyllyngham per annum	lxvj	viiij
Rob'us Haxton' per annum	xv	iiij
Walterus Redeler per annum	lx	iiij
Will's Kent Upholder per annum	xxx	
Katerina Dauteler per annum	xxxj	
Thom' Stukele de Seynte Albones per annum	iiij	vj
Agn' filia Thom' atte Swan per annum		xl

Thom' Pounfrett' per annum	xxj	
Joh'es Bullyngham per annum	xxxviij	
Isabell' Burle per annum	xvj	viiij
Eleseus Caraunt per annum	xl	
Joh'es Gedeney Draper per annum	cviiij	xj
Joh'es Sambeney per annum	xxxiiij	iiiij

Exam^r per R. Appilton'

[In dorso] Summa totalis istorum)
 ix. rotulorum xx^{ti}) l. l. l. l.
 libr' integr' hominum) mmmmcexx. li.
 et feminarum predictorum)

videl't de quibuslibet } Subs'—lxx. li. vj. s. viij. d.
 xx^{ti} libris—vj. s. viij. d. } unde in divers' alloc'

per ij br'ia--e. s.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

November 4th, 1886.

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

The following communication was received from the Rev. Joseph Hirst:—

“I am sorry to have to report from Asia Minor, a very gloomy prospect for Archaeology. Owing to a newly aroused fit of jealousy, and to a sullen opposition to all excuse for Western encroachment or interference, the sites of the Ionian cities and the seats of the former empires are condemned to remain unearthed. This retrograde policy is unfortunately, but too vigorously enforced by some newly appointed officials, in a department of the Turkish administration now first called into existence for the Inspection and Preservation of Antiquities, who have some tincture of European cultivation and just that smattering knowledge of art which will prove prejudicial. Their argument is, if treasures lie buried in our soil, we had better keep them ourselves; but as neither Turkish energy or resource will allow of excavations, the Government, dog-in-the-manger-like, will do nothing themselves to reap the fruits of industry and will allow no one else to do so. Thus all archaeological research in the Ottoman dominions has come to a standstill, and there is no prospect for the present, so I am told by our consular agent here, of any fresh diggings being allowed for the future. Meanwhile, owing to greed and ignorance, a wholesale destruction is going on at Smyrna of the Macedonian, Roman, Byzantine and Genoese walls and towers that crown the height of Mount Pagus, and make such an imposing spectacle when the city is first seen from the sea. This work of Vandalism begun eighteen months ago, will not want long to accomplish an irreparable injury to the lovers of art and antiquity, and to those who wish that the continuity of history should be preserved in visible signs before our eyes. The rapidly increasing dimensions of this second city of the Empire, make the demand for building materials so great, that the so-called municipal authorities here have not been able to resist the temptation of selling to all-comers such a valuable quarry of well-dressed stones. All protest hitherto has proved utterly unavailing, and our English consult

Mr. Dennis, so distinguished a student of archæology, is as powerless in the matter as his *confre'es*. The advent, however, of Sir W. A. White, as our Ambassador to Constantinople, and the ever-shifting phases of the Eastern Question, may, at no distant period, afford an opening for some intervention on our part, of which it may be our duty to take immediate and complete advantage.

“Smyrna, 22nd October, 1886.”

On the motion of Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, seconded by the Rev. F. Spurrell, the following resolution was unanimously carried:—“That this Institute regrets to hear from Mr. Hirst of the destruction which is going on in the Turkish Empire, and requests the President and Council to take any steps which they may think fit in order to bring the matter before the proper authorities with a view to its prevention.”

Mr. W. M. Flinders Petrie read a paper on “The Finding of Daphnæ,” which is printed at page 30. The site of Tell Defenneh near Kantara is now shown, by the writer’s excavations this spring, to be the Stratopeda or camps of the Ionian and Karian mercenaries, the whole site being covered with Greek and Egyptian remains of the twenty-sixth dynasty; the fort was founded by Psamtik I., and the place was desolated under Aahmes by the removal of the Greeks, exactly as stated by Herodotus. The palace-fort here was the “Pharaoh’s house in Tahpanhes,” named by Jeremiah, and the pavement mentioned by the prophet was discovered; the building is still called by the Arabs “the palace of the Jew’s daughter,” apparently in memory of the “king’s daughters” of Judah, who fled there with Johanan and the Jewish refugees in 587 B.C. The archæological results are mainly in Greek vase painting, a great quantity of archaic pottery having been found; iron work and jewellery are also common in this site, besides immense numbers of weights. The foundation deposits of Psamtik I. were taken out from each corner of the fort. The writer’s other discoveries this year for the Egyptian Exploration Fund, at Naukratis, Buto and Tell Nebeshah, were also briefly described.

In offering the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Petrie, the Chairman congratulated him upon his luck as well as upon his work, and regretted to hear the final words of his paper, namely, that he would not at present be at work again for the Egyptian Exploration Fund.

Mr. A. Baker read a paper on “Architecture and Archæology,” advocating the closer union of the two sciences. Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Petrie and to Mr. Baker.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. PETRIE.—Egyptian antiquities, including some fine examples in gold.

By Mr. E. Badart:—A large amphora found with seventeenth century remains. It was thought that this vessel was of the time of the Commonwealth, and probably for the importation of crude oil from the Mediterranean.

December 2nd, 1886.

T. H. BAYLIS, Esq., Q.C., in the Chair.

Mr. T. Bent read a paper on "Homeric Parallels from Modern Greek Life," in which the following subjects were treated of:—Reasons for the continuity of myth and custom in the remoter Turkish Islands; a modern village assemblage like a Homeric one; a pilgrimage on Karpathos, parallels from Homeric meals; the singing, dancing, and game-playing just as described by Homer,—female life: spinning at the loom, embroidery; at the wells; fear of raven's croak; a washing picnic on Samos compared with Nausicaa's; treading in trenches the dirty linen,—mountain cave life: cheese making, and tending of lambs, like that described in Homer's account of the cave of Polyphemus; the superhuman strength of Cyclops compared with modern dragons; imagined strength of ancestors illustrated from modern life,—the nymphs of the streams and glades still existing in nereids; marriage with nereids and god-like progeny; manner of catching nereids compared with that of Proteus; superstitions concerning sneezing; the sun and its similarity to Hyperion; Helios acting as spy and messenger,—death parallels: similarity between the modern Charon and the Homeric Hades; the apocalypse of the Virgin compared with the eleventh Odyssey; death wails; the laying out of the dead; the dirges sung by relatives; quick burial compared with similar accounts in the Homeric poems.

Dr. Fitz-Patrick confirmed what Mr. Bent had said and instanced further parallels, many of which are to be accounted for by the fact that Christianity had never succeeded in driving out the old pagan customs.

Mr. Justice Pinhey said that some of the customs mentioned by Mr. Bent still existed among the Brahmins of India.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Bent.

Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite contributed a paper "On the Remains of an Ankerhold at Bengoe Church, Herts." This had only lately been recognized as a *domus inclusi*, and was clearly proved by the evidences of the stonework, or rather the blocked-up holes in it, which received the ends of the roof timbers. It appears that a wooden hut had been planted against the outside wall on the north side of the apsidal-ended chancel, and an entrance rudely broken into it from the chancel. There are no signs of the existence of a door, so that the anker would have passed freely from his den to the church. Such liberty was, indeed, not usual, and it seems to have rather rested with the recluse himself to settle the degree of strictness under which he chose to retire from the world. The hold measures about 8 ft. in length, the width is uncertain, and the height about 6 ft. A recess in the chancel wall outside indicates the anker's seat, and probably his sleeping-place also. From the rudeness of the work, Mr. Micklethwaite was inclined to give to this little refuge a date earlier than the fourteenth century.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Micklethwaite, whose paper is printed at page 26.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By ADMIRAL TREMLETT.—A plan, illustrating a system of disposing of the remains of the dead in prehistoric times, a system of which only

three examples have as yet been found. The case in question consists of a series of three chambers, stone-lined and covered, and connected by narrow passages, all of which were examined and planned in 1885. These remains are situated at Kerindervelen, near Kermarquer, Carnac. Admiral Tremlett also exhibited a drawing of a Roman cinerary urn, ornamented, from Finisterre.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

POPULAR COUNTY HISTORIES.—A HISTORY OF BERKSHIRE. By Lieut.-Col. COOPER KING, F.G.S. 294 pp. London : Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, 1887.

In an age, which teems with little handbooks to every conceivable branch of human knowledge, admirably adapted for perusal in an express train, Dr. Dryasdust himself could not expect that the counties of England would long remain without histories, cheaper, less ponderous, and more popular than the costly, magnificent, and learned volumes which oppress with their weight the shelves of that scholar's library. Perfect mines of archaeological and genealogical information exist in them anent almost every parish in England, while their prefaces on the history of the counties they deal with, and their appendices on botany, zoology, geology, &c., contain enough material to rig out, for each county, a much thicker volume than that whose name heads this notice. We own to a profound admiration for these ponderous tomes with their great folding pedigrees, and their engravings of the seats of the nobility and gentry, each with a dedication at foot in terms which our modern taste may reckon a little fulsome. True it is, that the information given is sometimes wanting according to our modern lights, sometimes incorrect. John Evans was not known to their writers, and the prehistoric man, paleolithic, or neolithic, river drift or cave, finds no place in their pages, though we may read of a giant's *humerus*, six feet long, or of the finding of a thunder bolt. "Castles" Clark was not born then, and all earthworks are set down as Roman camps, and the distinction between a square keep and a shell keep had not then been drawn; nor had Willis and Hartshorne shown how to make architectural details explain ancient documents and accounts, and ancient documents and accounts explain architectural details. In spite of all these deficiencies, archæologists of the present day have reason to be grateful to the laborious topographical writers who preceded them; in their works much is preserved that otherwise would by now be irrecoverably lost, such as mention of long obliterated earthworks, Roman inscriptions which have [too often the case!] disappeared; monuments in churches, which have fallen under the attacks of the restorer, and many quaint bits of folklore, which otherwise would be now forgotten. All county histories are not, however, on the same footing, as regards value; wide indeed is the gap between Hodgson's magnificent fragment in seven quarto volumes about Northumberland and Hutchinson's History of the neighbouring county of Cumberland in two volumes; the one is all that a county history should be, the life work of a scholar, the other replete with information, good, bad, and

indifferent, shovelled together as a publisher's speculation. We are not likely in future to see the number of county histories on the old scale added to; the work is now sub-divided and distributed between many societies; the *fauna* and the *flora* and the geology are dealt with in books confined to one branch alone, such as for instance Macpherson's and Duckworth's "Birds of Cumberland" and Ward's "Geology of the Lake District". Mr. Foster and the Harleian and kindred societies take off the pedigrees, while the Surtees, the Chetham, and similar associations take off the documents; local antiquarian and archaeological societies (not neglecting pedigrees or documents) go into the parochial and minuter details. Formerly a country squire, curious in the history of his own parts, bought one ponderous and expensive folio or quarto; now-a-day he buys a great many little books and subscribes to the local antiquarian and scientific societies, and we fancy the change is the worse for his purse. When all the matters we have mentioned are drafted into separate publications, there is little left for a county historian to do, but to amplify into an octavo of some 300 pages, what would have merely formed his predecessor's preface or general introduction.

This field, hitherto vacant, Mr. Elliot Stock has made his own; the "History of Berkshire" is the fourth in his series of county histories that he has launched upon the public. For his first volume he issued the history of an eastern county, namely Norfolk, for his second a western one, namely Devonshire, while the third, Derbyshire, he selected from the Midlands. Abandoning now any selection on geographical reasons Mr. Stock would seem to have selected Berkshire, the Royal County, as appropriate to the Jubilee year.

The county of Berkshire is the square of country, which according to Asser derived its name from the abundance of "bearroc" or box trees among its woodlands, a district wedged into an angle which the Thames makes at Oxford, where, after running eastward from its source, it suddenly turns to the south, to cleave its way through chalk uplands to Reading and the Kennet valley. Chalk downs spread over the heart of it from the Thames to Hampshire, and the fertile Kennet valley to the south lies pressed between these uplands and the barren and tangled country about Windsor. In the north, about the vale of White Horse, the deep clay soil supersedes the chalk. Colonel Cooper King, in his first chapter, deals with the broad geological conditions of this district, and asserts that palæolithic man first came upon its scene during the continental period, when the English Channel was dry land and the Thames ran into the German Rhine. Professor Boyd Dawkins has proved that the palæolithic man, if he stood on one of the hills commanding a view of the district above Windsor in the winter time, would have seen vast herds of reindeer crossing the Thames, and in the summer herds of horses and bisons availing themselves of the fords, with wolves and bears in their train. Remains of all these animals were found at Reindeer-ford at Windsor in 1867. The evidences of the existence of palæolithic man in Berkshire are conclusive, though not numerous; they were mostly discovered by Dr. J. Stevens, who was the first to investigate the Reading drifts in 1879; they consist of rude flakes, scrapers, and oval or pointed axes, roughly chipped, associated with teeth and bones of mammoth, rhinoceros, and bos, and may be

seen in the Reading museum. In course of time the land gradually sank, the English Channel came into existence, and the palæolithic man disappeared, to make way for the neolithic man or man of the polished and chipped stone period, a long-skulled or dolichocephalic race, who were overpowered by a stronger, round-skulled, or brachycephalic race, using better weapons of possibly stone and certainly bronze. These races found the country in a sufficiently wild condition; the clayey valleys were the most suitable to the growth of forest trees and vegetation, and the Thames valley was probably full of tangled jungle; the peat beds of the Kennet show that its valley held dense thickets, which, uniting with the woodlands of the Lodden and Blackwater, expanded to the eastward into the great forest that occupied the Bagshot Sands as far as Windsor, the "Bearth Wudu." The district, afterwards Berkshire, was well protected from invaders on the south, for it was covered to the south and east by the great forest of the Weald, the Andredsweald, extending for 120 miles from Hampshire to the Medway, while the thickets of Southampton water and the western forest, tending round by Dorset and Wiltshire to the valley of the Frome, covered its south and west. As the Thames covered its east and northern boundaries, access to the district could be had only where fords existed, or passes through the great forests; and by these lines the successive waves of immigrants must have entered. The earlier wave of immigrants, the dolichocephalic, a Celtic race, probably came over from the continent dry foot, and came into Berkshire from the east across the Thames; while the later wave, a brachycephalic race, from the Belgic tribes of Gaul, first of all held the southern coast of England, and came from thence into Berkshire from the south through the forest passes, their ultimate northern boundary, the last of the Belgic ditches, being the Wansdike, a magnificent earthwork, which ran from the woodlands of Berkshire to the Bristol Channel; thus before the Christian era Berkshire was occupied on its north by Celts proper, and on its south by remnants of Celtic tribes, and by their conquerors, the Atrebatian branch of the Belgæ, whose capital was at Gwahl Vawr (afterwards Silchester) on the northern border of Hampshire. The remains in Berkshire of this Celtic and Belgic period are numerous and important, but Colonel Cooper King declines to apportion them between the two with any degree of exactitude; he suggests that the roads and the hill fortresses should be taken to be originally of Celtic construction, unless they can be proved to be otherwise. Colonel Cooper King considers the oldest and most important road in Berkshire to be the Ridgeway, that crosses the Ilsley Downs, and is part of the Ickniel or Ickleton-street, which joined the Iceni of the eastern counties with the Damnonii of Devon. In Berkshire it is guarded by a series of hill fortresses to its north at Lowbury, Letcombe, Hackpen Hill, and Uffington, two of which are earthworks of great magnitude. Another branch of the Ickniel Way crossed the Thames at Moulsoford to Wantage, also guarded by earthworks. Another road ran from Oxford to Farringdon, passing Cherbury Camp. Other roads ran across the south of the county, and no less than seven unite the fords of the Thames and the Kennet; all these pass Celtic earthworks and barrows. Three of the great military roads of Antonine's Itineraries intersect Berkshire, all concentrating at Calleva, the ancient Gwahl Vawr of the Belgæ and the Silchester of

the present day, situate upon the northern border of Hampshire; it was a most important centre on the great road or roads, for they there diverged, from Londinium to the west, and thus our author does well in taking it, though not in the county, as his starting point from which to examine Roman Berkshire. The Roman stations of Spinae, Thamesis, and Bibracte belong to this county, but Spinae, at Speen, near Newbury, is the only one that is positively allocated; the district is not very rich in Roman remains, and those that exist are rather of a domestic character than great camps, but the place-names alone would prove the Roman occupation if nothing else did; many large hoards of Roman coins have been found in the county, but Colonel Cooper-King does not tell us, what the Roman antiquary would like to know, the precise circumstances of each find; perhaps Mr. Thompson-Watkin will come after him. The Roman went at last, and there has been much dispute as to the amount of trace in the character of the English people that the Roman left behind him. Colonel Cooper-King thinks he left but little, and that the province of Britain was but a Roman Algeria or an English Hindostan; indeed we think it certain that a visit to our own Indian Empire would facilitate our understanding of Roman Britain.

We know little of the Saxon conquest of Berkshire. The Gewissas, better known as the West Saxons, made a permanent settlement on the south coast about 514, with the intention of forcing their conquests to the upland of the Gwent, and so to strike across it into the heart of England. They soon secured Winchester (Gwent-ceaster); their advance was checked by a defeat in 520 at Badbury or Mount Baden. About 552 they took the fortress of Old Sarum, and swept over the present Wiltshire, and four years later a victory at Cunetio admitted them to the Marlborough Downs, which gave them easy access to the centre of England. From thence they soon overran the district over which the White Horse glimmers, and extended their settlements to the "Bearroc Wudu", on the south of the Thames, east of the new settlement of the Saxon house of the Readings. This completed the winning of the southern uplands, and the future Berkshire became part of the kingdom of Wessex, gradually became Christianised, and its first bishop had his see at Dorchester.

With the advent of the Danes the Berkshire record becomes more exciting. In 871 their host, under Guthrum or Gorm, sailed up the Thames past London, and seized a tongue of land some half a mile from Reading for its camp, from which their foragers sallied for food and plunder. An assault upon this camp by the West Saxons under Alfred and Ethelred the King failed, and as they fell back the Danes pushed on along the Ridgeway and entrenched themselves on the heights of Ashdown. By a masterly piece of strategy they had cut the communication of the West Saxons with their base at Gwent, seized its encampments, and forced the West Saxons, instead of themselves, to become the stormers. The great battle of Æscesdun that ensued was one of the turning points in our national history. The Englishmen, under Alfred, stormed and carried the heights, and the routed host of Guthrum fled to refuge in its Reading camp. Colonel Cooper-King's speculations on the site of this great battle are well worth perusal, and seem conclusive. The story of the surprise of Wessex, and of the events leading up to the peace of Wedmore, by which the tide of

invasion was ultimately turned, may well be considered Berkshire history; for Alfred himself was a Berkshire man, born at Wantage, and we leave our author to tell it, which he does rather too briefly. He finds little to narrate in the Norman Conquest, and he gives us brief but clear accounts, or rather lists of where Saxon, Danish, and Norman remains exist: the space at his disposal hinders him from going into details.

Two chapters are devoted to the Military History of Berkshire. One dealing with "Its Fortresses: their Rise and Fall"; the other with "Its Wars"—a somewhat confusing and zigzag arrangement, for as "Its Wars" are the causes of "Their Rise and Fall" our author involves himself in a certain amount of harking back and of reiteration. Colonel Cooper-King enumerates as the Berkshire fortresses Wallingford, Windsor, Reading, Donnington, Farringdon, Newbury, and Brightwell. The first three are set down by Mr. Clark as having had shell keeps erected on very ancient earthworks; Wallingford as a good example of a shell keep on the line of the *enceinte* wall. These three, and that at Oxford guarded the valley of the Thames, and kept the fords and were of first class importance. Farringdon guarded the Thames at Radeot Bridge; Newbury the passage over the middle Kennet; Donnington, and Brightwell were probably mere fortified manor houses, the former of which has an interesting record during the troubles of the 17th century. Colonel Cooper-King gives a popular account of Windsor Castle, but he has omitted from his list of interments in the "Tomb House," two or three that he should have known of, and the Prince Imperial is not buried, as he states, in St. George's Chapel. The latter part of the chapter on "Its Wars," dealing with the Civil Wars and the events of 1688 is interesting. A chapter is devoted to the "Monastic and Ecclesiastical Life" of Berkshire; but it is confusing to have to turn back to a previous chapter for the early history of the Abbey of Abingdon, while the monasteries of Cholsey and Hamme are nowhere mentioned in the chapter specially devoted to such, but have to be dug for under the heading of "The Saxon Conquest." Berkshire had within its borders two mitred Benedictine Abbeys, those of Reading and of Abingdon. The accounts given of these make one long in the first case for a plan; in the second for a little excavation. Many of the stones of the Abbey of Reading could strange tales unfold, if they were but vocal. Originally they formed part of the Romano-British Silchester; thence they went to Reading to do duty in the Norman Abbey, and after the dissolution some of them voyaged down the Thames to build the Hospital of the Poor Knights at Windsor; others the Corporation, and divers private persons got grants of and utilised in various ways. The Abbey of Reading had the privilege of a mint: this is mentioned by our author, but he says nothing about the coins issued from that mint; they are comparatively rare, and fetch high prices. The Black Canons had establishments at Poughley, Sandlesford, and Bisham, and the somewhat rare order of Maturins at Donnington. The Grey Friars had a monastery at Reading, but the Black Friars had not. The Cistercians had no settlement in the county: as its staple was the clothing trade, which depended on wool, one would have expected to find those astute sheep farmers. This chapter contains curious accounts of the uses the disused monastic buildings were put to, and a

good ghost story—of a ghost with inky fingers. The next chapter is devoted to “The Towns and Villages and their Upgrowth”, and is the longest, and perhaps the most interesting in the book, tracing out how first one place and then another has risen to importance; and lost it again, Reading alone having steadily waxed in wealth and importance from its first beginning as a site of paleolithic man down to the railway days of Queen Victoria. Colonel Cooper-King gossips pleasantly about the great clothiers of Newbury and Reading, and the royal visits to those towns. A final chapter deals with “Its Modern Life”.

Good as this book undoubtedly is, it makes one long for more. The Berkshire dialect is but little treated of, and we learn less of the county families. A better index is much wanted; but if Mr. Elliot Stock can keep all his authors up to the level of Colonel Cooper-King, he will do well. The book is well printed, on good paper, and nicely got up, but we regret the arms of Reading have been stamped on the back. Some people, ignorant of the fact that a county has, and can have, no armorial bearings, will take these arms to be those of Berkshire.

MODERN METHOD OF ILLUSTRATING BOOKS. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster-row, 1887.

In consequence of the very great advance which has been made within the last few years, in the processes of photography and lithography, the old methods of illustrating books by engravings on metal or wood are fast going out of use, and the writer of the little book at the head of this notice, has rendered good service to authors by directing their attention to the various methods which, within the last two or three years especially, have been produced for book illustrations. He has endeavoured, as far as practicable, to avoid technicalities, but in describing the very varied processes in use it is, of course, impossible to do so entirely; nevertheless his descriptions are, upon the whole, intelligible to the careful though uninitiated reader. The general principles are made clear, and the most suitable systems for the attainment of the best results in the illustration of particular classes of subjects are pointed out. The space within which our notice must be limited precludes us from entering into details. For these we would refer to the work itself, which affords much valuable information, and may be obtained at a trifling cost.

We may, however, remark thus much, that according to the old practice of illustrating there were but two methods pursued, viz.: Engravings, printed from an intaglio plate, or Woodcuts printed from the surface of a wood block. To this was subsequently added a third method—lithography—or printing from a stone or other smooth surface; and the object of the new processes is to obtain the same results more rapidly and at greatly reduced cost.

To avoid the expense of engravings photographs have for some time been occasionally used to illustrate landscape scenery and for other purposes. The results, however, have been far from satisfactory. Without any wish to disparage the Camera, which, for many purposes is a most valuable instrument, it is not successful for all purposes. Among other faults, we may remark of photographs that unless very

good they are very hard and wanting in correct perspective. Their glossy appearance is also objectionable, and they require to be mounted, which in a long edition is a tedious process entailing considerable expense, and, what is worse, they are all more or less liable to fade. One of the greatest difficulties has been to deal with the case of perspective in landscape views, but by a great amount of careful and patient study and experiment, this and other faults have been overcome, and some beautiful results have been obtained.

All, or nearly all the modern improvements have been derived directly or indirectly from photography, and the author proceeds to show in what manner photography can be applied to the production of the three old methods of illustration abovementioned, but he takes them in the reverse order, commencing with the process, which to a great extent will supersede simple lithography. In these descriptions we must avoid the scientific *modus operandi* by which the results are achieved. The method used is what is called the colotype process, which may be adopted with great success in representing objects in low relief, such as coins, medals, ivory carving, &c., and for the re-production of maps, plans and original sketches, in black and white, but great care must be taken in preparing the drawings.

The next subject treated of is the production of surface blocks to be printed with type, like engravings on wood, but it seems doubtful if this method will ever equal good wood engravings. The process is, doubtless, much less costly than engravings on wood, and may answer very well for rough work, but for fine work it is much inferior to the old method.

The process adopted as a substitute for engravings on copper or steel is known as photogravure or heliogravure which has been used with great success. This result is due to the fact that the plates are produced by a combination of mechanical and hand-work. The plate, after having been advanced as far as practicable by the former process, is handed over to the engraver who completes it fit for printing. As the process improves handwork is being gradually dispensed with, and some works of high character have been produced, as is said, entirely by photographic means. Fine specimens of all these processes have appeared in the last two parts issued of the *Archæologia*.

Some very excellent work has been produced by Messrs. Boussod, Valladon, and Co., of New Bond-street, by the Goupil process of photogravure. The cost is very moderate. The processes vary in price from 1s. to 6d. the square inch.

MEMORANDA, HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL, RELATING TO THE PARISH OF KELSTON, IN THE COUNTY OF SOMERSET, by the Rev. FRANCIS J. POYNTON, M.A., Rector. Privately printed.

It is heartily to be wished that Mr. Poynton would bite a few of his brother rectors, and some vicars too, and inoculate them with some of that love for, and interest in parochial history, which has resulted in the beautiful volume before us. Its production has been spread over many years, and must have caused not only much expenditure of labour, but of money, in the necessary searches. Mr. Poynton gives his readers a history of the advowson of Kelston Rectory. Then follows a com-

plete list of the rectors of Kelston, their patrons, the bishops under whom they were presented, and the authority for these statements, all tabularly arranged, while biographical notices are given of all the rectors from 1500 to the present day with, in some cases, particularly those of Huddleston and Hawkins, long pedigrees. Next we have the family history of the parish with monumental inscriptions, pedigrees, extracts from wills, &c. The rest of the volume is occupied with an exhaustive account of the Haringtons, lords of the manor of Kelston, and pedigrees not only of the Haringtons themselves, but of all their collaterals and alliances, worked out in the most laborious and accurate manner. We confess, with shame, that we never could face the drudgery of compiling a pedigree. All the more honour to those who undertake the work, of which we are ready enough to take advantage and make use. A most interesting account by his second wife, a Markham, is given of Sir John Harington of Kelston, who was born in 1561. He was a courtier, a wit, an author, a poet, and inventor. He invented a dark lantern, which he presented to James I; and he also invented a sweete and savorie "pan" for Kelston House, in other words, a water closet of which he gives a most amusing and proud description. This Sir John had a son, who much to his father's astonishment turned Puritan and Parliamentarian, and was M.P. for Bath, but he found his mistress in his wife Dionysia, daughter of James Ley, first Earl of Marlborough; she got the house and estate for life, and lived to 1672, doing great waste to the estate, which never recovered. Her son, Captain Harington, had four wives and twenty children; he was a captain for the Parliament in the troubles and narrowly escaped being omitted from the general pardon granted by Charles II. With such a dowager as the hon. Dionysia, and such a patriarch as Captain Harington, no wonder the estate came at last to be sold, and the manor house was pulled down in 1764 by Caesar Hawkins, the purchaser.

The book is a handsome, well printed quarto, with several engravings of seals and arms, and fac-similes of military commissions.

HISTORIC TOWNS, edited by E. A. FREEMAN and W. HUNT. BRISTOL, by W. HUNT. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

This neat little volume is the second of a series of volumes, proposing to deal with the towns of England with reference to the special part each played in the general history of the kingdom. The history of Bristol, though marked by many stirring incidents, is of a commercial rather than a drum and trumpet character; yet her merchant adventurers and her bold seamen must have seen enough of life and fighting in every known part. Time was when the Bristol "hogs" in number exceeded the ships of any other port but London, though now Bristol has fallen somewhat into the background. It would be interesting to work out the rise and fall of the various seaports on the western coast of Britain. Ravenglass and Chester were probably the earliest, and were both used by the Romans, who, probably, imported cattle for their commissariat from Ireland by way of Ravenglass. Ravenglass silted up, and Edward I used Skinburness, while the Irish trade and the wine trade, and the slave trade (white slaves) centred at Bristol, as later did

the sugar trade and the tobacco. In the 17th century Whitehaven arose and went into slaves, sugar, and tobacco; but it was superseded by Greenock, as Liverpool, which had taken the place of Chester, superseded Bristol, helped largely, as Mr. Hunt shows, by the folly of the Bristolians themselves.

Bristol has always been an English town; the first fact we know about it dates from the year 1000. From that time Mr. Hunt traces its history down through the Great Insurrection, the Black Death, and the Civil Wars, showing the effect the discovery of the new world had on its fortunes, and how it was affected by the war of American Independence; we can well say that he has produced a book that is, to use a well known seaman's phrase, "shipshape and Bristol fashion", a phrase which we may explain refers to Bristol seaman leading their running rigging down to the deck in a different, and (as Bristol thought), a smarter manner than the Londoners did.

Mr. Hunt devotes a chapter to the "Black Death", a visitation, which, while it swept away an already decaying social order, introduced new and more vigorous institutions. It was probably introduced to Bristol from abroad, and there it found a ripe hotbed for its terrible ravages in a place where sanitary conditions were of the very worst. The result, Mr. Hunt considers, to have been a large influx of population from the country. We have noted this in other places about this time; townsmen begin to appear in the records called by the name of the villages around, John de so and so. This influx of unskilled labour emphasised the distinction between the wage paying and the wage earning classes. The wage paying classes attained possession of the "craftguilds", and kept down competition by restricting the admission to the craftguilds, and by prohibiting persons not members thereof from plying their trade.

The municipal liberties of Bristol are of a very high order. In 1373 it was created a county with an elective sheriff and shire jurisdiction; this freed Bristol men from all attendance on the shires courts and from the intrusion of the sheriff. Mr. Hunt says this was the first grant of its kind conferred on any town, but from Messrs. Ferguson and Nanson's book on the Carlisle Records, which we notice elsewhere, it will be seen that Carlisle had in 1353 a grant to the same effect, but differing in this—it did not give the men of Carlisle an elective sheriff, but appointed the mayor and the two bailiffs to execute the office of sheriff; these officials within the last five years successfully resisted the intrusion of the sheriff of Cumberland into Carlisle. The mayor of Bristol was also appointed escheator, and the Town Council of forty was to be elected by him and the sheriff with the assent of the commonalty, but this was gradually dispensed with, and the Corporation became a close body, self-elective, admission being denied to all, who did not belong to the ruling political party. The parliamentary franchise did not, however, as in many places fall into the hands of an oligarchy. As Bristol was a county it remained in the forty shilling freeholders and the freemen. The result was curious. Oldfield, in his history of the Boroughs, says of Bristol "it is entirely free from aristocratic and ministerial controul; but it is at present represented by a coalition formed by the leaders of the two contending parties. One of its representatives votes uniformly with administration, and the other with opposition; so that the 6,000 persons

to whom the right of election is supposed to be confined have virtually no representation at all." This agrees with our author's statement that the representation of Bristol was divided between both parties from 1784 to 1831.

In his chapter on the New World Mr. Hunt gives some account of the voyages of exploration fitted out by Bristol adventurers, and he is disposed to think the story true that Sebastian Cabot was born at Bristol. At a later period Bristol, like Whitehaven, went into the privateering business, and during the seven years' war as many as 51 Bristol ships, carrying 1,004 guns, sailed under letters of marque, some of whom turned pirates and flew the "Jolly Roger". The quays of Bristol must always have been rare places for hearing stories of adventure. Captain Richard Falconer sailed from Bristol in the frigate *Albian*, Captain Wase commander, on the 2nd May, 1699, with a fair wind, and all boys should read his

"VOYAGES
dangerous
ADVENTURES
and Imminent
ESCAPES

with the Laws, Customs, and manners of the Indians in *America*; his shipwrecks; his marrying an *Indian Wife*; his narrow escape from the island of *Dominico*, &c." There must have been lots of Richard Falconers to be found in the hostelries of Bristol quay, as well as one-legged and one-armed mariners of different degrees of rascality with no end of tales of Treasure Islands, singing

Yeeho and a bottle of rum
Fifteen men on the Death Man's Chest.

But these gentry's tales might have carried Mr. Hunt beyond the sober limits that ought to be observed by an historian; to his rôle of historian Mr. Hunt adheres very closely. He will not stray into the paths of the archæologists, and we have no account from his pen of the ecclesiastical, civil, or military buildings of Bristol. He shows us a little of its social life. They were rich and jolly fellows these Bristol merchants, with their gorgeous pageants, their free libations of liquor, their ready hospitality, their treats of fried eggs and spiced wine. The place reeks of memories of the Cabots, of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, of Rogers, of the Duke and Duchess privateers. It reeks of slaves (black and white), of sugar, tobacco, ivory, palm oil, Spanish wine, rum, and of everything that money can be made out of. To do justice to the history of such a place is hard, and Mr. Hunt has not quite succeeded in it because he has confined himself strictly to historical lines.

One blemish we note in this otherwise well got up book—the maps are very poor in point of execution, indistinct.

OGHAM INSCRIPTIONS IN IRELAND, WALES AND SCOTLAND. By the late Sir SAMUEL FERGUSON. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1887. pp. 164.

The generous founder of the Rhind lectures on Archæology has been the means of bringing into the world a most remarkable series of volumes—five volumes which have done more to raise Archæology to

the level of an exact science than any other recent publications. "The Past in the Present," by Dr. Mitchell and Dr. Anderson's four books on Scotland in Early Times, will ever remain classics in every archaeological library. A sixth volume is now on our table, less attractive indeed than its predecessors, for it lacks their wealth of pictorial illustration, and it deals with a subject that is certainly drier—that of "Ogham Inscriptions", but equally certain to become a permanent and classic authority on the subject with which it deals.

Of these the late Sir Samuel Ferguson, President of the Royal Irish Academy, had made a life long study, and he embodied the results of his labours in the lectures he delivered in Edinburgh in 1884 as Rhind lecturer. About 200 of these inscriptions exist in Ireland, eighteen in Wales, two in South England, at least six on the mainland of Scotland, and four in the Orkney and Shetland Islands. The general key to the reading has been traditionally preserved in Ireland, and could be reconstructed, if necessary, from the Roman inscriptions which accompany and echo the Oghams on the bilingual monuments of Wales. The subject of the texts are almost exclusively proper names connected by the word *Magi*, accepted as meaning "son of."

"The Ogham is to this extent" [says Sir Samuel] "of the same family with the Rune, that the characteristic of both kinds of writing is the employment of straight strokes easily carved on wood or stone, for forming the alphabetic letters." From the Rune came the Tree Rune, in which an alphabet of sixteen letters is divided into three *Aetts* (sorts or kinds), and each character is denoted as an upright tree with branches, the number of branches to the left denoting the *Aett*, to the right the place of the letter in the *Aett*. For the tree stem two parallel lines are sometimes substituted, and lines half-way across denote the *Aett*, wholeway the number of the letter in the *Aett*. In the Ogham, a similar, but more complicated arrangement is adopted. The alphabet, called the *Bethluision*, consists of twenty letters, each designated by the name of a tree: they are divided into four categories of five each, known as the 'B' *aieme* (kind or following), the 'H' *aieme*, the 'M' *aieme*, and the 'A' *aieme*, which contains the five vowels. In writing the characters, one common stem line serves for all the letters, and in epigraphy the arris or straight edge of a stone monument is generally taken. The number of a letter in its *aieme*, is denoted by a corresponding number of straight strokes: the first *aieme* is denoted by the strokes being below the central stem; the second above; the third across; and the fourth on (denoted by dots). As the inscription may be written from either end, the would-be reader has to try it from each end: then, when the stem line is the arris of an upright stone, he has to try on the supposition, first of one side and then of the other being the top, so that four ways exist of reading each inscription; if the inscription runs up one side of an upright stone and down the other, a question may arise as to whether the top and bottom of the stem continues the same throughout or changes. Instances of both occur. The Rune Smith is frequently careless about his spaces; no divisions are made between the words: and the arris of an upright stone is the most likely part of it to be chipped, and weathered. All these make the reading of an Ogham inscription a matter of much difficulty.

The main questions which arise about these inscription are, Sir Samuel

says the following : whether the Ogham is of Pagan or Christian origin ; whether, if of Pagan origin, any of the monuments are Christian ; whether the Welsh imparted it to the Irish, or *vice versa* ; and whether its forms belong to a vernacular, or to an artificialised and technical language. Sir Samuel does not profess to solve the question of Irish or British, Pagan or Christian origin, but he claims to have brought Irish Pagan and British Christian monumental usage into actual contact in Wales, and to have contributed something towards the further elucidation, as Christian monuments, of the sculptured stones of Scotland. The Oghams in Wales are generally accompanied by Latin inscriptions, and frequently by the sign of the cross, as an integral part of the design. Those in Scotland have the cross and also scenes which Dr. Anderson has identified with scenes in the Christian Bestiaries of the middle ages. As regards the question of the language of the Oghams, Sir Samuel is " content to leave it in the hands of those who have made the philosophy of language their study, claiming only the credit of having supplied their researches with approximately authentic *data* in the texts I have presented". As those texts amount to 226, all that are known, our readers can judge the value of the exhaustive method with which Sir Samuel has treated his subject, and it will be long ere this volume is superseded as the classic on Ogham.

It only remains to add that the book is provided with excellent *indices*.

SOME MUNICIPAL RECORDS OF THE CITY OF CARLISLE, viz. : The Elizabethan Constitutions, Orders, Provisions, Articles, and Rules from the Dormont Book, and the Rules and Orders of the Eight Trading Guilds, prefaced by Chapters on the Corporation, Charters, and Guilds, Illustrated by Extracts from the Court Leet Rolls, and from the Minutes of the Corporation and Guilds. Edited by R. S. FERGUSON, M.A., F.S.A. (London and Scotland), Mayor of Carlisle, 1881-2 and 1882-3 ; and W. NAXSON, B.A., F.S.A., late Deputy Town Clerk of Carlisle. Carlisle : C. Thurnam and Sons. London : George Bell and Sons, 1887.

The Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, established in 1866, has been steadily pursuing the object for which it was formed, and, as its works shew, has been doing good and laudable service. In addition to eight volumes of Transactions the Society has printed an *Extra Series*, of which the volume under notice is the fourth, and another, The Pre-Reformation Episcopal Registers of Carlisle, which cannot fail to be a most valuable work, is now in preparation.

The ancient and "Merrie" City of Carlisle is of very great antiquity, having been inhabited by all races of men known in this border district, and this intermixture of blood cannot fail to have had an influence upon the people, consequently we may expect to find unusual interest in the manners and habits of the mediæval inhabitants.

In the first chapter entitled "The Corporation and Charters," an interesting sketch is given of the origin and growth of the City of Carlisle, from the earliest time at which there are any records down to the Revolution of 1688. It shews the struggles and contentions of the inhabitants with the civil authorities, and the gradual extension of the liberties of the town, until as early as 1353 it had become entirely independent of the county of Cumberland, and of all county jurisdiction,

having its own bailiffs to execute the office of Sheriff, and its own Coroners, and free from the payment of any purvey or rate to the county.

Carlisle has sent members to Parliament from the time of Edward I, the franchise, as usual, being vested in the inhabitant householders paying scot and lot, which was equivalent to burgess tenure, our editors remarking that at that date men did not rent houses. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries here, as elsewhere, the grossest political corruption prevailed. Bribery existed to the greatest extent, in which the Government were the chief offenders. In the middle of the eighteenth century packing the Corporation by the creation of faggot votes was one of the means resorted to. A lively account is given of the election tactics. Persons were admitted to the freedom of the city who had no title or claim to the distinction, and not in units but in hundreds and thousands. They were known as "mushroom votes." In 1749 they were created in great numbers. Among them 500 colliers were brought up from Lord Lowther's mines in the neighbourhood. The scandal was great, and cannot for a moment be excused; but it is doubtful if it was as prejudicial to the Commonwealth as the Caucus system and other abuses from which the State suffers at the present day.

The second chapter, which treats of the Corporation and the Guilds, is of much interest. The establishment of Guilds, or Confraternities, is of great antiquity. We find faint glimmerings in the very dawn of history, though it is very difficult to discover their origin. Mr. Coote finds them in the *Collegia* of the Romans, and he gives quotations from the rules of the gild of London, which gild, like those of Cambridge and Dover, we find were in existence before the Conquest; and Kemble, in his *Codes Diplomatics* prints the statutes of three gilds—those of Abbotsbury, Exeter, and Cambridge. Hincmar, Bishop of Rheims, in the middle of the ninth century gives, in his *Capitulaires*, instructions as to the management of gilds, and speaks of their members as united in all the exercises of religion. Lugo Brentano, a learned German writer, asserts that "England was the birthplace of gilds," adding that "London may be considered their cradle," whilst Bishop Stubbs says "they may find a parallel in any civilized nation at any age of the world." Whatever may have been their origin they seem to have been everywhere based upon the two great principles—Love towards God and charity and goodwill towards men. The Editors truly remark that "a religious character is always attached to a guild." These principles are abundantly shewn in the volume of *Ancient Guild Statutes* (in English) edited some years ago by Mr. Toulmin Smith for the Early English Text Society. Guilds were of several classes. Some were purely social and religious and others more secular, but the same religious principles pervaded the whole. Of the latter class were the Guilds Merchant and the Craft Guilds; the last, being the most numerous were the most influential as affecting the people, but the first as being the most wealthy were the most powerful. It was the Guild Merchant at Carlisle, as at other places, which worked out the liberties of the city and developed into the Municipal Corporation. There were eight Craft Guilds. They were formed for mutual help and protection, and the interest of the brethren and sistren (for the same plural form is used for both names, and is certainly more euphonious than the added "s")

for sisters) were carefully thought out and provided for. Our Editors write: "The ancient guilds were burial clubs, charitable clubs, dinner and drinking clubs, trades unions, local boards, and the like." They were all these and more. Their periodical feasts were a part of their rules, and were intended to promote sociability and good feeling, but we have no evidence that they degenerated into disorder, and though the craft guilds were in a sense trades-unions they were so in a far different sense from the present associations which pass under that name. They did not ignore the rights of others, nor did they make rules or adopt customs to tyrannize over their fellows, and their rules never tended to set class against class. The guilds consisted of both masters and men, or what in these days the trades unionists would designate the "Employers and Employed," for masters have ceased to exist. The objects of the ancient guilds were to promote honesty between man and man, to take care that the goods manufactured should be of good quality, and that the purchaser should receive that which he supposed he paid for without any fraudulent practice. Guilds were characterised by two great principles distinctly marked in their statutes, the second universally expressed in all their bye-laws:—the constant sense of moral worth and the endeavour to attain it, and the first respect for law and its established forms, qualities, sad to say, not to be found in their successors the present trades unionists, it is to be feared from the entire elimination of that religious element in their organisation which pervaded the ancient guilds.

We have stated above that the Guild Merchant at Carlisle, as the result of its contests with the Crown, developed into the Corporation, or Governing body of the town. The members comprised the landed proprietors, and excluded from all part in municipal affairs the crafts guilds and all the other unlanded inhabitants, "so," the Editors say, "the craftsmen combined and formed guilds for their own protection and for the furtherance of their own interests." We can hardly conceive that this was the origin of the crafts guilds, which, at Carlisle as at other places, must have been in existence at an earlier date. The guilds enumerated are eight, of whom seven were guilds of craftsmen and the eighth a guild of traders, such as grocers, drapers, &c., who called themselves a "Guild of Merchants, but they were entirely distinct from the Gild Mercatory which became the Town Council. The Editors remark that it is curious "there was no Guild of Carpenters or of any craft connected with building," and so it is. Contentions arose between the Gild Mercatory and the Crafts Guilds, the latter claiming a share in the government of the town which the former resisted. Of these early struggles there is now no record, but it is found in the Dormont Book, which commences in 1561, that the crafts guilds asserted themselves and became powerful checks on the Town Council or the Gild Mercatory. The effect of the concordat would seem to be that the Mayor and Citizens thenceforward should not incur any expenditure in the name of the citizens and inhabitants without the advice and council of four persons of every occupation, or guild, appointed for the purpose, and two of the four keys of the Common Chest were to be in the custody of the occupations, and further that the mayor should not make any "outmen" (strangers) freemen without their advice and council. So it appears that the Craft Guilds, as representing the inhabitants, had secured an efficient check upon and control over the affairs of the city, though the

administration was in the hands of the Mayor and Council. And this would seem to have worked well for about a century afterwards, when the corruptions before referred to had crept in.

Reference has been made just above to what is called the Dormont Book. A very minute description is given of this curious volume with a *facsimile* of the title page, which reads:—"THIS | CALLED § THE § REGESTAR § GO | VERNOR § OR § DORMONT § BOOK | OF § THE § CÖMONWELTH § OF § THI | NIABITANTES § WTHIN § THE § CITIE | OF § CARLELL § RENEWED § IN § THE § YEAR § OF | OWR § LORD § GOD § 1561 ;" and it bears on the first leaf of the book, a floriated escutcheon of the city arms: *a cross fleury between four roses Gu.*, the same as on the Market Cross and Town Hall. The fifth or central rose on the reverse of the Common Seal of the City of Carlisle is absent. On the vellum and paper preceding the title is the date MCCCCXXXIX.

The name is explained as being similar in character to the "Coucher book" of a Monastery, or the ledger book of a Commercial Firm, all three signifying large books that lie permanently in a certain place to which they relate, in opposition to smaller ones which are intended to be carried about for ready reference. The book, for nearly a century was not used for any other purpose than to contain the forms of the oaths to be taken by the City Officials and the bye-laws of the City. But during the time of the interregnum, it was, like other things of greater importance, turned upside down and used as a register of the deeds granting away the property which had been seized from the Bishop and the Dean and Chapter. After the Restoration, curiously enough, it was used for the registration of the declarations, made against the solemn league and covenant, and registering indentures of apprenticeship. The contents of this volume are printed *in extenso*.

The City of Carlisle, considering its great antiquity, appears to be singularly destitute of municipal archives. Many mediæval charters and other records are cited in the introductory chapter, but it is not stated which of them, if any, are in the possession of the local authorities. The Gilds are also in much the same condition. They do not possess any record earlier than the seventeenth century, though in some instances reference is made to books of Orders, as early as the middle of the sixteenth, and the Glovers cite a book as early as fifteenth, Henry VII., but it is not now in existence. The rules as now printed make no provision for religious worship, which was the leading feature of the mediæval gilds. There is one single exception of our indirect character in the rules of the Tailors' Gild, in which it is ordered under the date of 1608, that "when any brother or brothers' wife of this occupaçon deceases that have y^e whole light with y^e banner, y^e son or daughter to have half light with the banner, and y^e apprentice a third of y^e light with y^e banner, and to carry them where y^e maister appoints to y^e church upon warneing by y^e undermaister upon paine of vj^d each offender toties quoties." Also it is ordained and appointed by y^e said occupaçon that upon Corpus Christi days as old use or custome before time the whole light with y^e whole occupaçon and banner be in St. Marie's churchyard at y^e ash tree at 10 of y^e clock in y^e forenoon, and he y^t comes not before y^e banner be raised to come away pay vj^d each offender toties quoties." The Editors truly remark that this is a most interesting entry, and carries us back to

the pre-Reformation Corpus Christi processions in Carlisle, of which a description is given in an earlier part of the volume. There is one other order in the Tailors Gild prohibiting work on Saturday night or on the eves of festivals appointed by the church to be kept holy. We do not see, with the exception of attendance at funerals of deceased brothers, which would seem to be general, that any work of mercy or charity was carried out at this time by the Craft Gilds of Carlisle. The rules appear to be secular and selfish. Honest dealing was strongly enforced. Any brother committing petty larceny or other criminal offence was expelled from his fraternity. Searchers were appointed to visit the houses of the brothers quarterly to see that they used good materials and honest workmanship, and that weights and measures were correct. The gilds were kept very close. Great care was taken that no stranger intruded into the City to the prejudice of the brethren, and with respect to the admission of apprentices.

In conclusion we must state that though in some respects the volume is disappointing, upon the whole it possesses great interest, and it is evidently most carefully edited.

THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE LIBRARY : being a Classified Collection of the chief contents of the GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE from 1731 to 1868. Edited by GEORGE LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A. *Romano-British Remains* : Part I. London : Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, E.C., 1887.

Mr. Elliot Stock has issued the first Part of the seventh volume of this happily devised series. This Part treats of the Romano-British Remains, than which there is no class of antiquities of greater historical value. It illustrates not only the period of the Roman occupation of Britain, but forms also almost the only record of the dark period in British history between the withdrawal of the Roman legions and the incursions of the numerous Teutonic tribes that afterwards conquered and settled in the country. Mr. Gomme, the learned Editor, has, according to his usual practice, enriched the volume with an introductory chapter of great interest. In this he states his opinion as to the condition of Britain after the Romans had withdrawn, and questions the continuity of Roman influence. He cites the great works of the late Mr. Coote, *Romans in Britain*, and that of Mr. Seebohm, *The English Village Community*, but is unable himself to accept the theory of either. He writes :—"So far as history teaches us, we know that the Romans found upon their arrival in Britain several Celtic tribes, more or less barbarous, according to their degree of contact with the commercial nations who traded with the island ;" and, "that after a vigorous government of about 300 years they left these tribes under much the same civilization, and then the land was practically cut off from continental influences and civilization." He adds, "I cannot ignore the importance of the facts strangely undervalued, if not overlooked, by all historians, that the Britons did not levy a national or imperial force to stem the tide of Saxon conquest—that the Roman occupation of the country was not a social occupation but a military one, and that *Roman* Britain meant little more than the few thousand luxurious occupiers of the villas, the merchants of the cities, together with the various garrisons which dominated the country." This view is probably to some extent correct,

but we think Mr. Gomme has overdrawn his picture of the British population generally. The works of art of the Celtic people which remain to us, proclaim them to have possessed a high degree of culture, though that their condition under Roman rule had rendered them effeminate and unwarlike is evident enough. And it appears to us equally evident that their condition, as regards intellectual culture, was a high one, or they would not have retained the influence of Roman law, Roman Customs, Roman words in Arts and Manufacture which Mr. Coote points out to have survived.

This difficult question can only be solved by a close study of Roman Remains, and Mr. Gomme justly observes that the collection of discoveries from all parts of England during the long period of 130 years, enshrined in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and here brought together, cannot fail to form an independent factor in its solution.

Mr. Gomme treats the subject under four heads:—1, Roman life in Britain; 2, Romano-British continuity; 3, Evidence of the conflict with the English; 4, Results of the conflict.

On the first head it is scarcely necessary to make a remark. Roman power, Roman luxury, and Roman influence during Roman supremacy in this country are pretty well known, but in the second Mr. Gomme draws a contrast between the remains which exist of the Romano-British period, especially during the terrible time between 410 and 450 A.D., when the Romans had left the Britons to themselves, and the period when the cromlechs and stone circles were built, implying that the race had rather deteriorated than advanced in civilization. He says there is no evidence of any Roman influence save in the memorials of the dead and in the appearance of a Romano-British continuity of history in matters of religion, and in respect to the cultivation of open fields upon which Mr. Gomme has something to say; but we must not enter into the controversy, and for his interesting remarks on the last two heads must refer to the volume itself.

Of course nothing has been brought into this volume beyond what has been contributed to old *Sylvanus Urban*, but the editor has referred to the chief works relating to Roman Remains of a later date. The contents of this volume are arranged alphabetically under counties, that bringing together the discoveries in each local district. The present part extends only to the English counties. The second part, to which we anxiously look forward, will embrace: "Local discoveries in Wales, Local discoveries in Scotland, Stations, Roads, &c., Historical Notes Notes and Index."

SOME HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE O'MEAGHERS OF IKERRIN.

By JOSEPH CASIMER O'MEAGHER, Member of the Royal Irish Academy, &c., London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

Mr. O'Meagher, in this curious little Book, gives a Calendar of Events affecting his family from the earliest times down to 1689, and annexes thereto a series of Appendices containing documents from various sources, English and foreign, relating to some of his ancestors, who, being driven out of Ireland by the political events of the time, served with great distinction in foreign armies. And he concludes with a

pedigree shewing his own descent from Oiliol Olum, King of Munster A.D. 212-234.

The territory of this sept, which they long held and took a prominent part in Irish history, was situated in co. Tipperary, and contains in the whole 69,381 acres, divided into twelve parishes, and rated at the annual value of £45,000. They were of pure Irish blood, and, resisting the English Government, were subjected to the pains and penalties which befel others of their countrymen of the higher ranks. In the rebellion of the 17th century, the O'Meaghers took part with the "Irish Confederates" against Cromwell, and, being defeated, were driven out of their lands. The captains and men of war, of the Confederate Army to the number of 40,000, were suffered to embark for the continent, and "forced to feed themselves by the blades of their swords in the service of foreign countries." Those who remained behind returned to their former neighbourhoods, took up their abode in the offices attached to their mansions, or shared the dwellings of their late tenants, and employed themselves in tilling the ground for the intruders on the lands they had lately owned, but at length they were ordered to transplant into Connaught, and the conquering army divided the ancient inheritances amongst themselves by lot.

It is usual to sneer at the Celtic and Cymric pedigrees, and it would be impossible to prove their authenticity. Considering, however, the nature of the tenure by which the tribal lands were held, and the titles of families, it was essentially necessary that an accurate record of the descent of each family should be preserved, and a public officer of high distinction was appointed to have cognizance of this matter. The chief of the principal families also, kept his own pedigree as a check on the officer of the tribe or province. We, therefore, conceive that those pedigrees, though apparently mythical, are as well deserving of credit as many ancient genealogies on record in the College of Arms.

The Archaeological Journal.

JUNE, 1887.

CULVERHOUSES.

By R. S. FERGUSON, M.A., F.S.A.

(*Chancellor of the Diocese of Carlisle.*)

In the Autumn of 1886, shortly after the Chester Meeting of the Institute, one of the members of our Council, Mr. H. Hutchings, was staying at Hutton-in-the-Forest in Cumberland, the seat of Sir Henry Vane, Bart. In the course of his ramblings about the precincts, he came upon an almost forgotten dovecot or "culverhouse" as such are called in the south, which proved on examination to still retain the greater part of the wooden *potence* or revolving ladder by which the attendant got at the nest holes in the walls. To this interesting building Mr. Hutchings directed my attention and suggested that I should bring the general subject of pigeonhouses under the notice of the Institute.

The following extract from M. Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire de L'architecture* lays down the law and practice of the middle ages as to pigeonhouses so well that I cannot do better than cite it. It will be found under the title *Colombier* :

Pendant le moyen age, la construction d'un colombier était un privilege reservé à la féodalité. Le paysan ne pouvait avoir son four ; il fallait qu'il apportât son pain au four banal du château ou de l'abbaye, et qu'il payât une redevance pour le cuire. Il ne lui était pas permis non plus d'avoir un pigeonnier à lui appartenant. Il en était des pigeons comme des troupeaux de bêtes à cornes et à laine, ils appartenaient au seigneur qui seul en pouvait tirer un produit. Les troupes de pigeons étant un

rapport, ceux qui avaient le privilège de les entretenir cherchaient tous les moyens propres à en rendre l'exploitation productive. Tous les châteaux possédaient un ou plusieurs pigeonniers; les manoirs, demeures des chevaliers, petits châteaux sans tours ni donjons, pouvaient encore posséder un pigeonnier. Il n'est pas besoin de dire que les abbés, qui étaient tous seigneurs féodaux, et qui possédaient les établissements agricoles les mieux exploités pendant le moyen âge, avaient des pigeonniers dans les cours des abbayes, dans les fermes qui en dépendaient, les prieurés et les obédiences. Les propriétaires de trente-six arpents avaient le droit de joindre à leurs habitations, non un columbier construit en maçonnerie, mais un pigeonnier en bois de seize pieds de hauteur et pouvant contenir seulement de soixante à cent vingt boulines. On entend par *boulines* (du grec Βόλος) les trous pratiqués dans les columbiers et destinés à la ponte des œufs de pigeons.

The swarms of hungry birds which issued from the *colombiers* of the great French nobles and precipitated themselves on the crops of the helpless peasants were one of the causes that promoted the French Revolution.

Similar rights once existed in England; it was formerly held that only the lord of the manor or the parson might erect a pigeonhouse, but those rights have long ago become obsolete, and the pigeonhouses themselves have disappeared. We have now-a-days very little idea of the numbers of dovecots, pigeonhouses, or culverhouses that once existed in England, or of the numbers of birds that were reared in them; the following passage, extracted from that fine standard work, *Daniels on Rural Sports* may therefore be usefully cited here. The author says:—

Corn is much destroyed by Pigeons, and the greatest number of them kept in England is about Retford in Nottinghamshire. Hartbil in the *Legacy of husbandry* calculates that there were in his time 26,000 pigeonhouses in England, and allowing 500 pair to each dovecote, and four bushels yearly to be consumed by each pair, it makes the whole of the corn lost to be no less than thirteen millions of bushels annually.

The reason why in the middle ages such large numbers of these destructive birds were kept is not far to seek. Fresh meat could only be procured during the summer; turnips, mangel wurzells, and other green crops were unknown; hence oxen and sheep could not be fattened during the winter; indeed they could be barely kept alive; large numbers of them were therefore slaughtered and salted down at the beginning of winter, so much so that the old German name for November was *Slagtmonat*, or slaughtermonth, and the Anglo-Saxon name was *Blodmonath* or bloodmonth. The characteristic occupations of the

various months of the year are sculptured on the late fourteenth century capitals in the choir of the cathedral at Carlisle, and December is represented by a man with a pole axe, slaying an ox.¹ Lord Macaulay points out that it appears from the Northumberland Household Book that

In the reign of Henry the Seventh, fresh meat was never eaten even by the gentlemen attendant on a great earl, except during the short interval between Midsummer and Michaelmas.²

Those, who were too poor to afford salt meat, subsisted upon rye bread and salt fish, and one of their winter occupations was to tend their stores of it. Thus Tusser in his "Decemblers husbandrie" advises

Both saltfish and lingfish (if any ye haue)
through shifting and drieng from rotting go saue
Least winter with moistnes doo make it relent,
and put it in hazard before it be spent.³

Such being the prevalent diet from Michaelmas to Midsummer, it was no wonder that many leper houses testify to this day of the ravages of leprosy in England; anything that could vary or palliate such diet was eagerly cultivated; hence we have the fishponds and stews, in which carp and tench were assiduously fattened for the table, and hence the value attached to warrens of conies, while "the large round dove cot arose in the immediate neighbourhood of the abodes of the great and wealthy, of the castle, the convent and the manor house."⁴

Their frequency is attested by the occurrence in lists of field names of dovecot, pigeonhouse and culverhouse fields, where now are no such buildings; and by the occurrence in old forms of general words for use in conveyances of land of the term "dovecots." Instances of every class could easily be selected either at home or abroad, for they were as common, or more so, in France and

¹ See a paper *On the sculptured Capitals in the Choir of the Cathedral at Carlisle*. By James Fowler, F.S.A. Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, vol. iv., pp., 280, 290.

² *History of England* vol. i., p. 326.

³ Tusser's *Five Hundred points of Good Husbandrie*. English Dialect Society's Edition 1878, p. 63.

⁴ *Sussex Archaeological Colls*, vol. xi. p. 1. Until the railways put an end to them, the large posting houses on the north road kept numbers of pigeons in their stable yards; they afforded a ready viand for the sudden traveller. The hostler and people in these yards were quite up to the use of "saltcats" and other lures for enticing away their neighbour's pigeons, as the writer can testify.

Italy as in England and Scotland. Every traveller in Egypt will recollect the swarms of pigeons in the villages there, and the bonny little brown hawks that prey on them. To take a few instances nearer home; in the case of a castle, liable to be besieged, a detached dovecot would be useless, except in time of peace; accordingly we frequently find provision made on a small scale in the castle itself; thus, at Rochester, there are in the inner face of the north wall, above the gutter, two rows of pigeon holes, probably original, and even now accommodating a few birds;¹ also at Conisborough Castle.² A survey taken of Kendal Castle in 1572 describes a “dovecote in good repair” as being “in the south side” thereof, and I have indicated elsewhere the position of this in the existing ruins of Kendal Castle.³

The Priory of Lewes possessed a dovecot of cruciform shape, much like a church. It is engraved in *Archæologia* vol. 31 p. 431 and is thus described in a communication to the society of Antiquaries, dated 11 Dec., 1845.—

Fifty years since, there remained together with a dovecote or pigeon house built in the form of a cross, the cells or recesses of which were ingeniously constructed of hewn chalk. These pigeon holes were formed in a similar manner to those described in the notice of the dovecote of Garway, given in the present volume of the *Archæologia*; they were in number between three and four thousand, and were arranged in parallel rows, extending over the interior face of each building. The entrances for the pigeons were four in number, one under the roof at each extremity of the cross, as may be seen in the representation here given. The building measured in length, from east to west, ninety feet; from north to south the same; the height of the walls to the roof was thirty feet. This structure was pulled down within my memory for the sake of the materials.⁴

In the *Sussex Archæ. Coll.* vol. xi, p. 5 the number of cells in this dovecot is given as 2,500.

The dovecot at Garway, just mentioned, belonged to the preceptory of the Templars at Garway in the county of Hereford, and according to an inscription on it was built in the year 1326, by “brother Richard.” It is circular in shape and contains 666 cells or nests for the birds; it

¹ Clark's *Medieval Military Architecture*, vol. ii., p. 117.

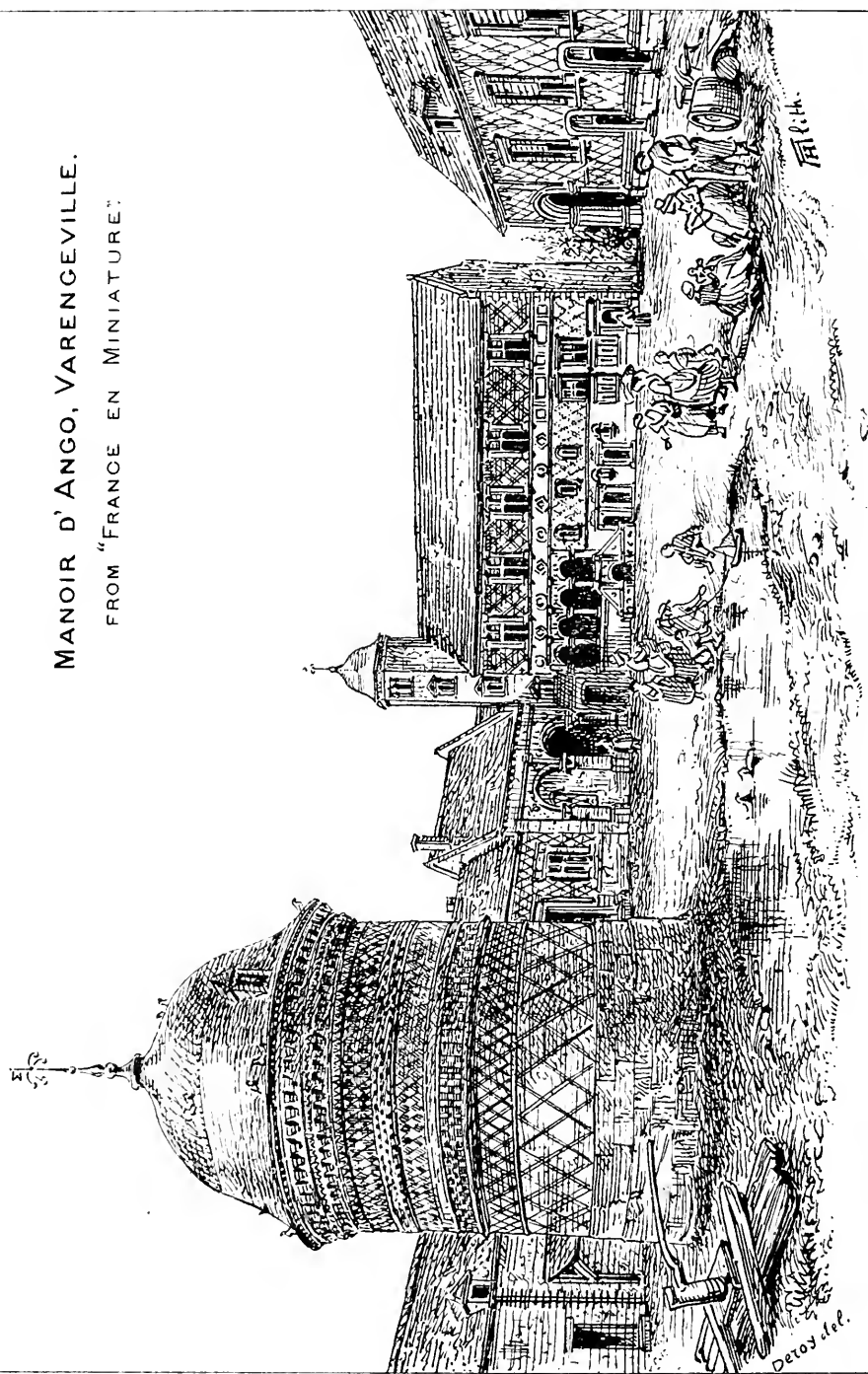
² *Ibid.* vol. i., pp. 445, 446. *Journal British Archaeological Association*, vol. xxx p. 21.

³ *Kendal Castle* by R. S. Ferguson, F.S.A.

Transactions, Westmoreland and Cumberland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, vol. ; ix., p. 181.

⁴ *Archæologia* vol. xxxi, pp. 431, 432 in a communication by G. S. Mantell, F.R.S.

MANOIR D'ANGO, VARENCEVILLE.
FROM "FRANCE EN MINIATURE"



is 17 feet 3 inches in diameter in the clear of walls, and 16 feet in height to the spring of the arch.¹

The cells are described as having apertures varying from 6½ to 7 inches in the entrance, and about 17 inches in depth, being countersunk in the walls, one course of holes inclining to the right and another alternately to the left.

There was a large pigeon house at Bradsall Priory, near Derby, octagonal in shape, which is figured in Blore's *Bradsall*. There was a round one at Hurley Priory, Berks; another at Monkbretton in Yorkshire; a square one at Penman Priory in Anglesey, with a stone pillar in the middle, from which flat stones projected, and wound up as a ladder, thus giving an attendant access to the cells. Almost every religious house must have had one, and we need not multiply instances. In Bishop Nicolson's Account of his diocese of Carlisle² we find pigeons breeding in the very churches of Warwick and Skelton in Cumberland, and Morland in Westmorland, and no doubt the incumbents of those livings profited thereby. At Aspatria in Cumberland, the vicar had a regular built pigeon house, capable of holding a large number of nests.

We will just mention a couple of foreign examples because they are figured in English publications. The *Spring Gardens Sketch Book*, vol. VI, plate 54, contains a very beautiful example of a pigeon house, combined with a well, at Veules in France, of the date 1776. In the ninth volume of this journal are sketches and details of brickwork by Mr. Petit, of a pigeon house at Boos near Rouen; of it M. Viollet-le-Duc writes as follows:—

Il existe encore pres Rouen—a Saint Jacques, un tres beau colombier bâti en briques de diverses couleurs, et qui appartient au commencement du XVI siecle. Trois lucarnes en bois s'ouvrent dans le comble. Ses dispositions rappellent le colombier de Nesle. Cependant l'étage supérieur est porté en encorbellement sur le soubassement, ce qui donne à cette construction une certaine grace.

Mr. Hartshorne has been kind enough to send me from his father's collections a picture of the "Manoir D'Ango à Varengeville pres Dieppe," a charming old house of the famous French merchant and friend of Francis I; it

¹ *Archeologia*, vol. xxxi, pp. 190, 195.

² *Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese of Carlisle 1703 and 1704* by W. Nicolson,

Bishop of Carlisle, published by the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiq. and Arch. Society, 1877.

gives so good an instance of a manorial pigeon house standing among the other buildings of the manor that it is reproduced with this paper.

Let us turn now to Cambridge: in that magnificent work, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, by Willis and Clark¹ it is stated that a pigeon house [columbarium] is first mentioned in 1414-5, when a regular heading "expenses of the dovehouse" makes its appearance in the accounts of King's Hall: the expenses of construction are not recorded, but the purchase of four dozen pigeons in this year indicates its stocking.

Item pro remuneracione portatorum columbarum ad columbare iij dussen iij^dob. It pro una saleath v^d ob.

The salt-cat was a lure for keeping one's own pigeons at home and enticing of one's neighbours; it will be dealt with presently.

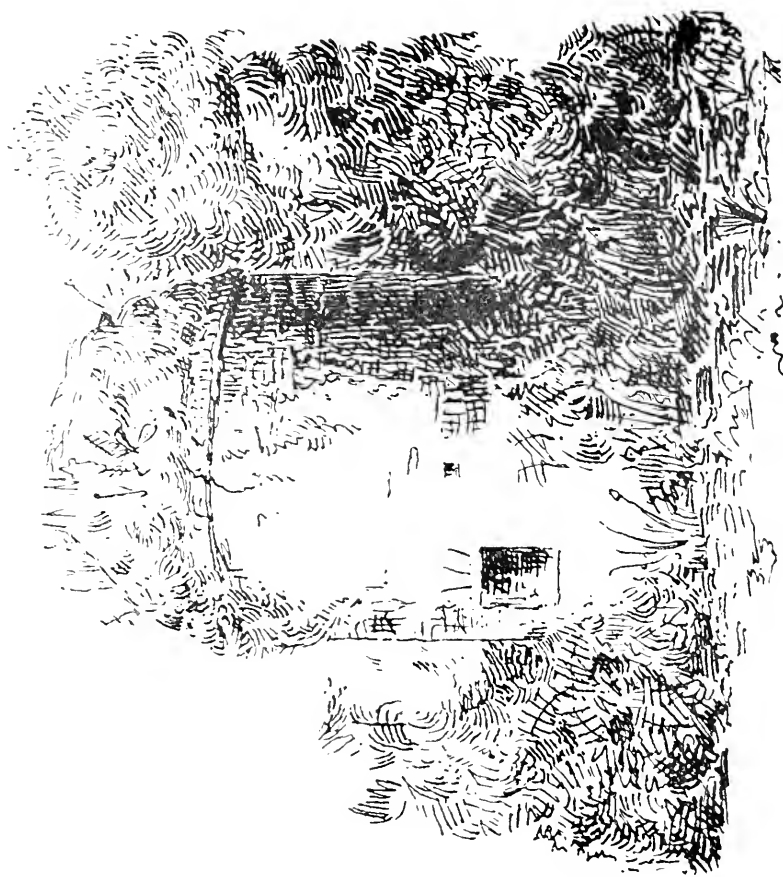
Messrs. Willis and Clark give² the following account of the pigeon houses at Cambridge.

It may be gathered from the collegiate histories that a pigeon house once existed at every college except Clare Hall, Magdalene, and Sidney Sussex: and it is possible that there may have been one at these colleges also, for the early accounts of the two first mentioned have not been preserved, and those of the last have not been examined in detail. In the 15th and 16th centuries a pigeon house was evidently regarded as a necessity to be built soon after the foundation of the college. At King's Hall the pigeon house was built in 1414-5; at King's College in 1449; and at Queen's College in 1505-6. At Peterhouse the date of the erection has not been discovered, but the building is frequently mentioned in the early account rolls; at Pembroke College it is shewn standing in the orchard in Lyne's map, dated 1574; it was built at Gonville Hall in 1536 as recorded by Dr. Caius; at Corpus Christi in 1547 by Matthew Parker, a work thought worthy of special commendation by his panegyrist Josselin; at Jesus College in 1574 and at St. John's College in 1622, but the work then done was evidently only a rebuilding of an older structure. Some of these pigeon houses must have been of considerable size; that at St. John's College cost £109 17s. 2½d., and those at Queen's College and Jesus College had windows, for at the former in 1537-8 'Thirteen feet of glass for the windows of the pigeon house' are paid for; and at the latter in 1575-6 we find 'for glassing ye doue howsse conteyninge xliij feet of glasse xxij^s.' In the course of the 17th century the practice of keeping pigeons fell gradually into disuse. At Jesus' College the pigeon house was let on lease in 1633, and at Peterhouse in 1675. By the end of the century nearly all had been pulled down, for Loggan's accurate views shew a

¹ Vol. II, p. 411.

² Vol. III, p. 592.





PIGEON HOUSE, MANORBIER CASTLE. AUGUST, 1861.

pigeon house at three colleges only, viz, at Trinity Hall, at Queen's College and at Christ's College; and in the latter the building is in the Master's garden and therefore not the public property of the college. At Trinity Hall, however, the pigeon house was still in use in 1730.

We must not omit to mention that Corpus College, Cambridge, built their pigeon house in 1547, and defrayed the cost by sale of certain pieces of church plate, which had gone out of fashion.¹ The Cambridge houses appear to have all been quadrangular ones.

I have no information as to pigeon houses at Oxford; but the Rev. the Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, tells me that at one or more of the farms belonging to that college are large pigeon houses of the quadrangular kind.

Many examples of manorial pigeon houses still exist, though generally converted into something else, cattle sheds, pig styes, potatoe houses, stores of all kinds, blacksmiths' shops and even schools and cottages. When the Institute visited Bedford in 1831, we saw at Willington a most interesting and picturesque pigeon house, quadrangular in shape, whose details our guide, the late Mr. Parker, C.B., said would be well worth careful reproduction.² At Ashby St. Legers in Northamptonshire, my friend Mr. H. P. Senhouse has two quadrangular pigeon houses, one of which has 2,292 cells, and the other 1,560, or 3,852 in all; an enormous number for one manor; there are yet a few birds in these houses, but the rats and jackdaws have also got possession and steal the eggs. At Manorbeer Castle near Tenby there is a circular one in the *enceinte* of the castle. We reproduce a sketch of this from the pencil of Mr. Hartshorne. There is a good square brick pigeon house at Delaford Park, Iver.

Mr. W. Oldham Chambers, F.L.S., the present occupier kindly sends the following note:—

This Culver House is alluded to in the writings of the property as "the Falconry." It is built in red brickwork, with diagonal patterns in black headers on the outside facings. The House is 17 feet square, and 17 feet 6 inches high; the walls are 2 feet 3 inches thick. There are indications of the walls being originally higher than at the present period. There were 572 holes contained in thirteen rows on each side, but the

¹ Willis and Clark, vol. i, p. 261.

² The stone details of this pigeon house have the appearance of having formed part of an earlier structure, and to the re-use of these stones may be partly

attributed the very quaint and unusual form which the gable presents
Probably Gostwick pulled down the old manor house and re-used the materials. *Archeological Journal*, vol. 38, p. 453.

three lower rows are now blocked up. The lowest started 15 inches from the ground, this level has probably been made up. The original door was on the south side; this has been blocked up and a new one cut in on the north side. The House remained open for a considerable period, the present roof being a comparatively modern structure.

At Trimmers near Paxhill, the seat of the Wyatts in Sussex, is a square one with 700 cells. At Berwick in the same county is a square one, of which, by the kindness of the Sussex Archæological Society, we give a view; this was let in 1622 for £5 per annum, and was tithed, as no doubt were others. There is, or was, a quaint wooden one at Burton Mill, near Petworth; and a fine one of brick with a conical top at Rochford Hall, Essex. At Daglington, Gloucestershire, is a circular one of stone; the ancient pivoted central post with perches for the birds and ascending ladders for the attendant remains, or did until lately. The list might be easily extended; there are several in my own county of Cumberland, viz. at Hutton-i'th'-Forest, Rose Castle, Highhead Castle, Corby Castle, Barrock Park, Hutton-John, Crookdake Hall, Wreay Hall, Aspatria Vicarage, Bunker's Hill, Plumland Vicarage, etc., while others formerly existed at Naworth Castle, Crofton Hall, and Bootle Rectory.

Pigeon houses in plan may be divided into two kinds, quadrangular and circular, for the cruciform one at Lewes may be taken as an eccentricity; and the sexagonal, octagonal, &c., as approximations to the circular shape. In the quadrangular the attendant gets at the nests by climbing along the ledges in front of them, and holding on with his hands; to this there probably were exceptions, and we have already mentioned one at Penmon Priory in Anglesey, where the flat projecting stones wound, ladder-wise, round a stone pillar in the centre. But the circular ones were provided with a revolving machine, called a *potence* by which all the nests could be conveniently got at in turn. This is admirably described and beautifully illustrated by M. Viollet-le-Duc in the article to which I have already referred: the whole article is most interesting, and worth transcription, but it refers to circular *colombiers* on a larger scale than any I know of in this country: ones that have a lower story for cattle or sheep. It would be difficult to understand without the



Pigeon House, Berwick, Sussex.

illustrations, which again apply to a more complicated potence than any I have seen in England. I must therefore be as clear as I can without pictures. The *potence* consists of a stout upright post, *un arbre vertical muni de deux pivots en fer a chacune de ses extremités*; one of these pivots works in a socket in the centre of the floor of the pigeon house, and the other in a socket in the centre of the rafters of the roof. This upright post carries two or three arms at right angles to it [*potences*, hence the name *potence*] which carry at their extremities a ladder: the arms are not in the same plane with one another, but so arranged as to give the ladder a convenient slope. A person on the ladder can ascend to any required tier of nests he may wish, and can make the *potence* revolve under him so that he can reach any nest he pleases. Convenient as the *potence* is, or was, when a pigeon house was put to its original purpose, it is highly in the way, when other uses are found for the building: hence it is generally destroyed, or else mutilated. In the larger French *colombiers* the *potence* carried two ladders one on either side, the supporting arms running right through from side to side of the house.

The pigeonhouse, dovecot, or culverhouse (though I doubt if that name was ever used in Cumberland) at Hutton-i'th'-Forest is situated in a plantation near to Sir Henry Vane's beautiful mansion of Hutton-i'th'-Forest. The site is near to where the old farm buildings once stood, and would be bare of trees when the pigeon house was occupied by its proper inhabitants, who will not resort to a pigeon house in a wood. It is octagonal, of dressed stone; the sides of the octagonal being, in the interior of the building, about 5 feet 4 inches. It has twelve rows of nests; the lowest row is 4 feet from the floor, and has a ledge of flag 6 inches broad projecting in front of it, thus interposing an effectual bar to any climbing or jumping rat that may have intruded; all the other rows have similar ledges of half the breadth. The nests or cells are 9 inches in height, L shaped, the short limb or entrance being 5 inches broad by 9 inches long, and the long limb 10 inches long, by the same breadth of five inches. There are about 40 nests in each row, or in all, taking off for the door, about 450. The roof is octagonal, on which is an octagonal

turret, or glover, as it is technically called, with holes for the pigeons to pass in and out. The existence of this pigeon-house had been almost forgotten, when Mr. Hutchings came across it in his fumigatory strolls; it was lumbered up with an inserted second floor, and had been used as a kennel for young foxes, so that its odours were certainly not those of Araby the blest. Mr Hutchings however was not to be denied; armed with a cigar he explored the interior, and was rewarded by finding that the upright of the *potence* and the upper arm were in existence and perfect. Sir Henry and Lady Vane's interest was aroused; the place was cleared out, and the second floor knocked out; in a neighbouring shed the ladder of the *potence* was found and reinstated in position; and the "culverhouse" now forms one of the sights of one of the most charming places in Cumberland. The ashlar work of the pigeon house is identical with the ashlar work of that part of the mansion house, which was built by Sir George Fletcher, M.P. for Cumberland, with one or two intermissions, from 1661 to 1697; his architect was Inigo Jones.

At Barrock, also in the Forest, is another pigeon house, also octagonal, measuring on the exterior along one side of the octagon 9 feet 4 inches; on the inside 7 feet 4 inches; it has a potatoe house below it. It seems to me to be an inferior imitation of the one at Hutton-i'th'-Forest, fatter and squatter; it was so lumbered up with flower-pots, a modern second floor, the ruins of a church organ, and a family of owls, that I could not make much investigation into the interior, but it seemed everyway a poor copy of the last. I conjecture it to have been built by the Grahams, who shortly after 1768 purchased Barrock from the Duke of Portland, and converted it from a farm house into a gentleman's residence. It has had a *potence*, which has totally disappeared, but I found the upper pivot hole.

The pigeonhouse at Wreay Hall, a place about five miles south of Carlisle, much resembles that at Hutton-i'th'-Forest; it is octagonal, of dressed ashlar work, and has fourteen rows of nests, or about 530 in all; the lowest row is only two feet from the ground. Great part of the *potence* is remaining and it has on its central axis a sort of shelve, or ledge, the use of which I do not quite see,

but it resembles the top of a music stand. I take the date of this to be the same or thereabouts as that at Hutton-i'th'-Forest. The pigeonhouses at Corby Castle and Bunker's Hill Cumberland are circular, those at Rose Castle, Aspatria, and Crookdake Hall are square, but a detailed account of these is better suited for the pages of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society's Transactions, than for the pages of this Journal.

From the following entry in Lord William Howard's Household Books ¹

“ A saltcat for the dovecoate xiiij^d ”

we learn that a dovecote once existed at Naworth Castle, but it has now disappeared, though its site is known.

The domestic economy of these pigeonhouses is curious; they required a deal of attention; the attendant only visited them early in the morning, otherwise the birds would never settle for the night; cleanliness was requisite, and the interior required to be scraped and whitewashed twice a year, in November and February; Messrs. Willis and Clark cite an entry in the accounts of Peterhouse, Cambridge shewing that in 1546-7 four gallons of wort were bought to wash the nests with, probably to kill the fleas. Birds of prey had to be guarded against and the same gentlemen cite from the accounts of Queen's College in 1513-4 the following order for the purchase of bird-lime—

Item X^o die novembris dedi ad jussum Mr Waham tunc vices vice presidentis gerentis Johanni Fenys ad emendum visum quo caperet aves deuorantes columbas collegii ij^d.

Lures of various kinds were much used to attract the birds; the salt cat has been already mentioned, and to Messrs. Willis and Clark we are indebted for the following reference to John Moore's *Columbarium or the Pigeon House*, first published in 1735 and reprinted by W. B. Tegetmeier, 8vo. London, 1879.

THE SALT CAT.

Being thus entered on the head of diet, it necessarily leads us to consider a certain useful composition called by the fanciers a Salt Cat, so named, I suppose, from a certain fabulous oral tradition of baking a

¹ *Surtcos Society*, vol. lxxviii, p. 135

cat . . . with cummin seed, and some other ingredients as a decoy for your neighbour's pigeons; this, though handed down by some authors as the only method for this purpose, is generally laughed at by the gentlemen of the fancy and never practised.

The right Salt Cat therefore is, or ought to be thus made; take gravel or drift sand, loom such as the brick makers use; and the rubbish of an old wall, or, for want of this, a less quantity of lime, let there be a gallon of each; add to this a pound of Cummin seed, a handful of bay salt or saltpetre and beat them all up together into a kind of mortar
 . . . and your pigeons will take a great delight in it

The Cummin seed, which has a strong smell in which pigeons delight will keep your own pigeons at home, and allure others that are straying abroad, and at a loss to fix upon a habitation.

It is open to conjecture that the cat in saltcat is nothing else but "cates" or "acates," but I am inclined to think that a *bonâ fide* pussy sometime entered into the composition, for at Jesus College in 1651-2, occurs the following entry

For a roasted dog and comin seed 00 : 02 : 00.

The Sportsman's Dictionary, published in 1778, gives two receipts for a lure for pigeons, the chief ingredient in each being a boiled goat's head.

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS DISCOVERED IN BRITAIN IN 1886.

By W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

As far as Britain is concerned, the additions to Roman epigraphy in 1886, have been about an average. The neighbourhood of the Wall of Hadrian has supplied, as usual, the greatest proportion of the inscriptions found. In this district, the month of January witnessed the first discovery of which I am aware. It was that of a small and rude altar, found at Caervorran, (*Magna*) which according to the report of the Newcastle antiquaries was inscribed

DEO
*ALIT
ICAV
ROV
OTV.

Dr. Bruce reported to the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, on January 27th, that he could not recognise the name of the deity, and that though he thought the second line might be *FALIT*, it was quite possible that what he took for *F* at the commencement was only "a chance stroke." Dr. Hübner of Berlin to whom a copy was sent, gave the reading *DEO . ALITI . GAVRO . VOTV* (*m. Solvit*), referring to Ovid (*Metam.* II, 714) and other works. He considered the *Deus ales* to be the "winged god" Mercury, and *Gauro* simply the Celtic name of the dedicator. To me this seems highly unsatisfactory. Had Mercury been intended, we should, I think, as in other instances, have had the name in full, "*Deo Mercurio*." I would read it (considering its rudeness), as *DEO . BALITICAVRO . VOTV*. (s), the latter letter being either obliterated or understood, and the two last words being *votv S(olutum)*. This seems confirmed by the fact that at the same station *Magna* we have an altar in which the name of the deity

is given as BELATVCAIRO. and another in which after his name we have simply VOTV . S. ; in neither is the name of a dedicator given. At Brougham an altar to the same deity was found (now in the Newcastle Museum) dedicated DEO BLATVCARO ; and at the stations of Old Penrith, and Burgh upon Sands, BELATVCA occurs upon altars to him (one of these is likewise without the dedicator's name). At Burgh upon Sands, also, the name is spelt BEHTCADRO. These numerous variations, suggest that the newly discovered altar at *Magna* is simply one to Belatucader, with still another variation in the orthography.

At the same station two other small altars have been taken out of the walls of the farm buildings in which they were built up. They are inscribed

(1)
MATRIB
· · · ·

(2)
DIBVS.VITE
· · · · V.S
L.M.

The first is merely the upper half, and in a recess has the figure of a female holding a *patera* in her right hand over an altar. The inscription has been beneath. Only its first line remains entire, though the summits of the letters in the second line are partially visible ; the base and remainder of the inscription are broken off. It has evidently been dedicated to the *Deae Matres*, the first word being *Matribus*. No. 2 is entire, but the inscription is much obliterated. It is a dedication, *Dibus Viteribus* "To the ancient gods." The dedicator's name is lost by decay, but the final *formula* V.S.L.M. (*Votum Solvit Libens Merito*) is clear. All three of these altars have been added to Mr. Clayton's large museum at Chesters. During Mr. Clayton's recent researches at the station of *Cilurnum*, a portion of an inscription (probably an altar) to Jupiter, was found. The extant letters are (divested of ligatures).

I. O
PRO.SA
CALVER

and the expansion has probably been *J(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Pro Sa(lute) Cal(visii) Ver(ecundi)* "To Jupiter, the best, the greatest, for the welfare of Calvisius Verecundus." This is also at Chesters, but Dr. Bruce suggests that the first letter in the last line is G, and consequently

expands GAL. as *Gal(eriū)*. The letter in question is very rudely formed. Another fragment found by Mr. Clayton measuring 11 inches by 6½ is inscribed

ALI
OC
TN

It is manifestly impossible to restore the words of which these letters formed part. Perhaps in the first line we have part of AL(AE).

In the new Catalogue of the Newcastle-on-Tyne Museum recently issued, No. 19 is a fragment containing part of the first line of a large inscription (evidently dedicated to an Emperor) which has not, so far, been published. The only letters remaining are

OC AE

with a portion of the upper moulding of the stone, as marked by the lines. These letters have no doubt been part of some such words as (ANTONIN)OC AE(S).

On 25th June there was unearthed at the farm of Underheugh, in the parish of Gilsland, and near the station of Birdoswald (*Amboglanna*) a handsome altar, 4 feet 2 inches high inscribed

I. O. M.
C°H.I.AELDA
C°R.CCAIVL
MARCELLI
NVS.LEG. II
AVG.

The only doubtful point in the inscription is at the end of the third line, where CCAIVL, may be, as pointed out by M. Robert Mowat, the celebrated French archæologist, C.CAM. the letters which seem IVL being very close together and looking like M. M. Mowat reads the inscription (apparently) as *J(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Coh(ors) I. Ael(ia) Dacor(um), C(aius) Cam(mius) Marcellinus Leg(ioms) II Aug(ustae)* but the difficulty of such a reading is that while the cohort dedicates, an officer of an entirely different force (the second Legion) is named immediately afterwards, without his connection with the first named corps being explained. Instead, therefore, of C.CAM., I am inclined to think that C.CA.IVL. is correct, and that as in the altar recently found at Jedburgh, we have the letters Q.C.A. (*Archæol. Journal*, vol. XLII, p. 158), before the name of the commander of the force, which have

been expanded *Q(uorum) c(uram) a(git)*, so here C.C.A. should be expanded *C(ujus) c(uram) a(git)*, which would make the reading of the inscription plain *i.e.* "To Jupiter, the best, the greatest, the 1st cohort of the Dacians, surnamed the Aelian which is commanded by Julius Marcellinus of the Second Legion." The officer named, was probably a centurion of the Legion, and the centurial mark has been accidentally omitted in the inscription, as in many other cases. The words "which is commanded by" are I know a "free" translation, but they approach nearest to the sense of the inscription in English; "overlooked by" would hardly bear out the meaning.

At Corbridge, three inscriptions have occurred, of which the lettering appears to be.

(1.)	(2.)	(3.)
I. O. M	*****	
* RO. SALVTE	**** SB ****	ERIT
VEXILLATI *	*****	OALAE
* VMLEG*****	*****	* AE.
*** IMI *****	** ANIVS **	
*****	ET. MATER	

The first is on a large altar, much cut away to fit it for a building stone. It was found in pulling down an old cottage in Water Row, embedded in its walls. The asterisks mark missing letters, the sixth line with the exception of two strokes in its centre, each resembling an I, being entirely gone. It was erected for the welfare of vexillations of a legion or legions, the first portion reading *J(ori) O(ptimo) M(aximo) pro salute vexillati (on) um Leg (ionum)*. Dr. Hubner suggests with great probability that *xxii (Pr)imi(geniae et . . .)* followed this, as we know that a vexillation of the Twenty Second Legion, which was surnamed *Primigenia* was in Britain. On its left hand side the altar bears the figure of a *praefericulum*. It is now in the Newcastle Museum.

No. 2 is on "the lowest stone on the south side of the west door of the church" and, with the exception of the letters shewn, is entirely obliterated, but it would seem, from what remains to have been sepulchral.

No. 3 was also found built up into the Church. The second and third lines may I think be the remains of (EQ)Q. ALAE (AVGVSTAE PETRIAN)AE., as traces of that *Ala* have been found in the adjoining town of Hexham.

Chester-le-Street is commencing gradually to reveal its hidden epigraphic treasures of the Roman age. During the year it has yielded two inscribed altars as follows:—

(1)	(2)
DEOMARTI	DEO
CONDATI. V * L	VITI
* ROBINVSP * O	RID
SEETSVISVSLM	VIH
	NOVS

The first was found about 300 yards north of the Roman station, beneath six feet of alluvial soil near the brook called Chester Burn which flows into the river Wear, and is 21½ inches high. The letters are formed by a series of punctures. The altar is broken into two pieces, the fracture being immediately in front of the last letter of each of the three lower lines. The inscription apparently reads *Deo Marti Condati. V(a)l(erius) (P)robianus p(r)o se et suis V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)*.

No. 2 is on a small altar found on the 28th July, on premises adjoining the Co-operative Stores, during excavations for the enlargement of that building. It was in a well about five feet deep and three feet in diameter, walled with masonry. Fragments of a Roman vessel of black pottery, and a number of bones were found with it. The locality of the discovery is outside of the Roman station, and near its north west angle. The altar which (like the one last described) is in the possession of Mr. S. Oswald, of Newcastle, is one of a numerous class (some thirty-three have been found) dedicated “To the ancient god.” In some cases the dedication is, “To the ancient gods” and in one instance (which also occurs at Chester-le-Street) “To the ancient goddesses.” With about a single exception they are all dedicated by individuals of only one name, and that a barbarous one. In the present instance the reading would appear to be *Deo Vitiri, Duihno* (for that seems to be the name) *V(otum) S(olvit)*. “To the ancient god, Duihno performs his vow.”

At Beaumont on the line of the Great Wall near the station of Burgh-upon-Sands, the members of the “Pilgrim Band” who visited the neighbourhood in July, found built up at the back of a house two unrecorded fragments, which it is advisable to put on record. They are

(1)	(2)
SAC	PA
V	

but of course from their smallness yield no information.

At the large station of Birrens (*Blaturn Bulgium*) in Dumfriesshire, there have recently been found a small altar and the fragment of an inscribed slab bearing the following inscriptions :—

(1)	(2)
FORTV	MA
NAEVO	SA
TVM	

The altar (No. 1) is only $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, and its inscription, *Fortunae Votum*, i.e., “To Fortune. A vow,” without the dedicator’s name is the extreme of simplicity. Being only a “household” altar, it was probably erected by the owner of the domicile to which it belonged. It is now preserved at Burnfoot.

No. 2 is a portion of a highly ornamented slab which has terminated in a pediment, with *rosette* ornaments at the angles. It is three inches thick, but it seems to me doubtful whether it has been part of a tombstone or of a votive tablet. If the latter, the dedication may have been *Ma(tribus)* &c. It is preserved at an adjoining farm house.

During some alterations at Cliburn Church, Westmoreland, two fragmentary inscriptions were discovered built into the walls, copies of which, free from ligatures, are annexed.

BALNEVM	* * * * *
* * VETERIOP	* * * * D (?)
NDLABSVM	* S * * *
BILISPETRCPLA	* N Q * *
* * * * SEBVSII	* S * * * *
* * * *	* * N S * * *
	* I N S * *
	D E D I T
	* * * * *

No. 1 is the upper portion of the left hand half, of what has been a large slab, which has again been broken diagonally from the centre of the letter B in the 4th line, through the first s in the 5th line; of the 6th line only traces of the upper parts of the letters remain.

Taking the existing portion of the inscription in detail, the first line BALNEVM is plain. The commencement of the second has been purposely obliterated, but ANA appears to be visible, somewhat ligulate, as if some such word as (*Antonini*)*ana* had been there, but it would be in a most singular position. In the same line the I is formed by the prolongation upwards of the perpendicular stroke

of the R, and of what I have given as P, only the loop remains, and that is reversed, as if it were ligulate with a following letter. It is possible that it may be part of an R, and that the word may have been the comparative of *Vetus*, i.e. *Veterior*, otherwise it is *Veteri*, followed by (possibly) *Operi*. In the third line it is evident we have part of CONDLABSVM, a variation of *Conlapsum* or *Conlabsum*, which is not, I believe, unique. In the fourth line the first I is formed by the continuation upwards of the perpendicular stroke of the L, the letters P and E are ligulate, followed by TR also ligulate, one perpendicular stroke serving for each and the second P may possibly be R. In the fifth line the upper part only of the first S remains and much worn, and on the left hand side of it, is either an accidental mark, or a portion of some ligulate letter, which gives it the appearance of the upper part of A.

From this we may I think gather satisfactorily the general purport of the inscription, though unable to technically restore it. A bath having fallen into ruin a new one was built upon the old work by two cavalry regiments, i.e. the *Ala Nobilissima Petriana*, and the *Ala Sebustiana*. The first named of these was a most renowned regiment, the only one in Britain which was decorated with the torques, and consequently bearing the epithet *Torquata*. From an inscription found on the Continent (Orelli, No. 516) we learn that it was *bis torquata*, and probably the only regiment in the Roman service, so decorated. An inscription found at Carlisle, gives it the prefix of *Augusta*, and I therefore think that in BILIS we have part of the word NOBILIS, the abbreviation of *Nobilissima*. The letters which follow PETR (the abbreviation of *Petriana*) are either C.P. for *C(ui) P(rae)est* "which is commanded by" or C.R. for *C(ivium) R(omanorum)* a title which we also know from the Carlisle inscription, the *Ala* assumed. In the former case the commencement of the name of the commander L(ucius) A would follow the C.P. and his name might be Lucius Alfenius Paternus, an officer who we know erected an altar to Jupiter Serapis at the neighbouring station of Kirkby Thore, from which there can be little doubt, both the inscriptions came. *Nobilissima* might well be applied to such a distinguished *corps*, though I cannot at the

moment say there is any precedent for it. The other *ala* named is the second of the Gauls surnamed the Sebusian, or Sebosian, of which various inscriptions have been found and which at one time formed the garrison of Lancaster. We can gather no fresh information from this inscription as to the locality of the station *Petriana*, at which the *Ala Petriana* was stationed, and which in previous papers in the *Archæological Journal*, I have tentatively fixed at Hexham; the only alternate station being Old Carlisle, upon the ground (first pointed out by Dr. McCaul¹) that the *Ala Augusta ob virtutem appellata* might probably be the same as the *Ala Augusta Petriana*, the title in each case being equally distinguished.

The second of these inscriptions is upon the right hand half of a noble altar 4 feet $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, but the face has been much chipped away to make it available as a building stone. Except the word *DEDIT*, nothing can be made out of it.

At Chester on the 10th June, during excavations for a new gasholder on the Roodeye, there was found beneath twenty feet of river silt, and amongst gravel, logs of wood, and oak piles (evidently the remains of a wooden pier), two human skulls, fragments of Samian and Upchurch ware, a layer of concrete, several coins, amongst them "first brasses" of Vespasian and Titus, and an inscribed pig of lead. The latter which weighs 192lb., is 24 inches in length by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, and 5 inches wide, and is in generally good condition though the last three letters of the larger inscription upon it are hidden by the adherence of a small lump of metal, which has become much oxidised. This inscription is:—

IMP. VESP. AVG. V. T. IMP. III. * * *

and is upon the upper face as usual, whilst upon the side is the inscription—

DE. CEANGI.

There can be no reasonable doubt that *cos* has succeeded the numeral *III*, and that the date of the pig is of the same year (A.D. 74) as that found in 1838, at Tarvin Bridge near the city. The expansion of the lettering would be *Imp(eratore) Vesp(asiano) Aug(usto) V, T(ito) Imp(eratore) III Co(n)s(ulibus)*. In the above named year,

¹ *Canadian Journal*, vol. xii, pp. 120-121.

Vespasian for the fifth time and Titus for the third time were Consuls. The letters are nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, and the spot where it was found is about 50 yards distant from the present channel of the river. The inscription upon the side is, like others, to be expanded *De Ceangi(s)*, and proves that the lead came from the territories of the *Ceangi* or *Cangi*, a tribe inhabiting a portion of North Wales.

At the same city, in June, in the ruins of a hypocaust found in Blackfriars a portion of a tile occurred bearing the inscription—

$\begin{array}{c} \text{A} \\ \hline \text{OCO.PIR} \end{array}$

It is quite possible that it is a portion of a tile similar to the fragment found in 1876, in Bridge Street (*Roman Cheshire* p. 119) inscribed—

$\begin{array}{c} \text{LEG.X} \quad . \quad . \quad . \quad . \\ \hline \text{SUB.LO} \quad . \quad . \quad . \quad . \end{array}$

In the first we have the latter half of the lower line of the inscription, in the second we have the first half of the two lines. The whole I take to read, *Leg(ionis) Vicesimae V(aleriae) V(ictricis). Sub Loco Pr(aedii)* but the last word is the only doubtful one. It can hardly be *Pr(aetorii)*, though at first, I imagined such might be the case. The *Praetorium* would be too distant, whereas it is quite possible that the bricks for this particular villa or *praedium* might be made in the locality.

At Chester also there was found, about the same time, in Grey Friars Street, a small leaden plate or *lamina* $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches and $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch thick, bearing a rude inscription which appears to have been repeated on the back. The letters which are scratched with some sharp instrument, to my eye seem to read—

$\begin{array}{c} \text{COHI} \\ \text{▷ATTII} \\ \text{ANTONI} \end{array}$

The Rev. H. M. Scarth to whom I sent it for examination, as I considered it might be compared with the leaden plates found at Bath, says that he thinks it has been nailed to a frame and subjected to much pressure. It was found amongst other Roman remains at the usual level,

but of its use I can say nothing. It would seem to be a tessera or pass. The expansion is plainly *Col(ortis) I. Centuria Attii Antoni(ni)*. It is now in the possession of Mr. Chas. Roeder of Greenheys, Manchester.

In June also, a tile was found in Warwick Lane, Newgate Street, London, with an inscription scratched upon it with a *stylus* or some sharp instrument, before it was dried or burnt; when found it was much covered with mortar, having been built into a wall. The mortar was removed by Mr. Alfred White, F.S.A., by the aid of acid, when the following letters were visible—

AVSTAQIS
DIBVS / / / /
VAGATVR.SIB
COTIDIM.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to give the true reading of this. The letter which I give as q in the first line resembles a u with the tail of a q at its base and is read by Mr. C. Roach Smith as l. It appears to me, also, doubtful what the first letter of the inscription is. It more resembles the lower part of a large x than a. M. Robert Mowat conjecturally restores the whole as (*f*) *austa q(u)is* (*custo*) *dibus*. . . . *vagatur sib(i)* *cotidian*; whilst Mr. C. Roach Smith thinks it a joke scribbled on the tile to the effect that “Austalis wanders off (from his work) by himself to the (temples of the) Gods, daily.”

A few inscriptions which have been discovered for many years, but are omitted in Dr. Hübner’s work, have to be added. The first is the fragment of the bowl of a silver spoon, “found near Sunderland,” (*Archaeol. Journal* vol. xxvi, p. 76.) inscribed—

—NE.VIVAS

Mr. Albert Way thought it when entire to have borne the words *BENE VIVAS*, but this is, I think, erroneous, for it is probably the termination of a proper name as we have in similar examples such names as *CENSORINE*, &c.

Another inscription not given by Dr. Hübner is that on an intaglio in carnelian set in a ring, discovered in the last century at Castlesteads (or Cambeck Fort) on the Roman Wall.¹ The stone is engraved with three human

¹ See also *Archæologia*, vol. xi, p. 71.

heads, described by the Rev. C. W. King as representing "Serapis crowned with the *modius* between Isis and Horns, each with the lotus, probably typifying the Supreme Deity between the genii of the Earth and the Sun." Beneath these heads are the letters

Є Z C

These letters Mr. King makes out to be the initials of the formula, EIC. ZEYC. CAPA E. IC. "The one Jupiter Serapis." The ring was discovered in a Roman urn in the churchyard at Castlesteads and now belongs to the Rev W. Dacre of Irthington.

In Longstaffe's "Guide to Richmondshire" (1852) there is an account given of the discovery of "a square-arched vault," which from the description seems undoubtedly to have been Roman, found about the beginning of the present century in digging the foundation of the farm-house at Bainesse, closely adjoining the large Roman Station at Catterick (*Cataractonium*). It is said that each of the bricks of which the vault was composed bore the inscription—

BSAR

I am inclined to think this has been wrongly read and that it should be either N SAR or AL SAR (in this last case the A and L probably being ligulate) referring to the cavalry regiment, *Ala Sarmatarum*, quartered at Ribchester. Roman foundations, coins, and a steelyard have been found during the last few months at Bainesse.

In the Harleian MSS. vol. 2111, p. 21, there is an account of a Roman hypocaust found in the middle of the seventeenth century at Crue or Crew on the Cheshire side of the Dee, opposite Holt Castle. The tiles in this hypocaust were all stamped—

LEG. XX. V.V.

and the discovery, remained unpublished until I noticed it in *Roman Cheshire*, p. 306.

There is also in Additional MSS. British Museum 11.338 fo. 95, an account of a sepulchral inscription found at Chester, but as I am doubtful whether it was not originally found at Rome, I refrain until further investigation from reproducing it, though I have described it in *Roman Cheshire*, p. 208. The stone is now preserved in the

Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, and is described in the *Museum Disneianum* p. 97.¹

In the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xli, p. 180, I have described a centurial stone bearing the inscription

COH.I
> OPSILI

on which I remarked that the name of the centurion was puzzling. Re-examination shews that OPSILI for *Opsilii* is the correct word.

With two other inscriptions, one the forged reproduction from a Continental stone, the other from the Continent also, though genuine, I close the list. The first named was stated to have been discovered on a small statue in a "water hole" on Stainmoor, Westmoreland. It was inscribed on the side—

DEO.ARVALO
SATVRNO

and on the back—

SEX
COMMODOVS
VALER
V.S.L.M.

In the *Academy* for November 6th, I treated of this inscription (and papers upon it have been published elsewhere) under the impression it was genuine. It is I find however, merely the reproduction of an inscription found at Brescia in Italy, prior to 1693, described by Rossi, Marini, and also by Orelli (No 1510).

The other inscription is upon a tile which is now preserved in the Shrewsbury Museum, and has recently been described as having been found in that town, or at Wroxeter. The fact is however, that my friend the late Mr. Samuel Wood, of Shrewsbury brought it from Treves. The inscription which is incomplete, is:—

—CENTIO

before the c is part of what appears to be the upper portion of a p.

The altar to Maponus found at Armathwaite in Cumberland (C.I.L. VII No. 332), has been removed from The Nunnery to the Carlisle Museum.

One or two other inscriptions have been found but they have not yet been satisfactorily read, owing to the worn and obliterated state of the stones.

¹ See my letter in *Chester Courant*, Oct. 20th, 1886.

TOULOUSE AND NARBONNE,

By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L.

It is needless to enlarge on the wealth of southern Gaul in the matter of Roman remains; Nîmes, Arles, Orange, Vienne, Périgueux, the Pont du Gard and the monuments of Saint Remy, speak for themselves. The list might easily be lengthened, but it is a thing to be no less noticed that it would be easy to make a counter list of places in which we might have fairly looked for equal wealth in this way, but in which we do not find it. The geographical distribution of the Roman monuments of Aquitaine and the Imperial Burgundy is certainly a little capricious. The question often thrusts itself on the mind in journeying through these countries, why it is that some towns are so specially rich in Roman antiquities, sometimes almost to the exclusion of monuments of other kinds, while others which filled as high or a higher place under the Roman dominion have nothing to show of Roman date beyond the contents of their museums. Nîmes and Arles, for instance, stand out to this day as pre-eminently Roman towns; Nîmes indeed, as far as antiquities are concerned, is still a Roman town and little else. Why are not Toulouse and Narbonne equally rich? Tolosa where Cæpio stole the gold, Tolosa, head of the West-Gothic kingdom—head that is for a season from the Loire to the pillars of Hêraklês—Narbo Martius, first of Roman colonies in Gaul, Narbo rival of Massalia, Narbo that gave its name to so large a part of the Gaulish land, were assuredly cities which stood above rather than below Nemausus and Arelate. If Nemausus and Arelate still show magnificent remains of various dates of the Roman dominion, we might have expected Tolosa and Narbo to

show remains more magnificent still. Above all, there is Massalia herself, the great Ionian colony, the old ally of Rome, the centre of civilization for so large a part of Europe. The city which ought to have most to show of all has the least to show of any. We climb the hill, and we understand why the old Phokaians chose the site for this settlement; but in the city itself there is nothing to remind us of either of its two ages of glory and freedom. There is no sign of the Hellenic commonwealth that braved the might of Cæsar; there is no sign of the Provençal commonwealth that braved the might of Charles of Anjou; in this case we may safely say that long continued prosperity has been the destruction of the ancient city. And something like the same rule may apply in other cases also. Toulouse is now a far greater city than Arles; that may be one reason why Arles has so much to show in the way of its earlier antiquities and Toulouse so little. But on the other hand Nîmes is now a far greater city than Narbonne; yet, while Narbonne keeps very little to show that it once was Narbo, Nîmes reminds us at every step that it once was Nemausus. Sometimes known local reasons can be assigned. Change of site has often something to do with it. Modern Aix does not stand exactly on the site of old Aquæ Sextiæ, and it is said that old Aquæ Sextiæ utterly perished in the Saracen invasions of the eighth century. Otherwise mere change of site does not necessarily tend to destruction. At Périgueux it is the shifting of the main body of the town which has helped to preserve so much of old Vesona. At Narbonne a very good special reason indeed is given to account for the well abiding memories of the colony of Mars. The ancient remains of Narbo, like the remains of the oldest Athens, were used as materials for the walls built by Lewis the Thirteenth. And as those walls have been pulled down in later times, there are no Roman remains left but such as have had the good luck to live through both these destroying processes and such as have been found above or below the ground in the usual course of such findings. The walls of Toulouse are gone as well as the walls of Narbonne, and much of antiquity may have perished with them also. Certain it is that in neither city is there any Roman building, great or small, standing up

to tell its own story in its own place, nothing like Périgueux, Nîmes, Arles, St. Remy, and Vienne. It is perhaps even more annoying to find nothing that can in any way remind us of the days of West-Gothic presence and West-Gothic rule. We may at least hope that now-a-days no one will call in the presence or the rule of the Goth to explain the absence of monuments older than the Goth. But where in Gaul, save at Carcassonne, has the Goth left any visible memorials? And in truth even at Carcassonne we rather take it on faith that we have memorials of him. The truth is that in the fifth century, the century with which we are at this moment concerned, there is no reason to think that there would be the slightest difference between works carried out at the bidding of a Gothic king and works carried out at the bidding of a Roman duke or patrician. At Toulouse we can indeed, if we please, go and muse on the spot where the kings of the West-Goths had their dwelling-place. It will be found near the south-western corner of the city; but it needs some power of imagination to set one a-musing on it when the only thing to suggest the memory of the home of Euric and the lesser Theodorics is a modern Palace of Justice. The site indeed suggests that the palace formed a castle connected with the wall of the city at this important point by the river. Further than this we are left to guess. At Narbonne we do not crave to see the palace in which Gothic kings dwelled; we ask for the house of a Narbonnese citizen in which one Gothic king was entertained on one memorable day. It was in the house of Ingenuus of Narbo that the long wooing of Ataulf and Placidia came to an end, and the great bride-ale of Gothia and Romania, the wedding that was to give peace to the world and bind together the nations in brotherhood, was held with all due rejoicings with a deposed Emperor as leader of the choir. We could hardly have carried our hopes so high as to expect to find the house of Ingenuus standing and distinguished from other buildings, but we might fairly expect to see buildings on which the Gothic king and the sister of Augustus might have looked on on their wedding day. Had the wedding been at Arles, there would have been no lack of such; at Narbonne their age has left us no standing

memorials. Tolosa and Narbo have left plenty of relics; he who comes to look for them on their sites will not go away empty; but Tolosa and Narbo do not themselves stand up to welcome him in the way that, almost without a figure, Arelate, Nemausus, and Vienna Allobrogum still do.

In other words, while Arles and Nimes are still rich in Roman buildings, while Nimes in fact has hardly anything to show but Roman buildings, the existing remains both at Toulouse and at Narbonne, save such fragments as survive in the museums, belong wholly to what we commonly call mediæval times. Yet there are buildings in Toulouse which, both in their history and in their architecture, do much to carry back our thoughts to Rome and her memories. The kings who reigned in Toulouse have left no memorials. The municipal magistracy of later times has left indeed a memorial, but it is a memorial of its latest days only. Tolosa, an adopted child of Rome, had her capitol, and, down to the French Revolution, the Eight Men of the Capitol, the *Octoviri Capitolini* or *Capitouls*, were the municipal fathers of the city. They have now passed away, along with the Senator of Rome, the Gonfaloniere of Florence, the Alderman of Grantham, and the High and Low Bailiffs of Birmingham. Modern taste, it seems, will abide nothing but Mayors and Syndics; the few abiding Portreeves have had notice to put their houses in order,¹ and one begins to doubt whether even Scotland will be allowed much longer to keep her Provosts. The Capitouls of Toulouse abide now only in one of those curious pictures in which, by a kind act of faith, portraits of men of modern days are brought into connexion with the most solemn scenes of the Gospel history. In the museum, once the church of the Austin Friars, we see the eight fathers of the city, as they showed themselves in the seventeenth century, partly nobles, partly burghers, sheltering themselves, as it were, under the protection of the Crucified. But, if the Capitouls are gone, their Capitol abides, though it seems of late years to have in some sort ceased to be a Capitol. It is a large building, in the Italian style of the seventeenth or eighteenth century, a good deal less impressive than more modern capitols at Washington and Albany. Still a capitol it was, and in 1857, and doubt-

¹ Alas, they have vanished since this was written.

less for a good while after 1857, the word *CAPITOLIVM* stood out in bold letters on its frieze. In 1885 they could be only faintly traced beneath a later inscription of *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*. So haply it has now ceased to be a capitol; but it will be some while before the great square of Toulouse, the Place of the Capitol, becomes in ordinary speech, the Place of anything else.

Kings then and capitouls fail us, nor can we see the wall which sheltered the folk of Tolosa from the invading barbarians of the fifth century or those which withstood the invading crusaders of the thirteenth. Were they the still abiding walls of Tolosa through whose gates the elder Simon burst in and beneath which he at last fell, struck at last by a bolt hurled by a warlike engine, not, like Abimelech and Pyrrhos, by the hand of a woman? In any case they are gone. Toulouse has one mighty pile which looked on those days of trial; but it is neither the wall nor anything within the wall, but the great abbey beyond it. It has another building which arose immediately after those days, which may in some sort pass for a memorial of those days; but that is the fragment now left of the cathedral church reared by the younger Raymond. For at Toulouse, it is undoubtedly the churches, and conspicuously the two great churches of the bishop and the abbot, which take the first place among the antiquities of the city. But, to fill up the measure of our lackings and contradictions, when we go, as in duty bound, to one of the bridges spanning the fierce Garonne—the Garonne that sometimes refuses to be spanned—and look either from the bridge itself or from the other side, as we see neither royal nor municipal palace, so neither of the great churches of the city shows itself to our view. We see churches and church towers, some of them not a little striking, but we do not see the two churches round which the ecclesiastical history of the city gathers, the *ecclesia* of Saint Stephen and the *basilica* of Saint Saturninus. This comes of the position of the city, which is emphatically not a hill city, but a river city. Planted beside the Garonne, but not overhanging it, having hardly the usual slope down to the stream which we find even when we are not among the hill-cities, Toulouse supplies no lofty points of vantage either for her living churches

or for her vanished castle. She has hills to look up to ; but she has none to climb, either within her walls—if walls she had—or as the means of reaching them. Take no spot from any distant region, but compare Toulouse with another city which was a fellow-sufferer in the frightful time of the Albigensian war. The view from the bridge of Béziers is indeed a contrast with the view from either of the bridges of Toulouse. The tower there climbs the hill above the river, and the church on its terrace overlooks river and town. But Toulouse is a greater city than Beziers, and it stands on the bank of a greater river. Biterris was doubtless in its origin simply a stronghold ; Tolosa was from the beginning a city in the strictest sense ; one wonders indeed that a city of kings should have had to wait till 1317 before it became a city of primates. And to this day it is not as a city of primates that Toulouse strikes us. The metropolitan church is undoubtedly not the chief building, nor the chief church, of the city. And yet it is one of the objects which it is most easy to compare with the corresponding object at Narbonne. In both cities French dominion has been marked by an attempt, never thoroughly carried out, to rebuild the metropolitan church in the foreign style. And, as Narbonne does contain somewhat of a hill, the unfinished church occupies a far finer site than it does at Toulouse. The choir and tower of the church and the greater towers of the archiepiscopal palace make a really fine group from the market-place. Otherwise the buildings of Narbonne rather hide themselves ; there is more to see than one would think at first sight. Saint Sernin cannot be hid, even on the flat site of Toulouse ; and the canal which divides *cité and bourg* at Narbonne gives no such opportunity as the great bridge of the Garonne gives at Toulouse for telling the towers of the other churches. As for castles, unless we allow the Narbonnese *archéveché* to reckon, we can make no comparison, yet, as the castle of Toulouse bore the special name of Narbonnese, one might have been specially pleased to see in what points it showed any impress of the city whose name it bore.

Of the two metropolitan churches—if we may so couple them together, when Narbonne claims a thousand years more of primacy than Toulouse can boast of—

Toulouse has the advantage, if in this case it is any, of being, after a fashion, a whole and perfect church, while Narbonne is a mere fragment. That is to say, at Narbonne the elder church has altogether perished, while at Toulouse part of it still remains attached to the later work, and attached in such a fashion as to make the church, looked at as a whole, at once one of the most curious and one of the most awkward to be found in Christendom. Surely no church ever was so utterly shapeless. No blame of course for that to the architects of either period; the old and new design had each doubtless a distinct shape; it is the strange way in which half of the new church is joined on to half of the old one which gives Saint Stephen of Toulouse its high place among the eccentricities of church-building. In our own land Carlisle makes some approach to it, but it is only an approach. There the splendid choir of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—the monastic church—has indeed been built on with very little regard to the proportions of the parish church of the twelfth. Perhaps, as at Toulouse and Narbonne, the purpose was to destroy; or it may have been that the Austin canons rebuilt this choir without thinking about the parish church. In either case, lopsided as the building is, the eastern part stretching far to the north of the western, the presence of a real transept and central tower hinders the awkwardness of the junction from being felt in all its fulness. At Toulouse it looks as if something in the way of transepts was designed, though the appearances of the two sides are not the same. But in no case would there have been real projecting transepts with a mid-tower. The new part is about double the width of the old, while the south wall of the eastern building continues that of the western. The north wall of the nave thus nearly ranges with the middle of the choir; there is no attempt in any way to connect the two, to soften the harshness of the junction. Neither comes to any kind of end; it was not to be expected that they should do so; what is now standing to the west is simply what had not yet been pulled down when the works to the east happened to stop. No one was likely to make any attempt to fuse the two fragments, the advancing and the receding building, into an architectural whole of any kind.

The views round corners which are thus to be had from one part of the building into the other are among the very strangest that can be ever conceived.

The older part of Saint Stephen of Toulouse, which was begun by Count Raymond the Sixth, the Count who did penance at St. Gilles, consists at present of three bays in the latest style that can be called thoroughly local. The width of the single-bodied nave is amazing, measuring 22 French metres. The obtusely-pointed arches which span this vast space are perfectly flat, without moulding or ornament of any kind, and they rise from equally flat pilasters, each of which, oddly enough, has two rich capitals of classical character under a single abacus. The great wheel window at the west end must be of the same date; but in wheel windows we are used to forms which look later than the rest of the work about them. It is most strange to look out of this wide, low, simple, nave, of which we can hardly fancy that we have the whole, across the *quasi* transept into the choir of fully developed French Gothic. That is to say, when we can look into it; for there is a rood-loft, such as it is, and the space above it is often shrouded with a curtain; we can well believe that the way in which the two buildings are joined together may make a kind of *kill-canon* corner. When the curtain is there, we see nothing but the narrow arch that leads into the south aisle of the choir, and so much as we can see of a huge pier, called the *pillar of Orléans*, which stands at what should be the the south east corner of the lantern. It looks as if it was meant to help to bear up a mid tower, but it has nothing to answer to it on the other side.

The pointed arch in this country came in so early and proves so little, that, had this been all, we should not have been surprised if we had been told that it was the work of a much earlier Raymond than the Sixth. There is nothing in these vaulting-pilasters and the arches that spring from them which departs in the least from the southern Romanesque. But what are we to make of the windows which we could have attributed to some one who died much later than Raymond's year of 1222? No such windows are to be seen at Lincoln or Ely or Beverley. They have fully developed French tracery, two lights supporting a circle with many cusps, which in England

we should think much too large for them. Are they later insertions, or was the southern architect struck with this last new thing in more northern lands? The choir itself is ordinary French work of no special merit, as it is not lofty or narrow enough to bring out the special features of the style; it is not like Rheims and Chartres among things greater than itself, nor like Limoges and Clermont among things smaller. If it was begun, as is said, as early as 1272, ten years sooner than the great church of Alby, it shows how the foreign taste must have come in like a flood. Alby, though its actual style of architecture is fully developed Gothic, is in all its lines essentially southern; no Frenchman could have built it at any time. But the choir of Toulouse is simply French, and though later changes have greatly altered its appearance, the main lines must be those of 1272. A great deal of restoration happened in the seventeenth century, after a fire in 1609. Of that date is the present vault, and, we may suspect, a good deal more, certainly many of the windows. The fittings of all dates are a study; the grand stalls may remind one of Auch, though there is no special likeness in detail, and the remembrance of the architecture of Auch may make us better pleased with the architecture of Toulouse. Anyhow the seventeenth is not the century which has here done the protomartyr most despite; the sixteenth raised the hideous north-west tower, which shows that the design of building the nave to match the choir must then have been given up. That the tower is of brick is no harm; Toulouse is a city of fine brick towers, as much as Rostock or Lübeck. But why could not its architect have imitated one of its neighbours, instead of rearing this frightful mass, with no spark of beauty, either of outline or of detail? It is not even square. Surely Saint Stephen of Toulouse has the ugliest west front of any metropolitan church in the world; and it stands and glorifies itself in a wide open space, while the east end, which if not particularly good, is at least better than the west, hides itself, and has to be looked for.

Saint Justus of Narbonne—the dedication carries us away to the double church that supplanted the temple of

Jupiter on the hill of Tergeste—avoids any difficulty of this kind by having no west front at all. That is to say, whatever in past times stood to the west of the present choir has been swept away. The church, which is said to have been begun in the same year as the French work at Toulouse, is to this day a mere fragment; an attempt to finish it in the last century came to nothing; perhaps it is as well that it did. There is no kind of comparison between the two metropolitan churches, at least in the French part of this which alone supplies means for comparison. The church of Narbonne clearly aspires to rank with the great churches of France, and its aspirations are not wholly without reason. Complete from end to end, it would fully rank with them in point of scale, and it has all the loftiness, all the grandeur of proportion, which we look for in a French church of the first class. Yet it fails in something, though it is not so easy to say in what it fails; we feel that it is not really on a level with Bourges or Rheims. The weak point seems to be in a certain indescribable lack of grace in the design of the side elevations. Still it is a stately and solemn building, and we do not greatly grudge the presence of French forms on the soil of Narbo—in other words, we do not grudge the presence of the forms of Gothic architecture on the soil of the Gothic kingdom—when they take so noble a shape as they do in the minster of Saint Justus.

The guide-books promise us all manner of treasures in the sacristy; but they are lost to the traveller who goes over and over again without finding any master of the key, and who is at last told that the more part of these precious things have been taken somewhere else. He may fill up the time with a piece of historic musing which the guide-books do not suggest. Of the earlier churches which stood on this site we can see nothing except, what our eyes tell us, that, between the Peace of the Church and the year 1272, more than one church of Saint Justus rose and fell. So we might equally argue at Toulouse; but at Saint Stephen's Christian worship never ceased save to give way to the Goddess of Reason. But one of the churches that have stood on this site, most likely the oldest of all, did once, for a full generation, listen to the voice of a worship

at least more reasonable than that of Reason. Here in Narbo, on the site where we stand, among the columns and the doubtless veiled mosaics of the days of Christian Cæsars, the Muezzin once called men to prayer in the name of Allah and his Prophet, and the Koran was read aloud in the house which had hearkened to the words of the Law and of the Gospel. But it was only as for a moment that the men of Narbo had to cry, "How long, O Lord, how long?" Narbo had its twenty-ninth of May, and it had, what Constantinople has not yet, the day which wiped out its twenty-ninth of May, and that while Old and New Rome alike acknowledged the Augustus of an undivided Empire.

But Saint Justus of Narbonne is, as has been already hinted, more striking on the whole when seen from without than from within. It is a striking view from the other side of the canal, with the trees of the public walk in the foreground, and above them the church and the archiepiscopal castle rising side by side, the church occupying somewhat the higher ground of the two. The church which we ought to be able to compare it with from this point is undoubtedly Le Mans; there is at Le Mans the lofty apse and its surroundings, and Saint Justus in the fifteenth century, like Saint Julian in the eleventh, was finished with towers to his transepts. But, as Saint Justus has both his towers standing, as neither a Rufus nor a Couthon has decreed the destruction of either, we are perhaps less likely to think of Saint Julian of Le Mans than of Saint Peter either of Exeter or of Geneva. Perhaps here, as well as at Toulouse, we miss the high roof as the natural finish to the great ladder of flying buttresses; but here in Gothia, no less than in Italy, the low roof may claim its rights. The towers of the church group well with the greater and the lesser towers of the archbishop; the church towers are not lofty; but transept towers should not be very lofty; they are as it were a central tower put into commission, and neither deputy should rival the dignity of his principal. To be sure there is Angoulême, with a side tower that might almost rival Spalato. But its fellow has given way to Huguenot havoc, and it is hard to keep down a doubt whether the single tower has not a nobler effect than the pair could ever have had.

But the east end of Saint Justus must be looked at a little nearer, if only to study the singular arrangements of the flying-buttresses round the apse. These are hard to describe; the buttresses are yoked together by arches supporting a kind of battlemented and turreted gallery; we doubt whether to think of an amphitheatre or of an open triforium within a church. The wide arches might suggest either, but neither could have the same singular finish. The all-but adjoining palace, among towers of many dates, preserves to us one precious little fragment with columns which carry us back to Ravenna, or which should perhaps rather remind us that the last head of Gothia may well have once been what Ravenna still is. The columns themselves may have been new when Ataulf and Placidia plighted their mutual vow. Let us indulge the dream—none can refute it—that they stood in those days in the favoured house of Ingenuus.

After the *ecclesia* of any city we should next study what Gregory of Tours always carefully distinguished as its *basilica*, the great secondary church commonly outside the wall. There cannot be many cities which can show a basilica dedicated to a converted proconsul; here we have him at Narbonne. The chief church in the *bourg* is Saint-Paul; but let nobody think of the apostle, except to ask how far the likeness of name between the apostle and its patron is accidental. Saint Paul of Narbonne is in full *Saint-Paul Serge*; it is dedicated to the patrician convert of Paul of Tarsus. For while divers other New Testament personages, Saint Martha for instance at Tarascon, preached the word and wrought signs and wonders, Sergius Paulus, deputy of Cyprus—yes, in the teeth of all revisers, deputy of Cyprus, like Lord Deputy of Ireland,—left his government in the East to carry the Gospel into the head of Gallia Narbonensis. But as far as present buildings go, Sergius Paulus of Narbo cannot hold up his head beside Saturninus of Tolosa; who, at least in the eleventh century, could do so? None surely in Aquitaine or Gothia or Provence; for the fellows of Saturninus we must go from the banks of the Garonne to the banks of the Arno and the Wear. It is not too much to say that the Romanesque of Saint Sernin of Toulouse—such is his popular contraction,—may, as the head of its

own class, as the noblest example of a true national style, rank side by side with the noblest examples of the Romanesque of the South and the Romanesque of the North, in other words with Pisa and with Durham.

Saint Sernin's abbey, in its great days, or indeed in any days down to the Revolution, was almost a city, altogether a fortress, of itself. Then the great minster was girt about indeed with walls and towers; now it stands more isolated than any of these great churches were ever meant to be. Its fellows, we have said, are Pisa and Durham. In outline it has little likeness to either. The central tower is most unlike the cupola of the Tuscan and the soaring lantern of the Bernician minster. It is before all things locally Tolosan. The original octagonal tower has been ingeniously carried up to a far greater height, and in a far lighter shape, than the original builder could have thought of; but it is eminently characteristic of the city. The effect from the east end is most singular; the whole seems to rise in a pyramid—the apsidal chapels, the aisle and clerestory of the great apse, the successive stages of the tower, all seem to rise out of each other, narrowing as they rise. If the transepts were not of unusual length, the church seen from the direct east end might seem to be all tower. But the slenderness of this lofty steeple seems to call for something more massive at the west end, where very massive towers seem to have been begun but to have been left unfinished. The west end, as it now stands, is poor, but the two doorways side by side, like the other doorways of the church, are of singularly fine Romanesque, later doubtless than the consecration by Pope Urban the Second in 1096. But Saint Sernin is emphatically all glorious within, with the glory, not of enrichment but of simple majesty and perfect proportion. The contrast is indeed great between its perfectly simple rectangular piers, broken only by the tall slender vaulting shafts and either the classical columns of the Pisan basilica or the mighty cylindrical piers of Saint Cuthberht's abbey. But what most strikes an eye used either to Italian forms on the one side or to Norman forms on the other is the appearance of the barrel vault on so vast a scale. We cannot go very far in Southern Gaul from Poitiers to Aix without getting thoroughly familiar with both its forms,

round and pointed, yet here at Saint Sernin it comes upon us as something fresh. We even begin to wonder that our own architects seem never to have thought of using it, save now and then on a small scale, as at Ewenny and in the chapel in the White Tower. This last, by the way, very unlike Saint Sernin in detail—that is to say, in its columns, for neither of them in strictness has any internal detail—does reproduce the Tolosan building in another very characteristic feature, the stage over the pier-arch, making, so to speak, triforium and clerestory in one. As Mr. Petit truly says, we do not miss the proper clerestory, because the barrel-vault gains so much of height above either the cross-vaulting of Durham or the ceilings of Pisa. Height, it should be distinctly noticed, is one of the marked features of the Romanesque of the south, which is the more to be noticed for its contrast with the Gothic churches of the country, whose main feature, after the pattern of Anjou, is overwhelming width. Saint Sernin is wide enough in its ground plan, because, like Pisa, it has double aisles; but height and narrowness are the decided features of the central body.

The opposite characteristic of great width, a wide body without piers or arches, come out in more than one of the other churches of Toulouse, and among them is the satellite of Saint Sernin called *l'église du Taur*. The name has a strange sound; we are puzzled to know whether it is a bull or a man named Taurus, and how a church comes to bear his name when he does not bear the title of Saint. Is it irreverent if our thoughts are carried to Plymouth, to the church, vicarage, &c., of "Charles," which the stoutest cavalier still abiding does not venture to call "Saint Charles?" Well, "le Taur" in this case is a real bull, who was designed to be the instrument of the martyrdom of Saint Saturninus. The holy man, refusing to sacrifice the bull to Jupiter, was fastened to his horns to be dragged to death. We feel sure that we have seen the story in two shapes. In the one the bull appears as a well disposed bull, unwilling to have any share in the unrighteous dealings of Saturninus' persecutors; he therefore shakes him off gently, and, when the Peace of the Church comes and Saturninus' memory is honoured by the great basilica, he is not unfitly commemorated by a

smaller church on the place where he let the saint down. In the other version the bull is an accomplice; but he is himself caught and slain at a point near the present railway station, which bears the name of *Matebian*, the last syllable answering to *bœuf*. Anyhow the church of Le Taur is there, a small brick church of the Tolosan Gothic, its low tower having the specially Tolosan feature of the straight-sided pointed arch—a revival of one of the oldest Romanesque forms—which we have seen in the latest stages of the tower of Saint Sernin.

It is unkind to Narbonne to mention its secondary basilica in the same breath with a church which, like Saint Sernin, has a right to take its place among the head churches of Christendom. But the converted deputy of Paphos presides over a building of no small interest, though of an awkward outline. It is so covered up by other buildings that it is hard to say how many unfinished massive towers it has, seemingly, two side-towers like Saint Justus and another at the west end. When we enter the church, we say instinctively that it has no business at Narbonne; its forms are altogether strange in Gothia, and yet it is quite unlike the usual French work of the country, good or bad. The truth seems to be that a Romanesque nave was remodelled, and a new choir added, at a time much earlier than the building of the present Saint Justus or of any other of the Gothic churches that have crept in elsewhere. The choir might pass as good French Transition; in some bays it shows the false triforium of Nôtre Dame of Rouen; in the nave the old Romanesque triforium peeps out here and there among the later work. A specimen coming nearer to the ordinary pointed work of the country, but not without features of its own, is found in the desecrated church of a Benedictine monastery embedded in the mass of buildings called *Lemourgier*. It serves, oddly enough, at once for the receipt of military stores and as a secondary museum, the main one being in the archiepiscopal palace. Roman inscriptions, capitals, fragments of all kinds, are oddly mixed up with carts, sacks and what not, in a church with a wide nave and a much narrower choir, and a roof with spanning arches which put one in mind of the hall at Mayfield.

We make our protest over and over again on behalf of Romanesque and Romanesque only as the true style for these countries; yet we cannot deny that the Tolosan Gothic has turned out some stately buildings, specially in the form of friars' churches. They are mostly desecrated; one that was still perfect in 1857 had become a mere fragment in 1885. One of the stateliest, the church of the Jacobins, used as the chapel of the Lyceum, has the singular arrangement of two bodies, divided by a single row of pillars down the middle, a plan which it needs some ingenuity to reconcile with the apse. These churches are of brick; their most characteristic feature is the towers, of the same type as that into which the lantern of Saint Sernin has been carried up, octagons piled up stage upon stage and the straight sided pointed window used profusely. Another, the church of the Austin friars with a graceful cloister, or so much as is left of it, forms, with its attached buildings, the museum. The collection is rich in antiquities of all kinds, but in April 1885 it was in a strange state of confusion; casts of well-known statues were ingeniously set to pound real mosaics in pieces. In this matter of museums both Toulouse and Narbonne may learn a lesson from Périgueux.

We leave the two cities of our comparison with the same kind of thoughts with which we began. After all, which are the most changeable, the works of man or the works of nature? At Narbo Martius, at all events, one seems as changeable as the other. We look in vain in modern Narbonne for the marble temple of which Ausonius sings, the temple that might rival the works of all the greatest builders of Rome:

“Quodque tibi quondam Pario de marmore templum
Tantæ molis erat quantam non sperneret olim
Tarquinius Catulusque iterum, postremus et ille
Aurea qui statuit Capitoli culmina Cæsar.”

Modern Toulouse so far surpasses in size and population any city between Bordeaux and Marseilles, that we might almost accept the poet's exaggeration.

Quæ modo quadruplices ex se quam effuderit urbes
Non ulla exhausta sentit dispendia plebis.

Certainly Toulouse might people four such cities as

Auch, to say nothing of Tulle, without any frightful effort. When we read of the learned city, mother of orators, nursing mother of the poet himself, as one

Coctilibus muris quam circuit ambitus ingens,
Perque latus pulcro prælabitur anne Garumna.

we feel easily that the wall is gone, but that the river with its quay abides. But the great change of all is a change of nature. The poet could apostrophize Narbo as a haven whose greatness needed more than one language to set it forth.

Te maris Eoi merces et Iberica ditant
Æquora ; te classes Libyci Siculique profundi ;
Et quidquid vario per flumina, per freta, cursu
Advehitur toto tibi navigat orbe *κατάπλους*

Narbo is still there ; but, if the temple is gone, the sea has gone yet more utterly. Haply some fragments of the Parian marble might be tracked in the museum ; but what trace is there of the fleets of Asia and Africa, Spain and Sicily ? Agde, Aigues-Mortes itself, comes nearer to boasting of them than inland Narbonne. Yet the sea, so faithless on the western side of the gulf, has been steady enough on the eastern. It is indeed a trial of faith to believe that Narbonne was once a greater haven than Marseilles. In the long annals of the Phokaian city, in the record of her prosperity both before Roman Narbo was and after Roman Narbo had practically ceased to be, the few centuries when the trade of Narbo outshipped the trade of Massalia, when Narbo was the greatest haven of all the Celtic land, seem but as an episode indeed.

BRIEF PRECIS OF THE DESCRIPTION¹ OF THE EARLY
SCULPTURED STONES OF CHESHIRE.

By the REV. G. F. BROWNE, B.D.

At West Kirkby, at the mouth of the Dee, there is a curious stone the character of which has not been understood. It is in fact a nearly complete example of the hog-backed stone*. The lower part is covered on both sides by rough interlacing bands and the middle and upper part with scales, the top being ornamented with a row of oblong rings on each side with a band running through each row of rings. This work at the top, which looks like a row of buckles, is very unusual, but resembles in several of its features the work on the font which is known as King Ethelbert's font, in St. Martin's Church, Canterbury. It is not known on any hog-backed stone or other memorial of the date to which this stone may be attributed. The interlacing work is not unusually found in this position on hog-backed stones: there is an example at Bondgate*, near Appleby, which has only been discovered this year and has not been represented as yet, and on the hog-backed stone at Dewsbury, and elsewhere. The scales occur on several of the limited number of hog-backed stones so far discovered. They may represent the tiles or shingles of a roof, the original idea of this kind of tombstone being that it was the roof of the last dwelling place of the departed man. There are fine examples on some classical sarcophagi** and on some of the small Latin *Cinerarii**. The Germans describe this method of ornamentation as the fir-cone pattern, from the resemblance which each member bears to one of the leaves plucked

¹ Given in the Antiquarian Section, at the Chester Meeting, August 11th, 1876.

[*Outlined rubbings of the stones marked * were shown.*]

out from the fir-cone. One of the earliest mentions of Christian Anglo-Saxon interment is that of Bishop Acca, when a *parva capella* was placed over him (possibly the hog-backed stone now in Hexham Church), and this suggests that there was a representation of tiles upon it. The scales, however, on some sculptured stones do not represent tiles but scales of monsters. At Govan there are hog-backed stones covered with the scaly skin of a monster, and at Meigle there is a very fine stone* covered with scales which are evidently those of a monster. The stones* placed between the two pillars in the churchyard at Penrith, which have been totally misrepresented in so many engravings, are covered with scales exactly like those at Meigle. In the crypt at Canterbury there is a pillar* the beauty of which is not generally recognised; the pillar appears to be covered with semi-circular scales, but when it is carefully examined it is found that each of the scales represents a feather. The stone at West Kirkby is of a material which is harder than any stone in the neighbourhood, and it has no doubt been brought from some distance and has been the memorial of some important person. Canon Eaton has it locked up in an out-house, and it is very safe in his care, but it would be well to have it in some more accessible place.

The hog-backed stone took in some districts another form, flat-topped, with vertical sides and ends. In Acton Church, near Nantwich, several stones*, used as the riser of a stone seat along the wall of the south aisle, have apparently formed the sides of such a tomb. There are signs of late date about them, the heads of the figures being much more round and trim than the heads on Anglian sculpture. One of the figures, who has evidently been an important Saint of the neighbourhood, is upside down. The basket-work shewn on one of the sides is of late appearance. It will be observed that the figure on the spectator's right of the vesica encircling our Lord's figure holds a large key; reference will be made again to this when the Sandbach crosses are described. Stones of the form to which these fragments may have belonged are found solid at Gainford* and at St. Alkmund's* Derby; at Meigle there are some very remarkable examples*, with the sides covered with animals marvellously

drawn and sculptured, and with a flat top covered with elaborate interlacing work. One feature which has not been noticed in the Meigle stones is that a hole is sunk in one end of the top, probably to serve as the socket of a cross. This cross may have been of stone or it may conceivably have been of wood or wicker-work. The rock-cut graves at Heysham have each of them a hole cut at the head, probably for the same purpose.

There is at West Kirkby a flat slab* on the face of which a cross is sculptured. This is very unusual in England. There are also carefully sculptured fragments of the shaft of a cross* and portions of a cross* with triquetrae in the arms exactly resembling in character the crosses to be described at Chester. At Hilbree, the island immediately off West Kirkby, there is a cross of like character; a portion of another cross was taken from Hilbree some years ago to Liverpool, but has recently been restored and placed in the Grosvenor Museum at Chester*.

Among the large collection of fragments of stone in the crypt of St. John's, Chester, there are several crosses and portions of crosses and other stones which may be attributed to a pre-Norman style. There are at least four stones* more or less complete, with circular heads from which the keys of a cross project, and with shafts covered with interlacing work. The keys and the cross contain triquetrae and other like ornamentation; the wheel connecting the keys is ornamented on its face and on its edge with the key pattern, the Z pattern, and interlacing patterns, and the edges of the shaft are similarly ornamented. It is more easy to describe these crosses negatively than positively. They are un-Anglian, un-Scottish, un-Irish, un-Scandinavian. They resemble most closely a head of one of the few great crosses left in Wales, known as the Maenachwynfan, and the fragments and the head of a cross at Diserth; the resemblance is much too close to be accidental. The Maenachwynfan is in the middle of a number of places which take their names from some great catastrophe of the past. These names all point to this locality as the scene of some prolonged disaster to the British arms, and there seems no doubt that the stone must be of British character. If this is so, the question of

the period at which the St. John's crosses were made becomes a very interesting one. Professor Freeman in his admirable paper on the ancient history of Chester believed that the Brets left Chester absolutely deserted from the time of their great defeat by Ethelfrith. The British character of these crosses would rather point to the Brets having taken heart and to a certain extent occupied Chester again, before the time when they were altogether driven out of this part of England in the year 903. It is, perhaps, not unreasonable to suppose that they fled from Chester into Flintshire, and that the survivors of the series of battles which took place as they fled, set up on the scene of the last catastrophe a stone of the same character as those they had been accustomed to set up in Chester.

There is in the same collection a remarkable stone* of triangular shape, resembling in its work the details of the shafts and crosses described, but apparently having ended in the vertex of a triangle and not in a cross head. It has on it scales, as have also some of the shafts of the crosses, and this is a feature which has not been observed on any stones other than hog-backed stones. The presence of these scales on the Chester stones is thus very remarkable. They resemble very much the scales on the armour of St. Michael on the curious early statue dug up in Monmouthshire and shewn in Strutt's *Habits of the Anglo-Saxons*, forming what Sir S. Meyrick has described as 'teglated armour.' There are also fragments of two beautiful sculptured shafts of crosses which must have been as fine in their work as any of the pre-Norman monuments left in England. Finally, before leaving Chester, it may be worth mentioning a flat stone* with an inscription round the edge *Hic requiescit B. Renthuna sanctimonialis*, 'here rests the good nun Renthuna'. This stone is only mentioned here because of the great rarity of any inscription to a nun; the only other example in the experience of the writer being the well-known stone in the Chapel of Jesus College, Cambridge, with the inscription to a member of the Society of nuns which preceded the Master and Fellows of Jesus College, *Moribus ornata jacet hic bona Berta Rosata*. The *bona* in Jesus College Chapel may interpret the *B* at Chester. Possibly our phrase 'the good ladies' is a hint that this was the epithet ordinarily applied to nuns.

The eastern part of the County of Cheshire is particularly rich in circular pillars, cut at the top into four flat faces. It has always been a question whether these pillars ended in crosses or not, but the question may now be taken as having been solved. There are three* of these pillars in the Public Park at Macclesfield, brought from various sites in the district which was formerly the great parish of Prestbury. There are some of them yet *in situ*, one at Upton, another at Clulow. One that was at Wincle has been removed to Bagstones in Staffordshire. With regard to some of the pillars mentioned it is certain that the four faces into which they were cut at the top were never ornamented; in one or two cases it is doubtful; but in the case of one of those at Macclesfield the ornamentation is quite clear*. The ornamentation in this case follows the rule observed in the Staffordshire examples of this class of pillars, at Leek*, Ilam*, Stoke*, and Chebsey. Some years ago, two crosses*, one a good deal smaller than the other, were dug up at Disley and placed in the grounds of Lyme Hall. They are carefully figured in Mr. Earwaker's book on Eastern Cheshire (ii, 313), and the conclusion I came to from examining the engraving in Mr. Earwaker's book was that they were the tops knocked off two circular pillars such as are under consideration. A visit to Lyme made this perfectly certain. They have been broken off just below the point at which the circular column was cut into four flat faces, and above the place where the fillet usually on these pillars ran. Instead of being cruciform, the head of each of these stones is of a peculiar form, and if that had been their true form they would have been unique in this respect. But an examination on the spot shews that not only has the pillar been broken off below the point where the faces commenced, but another blow has smashed the cross at the top of the pillar. The two stones at Lyme Hall have both of them lost the centre and the two arms of the cross-head; and the top key of the cross has since their re-discovery been fitted on to the place from which the centre and arms should have sprung.

There remains the question of the peculiar form of cross which must have belonged to the Lyme stones,—as though two large thumbs projected below the cross. A

cross was some time ago found in the restoration of Cheadle Church, in the same district of Cheshire, and it found its way into the keeping of a very zealous archaeologist who has a large number of early Anglian stones under his charge. He has provided me with a rubbing* of the outline of the cross, and this makes it quite clear that the Lyme stones are, as has been said, incorrectly pieced together, the centre part of the cross having been lost in their case but having been found in the case of the Cheadle Cross. The Cheadle Cross was broken off higher than the Lyme Crosses, about half way down the ornamented faces. It has the same curious projections below the head. In the account of the discovery of these fragments (Earwaker, *East Cheshire*, i, 185, 186), it is said that 'a circular column was found in a field near them, six to seven feet long, of the same character as those existing in Cheshire, with regard to which there is a doubt whether they ever had a cross-head or not.' It may now be taken that the Cheshire pillars had cross-heads, and that the form of them is that shewn by the cross at Cheadle.

On the Staffordshire pillars it is found that one of the faces has the key pattern, another a stiff leaf and flower scroll, and the others interlacing bands of the usual Anglian description; if none of the faces bear the leaf and flower scroll, it occurs on the fillet. The Lyme crosses have neither of them any leaf and flower scroll on their faces, and the guess may therefore be hazarded that if the two pillars belonging to them are ever found, the fillets will be found to have leaf and flower scrolls, like that of the fillet of the small pillar in Ilam Churchyard.

With regard to the date of these pillars, there is one pillar of the kind which is dated to a certain extent. The faces probably do not in that case shew any sign of ornament, but the raised parts of the stone which mark the boundary of the four faces, and also the raised bands of the fillet, are cable-moulded instead of being plain. Some archaeologists would say this is an indication of more recent date than the plain bands; if so the plain band pillars must have a very early date, for the cable-moulded pillar is no other than the pillar of Eliseg* beyond Vale Crucis Abbey, visited by the Institute this morning, and bear-

ing an inscription which no one has been able to put later than the ninth century. This pillar has thus a very important bearing on the date of the Cheshire and Staffordshire pillars.

The two tall stones* in the Churchyard at Penrith are, when they are carefully examined, examples of pillars of this description, only more elaborately sculptured. They are usually engraved as covered with an unintelligible mass of holes, but a careful investigation makes out almost all the patterns upon them, and some of the patterns are very curious and unusual. There is a pillar* at Stapleford, in Nottinghamshire, which is covered from top to bottom with interlacing patterns, comparable with the very best work on Scottish stones or in Hibernian MSS.

While these pillars give a character to the original parish of Prestbury, Prestbury itself has two fragments* of sculptured stones, one of them shewing bold interlacing work, the other exceedingly poor work of a very unmeaning description, about as bad as any work that can be found on sculptured stones. The Vicar has taken the greatest care of these stones and has placed them literally under a glass case; but one of them has been cemented on the top of the other as if they belonged to one another, which they never can have done.

The two great crosses* at Sandbach are worthy of a lengthy monograph to themselves, and I had arranged with Dean Howson four years ago to spend some time with him at Sandbach and prepare such a monograph. This intention was frustrated at the time, and has now been put an end to by his greatly lamented death. I spent two or three days there last Easter, and rubbings of all the important parts are now shewn. To describe them in detail would be too lengthy for the present purpose. I hope that some Society, or some person in Cheshire, will undertake the publication and description of every panel of each of these most marvellous stones, which do not yield in size and importance and interest even to the Ruthwell cross, except that they have no inscriptions. An account of a visit paid to Sandbach in Queen Elizabeth's time, says that in that time there was an inscription on one of the crosses which could only be read by a

person holden with his head downwards, and that the meaning of the inscription was as follows:—

At Sandbach in the sandy ford
Lieth the ninth part of Dublin's hord.

In those days the word "horde" for a mass of barbarians had not been introduced into the English language, and the word in this connection must have meant 'treasure.' The same account says that three metal chests were dug up in the little stream that runs below the churchyard of Sandbach, with curious inscriptions on them, but empty; it is almost impossible to doubt that there was some connection between these chests and the loss of the Dublin hoard. Whatever may have been the fact with regard to the existence of an inscription on one of these crosses—and there may well have been an inscription on some one of the parts which are wanting—it is very remarkable that the tradition of the country with regard to the real or proposed inscription should have made mention of Dublin, at a time when probably no one living, however learned, had an idea that there was any connection between the inland parts of Cheshire and Ireland. It is only comparatively lately that even well read Englishmen have been aware that the Danish rulers of Northumbria were also Kings in Dublin of a portion of Ireland, and passed through Cheshire every time they went from one of their kingdoms to another.

There are one or two matters of detail connected with these remarkable Sandbach stones to which reference must be made. The description given in Ormerod's "Cheshire" (ed. 1882, vol. iii, pp. 98, &c.), and that given in the fly sheet which is circulated in Sandbach itself, are not in all respects what could be desired. The portions remaining of the crosses are roughly 17 and 12 feet high.

The west side of the smaller cross has been in its main features a reproduction on a smaller scale of the east side of the larger. There is on both a figure which may represent our Lord, carrying a cross (with perhaps a fish across the stem) and having a bird at the left ear; on either side a smaller figure, one with a book, the other with an instrument, probably a key or a pair of keys,

presumably St. Peter and St. Paul. I do not know this particular form of key, which looks more like a pair of curling tongs than anything else, on any stone except these two and one at Halton near Lancaster. There is also on both a crucifixion, though on the smaller only the very top of the scene is left, a sun and moon, the heads of two of the evangelistic symbols, and the head of our Lord; the part below is erased, but there is room for the whole of the beautiful subject which is found on the larger cross. The north edge of the smaller is a reproduction of the north edge of the larger, still on a smaller scale of course, and in this case with a curious variation. The scene is evidently the descent of the Holy Ghost on the Apostles, and the great boldly conceived dragon with triple cloven tongue on the larger becomes two delicately designed dragons, with tongues gracefully woven into good patterns of interlacing work. The topmost figure shewn in Ormerod on the smaller cross exactly corresponds to the second figure on the larger; above it can be detected on the smaller, on careful examination of the stone itself, a figure bending over, exactly like the topmost figure on the larger. The fragments of the two heads of the crosses shew that the design has been the same in the two cases, viz., a human figure in each key of the cross contained within the circular head. The head of each figure has been towards the centre, so that the figure in the top key looks as if standing on its head. I only know of one other example of this, the very remarkable cross-head at Bilton, near Tadcaster, where all the four figures in the four keys are quite complete. There is one marked difference between the two crosses, viz., that the edges of the larger are plain cable-work, whereas the borders of the east and west faces of the smaller are ornamented with skilful and beautiful running patterns, figures of eight on a single band and double figures of eight on a double band. The only other pillar I know in England with this latter characteristic is one as yet undescribed by anyone, so far as I can discover, at Rothley in Leicestershire. The same pattern is found in the same position on the faces of a white marble well-head of the ninth century in the South Kensington Museum, brought from Mantua.

The interlacing work on the south side of the large

pillar is particularly good, a really good pattern of a good period. The birds and beasts in the scroll into which it develops are in some cases rude; it is a puzzling question whether they are of early rudeness or of late rudeness, but on the whole I would rather maintain the early view. The large dragons are throughout designed very skilfully, and the details of their organism, are admirable. We must hope some time or other to stumble upon some facts about the careful study of dragon-drawing, which undoubtedly was carried on among the Angles. Meanwhile we may content ourselves with remarking on the skill with which graceful curves and bold outlines and vigorous life are given to these great dragons, while side by side with them are human figures of a comparatively wooden description. I say comparatively wooden, because the Sandbach men are by no means so wooden as some that might be named.

Several sculptured fragments are placed round the stone platform on which these great monuments stand. On one of these certainly, and I think on two if not more, is an example of what I have called basket-work men in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries, which is appearing in *Archæologia*. I discovered a number of basket-work men on the shafts at Checkley and Ilam in Staffordshire, a year or two ago; up to that time nothing of the kind had been suspected. There is one example in a MS., viz., in the "Irish Psalter" in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge. In two or three other cases there is something of the kind in the pictures in pre-Norman MSS., but it seems probable that the intention is only to represent dresses made of striped material. I have discussed the meaning of these remarkable representations of the bodies of men composed entirely of interlacing bands, in the paper referred to; the published illustrations of the paper were not shewn to me, and they misrepresent the stones in some important particulars.

As to the date of these two crosses, the local belief is that they commemorate the conversion of the Prince of Mercia to Christianity, about 653. Considering the date indicated by one of the runic inscriptions on the Bewcastle cross, and the date now allowed for the runic inscriptions on the Ruthwell cross, there seems no reasonable

bar to the supposition that some great memorials of this kind were erected in Mercia in the lifetime of the first Christian King. But I must confess to a grave hesitation as to the subjects on these Sandbach crosses, and their treatment, being of that very early date. Still, each new piece of evidence which I have been able to collect on the general question of sculptured stones goes to make more certain the early as compared with the late view of their origin and date; and there are at least as great difficulties in the way of a post-Norman date, or a date between the ninth century and the Norman time, as there are in the way of an eighth century or perhaps even a seventh century date.

A very curious question is raised by the existence of these two great pillars, one considerably larger than the other, standing side by side. Those who know the N.E. part of Cheshire well, will know that in that part the same question is raised by the sockets of pairs of pillars, which are still to be found, and by one actual pair of pillars, socket and all, which remain just outside Lyme Park, and are known as the Bow Stones.¹ The Bow Stones have certainly been round pillars of the same character as those already described in this *précis*; they have each of them an ornamental fillet, and the indications of four ornamented faces. The pair of elaborate pillar heads, as they are now ascertained to be, at Lyme Hall itself, raise, perhaps, the same question; but they, like the Penrith pillars, may very probably have stood at the head and foot of some great Mercian's grave. I am inclined to think that this was once the case with the Sandbach crosses; if that was so, the Bow Stones, and the sockets for like pairs of stones found in Cheshire, are a problem to themselves. Various theories can be constructed on the subject, but no one view seems to me to stand out beyond all others as clearly the best; and I must leave unanswered the question suggested more than 3,000 years ago, "What mean these (pairs of) stones?"

THE CHURCH OF SAINT RADEGONDE, NEAR TOURS.¹

By the late REV. J. L. PETIT.

I send some rough sketches of the church of St. Radegonde, near Tours, which is interesting from the excavations in the rock connected with it, and to which the early character of the building itself gives the stamp of great antiquity. A notice of this church appears in the "Memoires de la Société Archéologique de Touraine." (Tome 2—1843-1844) to which I may have occasion to refer for points of history and local tradition, or for such conjectural dates as the antiquary acquainted with the district is likely to assign with greater correctness than the casual visitor.

There is no doubt that many of those numerous caves and dwellings cut in the rocky bank which border the valley of the Loire, and which form so striking a feature in the scenery of Touraine, belong to a remote period; that many of them were the cells of recluses, or places of worship and religious instruction, or of refuge from persecution, and this not only at the first introduction of Christianity, but a later period during the invasion of the Normans. But as they are, generally speaking, wholly without architectural features, it is impossible to ascertain

¹ This paper was laid before the Society of Antiquaries so long ago as on March 4th, 1852. The MS. and drawings illustrating it were subsequently given by the Author to the late Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, on whose death they came into my possession. Although so many years have elapsed since the essay was written, I think it cannot find a better place than in the *Archæological Journal*, or fail to be welcome to the members of the Institute. And those members who had the privilege of Mr. Petit's friendship, as well as those who remember his genial

presence at the meetings, will doubtless agree that it can never be too late to bring to light a paper by so highly gifted a man, and illustrated by his inimitable and brilliant sketches.

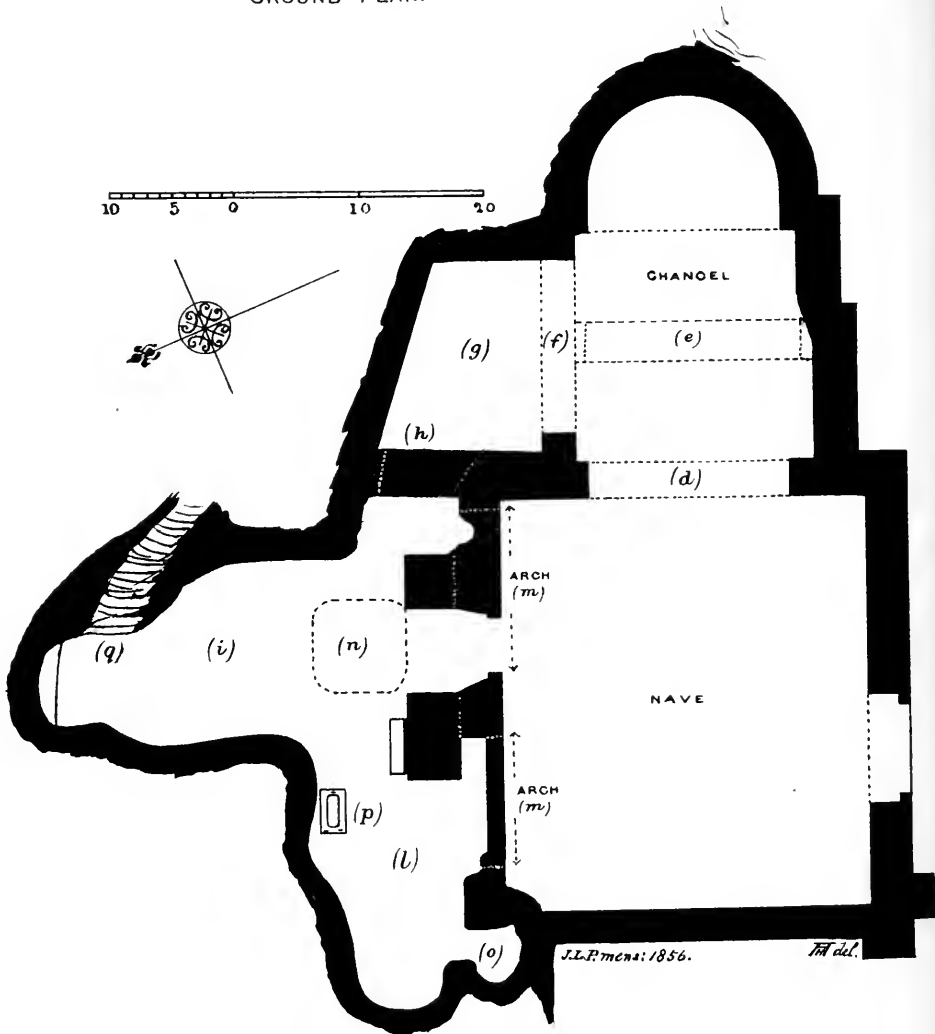
By the kindness of Miss Petit, who has lent me her brother's original notes on St. Radegonde, I have been able to draw out a plan from his own measurements, which, without pretending to absolute accuracy, will probably furnish all that is necessary towards the fuller comprehension of the paper.—ALBERT HARTSHORNE.

which are of ancient, and which of comparatively modern, or even recent construction. I understand there are some within the precincts of the abbey of Marmontier, now occupied by a religious establishment, to which tradition points as those in which St. Gatien assembled his hearers in the 3d century, and which probably influenced St. Martin towards the end of the succeeding century, in his choice of a spot for the foundation of his abbey. The remains of this abbey, reduced to a part of the external walls with a few round towers, and a very beautiful gateway of the 13th century, stand at the eastern extremity of the suburb which extends along the northern bank of the Loire, opposite the city of Tours, between the rock and the river; and before the construction of the dyke, the spot must have been difficult of access and subject to frequent inundations. A very short distance to the north-west of these remains is the church of S. Radegonde, which at first sight presents the appearance of a building of the 11th or 12th century, with nothing unusual in its plan or outline, consisting of a nave, to which is attached a north tower, a chancel, and an apse. The gables of the nave have been raised, and some insertions made, at a late period. The sketch (No. 1) shews it in this aspect. It will be observed that the apse is engaged in the other buildings, but this would not be noticed as anything unusual, as a perfectly insulated church in continental towns is not of very common occurrence. But on closer examination we find that the building connected with the apse is partly cut out in the rock, and on going round to the west, we see that the church itself is fixed against the bank of rock, and that the tower, instead of springing from the level of the floor, is built on an elevated spot commanding the roof of the church, as shewn in No. 2 and No. 3. Externally the base of this tower is only to be reached by a circuitous path up the hill.

We will first consider the date of the building itself as shewn by external indications. The memoir that I refer to assigns as the date of the apse, the 10th century, and of the choir, nave, and tower the 11th. As the apse is considered to belong to so early a period, I have given (No. 4) a sketch of one of the brackets and part of the

CHURCH OF ST. RADEGONDE NEAR TOURS.

GROUND PLAN.



cornice. The ornament on the latter, which I think I have seen called "Moulure en échiquier" is extremely common in French Romanesque and seems to pervade the whole period during which that style prevailed, from the earliest to the latest. In effect it is somewhat sharper than the billet moulding, for which it may be mistaken at a distance, and more powerful than the English hatched moulding, to which it bears some analogy. It may possibly occur in English work, but I do not at present recollect examples. This moulding is continued along a part of the chancel, in which for my own part I cannot see any mark to distinguish it in date from the apse.

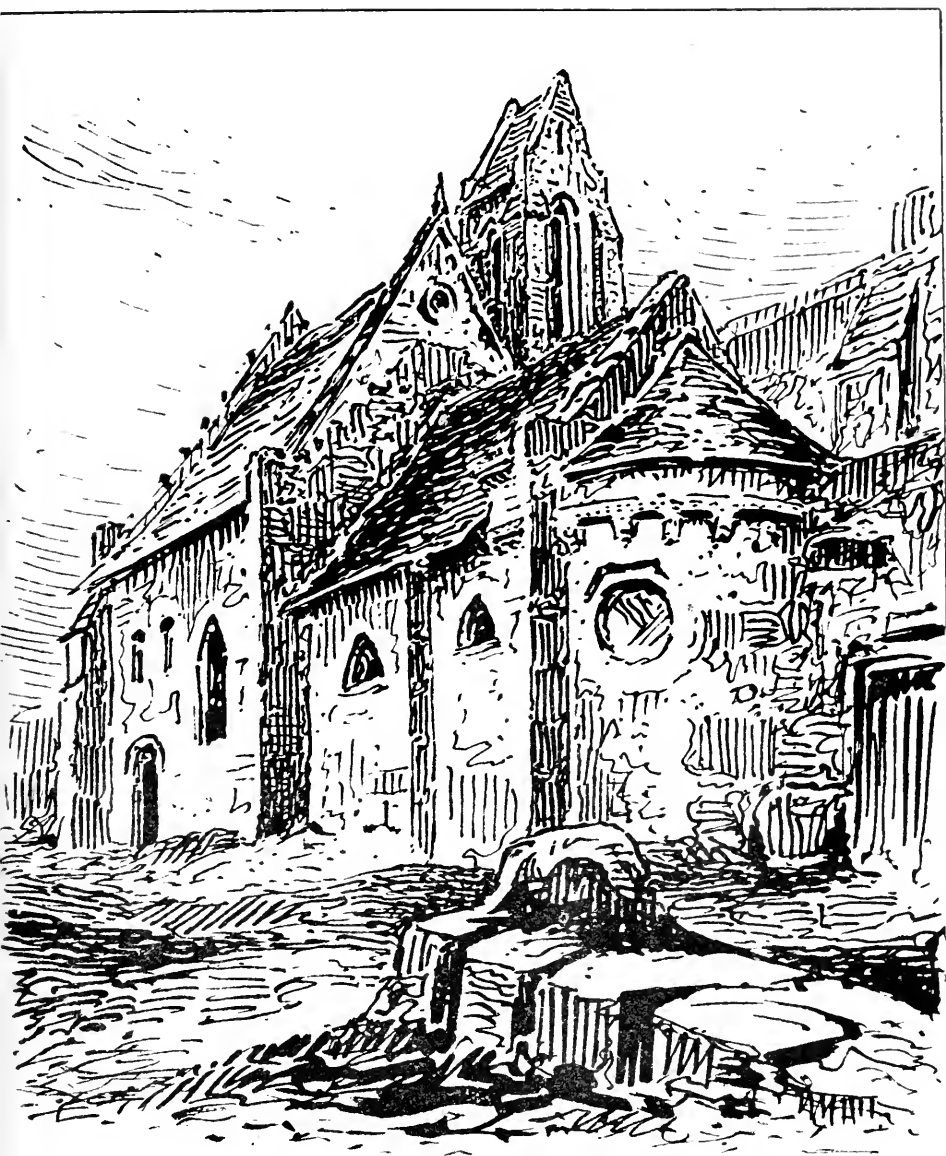
The nave is considerably wider than the chancel, and has two original roundheaded windows of small size. The door is of a late period, and what is remarkable, no indications of a Romanesque door appear; and it is well known how constantly the Romanesque door is preserved, when every other feature of that style is changed. Of the tower, to which the 11th century is given as a date, it may be remarked that the windows have an obtuse point which is by no means of rare occurrence in the south of France in work even of an earlier period. The gables are probably a late addition.

On entering the nave we find it to be perfectly plain, wide in proportion to its length, in fact nearly square, and unvaulted, very similar to the naves of many Romanesque churches in the neighbourhood, some of which are considered to belong to an extremely early period of the style. I may instance Chaunçay, Pont Ruan, St. Branch and Artannes. The timber roof is of late date. In the upper part of the north wall, near the west end, we observe a portion of rock breaking through the masonry, and near it is a wooden construction, which I am told conceals a still larger projecting piece. In the west wall are indications of a round arch, the crown of which is considerably lower than that of a door adapted to the present level of the pavement. The chancel arch (d, in the plan) is plain, pointed, and of a single square order; possibly replacing an earlier arch of smaller dimensions. The chancel has a northern transept, (g) faced with a round arch bearing late mouldings, no doubt cut upon the older work. This compartment on examination

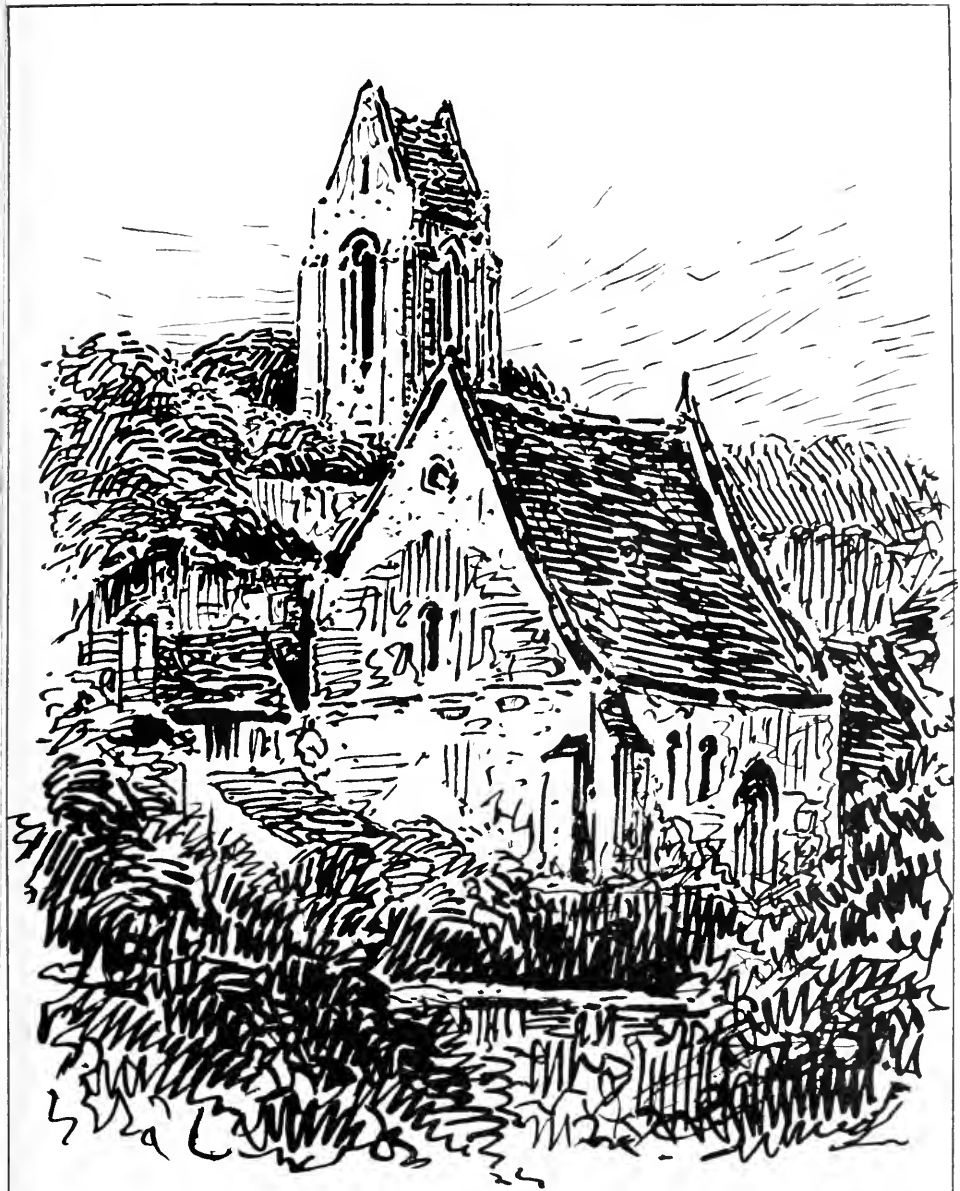
is seen to be cut out in the rock, and has no lining of masonry; its roof is cylindrical. On its west side is an arch now blocked up. The vault of the chancel is also cylindrical, and is divided into two compartments by a round arch of a single square order, resting on brackets of an early character, one of which is fixed above the crown of the transept arch (*f*). The lower part of this bracket is curved, according to the form of the arch beneath it, as may be seen in the sketch (No. 5) which shews the north side of the chancel with its transept cut in the rock. The vaulting of the apse is semi-domical. This as well as the chancel roof presents a smooth surface of masonry, though some must be attached to the inner surface of rock scooped out to receive it.

On the north side of the nave is a small door, through which we pass, between two massive piers of masonry, into a cavern branching in different directions. These piers seem intended to contribute to the support of the tower above, which is marked by an opening in the roof of the cave (*n*) forming an irregular oval at the surface, but cut square higher up to correspond with the area of the tower. The bell-ropes are let down through this opening, so that the ringer performs his office at the entrance of the cavern.

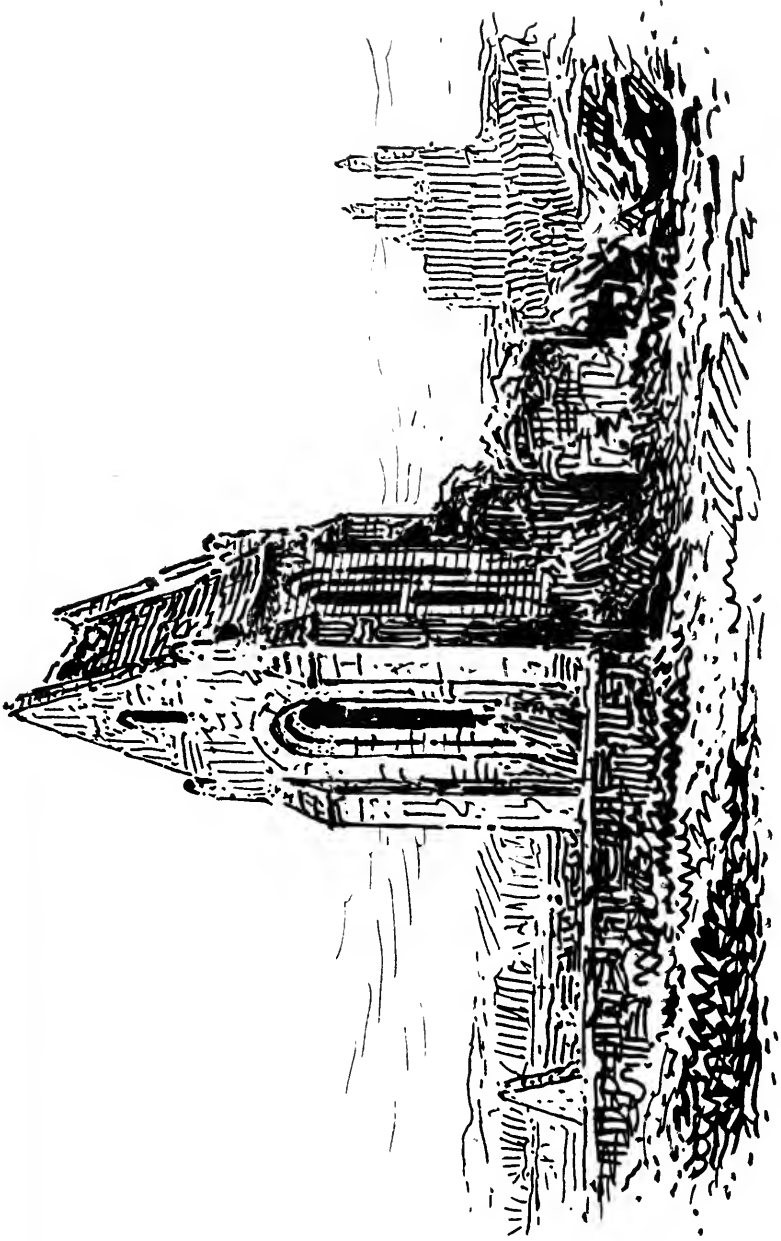
In front, extending to the northward, is the chamber (*i*) cut entirely in the rock, with a rough sort of cylindrical vault. The depth of this chamber, taken from the pier of door, would be somewhat more than 30 feet; its width about 15, and the height of the vault between 11 and 12 feet. At the northern extremity is a small recess about 3 feet from the ground. From the east side of this chamber branches out a staircase cut thro' the rock, and leading straight to a door which opens upon the roof of the chancel. The passage up the steps is 3 ft. 4 in. wide, and the opening, a round segmental arch, 2 ft. 6 in. The sketch No. 6 is taken from the north end of chamber (*i*), and shows the door opening into the church, as well as the staircase cut thro' the rock. To the left hand of the north door, as we go from the church into the cavern, is another chamber (*l*), of an irregular form. This contains at (*p*.) a sort of chest or coffin fixed in the ground, and formed of two pieces of stone. From its external dimensions



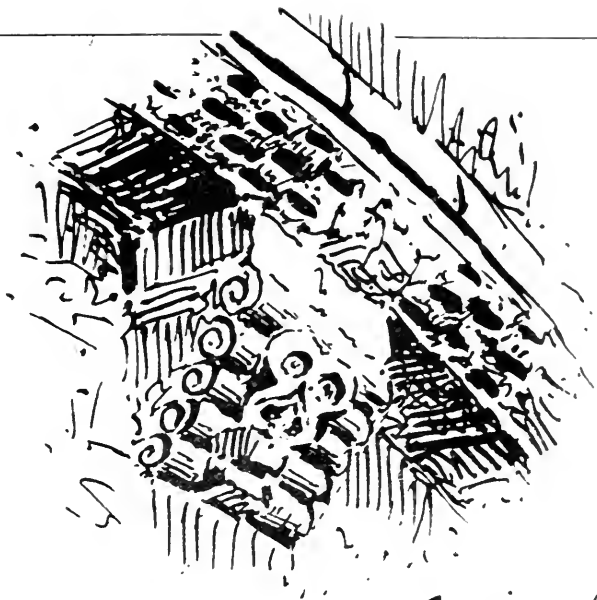
S. Radsgonde. Tower - S E.



S. Hadzondo - S.W.



S. Radzgons -

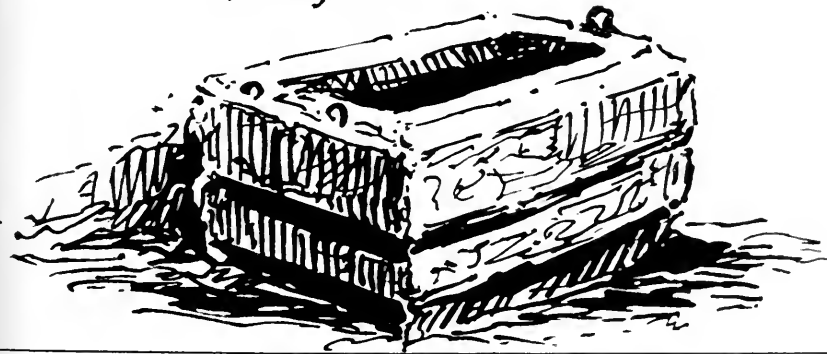


Cornice
of apse

Cornice & bracket
of apse - S. Radegonde

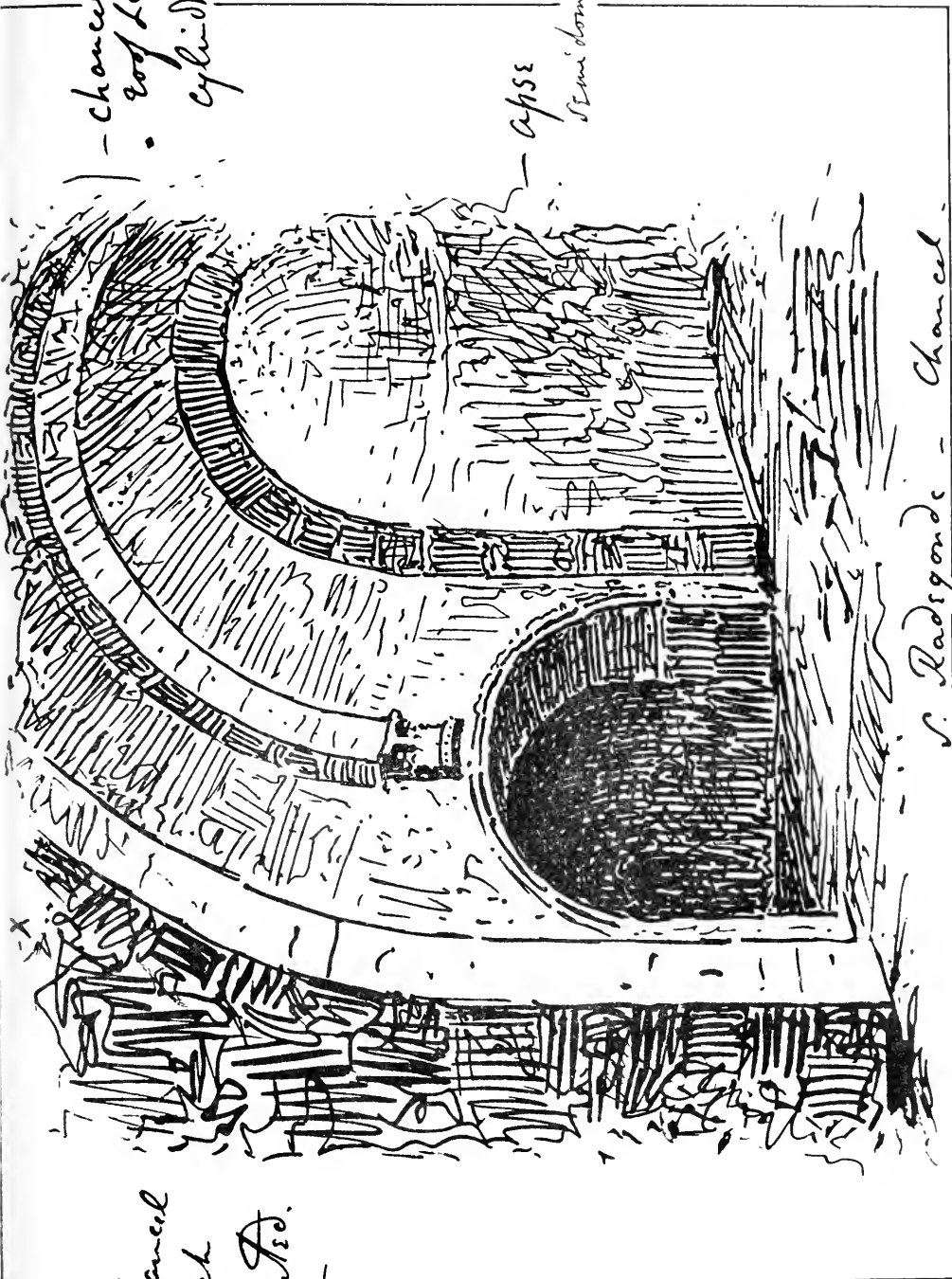
White upright
shaded oblique
black horizontal

stone chest in the cavern
S. Radegonde



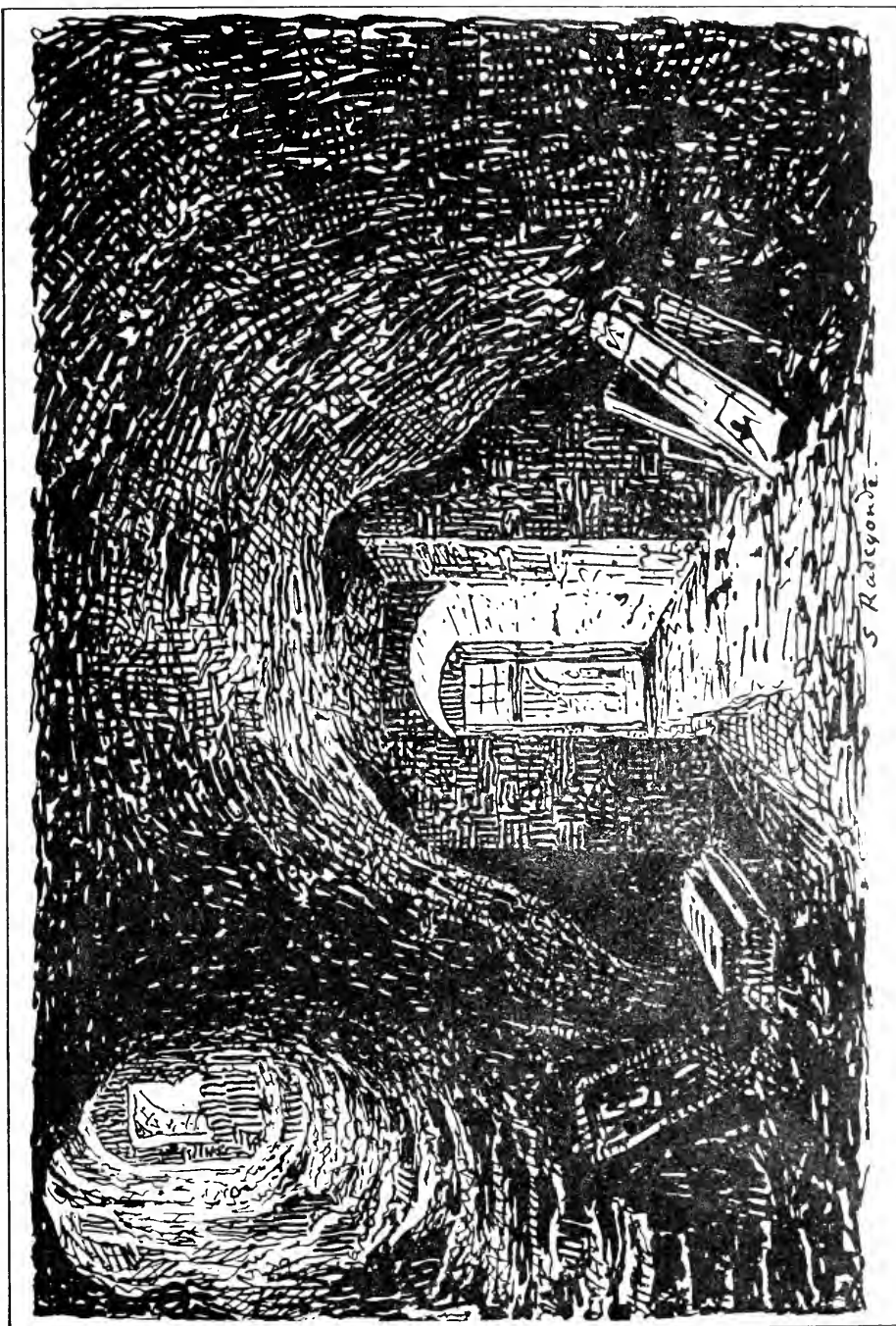
- chancel
- roof
cylindrical

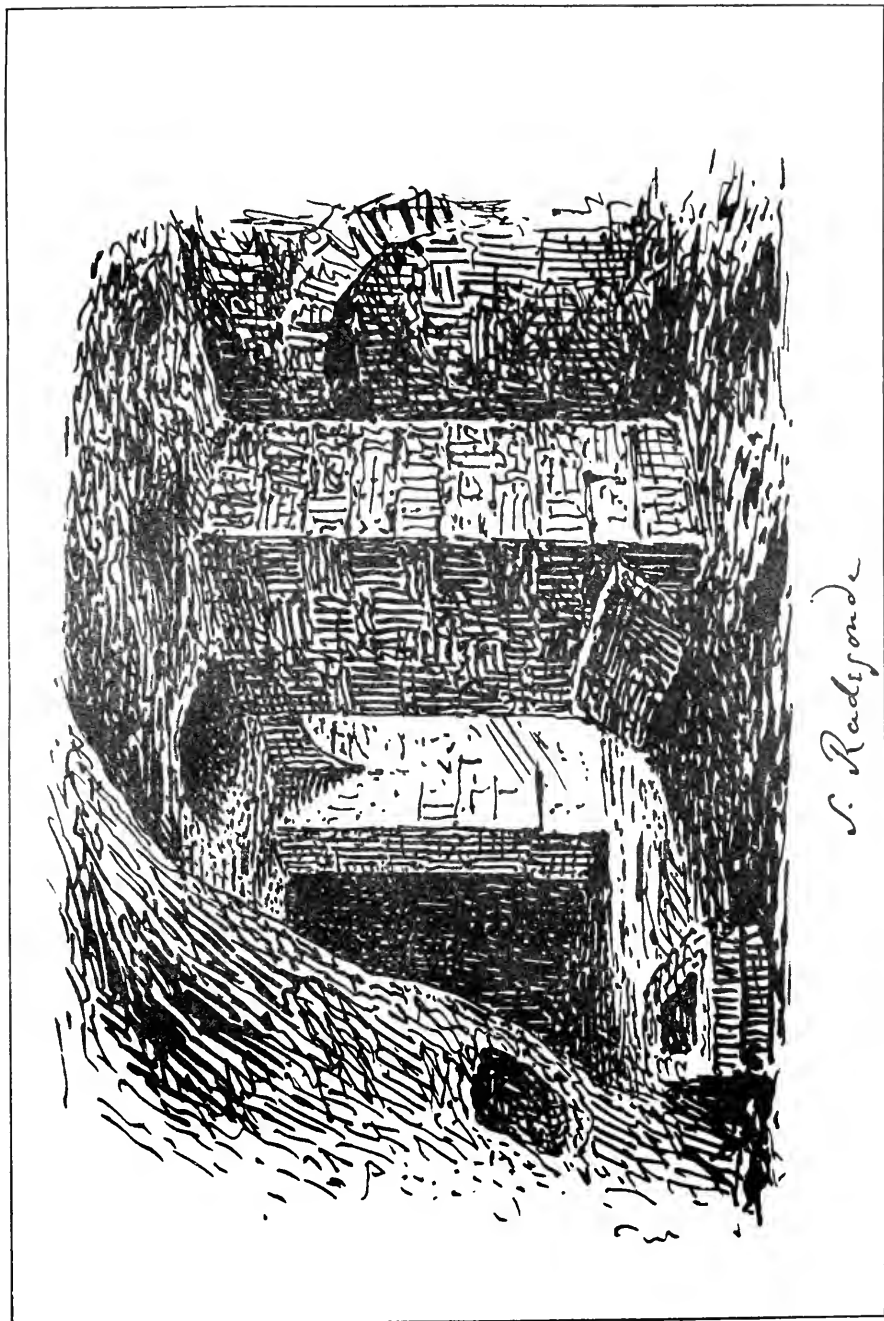
- apse
semi domical



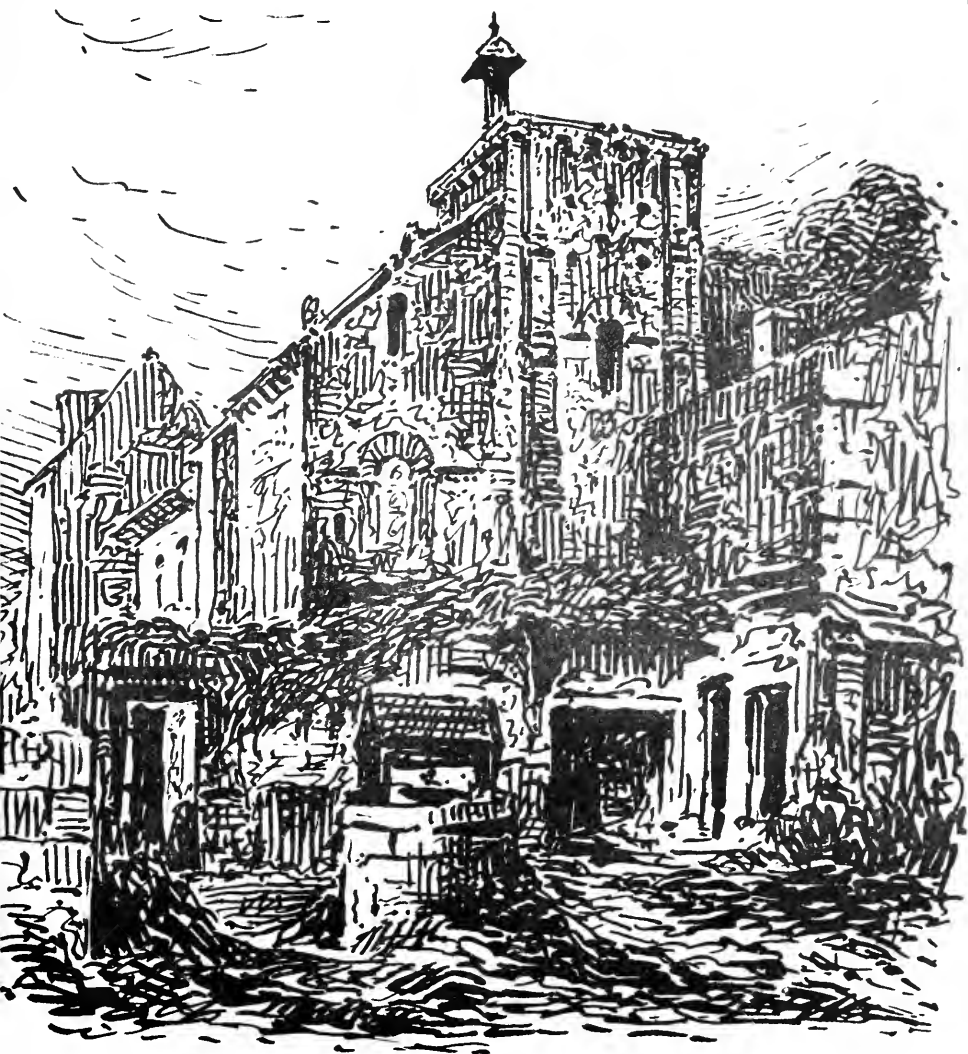
X chancel
arch
pointed.

S. Radigonde - Chancel.



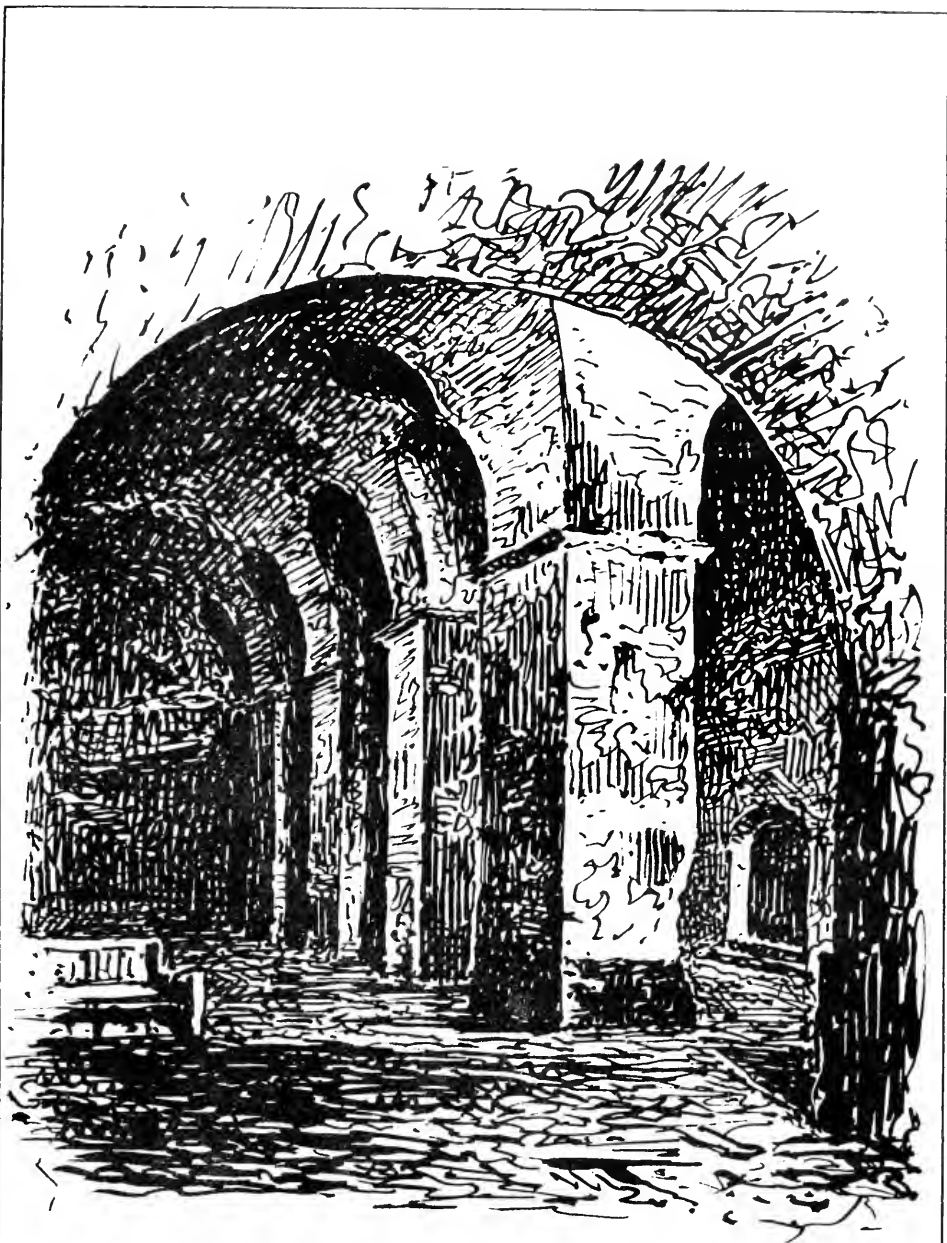


S. Radzonda



S. George - W. Towns.





S. Emilion





(3 ft. 6 in. long, by 2 ft. 2 in. wide) it could, if used for sepulchral purposes, only have contained bones after burning, or relics. It has staples at each end, and near it is a slab of a larger size than necessary to form a lid; but it may have served as the upper stone of an altar. Just above the chest is a small recess similar to an aumbry, cut in the rock. But according to the notice in the *Touraine Archæological transactions*, the sepulchral remains in this crypt have been much disturbed; and indeed I cannot clearly connect the description given in the article, with the present appearances. At the N.W. angle of the church is a small low chamber (*o*), entered by a narrow door of masonry.

The sketch (No. 7) also shews part of a round arch blocked up by the wall of the nave, and stopped by the western pier of the door. Another portion of a round arch occurs eastward of the other pier. The two if complete would rest upon a pier not exactly occupying the site of either of the present ones, and must have belonged to a structure earlier than the existing church.

This feature appears to indicate at least two applications of masonry, at distant periods, to the excavation. My own impression is that there originally existed a low natural arch or cavern, of no great depth, extending nearly from the western point of the chamber (*l*), to some point in the chamber (*g*). That the first operation was to scoop out the chamber (*i*) to the northward, and from that to drive the staircase (*q*) obliquely, forming a passage to a narrow ledge of rock which might have been selected as a mode of access less exposed to observation, or a way of escape. That the chambers (*l*) and (*g*) were added or enlarged, and the front of the cavern for the sake of greater security strengthened by the arches (*m*) (*m*) and (*h*). It is possible that an outer wall was built round the whole, which might have enclosed a space equal to the present nave and chancel, and that the low western arch I have mentioned may have been the entrance. All this might have existed previous to the time of St. Radegonde herself, who was born in 519 and died at Poitiers in 587. Subsequent to this, probably in the 10th or 11th century, the church may have been commenced on its present plan, and completed without the mutilation of the arches

into the cavern. I can hardly think the belfry was added before the 12th century, and it might very well have been built originally without the support of the present piers, as the thickness of the rock, and the arches then existing would authorise the architect to proceed on his work without fear. In fact I consider these piers and the facing of the north wall to the interior to be of comparatively a late date, possibly corresponding with that of the present gables and inserted windows. Be this as it may, the character of the work, as it now appears, seems to establish a very early date as belonging to the excavations themselves.

About a mile to the eastward of Marmontier, in a rocky valley falling into that of the Loire, is the village of St. George, where there is a staircase cut in the rock, very perfect and of considerable dimensions, but of which the masonry connected with it does not clearly shew the date, at least to a stranger. But there is also a chapel, which has some points of resemblance to the church just described, and has work apparently of the same period. The plan is more unusual, the eastern end being flat, and the tower ranging with it. Westward of the tower is a chapel or aisle partly cut in the rock, and communicating with the nave by a round arch, and to the north of the tower, extending eastward of it, is a chapel entirely cut out in the rock, and with more architectural character than that of S. Radegonde, as the roof has a cross vaulting similar to that which occurs in the aisles of our Norman Cathedrals.

As I was not made acquainted with this specimen till the last day of my visit at Tours, I had not time to make any plan or measurements. I give a rough sketch of the east end externally, (No. 8.)

I add a list of excavated churches near Angoulême copied from the *Statistique Monumentale de la Charente* (Par J. H. Michon, Paris, Derache, Libraire, Rue du Bouloy, 7, 1844).

Eglises taillées dans la Roc ayant servi de Paroisses.

Aubeterre.

Gurat.

Chapelles d'Hermitages.

Bellevau.

Lyon.

Grottes habitées par des Saints.

Grotte de S. Cybard, à Angoulême.

Grotte de S. Gautier, a Confolens.

I had not an opportunity of visiting these. From the description given in the work it appears that Aubeterre has an aisle separated from the nave by two polygonal piers, and that Gurat has an opening to a belfry tower, now destroyed.

I contrived to pay a very hurried visit to that marvellous old town, S. Emilion, on the Dordogne. Its rock church is probably well known to most antiquaries by plans and engravings. It seems originally to have had no addition of masonry whatever, though now it has external work from the 12th to the 16th century. Still the face of the rock is not altogether masked. In the sketch (No. 9) the naked rock comes up to the line cut by the point of the porch gable; the mullions of the lower windows being, of course, additions of masonry. Above this line the rock is faced with squared stone. The porch is of stone work, and belongs to the 14th century. The oldest part of the tower (built on the rock, and communicating with the church beneath by an aperture) is about the 12th century; the pinnacles and spire later. The interior of the church is purely cut in the rock. It has two side aisles, each separated from the central one by four square piers. The roofs are cylindrical, or perhaps more strictly, the section forms a sort of parabola. As the spring of the vault is the same with that of the pier arches, the latter have a double curvature, partaking of that of the roof. Near the crown of one of the arches (see No. 10) is the opening into the belfry. On the roof at (*a*) are sculptured two angels, but apparently of a later date. On parts however of the rock are earlier sculptures. The string round one of the piers has a small quantity of the moulding described as running round the apse at S. Radegonde; this was probably executed long after the original excavation of the church.

I fear I have given a somewhat tedious account, and perhaps the subject is not one of which the investigation would lead to any important result, still some may consider it as a not uninteresting, though it may be an isolated episode in the history of church architecture.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF SAINTES.¹

By BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A.

During the last few years the Institute has favoured me with opportunities of stating the results of investigations in Burgundy, Champagne, Franche-Comté and Switzerland. At first sight, Saintes, situated on the western side of France, in the department of Charente Inférieure, might be supposed to have little or no connexion with those Eastern regions; but the antiquary, studying history and existing monuments, will discover relations between places geographically remote from each other. Caesar, in the first book of the Gallic war, informs us that the Helvetii had planned an expedition into Gaul, and that they proposed to march through the country of the Sequani and Ædui into the territory of the Santones (Saintonge), an open and very fertile district.² From Martial we learn that the *bardocucullus*, a cloak with a hood, was manufactured by the *Lingones*; ³ but Juvenal, speaking of a fashionable profligate at Rome, says that he concealed his face *Santonico cucullo*, with a cowl or hood that came from Saintes.⁴ These garments were coarse,

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, July 1st, 1886.

² In chap. x Caesar indicates the position of the Santones by the words, non longe a Tolosatium finibus absunt, quae civitas est in Provincia. He cannot mean that the Santones were in close proximity to the Tolosates, because the Nitiobriges (diocese of Agen) and the Petrocorii (Périgord) were between them. The next sentence shows that he only intended to express his opinion that the Helvetii in Saintonge would be dangerous neighbours to the Roman Province:—Dr. W. Smith's Dictionary of Classical Geography, vol. ii., p. 1215. Another passage of the same author assists us to define the situation of the Santones more accurately, because they are mentioned in juxtaposition with the Pietones, an adjoining tribe. Caesar, in his war with the Veneti (Vannes) gave to Decimus Brutus the command of the fleet and the Gallic ships, quas ex Pictonibus et Santonis

reliquisque pacatis regionibus convenire jusserat. B.C., lib. iii., c. 11.

³ Martial, Epigrams, book 1, liii, 4 sq.; book xiv, cxxviii. The word *bardocucullus* is discussed in my Paper on Langres, Archæol. Journal, June, 1886, vol. xliii, p. 104 sq.; in the notes illustrative passages from ancient and modern writers are quoted. Some derive the name from the Celtic *Bardi*, others from the *Barduci*, an Illyrian people; the former supposition seems more probable: cf. Lucan, Pharsalia, i, 449.

Plurima securi fudistis carmina, Bardi; and Paley and Stone's edition of Martial, 1868, p. 20, note. Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary has a long article s.v. Bard; it is interesting and instructive, though the etymologies seem far-fetched.

Comp. the effigy of a Roman citizen at Caerleon, whose outer vestment appears to be a *paenula* or travelling cloak: Archæol. Journ., vol. xxxvii., p. 55 and wood-cut.

⁴ Satires, viii, 145.

and seem to have been worn by the Romans as a part of their outer clothing. Moreover, as we shall see presently, a feature of Roman architecture, which has been conspicuously imitated at Langres, appears with great frequency on a monument at Saintes. Mediolanum was the ancient name of the city, which it had in common with Milan, the capital of North Italy; this word is said to be derived from *medius* and *lani*, and to refer to the discovery of a hog there that was half woolly and half bristly.¹ So, according to some authorities, Bisuntium, which is only another form of Vesontio, now Besançon, was named after a bison.²

It should be observed that there was another Mediolanum in Gaul; it occupied the site of Vieil Evreux (Ebuovices) in Normandy, and is mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus as an important town.³ But, as English antiquaries, we are more interested in the fact that Mediolanum occurs in our own country. There is some difficulty about its exact position; for geographers place it variously—at Whitchurch, Chesterton, Ternhill and Drayton. It must have been a place of some consequence, as it had

¹ Claudian, *De Nuptiis Honorii et Mariae*, v. 183 (*Carm.* x, p. 105, edit. Paris, 1829), apud J. J. Chifflet, *Vesontio*, Pars I, p. 49.

Comp. *Apollinaris Sidonii Epistolarum lib. vii, 16*, edit. Barct, Paris, 1879, p. 393, (epist. 17, edit. Sirmond.) The letter includes a poem, where the following couplet occurs:

Rura paludicolae tenuis populosa
Ravennae,
Et quae lanigero de sue nomen
habent.

² Chifflet, *Op. cit.*, Pars I, cap. 11, *Vesontio et Bisontium a Bisonte dicta*, with engravings: my Paper on Besançon, *Archæol. Journ.* vol. xliii, p. 298sq., notes.

³ *Lib. xv, c. xi, 12*, ed. Eyssenhardt, *Secundam enim Lugdunensem Rotomagi et Turini Mediolanum ostendunt et Tricasini*. When I visited the Museum at Rouen last summer, I observed in the Salle de la Mosaïque a cast of an inscription taken from the original at Evreux, containing the following words *VSSIBVS FVLLON (VM MEDIOL) ANENSIVM*.

The mosaic in this apartment, which has Orpheus in the centre as the principal figure, is placed upright on the wall, I presume for want of room. Such a position obviously misbecomes a tessela-

ted pavement. Speaking generally, the Pagans employed decorations of this kind for the floors of villas, but the Christians for the walls and vaulted roofs of churches. The Museum at Rouen has recently acquired the "Grande Mosaïque de Lillebonne" (*Juliobona*), of which the subject is Apollo pursuing *Daphne*; it has been described by the Abbé Cochet, also by M. Chatel in the *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, tome xxviii, pages 568-596.

In the Table of Peutinger, Segmentum I b, Mediolanum is marked below *Ratumagus* (*sic*), with the epithet *Anlercorum* to distinguish it from other places of the same name. Mummert's edition has *Au-tercorum*, but this is evidently a mistake made either by the original compiler or by a copyist. *Ratumagus* for *Rotomagus* (*Rouen*) is like the form of the word used by Ptolemy, *Geography*, Lib. ii, cap. 8, §7, vol. i, p. 213, ed. Car. Müller, *Μεθ' οὗς μέχρι τοῦ Σηκοῦνα Οὐελιοκάσιοι, ἀν πόλις Ρατόμαγος*, v. note. There is another Mediolanum, also in Tab. Penting, between *Argentomagus* and *Aquae Nerae*, South-west of *Avaricum* (*Bourges*); it probably occupied the site of Château Meillan. *Smith's Dict. of Class. Geogr.*, vol. ii, p. 302, No. 2.

communication both with Mancunium (Manchester), and with Deva (Chester). Mediolanum was situated on the great Roman road from the Vallum (Wall of Hadrian) to Rutupiae (Richborough) in Kent: its place relatively to other stations is best shown by an extract from the Antonine Itinerary.

Deva, leg. xx vict.	...	...	mpm xx
Bovio	...	...	mpm x
Mediolano	...	...	mpm xx
Rutunio	...	...	mpm xii
Urioconio (Wroxeter)	...	...	mpm xi ¹

There are no sublime features in the scenery around Saintes, which the French would call *riant* and *accidenté*. The surface is undulating, and the land carefully cultivated: and the town itself, built on a gentle slope descending to the Charente, leaves a pleasing impression on the traveller. A promenade, at a moderate elevation in the immediate neighbourhood, called the Place Blair, commands an extensive view over fields watered by this river. We may apply to it with perfect propriety Cowper's lines descriptive of the country in which he lived and wrote:—

“ Here Ouse, slow-winding through a level plain
Of spacious meads with cattle sprinkled o'er,
Conducts the eye along his sinuous course
Delighted.”²

¹ Edit. Wesseling, p. 469; Parthey and Pinder, p. 223 sq., and Index, Mediolanum (Britann.)...Whitchurch (Reynolds), Ternhill (Mammert), Drayton (Lapie). This town also stood at the end of a road from Clanoventa (Cockermouth?), the intermediate stations being Galava, Alone, Calacum, Bremetonaci, Coccio, Mancunio, Condate, Wess, 481 sq.; Parth. and Pind., p. 230: Mr. Thompson Watkin's Roman Cheshire, pp. 1, 16, 19-23; in the last passage the site of Mediolanum is discussed.

There was another Mediolanum in Britain, mentioned by Ptolemy, lib. ii, cap. 3, § 11. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτους καὶ τοὺς Βρίγαντας οἰκοῦσι δυσμικῶτατοι μὲν Ὀρδοῦικες, ἐν οἷς πόλεις Μεδιολάνων, Βραννογένων. The map published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge contains this place marked in North Wales, with the following description, “On the banks of the Tanad, supposed to be Clawdd Goch.” See also the map in Monumenta

Historica Britannica, inserted between Pl. xxvii and Historia Gildae.

Lastly, Mediolanum was the first station on the road from Colonia Trajana (Kellen or Mariebaum) to Colonia Agrippina (Cologne): its exact position is not certainly known, but it could not have been far from Vetera Castra (Xanten): Itin. Anton. Wess., 375; Parth and Pind., 178. Cluverius places it in the country of the Gugerni (Gallia Belgica), at Moyland. Dr. Schmitz says that Mediolanum is most probably identified with *Melun* (which looks like the same name, on the river Vecht; Smith's Dict. of Class. Geog. s.v. It does not occur in Tab. Peuting.

² The Task, Book 1—The Sofa, v. 163. Cf. *ibid.*, v. 323, The Ouse, dividing the well-water'd land. We may also remark that Olney where Cowper resided, and from which a well-known Collection of Hymns derives its title, has its counterpart in the Department of Charente Inférieure. Aulnay is the modern form of

The three principal objects of archaeological interest at Saintes are the Amphitheatre (les Arènes), the Roman Arch (Arc-de-Triomphe), and the church of Sainte Marie (Abbaye de Notre Dame.) The church of Saint Eutrope also deserves a visit.

I. The Amphitheatre differs in situation from many others, being in a valley between two hills occupied by the suburbs Saint-Eutrope and Saint-Macoul.¹ Hence

Aunedonacum on the Roman road from Mediolanum Santonum (Saintes) to Limonum (Poitiers): v. *Antiquités de la Ville de Saintes, &c.*, par M. le Baron Chaudruc de Crazannes, pp. 56-71, Dissertation sur la position de Noverus, maison de campagne du consul Ausone, dans le pays des Santones, et sur la direction de la voie romaine qui conduisait à cette Villa; in the note p. 64 reference is made to the Antonine Itinerary: Wess., pp. 458-460, Parth. and Pind., p. 219 sq., De Aquitania in Gallias. Item a Burdigala Augustodunum. *Lomounum* occurs as a various reading instead of *Limonum*. For Aulnay see the Carte du Dép^t. de la Charente, Inf^{re}. dressée et publiée sous les auspices du Conseil Général par Alcide Groc, 1886.

We also find Aulnay (Aunay), from *Alnetum*, in Calvados; and Aulnoy in the Pas de Calais: Græsse, *Orbis Latinus*; Supplement to Brunet, Manuel du Libraire, Index Alphabétique François des Noms Latins. Modern French names of places, which are alike or nearly so, may come from Latin words which are very different; as Aulnay represents Aunedonacum or Alnetum, Chalons sur Marne is derived from Catalauni, and Chalons sur Saône from Cabillonum. These two towns are now often spelt in the same way, formerly they were distinguished.

Mons^r. V. J. Vaillant has suggested that Aulnay may be derived from *aluus*, French *auue*, and signify a place where alders grow: cf. Ducange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, s.v. *Alnetum*, *Alnidus*. I could find no explanation of the name Olney in Lipscomb's Buckinghamshire and Lysons' *Magna Britannia*. A gazetteer combining philological with geographical information would supply a desideratum. Our English names often vary but little from the French analogues; e.g. Cornwall, Cornouailles (a district in Basse Bretagne); Lyme in Dorsetshire, Cité des Linnes, near Dieppe; Avon, Pontaven (Finistère). Similarly the map of Roman Britain presents us with a repetition of places that occur in Gaul. For

example, there were eight towns in the latter country called Condate, the most notable of which corresponds to Remes; they were situated at the junction of rivers, whence the name seems equivalent to Confluentes. We find Condate in Cheshire, and the modern name Kinder-ton is probably a corruption of it; moreover at this place the rivers Croco and Dane meet. The evidence of inscriptions leads us to suppose that there was another Condate in the County of Durham: see Mr. Thompson Watkin's *Roman Cheshire*, chap. v, pp. 243-251, esp. p. 250, and Plan of Kinderton facing p. 243.

¹ On the other hand the Coliseum stands on the level ground at the foot of the Esquiline, Caelian and Palatine hills: Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, d'après les textes et les monuments*, tome i, s.v., *Amphitheatrum*.

The Arènes at Saintes in position resembled the amphitheatres of Cyzicus and Pergamus—the only two that have been discovered in Asia Minor, for Hellenic culture was shocked by the barbarous spectacle of gladiatorial combats: Texier, *Asie Mineure*, Introduction, p. xi. For Cyzicus see Perrot et Guillaume, *Exploration Archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie*, 1872, pp. 74-76; p. 75, *L'amphithéâtre, comme le plan l'indique, est établi dans une gorge; on a profité, comme l'ont fait très-souvent les anciens, de la disposition des lieux pour économiser le travail et la maçonnerie; les gradins couvraient les deux pentes du vallon; Pl. III, Cyzique, Esquisse topographique des Ruines, where the valley is distinctly marked Comp. Texier, *Op. citat.*, vol. ii, p. 174, pl. 106; and pp. 227-230, pls. 120 sq. Plan, Elevation and Section of part of amphitheatre.*

At Fréjus (Var) also, the ancient Forum Julii, the arrangement of the seats was similar. "Du côté du Nord, les voûtes de l'amphithéâtre s'appuient directement sur les flancs d'une colline." Ad. Joanne, France, Provence-Corse, Alpes Maritimes, p. 108, ed. 1877.

we may expect that excavations, if thoroughly carried out, will present architectural combinations not usually met with elsewhere. The traveller when he goes down into the arena at Saintes, finds himself nearly on a level with the river Charente; such a position may remind him by contrast of a Greek theatre, which commands a wide prospect over land, and often sea also, as for example at Syracuse or Taormina. A somewhat rude, but curious and instructive, engraving of the sixteenth century illustrates the topography; it is contained in G. Braun's *Urbium præcipuarum Mundi Theatrum Quintum*, No. 17, *Santones Xaintes*, with one folio page of description, and shows monuments existing at that time, which have since disappeared, partly or altogether.¹ The incorrect spelling, *Xaintes*, *Xaintonge*, *Xaintongois*, arose from an unfounded story that the Santones were a colony of Trojans who lived on the banks of the river Xanthus (Scamander). But the name is written with an S by the historians of the first six centuries. See De la Sauvagère: *Recueil d'Antiquités dans les Gaules: Recherches sur les Ruines Romaines de Saintes et des environs*, p. 12.

Speaking generally, the arrangements here resemble those at Nîmes, but in the former case the state of preservation is very inferior, as is evident from the photograph which I exhibit, taken expressly for this meeting;² on the other hand Saintes has the advantage

¹ This work is described in Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire*, s. v. Bruin; it was published at Cologne, 1572-1618. The Latin text, which is in small type, gives a summary of the antiquities and history of Saintes, with references to Strabo, Ptolemy, Ovid, Martial, &c. The account of the Province agrees with the passage of Cæsar quoted above: *Hujus Provinciae territorium nulli in Europa cedit, veteresque Absynthium et alumen Santonicum aliis prætulerunt*. Bishops who succeeded Eutropius, the first missionary in these parts, are praised in the following terms: *Qui omnes in exercendis pastoralibus sarcinis salutis ipsorum gregis sic semper additi, ut annuarum salutem potius quaerent quam ovium lanam ut ipsi deglubrent, vel ab aliis deglabrari patenterent*.

The "Œuvre de Bernard Palissy" by Delange, a magnificent folio with coloured illustrations, contains at p. 12 a "Plan

d'une partie de la ville de Saintes. D'après celui gravé en entier et existant à la Bibliothèque Impériale;" it shows the position of the atelier in which the famous potter worked.

I exhibited a diagram of the amphitheatre at Saintes enlarged from an engraving in p. 394 of the No. of the Bulletin of the local Antiquarian Society quoted below.

² Notwithstanding their very imperfect condition the traveller who visits these extensive ruins will admit that the epithet "majestic" has been fitly applied to them. *Audiat, Guide du Voyageur*, p. 29, "Elles (les Arènes) sont d'un effet charmant dans le paysage, dominées par le haut clocher de Saint Eutrope." In the *Histoire Monumentale de la Charente Inférieure et de la Vienne*, Paris, 1848, p. 47, sq., the importance of the structure is unduly disparaged.

of being more accessible to English travellers, since it can be reached in an easy day's journey from Paris. The form is an ellipse of the following dimensions :

Length of the greater axis	(exterior)	130 mètres.
	(interior)	103 ,,
Length of the lesser axis	(exterior)	66 ,,
	(interior)	39 ,,

I have derived these measurements from the Bulletin de la Société des Archives Historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis, October 1882, presuming that the most recent of my authorities is also the most accurate. At Nîmes, the corresponding numbers are for the greater axis, 133 mètr. 38 cent. and 69 mètr. 14 cent., for the lesser axis 101 mètr. 40 cent. and 38 mètr. 34 cent. From the difference of proportions it follows that this amphitheatre is more nearly circular than the one at Saintes.¹ That at Arles is on a still larger scale, and surpasses in extent all the Gallo-Roman structures of this kind which can now be identified.

It is computed that the amphitheatre at Saintes was capable of holding 21,000 spectators. There were 74 arches of unequal size in its circumference, and the seats (*gradins*) were supported by a single row of vaults sloping down towards the arena. Monsieur Audiat does not express himself positively, but inclines to the opinion that two landing places (*præcinctiones*) ran round the interior of the *cavea*, separating the three tiers of seats (*maeniana*) from each other. The performers, chariots, horses and other animals entered by the great *vomitoria* at the East and West ends, which could not have been used by the public, because no passages have been found leading from them to the benches (*subsellia*). At the former extremity nine arches remain, one of which is considerably higher and broader than the rest; at the latter the ancient masonry is now underground, and forms the cellar of a private house.

Excavations begun in the year 1881 produced important results, and brought to light part of the great eastern *vomitorium*, in whose walls two small staircases were found

¹ The details of this building may be well studied in the great work of MM. Grangent, C. Durand and S. Durant, De-

scription des Monumens Antiques du Midi de la France, tome I, Département du Gard, 1819, Pls. X-XX.

leading to the gallery where the workpeople stretched the awning (*velarium*), probably suspended from masts attached to the outer wall;¹ an aqueduct in the line of the greater axis for drawing the water off; a chamber on the visitors' left as he enters, perhaps for the use of gladiators, perhaps a den for wild beasts, *vicarium*; the *podium* between this *vomitorium* and the north end of the lesser axis; corridors leading to the *podium* and seats immediately above it.² On the same side a vast staircase has been cleared, commencing at the lowest *maenianum*, and continued till it reaches an external esplanade, where the people seem to have assembled and waited, as at the doors of our theatres. It was, doubtless, reserved for the duumvirs, decurions and other distinguished personages, as it only communicated with the best places next the arena; moreover, the entrance at the top had a certain architectural character, which is apparent even now from the mouldings of pilasters.

But the most remarkable discovery of all was made outside the building, and I do not remember to have met with an exact parallel to it in other amphitheatres. In the north-east quarter, about halfway between the greater and lesser axis, a staircase has been uncovered, consisting of flights of steps, with landing-places between them, by which spectators could descend, either to the intermediate galleries or to the valley below.³ On either side of the

¹ It is evident that the Velarium would not be so much wanted at Saintes as at Nîmes and other places further South, where the climate is hotter. Partly on this account De Crazannes doubted the existence of any arrangements for the tension of the awning: *Op. citat.*, p. 77 sq. The earliest Roman author who mentions it is Lucretius (died about B.C. 50), VI, 107, sq. (109).

Carbasus ut quondam, magneis intenta theatris,

Dat crepitum, malos inter jactata trabesque.

For *theatris* it has been proposed to read *teachlis*, from the Greek $\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, the neck, the middle part of a mast; see the notes of Wakefield and Forbiger in *loco*, cf *ibid.*, IV, 73-81, where the various colours of the *velarium* are mentioned, and Munro's note. See Overbeck, *Pompeii*, vol. I, Drittes Capitel, Das Grosse Theater, p. 146, fig. 109, Steinung und Mastbaum; comp. View of the Ruins,

Fig. 107; Section of Theatre, Fig. 112d.

² *Podium* seems to be used in two senses — (1) a wall about 15 feet high, circumscribing the arena; (2) a terrace on the top of it, which afforded the most favourable situation for seeing the games, and was therefore appropriated to spectators of high rank; *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 88; *Juvenal, Sat. II*, 145.

Et Capitulinis generosior et Marcellis

Et Catulis Paullicæ minoribus et

Fabiis et

Omnibus ad podium spectantibus.

³ This staircase is described by M. Andiat as "un grand escalier adossé au mur de soutènement et qui devait, par des étages successifs, permettre à la foule de descendre dans le vallon."

At Pola there were rectangular projections beyond the elliptical outline of amphitheatre containing staircases, but these formed a part of the masonry of the building. See Stuart and Revett,

great eastern *vomitorium* are steps by which the public entered, and adjoining them two walls at right angles to the building; they are supposed to have been part of an enclosure, occupied by *employés* engaged in protecting against the crowd the access of everything required for the service of the games (*le matériel des jeux*). Near the west *vomitorium* some benches of the first *maternium* are seen intact, and a staircase by which they were reached.

In the coping-stone of the *podium* holes were observed, pierced at intervals; they were intended to receive the irons of a balustrade, which was necessary to guard against the attacks of wild beasts in the arena. At the Coliseum moveable ivory cylinders and nets of gilded bronze were used for this purpose, as the lines of Calpurnius, quoted by Nibby, testify.¹ Originally, the soil of the arena was five mètres below the present level, accumulations having taken place in the course of so many centuries. On the north side of the monument, the wall that supported the earth of the hill (*mur de soutènement*) has been excavated for about half its length; between it and the amphitheatre was the esplanade mentioned above. The part of the

Antiquities of Athens, vol. IV, pp. 5-9. Of the Amphitheatre at Pola; Pl. III, Plan E E the staircases; p. 7. "In each of the contraforti (so called by Serlio) were two flights of stairs, so contrived, that those who ascended the one never could meet those who descended the other; and there was in each room enough for two persons to pass abreast of each other: Pl. IV, fig. 1, West Elevation; Pl. V, Contraforti; Pl. VI, Staircase. Maffei, Verona illustrata, tomo IX, Venezia, MDCCXC, Tav. V, fig. 2, Recinto di Pola.

¹ Roma Antica. Parte prima, p. 427 sq.: Calpurnius, Bucol. Ecl., VII, 48-56, Sternitur adjunctis cbur admirabile truncis,

Et coit in rotulum, tereti qua lubricus axe

Impositos subita vertigine falleret unguis,

Excuteretque feras; auro quoque torta refulgent

Relia, quae totis in arenam dentibus exstant.

See the critical commentary on this passage in Wernsdorf's *Poetae Latini Minores*, vol. II, p. 169. Nibby improperly reads *rotulam* for *rotulum*: comp. the copious note in the Appendix to Bailey's edition of Forcellini, and the

article by De Vit, s. v. *Rotulus*, a synonym of *Rotula*, *Cylindrus*, *Rotolo*. "Alii perperam pro *rotulum* legunt *rotulam*, vel *rotulum*, vel *rotulam*. V. Salmasius, ad *Hist. Aug. scriptores*, p. 135, Vopisci Probus, cap. 19; Lipsius *De amphit.* c. 12.

For an account of the *podium* consult Hirt, *Geschichte der Baukunst bei den Alten*, vol. III, p. 163 sq., IV Abschnitt, Das Amphitheater und die Naumachie, Taf. XX, figs. 9, 10; C. O. Müller, *Archäologie der Kunst* § 290, Remark 4; Eng. transl. p. 323. J. H. Parker, *The Archaeology of Rome*, Part VII, The Flavian Amphitheatre commonly called the Colosseum. Preface p. V. Some very curious *graffiti*, or scratchings on marble, by workmen of the third century have been found . . . Another shews the framework of the netting of gilt wire in front of the lower gallery. Pl. XXIII, Description of the *Graffito* of the *Podium*. The screen . . . had a bar at the top that turned round, so that if any animal tried to cling to it he would fall backwards on the arena.

In some of the London banking houses the windows are protected by revolving spikes, which answer the same purpose as the moveable cylinders mentioned above.

wall that had been buried was found with its surface entire, whence it is inferred that the dilapidations in the exposed part were caused in comparatively recent times.

Near the centre of the seats on the south side is a fountain named after Sainte Eustelle, a convert of Saint Eutrope. According to the legend she was the daughter of a governor of Saintes, and sought in marriage, but resolved to devote herself to God. One day, when hard pressed by suitors, she stamped on the ground, and a spring issued forth; girls on the 21st May throw pins into it; if they are found at the bottom crossed, a husband is expected within a year.¹

Chaudruc de Crazannes says, that a branch of the aqueduct of Douhet, diverging towards the amphitheatre, leaves little doubt that sea-fights (*naumachiae*) were exhibited therein. He then endeavours to show that various details of construction within the monument favour this supposition. But the preponderance of argument seems to be against his theory; no trace of a reservoir (*castellum aquæ*) has been found sufficiently large for such representations; and, considering the level of the arena, as low or lower than the Charente, it would be impossible for the water to run off.

The date of erection cannot be exactly ascertained. A stone inscribed with the letters TI CLAVD has been discovered, not in the façade, but in an apartment supposed to be a den of wild beasts; from which we may conclude that it belonged to some earlier edifice, and was afterwards used for building materials. The abbreviation probably expresses the name of the emperor Tiberius.² Some have ascribed the Arènes to Gallienus, A.D. 254-268, on account of its general resemblance to the ruins at

¹ L'Histoire Monumentale de la Charente Inférieure, pp. 48-50, after describing the visits paid by women to the fountain with different and even opposite motives, relates the story of St Eustelle, who became acquainted with St Eutrope during the persecution of Decius (Emperor A.D. 249-251). It is said that she secretly buried the martyr, and that his remains were discovered two centuries and a half later.

² This inscription is the only important one found in the Arènes, of which we have an exact account; a cast may be

seen in the Museum at Saintes. Some appear to have existed formerly; they are mentioned by Nicolas Alain, a physician who practised at Saintes, and published in the year 1598 a book entitled *De Santonum regione et illustrioribus familiis*. His words are "In saxis illius inscriptiones nonnullae cōspiciantur, quibus adducor ut credam Gallienum imperatōrē Romanū theatri opus hoc visendum construxisse." The statement in the latter clause rests on no sufficient foundation: *Audiat, Epigraphie Santone et Aunisienne*, p. 9.

Bordeaux, which are commonly, but improperly, called the Palais Gallien.¹ It seems more reasonable to assign the amphitheatre at Saintes to the Flavian or Antonine period, as the example set by Vespasian and Titus was naturally imitated by the provinces, but in a later age the Romans were occupied rather in defending their frontiers against barbarians than in constructing vast edifices for their own amusement.² M. Audiat, however, is inclined to fix the date in the third century.

Large sums of money have been expended on excavations: in 1847 the town voted 6000 francs to purchase the building and to begin the work of clearing; in 1860, subscriptions amounting to 11,700 francs were raised to indemnify proprietors who occupied the site; in 1881 10,000 francs were granted to continue these *fouilles*, and the same amount in 1882, by the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts.

If we compare the amphitheatre at Saintes with those of our own country belonging to the Roman period, we shall observe a wide difference; the latter show few signs of masonry; for the most part nothing is to be seen but earth hollowed out in an oval form, as for example at Dorchester, or at Housesteads (Borcovicus), a station on Hadrian's Vallum. Dr. Bruce on the Roman Wall (Plan, p. 179, Engraving in the text p. 190) suggests that the seats were probably wooden. The epithet *castrensia* indicates proximity to permanent camps (*castra stativa*). Wright, Celt, Roman and Saxon,

¹ The importance of the remains still existing at Bordeaux, their proximity and similarity to those at Saintes, have naturally led to comparison and confusion with the amphitheatre at the latter place. Montfaucon, *Antiquité Expliquée*, tome iii, p. 260 J'y ai été plusieurs fois et autant que je puis m'en souvenir, le champ ou les arènes de cet amphithéâtre étaient des plus grandes, et ne le cédaient peut être à celles du Colisée. Il y a encore des restes d'un amphithéâtre à Saintes, mais qui est beaucoup plus petit que celui de Bordeaux. Friedlaender, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, vol. ii, p. 428, 2nd edition, 1867. Die Schauspiele, Galliae, b. Aquitania, Burdigala, thus describes the state of the so-called Palais Gallien when Millin saw

it, die wenigen erhaltenen Ueberreste im Begriff gänzlich zu verschwinden. But this author, like many others who attempt to traverse a wild field of investigation, is not always accurate in details. The dilapidation has not proceeded as far as his expressions would imply. See also my Paper on Antiquities in the South-west of France, *Archaeol. Journ.*, vol. xxxvi (1879), p. 25, note; it was illustrated by a large photograph of the monument, taken expressly.

² De Crazannes, *Op. citat.*, p. 87. Notre opinion est que l'amphithéâtre des *Santonnes* a dû être construit dans la période comprise entre le règne de Vespasien et celui de Marc Aurèle, au plus tard.

2nd edition, p. 178, says "that at Richborough (*Rutupie*) . . . had been surrounded with walls of masonry."¹

As the anatomist from isolated bones restores some huge antediluvian monster, so the antiquary can re-construct out of the detached fragments mentioned above a vast amphitheatre; nay more, with the aid of similar monuments better preserved, and of smaller objects—mosaics, bas-reliefs, lamps and coins²—he can re-people it

¹ *Isca Silurum*, or an Illustrated Catalogue of the Museum of Antiquities at Caerleon by John Edward Lee, F.S.A., p. 128. "In the field to the left of the Broadway, without the walls, is the amphitheatre, evidently Roman, which commonly goes by the name of King Arthur's Round Table. Giraldus Cambrensis states that there were walls standing in his time; but certainly none are to be seen at the present day."

Roach Smith, *The Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver and Lynne*, with engravings by Fairholt, pp. 161-172, "This is the first walled amphitheatre that has been brought to light in England. . . The discovery was made Oct. 19. 1849. . . The greater axis is 200 feet, and the lesser, 166." Mr. Roach Smith says that the Rutupian amphitheatre closely resembles that at Tintinniac, mentioned by Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.* tome iii, part 2, Plate cxi, p. 261 sq.; one league distant from Tulle in the parish of Nave. Tulle is in the Limousin, South-east of Limoges, and East of the line of railway from that city to Toulouse. He also compares the amphitheatre at Trèves, for which see Wytttenbach's description of the antiquities there, translated by Dawson Turner, 1839, pp. 76-96, Plates at pp. 76, 86; Vignettes at pp. 76, 96: Leonardy, *Panorama von Trier und dessen Umgebungen*, 1868, pp. 71-76. Ausonius mentions *Rutupiae* in three passages; *Parentalia*, vii, § 166, ed. Delphin.; *ibid* xviii, § 177; *Clarae Urbes*, *Aquileia*, vii, § 291: edit. Schenkl, ii Index, xv 20, 8; xviii 72; xv 9, 2. This critical edition is commended by Mr. Robinson Ellis in his article on Ausonius, *Hermathena*, No. xii, p. 1, 1886.

But *Rutupiae* is best known to classical scholars from Juvenal, *Sat.*, iv, 140 sqq., where the author speaks of an epicure who could distinguish at the first bite whether his oyster came from the coast of Kent or the Bay of Naples.

*Circeis nata forent, an
Lucrinum ad saxum Rutupinove edita
fundo*

*Ostrea, callebat primo deprendere
morsu.*

See the references given in Professor John E. B. Mayor's note on v. 141, 2nd edition of *Juv.*, vol. i. p. 239.

On June 23, 1886, Models of the Romano-British Village near Rushmore, on the borders of Dorset and Wilts, between Salisbury and Blandford, were exhibited by General Pitt-Rivers to the Society of Antiquaries. It was stated on that occasion that "the amphitheatre shown in the model was proved by the excavations to have been made after some of the drains were filled in." General Pitt-Rivers informed me that the existence of the amphitheatre was *supposed* rather than proved; and I think he added that no signs of masonry were visible.

Friellaender, *Op. citat.*, vol. ii, p. 435 sq., s.v. *Britannia*, cites several authorities for this subject, and amongst them Bruce, *On the Roman Wall* (3rd edition, 1867), p. 157 sq. A very rude but curious stone is there engraved, probably found at Chesters (*Cilurnum*), East of Houseteads (*Borcovicus*); the relief upon it represents a contest between a gladiator and an animal of the feline tribe. "The occurrence of this sculpture encouraged the belief that *Cilurnum* was provided with an amphitheatre for the amusement of the soldiery."

² I exhibited lamps and coins from the Collection of the Rev. S. S. Lewis, the former showing gladiatorial combats, and the latter having the Colosseum as a device. More details appear than might be expected within the scanty limits of so narrow an orb. In the Large Brass of Vespasian and Titus we see distinctly staircases forming wedge-shaped compartments (*caveæ*) in the *cavea*, the upper gallery, the *Meta Sudans*, and a colonnade of two stories supposed to be an aqueduct.

J. H. Parker, *Op. citat.*, Part vii, Pl. xxiv, Representation of the Flavian Amphitheatre on Coins or Medals. Titus is said to be sitting on a trophy of arms. This is a mistake, for the *sella curulis* is quite visible. In a reverse of Alexander Severus the building to the right is supposed to be the *Piscina Limaria*, where the water, as it flowed off, deposited slime,

with an excited crowd of spectators, witnessing the combats of gladiators with wild beasts or with each other,

“Butcher'd to make a Roman holiday.”¹

II. The Roman arch at Saintes has a remarkable, I might almost say unique, history. According to M. Audiat, the most competent local authority, it stood originally on an island formed by the confluence of the rivers Seugne and Charente, and at the extremity of a bridge which formed the approach to Mediolanum.² Afterwards these rivers changed their course; they united six kilomètres higher up; and the Charente, increasing in breadth and flooding the meadows, washed this ancient monument on both sides.³ Thus the communication was interrupted on the road from Bordeaux (Burdigala) to Poitiers (Limonum), through Blaye (Blavia) and Aulnay (Aunedonnacum). Hence it became necessary to build a

Frontinus, De Aquaeductibus, c. 15. A small building similarly placed, on a coin of Gordian, seems to be a reservoir, *castellum aquae*—a name which the French language has retained (*château d'eau*). Pl. xxv, Diagrams of Coins and Medals. Pl. xxvii, Amphitheatre with awning from a fresco at Pompeii. Pls. xxvii-xxxv, Amphitheatres at Capua, Verona and Pozzuoli.

Cohen, Médailles Impériales, tome I, Pl. XVI, no. 184 Grand Bronze, p. 362, gives the coin of Titus mentioned above; but his description is neither correct nor complete. He says that the Emperor holds a book; an olive-branch is in his hand. What other writers have called an aqueduct, M. Cohen supposes to be a portion of Nero's Golden House, *Domum a Palatio Esquilias usque fecit, quam ... "Auream" nominavit*, Suetonius, Nero c. 31. Cf. Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet. Vol. VI, p. 357 sq.,

¹ Childe Harold, Canto IV, stanza CXLI. The passage in which this line occurs was written with reference to the so-called Dying Gladiator in the Capitoline Museum at Rome. This figure represents a Celtic warrior, as is proved “by his moustache, the arrangement of his hair, the chain round his neck, &c.” (torquis, twisted gold collar): C. O. Müller, *Archäologie der Kunst*, § 157*, Remark 2, Eng. transl., p. 131; *Denkmäler*, Part I. Die Zeit der Makedonischen Dynastien. Taf. XLVIII, no. 217. Ein zum Tode verwundeter Gallier, welcher ur-

sprünglich der Darstellung einer Schlacht zwischen Griechen und Kelten angehörte, wie sie von Pyromachos und andern Künstlern zu Pergamon gearbeitet wurden: Emil Braun, *Ruins and Museums of Rome*, pp. 134-136. The words of Byron quoted above are therefore inapplicable to this statue, the origin of which may be traced to the victories of Attalus I and Eumenes II over the Gauls. So it stands connected with discoveries at Pergamon which have attracted so much attention recently: cf. *Ann. Perry's Greek and Roman Sculpture*, pp. 558-560, fig. 235, The Dying Gaul in the Capitol at Rome; fig. 236, The Gaul killing his wife: also pp. 537-542, The Attalic Statues, and esp. p. 540, fig. 223.

² It must be borne in mind that Saintes (*Mediolanum Santonum*) is on the left bank of the Charente.

³ For an example of the change in a water-course affecting an ancient monument comp. Dr. Bruce, *Roman Wall, Bridge at Cilurnum (Chesters)*, pp. 144-149. He speaks of the abutment and piers as “the most remarkable remains on the Wall, which time and violence have left us...The North Tyne forsaking for some distance its ancient bed had left this abutment (viz., on the East side) dry, completely submerging the corresponding work on the opposite side:” see full page engraving at p. 144, and Plan of the Remains of the Roman Bridge, p. 145.

new bridge extending to the right bank, where the faubourg now is. During the Middle Ages the arch was fortified as a *tête de pont*, and adorned with crenelated embrasures.¹ It appears very conspicuously, nearer to the right than the left bank, in Braun's engraving, and in a photograph from an old print which I exhibit: its foundations rest, not on the bridge, but on the bed of the river. François Blondel, the celebrated architect of the Porte Saint-Denis at Paris, made some reparations in the year 1665, under the ministry of Colbert, and at the expense of Louis de Bassompierre, Bishop of Saintes.² As the bridge interfered with the course of the water, it was taken down, and the arch was removed in 1843, and rebuilt on the river side, near the spot where the statue of Bernard Palissy has been erected. This alteration cost 79,788 francs 66 centimes.³

The mediæval bridge to which I have referred was the work of Isambert, who was also employed by King John (Jean Sans-Terre) to construct that of London, 18th April, 1202, so that here again we have a point of contact with English antiquities.⁴

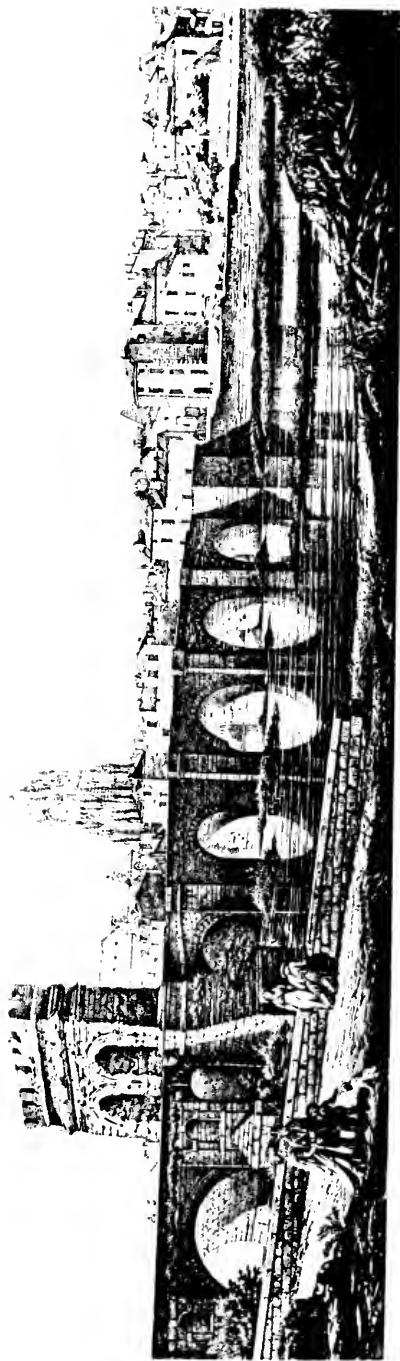
¹ Similarly, at Cahors one of the bridges over the Lot is surmounted by three gate-towers to defend the approach to the town: Murray's Handbook for France, Part I, p. 282, ed. 1882. Judging from a photograph the effect of these towers, placed at intervals, is very singular.

² Caylus, Recueil d'Antiquités, tome VII (Supplement published posthumously), pp. 297-302, Planches LXXXV, LXXXVI, "l'une fait voir l'Arc après sa restauration, l'autre le présente tel que Blondel l'a trouvé." At p. 299 sq. there is a long extract from Blondel, giving a detailed account of the proportions of the Arch; he also notices the addition made on its summit. "Ce qui est sur l'attique est un ouvrage des Modernes, qui dans les guerres s'en sont servis pour la défense du passage de la rivière de Charente, au milieu de laquelle cet Arc est planté." See Blondel's Cours d'architecture, chap. XV, liv. I, quoted by De Crazannes, Op. citat. p. 91; Bourignon, Les Antiquités de Saintonge, pp. 73, 76-78. De la Sauvagnère expresses a different opinion, Recueil d'Antiquités dans les Gaules, p. 61 sq.

³ The present stone bridge consists of three arches; it was erected immediately

after the demolition, in 1880, of a suspension bridge which showed signs of insecurity; the latter appears in the Plate "Pont de Saintes" facing p. 17, Histoire Monumentale de la Charente Inférieure, &c., published 1848.

⁴ For Isambert's bridge at Saintes see Viollet-le-Duc, Dictionnaire raisonné de l'Architecture, Plate, vol. VII, p. 232, s.v. Pont. The statement in the text concerning London Bridge is not strictly correct; Isambert was recommended as an architect by the king, but there is no proof that his advice was followed. The Letter Missive to the Mayor and Citizens begins thus:—Considering how the Lord in a short time hath wrought in regard to the Bridges of Xaintes and Rochelle by the great care and pains of our faithful, learned and worthy Clerk, Isenbert (sic), Master of the Schools of Xaintes: We, therefore, by the advice of our Reverend Father in Christ, Hubert (Walter) Archbishop of Canterbury, and that of others, have desired, directed and enjoined him to use his best endeavours in building your Bridge for your benefit and that of the public: Chronicles of London Bridge by an Antiquary (the late Mr. Richard Thomson of the London Institution), pp. 70-73. In the Library of the Corporation



BRIDGE AND ROMAN ARCH AT SAINTES, 1806.

The Phototype Co., 303, Strand, London.

In its original position the Arc-de-Triomphe, so called, had one façade turned towards the city and the other towards the suburb. The following are the chief measurements:—breadth 45 feet; depth 10 feet; height from base of pilasters to attic, 38 feet; the former rest on a stylobate 21 feet high. The top of the monument is now protected against rain by a sheet of zinc. As the building appears in the frontispiece of Chaudruc de Crazannes, the proportions strike the observer as very incorrect; the arches are too broad, and the columns too low; but these faults are remedied by the stereobate or continuous pedestal, which gives sufficient elevation.¹

It should be observed that there were two semi-circular archways here, for ingress and egress, as in the Porte Gallo-Romaine at Langres, and the Portes Saint André and d'Arroux at Autun still existing, and also at Merida (Emerita), as shown by coins.²

We should notice the great number of pilasters, as a striking characteristic of Roman architecture. I have already directed attention to this feature in the Gates at Langres, and in the frequent imitation of it by the builders of the Cathedral there.³ Of these ornaments there are twenty-four on the first story, two at right angles to each other being placed at the corners of the three piers that support the arches and entablature. In the second story it seems that there were eight pilasters,

at the Guildhall a magnificent copy of this work may be consulted; it is "inlaid, illustrated and enlarged."

Sir Symonds D'Ewes' extracts from the Records, Harleian, MSS., no 86, p. 1 a: the title of this volume of MSS. in the British Museum is *Collectanea ex Rotulis in Archivis Turris Londoniensis Temp. Joh. et Hen. III.* No. 86 is copied from the original document in Latin, most probably preserved at the Record Office.

Notes and Queries, 2nd series, vol. IX, p. 119 sq. (Feb. 18, 1860). The article signed Wm. Sidney Gibson corrects a mistake made in P. Cunningham's Handbook of London Past and Present, p. 297, where it is stated that Isambard built the first London bridge. Many interesting details are also mentioned.

¹ However, we must admit that the Arch at Saintes will not sustain a comparison with some other monuments of the same kind. It is "a heavy pile of masonry," deficient in the symmetry and

elegance that we admire at Autun: see my Paper on the Antiquities of that place, *Archæol. Journ.* vol. XL, p. 31, and woodcut of the Porte d'Arroux.

² *Archæol. Journ.*, loc. citat., note 4. The gate at Merida has, I presume, been demolished, as it does not appear in the engravings of ancient buildings which surround the Plano Topografico y Pintoresco de la Ciudad de Merida con todos los Monumentos mas notables de la Antigüedad, Levantado y litografiado por D. José Lopez Alegria, A iniciativa de D. Rafael Palido, 1878; but a plate of the coin referred to above is given. Laborde, *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne*, includes Merida in his Description de l'Estremadure, tome II, pp. 109-115, pls. CXLV-CLXV; there is no detailed account of Roman walls and gates.

³ My paper on Langres and Besançon, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. XLIII p. 91, seq., and note I on the latter page.

two at each of the four corners of the monument; but the photograph does not show them as clearly as in the former case.

The edifice is built with stones of the country, three, four or five feet in length, two or three in height; they are quadrangular, and arranged in regular horizontal courses. It is best seen from the Rue Arc de Triomphe, leading directly to Notre Dame (Sainte Marie), because on the side next to the river it is obscured by the foliage of other trees and of poplars, which, as every traveller knows, are inevitable in France. But this interference with the view is not the only injury done to the Roman giant, who in old times stood out so prominently, bestriding the bridge over the Charente. If the stones had been carefully numbered, and replaced in position, the structure need not have suffered much more than our Marble Arch, which has been transported safely for a longer distance, viz., from Buckingham Palace to Oxford Street. Unfortunately, in some cases the masons at Saintes substituted new work for old; thus the inscriptions have been mutilated, and the ox-heads have disappeared, which (see De Crazanne's engraving) decorated both façades—three on each, between the pilasters and in a line with their capitals, sculptured as in the metopes of a Doric frieze.¹ He compares two examples of the same

¹ De Crazannes, *Antiquités de Saintes*, Frontispiece: under the Arch two coins of the Santones are engraved. The statement quoted from him in the text may, perhaps, mislead. We must remember that the Bucranium is not found in the Greek Doric, properly speaking, as it is seen at Athens, at Paestum, and in Sicily; but only in later examples. Sir W. Chambers, *On Civil Architecture*, edit. Gwilt, vol. 1, p. 194, in his chapter, Of the Doric order, describes this ornament: "The metope is square, and enriched with a bull's skull, adorned with garlands of beads, in imitation of those on the Temple of Jupiter Tonans, at the foot of the Capitol:" see plate facing p. 185. The remains of this building are usually called the Temple of Vespasian by recent archaeologists.

I have noticed a curious coincidence with the ox-head on the Arch at Saintes; the same device appears on a copper coin of the Santones in my possession: Rollin et Feuardent, *Catalogue de Médailles de*

la Gaule, p. 12, Chefs Santons—CONTOVTOS. Tête jeune, nue, à dr. R. Loup à droite, adossé à un arbre; dessous bucrane. Cf. Hucher, *L'Art Gaulois, ou Les Gaulois d'après leurs Médailles*, Pt. I, Pl. 20, fig. 1 CONOVTOS. *Ibid*, Table du Texte, Loup, symbole sur les monnaies d'argent de l'Aquitaine, p. 26, Loup bramant, pl. 60, No. 2. For *Bucrane* v. *ibid* Index des legendes, &c., s.v. Instead of CONTOVTOS we sometimes meet with CONOVTOS. The *bucranium* here, though on a very small scale, is better executed than in the didrachms of Alexander the Great, said to have been struck at Amphipolis: see *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum*, Macedonia; cf. *ibid*. Italy, Bruttii, p. 324, No. 49, where the right horn is bent downwards. Mionnet, tome 9, Table des Matières, s.v.; Athens, II, 134; Luceria Apulie I, 133.

The name of the first letter in the Hebrew alphabet, *aleph*, is said to mean an ox, and the character is somewhat

ornament at Nîmes, one on a gate of the Corinthian order,¹ and the other at the entrance to the Amphitheatre. Some suppose that the *bucrania* commemorate a sacrifice of bulls at the dedication of the monument, which agrees with the title in the frieze SACERDOS ROMAË ET AVGVSTIAD ARAM QVAE EST AD CONFLVENTEM.² When these victims were offered to Cybele, the rite was called *taurobolium*,—a word which only occurs in Epigraphy.³

It remains to discuss the inscriptions on the Arch; we shall soon see that they present many points of interest. In transcribing them I follow Bouvignon's *Recherches Topographiques, Historiques, Militaires et Critiques sur les Antiquités de la province de Saintonge*, because his copy seems to be most carefully made, and his book was published in the year IX of the first French

like this animal's head; in the corresponding Phœnician letter the resemblance is still closer: Key, On the Alphabet, p. 19, and Plate I, p. 30. Hence this emblem seems to have been adopted to represent learning; and we may, perhaps, thus account for the fact that the Palace of the University at Padua is called *il Bo (the Bull)*: Murray's Handbook for Northern Italy.

¹ De Crazannes, Op. citat., p. 94. We find the bucranium in the entablature over the three columns of the temple of Vespasian at Rome which are so well known by reproductions in miniature; at Tivoli, where it is inserted between festoons of flowers; also in fragments of the temple of Vesta at Rome, recently brought to light: Professor Middleton, *Archæologia*, 1886, vol. XLIX, p. 396, figures on p. 397. In these three cases the order is Corinthian.

² This explanation is confirmed by the position which the ox-head occupies in the frieze of the temples of Vespasian and Vesta; it is placed amongst sacrificial implements—knife (probably *secespita*), hammer, *patera*, flamen's cap, vase (*præfericulum*) and branch for sprinkling holy water. Comp. Theophrastus, *Characteres*, cap. XVIII, *Περὶ Μικροφλοσιμίας*. He says that the vain man when he has sacrificed a bull, binds large fillets round the fore part of his head, and nails it up in front on the wall, so that those who enter may see that he has sacrificed a bull. (τὸ προμετωπίδιον ἀπαντικὸν τῆς εἰσόδου προσπαταλέουσαι, στέμμασι μεγάλοις περιδήσας). See the note in Sheppard's

edition, p. 175; *προμετωπίδιον* is interpreted by some as *pellis bovis frontis*, by others as *tota frons cum cornibus*.

I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Watkins Lloyd for some remarks on this subject.

³ De Vit has a copious article on *taurobolium*; he gives another form *tauroopolium* from Gruter and Muratori, and the derivatives *taurobolicus*, *taurobolinus*, *taurobolior* and *taurobolus*. He compares *criobolium*, offering of a ram to Atys, a youth beloved by Cybele; and describes at length the manner in which the ceremony was performed. The word *taurobolium* is used specially with reference to Cybele, but it is also applied to the worship of other deities, as we learn from inscriptions. M. Audiat, *Épigraphie Santone et Aunisienne*, p. 25 sq., says "Je trouve au Musée plusieurs débris portant la tête de taureau entourée de bandelettes et accompagnée de la harpé (*ἄρπη*), restes certains d'un taurobole." He cites as an authority Venantius Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers, and adds an extract from Fontenelle, *Histoire des Oracles*, chapitre IV.

Adolphe Joanne's *Guide, Provence, Alpes Maritimes, Corse*, s.v. Tain, Département de la Drôme, p. 11, edit. 1877. Sur la place de l'Hôtel-de-Ville, on remarque un autel antique en taurobole (mon. hist.), élevé en l'an 184, sous le règne de l'empereur Commode, en l'honneur de Cybèle. . . Sur la face principale est sculptée une tête de taureau; sur celle de dr., une tête de bœuf; sur celle de g., le couteau du victime.

Republic, consequently long before the removal mentioned above.¹

Inscriptions of the attic, on the side next to the town :

1

GERMANICŪ RĪ TĪ AVGV F'
DIV' AVGVST' NEP' D..... PRONEP'AVGVRI'
FLAM' AVGVST' COS' II' I. P. II.

2

CAE . . . DI. G' F' V²
PONTIF' MAXS' COS' IIII' IMP. VIII. TRB. P

3

. AESARI
AVG' NEP. DIV' IVLI'
PONTIFICI' AVGVRI' ³

Inscription of the frieze, on the side next to the town :

First line C' I. LIVS' C' IVLI' O. TVANEVNĪ. F. RVFVS' C'

I IS' NEPOS EPO VIDI' PRO.

Second line SACERDOS' ROMAE' ET AVGVSTI' AD. A

D'. E. TEM. PRA. F . . . V. FABRV. .'

Inscription of the frieze, on the side next to the suburb :

First line C' IVLI' C' IVLI' O. TVANEVNĪ' F' RV . . S' C' IVLI'
GED. DMON . . NEPOS' EPOTSORVIDI' PRON.

Second line C GVSTI . . . AM' Q . . E'EST'
AD. CONFL. ENT . . PRAEFECTVS' F . RV. ' D.

EXPANSIONS.

(Attic).

1.

Germanico Caesari, Tiberii Augusti filio,
Divi Augusti nepoti, Divi Juli pronepoti, ⁴
Anguri, Flamini Augusti, Consuli secundum,
Imperatori secundum.

¹ Bourignon, whose book is of quarto size, prints the Inscriptions on a larger sheet, with quotations from Gruter at the back to support his explanations.

² Following M. Audiat, *Op. cit.*, p. 13, in this line I have substituted G for C, on account of the name AVGVSTI.

³ I have placed Nos. 1, 2, 3 vertically, owing to the limited space in an octavo page; the originals are arranged horizontally.

De Crazannes, p. 94, says "Ces inscriptions (i.e. both on the attic and on the frieze) sont également gravées sur les deux faces du monument, du côté de la ville et du faubourg."

M. Audiat, p. 12, has copied the Inscriptions as they now appear after the reconstruction of the Arch. No. 1 is tolerably well preserved; of No. 2 PONTIF' MA, and of No. 3 LI..VRI are all the letters that remain. *Ibid.* p. 14. On comprend qu'avec le peu de caractères qui subsistent, il est difficile de hasarder une autre interprétation que l'interprétation donnée par les écrivains antérieurs.

⁴ The degree of relationship is sometimes traced even further back, for we find in the pedigrees of Roman emperors, inscribed on public buildings, *abnepos* (son of great-grandson), and *adnepos*

2.

Tiberio Caesari, Divi Augusti filio,
 Augusto, Pontifici Maxsumo,¹
 Consuli quartum, Imperatori octavum,
 Tribunitiâ potestate

3.

Druso Caesari, Tiberii Augusti
 Filio, Divi Augusti nepoti,
 Divi Juli pronepoti,
 Pontifici, Auguri.

(Frieze.)

Caius Julius, Caii Juli Ottuaneuni filius, Rufus ; C. Juli Gededmonis nepos, Epotsorovidî pronepos, sacerdos Romae et Augusti ad aram quae est ad confluentem, Praefectus fabrûm dedicavit.

TRANSLATIONS.

1.

To Germanicus Caesar,² son of Tiberius Augustus, grandson of the divine Augustus, great grandson of the divine Julius, Augur, Flamen of Augustus, Consul for the second time, Emperor for the second time.

2.

To Tiberius Caesar, son of the divine Augustus,

(grandson of great-grandson), v. Rossini, Archi Trionfali, entablature of Arco di Marco Aurelio.

Cf. Orelli, *Collectio Inscriptionum Latinarum*, C. II, *Monumenta Historica*, Nos. 857, 873 and 887 ; Marcus Aurelius is called the *abnepos*, and Commodus the *adnepos*, of Nerva. *Atnepos* is only another form of the latter term, and corresponds with *atarus* in the ascending scale : Dictionary of Antiquities, s.v. Cognati, genealogical table, p. 310.

¹ *Maxumus*, the archaism for *maximus*, is common enough ; but *maxumus* is unusual. Professor Key, *On the Alphabet*, p. 108, explains as follows. Before the employment by the Greeks of the character Ξ they represented its sound by XZ , and the Romans copied this practice ; hence we find in inscriptions *MAXSVMVS*, *PROXSVMVS*, &c. ; in coins *ANSIVS* for *AXIVS* ; and in the Medicean MS. of Virgil *EXSESA* *Aeneid VIII*, 418), *EXSVIT* (*ibid* 567). Cf. Cohen, *Médailles Consulaires*, No. 22 *Axia*, p. 55 sq., *Legend of Reverse*,

L. AXSIVS L. F., “d’après l’ancienne orthographe” ; Pl. VII, figs. 1 and 2, Pl. XLIX, figs. 1-4 : Roschach, *Musée de Toulouse*, *Catalogue des Antiquités et des Objets d’Art*, p. 50, No. 115, *VXSORIS*. “ Dans quelques inscriptions de Pompéi, on trouve également *saxo* pour *saro*.” Sacaze, *Epigraphie de Luchon*, p. 33, *Inscription found at St. Bertrand de Comminges*, “ *Bonsilevsi, Sembecson[is]urori*.”

² We regard this Arch at Saintes with additional interest, because it bears the name of the excellent Prince, whom the Romans idolized and compared with Alexander the Great. In a wicked age that suffered under the tyrant Tiberius, the virtuous character of Germanicus seems “like some bright angel o’er the darkling scene.” Tacitus, *Annals*, II, 73, *Et erant qui forman, aetatem, genus mortis . . . magni Alexandri fatis adaequarent . . . Sed hunc mitem erga amicos, modicum voluptatum, uno matrimonio certis liberis egisse.*

Augustus, Chief Pontiff, Consul for the fourth time, Imperator for the eighth time, holding Tribunitian power.

.

3.

To Drusus Caesar, son of Tiberius Augustus, grandson of the divine Augustus, great grandson of the divine Julius, Pontiff, Augur.

Caius Julius Rufus, son of Caius Julius Ottuaneunus, grandson of Caius Julius Gededmon, great grandson of Epotsorovidus, priest of Rome and Augustus at the altar which is near the confluence, as General of Engineers, has dedicated this monument.

In the third Inscription we may observe that the relationships by consanguinity and by adoption are expressed alike.¹ Drusus was son of Tiberius for the former reason, and grandson of Augustus for the latter. The frequency of adoption under the Empire is testified by Epigraphy as well as History; and the readers of Tacitus know it from the common occurrence of the termination *amus*, as in Octavianus, Seianus, Trajanus, added to the *nomen gentile*. Hence we account for the numerous allusions to this practice in the New Testament, where it is called *υιοθεσία*.² I will only remark in passing, that the inscribed monuments by this undesigned coincidence supply an argument to corroborate the sacred text.

The names of four generations appear on the frieze. Those of the dedicator are altogether Roman; his father and grandfather have a Roman nomen and prænomen, to which a Gallic cognomen is appended, but his great-grandfather is mentioned as a Gaul without any admixture of a foreign element. This gradual change marks the progress which the civilization of the conquering race

¹ So Tiberius calls Augustus his father, and Livia and himself parents of Germanicus; in both cases he refers to adoption, Tacitus, Annals, III, 12, *Patris sui legatum atque amicum Pisonem fuisse*. Ibid. *Vos vero et liberos Germanici et nos parentes justis solatiis adfice*.

² Romans, VIII, 15, *Ὅτι γὰρ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα δουλείας πάλιν εἰς φόβον, ἀλλὰ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα υἰοθεσίας (sonship), ἐν ᾧ,*

κράζομεν Ἄββᾶ ὁ πατήρ. Ibid. v. 23 (Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, vol. II, p. 218, 8vo. edition, note 3), and IX, 4. Galatians, IV, 5. Ephesians, 1, 5, *Ἐν ἀγάπῃ προορίσας ἡμᾶς εἰς υἰοθεσίαν*, which Koppe says is equivalent to *προορίσας εἰσποιήσασθαι ἡμᾶς τέκνα αὐτοῦ*. *Εἰσποιήσασθαι*, Middle voice, to make one's own, in Classical Greek is used for adopting a son.

was making amidst their semi-barbarous subjects. *Caius Julius* seem to be a tribute of respect to the greatest of the Romans, just as in our time children are often christened by the name of some distinguished statesman or other celebrity. I have searched the copious lists in Gruter's Collection, Hübner's British Inscriptions and Zeuss' Grammar, but have not found a close parallel to these Celtic appellations, Ottuaneumus, Gededmon and Epotsorovidus.¹ M. Audiat, in his *Epigraphie Santone et Aunisienne*, p. 15, mentions a fragment of a stone found in building the walls of the hospital at Saintes which contained ONNETODVBNI, somewhat like the first name; it may remind us of DVBNOREX on coins for Dumnorix,² and Cogidumnus in Tacitus, Agricola, cap.

¹ Some English scholars have supposed that there is a Basque element in these names, but the French antiquaries whom I consulted agree in thinking them to be Celtic. The Abbé F. Harispe, who resides at Larressore, near Bayonne, and speaks the former language, says in reply to my enquiries, "J'ai le regret de vous dire qu' il n' ya aucun mot dans la langue basque qui se rapproche même de loin des mots que vous me citez." This gentleman's name is almost identical with one that occurs in an inscription at Ardèche, "rive droite de la Garonne, au bord de la voie de Toulouse à Dax" (not to be confounded with the Department Ariège),

NNI· DANNONIA
HARSPI· FILIA
V· S· L· M

Roschach, op. citat., p. 43 sq.

We are, of course, more likely to find words derived from this source in Roman monuments farther South, in the Pyrenees and their neighbourhood: Sacaze, *ibid.*, chapitre premier, Le Dieu Ilixon, esp. p. 23. IL, dans certains dialectes de cette langue, signifie *ville*. Comp. my Paper on Antiquities in the South West of France, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. XXXVI, pp. 4, 8-10; ILVRO now Oloron, and RITSEH now Erretçu, occur in inscriptions.

The nearest name that I know to Gededmon is Caedmon, "father of English song," who, according to Venerable Bede, was divinely inspired to write poems on religious subjects; *Historie Ecclesiasticæ Gentis Anglorum*, lib. IV, cap. XXIV, Caedmonis donum canendi, Somnio revelatum, Omnibus probatum, in *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, pp.

237-239. Professor Rhys, in a letter to me, compares with the declension of Gededmo, gededmonis, the Gaulish name Segomon gen. Segomonis.

Epotsorovidus in the first two syllables resembles Eporedorix, mentioned by Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.*, lib. VII, cc. 39, 40, 54, 55, 63, 67, 76 (war with Vercingetorix), but not included in Glück's work, entitled *Die bei Caius Julius Cæsar vorkommenden Keltischen Namen*. *Epo* seems to mean horse; comp. Greek ἵππος, Latin equus, ecus (with the common interchange of the sounds P and K); so Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, lib. III, c. 17, s. 21, § 123, ed. Sillig, says Eporedias Galli bonos equorum domitores vocant; we have also Eporedia, urbs in Salassis ad Duriam fluvium, now Ivrea in Piedmont. *Vidus* may contain the root of Greek, ἴδew οἶδα, Lat. *video*, Eng. *wit*, *wot*, Germ. *wissen*. Then Epotsorovidus would have nearly the same signification as the Homeric epithets of heroes, ἵππδαμος, tamer of horses, and ἵππδτης. Such an explanation is supported by the frequent recurrence of this animal upon Gallic coins. However, I only propose this interpretation as a conjecture, because I cannot account for the middle syllables *tsoro*.

² What remains of the inscription is thus given by M. Audiat,

ONNETODVBNI
AEFFECTO· FABRVM· TRIB
AD· CONFLVENTEM· C·

Bulletin Monumental, X, 540.

Glück, op. citat., p. 63, note I, reads the first line CONNETODVBNI; he also proposes CONNETO DVENI (filio). It will be observed that the title of the dedicator of the Arch at Saintes, *Prefectus*

xiv., and probably in the inscription discovered at Chichester now at Goodwood, which has been the subject of much discussion.¹

To be continued.)

fubriem, and the phrase *Ad Confluentem* are repeated here.

In Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* VII, 3 (account of the massacre of Roman citizens at Genabum, Orleans), the common reading is *Conetodumnus*, and edit. Oudendorp shows the *variae lectiones*; Glück, following a Paris MS., prefers *Conconnetodumnus*, compounded of *con-connet*, *consentiens concors* (cf. Greek *κοννῆω-γγινώσκω*), and *dumnus-dubnus*, used like Greek *βαθῆς* with intensive meaning, e.g. *βαθύκληρος*, immensely rich, *βαθυκτέανος*, with great possessions; so that the whole word signifies *valde concors*. Glück discusses *Conconnetodumnus* very fully, with many references and examples from other languages, pp. 63-83. *Dubnus*, which is here a termination, often appears at the beginning of a name, e.g. *DVBNOTALI · F* (ilio), in the inscription at Epinal: my *Paper on Langres and Besançon*, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. XLIII, p. 110 sq. See Evans, *Ancient British Coins*, *Togodumnus*, son of *Cunobeline*, died A.D. 43, pp. 286, 294; *Dubnovellamus*, pp. 198-206; Pl. IV, Nos. 6-12; *DVMNO CO VEROS* legend, p. 408, Pl. XVII, No. 1; *DVMNOVEROS* legend, p. 409, Pl. XVII, No. 2; *DVMN* legend, p. 410, Pl. XVII, No. 3.

¹ L.c., *Quædam civitates Cogidumno regi donatæ* (is ad nostram usque memoriam (fidissimus mansit); see the notes, critical and explanatory, in Orelli's edition.

Hübner, *Inscriptiones Britanniae Latinae*, p. 18 sq., Index III, *Cognomina virorum et mulierum*, *[CO]GIDVBNVS]11]; the marks indicate *lectionis interpretationisve incertæ*. Perhaps we ought to read *Togidubnus*, as the initial letters are supplied by conjecture. This monument has excited interest, because it is supposed that we have here the name of *Pudens* (Πουδης), which occurs in the salutations at the end of St. Paul's 2nd Epistle to Timothy, IV, 21: *Alford's Greek Testament*, vol. III, *Prolegomena*, chap. IX, § II, *Excursus on Pudens and Claudia*, pp. 104]-106] Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, give the substance of *Archdeacon Williams' pamphlet* in vol. II, p. 594 sq., note 3, 8vo. edition. Great learning and ingenuity have been expended on this hypothesis, but the fabric rests on a foundation by no means solid. The late Dr. Samuel Birch, soon after he had seen and studied the inscription, remarked to me that it contains neither *Claudia* nor *Pudens*.

CHURCH NOTES, CHIEFLY IN BERKS, WILTS, AND
OXFORD, WITH A FEW IN SOMERSET AND
GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

(Continued from p. 50.)

CAVERSHAM.—The tower is a modern erection of brick and timber. The south door, of the nave is excellent Norman, enriched and well executed, but the arch is rather less than a semicircle. The south wall is probably Norman with Perpendicular additions. The arches into the north aisle are also segmental upon cylindrical piers, apparently in the transition style towards early English. The chancel appears to have been Norman. The south window is original. The south door modern. The east window contains Perpendicular tracery in a Decorated frame. There is an early chapel appended to the north aisle in the Perpendicular style, somewhat earlier than the aisle, with a good roof and 2 four-centred arches opening into the chancel.

WEST CHALLOW, BERKS.—This church is composed of a nave and chancel. The nave has a good Decorated bell-gable with two cells and a corbel head above and between them. The west window is a beautiful loop, cinquefoiled. North door late Norman. South door Perpendicular. Chancel has an early English piscina with a double bowl and credence and there are two rude brackets for images on each side of the altar. North porch is Perpendicular, timber upon stone with a good gable front. Font, a plain Norman cylinder with a worked edge.

EAST CHALLOW, BERKS.—Nave carries a good bell-gable with two carved cells, probably early English. West end has a singular late Norman door, now elliptic and probably always slightly flattened; on the south side a trefoiled loop, and above a Perpendicular window. In the north wall is one trefoiled loop, and a Perpendicular later window. Three excellent early English arches open into the south aisle from the nave, and one good Decorated arch from the chancel. The south aisle is late Decorated with a Norman door. Chancel has some good Decorated parts, the aisle late Perpendicular, carrying a small belfry. East and west windows good, and a plain north door. Also an east door now blocked up, and a square headed loop, all Perpendicular. Font, a plain Norman cylinder. On the gable two crosses in circles, much injured.

CHARNEY BASSET, BERKS.—Nave, of south windows one early Decorated, and one Perpendicular, both nave and aisle have a common Perpendicular battlement. The roof good, and two Perpendicular arches open into the aisle. South door peculiar but excellent Norman, by way of drip a broad flat band of heads "jessant fleur de lys," between two rows

of cable mouldings. Chancel chiefly Perpendicular. East window of date of north aisle. South window seems Decorated. A Norman north door now closed, with solid tympanum, carved with a central figure crossed and seated between two hippocribs; above is a flowered band and below a bead moulding. South porch modern. Font, cylindrical bowl on an octagonal stem and base. North of the church is part of an old house, apparently Decorated, with some good parts remaining.

CHECKENDON, OXON.—Large church with a late tower, nave Perpendicular, with original roof and a plain but good Norman arch, opening into chancel. Chancel spacious, Norman, and its eastern end opens by a somewhat flattened Norman arch into a semicircular apse. The east window, originally Norman, has been enlarged. North window has an early English or early Decorated case with Perpendicular tracery. South window Decorated of two lights, but crossed near its base by a transom, forming in fact a "low window." South porch Perpendicular. Here are some good crosses and some stained glass.

CHILDREY, BERKS.—Tower and south porch Perpendicular. South door of nave round headed and plain, with toothed ornament in the drip. North door pointed Norman. In south wall a very singular arch not much larger than an ordinary piscina and rising from a bracket. A stair leads from the transept up to this arch, which resembles in fact a small pulpit, probably intended for the display of a relic. South transept Decorated with large Perpendicular additions by the Fettiplaces, who buried here. On south side a good Decorated piscina with a square head. North transept Decorated with Perpendicular north window. A Decorated piscina cinquefoiled, with a credence. A good Decorated arch into nave and a rood staircase whence a hagioscope opens towards the chancel. At east end a good Decorated recess with ball-flower mouldings, crockets and finial. Beneath is an excellent figure in mail, cross legged, and older than the recess. Chancel early Decorated, but much altered. Three early English sedilia, level. South-east window original and lower than the rest. On north side near the altar is a singular recess or sepulchre with a trough, resembling a lavatory, but without a vent hole. A hagioscope into each transept. Font very curious, of lead, cylindrical, embossed with two figures of bishops, with low mitres and crooks in the right hand, the bowl rests upon a stone cylindrical stem, quite plain. Here are several brasses and glazed tiles and some stained glass.

CHILTON, BERKS.—A small church, not in good repair. Tower, nave, south aisle, chancel. Tower, wooden belfry upon stone gable, probably Perpendicular nave. Two arches into south aisle are pointed Norman, with a pier of early English aspect. North door Norman. North window late Perpendicular. At north-east angle two square-set corner buttresses, ending at level of window cills, probably early English. South aisle a round-headed door, probably Norman, a flat-topped Decorated window. Chancel has one Decorated and one Perpendicular window. Font plain rude octagon, probably Decorated.

CHIPPENHAM, WILTS.—A large and rather curious church, well kept, but sadly mutilated. Tower late Perpendicular, with pretty good octagonal spire. Half way up the spire is a small canopied window, in each face, and the canopies are so connected as to form a handsome band. There is a bead at each angle. West door rude but decided early English, set in a Perpendicular drip. Over west front various coats of

arms of Hungerford. Nave altogether modern and very bad. Arch into chancel excellent late Norman, with a very peculiar scallop moulding. A very long south hagioscope. East end of chancel early Decorated, on north side some Norman work and a Decorated window. South side chiefly Perpendicular. North transept small with trace of a rood stair. South aisle Perpendicular, but swallowed up by a porch and a chapel. Chapel excellent late Perpendicular, with the arms and cognizances of the Hungerfords freely distributed. Porch also late but good Perpendicular. In the chancel over a north door is a curious band of Perpendicular carving. Font, good Perpendicular.

CHOLSEY, BERKS.—A cross church. Tower, nave, transepts, and chancel. Tower central, lower storey Norman, open below, standing on four good plain arches, one each way. The upper storey, together with a stair turret capping south east angle, are Decorated additions, in a dangerous state and tied with iron bands.

Nave Norman, of unusual length, without aisles. A good original south door and south window, the west window is Perpendicular. Transepts both Norman. The north has a good Norman arch on east side, now blocked up, and pierced by a Decorated door; there probably was a chapel on this side. Also a Norman west window, and a mutilated Decorated north window. Of the south transept the south and east sides have been rebuilt with Perpendicular additions. On the floor is a good female effigy in stone, much injured.

The chancel, probably one of the finest parochial chancels in the kingdom, is a tolerably perfect specimen of the later early English style. The east window, especially, contains early English jambs and shafts, with the geometrical tracery of the early Decorated period. Upon the roof are the arms of Reading Abbey, but the old timber work is concealed by a modern coved ceiling. The original wooden stalls remain, and below the transepts and the tower is some good screen work.

CHRISTIAN MALFORD, WILTS.—Tower modern. Nave opens into south aisle by four Decorated arches. North door late Perpendicular, with an exterior niche above it. Chancel, north windows Perpendicular, but rest on a Decorated string. East window modern, south window early English, or early Decorated, with early English shafts flanking its recess. South door Perpendicular, as is an arch into the south aisle. Two early English or early Decorated sedilia, level; the screen good Perpendicular, and a Decorated arch into the nave. South aisle chiefly early Decorated, with excellent windows and a piscina with a quatrefoil bowl, credence and canopy. The door is original, septifoiled, and the central foil an ogee; also a niche for a figure, and some good Perpendicular screen work.

South porch Perpendicular with good wooden roof, north porch in the same style, with buttresses on each side of the door, it is now a vestry. Font peculiar. Bowl large and conoidal upon a square base, on the upper margin a band of hatched moulding, and round the foot a range of Norman arches, with plain columns and imposts, and a bead moulding. The arcade rests upon a band of fluted work. The general effect is good.

CLEWER, BERKS.—Tower, early English, possibly upon a Norman base. Nave Norman. North aisle late early English, with an early English arch at the east end, and a curious north doorway with a niche above, both Norman, the door, now fastened up, seems original.

South aisle chiefly Decorated, with a Norman arch into a chapel at east end. South door Decorated. South porch old. Chancel Perpendicular, the south chapel opens into the aisle and chancel, is of Decorated date, and in its south arch is a recess for a tomb, with a canopy.

CLIFTON HAMPDEN, OXON.—A small but ancient church chiefly remarkable for the beauty of its position upon a low cliff of iron sand, overhanging the Thames, here traversed by a ferry. The nave seems early Decorated as in the north aisle. The south aisle is nearer to early English. The south transept is Decorated, and contains a curious flat topped window, probably in the same style, and at the east end a good Decorated loop. Chancel seems late early English, with Perpendicular and modern insertions. South porch modern.

COLESHILL, BERKS.—A fine church and in excellent order. Tower late Perpendicular, with an excellent west door with worked spandrills; the battlements are enriched with pinnacles, and there is a southern stair turret; the arches and piers between the nave and north aisle are plain but good early Decorated. On the south side the arch and piers are late Norman. The windows of the north aisle are debased Perpendicular, the walls seem Decorated, there is a piscina. The south aisle is small and filled up with pews, inside the south door on the east side is a stoop, the door is early Decorated trefoiled, with cusps. The chancel seems modern. The font is a double cone, in figure not unlike a dice box, but very old. The south porch is Perpendicular, and has an upper chamber. In the Bouverie or Pleydell aisle is a circular window, with a pedigree of the Radnor family in modern glass, and a view, also in glass of Coleshill House. The chancel is encumbered with the tombs of the Pleydells and Pratts, Lord Radnor's maternal ancestors.

GREAT COXWELL, BERKS.—The lower stage of the tower seems Decorated, the upper Perpendicular. On south side of nave is a good early Decorated window; there are traces of a Norman south door and of a rood stair. The north door seems late Norman, the wood and iron work of the nave are Perpendicular and good. In the chancel is a plain niche on each side of the altar, and a third, cinquefoiled, beneath it, also a piscina with a credence. The arch into the nave is early Decorated, the chancel windows of various dates, that to the east a triple lancet and excellent. Between nave and chancel is a bell gable, apparently Decorated, with one cell, probably for a sacring bell. North porch rude and late, but probably on an old site.

LITTLE COXWELL, BERKS.—A small chapel; nave, chancel, and south porch. Nave has a good late Norman south door with drip, with a square billet moulding. West window triple lancet, trefoiled, as is a smaller south window, there is a south Perpendicular window; the rest modern. North door closed; inside south door on east side, a stoop. Arch into chancel plain pointed Norman, chancel much mutilated, has a locker and piscina and a good screen, and is chiefly Perpendicular. Font, a plain octagon; between the nave and chancel a bell gable with two trefoiled cells, and a quatrefoil in the head: above is a cross. There is no west bell gable. The south porch is good Perpendicular, the details of this chapel deserve close attention.

COMPTON, BERKS.—Tower, nave, chancel, south porch. Tower Perpendicular, with a wall stair on north side, porch modern. This church was originally Norman, the south door of nave, the font, and parts of the

chancel are of this style, and a piece of complex Norman moulding is built into the north wall. The east end of the chancel, and part of the south wall of the nave are early English, the arches now closed, but formerly opening into a north aisle, may be Decorated. The south side of the chancel, a south window in the nave, and a piscina with water drain and stone shelf in the chancel are late Perpendicular, as is the tower, and a tomb in the chancel.

COMPTON BEAUCHAMP, BERKS.—Tower, nave, transept, chancel; tower small and perhaps Norman, but much altered. The nave has a pointed Norman arch from the tower, but the walls seem Decorated; traces of a rood stair on north side. Chancel Decorated, with good east window. A singular stone seat with arms at each end, takes the place of regular sedilia; there is a good octagonal font.

CORSHAM, WILTS.—Tower, nave, north and south aisles, south transepts, chancel, north and south chapels, south porch. The tower is central, resting on four piers, which with their arches seem early Decorated, but the enclosed space is vaulted with fan tracery, probably Perpendicular. The arch towards the chancel is peculiar, about halfway up the piers their mouldings are brought forward horizontally so as to form the lower stage of a screen, of which the upper part, probably wood, is destroyed. The tower once carried a spire, now removed. At present, a central turret rises just within the battlements. The nave is plain good Norman, piers cylindrical with fluted capitals, a later staircase is appended to its west end. The north aisle is much mutilated, it is of Decorated date, with an original west window. The north door is Norman with a bold well cut chevron moulding. The south aisle seems mostly Perpendicular, but has a Decorated west window. The south door is good and has an exterior bracket over its arch. The south transept is early Decorated, the arches into the south chapel and south aisle spring from excellent brackets, the south window is Perpendicular. The east chancel is Perpendicular with north and south windows, the latter a little the lowest. On the north side is some good stone panelling, partially concealed, the opposite wall is wholly boarded up. The east window is Perpendicular, with cinquefoiled lights, on each side of it is a good niche for a figure, with a fretted vaulting. These are chiselled flush with the wall and have apparently been plastered up. In the north wall is the vestry door, and a drop arch opening into the north chapel. On the south side are two arches with panelled soffites opening into the south chapel.

The walls of the north chapel appear Decorated, the window and an excellent carved roof are Perpendicular, the arch into the north aisle is early Decorated. There is a handsome piscina, the bowl, quatrefoiled, forms a bracket, the niche is septfoiled, flanked by two pinnacles, and crossed by a finial, on each side of the finial is a small plain niche, probably for relics. Between this chapel and the aisle is a very beautiful stone screen, of Perpendicular date, with a top overhanging both ways, richly fretted in fan tracery, and embattled above.

The north chapel is Perpendicular. The arch into the transept is early Decorated; the east end is occupied by a singular stone chamber, the upper part of which is continued in carved wood work, so as to form an elevated pew.

The south porch is Perpendicular, vaulted and groined in stone. The front is particularly good, and has niches on each side, above the door,

on the east side is a room added by the Hungerfords, who also added to the north aisle. These additions bear the insignia of the Hungerfords and Hallidays with the date 1634. The font has a large octagonal bowl, and is probably Decorated. There are two altar tombs, one a very large one, to the family of Hanham, in the north chapel. The Halliday motto, allusive to the arms, is one of the best examples of the kind. The arms are three helmets, the motto "quarta salutis," the helmet of salvation.

COWLEY, OXON.—Tower, nave, chancel, south porch. Tower small, Perpendicular, and rather dilapidated. A modern north door. There is a crack down north-west side.

Nave Norman, as are the north and south doors. Their cases resemble those at Hampstead Norris, but the south door has, in addition, a more decided exterior front, with shafts. The north windows are chiefly Norman, the south, flat-topped Decorated.

The chancel is Early English, with a triple lancet east window, and three buttresses at the east end, resembling Newnham Murren.

CROWMARSH GIFFARD, OXON.—Though small, is an old and curious edifice. The tower is a mere timber belfry, of modern date, erected on the roof. The west end of the nave has a Norman door, window, and two circular lights, also Norman. North and south walls are of same date, the original loops being either blocked up or enlarged into modern windows. The doors also are insertions. The chancel arch is plain Norman. On north side is a transept or small aisle, apparently Decorated, and probably over a vault. The foundations of the chancel seem Norman, but the windows are insertions, early English Decorated, and modern. Of these the east window is in good taste, so are those to the south. There is a singular Norman piscina with a fluted bracket. The south porch is perforated with bullet holes, and two round shots seem to have passed through the west door. No doubt this happened when Charles' forces held Wallingford. Various substantial repairs have been carried on by the patron, and the building is kept in good order by Mr. Langford, the resident minister.

CULHAM, OXON.—Nave probably Perpendicular. South aisle has early Decorated windows to south and west; the tracery of the latter has been removed. The south transept is early Decorated, as is probably the north transept, of which the east and west windows are looped in pairs. The north window is late roundheaded, and full of the arms and matches of the Carey family. The arch into the nave is plain and good. The south porch is dated 1638, with the initial of the churchwardens, and, both in design and execution, well shews what may happen when those officers act as architects.

CUXHAM, OXON.—Tower has a Norman west door, but all else seems to have been lately rebuilt, though its general aspect is early English. Nave is Perpendicular. Chancel, though much mutilated, seems in the same style. Near the church is a stone effigy dug up in the churchyard. The nave is constructed of chalk marl, which has stood well.

DENCHWORTH, BERKS.—Tower, nave, transepts, chancel, south porch. The tower stands at north-west angle of the nave; it appears to be Decorated with a Perpendicular upper stage. The nave is chiefly Perpendicular; south door plain Norman, with a billeted drip. North door closed; it appears to be Decorated. Chancel late Perpendicular. North transept Decorated, with good but damaged arch into the nave.

South transept Perpendicular with a coat of arms, 2 chevrons, carved on the exterior; south porch modern. A stoop outside the south door on east side. Font octagonal; the roofs of the nave and south transept, are original.

DINCOT, BERKS.—A small, and seen from a distance, ill-favoured church, but contains some curious parts. Tower, nave, south aisle, chancel, and porch. Tower a low timber belfry, rising out of the nave, and much decayed. From the appearance of an early English buttress between the nave and aisle, it would seem that parts of the nave are of that date. The walls generally appear Decorated, with Perpendicular additions in east and south sides of chancel. North windows of nave and chancel, though rudely executed, are after excellent Decorated designs. There is an ascent to the rood loft on the north side. The windows of the south aisle appear early Perpendicular, they are beneath flat segmental arches, and differ somewhat from the general Perpendicular style of the district. Porch modern. A broken cross in the churchyard and a very fine old yew tree. The general condition of this church is discreditable to all concerned.

DRAYCOT CERNE, WILTS.—The tower is Perpendicular with a north polygonal turret rising clear of the battlement, an arrangement more common in Somerset than hereabouts. South door of nave Perpendicular, with an exterior stoop on east side. One south window is a loop, the other is later. The wall between the nave and chancel seems early English; upon the gable is a stiff but good cross. On the north side two Decorated windows. The chancel is late early English, or early Decorated. The east window a triple lancet. Above the gable is a good cross. The other window and the south door are original and curious. In the north wall is a cross, trefoiled, with a crocketed canopy, and beneath it a cross legged figure of unusual length in mail with a surcote. There is also a piscina with a double bowl. Also a good Perpendicular tomb to one of the Long family. North transept modern, and occupied as the manor pew. South porch good Perpendicular, with a range of openings on either side.

DRAYCOT, OXON.—Has an early English bell-gable, with a modern wooden belfry. Nave has a plain Norman north door. South door also Norman but has a flat top: arch into chancel plain Norman. There are northern and western loops obtusely pointed and two south windows flat topped Perpendicular. Chancel chiefly Decorated; a good trefoiled northern loop. East window Decorated with bold tracery, and deserves special notice as nearly resembling a Perpendicular design. South window outside is flat topped Decorated, within, the recess has a drop arch. A good plain Decorated piscina. North transept has an early loop. North window flat topped Perpendicular. Arch into nave, early English.

WEST DRAYTON, MIDDLESEX.—A Perpendicular building, probably all of one date, material flint rubble with occasional stone blocks. Ashlar generally a soft whitish sand stone, very friable and for the most part much weather worn. Chalk is used in the tower staircase.

The church is composed of a tower, nave, aisles, and chancel, north and south aisles have wooden porches. Tower square, of three stages, no buttresses, on the top a later wooden belfry. West door and lower north window good but decayed. Tower completely shrouded with ivy,

springing from a large root on the south side. It contains a well staircase opening by a plain but small door from the ground floor and leading up to the belfry. The nave opens to the tower by a good arch, by another to the chancel, and to the aisles by three arches on each side. There are six clerestory windows, of which the southern three have been replaced. The roof is flat and plastered, with main ribs of wood and carved faces for corbels. The pewing of the nave seems original. The chancel has a late east window with a little stained glass. South porch of wood, and later than the rest of the building. The exterior drip stones have been removed by the chisel.

ENGLEFIELD, BERKS.—A large and somewhat curious church. The tower seems to be early English. The nave has some good and very early English arches, with cylindrical piers and Norman flowered caps, and an upper member with the dog tooth ornament, thus combining the two styles. The south aisle is regular early English. The east window a fine triple lancet, with a bold dog tooth moulding, and there is a bracket in the same style. The south windows are early English but much mutilated. The door is early English. In the wall of this aisle are two recesses with recumbent figures, one of a female, of oak, with traces of the original painting; the other is a cross legged warrior. The figures look older than the recesses. The chancel is Perpendicular and contains a good late tomb with a rich canopy and the Tudor flower.

The chapel of the Englefield family is a debased Perpendicular building on the south side of the chancel. The font is early English, cylindrical, with a trefoiled arcade round it. It is of stone, but has been rudely clouted with wood. On a south buttress is a carving of a cross patée. In the south aisle is Dryden's famous epitaph to the Marquis of Winchester.

FARRINGTON, BERKS.—A large and very curious chancel, but much mutilated. It has a tower, nave, aisles, transepts, chancel, chapel and south porch. The tower is central at the cross, and stands on four massive piers, entirely composed of shafts and bands of moulding, with pointed arches. The caps are fluted with a flower on the top of each flute. The tower is open to the first story where it is ceiled. The interior has some singular trefoiled and quatrefoiled recesses, each of the latter containing a corbel head. There are buttresses on the north east and south east angles, probably Decorated and intended to support the tower, which has a slight cast to the east. For this reason the upper stage of the tower seems to have been removed, so that the old work ends abruptly, terminating in an apparently unfinished parapet. This tower is an undoubted and very curious example of late Norman work, but it has, nevertheless, a very Decorated aspect. The upper windows and ornaments seem to be early English. The nave is probably of the date of the tower. There are four arches on each side, roundheaded, with mouldings corresponding to those of the tower and springing from cylindrical piers, with stiff flowered caps and early English bases. Above the cap is an octagonal abacus, which gives to the whole a Decorated aspect.

The chancel is particularly fine. It has three eastern windows, lancets, of equal size. On the south side are six similar but smaller windows, that next the west being a low window. On the north side has been a corresponding range, but of these only the two eastern remain, the rest having been removed to suit the Pye Chapel. All these

windows rest upon a string, which rises at the altar and above the sedilia and sinks at the low window. The piscina has a double bowl and a trefoil head. There are three level sedilia very richly worked in the early Decorated style, but with the toothed ornament. The south door is round-headed and early Decorated. This is a very fine chancel, though much injured by the addition of the Pye Chapel. In general character it is probably earlier than Cholsey, but with it, forms an admirable example of the transition from Early English to Early Decorated, and both chancels are very suitable for imitation.

There are traces of an earlier chancel. The aisles are narrow and though Perpendicular no doubt built on Norman lines. The iron work of the south door is good. The north door is a small but beautiful example of Norman work, with the double crenelle and billet moulding. The south transept is destroyed. The north transept seems earlier than the tower. It has a good northern arch, in the pointed Norman style, with the billet moulding and there are windows of the same date. The roof and windows generally are late Perpendicular. This transept has a western aisle with a fine Decorated north window and some altar tombs. The Pye Chapel on the north side of the chancel is late Perpendicular. It contains the discarded font, a good octagon of Perpendicular date. The south porch is of large size vaulted and groined in the Perpendicular style, with an upper chamber.

FARNBOROUGH, BERKS.—The tower is late but good Perpendicular and in some of its details resembles East Ilsley. The north door of the nave is plain Norman. The south door and chancel arch are Decorated. The windows are flat topped and appear Decorated.

FOXHAM, WILTS.—A small chapel with a wooden belfry over the nave, a chancel and a south porch. The whole is probably of Perpendicular date; but so mutilated as to present no feature of interest. The font is of large size, octagonal, and probably of the date of the building.

FRILSHAM, BERKS.—A modern tower, in bad taste. The nave is Norman, with Perpendicular south window and a very small plain Norman south door. The north door, now disused, is larger and more enriched. The north windows are Norman loops. The chancel arch is plain Norman. The chancel walls are Norman with late Perpendicular windows. The font is rude Norman.

[(To be continued.)]

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE RECENT DISCOVERY OF THE
FOUNDATIONS OF THE EASTERN TERMINATION OF
LINCOLN MINSTER, AS ERECTED BY ST. HUGH.

By the REV. PRECENTOR VENABLES.

The cathedral church of Lincoln exhibits a very instructive example of that gradual development and extension of the eastern limb of the fabric, which by far the greater part of our English cathedrals and Minsters have successively experienced. One stage in this development has been recently brought to light by excavations recently carried on in the Presbytery of Lincoln Cathedral at the close of last year, some account of which I desire to lay before the members of the Institute.

I would ask to be allowed to preface this account with a few remarks on the general subject of the eastward development of which I have spoken. The eastern limb of a minster, as originally planned by its Norman architects, was usually of very moderate projection.¹ The then existing ritual arrangements did not call for any great length. The ritual choir, with the stalls for the ministering clergy, was placed under the lantern, or in the first bays of the nave, as we still see it at the Cathedrals of Winchester, Gloucester, Chichester, and Norwich. This was also the position of the ritual choir before modern alterations at several other cathedrals. I may instance those of Chester, Durham, Ely, Hereford, Peterborough, and Worcester. The most striking examples of this plan still existing are those at St. Albans and Westminster Abbey, in both of which the original Norman arrangement, by which the ritual choir was pushed down completely into the nave, has been maintained during the subsequent alterations of the fabric. The arrangement with which we have become familiar, by which the ritual choir is entirely comprised within the eastern arm of the cross, lying altogether to the east of the lantern or crossing, is not found in England before the twelfth century. The "Glorious Choir" of Conrad, as it was called, dating from the Archiepiscopate of St. Anselm at the beginning of that century, is the earliest example of this novel plan that I can recall. At the end of the century this arrangement was adopted by St. Hugh's architect at Lincoln, and was followed by Bishop Poore at Salisbury, as well as at Beverley Minster, Old St. Paul's, Wells, Exeter, York,

¹In this and the following paragraph I have ventured to repeat the substance of a passage in a paper contributed to the late Dean Howson's "Essays on Cathedrals."

and other churches, and soon became the recognised form; the western choir screen, not as heretofore stretching across the nave, but occupying the eastern tower arch.

I may remark in passing, as a fact not commonly recognised, that while nearly all our cathedrals and minsters have received a considerable addition to their original length from east to west, this addition has in almost every case been made in an easterly direction. In almost every instance the nave retains its original length, and the west end stands on the foundations laid down by the first builders. In one instance, indeed, Winchester, the Norman nave has been reduced in length; the western towers and the bays connected with them, having been destroyed at the time of Wykeham's reconstruction of the fabric. The reason of this distinction between the eastern and western arms is plain. The naves, as originally planned, were long enough for their purpose, to afford space for litanies and processions, and to accommodate standers (sitters were then unknown) at the sermons delivered "ad populum." But at the other end of the church the case was different. The space around the altar and near it was the recognised place for the shrines of the saints whose relics the church had the good fortune to possess. As time went on these shrines increased in number and attractiveness, and in proportion as they became the accredited centres of miraculous agencies they drew to themselves constantly increasing crowds of votaries, some anxious to obtain an interest in the saints' intercessions in the courts of heaven, a still larger number hoping to be cured of their physical maladies by contact with their remains. For the reception of these crowds and for the due exhibition of the shrines and their sacred contents, increased space was needed, and in one great church after another we find the same process of eastern extension undertaken, not always exactly in the same mode, but always with the same object, viz., to obtain greater shrine-room. This eastward development was, generally speaking, accomplished in two ways. In some instances, as at Canterbury—the earliest example, as Old St. Paul's, was the latest and most glorious—at York, Ely, at Worcester, Beverley, and other churches including Lincoln, the grander and more imposing plan was adopted of carrying on the main fabric at the same height to the extreme east end, without any constructional break, the eastern chapels being only separated from the ritual choir by a screen or reredos. In other cases the accommodation needed was provided by the erection of a group of low eastern aisles and chapels, not rising to the full height of the building, the Lady Chapel occupying the central position. As examples of this less stately, but more picturesque arrangement, I may mention Salisbury, Exeter, Chester, Hereford, and that which may be regarded as the most beautiful in its design and the most skilfully arranged of all such developments, the Lady Chapel of Wells.

After these introductory remarks I will now proceed to the object of this paper, and endeavour to trace the successive changes in the eastern limb of the Cathedral of Lincoln.

The first Cathedral of Lincoln was entirely erected by the first Norman Bishop Remigius, by whom the see was transferred from its earlier site at Dorchester on the Thames, to its "sovereign hill" above the sluggish Witham, and was ready for consecration at the time of the founder's death, A.D. 1092. On the erection of St. Hugh's choir

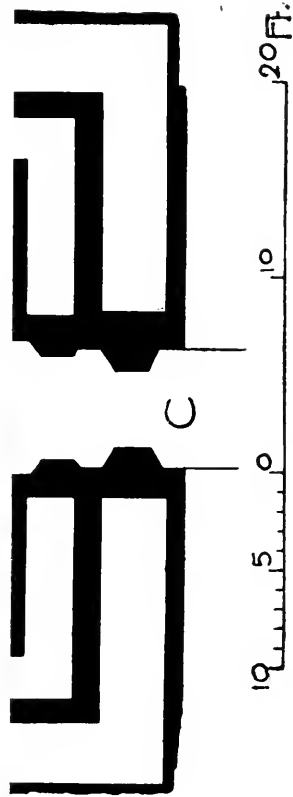
at the end of the twelfth century the whole of the eastern limb of Remigius's church was pulled down. As was usually the case, however, the foundations, which were not in the way of the new building, were allowed to remain, and their discovery in 1852,¹ under the floor of the stalls on either side of the choir, has put us in possession of the original form and dimensions of the eastern end of the Norman cathedral. The portions of the foundations which remain visible are those of the springing of the apse on either side, and a fragment of the lateral walls. The central portion of the curve probably lies buried beneath the pavement of the central aisle of the choir. As will be seen from the accompanying plan,² (plan I.) it was very short, not reaching beyond the second bay from the crossing, and was ten feet narrower than the present mid-aisle, the new building, according to the sensible mediæval practice, having been erected outside the older one which remained like the kernel of a nut within the shell, so that it could be used for service until the new fabric was ready, when it was pulled down. A fragment of a pilaster buttress to the N.E., (at A) and the solid walls running westward open as that at St. Stephen's at Caen, and originally at Peterborough; it was destitute of aisles or procession path. Two rough blocks of masonry at the west end (B B) projecting from the wall mark the position of the piers of the great arch, the "Arcus Triumphalis" of the old Basilicas, which divided the presbytery from the choir. The walls of the apse were eight feet in thickness.

Exactly a hundred years from the completion of the Church of Remigius, A.D. 1192, the foundations of the existing choir of St. Hugh were laid. The architect was Geoffery of Noiers. The name looks French. But the late Canon Dimock adduced arguments for regarding him as a native Englishman, though of a family originally Norman. Whether the architecture of the choir of Lincoln exhibits any traces of French influence has been hotly debated. Professor Willis, at the visit of the Institute in 1848, described the building, characterised by so many singularities, as "the work of a mad Frenchman." His verdict, however, has been seriously called in question, and can hardly be sustained. M. Viollet le Duc, after careful examination, pronounced against it, declaring the work to be thoroughly English, without any appearance of French influence. The recent discoveries of which I am about to speak may, however, to some extent lead to reconsidering the question.

¹ This discovery was made by Mr. T. J. Willson, architect, the son of the distinguished contemporary of Britton, and the elder Pugin, and associated with them in several of their architectural publications, Mr. E. J. Willson, of Lincoln. It is greatly to be regretted that this gentleman never fulfilled his intention of writing the architectural history of Lincoln Cathedral, with which he was intimately acquainted. The restoration of Bishop Longland's chapel set on foot, as put by Sub-dean (afterwards Archdeacon) Vincent Bayley, in 1810, was carried out by Mr. Willson.

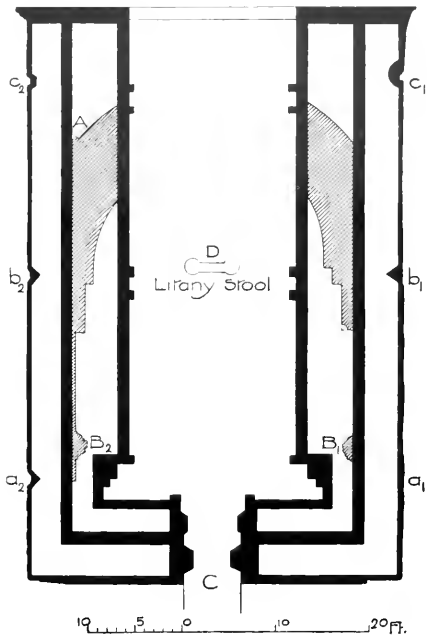
² In the accompanying plan the lighter shading represents the foundation of the

Norman apse; the dark shading the framework of the choir stalls; beneath which the foundations have been preserved, being obliterated in the centre, A, fragment of an external buttress; B₁ B₂ the foundations of the piers supporting the great transverse arch; C, the entrance to the choir from the organ screen; D, an ancient stone, inscribed "Cantate Hic," where now the Litany desk is placed; a₁, a₂, b₁, b₂, c₁, c₂, the lower portions of the vaulting shafts of St. Hugh's choir, the middle portions of which were removed to make way for the new stalls erected by Treasurer Welbourne (d. 1380).



PLAN I.

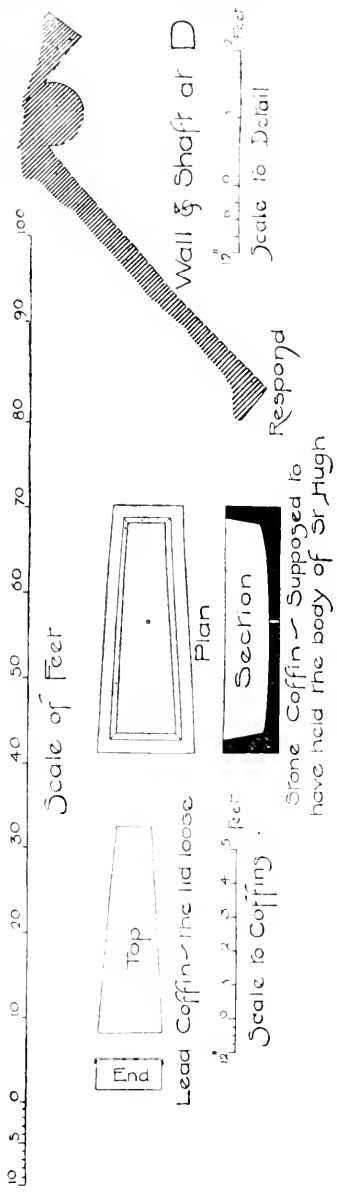
The Foundations of the Norman Apse of Lincoln Minster.



PLAN I.

The Foundations of the Norman Apse of Lincoln Minster.

11



PLAN II.

The Eastern limb of Lincoln Minster, with the foundations of St. Hugh's Apse.

Certainly whatever may be the character of the architecture, the plan of the apsidal east end, with its appendent chapels, is far more French, or at least, continental, than English.

St. Hugh's new building embraced¹ the present ritual choir of four bays, and the eastern transept with its four semi-circular chapels, as well as a small portion of the eastern walls of the western or great transept. All these are standing, and have received but slight alterations. But the eastern portion beyond the lesser transept, containing the high altar, was entirely removed for the erection of the new eastern limb of five bays, generally known as the "Angel choir," in the latter half of the thirteenth century.² The purpose of this "novum opus," as it was termed, was to provide a fitting home for the shrine of St. Hugh, whose "cultus" had become exceedingly popular. The chapel where he was originally interred had been already much extended eastwards, and its shallow semi-circular apse had given place to a quadrangular termination (Q. Plan II),³ but the enlargement proved inadequate for the multitude who flocked to the shrine, and the extension of the choir was undertaken *circa* 1255, the work being sufficiently advanced for the solemn translation of the saint's remains in 1280, with every circumstance of pomp, in the presence of Edward I and his Queen and their royal offspring, and an immense attendance of bishops and nobles.

What the original form of the east end of St. Hugh's church had been was entirely a matter of conjecture until the repaving of the choir and presbytery, in 1791, brought to light a portion of the foundations, which have been more completely developed during the past few months. At the time of the repaving the Rev. John Carter, then master of the Grammar School, an intelligent antiquary, and fair draughtsman, made a sketch and notes of the discovery.⁴ The following year he made a drawing from memory, which is preserved among the Gough collections in the Bodleian Library. This rude drawing was discovered by the late Mr. Ross, a Lincoln antiquary, whose collections for the history of Lincoln, with copious illustrations from his accurate pencil, are in the possession of Viscount Oxenbridge (formerly Lord Monson), and was by him communicated to the late Mr. Ayliffe Poole, who had it lithographed and published as an illustration to his admirable paper on the architectural history of Lincoln Minster, in the volume of the "Associated Societies' Reports" for 1857, p. 21. The late Mr. E. J. Willson also made notes and drawings which his son Mr. T. J. Willson, has kindly communicated to me.⁵ These earlier drawings, though somewhat rude,

¹For fuller particulars of the architectural history of St. Hugh's choir, I may be permitted to refer to the papers in the *Archæological Journal*. Vol. xl, 1883, and to the chronologically shaded ground plan there given.

²License to remove the city wall to allow of the prolongation of the fabric was granted in 1255, and in 1280 the building was ready for the solemn translation of the relics of St. Hugh to the new shrine erected behind the High Altar.

³For the extension of the chapel, which was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, see the ground plan already referred to, *Archæological Journal*, vol. xl.

⁴This drawing has been erroneously assigned, by myself, among others, to the celebrated John Carter, the well-known correspondent of the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

⁵Mr. Willson writes: "The foundations discovered in the sides of the high altar, when the old pavement was taken up A. D. 1791, undoubtedly belonged to those parts of the church which had been erected by St. Hugh, of which the choir and the upper transept, with the four chapels attached to it, are yet remaining. These foundations indicated that the eastern extremity of the building as then finished, had been of a polygonal form."

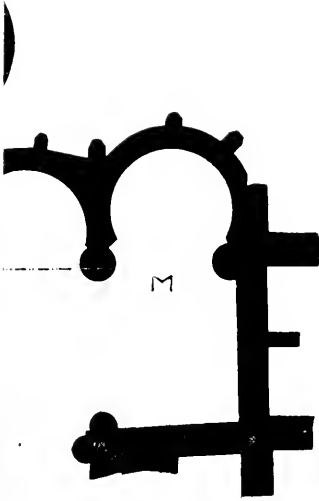
sufficiently indicated the original form and arrangement of St. Hugh's apse. It was seen to have been a semi-hexagon, extending no further than the second bay of the existing angel choir, with two sloping side walls and one straight wall at the east end, and to have had semi-circular chapels, similar to those of the adjacent transepts, appended to the two sloping sides. Smaller circular projections beyond these chapels at the eastern angles of the semi-hexagon are given in the plan. These, it was thought, might indicate stair-turrets for a "vice" or newel, which would have occupied a similar position to the turrets which so effectively flank the apse at Peterborough. This idea our recent investigations have proved to be incorrect. Small as these projections are, they appear to have been chapels, which must have greatly increased the singular external effect of this remarkable east end. Of the recently discovered hexagonal chapel at the extreme east ends the earlier excavations afforded no hint.¹

I now come to the recent investigations. At the end of November of last year our excellent clerk of the works, Mr. J. J. Smith—to whose zeal, and that of his staff, especially our master mason, Mr. Hague, in carrying on the search and their accuracy in measuring and planning every fresh feature as it was discovered, cannot be too highly commended—mentioned to me that a portion of the pavement at the south-west end of the south aisle of the Presbytery (K₁ in plans II and III) needed repair, and asked my permission to have it taken up and relaid. This request afforded the very opportunity I had been long eagerly wishing for. I knew what probably lay beneath that pavement, and gladly gave the desired permission, adding that if Mr. Smith allowed the workmen to dig a little deeper and extend their work a little further than was absolutely requisite I should not call him to account. The work began on November 23, and had not proceeded far before the foundation of the south wall of St.

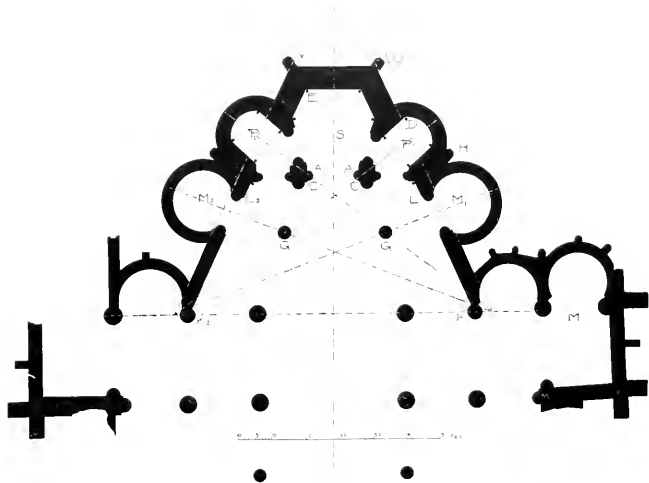
with semi-circular chapels attached to the sides. The addition of the five arches beyond the upper transept, with all the rich architecture of the presbytery, was made about a century after the erection of St. Hugh's buildings," [the interval was little more than half a century] "of which the eastern extremity was taken down to make room for the new erection. When a grave was made for the Rev. Henry Best near to the middle of the presbytery, some very solid foundations were found, which were taken up with great difficulty. These were supposed to be remains of the Roman wall of the city" [this was a manifest error], "but more probably had belonged to the eastern extremity of the church erected by St. Hugh, or to a wall built for the protection of that part of the town in the time of St. Hugh, and which was removed afterwards when the close was enlarged by grants from Hen. III and Edward I. Foundations were also found near to the same place, when a grave was intended to be made there for Sir Richard Kaye, the Dean, and a fresh place was chosen on account of the difficulty of digging through these foundations." Mr. Wild also remarks in a

note to his work on Lincoln Cathedral, p. 8. "When this part of the church was new paved, in 1791, some foundations were discovered, by which it appeared that St. Hugh's church terminated in a half hexagon, of which the sides extended from the angles of the east transept to a line somewhat within the present altar screen."

¹ Mr. Ayliffe Poole writes thus respecting Carter's drawing: "Here we have a semi-hexagon most oddly combined with semi-circular chambers at the two diagonal sides, without apparent access, either from the church or from the exterior"—it must be remembered that only the foundations exist. It is very usual to carry a wall below the surface, across an opening in the main walls of a fabric, to bind the whole together and strengthen it—"We have no similar chapel or chamber to the east"—one such of a hexagonal form has now been discovered—"but at the angles of the east side we have nearly perfect circular appendages of ten foot radius accessible from within, and, I suppose, to be considered stair turrets."



, Esq, R.A.



PLAN III.

The arrangement of St. Hugh's Ape, Lincoln Minster, as restored by J. L. Pearson, Esq., R.A.

Hugh's polygonal apse K_1 , L_1 , was discovered, together with the springing of the segmental chapel, M_1 , annexed to it. The search now grew hot, as children say, and the interest of our energetic Dean was roused, and without any regard to the repair of the pavement it was determined to carry on the investigation, and once for all determine, as far as was possible, the form of the termination of St. Hugh's Church. The foundations of the southern chapel were traced as far as the walls of Bishop Longlands Chantry (O), which had partly been built upon its site, permitted. It was found to correspond exactly, both in form and dimensions, with the southern of the two chapels annexed to the south transept, St. Peter's Chapel (N_1). Its walls formed an arc considerably exceeding a semi-circle, with an internal diameter of 18 feet. We then came to the smaller circular appendage already referred to (P_1) of which the void was not more than 10 feet in diameter. Our preconceived notion, as I have said, was that it was the foundation of a newel staircase. This idea, however, was disproved by the discovery of a small fragment of two dressed walls on the eastern side meeting at an angle with the footing of a small wall-shaft still "in situ" at the junction (D). This at once dispelled the idea of a newel stair. But to make the matter still more certain I desired the master mason to dig in the centre of the void for any trace of the foundation of a newel. None such, however, was found. When we proceeded to the north side with our investigation we found foundations of an exactly similar character (P_2); but again no trace of a newel. It is a cause of regret that the delicacy of the health of our distinguished consulting architect, J. L. Pearson, Esq., R.A., prevented his undertaking a journey in the middle of winter to examine the discovery personally, but he has devoted much time and thought to the drawings which have been submitted to him, and I have the happiness of being able to lay before you the conclusions he has arrived at as to the original form and arrangement of St. Hugh's choir (Plan III). He has no doubt that these small projections (P_1 , P_2) were actual chapels, vaulted from four wall shafts, the existing fragment (at D) being a portion of one of them, and approached from the aisle or procession path by a triangular vaulted severy, such as we may see at Ely in the spaces between the diagonal arches of the lantern, and the nave and choir aisles. Between this small chapel and the larger segmental chapel the lower portion of an angular buttress was found still standing, (H). Other similar buttresses doubtless strengthened the other angles of the building. Proceeding in our search we were rewarded with an entirely unexpected discovery. Mr. Carter's drawing represented the east end terminating in a straight wall from north to south (A. A.) This wall was found, as shewn on the ground plan (No. II): but it was not as had been supposed, a terminal wall, but either a screen wall, or simply a binding wall, tying the two easternmost angles of the apse together for the sake of strength, and it was with no little interest that, as our digging went on, we found ourselves developing the foundations of an hexagonal chapel of 23 feet internal diameter (S), occupying the same position relatively to our cathedral that the well known chapel, known as "Becket's Crown," occupies at Canterbury, the existence of which had been hitherto entirely unsuspected. This additional building would make the internal length of St. Hugh's Church about 48 feet short of the existing cathedral. The planning of this chapel was singularly unsymmetrical. It will be

seen from the plan that the transverse axis of the hexagon (R_1, R_2) is not at right angles with the main axis of the cathedral, but shews a considerable deflection to the south. The foundations shewed that there had been projecting buttresses at the angles of the chapel (W, X). The ground plan on the north side of the choir proved to be identical with that on the south. We discovered foundations of the same sloping wall (K_2, L_2) large segmental chapel (M_2) and smaller chapel (P_2) with its circular external wall and internal foundations.

The ground plan, as finally developed by Mr. Pearson (Plan III), is of very remarkable interest. In England the group of apsidal chapels has parallels more or less exact at Norwich and at Tewkesbury, and Mr. St. John Hope's investigations shew a somewhat similar group in the great Cluniac Church at Lewes. But the parallels presented by continental churches are much nearer. The ground plans of French churches, given by Viollet le Duc, in the first volume of his "Dictionnaire," offer several curious points of resemblance in the alternation of larger and smaller apsidal chapels surrounding the chevet, and the churches of Germany present other similarities.¹ One point of very singular interest is pointed out by Mr. Pearson, and becomes very apparent on his ground plan (Plan III). To quote a communication with which he has favoured me: "You will observe," he says, "how a triangle curiously gives the lines on which much of the work is set out; the base of this triangle being a line drawn through the centre of the columns on a line with the east wall of the south transept—those just east of the crossing. Oddly enough the centres of the little chapels are almost in the centre of the sides of the triangle. It is curious that there are some German churches with triangular terminations to chancels and chapels, as well as some with an hexagonal chapel added on, and of early date, I think early in the thirteenth century."² Was there, he adds, "any connection between this country and that of Bohemia at that time, which could have influenced this or that country?" I am not aware of any such connection. The matter, however, deserves enquiry.

Returning to the recent discoveries it should be stated that through the larger extent of the excavations, only the rude concrete foundations were found remaining, the upper surface being about 16 or 17 inches below the existing pavement. The places where the walling above the original floor line remained entire are distinguished in Plan II by a darker shading. The wall here reaches to within about 8 feet of the

¹ At Vignory Sur Marne, a small and very early church, we find three chapels, the plan of which, like those at Lincoln, exceeds a semi-circle, set round the apsidal aisle (Viollet le Duc, *Dictionnaire*, vol. i, p. 109). Fontevraud of the 12th century (p. 171), Rouen (p. 237) and St. Etienne de Nevers (p. 173) also exhibit three apsidal chapels attached to the chief apse. The central chapel at Rouen has been subsequently lengthened, as was the case with St. Hugh's place of interment. The plans of Chartres (p. 235) and St. Ouen at Rouen (p. 239) offer examples of smaller chapels of semi-circular or segmental plan, wedged in as

it were between two larger chapels, like those recently discovered at Lincoln.

² Grueber's *Kunst des Mittelalters in Böhmen* gives some of these curious and exceptional ground plans. We find chapels with a triangular termination—a two-sided apse, if we may call it so—at Hohenfurt (p. 62, fig. 139), and the choir itself, so ending at Strakonde (p. 67, fig. 159). There is an hexagonal chapel beyond the apse, like that the foundations of which have just been discovered at Lincoln, at Humpolec (p. 43, fig. 75), and an octagonal chapel in the same position at Frauenthal (p. 44, fig. 77).

present floor. The most considerable fragments found were the south diagonal wall of the great chevet ($K_1 L_1$), and the springing of the curved wall of the appended chapel (M_1), together with a considerable portion of the eastern and southern wall of the eastern hexagon ($W X$), and the commencement of the curved wall of the small chapel (P_1). A most valuable bit of wall at the north east angle of the hexagonal chapel (at E) enabled us to determine, with exactitude, its form and dimensions. The small portion of wall with the footing of a small shaft discovered (at D), was still more valuable in demonstrating, as has been already stated, that these foundations were not those, as had been at first supposed, of a newel staircase, but of a small radiating chapel, with a curved termination, probably covered with a quadripartite vault, springing from four corner shafts. The circular form of the centre void was at first rather perplexing. But it proved to be due to the curve of the outer contour of the chapel being continued through the whole of the foundation to give unity and strength to the fabric. A portion of what appeared to be the original flooring, constructed of concrete, was found across the line where the hexagonal chapel joined the aisle ($AA BB$).

In the course of our investigation it became necessary to violate the sanctity of the tomb in which, according to a post restoration inscription on a renaissance monument erected in the retro-choir by Bishop Fuller, Bishop Sanderson's successor (1667-1675) the remains of St. Hugh were supposed to be reposing. The shrine of the saint, to receive which the Angel choir was built, doubtless stood like all such shrines¹ in the centre of the mid-alley at the back of the reredos. At the Reformation this shrine, in common with all "monuments of superstition," would be destroyed, and the remains of the saint re-interred in some convenient spot near. The spot in this case, if we may trust Bishop Fuller's epitaph, was a little to the north of the site of the shrine, corresponding to the north-east angle of Hugh's hexagonal chapel (T). On this spot Fuller's pious care erected a black marble slab, supported on four renaissance legs of Ionic character, and inscribed with a set of Elegiac verses of much elegance, recording the fact.² When the investigation

¹ We may instance as examples the shrines of St. Thomas, at Canterbury; St. Alban, at St. Albans; St. Etheldreda, at Ely; St. Erkenwald, at St. Paul's; St. William, at York, &c.

² The inscription engraved on the monument erected by Bishop Fuller, runs thus:—

Texerat hos cineres aurum non marmora,
preda

Altera sacrilegis ni metuenda foret.
Quod fuit argentum nunc marmoris esse
dolemus,

Degeneri ætati convenit iste lapis.
Ingenium pietatis hoc est frugalis, Hugonis
Qui condit tunulum condit et ipse
suum,

The allusion in the earlier lines of the epitaph is to the original shrine at St. Hugh, which was covered with plates of silver gilt, and which, with all the other rich treasures of the Minster in gold and jewels—the whole of which are recorded

in the pages of Dugdale—were appropriated by Henry VIII and his sacrilegious crew. The mention of the "frugal piety" of the builder of the monument, and the reference to one common tomb serving for him and his sainted predecessor, points to Bishop Fuller's intention to make St. Hugh's memorial his own memorial also. This is strengthened by the fact that the lines above quoted only occupy the upper part of the black marble slab, leaving abundant room for the bishop's epitaph below it. If such was his purpose it was not carried into effect. A ponderous altar tomb stands over his grave by the side of St. Hugh's, a little to the south, bearing an inscription, which records his munificence in restoring the tomb of his predecessors in the see, and his purpose to have done more in that way if death had not cut his intentions short.

reached this place it became a matter of much interest to learn whether there was a grave there, and what it contained. On removing the marble memorial and opening the ground beneath it, a stone coffin was discovered, within which was another coffin of lead, rather rudely put together, and unsoldered. On opening this it proved to contain no human remains of any kind, not even a fragment of bone. There was nothing more than a decaying mass of linen and silken vestments, so arranged as roughly to simulate the shape of a human body. Microscopic and chemical investigation discovered threads of flax and silk, with some fine threads of gold, but nothing of an animal nature.¹ It was evident from the stains on the sides of the leaden coffin that a corpse had once reposed in it. What had become of that corpse? And was it that of St. Hugh? Who could tell? Had it been scattered to the winds by the fiery zeal of some puritan fanatic, or had it rather, as we would fain hope, been rescued from desecration by the pious care of some to whom the memory of one of the holiest of England's saints, and the most intrepid of England's patriots, was dear? Was it with Hugh of Avalon, as the story goes, it was with Cuthbert, of Durham, at the same great religious convulsion of the sixteenth century

His relics are in secret laid,
 But none may know the place
 Save of his holiest servants three,
 Deep sworn to solemn secrecy,
 Who share that wondrous grace?

¹ The following is the report of T. Sympson, Esq., M.R.C.S., who kindly undertook the task :—"A careful examination under the microscope of materials obtained from a tomb, reported to be that of St. Hugh, disclosed some of them to be portions of a tissue composed of flax, and others of one of silk, and intermingled with these were fine gold threads.

Both the woody fibres of the linen, and the fibres of the silk, came out quite distinctly after the dust in which they were enveloped had been cleaned off by means of acid." In another communication Mr. Sympson reported that there was no trace of animal matter found, nor any particle of bone.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

February 3rd, 1887.

The RIGHT HON. EARL PERCY, F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

The loss that the Institute has sustained by the death of Mr. S. I. Tucker, Somerset Herald, and Mr. W. E. Howlett, was spoken of by the noble Chairman.

Mr. HARTSHORNE read a paper on "Blythborough Church, Suffolk." After a general notice of the change that has taken place in this once populous district of now sea-wasted Dunwich, the evidences of the Roman occupation here were spoken of. Coming to later times, Mr. Hartshorne touched upon the war in the middle of the seventh century between Penda, King of Mercia, and Anna, King of the East Angles, in the course of which Anna and his son Firminius were slain, as it is said, at Blythborough. It was shown that there was a Saxon church here when the Great Record was drawn up, but that not a single fragment of it now existed. After speaking of the remains of the Augustinian Priory, founded here by the Abbot of St. Osyth's towards the end of the first quarter of the twelfth century—remains now covered with the vicious vampire ivy—some of the tragical effects of the Dissolution at Blythborough were pointed out. With regard to the parish church, hard by the priory, and built between 1440 and 1475, as is shown by bequests to it within this period, Mr. Hartshorne dealt in detail with the method of the construction of the walls, showing how the Blythborough builders adapted themselves, and to a certain extent the character of their style, to the materials which lay ready to their hand, a practice which might be followed with advantage in our own time. The notice of the admirable proportions of the interior of Blythborough Church brought about some observations upon the question of proportion, a difficult and obscure problem, apparently not very deeply considered at the present day. In treating of the ground plan Mr. Hartshorne instituted a comparison between the Perpendicular of West Saxony and that of East Anglia, and, after reminding his hearers that Prof. Willis showed the Institute long ago, at Gloucester, that there is the cradle of this great English style, expressed a hope that some day another equally gifted and lucid would start from Gloucester and track Perpendicular in all its rapid movements and ramifications, and show how its wonderful carpentry and vaulting grew, and would follow its

progress more particularly in the western and eastern counties, and see it die away at last in the Midlands, choked in an Elizabethan house by an alien renaissance. The influence of painted glass on Perpendicular tracery was touched upon, and something said, not altogether complimentary, about the material strangely called "cathedral glass." The principal feature of the church was shown to be the painted roof, running in an unbroken length from tower to east wall. The *motif* of this harmonious production was explained, and illustrated by capital drawings by Mr. G. E. Fox. The screens, stalls, and other wooden fittings were described, as well as the tombs and indents of the brasses. An endeavour was made to show of what the pavement originally consisted, and the paper concluded with notices of two rare relics preserved in the church tower, namely, a wooden Jack o' the clock, and a great iron fire-hook with which the wooden houses of the district were pulled down during conflagrations.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Hartshorne, whose paper is printed at p. 1.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. HARTSHORNE.—A series of large drawings of the objects specially spoken of in his paper, and a plan of Blythborough church.

March 3rd, 1887.

J. T. Micklethwaite, Esq., F.S.A., V.P., in the chair.

The Rev. Precentor VENABLES read a paper on "The Recent Discovery of the Foundations of the Eastern Termination of Lincoln Minster, as erected by St. Hugh." In the course of the discussion which followed, the Chairman expressed himself as not satisfied with the conjectural restoration which he considered as an imperfectly developed version of the plan of Lewes Priory. Mr. Venables' paper is printed at p. 194.

Mr. H. SHEPPARD DALE read a paper on "Glastonbury Abbey," giving a historical account of the foundation, and calling special attention to the condition of the ruins at the present day.

Mr. Dale concluded by expressing a hope that the Institute would take some steps to induce the owner of the Abbey to protect the ruins.

Precentor VENABLES and Mr. H. S. MILMAN having spoken concerning the destructive power of ivy upon old buildings, Mr. C. E. KEYSER proposed, and Mr. A. E. HUDD seconded a resolution "That the matter be referred to the Council of the Institute to take such action as they may think fit."

A vote of thanks was passed to Precentor Venables and to Mr. Dale.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Precentor VENABLES.—Plans of the east end of Lincoln Cathedral.

By Mr. H. S. DALE. A series of etchings by himself of Glastonbury Abbey.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

ROMANO BRITISH MOSAIC PAVEMENTS: A History of their Discovery, and a Record and Interpretation of their Designs; with Plates, Plain and Coloured, of the most important Mosaics. By THOMAS MORGAN, F.S.A. (Whiting & Co.)

The first impression formed in the mind of an antiquary by this book, will naturally be that it is a very elaborately got up work. But let him peruse it, and a feeling of intense disappointment will be the result, the question arising—Is the book intended as a record of all the tessellated pavements found in Britain, or is it merely an enumeration of the chief ones, with plates of those most elaborately ornamented? In either case it is a lamentable failure. From various passages in the work it is evident that the first-named idea is *intended*, e.g., p. xvi. of Introduction, “the various mosaics of England are described county by county,” and p. xxiii. of the same, where the author says—“I have arranged more than a hundred and eighty examples according to counties, without pretending that the list is complete.” *Absolute* completeness we can hardly look for, but what shall we say when we find that the volume contains possibly thirty per cent. (though we doubt if even this is not an over estimate) of the pavements discovered; and not only that, but in some cases records the discovery of a few scattered *tesselæ*, whilst in others large and elaborate pavements (in some instances bearing inscriptions) are ignored. Mr. Morgan’s one hundred and eighty-three pavements are obtained from only somewhere about sixty sites, including large towns. Thus, London absorbs 29, the Northleigh villa in Oxfordshire 20, Castor (Northants) 11, Bignor villa 7, Frampton villa 4, Aldborough 9, Woodchester villa 8, Newton St. Loe villa 5, Canterbury 6, Caerwent 7, Cirencester 5, &c., &c.

Let us consider a few passages in the work. At p. 146 Mr. Morgan says—“In Essex it is very remarkable that the remains are so few,” whilst at p. 150 he describes two coarse pavements without design, found at Colchester, and mentions that in the parish of Stanway *tesserte* of various colours were scattered about in the ruins of a building. These are all he can find in the county, the particulars of two of them being taken from the Journal of the *British Archaeological Association*, and the third from the *Archæologia*. The fact is that Morant, the historian of the county in his work, published in the last century, gives *eight* found in Colchester alone, the drawings of some of which shew them to have been very handsome. Between 1842 and 1856 *twenty-eight* more were found in the same town, and are described by the late Mr. Wire in the County Society’s Transactions. Since then several others have occurred, the last two, which were found before the issue

of Mr. Morgan's book, being in North Street in 1880, and in the yard of the "Red Lion" in 1882. Besides these, splendid pavements found many years since at Wanstead, Tolleshunt Knights, West Mersea (where there are a large series, something like those at Woodchester, only slightly explored), Rivenhall, Pleshy, Ickleton, Hadstock, Alresford (1873), &c., are omitted from Mr. Morgan's book.

If we turn to Gloucestershire we find p. 79 this entry: "Church Piece near Lilly Horn and Bisley. *Tessellæ* of different sizes and colours by thousands." This entry is significant as indicating that Mr. Morgan not only wishes to include existing pavements, but those that have been destroyed. But he omits the grand series of pavements found at Lydney, ten of which are engraved in the late Mr. Bathurst's book on that station, one of them bearing a valuable inscription, though it is true, that in his introduction p. xxii, when speaking of works on Britanno Roman pavements, Mr. Morgan has a line to the effect that in 1879, an "*Account of Roman Antiquities in Lydney Park, Gloucestershire,*" was published. This is the only allusion to this splendid series, and Mr. Morgan omits many others at the villas at Tockington, Stancombe, Spoonley Wood, near Sudeley (1882), Wadfield Farm, near Sudeley (1863), Witeombe, Highfield Farm (Painswick), Lechlade, Dry Hill, Leigh, Latton, Stidecot, Old Abbey (near Bristol) and several others. In Gloucester (city) he is even more remiss, for his only allusion to any pavement there is at p. 72 thus:—"A small fragment of a corner of a pavement was seen by Mr. Inskip in August 1843, at Oxbody Lane, now Mitre Street, Gloucester, figured in *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, Gloucester volume, p. 316." In Counsel's *Gloucester*, published at least fifty years since, nine elaborate pavements found in that city are described, some bearing representations of fishes, &c., and many others have been found since that period. In his tabulated statement at the close of the work, Mr. Morgan gives the pavements in this county as ten plain and geometrical, and ten figured, altogether twenty, whilst he omits over forty at the least.

Without analysing the list of pavements in other counties, we will simply name a few of Mr. Morgan's omissions. In Notts the splendid series of pavements at Barton upon-Trent, those at Oldcotes, near Blyth (one of them believed to represent Theseus in the Cretan labyrinth), and one at Thorpe are not given. In Hampshire we find missing three, at least, found at Winchester, *i.e.* those from Little Minster Street, 1878 (now in the Museum), from the Cathedral Close, 1880 (now in the porch of the Deanery), and from St. Thomas Street, 1883, in which latter street another had been found some years before. Mr. Morgan gives none as found in this city. Those found at Wick, Redenham, Bentley, and another at Bittern are omitted under the head of the county. Mr. Morgan gives none in Bucks, Herts, or Suffolk, but in the first named county we remember them at Tingewick, Foscote, Latimers, and High Wycombe, &c. One at High Wycombe had female busts at the angles, with sea monsters in the central parts. In Herts those at Larksfeld, Boxmor, and Purwell occur to us, and in Suffolk those at Pakenham, Ixworth, and Whitton, the last named being in the Ipswich Museum. In Dorsetshire the pavement found within the gaol at Dorchester in 1858 (now in the prison chapel), the elaborate one found in 1839 at Lenthey Green (now in the dairy at Lord Digby's seat at Sherborne), the

splendid series (only partly excavated) at Winford Eagle, those at Halstock (very elaborate), Rampisham, Dawlish, &c., find no place in Mr. Morgan's book.

In Sussex Mr. Morgan confines himself to the Bignor villa whilst the pavements found in Chichester Cathedral and St. Andrew's church in that city, those at Pulborough, Danny Park, New Fishbourne, Clayton Rectory (where a fine series lie under the lawn), two at Eastbourne, North Wick, Whiston, Angmering, Duncton, Preston, &c., are omitted; no reference whatever being made. Amongst the omissions in Wiltshire are the pavements at Colerne and North Wraxall, the former having a representation of a chariot race and bearing an inscription. In Surrey, we miss the pavements at Bletchingley, Abinger, Titsey, and Staines; in Berkshire, those at Eling Farm, Wantage, and Frilford; in Cambridge, those at Litlington and Waldersay; in Devon, that at Holcombe; in Leicestershire, the fine one at Medbourne and that at Wymondham; in Somerset those at Scavington, Whatley, Wadeford, Wineanton, &c.; in Lincolnshire that at Walesby and in Northants, those at Apethorpe.

Of Wroxeter Mr. Morgan speaks at p. 96 thus: "Seeing the importance of the place, it might be expected that more ornate examples of mosaics might have occurred than have been found here," and he then refers to two poor ones found in the excavations 1859-62, but he quite overlooks the rich examples found in 1706, 1734, and 1827, engraved by Mr. Dukes, besides others which have been laid bare at various times. In Yorkshire the pavements at Rudston, Beverley, Well, Langton, Gargrave, Oulston, Dalton Parlours, and Toft Green are omitted. The three last are preserved in the York Museum, and part of that at Well is laid down in the village church. Three or four have been found at Chester, and have been engraved (though with one exception they are poor ones), but Mr. Morgan takes no notice of them, and Wales also he totally ignores in spite of the rich floors at Llanvrynach and Abercover, and the less pretentious ones at Oystermouth, Cayo, &c.

We have neither the time, nor (within the limits of this review) the space, to go more fully into the subject. Our criticism is a superficial one, and the omissions are supplied from memory. It will be seen that a part only of the English counties have been noticed. Had we gone into the whole of them, the omissions would have developed themselves still more extensively, but what has been said is sufficient.

For the proper treatment of the subject selected by Mr. Morgan, it needs some one who can hold Roman Britain "in the hollow of his hand." Mr. Morgan is certainly not of this class. He seems (by his notes) to have confined himself in his researches chiefly to about half-a-dozen works, more especially the *Archæologia* and the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*. The references to the *Archæological Journal* are few and far between, and the same may be said concerning county histories, and the transactions of county societies. His work is an elaborate, disconnected, archæological fragment, of no use whatever as a synopsis or as a catalogue. Out of 320 pages only 174 (67 to 240) are strictly occupied with an account of the Roman pavements in England, accompanied by four plans of villas, and fourteen plates, but only six of the latter are in colours, whereas the next forty-nine pages are occupied with an account of numerous foreign pavements accompanied by *eight* plates in very rich colours. There is then a chapter of sixteen pages (with

four plates) describing thirty Roman coins in the British Museum, which Mr. Morgan thinks is necessary to elucidate his description of the pavements, and finally there is a short chapter on the Antonine Itinerary, which although Mr. Morgan adopts in it, without the least acknowledgment, the conclusion first published in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxviii, p. 113, that the Itinerary was compiled in the reign of Antoninus Pius, is, if possible, more erroneous than those on Britanno Roman pavements. It seems a pity, too, that the work should be disfigured by the frontispiece Mr. Morgan has chosen. Why a modern mosaic, representing a locomotive engine, a screw steam-ship, the electric telegraph, &c., should be the figurehead of an archaeological work of this nature, we altogether fail to see.

Archæological Intelligence.

PROPOSED COMPLETION OF ROTHWELL MARKET HOUSE.—It will be within the recollection of many members of the Institute that they visited this picturesque building during the Northampton Meeting in 1878,¹ and that a desire was then expressed that a movement should be set on foot towards the preservation of so remarkable a monument. In accordance with this feeling a report was drawn up by Mr. Somers Clarke, Junr., and an estimate formed of the probable cost, but bad times supervened and the matter went no further.

At a Public Meeting held at Rothwell, on February 12th, 1887, it was resolved that the most fitting way to commemorate the Jubilee of Her Majesty's accession would be by the completion of the old Market-house for the purpose, primarily, of a Reading Room.

The need of such an institution in Rothwell—which, after an interval of some two centuries, is again an increasing town—has long been felt, since there exists at present no place of resort where the inhabitants can find interest and amusement free of cost. It was the universal opinion that no more fitting place could be found than the old, half-completed building which was raised rather more than three hundred years ago by Sir Thomas Tresham, of Rushton, "*as a tribute*," so says the Latin inscription round the building, "*to his sweet fatherland and County of Northampton, but chiefly to this town, his near neighbour.*"

Sir Thomas's good intentions towards Rothwell were unfortunately frustrated by the turbulence of the times, and the trials he underwent on account of his religious and political opinions, by which not only did he suffer in fortune and liberty, but his attention was engrossed to such a degree that of all the buildings he undertook (Rothwell Market-house, Rushton Hall, the Triangular Lodge, and Lyvedon New Building) only the Triangular Lodge was completed in his lifetime. "*Hard to say*," says Thomas Fuller, "*whether greater his delight or skill in building, though more forward in beginning, than fortunate in finishing his fabricks. Amongst which the Market-house at Rothwell, adorned with the Armes of the Gentry of the County, was highly commendable.*"

The task which was abandoned in Queen Elizabeth's reign it is now proposed to complete in Queen Victoria's. The change of times necessitates a slight departure from the original intention of the founder. The lower storey was to have been an open Market-house; but there has been no market at Rothwell for many years. It is therefore proposed to enclose this storey and to let it as offices. By this means a regular annual income will be obtained, which will serve not only to supply the Reading Room with papers, but also to keep the building in repair; both of which objects, if left to annual subscriptions, are

¹ See *Journal*, vol. xxxv., p. 439.

likely to languish. As to the upper storey, it is not clear to what purpose it was intended to be put (it may have been intended for a school), but it is this room which is now to be used as the Reading Room. The space in the high-pitched roof will also be utilized.

We cordially congratulate the principal movers in this scheme upon the line they have taken. An obvious want will be supplied, a remarkable building and special county monument will be rescued from decay, and, most sensible of all, the vacant space on the ground level, till now the harbour and refuge of unseen things, will be so made use of that there should always be funds for keeping the building in repair.

It should be mentioned that the work has been placed in the able hands of Mr. J. A. Gotch, who has done so much towards the elucidation of works of the English Renaissance, and particularly the buildings of Sir Thomas Tresham. We have generally shrunk aghast from any proposals of "restoration," but we must even "restore" sometimes—it sounds like a paradox,—if our successors are to have any ancient buildings at all. It is seldom indeed that we can feel that a matter is in such safe hands as those of Mr. Gotch. On this score we have no fear, and we would only venture to suggest that the date of any new work should be legibly inscribed upon the work itself, or such material used as would necessarily imply the Victorian Era.

The Rothwell market-house is a building of more than local interest. It is a well-known example of an important phase of architectural design, and as such deserves careful preservation; this it is much more likely to receive when used as a public building than when left in a condition which deters anyone from taking responsibility. To the county at large, in honour of which it was partly erected, it must always be of peculiar interest. And, again, to those families whose arms are carved in such profusion on its cornice it must appeal in the liveliest manner. "*Nothing but the common weal did he seek,*" says the founder in the dedicatory inscription, "*nothing but the perpetual honour of his friends.*" Some of his friends have left no posterity, but, on the other hand, some of them have, and the old names survive in the old places. To them, therefore, to all natives and inhabitants of the county, and to the large public which is concerned in the preservation of historical monuments, the Committee appeal for help. We think it probable that many members of the Institute, and particularly those who are interested in heraldry, will be glad of the opportunity of assisting in the protection of so fine a flower in "the Herald's Garden."

Subscriptions may be sent to Robert Watts, Esq., the Manor House, Rothwell.

TICHMARSH CASTLE.—Many of our readers are aware of the discovery, by Mr. Bland, of the foundations at Duffield of a rectangular Norman Keep of first-class dimensions, unnamed in records, and completely forgotten in its neighbourhood. More recently the foundation of a similar structure, also unrecorded and forgotten, have been discovered at Tichmarsh, in Northamptonshire, and have been cleared out, and plans taken at the charge of Lord Lilford, the owner, and under the very competent care of the Rev. R. S. Baker, of Hargrave.

It has been usual to regard the castles of the Norman Lords as centres of oppression, and as such to have produced impressions of their existence both deep and lasting, especially in their immediate neighbour-

hood, and yet here are the undoubted remains of two castles of the first class, of which not only have the ruins themselves perished, but of which the very tradition is forgotten. And they were not of the slight and temporary class stigmatized by Stephen as Adulterine, but works to the full of as substantial a character as even London or Rochester.

WESTMORLAND CHURCH NOTES.—Being the Heraldry, Epitaphs, and other inscriptions in the thirty-two ancient Parish Churches and church-yards of the county of Westmorland, by Edward Bellasis, Lancaster Herald, of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. We have no scruple in bringing before the readers of the Journal a part of the prospectus of a work such as we should like to have for every county in England. The whole country is teeming with antiquaries of different kinds and degrees, but it appears that the bulk of them are hearers and readers rather than doers and workers; certainly very few of them are labourers such as a book of this sort implies: we may, therefore, probably wish in vain for Church Notes for the whole of England. To the certain weariness and painfulness of copying inscriptions we may add the general thanklessness of the task, and, looking throughout England, we see no body of antiquaries who are likely to immediately follow in the wake of Westmorland, except the industrious antiquaries of the neighbouring county of Cumberland.

“This work, comprising over 4,000 entries and blazons, was begun in 1874 by Mr. Bellasis and brought to a close by Mr. J. Hamerton Crump in 1887. It includes all the monumental inscriptions, whether intramural or extramural, connected with all the old parish churches of the county. Monuments, as giving the age of persons at death, are, on this ground alone, invaluable for purposes of identification, more especially those erected previous to the General Registration Act, yet, on the whole, too little attention has been paid to them. The entries are arranged alphabetically for each parish, but a general index will terminate the issue, which it is proposed to print in two parts, commencing in alphabetical order with the churches and church-yards at Appleby. Great pains are being taken to ensure accuracy in the transcripts, *i.e.* by going over the work, so far as possible, a second time, before proceeding to press, and the help herein received is more particularly acknowledged in the book itself.

“It has not been deemed necessary for such practical purposes as those for which alone the task has been undertaken, to space out the texts of the epitaphs just as they appear on the original stones and brasses, still less to reproduce the precise style of lettering, a course that would have involved expensive type, and enhanced the cost to subscribers. Attention, however, has been paid to capital letters, capriciously enough as these are wont to figure; and, as a rule, material from other books, often found inaccurate in this and other respects, has been incorporated only in cases, duly cited, where the known inscriptions have disappeared or become undecipherable.

“The position of each tomb has been noted with reference to the church, and a description, such as altar tomb, brass, &c., or somewhat more detail in the case of remarkable monuments, has been deemed sufficient for identifying, if desired, any particular monument.

“Systematic annotation has been studiously avoided, since it would have entailed years of labour with no adequately useful result to

compensate for the delay thereby entailed in the publication of the book.

"The transcriber feels that his has been only porter's work, but knowing well how soon these invaluable data become lost through friable stone, influence of weather and other causes, he cannot regret the labour that he has been put to; and he trusts it will incite others to undertake Cumberland. Since he first set to work monuments have disappeared, and looking to the value of past gleanings in this historic field, which have rescued for all time what has now gone past recall, he believes that his task will be appreciated, and regard being had also to its great extent and many difficulties, that due allowance will be made for such chance errors and short coming as may be discovered in the notes."

Whatever county is encouraged by Mr. Bellasis's example it can hardly do better than adopt his plan of treatment, and if for larger countries the book is priced at the same relatively low amount there should be no lack of the patronage which his book so well deserves.

The work will be issued in two volumes, thick royal 8vo., with wide margins, and the impression is limited to 250 copies. Volume I will appear at the end of the year and volume II within a year from that date. Price to Subscribers £1 1s., Mr. T. Wilson, Publisher, Kendal.

DEVONSHIRE PARISHES, BY CHARLES WORTHY.—Within our own recollection the parish churches of England have suffered so grievously from "restoration," that the principal key of the history of most parishes has thereby been lost. We are not without hope, however, that some of the churches in "Devonshire Parishes" may have escaped the modern ravage or, at least, have been so tenderly handled that their intelligible story has not been quite converted into meaningless jargon. Judging from the sample page which has reached us the manorial history is likely to be well treated so that the book will possess more than a local interest. The work will be in two volumes, each complete in itself and containing minute accounts of fourteen parishes. Price of each volume 15s. W. Pollard & Co., North Street, Exeter.

THE SOMERSET RECORD SOCIETY.—This Society has been formed for the purpose of seeking out, editing, and printing, such documents as bear upon the history of Somerset. Its aim is, "1—to publish at least one volume per annum. 2—In the choice of records for publication, to keep in view the work of tracing the stream of country life and the devolution of property from the earliest documentary period. 3—In the treatment of records, to present them in such form as will preserve the important parts of the original wording, and to give also such translation and annotation as will open their contents to the general reader, and spread an interest beyond the narrow range of experts."

The Council of the Society contains at present but six names but it would be difficult indeed to find half a dozen better men in any county; we mention the names of Mr. F. H. Dickinson, Mr. E. A. Freeman, and the Rev. W. Hunt as those of "searchers after truth" of whom Somerset may well be proud. The first publication, Bishop Hobhouse's edition of Bishop Drokensford's Register, has just been presented to the subscribers. The value of the earlier Episcopal Registers is now recognized and it is to be hoped that the Society may be enabled to carry on a work that has been so well begun. Mr. E. Green has in hand an account of all the Chantryes of the County from the report made upon

them at the time of their dissolution which will, doubtless, be very good reading, and the society has in preparation "Kirkby's Trust" by Mr. Dickinson, the "Cartularies of Bruton Abbey and Montacute Priory" by Mr. W. J. Batten, &c.

The Subscription is £1 1s. per annum, the secretary of the Society being the Rev. J. A. Bennett, South Cadbury Rectory, Bath.

HISTORY OF THE WILMER FAMILY.—The sympathy of the Institute has never been withheld from works which deal with family history. Only those persons who have embarked upon such arduous undertakings can realize what the family historian has to encounter, and persons who go conscientiously to work can say with truth with the old writer, and long before they finish, "what toil hath been taken as no man thinketh so no man believeth but he that hath made the trial." Pages of correspondence (the curse of modern times,) and days of research will often result in the addition of only one line to the work, oftener still not one word, and perhaps the most disheartening feature in the compilation of a family history is the apathy, not to say the rudeness, with which one's questions are received by the present generation. Not only this, every enquirer knows the difficulty in getting, even from willing informants, a plain and complete answer to a plain and simple question. Thus, the family annalist who is concerned with the story of modern people is beset with far greater difficulties than the historian who draws his information from such pure and now happily accessible founts as the Pipe Rolls.

We have reason to believe that the History of the Wilmer family will prove an excellent example of such works, and the long list of the pedigrees which it will contain at once gives it a value and an interest outside the immediate circle of the family with whose history it deals. The subscription is 12s. 6d.; names may be sent to C. Wilmer Foster, Gamlingay Vicarage, Sandy, Beds.

SOUTH OF ENGLAND CAST-IRON WORK.—MR. J. Lewis André has in preparation an illustrated volume upon this subject. We need hardly call attention to the interest of this subject since it is well known and was amply illustrated by the objects shown in the temporary museum, established during the Lewes meeting of the Institute in 1883. But we may remind our readers that the work in question will treat of both Roman and Mediæval cast-iron workers—City Companies—Patron Saints—Iron Works in the reign of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I.—Camden—Wealth acquired by Ironmasters—Will of Ironmaster—Laws—Extinction of Iron Trade in the South—List of Iron Works in Sussex, Hants, Kent, and Surrey, Notes of the Owners, and Specialities produced—Method of Working for Ore—Cast Cannon—Firebacks—Flemish Designs—Scriptural, Mythological, Historical Subjects—Heraldic, Animal, Floral, and Emblematic Designs on Firebacks—French, "Plaque de cheminée," Firedogs or Andirons—Cob-Irons—French "Chenets"—Sepulchral Slabs—Attempt of Sussex Men to Found in Scotland—17th Century Notions on Properties of Iron.

Mr. André will give an essay on the rise and fall of the Southern Iron Industry and the whole of the illustrations will be drawn to scale. Subscribers' names may be sent to the author, Hurst Road, Horsham, Sussex. The Subscription is 15s.

THE GREAT SEALS OF ENGLAND.—By the late Mr. A. B. Wyon, and Mr. Allan Wyon. The Great Seals which have been used by the

Sovereigns of England from early times to signify the Royal Assent to public documents, present on their faces a brief epitome of the history of England, whilst the narrative of events connected with the Seals themselves gives further illustration of many important and interesting facts connected with that history.

The "Great Seals of England" gives a descriptive, illustrated, and historical account of these Seals, with many curious and interesting particulars as to their general history and the laws concerning them. It sets before the reader the few Royal Seals which are known to have existed in Saxon times; and with the reign of Edward the Confessor it commences a series of Seals which continues unbroken down to our day. A *facsimile* of each Seal is given accompanied by a description of the Seal and its design, a statement of the period during which it was in use, references to the dates of the Charters and other documents to which impressions of the Seals are still attached, and the places where these original Charters have been found and examined by the authors. In most instances these particulars are supplemented by the addition of information and original notes concerning the history of the Seals.

Many extracts from the Records of the Privy Council concerning the Great Seals are now published for the first time. A list of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal from the time of Edward the Confessor to the present day is added; and also a list of officers attending the Great Seal in olden times, with particulars of their duties and emoluments, which furnish much curious information.

We are glad to see that the illustrations will be made by the autotype process. In earlier days we were accustomed to dwell with admiration upon the exquisite and accurate workmanship of Mr. Le Keux. Nothing but the autotype can equal that fidelity, and it is gratifying to know that so worthy a subject will be so worthily treated. Three hundred copies of the work will be printed. The price to subscribers, £5 5s., will be raised after publication. Names may be sent to Mr. Stock, 62, Paternoster Row.

The Archaeological Journal.

SEPTEMBER, 1887.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF SAINTES.

By BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A.

(Continued).

The goddess Rome and Augustus occur here in juxtaposition; so in the reliefs of the Arch of Titus Rome leads the horses that draw the Emperor's triumphal car;¹ and on a somewhat rare coin, mentioned by Mionnet, we have the legend ROM ET AVG with the altar of Lyons between two Victories holding wreaths, as the device.²

¹ C. O. Müller, Denkmäler, Part I, p. 46, Taf. LXV, no. 345, c. Titus als Imperator auf dem Triumph-Wagen, von einer Victoria gekrönt, von einem Viergespann gezogen, welches zur Rechten ein Quirit in leichter Bekleidung, auf der linken Seite die Göttin Roma führt. The goddess Roma is represented as a helmeted female, and at first sight might be easily mistaken for Minerva, whom she resembles both in figure and dress; but the former deity never has the aegis for a breast-plate, and her helmet is sometimes adorned with wolves, alluding to the miraculous preservation of the two founders of the city. This subject is well explained by Hirt, Bilderbuch für Mythologie, Zweites Heft, Seite 184 sq., Pls. XVI fig. 2, XXV figs. 15-19. On a coin of Hadrian, Rome welcomes the Emperor, who wears the garb of peace (toga), because he is returning from a journey, not from a campaign. In the famous Vienna cameo Livia, as Rome, is enthroned by the side of Augustus: Von Sacken und Kenner, Die Sammlungen des K. K. Münzen Antiken Cabinetes, pp. 420-422, no. 19. Augustus pannonischer Triumph (sogenannte Apotheose): Müller, Denkm., Part I, p. 49, Taf. LXIX, no. 377; Archäologie der Kunst, §405, Remark 2, English Transl. pp. 542, 544, cf. *ibid.*

§190, R 1, II, p. 171 sq., Temples of Augustus and Roma.

A coin of Vespasian is engraved as the frontispiece of Cohen's Médailles Impériales, vol. I; it shows Rome seated on the seven hills (septimontium), and holding a short sword (parazonium); the she-wolf suckles Romulus and Remus: to right is the Tiber semi-recumbent: *ibid.*, p. 315, no. 375, cf. nos. 376-396.

² De la Rareté et du Prix des Médailles Romaines, 2nd edition, vol. I, p. 113, Augustus, Grand Bronze, revers rares. Cohen, Méd. Imp., vol. I, p. 71, no. 273, note 2; Pl. III, GB. Tout annonce que les médailles d'Auguste et de Tibère, qui ont au revers l'autel de Lyon, n'ont point été frappées à Rome. The Rev. S. S. Lewis possesses a silver medallion which has on the obverse the head of Augustus, legend, IMP. IX TR·PO·V; on the reverse the front of a temple with six columns on steps, a pediment with acroteria at the three corners, and the words ROM ET AVGVST on the architrave, legend COM·ASIAE; said to have been struck at the mint of Ephesus: cf. Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. II, p. 466, s. v. Pergannus.

The temple at Ancyra (Angora), which is celebrated on account of its inscription, on the inside of the Antae, recording the

This leads me to remark that the phrase *ad aram quae est ad confluentem* has been variously interpreted; some local antiquaries have supposed that the junction of the Seugne and Charente is meant; but the most eminent authorities, from Montfaucon down to M. Audiat, agree in explaining the confluence with reference to the Saône and Rhone. The altar at the latter place, as Strabo informs us, was erected in honour of Augustus by all the Gallic nations; it was adorned with sixty statues representing them and one far surpassing these in its dimensions, probably of Augustus himself. Such a monument on account of its size, decorations and historical importance must have been so famous throughout the country that we cannot be surprised to find it designated, without any specification of rivers, by the phrase *ad confluentem* alone.¹

Praefectus fabrûm was the officer who constructed encampments and directed the siege of towns; from the beauty of the characters it is supposed that the words are

Res gestae of Augustus, was dedicated to Rome as well as to the deified Emperor (Divus): Mommsen on the Monumentum Ancyranum, p. VIII: W. J. Hamilton, Researches in Asia Minor &c., vol. I, pp. 420-423; vol. II, Appendix no. 102 p. 416; no. 103, pp. 417-419.

For the cult of Roman majesty personified see Merivale's History, vol. IV, p. 15, 8^{vo} edition. Tacitus, Annals, IV, 37, Cum divus Augustus sibi atque urbi Romae templum apud Pergamum sibi non prohibuisset, with Orelli's note; *ibid.*, c. 56.

Not only the Emperor, but also his family were regarded as divine; hence we find in inscriptions the phrase, In honorem domus divinae, which is usually abbreviated, e.g., IN. II.D.D.AVGG. (i.e. Augustorum): v. Leonardy, Trier und seine Umgebungen, pp. 85, 87, where three examples are given.

¹ Strabo, lib. IV, cap. III, Gallia Lugdunensis, §2, (p. 192, edit. Didot, p. 159 (the reading is doubtful in one place), ἐπὶ τῇ συμβολῇ τῶν ποταμῶν. Cf. Juvenal Sat. I, v. 44.

Aut Lugdunensem rhetor dicturus ad aram, and numerous passages cited by Ruperti *in loco*: see the Commentaries of Heinrich and Professor J. E. B. Mayor, and the note in Gifford's Translation.

Confluens corresponds to the modern Coblenz at the junction of the Rhine and the Moselle; and is marked in the Antonine Itinerary on the road from

Lugdunum Batavorum (Leyden) to Argentoratum (Strasbourg) edit. Parthey and Pinder, p. 176; edit. Wesseling p. 371. The same name also recurs in Switzerland, where the Rhine and the Aar meet: v. the map appended to Mommsen's Inscriptiones Confoederationis Helveticae Latinae; it indicates Locis in quibus repertae sunt tegulae castrorum Vindonissensium. Cf. Livy, IV, 17. Et dictator Romanus laud procul inde ad confluentes consedit in utriusque ripis annis.

The institution of the Augustales (priests of Augustus) at Rome is related by Tacitus, Ann. I, 54, cf. *ibid.*, II, 83. They were 25 in number, and were properly called sodales Augustales. In the municipal towns there were Augustales, who must be distinguished from the former body; they formed a *collegium* (corporation) of which the six leading members were denominated *seviri*, comp. *septenviri epulones*. They seem to have been taken from the class of libertini (freedmen) and to have held an intermediate rank, like the equestrian order at Rome, between the decuriones (senators) and the plebs (commons). This priesthood is frequently mentioned in Inscriptions: Orelli's Collection, vol. II, pp. 197-207, C. XVI. Res Municipalis, §12; observe the form used in no. 3911, IIIII VIRI. See the elaborate article Augustalis &c., in De Vit's edition of Forcellini, containing 22 sections, and the Dict. of Greek and Roman Antt., s.v.

used in this sense on the fragment of stone mentioned above; but they are also applied to a civil functionary, who was head of a corporation or guild of artisans.¹

The date of the arch is fixed by the fourth consulate of Tiberius above mentioned in the year of Rome 774. I do not know what writer the editor of Murray's Handbook for France (1882) has followed: he states incorrectly that the Roman Triumphal Arch was raised in the reign of Nero to the memory of Germanicus, of Tiberius his uncle, and of Drusus his father. There are here three mistakes: the monument was not an Arc de Triomphe, which is only the vulgar French name;² it was not built at the period specified, and the inscription records not the father, but the cousin of Germanicus. Some confusion seems to have been made between the earlier Neros and the Emperor of that name, and again between Drusus senior and junior.

III. Though the church of Saint Eutrope is very remarkable, particularly on account of its crypt—one of the largest in France³—still the Abbaye de Notre Dame,

¹ Praefectus fabrūm is in Greek *ἑπαρχος τῶν τεχνιτῶν*. The title has probably the same meaning in the inscription on the Arch as in that beginning with ONNETODVENI. Praefectus fabrūm is said, not *fabrorum*; so Livy, book I, c. 43, in his account of the Constitution of Servius Tullius, writes, *Additae huic classi duae fabrūm centuriae*. M. Audiat remarks that this officer (*intendant des travaux*) was a kind of engineer attached to each legion, *Epigraphie Sant. et Aunis.*, p. 15; but this is by no means certain, as the name of the legion is not joined with this title in undoubted Inscriptions.

According to the Dict. of Antt., we know nothing respecting the civil magistrates called *praefecti fabrūm* beyond their names; this statement also is not quite correct: see *Travaux de l'Académie Impériale de Reims*, trentième volume. Année 1859-1860, nos. 3 et 4; *Reims pendant la Domination Romaine*, d'après les Inscriptions, par M. Ch. Loriquet, no. 6, pp. 82-97, esp. pp. 82 sq., 85 sq. Cf. Hagenbuch's *Epistole in Orelli*, *Collectio Inscr. Lat.*, vol. II, pp. 95-100, nos. 3430-3434: Dict. of Antt. s.v. *Faber*. From *auri faber* comes the French *orfèvre*, goldsmith.

² A comparison with the triumphal arches of the Romans will show that the arch at Saintes belongs to a different category. The former are decorated with

sculptures relating to naval and military achievements—processions carrying the spoils of conquered nations, trophies, swords, shields and battle-scenes; such as we see at Rome, at Laodicea ad Marc (Ladikiyeh in Syria), or at Orange: for the last consult the great work of Caristie, in folio, with frontispiece and 51 plates. Ornaments of this kind are altogether wanting in the monument now under consideration; there is not even a trace of ledges to support bas-reliefs, as in the Porte Gallo-Romaine at Langres: my Paper on the Antiquities of that place, *Archaeol. Journ.*, vol. XLIII, p. 99, text and notes; and engraving to face p. 96.

Long ago Mahudel refuted the opinion that the Arch at Saintes was triumphal: *Montfaucon, Antiquité Expliquée, Supplément*, vol. IV, p. 100 sq. It was probably erected to commemorate the opening of the road from Mediolanum Santonum to Limonum (Poitiers)—a supposition which is corroborated by the legend QVOD VIAE MYNITAE SVNT, accompanying an arch upon a bridge, in coins of Augustus: *Cohen, Méd. Imp.*, vol. I, p. 61 sq., nos. 187-191 Bourignon, p. 72; *De Crazannes*, p. 89 sq.

³ The lofty tower and spire are very conspicuous, as seen from les Arènes, or any elevation in the neighbourhood. For an account of the church vide infra Appendix.

commonly called Abbaye des Dames, has greater claims on our attention, and I shall therefore attempt to describe its more important features. It has been converted into a barrack of infantry; and this fact must be borne in mind by the antiquarian visitor; otherwise he may be mistaken for a spy, especially if, as often happens with our fellow-countrymen, he speaks French like a German; in that case he would be roughly interrupted in the midst of his research, and ordered to leave the precincts by the sentry on duty. The best plan is to ask permission at the Poste Militaire (not the Poste-aux-lettres), which will be readily granted to a *bonâ fide* student. An officer accompanied me into the interior, and kindly pointed out amongst other details, which would have escaped my notice, a group of the theological virtues pendent from the roof. This church bears a close resemblance to Notre Dame-la-Grande at Poitiers, and Saint Nicolas at Civray, about half way between the former place and Angoulême.¹ The façade and the tower are the most interesting parts that still remain.

The west front consists of two storeys, each containing three arches; the one that forms the great portal in the centre is most richly ornamented, but the unprejudiced stranger will hardly concur with M. Audiat who praises its "unequalled magnificence." It has four semi-circular rows of sculptures in the vault, separated by bands of arabesques carved in open work (*à jour*). 1. In the lowest we see six angels adoring, three on either side of the key-stone, which is occupied by a hand of preternatural size, nimbated. All the faces are of course turned towards this symbol of the Divine interposition in human affairs.² 2. The Paschal Lamb takes the same central

¹ This place is marked in the map facing p. 5 of *The Domed Churches of Charente*, published by the Architectural Association, 4^{to}; it is in the department Vienné, a little to the north of the boundary of Charente: Murray, *Hand-book for Western France*, p. 249, edit., 1882.

² So on a Third Brass of Constantine the Great, "the Emperor stands in a chariot, and extends his arm to grasp a celestial hand which is raising him to the skies." *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. XXVIII, p. 36, 1871.

An open hand appears on the staters

and drachms of Poitou, under a centaur, or androcephalous horse, as the French antiquaries call it. Hucher explains this accessory as a symbol of confederation, and refers to a bronze hand in the National cabinet, inscribed with Greek characters, which are interpreted to mean *Témoignage d'alliance pour les Vellauni*, Cf. Tacitus, *Hist.*, I, 54, *Miserat civitas Lingonum vetere instituto dona legionibus dextras, hospitii insigne*; and Orelli's note, *argenteas . . . quales visuntur in nummis*; but in the Index he says, *Manus aeneae symbolicum concordiae insigne*.

position surrounded by fantastic foliage and the usual emblems of the Evangelists; the angel and the bull are on his right hand, the eagle and lion on his left. 3. Forty-four figures, corresponding to the number of vousoirs, form the next series: they are for the most part arranged in pairs, and consist of an executioner beheading with a sword his victim who meekly bows to receive the fatal blow: in one instance a battle-axe is employed. The subject is supposed to be the massacre of the Holy Innocents; but at least in many cases the sufferer is represented as equal in size to the persecutor, so that one is tempted to conjecture that we have here some other scene portrayed in sculpture, perhaps some local legend of martyrdom not generally known. 4. Lastly, the topmost row is filled up with the Elders of the Apocalypse, bearded, crowned and seated; each holds in one hand a musical instrument, violin or guitar, and in the other a vase for perfumes. These particulars agree generally with the description in the Revelation.¹ "And upon the seats I saw four and

I think that in many cases it would be difficult to decide whether a coin should be attributed to the Pictones or Santones; sometimes we meet with the legend SA, apparently the initial letters of the latter tribe. When these are absent, the question must be determined by the *provenance*; see Th. P. De Saint-Ferjeux, quoted by Castan, *Monnaies Gauloises des Séquanes*, Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation du Doubs, Quatrième Série, septième volume, Séance du 8 Juin, 1872, p. 542. Huclier's work, *L'Art Gaulois &c.*, is not well arranged, but the following references will throw light on the numismatics of Poitou and Saintonge. Part I, Plates 41 no. 1; 43, no. 2; 60, no. 1, pp. 10, 27; Part II, p. 95 no. 153; cf. Rollin et Feuillant, *Catalogue d'une Collection de Médailles de la Gaule*, p. 15, nos. 175, 179, 181, 182.

¹ The frequent recurrence of the Twenty-four Elders in mediæval art will, I hope, be considered a sufficient reason for calling attention to the passages from which this subject is derived. Apoc., IV, 4, *Καὶ κεικλόμεν τοῦ θρόνου θρόνοι ἑξήκοντα τέσσαρες*. V, 8, *Ἐχόντες ἕκαστος κιβήραν καὶ φιάλας χρυσᾶς γεμουσᾶς θυμιαμάτων*. Two mistakes made here by King James's Translators have been corrected in the Revised Version. The word *thrones* has been properly substituted for *seats*, because in the original *θρόνος* is used with

reference to the Elders as well as to the Deity. v. Alford's note on IV, 4; evidently smaller thrones, and probably lower than *ὁ θρόνος*. The text is as follows in the Vulgate, *Et in circuitu sedis sedilia XXIV, et super thronos XXIV seniores sedentes* etc. Theod. Beza follows the Greek more closely. Secondly, *φιάλη* has been rendered by *bowl*; it was in shape like a saucer, and often of large size, and is called in pure Latin *patera* from *patco* to be open. Vial, French *firole*, of course comes from *φιάλη*, but has a different signification, being a small bottle with a narrow neck.

*Iipse capaces
Heliadum crustas et inaequales beryllo
Viro tenet phialas.*

Juvenal, Sat., V, 37-39.

"The patron drinks from a large jewelled saucer, the client from a small glass *calix*, v. 47." Prof. J. E. B. Mayor's note in his 2nd edition of Juv.

Φιάλη often occurs in Herodotus; Bloomfield, *Greek Test.*, vol. II, p. 660, refers to Schweighauser on Herod II, 151, but cf. *omn. Baehr* on III, 130. The woodcuts in Rich's *Companion* to the *Lat. Dict.*, s.v. *Patera*, show both the depth and circumference. St. Jerome in the Vulgate has retained the word *phiala*, *loc. citat.*; it might perhaps be translated censer, but another word *λιβανωτός*, is used with this meaning, Apoc. VIII, 3,

twenty elders sitting, clothed in white raiment, and they had on their heads crowns of gold . . . having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints." But the number mentioned by St. John is *twenty-four*, whereas on the stones it is *fifty-four*, probably with a view to cover with groups all the voussoirs on the outermost of these concentric arches. The vases have rather long stems, and might at first sight be mistaken for sceptres;¹ as they are held in the same, or nearly the same vertical direction, the monotonous repetition tends to weary the spectator. At Moissac, between Montauban and Agen, a station on the Railway from Toulouse to Bordeaux, we find the subject treated with more taste and feeling. There the scriptural number is preserved exactly; the Elders are arranged in three lines, four in the upper, six in the middle, and fourteen in the lowest. Their attitudes are varied, but, with scarcely an exception they earnestly gaze on the grand figure of Our Lord in benediction, seated, with crucigerous nimbus round his head, and holding the book of the Gospels.² Thus we see that the sublime imagery of the Celestial Vision, which had such fascination for the early Christians maintained its influence far down into the Middle Age.

In other parts of the façade narratives from Scripture and allegories are represented. Christ, in the midst of his apostles, at the Last Supper, has a fish in his hand, with allusion to the Greek word ΙΧΘΥΣ.³ Adam and Eve

5, and *θυμιατήριον* in the Epistle to the Hebrews, IX, 4, though in the latter passage some interpret it "altar of incense."

Κιθάρα is the same word as *guitar*, German Zither, and the form of the instrument has been retained in modern times. Wilkinson's Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, vol. II, pp. 297-304, figs. 221-224.

¹ At first sight I thought that the vases in the hands of the Elders were nearly of the same shape as the glass vessels found by Mr. C. T. Newton at Cnidus (Discoveries at Halicarnassus &c., vol. II, Pt. 2, Text, chap. XV, pp. 388-390, figs on p. 389), or the so-called lachrymatories, and unguentaria (Catalogue of Glass, Slade Collection, pp. 44-46., figs. 65-69); but on closer examination of the photograph I perceived that I had mistaken the uplifted arm for the

stem of the vase, which is a goblet as at Moissac.

² This is the finest work of the kind in France, as far as I know. A very good photograph of it can be obtained in Paris which, I presume, was taken from a cast (mouillage) in the National Collection. These figures adorn the tympanum of a porch that is deeply recessed; "admirable *portail* du XII^e, siècle véritable musée de sculpture romane:" Joanne, Guides Diamant, Pyrénées, p. 6, edit. 1875. In this case the forms of the guitar and goblet are much more apparent than at Saintes.

³ ΙΧΘΥΣ occurs three times in the celebrated Autun Inscription; I have made some remarks on the origin, meaning and use of this emblem in my Paper on the Antiquities of that place, Archæol. Journ., vol. XL, pp. 39-42.

are tempted by the Serpent; demons are torturing the damned; a vulture, typical of Remorse, is tearing a man to pieces; Luxury is symbolized by a monster devouring the sexual parts of a woman. The capitals of the columns should be particularly noticed, abounding as they do in interlaced work, conventional foliage and figures both animal and human.

This church is assigned by Viollet-le-Duc to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but the tower to the latter.¹ It is important to bear the dates in mind, because they are subsequent to that of Saint Front at Périgueux—the Cathedral imitated in the ecclesiastical architecture of Périgord, Saintonge, Angoumois and Poitou.² In these provinces the tower was usually built at the intersection of the transepts and entrance of the choir. At Notre Dame de Saintes it is composed of two storeys; the first square, pierced on each side by three arches which are supported by engaged columns; the second circular, raised on a cupola, with cylindrical buttresses instead of columns between the arches, and ornamented with pinnacles at each corner of the quadrangular base; it is surmounted by a conical cap, whose imbricated stones are inverted.³ In this respect the tower resembles Saint Front, but the proportions differ; that at Saintes having much greater breadth relatively to the height; hence it looks at the same time more solid and more symmetrical. It is now in a very dilapidated condition, and threatens to fall.

Notre Dame is an example of the domical structure prevalent in Aquitaine, but not found in other parts of

¹ Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture Française du XI^e au XVI^e siècle: Église, tome V, p. 173; Clocher, t. III, p. 304, figs. 14, 15.

² For a copious and very instructive account of this church, see the admirable work of M. Félix de Verneilh entitled, *L'Architecture Byzantine en France—Saint Front de Périgueux et les Églises à coupoles de l'Aquitaine*. The frontispiece is a restoration, to a great extent conjectural, as the domes were covered by a roof when M. Verneilh wrote. This has been removed, and the photograph, which I exhibited, of the church as now seen is almost identical with the engraving published in 1851—a striking proof

of the author's sagacity. It may remind us of Bentley's ingenious emendations, which have been subsequently confirmed by the collation of manuscripts unknown to him. *Comp. Architectural Studies in France* by the Rev. J. L. Petit, pp. 65-76, 1854, with View of St. Front, &c.

³ *Domed Churches of Charente*, Preliminary, chap. I, p. 9. The dome . . . was not allowed to appear externally like a baker's oven or close kiln, but was surmounted by a central tower, square or octagonal, and covered by a conical spire. The stones of the latter were so carved as to give the appearance of a fir-cone, whence the French expression for these scales is *en pomme de pin*.

France. The hemispherical vault came originally from Byzantium through the Venetians, as seems to be proved by Saint Front, which must strike even a superficial observer as a copy of St. Mark's in its plan and dimensions, though the bare white walls of the interior form a dismal contrast to the marbles and mosaics that adorn its prototype.⁶³ The best English account of this subject that I know is contained in the *Visit to the Domed Churches of Charente* by the Architectural Association of London in 1875, published as a Memorial of Edmund Sharpe, 4to., with sixty plates. It treats especially of an adjoining Department, but many of the remarks apply equally to Charente Inférieure, where Saintes is situated.

The Byzantine influence, so manifest in Gallic architecture and sculpture, may be traced also in coinage. I exhibit as an example a rare solidus of Theodebert from the cabinet of the Rev. S. S. Lewis. On the obverse we have the king's bust helmeted, and on the reverse the legend VICTOR AAVGGG, with the well known characters CONOB in the exergue. The triple G indicates three Augusti. A comparison with the plates of Sabatier's *Monnaies Byzantines* will leave no doubt that this type was derived from Constantinople.¹

M. Verneilh has shown by many proofs how strong the Venetian influence was in Aquitaine. This commercial people in the tenth century had a depôt near Montpellier, and afterwards at Aigues-Mortes; they also colonized Limoges, from which city goods were forwarded to the North of France, and by way of Rochelle to England. The chief authority for this subject cited by M. Verneilh, pp. 129-136, is the *Recueil* manuscrit des *Antiquités de Limoges*, compilation méthodique rédigée en 1638, sur des documents très-anciens, mais perdus aujourd'hui. Murray, *Western France*, p. 275, mentions the *Rue des Vénitiens*, and *Porte de Venise* now removed.

The churches at St. Mark at Venice and St. Front at Périgueux have a special interest for us, because their construction with a series of domes resembles Sir Christopher Wren's original design for St. Paul's. By means of windows at the top of the domes over his nave, he produced such a distribution of light and shade that the effect would have been inconceivably fine, and the interior of his cathedral, the noblest in the world:

Petit, *op. citat.* p. 78 sq. Wren's model was formerly exhibited at the South Kensington Museum, but is now deposited in an upper apartment near the Library at St. Paul's, where it can be seen, only by special application. As Milton surpassed Homer and Virgil, so our greatest architect improved upon the ideas which he borrowed from predecessors.

Comp. Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. I, pp. 436-482, *Aquitania—domical churches*. In the first edition Périgueux is printed twice for Périgueux, which would give the soft sound of G instead of the hard. It is also stated that St. Mark's retains its frescos and decorations, while St. Front presents nothing now but naked bare walls. St. Mark's is adorned with marbles, mosaics and bas-reliefs, but I do not remember having seen or read of any frescos there.

¹ Theodebert I, king of Austrasia and grandson of Clovis, played an important part in the history of the sixth century; he was contemporary with Justinian, and threatened to destroy the Eastern empire. First of his race, he struck coins with his

I have described the two Roman monuments still existing at Saintes, but the classical student should not leave the town without visiting the fragments preserved in the Departmental Museum, which attest the magnificence as well as importance of this ancient capital. De Crazannes recognizes in them architecture of three different periods, viz. that of Augustus and Tiberius, of Hadrian and the Antonines, of Diocletian and Constantine; he illustrates each style by engravings.¹ The Museum is lodged together with the Library, in the Hôtel de Ville; it contains capitals of Corinthian columns, friezes and cornices, votive altars, bas-reliefs, and inscriptions, among the last, one of the sixth century that is Christian. There are also some mosaics from the Thermae, North of the town, on the left bank of the Charente, which have been destroyed. The disappearance of the Baths is the more to be regretted as they were discovered in remarkably good condition, and at a moderate expense might have been preserved intact.² Besides these relics of Roman

effigy in the style of a Byzantine monarch; the type seems copied rudely from the solidus of Justin I (518-527), or Justinian I, 527-565: the device on the reverse is Victory facing. For the currency of these Emperors see Sabatier, *Monnaies Byzantines*, vol. I, pp. 157-194, Pls. IX-XVII; esp. IX, 21-23; XI, 19; XII, 1-5, with the corresponding letter-press: C. F. Keary, *The Coinages of Western Europe* (Honorius to Charlemagne), four plates; Merovingians, Pl. I, 12, 13; III, 1-11; Ducange, *Glossar, Med. et Inf. Lat.*, edit. G. A. L. Henschel, tom. IV, tab. I, opposite p. 624, fig. 9, v. *Index Monetarum* at the end of the volume, D.N. Theodebertus Victor—Victoria Auggg. *Bona* (ad Rhenum) Conob. The letters BO are at the feet of Victory, but separated. *Bona* is incorrect; the ancient name was *Bonna*, like the modern *Bonn*. This word occurs in Tacitus, and the adjective *Bonnensis* formed from it: *Histories*, IV, 19, 20, 25, 62, &c.

Barthélemy, *Manuels—Roret*, *Numismatique Moderne*, p. 8, gives the following lists of the mints (ateliers monétaires) in Austrasia, "Reims, Toul, Metz, Lyon, Laon, Andernach, Bologne, Rheimnagen on Riom, Trèves, les Arvernes." Bologne it will be observed is here mentioned next to Andernach and Rheimnagen, now commonly called Remagen—towns on the Rhine between Cologne and Coblenz.

This causes suspicion of some mistake. The letters BO may have been interpreted as the beginning of the name Bononia; but whether this is supposed to be Boulogne-sur-Mer in France, or Bologna in Italy, neither would be applicable, because both these places are outside Austrasia. On the other hand, the position and importance of Bonn make it very likely that money was coined there.

¹ De Crazannes *Lettre à messieurs les Membres de l'Académie royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, p. 4. In this section of his work, pp. 1-19, he describes many objects of ancient art found at Saintes, with copious explanations, foot-notes and references.

² A good idea of the contents of the Museum may be formed from De Crazannes, *loc. citat.*, see also *Explication des Planches, Antiq. de Saintes*, I-VII, pp. 193-203. Among the more important monuments are the following:—Pl. I, no. 1, portion of frieze ornamented with a medallion (rosace), the device on which is the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus. Pl. II, nos. 1-3, Corinthian impost and pilaster, sculptured with clusters of grapes and vine leaves; bas-relief of a Bacchante; frieze with shield and Bucranium figured upon it: the fillet on the bull's head indicates that the victim is decked for sacrifice. Pl. IV, no. 1, a Roman personage on horseback, wearing the paludamentum (general's

times, the collection includes some of the Middle-Ages, chiefly from the nave of Saint Eutrope, now demolished. The principal objects are capitals ornamented with figures (*chapiteaux historiés*); in design and execution they surpass those still left in the church. It is not by any means an agreeable duty to censure the authorities of a town in which I have passed some happy days, and the voice of a stranger without local influence may have little weight; still I cannot refuse to comply with M. Audiat's request that I should call attention to the neglect of the *Conseil Municipal* in failing to provide suitable apartments instead of the "salle déplorable," in which all sorts of antiquities, classical and mediæval, are confusedly heaped together.

The historical, or rather biographical associations of Saintes, are like its environs, pleasing. We are not reminded of war and battles, slaughter and desolation; but we are led to think of two eminent men, one in the fourth, the other in the sixteenth century, connected with the place by long residence. Ausonius, rhetorician, poet and consul, spent his declining years at his villa in the canton of Noverus.¹ Its exact situation cannot be de-

cloak) is entering the gate of a city. It has been supposed that Hadrian is represented here: when he went on his beneficent journey through the provinces, he began with Gaul (A.D. 120), and returned thither after visiting Germany and Britain: Augustan History, Spartianus, Vita Hadr. cc. 10-12, edit. Hermann Peter. C. 10, Post hæc profectus in Gallias omnes causarios liberalitatibus sublevavit. C. 11, Britanniam petit, in qua multa correxit murumque per octoginta milia passuum primus duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret. C. 12, Compositis in Britannia rebus transgressus in Galliam. Moreover, the short beard of this figure is a detail which agrees with the Emperor's effigy as we see it on his numerous coins. Pl. V, no. 1, Sepulchral *cippus* of Materna, on which a female is sculptured, clothed in the *palla*, probably a priestess, or woman initiated in mysteries; she holds a branch in her right hand, and flowers that look like poppies in her left. Pl. VI, nos. 5 and 6, these figures of a late period and rude style are presumed to be Christian; both of them carry a purse, which may symbolize the "treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust corrupt."

Pl. VII, Elevation, plans and sections of ancient baths.

If we turn to the smaller objects found in excavations at Saintes, a vitreous paste seems deserving of notice. Upon it the recognition of Ulysses by his dog Argus (Swift) is portrayed. He has on his head, as usual, a conical cap (*pileus*), and holds in his hand a knotty stick, given him by the swine-herd Eumæus (*δῖος ὑφορβός*): *Odyssey*, XVII, 199, 291 seq. This scene appears also on the denarii of the gens Mamilia, because this family came from Tusculum, which was founded by Telegonus, the son of Ulysses and Circe. Cohen, *Médailles Consulaires*, p. 197, no. 5 and *Eclaircissements*, Pl. XXV; cf. Introduction, p. XXXIV, no. 28; Pl. XLV, no. 6, Restitutions de Trajan: Morell, *Familiarum Romanarum Numismata*, Thesaurus, Tom. II, p. 258, Mamilia, nos. I, II.

¹ A local enthusiasm has induced De Crazannes to exaggerate the merits of his compatriot; but we must admit that of all the Roman poets this author is the most useful in illustrating Gallic history and monuments. Besides his idyll entitled *Mosella*, the best known of his works, in his *Ordo Nobilium Urbium*, or

finitely fixed; but it could not have been far from Saintes, as he speaks of sending his wine thither in a cart drawn by two horses, and expressly calls the city his neighbour.¹ De Crazannes places Noverus at Novioregum (Toulon) of the Antonine Itinerary, and supports his conclusion by the similarity of the names; however, many of his arguments would apply equally well to other localities, so that we can only regard his identification as probable.²

Claræ Urbes, he describes Treveri Trèves, Arclæ Arles, Tolosa Toulouse, Narbo Narbonne, and his birth-place Burdigala Bordeaux. As Mr. Robinson Ellis has observed, Hermathena, no. XII, p. 1, 1886, Ausonius has not yet been published with explanatory notes giving the results of archaeological investigation. However, the excellent critical edition of Schenkl, 1883, supplies us with a carefully revised text in which many corrections have been made, parallel passages, and various readings: copious Indices are also appended; I Scriptorum, i.e., Authors imitated by Ausonius, or those who have imitated him; II Nominum et Rerum; III Grammaticæ Elocutionis, Rei Metricæ. These Indices contain so many references that they almost take the place of an exegetical commentary.

Ausonius attained the consulate A.D. 379, v. Ad Gratianum Imperatorem discipulum Gratianum actio pro consulatu. His career resembled Quintilian's, to which Juvenal alludes, Sat. VII, 197, Si fortuna volet, ties de rhetore consul; but the latter only received the title and insignia of that office (consularia ornamenta).

¹ Epistolæ XI, Paulo S, v. 1—
Vinum quum bijugo parabo plastro
Primo tempore Santonos vehendum.

Ibid. VIII, Axio Paulo Rhetori S, v. i.—Tandem eluctati retinacula blanda morarum,

Burdigalæ molles liquimus illecebras,
Santoniceque urbem vicino accessimus agro.

² *Ibid.* XXV (XXIV), Paulino S, v. 90
Me juga Burdigalæ, trino me flumina
coctu

Secernunt turbis popularibus * * *

Totque mea in Novaro sibi proxima
prædia pago

Dispositis totum vicibus variata per
annum,

Egelidæ ut tepeant hiemes rabidosque
per aestus

Adspirent tenues frigus subtile Aquilones.
The Delphin edition reads Ter juga

Burdigalæ. In the following words *trino me flumina coctu*, the poet alludes to the Garunna Garonne, Duranius Dordogne, and Carantonus Charente. Duranius must not be confounded with Durance, the modern name of Druentia, a tributary of the Rhone, which falls into it near Avignon.

For the geography of this district the Antonine Itinerary should be consulted; some places already mentioned occur in the following extract—

Item a Burdigala Augustodunum
(Autun) . . . mpm CCLXXXIII (*sic*).
Blauto (Blavio, Blaye) . . . mpm XVIII
Tannum (Talmont or Mor-
tagne) mpm XVI
Novioregum mpm XII
Mediolanum Santonum . . . mpm XV
Aunedomacum (Aunay) . . . mpm XVI,

p. 458 sq., edit. Wesseling; p. 219, Parthey and Pinder. D'Anville and Reichard place Novioregum at Royan, but Lapie at Senjon, near the village of Toulon—the site preferred by De Crazannes: Dissertation sur la position de Noverus, Op. citat., pp. 56-71, esp. p. 57.

Vv. 124-126 of the same Epistle,
Ecce tuus Paulinus adest. Jam nin-
guida linquit

Oppida Iberorum, Tarbellica jam tenet
arva.

Hebromagi jam tecta subit, jam præ-
dia fratris

Vicina ingreditur, jam labitur annie
secundo &c.

According to De Crazannes, p. 63, Hebromagus was at Pauliac (Pauillac), an important station for ocean-steamers on the Gironde, like St. Pauli below Hamburg. See map of the Médoc in Murray's Handbook for Western France, p. 306, edit. 1882. Paulinus may have had a villa there, which would account for the modern name. However, the identification is very doubtful. Comp. the Supplement to Brunet's Manuel du Libraire, Dictionnaire de Géographie; Eburonagus [Tab. Peut.], Hebromagus [Auson.], localité de la Gande Narbonne, aujourd' hui *Branne*, commune du Lin-

The writings of Ausonius abound in faults prevalent during the decadence; but he deserves to be read partly for his attractive pictures of external nature and of human action, partly for the information he affords us on many points of Gallo-Roman antiquity.

But a greater than Ausonius was here. Bernard Palissy, land-surveyor, portrait-painter, chemist and geologist, chiefly known as an artist in enamelled pottery, spent twenty years of his eventful life at Saintes, the scene of his sacrifices, privations and persevering experiments, while he was *struggling with his own thoughts*, and trying to invent, *like a man groping in the dark*.¹ And this was not all. Palissy looked beyond the horizon of outward things "with that inner eye which no calamity could darken," he embraced the Reformed Religion, joined in founding the Calvinist Church at Saintes, was one of its earliest preachers, suffered persecution, and saw his *atelier* destroyed; he may almost be called a martyr, for at least he was imprisoned in the Bastille, and died there. No wonder that the French Protestants even to this day cherish his memory, and speak of him as *notre illustre co-religionnaire*.²

ousin (Haute-Vienne). Mr. George Long in Smith's Dict. of Class. Geogr. places it between Toulouse and Carcassonne.

¹ Cf. omn. Recueil de Faïences Françaises du XVI^e siècle, L'Œuvre de Bernard Palissy par M. Henri Delange, fol., Paris, 1862, with fine portrait and coloured Pls. Good specimens of the artist's style are to be seen in the Porcelain Gallery at South Kensington. For a popular account of Palissy and his followers see Gasnault and Garnier's Handbook of French Pottery, published by the Museum, pp. 22-31. The chief features of the ornamentation in his rustic dishes are "reptiles winding on a bed of ferns or moss, or fish swimming round an islet, in the centre of which is a gracefully-coiled snake, whilst the border is alive with lizards, frogs and a thousand small insects:" *ibid.* p. 25; figs. 8, 9. Palissy lived at Saintes about 1542-1562; his atelier was near the Bridge. De Crazannes p. 15, mentions him in connection with the ancient manufactory of pottery.

² It is related—and the story has been often repeated by historians and biographers—that Henry III, when he visited Palissy in prison, said to him, "If you do not change your religion, I shall be

compelled to give you up to the power of your enemies." Whereupon the undaunted artist replied, "Sire give me leave to tell your majesty that it is not in your power to compel a potter to bend his knee before the images which he fabricates." M. Audiat has examined this anecdote very carefully, and stated reasons for doubting its truth. He traces it to a pamphlet by Agrippa D'Aubigné, La Confession catholique du sieur de Saucy, chap. VII. This writer was not an eye-witness, and he gives a different account of the interview in his Histoire Universelle, tome III, pp. 216, 217, livre III, chap. 1^{er}, printed in 1620. He has made mistakes as to persons, facts and chronology; and the visit is not mentioned by Pierre de l'Estoile, who seems more worthy of credit. Moreover, D'Aubigné embellishes his narrative with a passage in Seneca's drama, Hercules Furens, which he misquotes: it stands thus in the original, v. 425, LY. Cogere ME. cogi qui potest, nes-cit mori. (Stoicé, marginal note edit. Farnaby 1613). Altogether, the tale seems too rhetorical, and was probably invented by this zealous Huguenot.

Pierre de l'Estoile says that Palissy

A marble statue of the famous potter has been erected near the bridge on the Place Bassompierre. Palissy is represented standing in a posture of meditation; his right hand supports his head which bends downwards, his left holds a dish placed upright on books—appropriate emblems of his art and writings.¹ The pedestal bears the following inscriptions. In front—

A
BERNARD PALISSY
MDX—MDXC
LA VILLE DE SAINTES
ET LA SAINTONGE
MDCCLXVIII

and on the back the titles of two of his works—

RECEPTE VÉRITABLE

par laquelle tous les hommes de France pourront apprendre à multiplier et à augmenter leurs trésors, &c.

MDLXIII

and—

DISCOURS ADMIRABLES

de la nature des eaux et fontaines, tant naturelles qu'artificielles, des métaux, des sels et salines, des pierres, des terres, du feu et des émaux . . . plus un traité de la marne, &c.

MDLXXX²

The funds were insufficient to complete the design by the addition of bas-reliefs on the pedestal.

"aagé de quatrevingts ans (1590), mourut de misère, nécessité et mauvais traitements. *** et lui dit Bussi (Governor of the Bastille) que, si elle le vouloit voir, elle le trouveroit avec ses chiens sur le rempart, où il l'avoit fait traîner comme un chien, qu'il estoit. Audiat, Bernard Palissy, Etude sur sa vie et ses travaux, pp. 447-462, Henri Martin, Histoire de France, tome IX, pp. 13-16, Bernard de Palissi; p. 136 note, est sauvé de la mort à Bordeaux par le cométable Anne de Montmorenci—son titre "d'inventeur des rustiques figulines du roi : " p. 328 note, échappe à la Saint-Barthélemi : X, p. 76 note, P. mourut dans les fers, en 1589.

¹ M. Audiat says, Palissy est debout dans la position d'un homme qui marche en réfléchissant, symbole à la fois de l'action et de la méditation. I can see in the figure no sign of movement; this notion seems due to the writer's lively imagination. The Nouvelle Biographie Générale states that he has also been

honoured with a statue in a *place publique* at Agen—doubtless because he was born in that diocese, perhaps at a village called la Chapelle Biron; the article ends with many references, including Haag, La France Protestante, and the Life by H. Morley.

Horace, Odes III, 24, 31,
Virtutem incolumem odimus
Sublatam ex oculis quaerimus invidi.
Epistles II, 1, 13,

Urit enim fulgore suo, qui praegravatus
artes
Infra se positus; extinctus amabitur
idem.

² Palissy also wrote Remarques sur la Ville de Saintes, 4^{to}, 1564; v. A. Girault de Saint Fargeau, Bibliographie historique et topographique de la France, 1 vol. 8^{vo}, 1845; Saintonge, Angoumois et Aunis, pp. 293-398.

For the statue of Palissy and Inscriptions see Audiat Saintes et ses Monuments, Guide du Voyageur, pp. 25-28.

The career of Palissy as a reformer, and the proximity of Saintes to Rochelle remind us of the siege¹ sustained by the Huguenots at the latter place, 1628-29—a tale of French heroism and English incompetence, not to say treachery, that makes a disgraceful page in our national annals.

Having been favoured with the kind advice and assistance of the Père de la Croix when I was passing through Poitiers, and having afterwards spent some days at Sanxay last autumn, I had intended to offer some remarks on the *fouilles* there, as a humble contribution supplementary to Mr. Searth's excellent memoirs read before the Institute.² But the restricted limits of my strength and leisure have forbidden. I must be content to refer to the writings of M. Berthelé and other local antiquaries, and to express my hope that M. Robuchon's beautiful photographs, now

¹ This siege is one of the most remarkable on record, whether we consider the obstinate resistance and dreadful sufferings of the Rochelois, or the skill and perseverance shown by Richelieu in overcoming obstacles that seemed almost insurmountable. Guizot, *L'Histoire de France, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'en 1789 racontée à mes petits-enfants*, vol. IV, pp. 103-113; woodcuts facing p. 92, *Le Port de la Rochelle* (moles are seen "jutting out from either side, and the opening between them guarded by palisades"); p. 104, *Le Serment de Jean Guiton*. More details are given in H. Martin's copious and animated narrative, *Histoire de France*, vol. XI, pp. 272-289. St. Fargeau, *Op. citat.*, p. 397, *Charente Inférieure, Mémoire du prix excessif des vivres de la Rochelle pendant le Siège*—Une vache se vendait 2,000 livres; un biscuit, 25 livres; un oeuf, 8 livres; une pomme, 32 sols, etc. The literature of this subject is very voluminous, nearly two columns of St. Fargeau's book being occupied by the list of publications relating to it.

S. Rawson Gardiner, *History of England under the Duke of Buckingham and Charles, I.*, vol. II, with maps of the Ile de Ré and of Rochelle opposite the title page; see analytical table of contents, chaps. XIV, XV, XVIII, XX. The conduct of Charles in this affair was bitterly remembered against him at the time of his execution. He was accused of having betrayed the Huguenots to their enemies: Cook, solicitor to the commonwealth, says he heard so much of this charge in Geneva, and by the Pro-

testant ministers in France, that he could believe no less than that the King was guilty of it: Family Library, no XXXI, *Trial of Charles I and of some of the Regicides*, pp. 25, 40, 41. Remembrancia of the City of London, A.D. 1579-1664, pp. 185, 197, and note 339. The Isle of Oléron near Rochelle must be distinguished from Oloron in the Pyrenees. The map of France published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge has Oléron in the latter case which is incorrect.

For an earlier period consult *Histoire de la Rochelle (1199-1575)* par Amos Barbot, publiée par M. Denys D'Aussy; Société des Archives Historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis, vol. XIV.

² The former of these Memoirs appeared in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. XI, pp. 52-54, *Roman Antiquities at Sanxay in France: the latter ibid.*, vol. XLII, pp. 11-16, *Notices of the latest discoveries made in uncovering the Roman baths at Bath, and those at Herbord* (within one mile of Sanxay), near to Poitiers. One of the earliest accounts of these excavations was published by the French journal *Le Temps*; but those who desire fuller information should read the pamphlet on the *Découvertes d'Herbord* by the Père Camille de la Croix, S.J., pp. 78, Niort, 1883. At the end there is a list of *Publications antérieures relatives aux fouilles de Sanxay*. The text is illustrated by five coloured plates—Map of ancient roads, Plans of the Gallo-Roman substructions, Temple and its Peribolos, Baths and Theatre.

suspended on your walls, may induce some members of this learned society going southwards to study these important discoveries, to leave the beaten path, and, if I may quote without irreverence from the oldest of books, "turn aside and see this great sight."¹

APPENDIX.

For the ancient history and geography of Saintonge it is hoped that the following references may be found useful.

Caesar, Bell. Gall., iii, 11, says that the Pictones and Santones after their submission (*parati*) supplied him with ships for the naval war with the Veneti in Armorica. *Ibid.*, vii, 75, the importance of the Santones relatively to other Gallic tribes is shown by the fact that they were required to furnish a contingent of 12,000 men to the confederacy led by Vercingetorix—the same number as the Senones, Sequani and other powerful nations; 35,000 were expected from the Ædui and from the Arverni.

Lemonum (Poitiers) is not mentioned by Cæsar, but occurs in the Supplement of Hirtius, Commentarius de Bell. Gall., viii, 26, who informs us that Duratius, a Gallic chieftain, was blockaded there by Dunnaeus leader of the Andes (Anjou). Glück, Keltischen Namen, pp. 117-119 concludes that Lemonum is the form of the name to be accepted without hesitation as genuine, but he states at length the variations in the MSS. It is derived from *lem*, Irish *leamh*, *leamhan* (ulmus)=*lem*, leman. Lemonum therefore would mean The Elms, and the "boeages" of Poitou are even now celebrated; Thiers, Histoire de la Révolution, c. 22: see Moberly's note on Hirtius, loc. citat. Comp. Brunet, Supplément au Manuel du Libraire, Dict. de Géogr. Limonum [Caes., It. Ant.], *Λίμωνον* [Ptol.], Lemunum [Tab. Pent.], &c. There was here a large amphitheatre, estimated to hold 20,000 spectators; only scanty fragments of the masonry remain. Friedlaender, Sittengeschichte Roms, 2nd edition, 1867, vol. ii, p. 429. Die Schauspiele, Galliae, b. Aquitania, Lemonum Pictonum (Poitiers). Nach Millin, iv, 712, waren von einem Amphitheater noch einige Gewölbe übrig (engagées dans des constructions modernes). Murray, Western France, p. 247, ed. 1882.

Strabo, Geographica, p. 190, lib. iv, c. ii, sec. 1. Ἐκβάλλει δ' ὁ μὲν Γαρόνας τρωῖ ποταμοῖς ἀξήθεις εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ Βιτοινύγων τε τῶν Ὀύσκων ἐπικαλουμένων καὶ Σαντόνων, ἀμφοτέρων Γαλατικῶν ἔθνῶν. . . ἐμπόριον Βουρδίγαλα ἐπικείμενον λιμνοθαλάττη τιῆ, ἣν ποιῶσιν αἱ ἐκβολαὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. . . Τῶν δὲ Σαντόνων πόλις ἐστὶ Μειδιολάνιον.

Ptolemy (Age of the Antonines) lib. ii, cap. vii, sec. 1, Gallia Aquitania. In the ordinary editions Σαντόνων λιμὴν (Santonum portus) and

¹ Exodus, chap. III, v. 3. From Poitiers the traveller can reach Saunxay by a drive of rather less than three hours; but the railway-station nearest to this little town

is Lusignan, on the line from Poitiers to Niort: see the Indicateur, Cartes spéciales des Réseaux, Chemins de Fer de l'État.

Σαντόνων ἄκρον (Santonum promontorium) occur; but edit. Car. Müller, vol. i, p. 200 seq., Didot, 1883, has only the latter. It is often difficult to identify places in this region mentioned by ancient writers; this arises partly from errors in the text, partly from changes in the configuration of the coast. The promontory is supposed by Gosselin to be that near Rochelle; but Desjardins, *Géographie Historique et Administrative de la Gaule Romaine*, tome i, p. 266, inclines to the opinion that it is the old port of Brouage between Marennes and Rochefort now abandoned, il ne fut complètement ensablé qu'en 1586. Next to the aforesaid promontory Ptolemy has Καρυντέλου ποτ. ἑκβολαί, Canenteli fluvii ostia: according to most authorities Canentelus is only another form of Carantonus, Charante, but Gosselin thinks the mouths of the rivers Vie and Jauncy are meant.

Desjardins' work is most useful for the geography of Western Gaul: v. tome i, pp. 258-400, ch. i. *Géographie Physique*.—Sec. 3. Description des Côtes. Extracts from the old maps of Hamon, Jolivet and Pierre Roget are intercalated in the text, pp. 262, 269, 270; but see esp. Pl. vi, p. 272, Carte comparée des côtes comprises entre les Pyrénées et la Loire, époque romaine—époque actuelle: Extrait de la carte Pisane du XIV^e siècle; Extrait du portulan de la Bibliothèque Nationale, commencement du XVI^e siècle.

Ausonius—To the passages already quoted from this author I subjoin an apposite line from his poem on the Moselle, v. 463. Santonico refluus non ipse Carantonus aestu. In vv. 461-468 six other rivers are mentioned, viz., Liger Loire, Axona Aisne, Matriona Marne, Duranius Dordogne, Tarnis Tarn, Aturrus Adour; and four in the following paragraph, viz., Druna Drôme, Druentia Duranee, Rhodanus Rhône, Garumna Garonne.

Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xv, cap. 11, sec. 13, *in* Aquitania . . . prima provincia est Aquitanica, amplitudine civitatum admodum culta: omissis aliis multis, Burdigala et Arverni excellunt et Santones et Pictavi. It will be observed that the historian calls the city by the name of the tribe, writing *Santones* instead of *Mediolanum Santonum*. A comparison of the map of modern France with that of ancient Gaul will show how general this practice became; e.g., Chartres from Carnutes, Cahors from Cadurci.

Table of Pentinger, edit. Mannert, Mediolano, Segm. Ia; Lemuno *ibid.* b. Both cities are marked on the map with two towers—the sign of an important place.

Of the earlier authors who have written on amphitheatres the most important is Justus Lipsius: see the edition of his works printed at Wesel (Vesaliae) MDCLXXV, tom. iii, pp. 993-1047, De Amphitheatro Liber, in quo forma ipsa loci expressa, et ratio spectandi, cum aeneis figuris; *ibid.* pp. 1049-1068, De Amphitheatris quae extra Romam Libellus, in quo formae eorum aliquot et typi. An earlier and better edition appeared Antverpiae, apud Christophorum Plantinum c16. 10. LXXXV, both books being included in one volume, pp. 106.

Chapter vi. of the *Libellus* (Opera, vol. iii, pp. 1061-1067, ed. Wesel; pp. 97-105, ed. Plantin) is devoted to an amphitheatre near Doveona, Doué-la-Fontaine, south-west of Saumur,—a station on the line from Angers to Poitiers, Chemins de Fer de l'Etat. Lipsius describes the peculiarities in its construction, and notices two large vaulted chambers,

of which the use is uncertain : comp. the two curious Plates that illustrate the text : the former bears this inscription LES . ARENES . A . DOVE EN POICTOV . LÆVINVS . F . AN . 1584. He has confounded this place with Dueona, Δουφόνα (Divona), a city of the Cadurei, hodie Cahors, which occurs in Ptolemy, ii, 7, sec. 9 ; vol. i, p. 204, ed. Car. Müller ; see the notes in Brunet, Manuel du Libraire, Supplement on Geography, s.v. Doadum ; Dovaeum, Doué, aujour d'hui Doué (Maine et Loire), ancien palais de Dagobert et des ducs d'Aquitaine. I have not found this amphitheatre mentioned by any writer posterior to Lipsius, except Mr. Roach Smith ; *v. Retrospections Social and Archæological*, vol. ii, 1886 (Notes by Mr. Chas. Warne.)

Montfaucon, *Antiquité Expliquée*, tome iii, 2^{de} partie, pp. 254-262, Pls. CXLVIII-CLII, *Les amphithéâtres*, gives engravings of the Coliseum, Verona, Pola, Nîmes, Tintinniac, Autun and Italica (Santi Ponce, formerly Sevilla la vieja, five miles north-west of Sevilla). Caylus Recueil, vi, p. 356 (Pl. cxii), quotes Baluze, who says that four miles from Tulle (Tutela), Department of Corrèze, he had seen remains of a town and amphitheatre in agro Tintiuniacensi. He supposed the former to be the Ratiatum of Ptolemy (ii, 7, sec. 5) ; but this is improbable. Montfaucon also followed Baluze. Mr. Roach Smith, in his book on Richboro, &c., states that the amphitheatre there resembles the one at Tintinniac more than any other. Friedlaender, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, ii, 429, ed. 1867. Modern authors do not speak of this monument as still existing.

Recent works will supply much additional information :—

Hirt, *Geschichte der Baukunst bei den Alten*, Band, iii, pp. 159-173, VI Abschnitt, *Das Amphitheater und die Naumachie*, esp. secs. 7-12 ; Atlas, Pl. xx, figs. 9, 10.

Friedlaender, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, vol. ii, pp. 404-458, *Verzeichniss der in Italien und den Provinzen nachweisbaren Amphitheater* ; the list is copious, and accompanied by interesting explanations ; it concludes with a table of measurements of the greater and lesser axes in fifty-two examples, p. 457, sq.

Charles Lenthéric (ingénieur), *La Grèce et l'Orient en Provence*, chapitre cinquième, *Les Plaisirs publics sous l'Empire*, secs. iv, v,—gives a graphic and popular account of these spectacles, and of their demoralising effect upon the population. His book on the *Villes mortes du golfe de Lyon* is criticised by Desjardins, *Gaule Romaine*, pp. 223-230. “Le savoir de l'auteur entravé par de puériles légendes.”

Gibbon, latter part of chap. xii, vol. ii, pp. 58-60, edit. Dr. W. Smith, describes, with a power of word-painting never surpassed, the Roman games of Carinus, and the Coliseum in which they were celebrated. See also references in the notes to Martial, *de Spectaculis Libellus*, and Calpurnius, *Eclogue vii*. The latter author, who, like many others, closely imitated Virgil, is generally supposed to have flourished towards the end of the third century after Christ ; Haupt and Bachrens place him in the beginning of Nero's reign : *v. Poetae Latini Minores* in Teubner's Series, vol. iii, p. 65, Critical preface. To him four *Bucolics* of Nemesianus were formerly ascribed ; *v. ibid.* p. 174.

Gibbon, chap. lxxi, edit. Smith viii, 282, sq., speaks of a bull-feast in the Coliseum, A.D. 1332, Sept. 3rd ; but according to his own account the entertainment consisted in a fight rather than a feast. It has been

conjectured that Statius, *Silvae*, iv, 2, *Eucharisticon ad Imp. Aug. Germanicum Domitianum*, describes a banquet in this edifice: some expressions relating to great height

fessis vix culmina prendas

Visibus, vv. 30, 31

and *laquearia coeli* suit this interpretation; on the other hand, the words *aula* and *penates*, vv. 23, 25, are more applicable to Domitian's house on the Palatine.

In our own time the amphitheatres of Arles and Nîmes have been used as places of public amusement; Joanne, *Provence-Corse, Alpes Maritimes, grand format*, p. 45 Arles. "À l'occasion de la prise d'Alger, en 1830, une première course de taureaux y fut donnée en présence de 20,000 spectateurs. Tous les dimanches, en été, ce spectacle, si cher aux Arlésiens, y est renouvelé;" for Nîmes v. *ibid.*, p. 120. The Mausoleum of Augustus (*Strabo* p. 236, lib. v, cap. iii, sec. 8), as visitors to Rome are well aware, has been degraded by exhibitions of equestrians and rope dancers.

Professor Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatica*, pp. 294-303; Pl. lxxix, lxxx, the Flavian amphitheatre and *Meta Sudans*; pp. 300-302, explanation of six medals illustrating the Coliseum; p. 303, table of ancient amphitheatres, chiefly from the *Architectural Dictionary*. See esp. Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* vol. iv, p. 147; No. 185, Pl. vi, médaillon de bronze, Gordien le Pieux. The Emperor is present at a combat between a bull and an elephant who has a rider on his back.

Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, p. 242, "Le nombre des amphithéâtres aujourd'hui connus par leurs ruines ou par des témoignages positifs n'est pas loin d'une centaine."

De Vit's edition of Forcellini's *Lexicon* cites the most important passages relating to this subject in *Suetonius*, *Pliny*, *Vopiscus* (*Life of Probus*), *Calpurnius*, &c.

The Coliseum was capable of receiving 80,000 spectators; the provincial structures of the same class in large towns usually held about 20,000.

I have made some reference in preceding notes to British amphitheatres. It seems strange that none has hitherto been found at Chester. "A station or *castrum* of the dimensions of *Deva* would certainly have one. . . . It would certainly, at *Deva* as elsewhere, be outside of the Roman walls, and I suspect either at Boughton, or at The Bowling Green." Mr. Thompson Watkin's *Roman Cheshire*, p. 241, Liverpool, 1886.

The word *amphitheatrum* is said to occur for the first time in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (Angora). See *Res gestae Divi Augusti. Ex monumentis Ancyrano et Apolloniensi edidit Th. Mommsen*; p. lii, vv. 39-42, fac-simile of the Inscription: comp. p. 65, [*Venationes b*] est [*ā*]rum Africanarum meo nomine aut filio[*rum*]m et nepo[*rum*]m in cif[*r*]eo aut [i]n foro aut in amphitheatris popul[*o*]d[*e*]di sexiens et vicies &c., and Mommsen's note. It is supposed that the word was originally used in the plural number, because an amphitheatre is like two theatres put back to back. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. lii, exhibitions of gladiators and athletes by Augustus. But the following passage in *Vitruvius* must have been written at a date not long subsequent to the publication of the Inscription, lib. i, cap. 7, edit. Rode, tome i, p. 26,

De electione locorum ad usum communem civitatis. *Ædibus vero sacris, . . . Herculi, in quibus civitatibus non sunt gymnasia neque amphitheatra, ad circum.* Vitruvius is said to have served as a military engineer under Julius Cæsar in the African war (Smith's Dict. of Class. Biography, s.c.); in his old age, and somewhat late in the reign of Augustus, he wrote his work *De Architectura*, which is dedicated to that emperor: v. the Prefaces to the first and second books. Hirt, *Gesch. der Baukunst bei den Alten*, vol. ii, pp. 308-310. Fünfter Zeitraum von Augustus bis Constantin, sec. 34. Vitruvius is mentioned in connection with Valerius of Ostia, architect of the Pantheon (?); and the date of his book is fixed between 738 and 741 V.C.

In my account of the Amphitheatre at Saintes I have mentioned the Aqueduct; traces of it are still to be seen in the communes of Fontcouverte, Vénérand, Ecoyeux and Le Douhet, sufficient to enable one to follow its course; but at present the only arches remaining are those which cross the valley of Fontcouverte: Audiât, Saintes et ses Monuments, Guide du Voyageur, p. 20. I exhibited a heliograph copy of old prints of Roman antiquities in the environs, as they appeared in 1714. Fig. I, Valley of Congoulle and hill of Foncouvert; remains of three arches of the Aqueduct; two piers, the highest then existing; nine piers partly in ruins; canal carried underground. Fig. II, continuation of Fig. I, Vestiges of several piers on both sides of the valley of Roche Damon or Cholet, East of Saintes, distant between 800 and 900 *toises* (fathoms) from the Bridge over the Charente. Fig. III, part of the aqueduct in Fig. I on a larger scale, showing the arch that was most nearly entire in 1714. Fig. IV, ruined church of St. Saloine, formerly a pagan temple. Fig. V, perhaps the Roman baths; but no description of this plate is given in the foot notes. The title of the heliograph is Saintes, Antiquités Romaines, Aqueducs, St. Saloine, Album de Masse, Pl. 28, Archives du Ministère de la Guerre, L'abbé L. Julien Laferrière, Phot.

Eight arches appear in G. Braun's View of Saintes, 1560; they are marked with the letter x, and are thus described, "S. Saloine où se reconnoissent aucunes antiquités." These remains are beyond the city walls, and on the right side of the Plate. The same engraving represents houses (y) and water-mills (z) on the bridge.

At Alcantara in Estremadura, near the Portuguese frontier and north-west of Merida (Augusta Emerita), there is an arch on a Roman bridge over the Tagus, occupying nearly the same position as that at Saintes formerly held. Fine engravings of it may be seen in Laborde's magnificent work, *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne*, vol. ii, p. 116, Pls. clxix-clxxii. The inscriptions record the dedication to Trajan, and the names of the Spanish peoples who contributed to the expense of the monument. "Quoique sans colonnes et sans ornements, il en impose par ses belles proportion et par sa simplicité même." Cf. Montfaucon, *Antiquité Expliquée, Supplément*, vol. iv, pp. 99-102, Pl. xlii. Ptolemy, *Geographia*, lib. ii, cap. 5, Sec. 6, *Hispania Lusitania*, vol. i, p. 138, edit. Car. Müller (Didot), *Νάρβα Κανράπεα*, Norba Caesarina. Most writers identify this place with Alcantara, but Hübnér prefers Caceres or its neighbourhood; he is quoted at length in Müller's note, loc. citat. C.I.L., *Inscriptiones Hispaniæ Latine, Pars prima, Lusitania*, cap. xxv, *Tituli pontis Alcantarensis*, with a copious commentary, pp. 89-96. The arch on the bridge is now called *la torre*

del oro, de la espada, or del aguilá. Ford, Handbook for Spain, p. 270, edit., 1878.

The bucranium on the Arch at Saintes has been already noticed. Mr. James Yates in the Dictionary of Greek and Roman antiquities, s.v. Patera, says, "In the ancient Doric temple at Rome, now dedicated to St. Adrian, the tasteful patera and the cranium of the bull are alternately sculptured on the metopes (Labacco, *Ant. di Roma*, 16, 17). I have been unable to verify this reference. An illustration of the same subject, but in a different material, is supplied by the Catalogue of the Slade Collection: Roman Cameo and Intaglio Glass, p. 23, No. 129, fig. 31. "Frieze Decoration, composed of a pale greenish transparent glass, . . . and representing, in bold relief, the skull of an ox, with festoons &c., hanging from its horns, *Size* $2\frac{1}{8}$ *in.* *by* $1\frac{3}{4}$ *in.*" Cf. Notes on the history of glass-making, p. xii. "Very beautiful pieces of ornament of an *architectural* character are met with, which probably once served as decorations of caskets or other small pieces of furniture, or of trinkets."

Five members of the Imperial Family (*Domus Divina*) are named on the Arch—Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Tiberius, Germanicus and Drusus Junior. The degrees of relationship in which they stood to each other are best seen in the *Stemma Caesarum* (genealogical table), of Gabriel Brotier's edition of Tacitus, Paris, 1771, 4 vols. 4to, inserted with explanatory notes at the end of vol. i: this pedigree and the notes, translated into English, are reprinted in Valpy's Tacitus.

The Arch now stands on the right bank of the river, about 110 yards above the bridge.

It is well known that there were houses on both sides of Old London Bridge, forming a continuous street: similarly King John makes mention in a document, published by the Record Commissioners, of houses built on the bridge at Saintes, "which had been given to the inhabitants of Rochelle, by Isenbert, apparently at an annual quit-rent of 5s. for the repair of the bridge, and which the King confirms to them, directing the quit-rent to be applied to needful repairs," &c. Notes and Queries, 2nd Ser., ix, 120.

The name Isenbert—also written Isambert and Isambard—reminds us of Marc Isambart Brunel, the celebrated engineer who designed the Thames Tunnel.

Next to the *Abbaye de Dames* (Sainte-Marie), the church of Saint-Eutrope is the most interesting; it consists of three distinct parts—crypt, upper church and steeple. St. Palladius, Bishop of Saintes, built a church in the sixth century, in which he placed the body of St. Eutropius, his predecessor; it was destroyed by the Normans, rebuilt in the eleventh century, and ravaged by the Calvinists in 1568. The mysterious church underground, which recalls the Catacombs to our memory, is among the largest of the kind in France. Its dimensions are—length forty-two mètres; breadth three mètres eighty-five cent.; height five mètres thirty-five cent., from the rocky floor to the key-stone of the vault. Two rows of piers supporting round arches, divide the crypt into three naves (*nefs*) of equal height; the mass of these piers is concealed by clusters of coupled columns, whose capitals are adorned with fantastic foliage. The *narthex* (interior porch, or rather ante-chamber) was reconstructed by Louis XI. Comp. two inscriptions in Gothic characters

of which facsimiles are given with explanations, by M. Audiat, *Epigraphie Santone et Aunisienne*, pp. 182-186. It is probable that the king wished to expiate the crime of poisoning his brother Charles de Valois by liberality lavished on the tomb of the Saint. This monument—a monolith sarcophagus, inscribed with the name *EVTROPIVS*—is behind the altar, and pilgrimages are made to it twice a year. The kings of England and France, from Edward III to Louis XIV, kept a lamp perpetually burning before it. The tomb had been so effectually concealed by the Clunists, to protect it from Huguenot sacrilege, that it remained unknown till 1843. A large font in the south transept shows by its size to how late a period the practice of baptizing by immersion lasted.

The upper church also is Romanesque: it presents an incongruous appearance, being disfigured by clumsy alterations and attempts at ornamentation. Here the most remarkable feature is the central compartment of the nave, over which formerly rose a Byzantine cupola, like those which I have noticed in describing Sainte Marie; it probably belongs to the twelfth century. Four columns are attached to each of the quadrangular piers; their capitals are decorated with various subjects—rich foliage; birds perched on lions and pecking their ears; Daniel in the midst of four lions, two of whom are licking his feet; souls being weighed for judgment, &c. From the different style of architecture it is evident that the tower and spire are of later date. The breadth is ninety-eight feet, and the height from base to summit eighty mètres; the octagonal pyramid and the pinnacles at its four corners are crocketed. This part of the church displays in its details the luxuriance that characterises the Flamboyant period. Louis XI, who reigned 1461-1483, frequently came to Saintes, and, being especially devoted to St.-Eutrope, supplied money to build the tower.

Braun's Plate shows "(P) Le Monstier de Saint-Eutrope," and a wall, with engaged columns at equal intervals, enclosing the churchyard, like the Peribolus of a Greek temple, such as may be seen at Pompeii; J. H. Parker, *Glossary of Architecture*, s.v. Cf. Overbeck, vol. i, pp. 107-112, Temple of Isis, North of the great Theatre, and close to it; Fig. 85, p. 108. *Der Haupteingang in den Tempelhof*. See also Hirt, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, vol. iii, p. 37, I Abschnitt, *Der Tempelbau*, sec. 21; he gives, as examples of the Peribolus, the Artemisium at Ephesus, the Nemesium at Rhamnus (Society of Dilettanti, *Unedited Antiquities of Attica*, chap. vi, pp. 40-44), and the Temple of Venus and Roma: Taf. xviii, 8, 10, 11, esp. 8 c. This term occurs frequently in Pausanias, but Herodotus, vi, 134 uses *ἔρκος* with the same meaning: Valckenaer's note quoted in Baehr's edition, loc. citat. J. T. Wood, Ephesus, p. 132, Peribolus wall of Temenos discovered; p. 132, woodcut, where the inscribed blocks are marked A, B, C, D; and Sacred precinct of the Temple of Diana, in Plan of the ruins of Ephesus. I do not find mention of the wall of Augustus in Tacitus, as Mr. Wood states: *Annals*, iii, 60-63, discussion on the right of asylum or sanctuary. *Comp. Strabo*, lib. xiv, p. 641. *Τῆς δ' ἀστυλίας τοῖς ὄρους ἀλλαγῆναι συνέβη πολλάκις, κ.τ.λ.*

L'Histoire Monumentale de la Charente Inférieure et de la Vienne has three engravings of St.-Eutrope; (1) Tower in the view of Les Arènes à Saintes, facing p. 47; (2) Crypt, p. 73; (3) Interior, p. 77.

According to some accounts Eutropius was sent by St. Peter or St.

Clement to preach the Gospel at Saintes, and became its first bishop; but the Bollandists, following Gregory of Tours, fix his date, with more probability, in the third century; he may have suffered martyrdom in the Decian persecution, A.D. 249-251. The old chronicler says that he was first stoned, then stripped and beaten with sticks and shoe-ties to which leaden balls were attached (*corrigiis plumbatis*), and at last killed by the blows of axes. If the legends could be believed, Eutropius would rank very high as a wonder-worker. Captives, we are told, were delivered from their chains; paralytics recovered the use of their limbs; demons were chased away from the possessed; the blind, the deaf, the dumb, the dropsical and the shipwrecked were cured or restored to life by his merits. This saint is specially venerated in Aquitaine. *Acta Sanctorum*, April, tom. iii, pp. 733-744. The editors reject as fabulous most of the miracles attributed to him. Some of these tales are translated in *Histoire de la Charente Inf.* pp. 50-54.

The Cathedral of Saint Pierre, as a whole, is uninteresting; but the portal under the great tower is admirable. This church also suffered many things from the Huguenots; the nave was burnt and demolished, while the side-aisles were left standing; the ornaments had hardly been placed on the principal entrance before they were mutilated. Such wanton injuries may recall to the English traveller's memory decapitated figures that he has seen nearer home, in the façade of the Cathedral at Rouen. However, enough remains to excite and reward curiosity. Four rows of voussours under the ogival arch are covered with charming statuettes placed on consoles and surmounted by canopies of open work (*à jour*), whose pinnacles are delicately carved. In the first row eight angels sing and play on different instruments, so that the variety of their form presents a subject of study to the musical antiquary. The second and third rows contain saints with their attributes; some of them, as Bishops, have the pallium, mitre and crosier. Among the inscriptions, now partially defaced, we see Palladius, Ambrose, Gregory, Augustine, Louis IX, Eustelle, St. George and S^{te} Catherine. On the highest row are fourteen personages, two uncertain, the rest prophets: they wear long robes and hoods, and unroll phylacteries engraved with texts of Scripture. Probably these figures, or at least some of them, are portraits, for the sculptor may have introduced contemporaries into his composition—a practice which we know to have been frequent with painters of sacred subjects. The names of Micah, Zephaniah (*Sophonias*, cf. the Septuagint and Vulgate), Hosea, Amos and Malachi appear in full; others only in part. Isaiah has on his strip of parchment (Bloomfield's Greek Testament, vol. i, p. 134, note on Matth. xxiii, 5, *Τὰ φελακτῆρια*) the words *non est qui sustentet eam de omnibus filiis quo*, cap. li, v. 18. There is none to guide her among all the sons whom she hath brought forth. The verse was originally written with reference to Jerusalem, but it is here applied to the calamities that befell the Roman Catholic Church in the sixteenth century. The passages of Scripture held in the hands of the statues are sometimes taken from the writings of a prophet other than the one who is mentioned on the bracket below. It seems that the figures were executed in the atelier, and carelessly inserted in the wrong niches. Besides the statues, attention should be directed to the foliated ornaments, consisting of branches of vine, holly and oak, so true to nature that one might almost imagine them transplanted from

the fields; even the insect that feeds upon the leaves has not been omitted.

Fanaticism has done mischief here; on the other hand, long continued neglect has concealed artistic beauties with dirt and dust: moreover, the stones being cut deep afford a refuge to birds, who again fulfil the words of the Psalmist, "Yea, the sparrow hath found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself."

The plan of the church is a Latin cross terminated at the east end by a pentagonal apse. A similar arrangement may be observed at Ste Marie, Oloron, where there are *five* chapels round the sanctuary—une couronne de cinq chapelles rayonnantes et largement ouvertes sur le prolongement des collatéraux, qui enveloppent le sanctuaire, et forment ce que l'on appelle la déambulation: Le Cœur, Béarn, p. 225, sq., Pl. 40, Plan.

This cathedral was the second church in the world, dedicated to St. Peter, as is mentioned in the Bull of Pope Nicholas V, 4 December, 1451. Here the *Angelus* was first rung in honour of the Virgin, and Pope John XXII recommended the practice to the whole of Christendom in 1318 and 1327, cum pius mos in Nantonensi ecclesiâ susceptus esset, ut vergente in noctem die, campana ad præmonendos fideles, ut salutatione angelicâ Virginis suffragia implorarent, pulsaretur: Oderic Raynaldi, Annales ecclesiastici, xv, anno 1318, sec. 58. Pius IX constituted the cathedral a minor basilica, and associated it with St. Peter's at Rome, in 1870; the Papal briefs for these purposes are given at length, with translations into French, by M. Audiat, Saint-Pierre de Saintes, Cathédrale et insigne Basilique—Historie—Documents—Brefs—Indulgences—Prières, pp. 44 sq., 73-76, 168-175, 178-183.

For the preceding details, I am indebted to this author's researches, and especially to his *Epigraphie Santone*, pp. 130-168.

I have alluded to the *Digue* by means of which Richelieu succeeded in taking Rochelle. A striking historical parallel presents itself in the siege of Boulogne by Constantius Chlorus, father of Constantine the Great, "A stupendous mole, raised across the entrance of the harbour, intercepted all hopes of relief." Gibbon, chap. xiii, vol. ii, p. 72, edit. Dr. Wm. Smith. The town surrendered A.D. 292, and the strength of the usurper Carausius was effectually broken. Eumenius, Panegyricus Constantio Caesari dictus, c. vi, Gesoriacensibus muris (Boulogne). . . . omnem sinum illum portus . . . defixis in aditu trabibus, ingestisque saxis, invium navibus reddidisti; *ibid.* c. vii, totaque illa, quoad usus fuit, invieta fluctibus acies arborum: Paneg. Constantino Aug. dict. c. v, jactis inter undas vallis. Traduction des Discours d'Eumène par Landriot et Rochet, accompagnée du texte: Précis des faits généraux, p. 365. At the end of the article read Eum. i. for Eum. ii Abbé Haigneré, Dictionnaire du Pas de Calais, tome i, Arrondissement de Boulogne, p. 18 and note. J. F. Henry, Essai historique sur l'Arrond^t de Boulogne-sur-Mer, p. 79, sq., Abrégé chronologique de l'Histoire du Boulonnais, A.D. 287-303, p. 259 sq. This place is specially interesting to English antiquaries, because the Romans stationed here the fleet that preserved communication between the continent and our island, as is proved by inscriptions in the local museum, where we read CL. BR *i.e.* Classis Britannica: Ernest Desjardins, Gaule Romaine, tome i, pp. 363-368. Gesoriacum (Bononia),

therefore, was one of the great naval stations under the Empire, like Misenum, Ravenna and Forum Julii (Fréjus) in the Mediterranean: Gibbon, chap. i, vol. i, p. 155, ed. Smith. The ancient geography of this part of Gaul is fully discussed by Desjardins, *op. citat.*, tome i, pp. 348-390; Maps, Plates and Vignettes, Nos. 30-37. v. *Classement des cartes &c.*, prefixed to the Introduction.

As a sequel to the sufferings endured at Rochelle, the Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London may be consulted, vol. 2, No. 1, 1887; Lieut.-General Layard's Paper, Chevalleau de Boisragon, A Narrative from unpublished MSS., esp. pp. 9-12: and Story of John Perigal of Dieppe; this memoir also is extracted from a manuscript volume; it contains a History of the Antiquities and of the Reformation of the town from A.D. 788 to 1688, *ibid.* pp. 14-42. Such accounts by their graphic simplicity enable us to realize the faith and patience of those, who, amidst cruel persecutions, "kept the truth so pure of old." The French Protestant Hospital, Victoria Park, London, E. possesses a small but valuable collection of works relating to Huguenot history, and I am sure that the Directors of this admirable Institution would open their Library to any person, properly introduced, who might wish to pursue enquiries in this direction.

Hucher's *Art Gaulois, ou Les Gaulois d'après leurs Médailles*, is the most useful book for the coins of the Santones, which are given considerably enlarged. n. 1, Pl. 20. n. 1 et 2, Pl. 22. n. 1, Pl. 30. n. 1, Pl. 39. n. 1, Pl. 40. n. 1, Pl. 41: text, pp. 10-25. Sometimes I think it would be difficult to decide whether they should be attributed to this people or to the adjoining Pictones (Pictavi): Hucher, *Index*, Part I, p. 53. Here in the west of Gaul, national types are freely developed, while in the centre and east the Macedonian (*stater*) is closely followed. Perhaps the most curious among the coins of Aquitania is that which bears the name VIROTAL. II=E, probably from the Greek Η, Eta, the connecting stroke being omitted: this variation of form occurs frequently in inscriptions. The warrior on the reverse has a helmet with wings (ailerons); a *sagum* covers his shoulders; the left hand rests on a Gallic shield, oval, and with lines radiating from the centre; a girdle, tied in front and ending in tassels, encircles the waist; the right hand grasps a lance and a small figure of a wild boar: Hucher, text, p. 25; n. 1, Pl. 22. Another example is interesting as an historical illustration; it presents on the obverse a female head with the legend DV RAT, and on the reverse, a horse unbridled, galloping, with IVLIOS in the exergue; above the horse is a minute figure of a temple (aedicula) which has three columns. This king or chief of the Pictones is mentioned by Hirtius *Bell. Gall.*, viii, 26, 27; he probably received his Roman name in consequence of services rendered to Cæsar: Hucher, text, pp. 25, 34; n. 1, Pl. 90. Togirix is said to have been similarly connected with the Julian family. Cf. Ottoneumus and Gededmon on the Arch at Saintes: Hucher, p. 25, describes Duratius as "l'un des chefs gaulois vendus à César," but Hirtius (*l.c.*) who tells us that he was besieged at Limonum (Poitiers) by Dumnacus, chief of the Andes (Anjou), only remarks concerning him, *perpetua in amicitia manserat Romanorum.* Duchalais, s.v. Pictavi, says of Duratius "chef nommé par César": this statement also is incorrect.

Eckhel may be justly regarded as the father of Numismatic science;

but the advanced student will learn little about Gallic coins from his great work, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*. In the first place the author was imperfectly acquainted with this branch of his subject; and, secondly, many discoveries have been made since he wrote, 1792-1798. *E.g.*, he places the Remi in Gallia Lugdunensis, p. 73, and does not include Vercingetorix in his list of Reguli vel Magistratus, pp. 75-79. On the other hand, the beginner may profit by reading his general remarks and references in the Prolegomena to chap. Gallia, pp. 62-65.

See Lelewel, *Études numismatiques et archéologiques, type Gaulois ou Celtique*. I vol. in-8 et atlas, 1841, SANTONOS, Pl. v, 9. Duchalais, *Description des médailles gauloises de la bibliothèque royale*, 1846; pp. 15-16. Akerman's *Ancient Coins of Hispania, Gallia and Britannia* is a useful book for our present purpose, Pictones and Santones, pp. 129-131, Pls. xiii, No. 11—xiv, No. 1; but he has repeated the old mistake of placing among the Santones *Docirix*, who belongs to the Sequani. SANT was read in the legend instead of SAM, *i.e.* SAMOTALIS, or SAMILLI, as I have remarked in my Paper on Langres and Besançon, Appendix, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xliii, p. 227. Rollin et Fouardent, *Catalogue d'une Collection de Médailles de la Gaule*, 1864; p. 12 sq., Santons, Chefs Santons: in the legends besides CONTONTOS, above mentioned, we have ATECTORI, ANNICOLIOS, LVCIOS and ARIVOS: p. 15 sq., Pictons, Chefs Pictons, No. 191, VIROTAL; No. 195, DVVAT. This Catalogue is priced.

The mediæval coins of this region deserve attention, partly on account of their fine execution, partly because they are so closely connected with our national history. Henry II. by his marriage with Eleanor obtained Guienne and Poitou, which remained for a long period subject to the English crown; and our kings took the title of Duke of Aquitaine, often appended to their portraits: E. Hawkins, *Silver Coins of England*, vol. i, p. 92; vol. ii, pl. xxii, No. 290, Edward I, DVX AQUIT. So Edward the Black Prince is styled PXS AQUITA—PXPXS AQUIT. *etc.*: the letter at the end of the legend, on the obverse or reverse, indicates the mint: *e.g.* R stands for Rochelle, P for Poitiers, L for Limoges: Akerman, *Numismatic Manual*, Sectⁿ iv, pp. 380-383. Poey d'Avant has investigated this coinage in his *Monnaies Féodales de France*, tome ii, pp. 82-143, Pls. lx-lxviii. He justly observes, p. 83, "Les monnaies anglo-françaises . . . sont les témoignages palpables de la grandeur des antagonistes de la France du moyen-âge." P. 87, he directs attention to the beautiful gold coins of Edward III. (travail particulièrement remarquable), which show the greatest variety of types. "The denominations are the *guiennois, leopard, chaise* and *mounton*:" Akerman, *Op. citat.*, p. 369, cf. p. 374 sq. Hawkins, *Description of the Anglo-Gallic Coins in the British Museum*, three plates. Illustrations of the Anglo-French Coinage by General Ainslie, plates.

The boundaries of Aquitania varied greatly at different periods. In Cæsar this word means the country between the Garonne and the Pyrenees: *Bell. Gall.* i, 1; iii, 20-27: see Moberly's note on chap. 20: in chap. 27 many tribes are enumerated. Augustus extended the limits to the Loire, and on the East to the River Allier (*Elaver*) and the Cevennes (*Cebenna*): Strabo, p. 177, lib. iv, cap. i, Sec. 1. Ὅ δὲ Σεβαστὸς Καίσαρ . . . προσέθηκε δὲ τετραπαρακλιθεῖσα ἔθνη τῶν

μεγαλὴ τοῦ Λαίγης ποταμοῦ περιεχομένη. Henry II. possessed Aquitaine in its widest sense; it then included Guienne, Gascony, Poitou and Anjou. The first of these names is a corruption of Aquitaine: C. Knight, Cyclopædia of Geography. Our word *guinea* does not come from *guineois*, a gold coin struck by Edward III. in his French territories (Akerm., Op. cit., pp. 369, 375), but from Guinea, whence the gold was brought by the African Company (*ibid.*, pp. 299, 349). This name was first used in the reign of Charles II.: Humphreys, Coin Collector's Manual, ii, 477.

For the coins of Saintes see Ducange. Glossarium, edit. Henschel, tome iv, p. 529, s.v. Moneta, Santonensis moneta meminit Tabularium Deipar. Santon, &c. De Crazannes, Antiquités de Saintes, pp. 11-13; Pl. iii, 13, monnaie Mérovingienne; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 114-129, Médailles celtiques ou gauloises et autres, appartenant aux Santones, ou trouvées sur leur territoire. Pocy d'Avant, ii, 64-66. P. 64, le type qui y (à Saintes) a été employé est un remarquable trait d'union entre l'empreinte odonique (Eudes ou Odon, comte de Poitou, 1036-1040) employée à Limoges et celle dont se sont servi les premiers ducs d'Aquitaine. J. B. A. A. Barthélemy, Numismatique Moderne (Manuels-Roret), pp. 200-202, Aquitaine, Angoumois, Périgord, Marche et Saintonge; p. 201 Abbaye de Sainte-Marie de Saintes.

The pre-historic remains of this region are discussed by De Crazannes, Op. citat., pp. 168-178, Sur quelques mommens, croyances, usages, etc., du pays des Santones, attribués aux Celtes; p. 170, Dolmen, pierres levées; p. 172, Tombel, Tombelles, Tumuli; p. 175, Peulvan, menhir, Pierres debout. M. Alexandre Bertrand has written some interesting memoirs entitled L'autel de Saintes et les Triades gauloises in the Revue Archéologique, 1880; they are accompanied by photographs and many woodcuts inserted in the text: vol. xxxix, pp. 337-347; vol. xl, pp. 1-18, 70-84. M. Bertrand regards the tricephalous figures as old Celtic divinities. Cf. my Paper on the Gallo-Roman antiquities of Reims, Archaeol. Journ., 1884, vol. xli, p. 138, note 3. Fergusson, Rude Stone Monuments, p. 328, few dolmens between Garonne and Pyrenees, v. Index, s.v. Aquitaniens, and Map at the end of the volume showing the distribution of dolmens. They occur frequently in a Northerly direction, towards the left bank of the Loire.

A priest of Augustus is mentioned on the Arch at Saintes. We have an illustration of this office in a tile recently discovered near Newgate Street, London, E.C. It bears the following inscription:

AVSTALIS
VAGATVR DIBVS III
COTIDIM.

Mr. Roach Smith has explained it as written by a workman who makes game of a comrade for neglecting his duties, and I believe his interpretation is generally correct. It has been conjectured that AVSTALIS is contracted from AVGVSTALIS, and that the title is used in derision; this seems more probable than to suppose that AVSTRALIS is meant, *i.e.*, a man from the South. I have found no precedent in inscriptions for such a use of the word. VAGATVR may be translated "plays truant." DIBVS often occurs as a Dative or Ablative of *dens*, but neither case would properly follow *vagatur*: on the other hand if it is regarded as=*diebus*, it would correspond not only

with the numeral III, but also with COTIDEM. There is a blank space before III sufficient for two letters, but of course we cannot say with certainty how it should be filled up. COTIDEM appears to be intended for *quotidie*, and to be formed, by a false analogy, like such adverbs as *fortim*, *scisim*, *peleentim*, &c. Thus the last line would be an exaggeration of the idea expressed in that immediately preceding. "The priest of Augustus leaves his work for a certain number of days, nay more, he does so every day." The substitution of C for QU in COTIDEM will not surprise anyone who has studied Latin etymology, because with the ancient Romans the sound was the same in both cases, viz., that of the letter K; compare the participle of *sequor*, *secutus*, or *sequutus*. So in Wagner's edition of Heyne's Virgil, *ad pristinam orthographiam quoad ejus fieri potuit revocata*, vol. v, p. 250, Æneid, vii, 651, we find *Latusus, eam domitor*, where Forbiger reads *equum*. Professor Key, *On the Adjectives, etc., Good, Better, Best, Well; The Alphabet*, p. 161. There is good reason for believing that the *u* in Latin words containing the letters *qu* was dropped in pronunciation, as is now done by the French: otherwise it would be difficult to account for the short quantity of the initial syllable in *apua*, *equus*, *uque*, *quoque*, &c. It is evident that this inscription was scratched upon the tile by some illiterate person; not to speak of other arguments, the forms of the letters resemble those scrawled upon the walls at Pompeii, and are very different from the well formed characters which we see in the official and historical documents of the Roman empire. See Garrucci, *Graffiti di Pompèi, Inscriptions et Gravures tracées au stylet*, 2^{de} édition, 1856, 4to, Atlas de 32 Planches: Analyse de la forme des lettres, chap. v, pp. 36-43: *C.I.L.*, vol. iv, *Inscriptiones parietariæ Pompeianæ Herculaneuses Stabianæ*, ed. K. Zangemeister, 1871. In these Graffiti the long tails to the letters present a striking peculiarity.

The displacement of the Arch at Saintes may remind us of the proposal to remove the Maison Carrée at Nîmes: ce charmant édifice, que Colbert voulait faire transporter à Versailles pierre par pierre, Ad. Joanne, *Provence—Corse, Alpes Maritimes*, p. 121, 1877.

The Place Blair, close to the town, commands a fine view of the Charente and the vast plain round which it winds. It is so called from the Intendant de Blair de Boisemont. The name seems to be a corruption of *Bel Air*, like *Fontainebleau*, *i.e.*, *Fontaine de belle eau*.

M. Chevreul, the famous centenarian chemist, thus estimates Palissy as a natural philosopher. "Bernard Palissy est tout-à-fait au dessus de son siècle par ses observations sur l'agriculture et la physique du globe. Leur variété prouve la fécondité de son esprit, en même temps que la manière dont il envisage certains sujets montre la faculté d'approfondir la connaissance des choses; enfin la nouveauté de la plupart de ses observations témoigne de l'originalité de ses pensées."

A list of the earlier books treating of Saintes will be found at the beginning of the *Avant-Propos*, prefixed to *De Crazannes*, *Op. citat.*; it includes sixteen authorities. The more recent work of La Ferrière and Musset, which contains many illustrations, is specially useful for the Middle Ages; but it is incomplete, and not likely to be finished.

M. Louis Audiat's publications are very numerous. I add to those cited above:

États provinciaux de Saintonge.

Les Entrées épiscopales à Saintes.

Les Entrées royales à Saintes.

Sceaux inédits de Saintonge et d'Aunis.

La Fronde en Saintonge.

Saint-Entreppe et son Prieuré, documents inédits.

Le Capitole de Saintes.

A complete catalogue could be obtained from M. Trepreau or Mme. Mortreuil, local booksellers.

Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France, 1881; a communication by M. Héron de Villefosse concerning an Inscription found in the Amphitheatre at Saintes.

Prof. Burrows, Family of Brocas, &c., 1886, treats of the English occupation of Aquitaine. See also the Edinburgh Review, July 1887.

M. Victor Cherbulier, La Bate, describes the vintage in Saintonge; Athenaeum, July 2nd, 1887.

Those who wish to study a discussion of the theories to which the excavations at Sanxay have given rise, will find ample information in the following *brochures*.

Guide des Visiteurs. Antiquités de Sanxay (Vienne), avec deux gravures de M. Garnier, d'après les croquis de M. Raoul Gaignard, représentant les ruines, par Ferdinand Delaunay, 1882; a republication of two articles that appeared in the *Temps*, October, 25th and 26th of the same year.

Les Fouilles de Sanxay par J. A. Hild, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Poitiers.

Archéologie Poitevine—De la véritable destination des Monuments de Sanxay. Quelques notes sur les Fouilles du P. de la Croix. La Question de Sanxay à propos du mémoire du P. de la Croix—Réponse à M. Hild. Bibliographie des Fouilles de Sanxay. Par M. Joseph Berthelè, Archiviste du département des Deux-Sèvres.

Consult also the magnificent work entitled *Paysages et Monuments de Poitou*, folio, 1884, Douzième, treizième et quatorzième Livraisons; the text is by the Pere C. de la Croix, the photographic illustrations by M. Jules Robuchon:

1 La Planché aux Moutons (vue prise sur la Vonne), *i.e.*, petit pont moderne, en bois.

2 Le Balméaire. Couloir de service des Hypocaustes;

3 Vue prise de l'angle sud-ouest;

4 Vue prise de l'angle nord-est;

5 Le Théâtre Vue prise à Pest;

6 Vue prise à Pouest.

Sanxay is 30 kilomètres from Poitiers, but only 14 kil. from Lusignan, the nearest railway station. The excursion from the former place is an agreeable one, the scenery improving as we approach Sanxay, which is situated in a well-wooded, undulating country. Homely, but clean accommodation, with good cuisine, may be obtained there by the antiquarian traveller who wishes to stay two or three days, and pursue his investigations at leisure.

The Musée de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest at Poitiers contains 21 Roman inscriptions, besides mile-stones (*colonnes milliaires*): v. Catalogue de la Galerie Lapidaire par Bélisaire Ledain. That at

Niort is less important, but includes monuments of the Gallo-Roman period; a catalogue can be obtained on the spot. M. Clouzot, libraire-éditeur, Rue des Halles, Niort, could give useful *renseignements* concerning the antiquarian bibliography of Poitou and Saintonge. For the Hypogée at Poitiers see Documents sur la Question du Martyrium, publiés par M^{gr} X. Barbier de Montault—on the cover many authorities are indicated: also Père de la Croix in the Bulletin de la Soc. des Antiq. de l'Ouest, tom. II, Années 1878-9.

NOTE.—This Memoir is the result of two visits to Saintes, in 1882 and 1885. I desire to acknowledge with cordial thanks the kind co-operation of M. Audiat, whose writings have been so often cited and translated above; I am also indebted to the Rev. C. W. King and my brother the Rev. S. S. Lewis for many valuable suggestions.

OPENING ADDRESS TO THE SECTION OF ARCHITECTURE
AT THE SALISBURY MEETING.¹

By the REV. PRECENTOR VENABLES.

A custom has grown up of late years, unknown in the earlier days of the Archaeological Institute, for those who occupy the position of Presidents of Sections at annual meetings to deliver an opening address at the first meeting of the sections over which they respectively preside. This custom, like most other things in this imperfect world, has its good side as well as its bad side. To it we are indebted for several most admirable dissertations, in which the chief facts connected with the archaeology of the district in which the meeting has been held, in their various divisions, have been gathered up and presented to the public by gentlemen holding the highest place in their respective provinces, with a clearness of exposition and a complete mastery of the subject treated of, which has delighted while it has instructed all who have been privileged to hear or read them, and by which the science of archaeology has been sensibly advanced. This has been the happy result when the inaugural address has been delivered by masters of their craft, such as some whom we would so gladly have welcomed among us on the present occasion, the want of whose wide and accurate knowledge of the fields of history architecture and antiquities will be experienced at every turn. But it may be the case that the address has to be delivered by one less adequately prepared for the task, who has little to offer but a meagre *resumé* of facts already familiar to most of his hearers, without a spark of genius or play

¹ Delivered at Salisbury, August 4th. 1887

fancy to enliven the dreariness of his disquisition, and maintain the interest of his hearers. In such a case, and I much fear the present may be one, it must be confessed that the new rule works badly, and that the old plan where no such address was demanded of the sectional presidents was preferable. But, such being the rule, it befits all loyal members of the Institute to accept it if not with gladness yet with patience, while it becomes the duty of the individual who has been honoured by the invitation of the Council to fill the presidential chair and has been rash enough to accept it, to try that patience as little as he can; to endeavour neither to be too long nor too dull. How far my endeavour may be successful you will be able to decide when my address is done.

It has always seemed to me that as it has been the habit of the Presidents of the Historical and Antiquarian Sections in their respective addresses, to give a sketch of the history and antiquities of the place where the meeting is held, with a mention of any past discoveries or recent investigations bearing on the subject in its general aspect, so the President of the Architectural Section will fulfil his task most adequately if he offers a rapid survey of the architecture of the district,—ecclesiastical, domestic and military, and also makes mention of the chief architectural events of the past year bearing on the science in its archaeological aspect. Both these objects I will endeavour, however imperfectly, to fulfil.

Pre-historic architecture, illustrated so magnificently in the county of Wilts in the mysterious circles of Avebury and Stonehenge, and the standing stones, cromlecks and cistvaens which stud its downs, as well as in the camps and villages which so abundantly crown the hill crests, belongs to the section of antiquities and does not enter into our present purpose. Architecture, properly so called, begins for us with the so-called Anglo-Saxon era; a convenient and intelligible, if not strictly correct term. Of this era the county of Wilts has several examples to show, one of which is certainly unsurpassed in value by any building of its age in England. I mean, of course, the old church at Bradford-on-Avon, rescued from its desecration and restored to

its sacred purpose by one whose premature death has inflicted an irreparable loss upon the archæology of Wiltshire generally, and of Salisbury in particular, never more acutely felt than at our present gathering, the late Canon Rich Jones. In this little building, which, in the words of one who, though happily he is still alive and likely to live for many years, and is not so very far from us, is, unhappily not with us—Professor Freeman—is “probably the most ancient unaltered church in England,” we may safely recognize the church erected by St. Aldhelm at the beginning of the eighth century and mentioned by William of Malmesbury as standing in his day, as it still stands in our day, at the Broad Ford over the Avon; “*est ad hunc diem in eo loco ecclesiola quam ad nomen beatissimi Laurentii (Aldhelmi) fecisse predicatur.*” All qualified judges who see it will agree that there is only one period at which a building so remarkable both in its outline and in its detail could have been erected in England, and that the period named by Malmesbury. There are other examples of the same rude pre-Norman style in the remarkable church of Britford and at North Burcombe, and though less certainly at Maningford Braose, where the east end is semi-circular instead of square, as is usual in English churches anterior to the Norman conquest, and Avebury. As far as I know no instance of the characteristic Anglo-Saxon towers, such as those at Earls Barton, Barton-on-Umber, Barnack, and in the city of Lincoln, occurs in Wiltshire.

We hardly need to be reminded how intimate is the connection between the mediæval churches and the geological formation of the district to which they belong. The nature of the local building-material rules the architecture. There is an exception to the law where, as in parts of Lincolnshire and the adjacent low lying district, water carriage was easy and inexpensive. Here we find an abundance of noble churches, excellent in their stone work and unstinting in the richness of their design in a country which does not produce building stone of any description, the whole being brought on rafts or in bays from the quarries of Barnack and Ketton. But where there was no such facility of transport the builders were

entirely dependent on local material, and the character of the churches both in form and detail is governed by it. The reason why we find round towers so common in Suffolk and Norfolk, is that they could be constructed of flint alone which was abundant, and had no angles to be strengthened with quoins of stone which was rare. The same causes led to the invention of the elaborate patterns of black flint set in tracery of white stone which are so beautiful a feature in the East Anglian churches. The variety of light and shade produced elsewhere by deeply cut mouldings and recessed panels, when stone was scarce and thin and had to be used economically, was ingeniously given by contrasted colours in the same plane. The thatched roofs speak of a swampy district where slates were not and tiles were dear, while sedge and reeds might be had for cutting. A want of stone and abundance of pebbles has also given us the boulder-built churches of the Sussex seaboard, while the wooden bell-turrets and shingled spires of the same county may be traced to the wide spreading forests which covered its surface until the iron works which once had their seat there had consumed them all, and thus, fuel ceasing, put themselves out. The unmanageable texture of the Cornish granite is answerable for the coarseness of the ecclesiastical architecture of that county, while the fatal softness of the red sandstone of Cheshire and Staffordshire has led to an indulgence in an excess of ornamentation which has proved only too transient.

If now we turn to Wiltshire, we find the same law dictating the character of the churches. Wherever, as in the northern part and in some districts of the south-west, good stone is abundant, and as the masonry of Salisbury cathedral testifies, no county in England supplies better, the churches are usually large lofty and carefully designed, much pains being taken in the ashlar of the walls and in the exterior generally, on which a good deal of ornament is often bestowed. Where on the contrary, as in the southern and eastern districts, the only building material is chalk, clunch, and flints, with just enough green sandstone for windows and doorways and dressings, the churches are diminutive and homely, with low square steeples, or wooden belfreys. These

materials are often arranged in chequers of stone and flint, producing a very pleasing effect. Many of these smaller churches possess features of considerable interest, more especially those which have escaped the hand of the restorer, which has, alas! been very busy in Wiltshire. On those on which that hand has been laid lightly, guided by the true principle of all restoration, viz., to preserve and maintain and never to destroy, Norman doorways and chancel arches are by no means unfrequent and are sometimes richly ornamented, while a considerable amount of good Early English work is to be found, often plain and simple, but always pleasing. These smaller and humbler churches often get passed over, but they will almost always reward a visit. Even when their architectural features are of the plainest there is usually something in their shape and colouring and position, and the way in which they group with the cottages which are scattered about them and the trees out of which their little belfrys peer, on which the memory dwells with more satisfaction than on many a more stately edifice.

It is observable that while in some large parts of England the cruciform plan is hardly found at all, churches of this form are somewhat frequent in Wiltshire. Some of these are on rather a large scale and of considerable dignity such as Edington, Amesbury, Westbury, Tisbury, Heytesbury, Downton, Bishopston, All Cannings, Bishops Cannings and Great Bedwyn, and several more, while others are small and unpretending. The nave at least is commonly provided with aisles, but the noble Church of Potterne, one of the finest in the county has none, and the churches of Winterbourne, Stoke, and Britford are also aisleless. The church of Bratton may be mentioned as a perfect specimen of an aisleless cruciform church with a central tower on the smallest scale. A singular line of cruciform churches runs along the Vale of Chalk, where Bishopston, Broad Chalk, Bower Chalk, Alvediston, and Berwick St. John, in succession, exhibit the same plan. A central tower is essential to the completeness of the outline of a cruciform church. This is seldom wanting in the Wilts cross churches, and in some as at Chilmark, and Bishops

Cannings, which is crowned with a stone spire, at Potterne, Westbury, Cricklade St. Sampson's, and others, it is of considerable dignity. Corsham Church had till recently a central tower, but when it was restored by the late Mr. Street, he pulled it down and built a new tower and spire in a different position; we may suppose that there were sufficient reasons for that treatment. While speaking of towers it should be mentioned that two churches near the north-east border, Purton and Wanborough, both cruciform in plan, present the unusual feature of two steeples, a square tower at the west end of the nave and a spire in the centre. This arrangement, it will be remembered, is also found at Wimborne Minster, the western tower being the later belfry of the parochial nave, that at the intersection the early lantern of the Collegiate Church. The western steeples at Purton and Wanborough are also later additions for the reception of a peal of bells, for which the existing central spire was inadequate.

Stone spires, though by no means numerous, are not very uncommon. Passing over that of Salisbury Cathedral, confessedly without a rival in England, and for the union of simple majesty and exquisite grace almost without a rival in the world, these spires do not generally take the first rank for height or beauty. There are, however, good examples at Chilmark, Bishops Cannings, Trowbridge, and Lacock. There is a nice specimen of a small stone spire at Little Bedwyn. Pack-saddle roofs, an unusual form in England, are found at North and South Wraxall, at Holt, and at Winsley. A bell turret crowned with a spirelet of much elegance is rather frequent in the north-west corner of the county, as at Acton Turvill, Sutton Benger, Corsley, Corston, Biddeford, and Great Chaldfield. The small wooden turrets of the south east have been already referred to. They are often very picturesque. Stone groined roofs, though far from being common, are less uncommon in Wiltshire than in other parts of England. The Norman chancels of St. John's and St. Mary's at Devizes have good vaults of that date. Early English and Decorated vaulting is found at the beautiful churches of Bishop's Cannings, Urchfont, Steeple Ashton, Bishopston, Marlborough St. Peter's, and the

south transept of Bromham. The nave of Steeple Ashton is groined in wood, the ribs springing from stone shafts.¹ At Knoyle and Edington there are curious plaster ceilings of late date which deserve notice.

Taking a general survey of the county we find Norman work very abundant, though not usually of a very high order. The humble village churches frequently contain a door or a window or a chancel arch of that period. Great Durnford is a typical example, and the fabrics of a large number evidently belong to this period. We have examples within a short distance of Salisbury. Berwick St. James preserves its Norman doorway, while there are doorways and other remains of Norman work as in the churches of Winterbourne Stoke, Stapleford, South Newton, and Little Langford, all very near together. The tower of Netheravon is very Early Norman. The west doorway is unusually lofty having originally opened into a western porch, now destroyed. Upavon has a square Norman tower, and a triple chancel arch late in the style. The most conspicuous Norman building in Wiltshire is the fragment of the Abbey Church of Malmesbury. Much of it, however, is late in this style and belongs rather to the Transition period. Its doorways are well known. The outer South door, with its interlaced bands and series of scriptural medallions, is unsurpassed for richness of decoration by any door in England. We have fine examples of late Norman in the groined chancels of the two churches at Devizes, the work of the warlike Bishop Roger, the greatest builder of his day. The churches at Corsham, Preshute, and several others preserve their Norman arcades and at Melksham amid many alterations, we have enough left to make out the original cruciform Norman Church.

Passing to Early English, in the unrivalled Cathedral, under the shadow of which we are meeting, we have the

¹ Mr. Ponting tells me that the nave and aisles of Steeple Ashton were originally groined in stone, as the chancel is now. This is shewn by the existing flying buttresses, and various indications inside the church. The stone vault was probably destroyed by the fall of the spire in the latter part of the seventeenth

century. This catastrophe is thus described by Aubrey: "On 25th July, 1670, there was a rupture of the steeple of Steeple Ashton, by lightning. The steeple was 93 feet high, above the tower, which was much about that height. The stones fell and broke part of the church, but never hurt the Font."

most perfect example of the style on its grandest scale to be found in England. As is natural, its influence spread, and we find village churches displaying the same purity of design, harmony of proportions, and dignified simplicity of outline, of which the mother church set the example. Potterne, which may very probably be ascribed to Bishop Poore, the founder of the Cathedral, may not improperly be called Salisbury in miniature. The simple plan of this noble church, cruciform without aisles, has come down without any alterations, except the addition of a fourteenth century south porch, Broad Hinton is another example of an Early English nave and chancel, and the north wall of the chancel at Enford, with a blank arcade, with an octagonal sacristy connected with the church by a short narrow passage, may be ascribed to Bishop Poore's influences. Bishops Cannings, though with later alterations which mar its unity, is also a beautiful example in the style, which we find also in great excellence in the chancel of Great Bedwin, at Collingbourne, Kingston, Boyton, Purton, Downton, Amesbury, (a very stately example) and many other places.

The fourteenth century seems to have been less prolific in church building in Wiltshire than elsewhere. There is, it is true, no want of Decorated architecture in windows, doors, and in portions of churches, but there are fewer entire churches in this style than in the midland counties. The chancel of Downton is a good example of early Decorated. We have rich Flamboyant work in the transepts of Great Bedwyn, and in those of Lacock; also in the chancel and transepts of the very interesting church of Bishopston especially the south transept with its very curious external cloister. The chancel at Wroughton is also a very charming example of flowing Decorated, with very good tracery and mouldings. At Boyton the Decorated work is earlier in date, and very good.

The transition from Decorated to Perpendicular is exemplified in the very remarkable church of Edington, now being very carefully restored by Mr. Ponting. This is one of the most important buildings, we possess for the history of English architecture, in which we trace the beginnings of the new style, the special growth of English

soil—and watch the curves of the tracery stiffening into rectilinear uniformity. Perpendicular not improbably had its rise in the Abbey of Gloucester. We find the earliest dated instance of its employment in the south transept of the cathedral, soon after which it appears in the remodelling of Winchester Cathedral, commenced by Bishop Edington, and though less fully developed in the noble collegiate church founded by him in his native village as a thank-offering for his elevation to the episcopate, which is deservedly one of the chief glories of Wiltshire. The first stone of this church was laid in 1352, and it was dedicated in 1361; dates of some importance in the origin of the Perpendicular style.

It would occupy too much of your time to dwell on the Perpendicular work in this county. As everywhere else there is hardly a church which does not exhibit large or small traces of the great wave of rebuilding and alteration which passed over the country as the Gothic style was losing its life and freedom, and preparing to give way to the newly introduced classical revival. The stately church of Mere with its noble west tower, may be mentioned as one of the best in South Wilts. Westbury deserves notice as an example of a church originally Norman recast in Perpendicular, much in the way Wykeham treated Winchester Cathedral. The nave is very stately, and the aisles shew a not very usual feature in the transverse stone arches with inter-penetrating mouldings, which cross them from north to south. The masonry throughout is of great excellence. While at Westbury we have an adapted building, and at Mere a mixed building, at Trowbridge we have an example of a Perpendicular church raised from the ground, as one design without any admixture of earlier style, by the munificence of the inhabitants, chiefly rich clothiers, in 1475. It is a typical church of its date, with a western tower groined within, supporting a lofty stone spire, north and south porches, and a very beautiful open timber roof, the whole deserving Leland's description as "lightsome and fair." The font is lofty, carved with the emblems of the crucifixion. Steeple Ashton built between 1480 and 1500, by the clothiers, is also a very noble Perpendicular church exhibiting well finished masonry of the highest order of

excellence. The clerestory is lofty, the arcades tall and imposing, the windows large and good. Both the chancel and the nave are groined; the former in stone the latter in wood. St. Thomas' of Salisbury though late and rather coarse, is a very good example of a rich Perpendicular town church. With its light arcades, very wide aisles, and low timber ceilings, it supplies a model the designers of our town churches might do well to follow. I would except the clerestoried chancel, which is of somewhat excessive length for modern requirements. Perpendicular work of peculiar richness is to be found in the north-east angle of the county, sometimes in the fabrics of the churches, sometimes in appended chapels and chantries. The nave of Lacock is a sumptuous building, and the Lady chapel deserves notice for its fan-traceried roof and general richness of character. The Baynton Chapel at Bromham is also a very gorgeous example of late Gothic, with a richly panelled ceiling. We have a similar specimen in the magnificent Beauchamp Chapel, at St. John's, Devizes. In the same district a rich canopied niche crowning the apex of a gable is by no means unfrequent; we have good examples at Lacock and St. John's Devizes. The chancel and tower of Calne, rebuilt after the fall of the older tower in 1645, is a very interesting specimen of the survival of the Gothic style, of which we have such conspicuous examples at Oxford and Cambridge.

The monastic remains of Wiltshire are scanty. The great religious foundations of Wilton, Amesbury, and others have entirely passed away, leaving few if any fragments of their once extensive buildings. At Malmesbury a large portion of the nave is still standing, and a vaulted crypt over which may have been the Abbot's house, and some other relics are built up in an Elizabethan house. At Bradenstoke, the Refectory, a beautiful example of early Decorated work, is preserved, with its vaulted under-croft, Prior's House, and domestic offices. The remains of Monkton Farleigh are of early English date, but are very insignificant. The most important and best preserved monastic building in the county is the Nunnery at Lacock, founded by Ela of Salisbury, in memory of her husband William Longsword. It is too little known for it is one of the best existing examples of con-

ventual arrangement, substantially unchanged. The cloister with its three beautifully vaulted alleys of good Perpendicular design, is surrounded with the usual monastic buildings, on a small scale, but of excellent character. Of the church on the south side only the north wall remains. Opening out of the east walk we have in succession the Sacristy, the Chapter House, the Slype, and the Calefactory or Day Room, all of early English date, with the Perpendicular Dormitory above. The Refectory occupies the north side standing on a vaulted undercroft, with the kitchen at the lower end. The whole building is of the greatest interest, and it is to be regretted that it lies too far away for us to visit it on this occasion.

If the remains of monastic architecture in Wilts are but scanty, the remains of Military architecture are scantier still. The great castles of the county which played so important a part in English history have completely vanished, leaving only their high mounds and earthworks with some fragments of walls and vaults to testify to their former existence. I may mention Old Sarum, Devizes, Marlborough, Castle Coombe, and Ludgershal. The only castle of which the walls still stand is Wardour, hexagonal in plan, a good example of early Perpendicular, when the military castle was passing into the nobleman's residence.

In domestic architecture few counties are so rich as Wiltshire. In the northern part of the county nearly every parish can shew specimens of the fifteenth and sixteenth century small manor house, with long low gabled front, two-storied porch, hall and solar, lighted by stone-mullioned windows. There are also several examples of the larger and more stately mansions, especially those of South Wraxall, with a good deal of later adaptation. I may also mention Great Chaldfield and the Duke's House at Bradford, all of which we are to inspect, Norrington, Charlton, Corsham, Littlecot, and many more. The still larger and more magnificent houses of Wilton, Longleat, and Longford, and others, have few rivals in any part of England. The town houses of Salisbury, the Audley Mansion now the Church House, the Hall of John Halle, and others, more

or less mutilated, are excellent illustrations of the domestic life of our civic forefathers.

Naturally the examples of later architecture are more abundant, but earlier examples are not wanting. The fourteenth century houses at Stanton St. Quentin; Place Farm, Tisbury; Woodlands, Mere; and the Barton Farm at Bradford, with its noble barn deserve the most careful examination.

After this rapid survey of the mediæval architecture of Wiltshire, I pass to the chief architectural events connected with archaeology during the past year. These have been comparatively few. Commercial and agricultural depression, by drying up the springs have retarded the progress of restoration, and there are few extensive works of that nature to record. The most important work is that still in progress, and likely to be in progress for some years to come at the Abbey, now the Cathedral Church, St. Albans. While desiring to do the fullest justice to the constructional skill, wide knowledge, and munificent liberality of Lord Grimthorpe, it is necessary in the cause of true archaeology and of architectural history to record a firm protest against the mode in which his Lordship is dealing with that venerable fabric. It is true that he has at great cost, ungrudgingly rendered, secured the stability of a decayed and tottering fabric, and that by his aid one of our grandest architectural monuments will be preserved from ruin and a cathedral given to the new diocese equal in structural excellence to that of any other diocese in England. For this Lord Grimthorpe cannot be too highly commended. But every one to whom the structural continuity of our churches is dear must deplore the rashness with which his lordship is destroying the original features of the edifice, and replacing them with architecture of his own design, which whatever its merits—a topic on which I do not wish now to enter—has no real affinity with the fabric, it being different from anything which ever did or ever could have stood there. The west front has been finished for a year or two and, therefore, does not come within our limits. But during the past year the south transept gable end has been entirely demolished and a new one

erected. The old gable end a portion of the veritable old St. Albans, the work of Abbot Paul, was Norman, with a cylindrical turret at the western angle, and an octagonal turret of Perpendicular character at the eastern angle, and a large Perpendicular window, a copy of that inserted by Abbot Whethampstead. At its base ran the Slype, its walls ornamented with elaborately carved Norman arcades. All this is now of the past. What the eye has been familiar with for centuries is gone, and we have in its place an entirely modern building falsifying the history of the church. The gable wall now presents a series of five gigantic lancets, the central light taller than the tallest of the celebrated "Five Sisters of York," flanked by turrets square instead of round, finished with pyramidal caps. The slype has been demolished and a portion of its arcade rebuilt, at a much higher level, inside the church, below the lancet windows, appendages to not integral parts of it. There is reason to fear that a similar transformation awaits the north transept, with its Norman windows, and still existing turret of Abbot Paul's work. Once again, in the name of this Institute, I may be permitted to raise a serious protest against such a treatment of an ancient building. It is endeavoured to be justified by reference to the similar mode in which the earlier builders treated the work of their predecessors, which they pulled down and altered unscrupulously, to replace it by work of the reigning fashion. But at the time that this was done architecture was a living, growing art. The new work belonged to its own age and was its natural product. Now all we can do is to copy and adapt, with what success I leave it to those who visit St. Albans to say. We have a new, well-built, carefully-designed, and not un-attractive design; a new lamp, bright and burnished, in place of an old lamp, battered, broken, and dingy. Some prefer the new lamp; I prefer the old one.

Another work is proceeding in the same cathedral in a far different and more reverential spirit—the restoration of the statuary of the long impoverished reredos by the munificence of Mr. Henry Hucks Gibbs. Everything has been done with due respect to ancient lines and historical precedent by a true architect, Mr. Arthur Blomfield.

There is not much other cathedral work to record. At Peterborough the central tower has been carefully rebuilt on its old lines,—happily preserving the east and west pointed lantern arches,—by Mr. Pearson. The want at present of corner turrets (those taken down, it will be remembered, were late additions by Dean Kipling) gives the tower a bald stunted look. We wait with anxiety to see how it will be completed. It is well known that Mr. Pearson desires to add another story to this very low tower. Until this point is finally decided the erection of the turrets is necessary suspended. No steps have yet been taken for the restoration of the choir.

At Winchester the investigations of the energetic Dean have been rewarded by the discovery of the foundations of what is probably the earlier church beyond the present walls to the north east. The Norman crypt has also been opened out, and several ancient interments brought to light. The statues are about to be replaced in the reredos. We are beginning to perceive that tenantless niches are as unmeaning a decoration as are vacant picture frames. At Lincoln, excavations in the retro-choir have revealed the foundations of the semi-hexagonal apse, with radiating chapels which was the original termination of St. Hugh's Minster, removed for the erection of the Angel choir—the saint's building being destroyed to receive the saint's shrine. The external effect of this east end, though rather crowded, must have been of great singularity and beauty.¹

At Chester Cathedral a very beautiful Decorated window of large size erected at the cost of Lord Egerton, has taken the place of the very ugly debased window which disfigured the gable end of the south transept. The restoration of the whole of this very remarkable transept, the only part of the cathedral left incomplete by the late energetic Dean Howson, will follow in due course.

The Cathedral of Manchester—a mere stately parish church of the latest style of architecture, without any pretensions to the Minster type, has undergone much rebuilding of the walls, which were decayed, and also other greatly needed improvements. But a real Cathedral at Manchester is still wanted.

¹ For an article, with plans, fully describing these discoveries see the last number of the *Journal*, pp. 194-202.

Decided steps have been taken to supply this want at the sister city of Liverpool during the past year by the cathedral competition. Out of the large number of designs submitted, three were selected by the Committee, those of Mr. Brooks, Messrs. Bodley and Garner, and Mr. Emerson, and submitted to Mr. Christian for adjudication. Of these Mr. Christian, while highly commending the other two, selected that of Mr. Emerson as in his opinion, better fitted in its plan and arrangement for the requirements of a modern cathedral than the others, in which the old cathedral idea was more strictly followed. I do not think that Mr. Christian's verdict has met with general acceptance. Mr. Emerson's plan is certainly one of great merit. The value of a spacious domical area for the reception of large congregations is proved by the cathedral of St. Paul's; nor can any one question the beauty of the cupola, combining dignity and grace, as the central feature of a great church. But the idea is far superior to its carrying out. The style chosen—I may almost say invented, by Mr. Emerson—is far from attractive, and the ornamentation is in some cases almost grotesque. I could only consider it a national misfortune if the design were to be carried out in its present form. To render it at all worthy as a monument of the ecclesiastical architecture of the nineteenth century, the whole must be re-designed—the skeleton re-clothed in more comely attire. As architectural studies, the severe Early English of Mr. Brooks, and the rich luxuriant Decorated of Messrs. Bodley and Garner, produce far more satisfactory results. Mr. Brooks' design is specially admirable.

While Liverpool Cathedral still remains, as one may say, in the clouds, that of Truro, due to the genius of Mr. Pearson, at least the eastern half of it, is all but completed, and will be consecrated before the close of the year. Our generation may be congratulated on possessing an architect capable of providing so beautiful a work, instinct in every part with artistic life, not unworthy to take rank, especially when completed, with the best of the smaller cathedrals of our country. *O si sic omnes!*

The same architect has been entrusted with the

re-erection of the destroyed cloister at Exeter, with a library over the southern walk. Sufficient indications of the original work remain to guide Mr. Pearson in his design.

Mr. Pearson has also restored the Abbey Gateway at Bristol Cathedral. He has created a very beautiful structure, and we cannot doubt that so conscientious an architect has found satisfactory evidence for all that he has done. But the result has been that the old building has put on a new face which looks strange to those who knew it in former years. It is earnestly to be hoped that Mr. Pearson will absolutely forbid the re-tooling of the elaborate Norman mouldings of the well-known archways, which those who have the conduct of the work are contemplating. Such an operation would entirely destroy the historic value of these very remarkable examples, and transform them for all practical purposes into nineteenth century work.

One of the most important works of restoration carried out during the past year has been that in the Priory Church of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, under the able and conservative hands of Mr. Aston Webb. Through the energy of the late (alas ! that I should have to say the late) incumbent, the Rev. W. Panckridge, who scarcely lived to see the completion of the great work on which he expended his vital strength, and the munificence of the patron and others, the Lady Chapel has been purchased and rescued from desecration ; the Norman apse restored and the whole church re-roofed and re-fitted. Happily the interior walls of the church have not been touched, save with a broom, and still retain the rich colouring which time has imparted to them. The church still looks old, a sadly rare case in an unrestored church. This is, however, only the commencement of a work of restoration the successive steps of which we shall hope to have to chronicle in future years.

Time forbids my speaking of other minor works. I can barely refer to the new buildings rising on the west side of Westminster Hall. One must not call them "restorations," as there was nothing to indicate more than the general arrangement of what preceded them, on which there has been much difference of opinion. Let us

hope the result will justify the soundness of Mr. Pearson's judgment. Waltham Cross is for the second time in my own memory under the restorative hand. The work is being very carefully and conscientiously done by a Wiltshireman, Mr. Ponting, who has discovered some features previously buried. But after such repeated demolitions and reconstructions we can hardly hope that much more of the old structure will be left than was left of the historic Irishman's knife.

I may conclude with an expression of thankfulness that after a somewhat hard fight, the Stone Bow at Lincoln, with the Guildhall over it, which crosses the High Street, much as 'Temple Bar' used to cross Fleet Street, has been rescued from impending destruction, and has been carefully restored by Mr. Pearson. The changed policy of the municipality and citizens of Lincoln with regard to the architectural remains of their town, which we rejoice to trace in almost every part of England—is London to be an exception?—is one among many satisfactory evidences of the excellent work done by the Institute and other kindred societies in spreading Archaeological knowledge and awakening a feeling of reverence for, and interest in, the monuments of the past, which in our own memories was so lamentably deficient. We have not lived in vain.

¹ It is not to the credit of the citizens of London to have allowed this historic monument to be transferred from the metropolis to Theobald's Park, where it is about to be erected, under Mr. Ponting's care. We may be thankful that one of the fast decreasing works of our greatest English architect has thus been saved from the complete destruction to which the barbarous neglect of its appointed guardians seemed to have doomed it, together with the vaulted crypt of Gerard's Hall, the colonnade of Burlington House, and other architectural monuments. But a building so completely identified with the history of the city of London ought on every account to have remained within or closely adjacent to its limits.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF LIEUT.-GENL. A. H. LANE-FOX
PITT RIVERS TO THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE INSTI-
TUTE, HELD AT SALISBURY.¹

It is thirty-eight years since this Society last met at Salisbury, a period which has probably been more prolific of scientific discovery than any other in the history of this country or of the world. Archæology has not fallen short of its sister sciences in the race for knowledge, and although it appears proper that on an occasion like the present my discourse should be general and retrospective, the time allotted to me is totally insufficient to enable me to deal adequately with the progress that has taken place. Indeed, when I consider that Wiltshire is classical ground for the branch of pre-historic archæology that I have undertaken to deal with, and that, amongst the practical explorers in this Wiltshire field are included the names of Aubrey, Stukeley, Hoare, Cunnington, Prestwich, Merewether, Thurnam, Warne, Blackmore, Stevens, and A. C. Smith, I almost feel that I must owe my present position to the rashness with which I have undertaken a task from which others may have shrunk. Having ascertained it to be the wish of some of your leading members that I should devote my lecture to a consideration of the particular branch of archæology to which my attention has been chiefly given I will endeavour to sketch out roughly the progress of prehistoric research since the Society last met here in 1849, not attempting to record all the discoveries that have been made, or even a large part of them, but to trace as far as possible the main lines of progress, and as I am the lecturer on this occasion I hope it will not be thought inappropriate if I refer to such of my own humble discoveries as may be applicable to the matter and show their bearing on the general

¹ Delivered August 2nd, 1887.

question. In so doing I shall divide the subject under two heads.

Firstly, I shall speak of pre-historic or non-historic archæology, including in the latter the vestiges of the Romanised Britons, which, though falling within historic times, have left no written record, and, secondly, I shall refer, if I have time, to the quaternary period, or that which, preceding the pre-historic period, goes back to the very earliest traces of man. In dealing with the pre-historic age, our attention must be given chiefly to the grave mounds, as being the class of relics that archæologists have studied most carefully hitherto, but I hope I shall be able to show that valuable information is to be derived from excavations on the sites of camps and villages, and that more attention will be paid to them in future. As early as the beginning of the seventeenth century Camden seems to have distinguished two kinds of barrows, which he described as the round, and those with sharp tops, which were probably the long barrows, and he supposed them to be the graves of soldiers, for bones he says, are found in them. But Stukeley classified them more carefully and gave them various kinds of fanciful names, which with some modification, have attached to them ever since. Thurnam does full justice to Stukeley's work, although it must be admitted that, viewed by the light of modern discovery, his name has been handed down to us chiefly as an example of what to avoid in archæology. A characteristic specimen of Stukeley's quaint and imaginative way of dealing with the subject of his studies may be seen in his account of the origin of the Sarsen Stones, which cover the surface of the Wiltshire Downs. "As the chalky matter of the earth hardened at creation," he says, "it spewed out the most solid body of the stones of greater specific gravity than itself, and, assisted by the centrifuge power owing to the rotation of the earth upon its axis, threw them upon its surface where they now lie." "This," he adds, "is my opinion concerning this appearance which I have often attentively considered." We are not without our Stukeleys at the present time, when the progress of science has lessened the excuse for us, and we ought therefore to be lenient to our predecessors. "Two things we ought to learn from history," says Dr.

Arnold, in his lectures on Modern History, published in 1841, "one, that we are not ourselves superior to our fathers; another, that we are shamefully and monstrously inferior to them if we do not advance beyond them." And this, if it is not borne out by an extended view of human nature, or by the light of recent discovery, is, nevertheless, sufficiently true to prevent our exulting over our ancestors in consequence of our superior knowledge.

It would be a profitless task to recount the opinions of our predecessors if we did not find fault with their methods and their conclusions, but, in doing so, we must not be taken to condemn them personally because they do not represent the uppermost rungs of the ladder that we are climbing. Sir Richard Colt Hoare was the first to apply himself to the study of our Wiltshire Tumuli by the only satisfactory method, viz., by excavation in them. Taking for his motto "We speak from facts not theory" he opened 379 barrows and recorded their contents in two folio volumes with ample illustrations. He differentiated the long from the round barrows, and showed that the former contained no metal implements, and none but the rudest kinds of pottery and that they were probably the earliest, but he did not thoroughly establish a stone age, and it is a question whether those most valuable items of evidence, the flint flake and the scraper, did not entirely escape his notice. When we consider the time that he devoted to his excavations, and the number of them that must have passed under his eyes, we may well ask what evidence we ourselves are failing to notice through ignorance of its bearing upon our investigations. Hoare speaks of Wiltshire, in his preface, as a county little known and hitherto undescribed, and there can be no doubt that as a topographer he fulfilled his task admirably. He was sound in principle, and where he failed was through not applying his principles more thoroughly. He correctly established the sequence of the different modes of interment, pronouncing inhumation in a contracted position to be the earliest, after which inhumation was practised conjointly with cremation, and inhumation in an extended position he proved to be the latest mode of interment, but he failed to distinguish in some cases between Saxon and late Celtic burials. He distinguished

primary from secondary in the same tumulus, and he correctly classified the three kinds of urns found in the graves as funeral urns, drinking vessels, and incense cups, but he described bronze dagger blades as lance heads, and by that means led Sir Samuel Meyrick into error in his work on the weapons and costume of the Ancient Britons published in 1815. He claims with justice to be the first, with Mr. Cunnington, to take notice of the sites of the British villages, and he attempted to classify the camps and earthworks by the size of their ramparts and external appearance, but his examination of them was cursory and insufficient for his conclusions. But where he failed totally was in neglecting to take any notice of the skeletons found in the graves. The scientific study of human osteology had not commenced in his time and his mind was a blank upon all anthropological subjects. He thought right to re-inter them quickly without measuring them. Here and there we find them spoken of only as the "skeleton of a stout person" or "a tall person," and in only one instance he describes a skeleton, saying that it "grinned horribly a ghastly smile," a "singularity that I have never before noticed." No doubt the skeleton must have been laughing at him for his unscientific method of dealing with it, and when we think of the large amount of racial evidence that he destroyed in this way and the comparatively small number of skeletons that have remained in the barrows to be examined since, it is almost enough to give any lover of antiquity a ghastly smile.

Sir Richard Hoare's researches were followed by those of Dean Merewether, which were published in the Salisbury volume of the Institute in 1849. He improved somewhat upon Sir Richard's method by measuring the thigh bones of some of the skeletons but without arriving at any results as to race or stature. He also roughly measured two skulls of oxen found in the tumuli, which was also an advance upon Sir Richard, who did no more in the way of describing one or two of those he found than by saying that in the opinion of a butcher of his acquaintance some of them were the largest of the kind he had seen. No systematic measurements of the bones of animals with a view to the

comparison of the domesticated breeds appears to have been made until Professor Rolleston and Professor Boyd-Dawkins applied their biological knowledge to the inquiry. In my most recent investigations into the Romano-British villages near Rushmore I have endeavoured to improve upon this by establishing, with the approval of Professor Moseley, F.R.S., and Dr. Garson, of the Royal College of Surgeons, a regular scale of measurements by means of which we shall be able from a single bone or fragment of skull to ascertain approximately the size and some of the peculiarities of the domesticated breeds in use by the Ancient Britons.

But an entirely new era in pre-historic archaeology was to be inaugurated by methods imported from other sciences. Whilst geology was to carry us back to periods that had not before been thought of in the history of man, anthropology was to teach us how to estimate the stature and physical peculiarities of the skeletons found in the graves, and ethnology was to enable us to appreciate the social and material condition of the aborigines of our country by a comparison of their relics with the arts of modern savages. All these branches have now become indispensable for the pre-historian.

Dr. Thurnam was the first to apply anthropology to the elucidation of the Wiltshire barrows, and his papers are included amongst the earliest contributions to the newly-established Anthropological Society in 1865-7. Profiting by the contemporary researches of Professors Thomson and Wilson in Scandinavia, and Canon Greenwell in the Yorkshire Wolds, he systematised the results of Sir Richard Hoare's investigations, and separated them more definitely into those of the Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages, which began to be finally accepted by archaeologists; and about the same time the volume on "Prehistoric Times," by Sir John Lubbock, published in 1865, the excavations of Messrs. Lartet and Christy in the bone caves of France, and the treatises on the stone and bronze implements of Great Britain by Dr. Evans, contributed to establish what had only been lightly touched upon by the earlier writers. Thurnam re-opened some of the barrows which had been examined by Hoare, and added greatly to

the number by his own excavations. Sir Richard had abandoned his excavations in the long barrows as being very unproductive of relics of human workmanship, and taking no notice of skeletons, he confessed himself unable to derive any satisfactory information from them, or to determine the purpose for which they were constructed. Thurnam now showed that besides relics of the Stone Age, the long barrows contained the bones of a particular race, small in stature, averaging not more than 5ft. 5·4 inches in height as computed by the measurements of the long bones of twenty-five individuals. They had also the peculiarity of very long heads, the average breadth of which was in proportion to their length as seventy-one to a hundred, a much longer head than that of any race now inhabiting Europe. On the other hand the skeletons found in the Round barrows he showed, by a computation from the long bones of twenty-seven individuals measured by himself and others, were those of people of large stature, averaging 5ft. 8·4 inches in height or three inches taller than the long barrow people, and having heads rounder than those of any people now inhabiting Europe, the proportion of breadth being as eighty-one to a hundred. Here, then, we have undoubtedly one of the most important pre-historic discoveries of our time. By a comparison of the results of his excavations with the scanty notices of aborigines by ancient authors and the investigations of anthropologists into the physical characteristics of the existing races of man Dr. Thurnam was able to show that these two kinds of skeletons represented two great primitive races of mankind. The tall round-headed skeletons were those of the Celts, a branch of the great nomadic race of the north, which all history records under various names and in innumerable tribes and nations as having been constantly drifting westward from their original home in Northern Asia, where their representative round-headed people still exist, retaining all their pristine indiosyncracies. These were the people whom Caesar speaks of as the Belgæ and whom he describes as a recent importation from the Continent. The short long-headed people were the Iberians, a race about whose origin less can be said with certainty. Whilst some have been so bold as to endeavour to trace them

across the Atlantic, Professor Huxley brings them by way of Egypt from the Melanesian people of Australia and the Asiatic Isles. It seems likely both from their stature and head form, as well as from the scanty evidence of their colour in ancient histories, that they must have had affinity for some or other of the dark races of mankind which now occupy the Southern Hemisphere. This much at any rate may be said without drawing too largely on our imaginative faculties that the round-head and light complexion is a northern, whilst the long-head and dark-skin is a southern peculiarity of the races which occupy the world at the present time, and that the two classes of skeletons found in the barrows may be those of branches of these two great primitive races which met and contended for the mastery in the British Isles at the time we are speaking of.¹

Thus far, the evidence derived from archaeological sources is in complete harmony with tradition and with ethnology, but as we approach non-historic times and attempt to deal with the unrecorded life of the Britons, who were contemporaneous with our earliest histories, we find ourself involved in some obscurity. The extension of the Roman Empire to Britain checked for more than three centuries the westerly drifting of Nomads into Britain and turned the current of migration northward into Scotland and round to Ireland, so that at the end of that time the Britons found their Scandinavian enemies upon them from the north as well as from the east. One

¹ Since writing this, Professor Sayce, in his valuable address to the Anthropological Section of the British Association at Manchester, has thrown fresh light, from a philological stand-point, on the distribution of the Aryan language and hypothetically of the Aryan race, shewing it to have spread originally from the neighbourhood of Finland in Europe rather than from Northern Asia, as generally supposed, and to have fanned out south-east and west from that region, and he has also given some linguistic evidence to prove that this distribution took place originally as early as paleolithic times. He has, however, judiciously guarded his remarks by the observation, that the distribution of race and language is not necessarily or even in all cases probably identical. If the spread of the

Aryans to Britain as early as paleolithic times should come to be accepted, this will not account for the now well established immigration of the round-headed, round barrow people into this country, who cannot have been connected with the long-headed Swede and Finn. These round-headed, bronze age people must necessarily have been related to the Mongols of Northern Asia, and the line of their migration into Britain on this hypothesis, must have crossed the area already occupied by the Aryans. The identification of the earliest known inhabitants of the British Isles with the Swedes and Finns, must I think be received with doubt, for although both were of the long-headed type, the evidence of their being a short dark-haired people cannot be altogether overlooked.

of the last acts of the Roman Emperors was to post a force on the east coast of England which was called the Saxon shore, to repel these invaders, but no sooner was that force withdrawn than the full tide of westerly migration set in again direct upon Southern Britain with results that are well known to us all.

During the comparative blank in history that follows that period we almost lose sight of the Britons. Whilst some believe them to have been nearly exterminated or driven west-ward into Brittany, others—and amongst them Professor Huxley—consider that the amount of Celtic blood in the veins of the modern Englishman is considerably in excess of what has hitherto been supposed. The investigations of Dr. Beddoe in England and of Drs. Broca and Topinard in France tend to confirm this view and to show that in the existing population of Europe, and in the West of England and in Wales in particular, a small dark race may still be seen, such as would correspond to the survivors of the aboriginal long barrow Britons. If, as seems probable from this, the Britons continued to exist in considerable numbers during the Saxon epoch, what became of the two distinct races, the long-headed short dark people, and the tall round-headed fair people revealed to us by the investigations in the barrows? Did they mix, and in mixing blend their physical peculiarities, or did they maintain an independent existence retaining the stature, colour, and head form that belonged to their respective stocks? In the investigation of this matter we are met with difficulties in the way of determining the nationality of skeletons belonging to the Roman age. The Romans did not invade this country alone, but brought with them auxiliaries from all parts of the world, who afterwards colonized the country, so that, as Mr. Wright has pointed out in his "Celt, Roman, and Saxon," a skeleton of this period may be of any nationality. It may be that of a Fortensian, a Tungrian, a Vetasian, a Dalmatian, a Crispian, a Spaniard, or a Dacian. These colonists, however, appear to have settled more frequently in the east and north of Britain. In the west of England, and especially in spots that are remote from the centres of Roman occupation, the probability of coming upon the skeletons of Britons is very much greater. Dr.

Thurnam was of opinion that the Durotriges and Dobuni of Gloucestershire were aboriginal races whose territory may have been encroached upon by the Belgæ, but was never entirely overrun by them. He also draws a distinction between the unchambered long barrows of Wiltshire and the chambered long barrows of Gloucestershire, for, whilst twenty-seven skulls from the unchambered long barrows of Wiltshire had a breadth index as low as sixty-nine, forty skulls from the chambered long barrows of Gloucestershire had the somewhat higher index of seventy-one, and these he considered afforded evidence of a mixture of tribes, although seventy-one is a longer skull than that of any existing European people. He thought the chambered long barrows showed by their contents that they continued to be used by the original tribes up to and within the Roman era, and the plain bowl-barrow also he believed to belong to the aboriginal tribes, whilst the bell-shaped and disc-shaped barrows were the graves of the Belgæ. It is evident, therefore, that we must not lose sight of these two distinct races in our investigations into the relics of the Romanised Britons, and the district immediately to the west of where we are now assembled, appears to be that which is likely to be most fruitful in evidence relating to that period.

As we go westward from Salisbury to Blandford we pass over a region which on two separate lines of evidence may be regarded as an ancient ethnical frontier. Here by the investigations of Dr. Beddoe and others into the physical condition of the existing population, we begin to come upon traces of the short, dark-haired people, whom he believes to be the survivors of the earliest wave of Britons. My own measurements confirm this opinion. Here also in the neighbourhood of Wood-yates we cross the western boundary of the region of bell and disc-shaped barrows which Dr. Thurnam believed to be the graves of the Belgæ and pass over to the region of the bowl-shaped barrow containing inferior relics which he conjectures to have belonged to the original Durotriges, and the twenty-one barrows which I have opened at Rushmore, to the west of this boundary line, have all been found to be bowl-barrows, or bowl-barrows with a ditch round them, which Thurnam thought to be a later combination

of the bowl and bell-shaped forms. It is a position which, probably owing to the extent of dense forest to the west and south in pre-historic times, has always afforded a standing point for the earliest races in resisting the encroachments of succeeding waves of migration from the east. Here, or hereabouts, Professor Rhys has shown that the Goidels or first wave of the Celts for some time contended against the Brythons or second Celtic invasion. Here also Mr. Green, in his "Making of England," proves that the West Welsh withstood the Saxons for some time after the latter had penetrated as far as Wilton. Across this region also, but a little to the east of the boundary defined by the barrows, runs the Great Bockerly Dyke, about which much has been written but nothing known. Its direction and position show it to have been a line of boundary defence thrown up by a western people against invaders from the north and east, and a proper examination of it hereafter will be of much interest. On the whole the district is one which is especially worthy of the attention of anthropologists and archæologists. The evidence to be derived from the tumuli is now nearly exhausted, for although more remain to be opened, the majority have already been rifled, and it is to the vestiges of the Romanised Britons that we must now turn for information.

Happily the antiquities of this hitherto almost unexplored period present themselves here in great abundance. All over the hilly district, Sir Richard Hoare describes the villages of the Romanised Britons. He did not examine them carefully as I have already said, but he made plans of a number of them which are to be seen in his great work. Two of these villages are on my property close to Rushmore, and during the last six years I have thoroughly excavated them, trenching over every foot of ground and bringing to light all the pits, ditches and relics of the inhabitants which were to be found beneath the surface.

The results of the first of these villages, viz., that on Woodcuts Common, have been put together in the quarto volume containing seventy-four plates which I am now issuing privately on the occasion of this meeting, and I hope to have the pleasure of conducting, on Tuesday, some of the members of the Society over the villages themselves and

the Museum at Farnham, which contains the models of them and the relics found in them. On this account I do not propose to describe the villages now, but merely to mention the main anthropological results which have a bearing on the subject of this address. They are satisfactorily proved by the coins and all the contents to be of the Roman age but of British construction. Contrary to all expectation it was found that they were in the habit of burying their dead in their villages in pits, which had been previously made for other purposes such as store-houses or refuse pits, and of these pits 191 have been dug out in two villages. Twenty-eight skeletons were found in positions to prove that they were those of the inhabitants of the two villages. By a calculation from all the long bones it has been found that their average stature for the males was five feet two inches, and for the females four feet ten inches. This unexpected result shows that they were a remarkably short race, shorter by three inches than the short people of the long barrows, whose average height, as already mentioned, was five feet five inches. The average cephalic or breadth index for the males and females together was found to be seventy-four, which, by a comparison with the seventy-one of the long barrows and the eighty-one of the round barrows, shows that in head form, no less than in stature, they approach the long barrow people more closely than those of the round barrows, and the bodies being mostly crouched near the tops of the pits showed that they had retained their ancient form of burial, although the extended bodies of a few of them implies a partial introduction of more recent customs. The tibiae of some of these skeletons were also decidedly platycnemic or flat-boned, more so than those of any existing European race, which is an additional link of connection with the earliest inhabitants of this country. But whilst the breadth index of the head stands intermediate between that of the long and round barrow people one or two of the skulls were markedly brachycephalic or round-headed, reaching to eighty-two, whilst one or two were hyper-dolichocephalic or markedly long-headed, reaching to sixty-eight, which exceptional extremes, according to the laws of heredity, are precisely what we

should expect, on the supposition of a mixture of the two races. We may, therefore, assume as a working hypothesis, until some more reasonable theory is devised, that these people were a tribe of the Durotriges, partially mixed with the Belgæ, and also perhaps with the Romans, of which race, in the opinion of Drs. Beddoe and Garson who have examined the skulls, some trace may be seen in one or two of them. Unlike skulls of the earlier Britons, their teeth showed traces of decay and they were afflicted to some extent with rheumatoid arthritis, or "Poor Man's Gout." Whether the exceptionally short stature of this Rushmore tribe of Britons was accentuated by evils attendant upon slavery or by some of their largest men being drafted into the Roman legions abroad, is a point upon which we can only speculate. I shall not dogmatize or attempt to fix with precision the ethnical position of this diminutive race, for it is evident that we are only on the threshold of the inquiry. The tribe of Roman Britons at Frilford examined by Professor Rolleston, if they were really Roman Britons, had an average stature of 5ft. 8in. for the males, so that a marked difference may have existed between the different tribes, as might reasonably be expected. I have another village close by to explore, after which other villages on my property remain to be examined. If it is thought that twenty-eight skeletons is a small number on which to base a calculation of stature it must be remembered that the skeletons of Ancient Britons are scarce, but, in the opinion of good physical anthropologists, the number is sufficient to form a good approximate idea of the height. Dr. Thurnam based his important conclusions upon no more than twenty-five long barrow and twenty-seven round barrow people, so that my evidence is fully equal to his in respect to the number of cases computed from.

I have now occupied so much time with the barrows that I must defer what I had to say about the drift period. No one now requires to be reminded of the great advance of knowledge that has been brought about by the study of the drift gravels, which, at the lowest computation has quadrupled the time during which we are enabled to investigate the works of man. No longer

confined to the last 3000 or 4000 years, the archaeologist has been carried back far into geological time and has been brought in view of the earliest struggles of our ape-like ancestors to become men. No individual amongst those who assembled here in 1849 had the least idea that beneath his very feet were to be found the relics of man's workmanship at a time when he was contemporaneous with the elephant, and other extinct animals. But the discoveries of M. Boucher de Perthes, in the valley of the Somme, were going on at that time, although they were not recognised by men of science until ten years later, when our countrymen, Mr. Evans and Mr. Prestwich, confirmed the opinions of the French savant. The valley of the Avon, near Salisbury, was one of the first places examined by Mr. Prestwich, after his return from France in 1859, but although the gravels had been well looked over by him, and their fauna duly recorded, no palæolithic implements were discovered until later by Dr. Blackmore and Mr. Stevens, in the drift beds at Fisherton and elsewhere, where they were found in beds that had been deposited before the valley had worked its way down to the level on which Salisbury now stands. Since then, through the munificence of Mr. W. Blackmore, the Museum, which bears his name, has made Salisbury a place of reference for information on the antiquities of this period. Similar discoveries were soon made in the valley of the Thames, in which I had the privilege of taking part.

Although not the first discoverer of palæolithic implements in the Thames valley, as they had previously been found by Mr. Leech, Mr. Prestwich, and Dr. Evans on the seashore near Reculver, I believe I may claim priority for the part of the river near London. Having carefully watched for the space of a year or more excavations in the drift gravel at Acton, I was able in 1872 to show by means of plans and sections, published in the quarterly journal of the Geological Society, the exact analogy of the palæolithic site there with that of the valley of the Somme, near Amiens and Abbeville.¹ Other similar discoveries have since been made in the valley of the Exe and elsewhere in this country.

¹ *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society*, vol. xxviii, No. cxii, Nov. 1872.

The nature of the implements found in these gravels was such as to fully bear out the doctrine of evolution, being characterised by extreme simplicity as compared with the stone implements of a later date, and they introduce us to a condition of the arts of man, in which a simple flake or a flint held in the hand at one end and trimmed to a point at the other, appears to have afforded the most advanced idea of a general tool for all the purposes of life, so that the palæolithic or earliest form of implements can be everywhere distinguished by their simplicity from the neolithic or stone implements of a later date, and they are more or less the same in all the localities in which they have been found. As regards the time necessary for the erosion of the valleys and the deposition of the beds belonging to this period it is generally admitted that it cannot be computed in years. At first geologists were inclined to demand an enormous time for it, but recently, in consequence of observations on the erosion of glaciers, less time has been thought necessary, and Mr. Prestwich in a paper read lately before the Geological Society has given his reasons for believing that the time estimated since the termination of the last glacial epoch may be greatly curtailed.

But, although the sequence of palæolithic, neolithic, and bronze implements had been firmly established in the north and west of Europe, it had not been proved that the same sequence took place in Egypt, Assyria, and those countries in which civilization dates back to a very much earlier time, for it seemed certain that the stone age of the North and West of Europe was contemporaneous with a very much more advanced civilization in the south and east. The attention of archæologists had therefore been turned for some time to the question of a stone age in Egypt. The valley of the Nile, it was found, was covered with flint implements which correspond in form to those of the palæolithic type of Europe, but this coincidence of form alone, though highly suggestive for the reasons I have given, was not in itself sufficient to determine sequence because they had been found only on the surface, and in order to prove them anterior to Egyptian civilization, it would be necessary to adduce the same kind of evidence of their antiquity that had

been shown in Europe, by finding them in the gravels in the sides of the valley and in places which could be proved to have been undisturbed since Egyptian civilization commenced, and this was the more necessary because it was known that flints were used for embalming purposes in Egyptian times.

Here I may be permitted again to refer to a discovery of my own, although in introducing it into so brief and condensed an account of the history of the subject, I must again claim your indulgence as a lecturer. Being in Egypt in 1881 and having devoted particular attention to this point, I was fortunate enough to find flint flakes and an implement in parts of the gravel of the Nile near Thebes, into which gravel, after it had become nearly as hard as rock by exposure, the Egyptians had cut the square topped chambers of their tombs, and I chiselled several of these implements out of the gravel beneath stratified seams of sand and loam in the sides of the Egyptian tombs themselves. These flints, I believe, afforded the first absolute evidence of the priority of the use of flint implements to the time of the building of Thebes and to a time before the valley of the tombs of the kings had been completely eroded. At any rate it was the first discovery of the kind which had been recorded.¹ I exhibit a section of these gravels showing the position of the flints and of the tombs and the seams of the gravel, and the implements themselves are also exhibited. I have not been able to go to Egypt since, but I believe that by further search upon that site it may be possible to determine when flint implements were first introduced there, for I could not, after careful search, find them deeper in the gravel than a certain level. If this should prove to be the case it will be an important additional item of evidence.

As regards the osteology of the human skeletons discovered in the drift, our knowledge of them appears to develop slowly. If, as I have said, the skeletons of the Ancient Britons are rare, still less frequent must be those of quaternary man, our knowledge of which must depend on the accidental washing of them into drift deposits, or the discovery of them in the floors of

¹ *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xi, p. 382. 1882.

caves belonging to that period. For some time it was contended that no approach towards lower forms of life could be recognised in the skeletons of this period and that the one or two abnormal skulls that had been brought to light were either those of idiots or were the result of disease. But in the presence of additional discoveries of similar skulls and skeletons that have since been made in different parts of the world, and more particularly in Belgium, this position can no longer be maintained. Within the last year two additional skeletons have been discovered in the quaternary deposits of a cave at Spy, in the province of Namur, and have been reported upon by M. Fraipont in the *Bulletin de L'Academie Royale des Sciences* in Belgium. The following are reported by M. Fraipont to be the peculiarities in which these skeletons depart from the human form and approach that of the anthropoid apes. The superciliary ridges are more developed and the forehead more shelving than those of any existing race of men, in which respect they resemble the orang, gorilla, and chimpanzee. The chin is more receding than those of any existing race of men. The forward curve of the femur is also greater than that of any existing race of men, and the angle and size of the articular surface of this bone and the tibia is such as to show that the individuals must have walked with their legs slightly bent. In other respects the skeletons are pronounced strictly human. These appear to be the latest facts revealed to us by the earliest specimens of our race. If they militate against some cherished dogmas, we have, nevertheless, no alternative but to accept them if they are established on sufficient evidence. I cannot myself see how human conduct is likely to be affected disadvantageously by recognising the humble origin of mankind. If it teaches us to take less pride in our ancestry, and to place more reliance on ourselves, this cannot fail to serve as an additional incentive to industry and respectability. Nor are our relations with the Supreme Power presented to us in an unfavourable light by this discovery, for if man was created originally in the image of God, it is obvious that the very best of us have greatly degenerated. But if on the other hand we recognise that we have sprung from

inferior beings, then there is no cause for anxiety on account of the occasional backsliding observable amongst men, and we are encouraged to hope that with the help of Providence, notwithstanding frequent relapses towards the primitive condition of our remote forefathers, we may continue to improve in the long run as we have done hitherto.

THE COURT ROLLS OF THE MANOR OF HIBBALDSTOW.

By E. PEACOCK, F.S.A.

Hibbaldstow is a parish in the parts of Lindsey in the county of Lincoln about three miles to the south west of Glanford Briggs. The manor, it is believed, does not extend over the whole of the parish but the greater part thereof is included in it. Of recent times it has gone by the name of Hibbaldstow Cornwall. The precise reason for this is not clear. It lies adjoining and perhaps in some degree intermixed with certain portions of the great manor of Kirton-in-Lindsey which extended over upwards of forty townships but it never was a part of that manor. Nothing in our local history is more certain than that no part of the manor of Kirton-in-Lindsey was ever subinfeudated. At the same time it must be remembered that for a long period that large franchise was a possession of the Earls and Dukes of Cornwall. It is to be feared that the greater part of the manorial documents has been lost. Some few of the court-rolls of the manor are still the property of Maximilian Hammond Dallison, Esq., of Hamptons, near Tunbridge who has kindly permitted me to read and make extracts from them.

The first roll at present known to exist is dated 11 Henry IV. William Plumtre, Chaplain and his companions "*sociorum suorum*" were the lords.

In the 13 of Henry VI Sir John Byron was Lord. The greater part of the roll is occupied with the surrender of copyholds noted in the usual manner, afterwards we find a memorandum that John Dedirby assaulted Thomas Norreis of Sturton¹ for which he was fined xx^d. Thomas Frost jun. brewed contrary to assize and was fined ij^d. That the same Thomas stopped up, probably for the purpose of getting water for making his beer, a certain

¹ Sturton is a hamlet in the adjoining parish of Seawby.

rivulet in a close belonging to the Prioress of Gokewell, so that the water flowed on the common way to the injury of the tenants of the manor. Time was given for removing the obstruction till the feast of All Saints. In case of non-removal by that time a fine of *iiij^s iiij^d* was to be levied. The little nunnery of Gokewell was situate in the parish of Broughton near Glanford Biggs, in a secluded place at the foot of the "Cliff" range of hills; who the prioress at that time was is not known. The imperfect list of the prioresses ends in 1395. In a minister's account of 32 Henry VIII we find that at that time the nunnery of Gokewell had lands in Hibaldstow bringing in three pounds and nine shillings per annum.¹ In the same year an order was made that the manorial tenants should cleanse a common sewer called Fulcroftes Bek before Christmas on penalty of *xx^d* each.

23 Henry VI. John Frikyngham was ordered to repair his messuage before the feast of the purification of our Blessed Lady on pain of a fine of *xl^d*. This entry is noteworthy. We cannot tell whether John Frikyngham was a copyholder or a freeholder. In either case it would seem that the manor courts had power to compel the owners of buildings to keep them in good repair. In the rolls of other manors in the neighbourhood of a somewhat more recent date we have found orders of this kind which almost certainly related to freehold property. John Maidenwell of Kirton made chase and rechase within the manor of Hibaldstowe.

32 Henry VI. Nicholas Biron, Lord of the manor.

16 Edward VI. Lady Alice Byron, Lady of the Manor.

2 Elizabeth. Silvester Bellow, Lord of the manor "no ale howse keeper shall tonne any ale before the ale fynder taiste the drynke & allowe yt, sub pena of every brewing *xij^d*." This is the first order that occurs in English.

3 Elizabeth. The wife of Robert Bakhouse and the wife of Richard Oldman are ale-brewers and bread-bakers, and have broken the assize; the former was fined *iiij^d* and the latter *ij^s* the jury further present that the wife of the aforesaid Richard Oldman "deposuit virgam suam que fuit signum braciæ" and would not permit the ale taster

¹ *Antiquary* vol. xiv pp. 147-149. *Mon. Anglic.* vol. v, p. 721.

to taste her ale. The passage which I have permitted to remain in the original Latin means that she had pulled down the ale whisp, that is a bunch of green twigs or ivy which was the sign of her calling. Why she did so it is impossible to say. There seems to have been, in this neighbourhood at least, some objection on the part of the sellers of drink in the sixteenth century to hang out this sign of their calling. In the Court Roll of the manor of Scotter, near Kirton-in-Lindsey, for the year 1562, we find an order that Thomas Yong was either to immediately give up "the domum hospicii" which he held or take out recognizance and licence for keeping an alehouse and hang up "signum aut unum le ale wyspe ad hostium domus."² The ale-whisp was the sign of a place where drink was sold not only in England but in many parts of the continent. In Germany to this day a bunch of green twigs or a garland is a not uncommon mark of a village hostelry. Heine makes his suttler sing:

Der grüne Kranz vor meinem Zelt,
Der lacht im Licht der Sonne;
Und heute schenk' ich Malvasier
Aus einer frischen Tonne.

In Cutts's *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*, p. 543, there is an engraving of a mediæval inn with a bush hanging from the sign.¹ William Tyndale attacking the sacrament of extreme unction, says—"outward oil can neither heal the soul nor make her feel, save as a sign, or as a bush at a tavern door, quencheth a man's thirst."³ At Modbury in Devonshire, in the earlier part of this century, during Saint George's fair, which is held for nine days, it was the custom to hang out a bush of holly from private houses as a notice that drink was being sold there during the fair time.⁴ William Kytchyng and three other persons were fined iij^d each, because they had not made their portions of "le ynghedge," that is the Ings hedge. Ings in the dialect of Lindsey means low lying grass land. Places called the Ings exist in many of the neighbouring parishes. Thomas

¹ *Archæologia* vol. xlvj. p. 381.

² Cf. Singer's *Shakespeare, As You Like It*, act v. sc. 1. Note—Ellis's *Brand's Popular Antiquities*, vol. ii. pp. 72, 216. Ridley, *Works* (Parker, Soc.), p. 10.

Dyer, *British Popular Customs*, p. 379.

³ *Expositiones and Notes* (Parker, Soc.), p. 181.

⁴ *Worth's Popular Hist. of Devonshire*, p. 212.

Madynwell, of Candney—a neighbouring village, was fined vj^d because he dug turves within the manor. Offences of this kind were very common when coal was almost an unknown article in Lincolnshire, and the people, the poor and rich alike, were almost entirely dependent on wood, turves and peats for fuel.

4 Elizabeth. The jury present that John Lambert, husbandman, has encroached upon “lez marfur.” This word is still in common use. It is a form of meere-furrow and means a boundary furrow in an open field. John Lambert’s offence was no light one. The land at Hibbaldstow and almost all the neighbouring parishes, was held in strips very long and very narrow. It is obvious that if care were not taken the more greedy of the manorial tenants by ploughing away the meere-furrows might much increase the width of their own strips to the loss of their neighbours on each side of them.

6 Elizabeth. Robert Poyntes was presented because his “burcelles” were insufficient in the Horsepasture Lays. The meaning of burcell has not been ascertained. It occurs in the court-rolls of Bottesford and Little Carlton in this county.

9 Elizabeth. Everyone was ordered to cleanse his portion of “les Inge dyk ante die Elene virginis,” under pain of xij^d. Who was this Saint Elene the Virgin, is it a mere error of writing and are we to suppose that St. Helen the mother of Constantine is meant, or are we to conclude that the entry is correct, and that St. Helen the Virgin is either Helen of Auxerre or Helen of Troyes?¹ A Saint Helen, whether the Empress or the Virgin I know not had a holy well dedicated to her in the neighbouring parish of Wrawby. This well has been long considered to produce water of an exceptionally good quality. It has for many years supplied the greater part of the town of Brigg. The earliest mention of it which I have seen is in the *Diary of Abraham de la Pryme*, A.D. 1697, p. 129. No one to permit his animals to be in “le bradmore” without being tied on pain of ij^d. No one to gather wool in the field before the swinherd goes there with his pigs under penalty of x^s. This was to hinder persons catching the sheep and pulling the wool off their

¹ *Acta Sanctorum Maii*, I. 530. V. 132

backs, an offence by no means obsolete at the present day. If the persons who gathered the locks of wool which had been torn off by bush, hedge and briar were under the eye of the swineherd they would not be tempted to steal wool from the sheep. All who have "Gowelles" in the river Anholme are to repair them within ten days under pain of *iijs iiiij^d*. "Gowelles" in all probability means in this place holes through the river bank used for taking in water from the river for the cattle.

13 Elizabeth. Gerard Sonthyll Esq., Lord of the Manor. Randall Moore is presented because he entertains vagabonds contrary to the form of the statute.

16 Elizabeth. Thomas Hannay and Robert Poynter were fined *vj^d* each because they threw wood upon the highway, and John Smythe a like sum because he had not "unum le swynestie." Thomas Stedman and four other persons were fined *iiiij^d* each because they laid straw, flax, and other similar things near their hearths. Entries of this kind occur in the records of every Lincolnshire manor that I have examined. At a time when all except the most important houses in this part of England were constructed of "stud and mud," and covered with thatch; fires were even a more terrible calamity than they are at present, and it would seem that the manor-courts took strict precautions to compel all tenants, whether freeholders or copyholders, to employ such methods as were needful for the protection of themselves and others. Richard Ketchinge was fined *iiiij^d* because he had not buried an animal of his that had died.

17 Elizabeth. Richard Easton fined *iiiij^d* because he broke the soil on "le ynge" with his cart. Richard Ketchinge and others for trespassing with their cattle in the sown fields were fined *ij^d* each. This was a grave offence in times when nearly all the corn-land was unfenced. In many manors the fine for going over the sown fields with animals was very severe. There was in former days a very strong feeling against those who wantonly destroyed growing grain—an instinctive destestation, founded rather on religious and social sentiment, than on the supposed pecuniary loss that would follow. Famines are now a mere matter of history. At a time when, for want of inland communication, the

dwellers in one part of the kingdom might be dying of hunger, while in others there was an overflowing abundance, those who destroyed the future food of the people were not unnaturally objects of repugnance. In the section, *De modo inquirendi de peccatis venialibus*, in Myre's *Instructions for Parish Priests* (E.E.T.S.) the penitent is asked—

“Hast þou I-struyd corn or gras,
Or oþer thyng e þat sowen was?
Hast þou I-come in any sty
And cropped ȝerus of corne þe by?
Art þou I-wont ower corn to ryde
When þou myȝtest have go by syde.”

L. 1499.

19 Elizabeth. This is the first year we meet with the verdict of the jury in English. Some few of the entries are worth notice—

“Thomas Elles for that he mayd a fra vpon James Ketching ij^d.”

“Bryan Smythe for that he keped his cattele louse [loose] in the inges contrary to order ij^d.”

“Robert Ponton for his son carryng ij hors tyed to gether up the steche¹ ij^d.”

“Rychard Kytchyng for keeping sheep to half part contrary to order ij^d.” This means that the offender had joined at a purchase of sheep, with some other person, presumably what was called a foreigner, that is a person not a tenant of the manor. There was often a great temptation to do this, but it was contrary to good order in as much as it had a tendency to cause the pasture grounds to be overstocked. The manor courts were bound to jealously watch the intrusion of strangers under any pretence within the limits over which they had jurisdiction. The evil at Hibbaldstow seems to have become a serious one, for we find within a few lines of the entry above quoted.

“Payne layd that non shall take to half part no shepe, if he haue any of his own in payn of eury on so ofendeing Vⁱⁱ and also they that have any shall depart before martennes day next in payne of Vⁱⁱ.”

¹ The meaning of this word is not clear, perhaps it means a narrow lane.

“Ihon Lambart for lying line and other stofe neare unto his chinmay contrary [to] order vj^d.”

“Ihon Turreynton for that he denyed Robert Stanean of alle contrary to order ij^d.”

Persons who brewed beer for sale were bound, it would seem, to dispose of it to such of their neighbours as required it. When quarrels arose this was sometimes refused. We have met with other instances of small fines being inflicted for similar acts of churlishness.¹

20 Elizabeth “We say that Robart Broxholme hathe kept the shepe of his fathars contrary to ordar and tharfar he is armarsed xx^s.”

“We say that Mr. Southell is the chief lorde of the weyst [waste] of Hibalstowe, as in his ryght of his mannar of Hibalstowe Byron and not in ye right of his mannar of Hibauldstow Cornewall, as by his auneyant courte roules it doth planely appere.”

“A payne layd that non of the lordes tenmantes shall graue any hassockes of the lordes ground without the leue of the lord in payn of xx^d. A hassock is a large and thick tuft of coarse grass. Before the enclosures these hassocks were used by the poor for fuel.

“Thomas Stockdail for his fences not [being] lawful betwext Ihon Turrington and him vj^d.” The jurisdiction which the manor-courts exercised over the fences within the manor must have been most useful. Since it has become obsolete there is no means within the reach of ordinary people by which the careless or improvident can be compelled to keep their fences in proper repair.

A presentiment made of “Thomas Whelpedale for that he hathe not brought in Ihon Whelpedale and Thomas Whelpedale his sonnes, being above the age of xii yeares, and haueing continued within the present of this leberty aboue on year and on day, to be sworne to be trew subjectes to our Soferent lady the quene.” This is the only instance we have met with of the oath of allegiance being required to be taken at a manorial court. It is probable that these Whelpdales were Roman Catholics.

¹ In the court-roll of the manor of Scotter, under the year 1574, we find that the wife of Thomas Yonge, senior, of Butterwick was fined xij^d because

“denegavit vendere serveciam suam Thome Oliuer quando necesse fuit & quando egrotus fuit.”—*Archæologia*, xlv, 582.

“A payne layd that all the layne endes shall be heged acording to ordar and in payn of iij^s. iiij^d.”

11 James I. The following orders were made which we transcribe without abridgment.

“That none shall lett any gates¹ in the Inges but to those that haue gates of ther awne on payne of euerie beast iij^s. iiij^d.”

“That none shall keepe towe Comons for one thing in payne of euerie month xx^s.”

“That none shall keep comons but those that are resident of their house which they keep comons for, on paine of euerie month xx^s.”

“That none shall keep comons but those that haue comons belonging to ther houses in paine of euerie month xx^s. That no servant shall keep mo sheepe then six vpon the comons, and that they shall put all the rest they haue away betwixt this and the xvth day of this month vpon paine of euerie defalt xij^d.”

“That euerie one shall keep vp his fence on the horse pasture hedge sufficiently betwixt this and the xxiiijth day of this month [May] in paine of euerie Rood iij^s iiij^d.”

“That none shall tether within the corne in the west end of Middledayle² in payne of euerie beast xij^d. That none shall leave any [cattle] loose or hople³ on the beck bank, the horse-pasture, or Middledayle nor the Ings, in the night tyme in payne of euerie beast vj^d.”

“That euerie one shall make vp ther fence in the Inges hedge betwixt this & the xvth day of this month [May] in paine of euerie defalt xij^d.”

“That none shall tether any thing betwixt the Robe Closes and Thomas Corbriges close in paine of euerie beast and horse xij^d.”

¹ Gate signifies the right to depasture cattle on a common or open pasture. In 1613 Richard Plomer surrendered to Thomas Wells “a gate for a beast or horse in le generall pasture on Scotter” *Scotter Court Roll*. “On the north and south cliffs are several commons called Old Leys and Lodger Leys, which were formerly plowed; but by length of time are become unknown land and are therefore stocked by Gaits, like other common.” *Survey of Manor of Kirton-in-Lindsey* 1787. “In all this country [Winterton, Lincolnshire] the common-gate for a cottager’s cow is 2 acres for winter and

1½ for summer.” Arthur Young, *Lincolnsh. Agric.* 1799, p. 413.

² Dale does not here mean a valley but a division in an open field. Norden’s *Survey of the Manor of Kirton-in-Lindsey*, furnishes the names of many of these dales, as they were in 1616. In the parish of Messingham, before the enclosure when one owner had six lands altogether it was called a dale. See Mackinnon’s *Acc. of Messingham* (written in 1825) 1880, p. 18.

³To hopple means to tie together the hind legs of an animal.

"Wee do agree that all old paines belonging to the towne shall stand in force as they haue bene accustomed."

"We do make a paine that none shall keepe louse ther beastes in the cornefeld in paine of euerie beast vj^d. We do make a paine that none shall tether vnder the new hedge water furbanke and the Ings hedge in paine of euerie default iij^s. iij^d."

"We do make a payne that none shall gleane¹ within six landes of the standing corne or mowne corne in paine of euerie default v^s."

"That none shall go & gather any woll before the Swinard doth blowe in paine of euerie default xij^d."

"That no man shall put any horses or foles into Gainestrop² at any time betwixt this and Michaelmas next in paine of euerie default iij^s. iij^d."

"That none shall tether any calves in the cornefield in paine of euerie default xij^d."

"That no man shall leave any oxen in the cornefield in gadding time of summer, but they shall bring them vp at eight of the clock⁷ in the fore noone and carrye them downe at foure a clock in the afternoone, in paine of euerie default v^s."

"That euerie one shall scower³ North Carre⁴ dyke sufficiently against his owne ground betwixt this and Whitsontyde next coming in paine of euerie default xij^d."

Among the fines imposed this year we find Richard Corbrigg^e fined xij^d for putting his beastes upon the beck bank and in the Horse-pasture. It was the practice in all the adjoining parishes to prohibit the banks of streams and rivulets from being grazed by any animals except sheep on account of the damage done by the feet of horses and oxen to the banks. Widow Hewett was fined a like sum for putting cattle into Holme Fletes⁵ upon Easter day as was also Thomas Dent "for giving euell words against the Jury."

¹ This regulation was for the purpose of hindering the gleaners from stealing either from the standing or the mown corn. A similar rule is in force at present. Gleaners are not permitted to go into the stubble fields until the last load is carried.

² Gamblethorp or Gainestrop is a decayed village within the confines of Hibbaldstow. When Norden made his survey of

the Manor of Kirton-in-Lindsey in 1616 none of the houses were standing, but there were considerable ruins to be seen.

³ Scour, to cleanse. The word is yet in use in this sense.

⁴ Car signifies low uninclosed land liable to be flooded.

⁵ Fleet in the dialect of Lindsey means a drain.

We have observed nothing in these court-rolls which would lead us to infer that the custom of primogeniture did not prevail in this manor. From a loose memorandum dated 19 Elizabeth it seems, however, that Borough English was the custom here as in several other villages in Lindsey. The passage is as follows "It is found by the homage that Tho. Smith died seised of 10 ac., of land lately ... of Lords wast which he held of ye Lord by Copie of Cort Rolle according to ye Custom & that Brian Smith was his youngest sonn and now heire, who tooke these landes de novo paying 1s iii d yearly at the feast of St. Anthony and doing all other rent & services & ces¹ before dew, & accustomed and paid in the name of a fine for his enterance ii^s vj^d."

Along with the Court-rolls a few fine rolls of the Elizabethan period have been preserved; some passages are of sufficient interest to repay the trouble of transcription.

15 Elizabeth "Of Nycholas Androwe for bycause he wold not dyne with the Steward contrarie to the custome of the manor of ye Soke v^s."

"Of John Sheryffe for Lyinge his dunge in the highe waye iiiij^d." This entry is noteworthy as showing that before the manor courts fell into disuse a cheap and quick means was always at hand for obtaining redress against those who annoyed their neighbours. At the present time legislation has only in part restored to us those common law rights which were lost when the manor courts died or became only a means of registering copy holds and providing revenue for the lords.

"Of Thomas Sledman for lying his have nere vnto his chimney contrarie to a payne layde iiiij^d."

"Of Robert fflowe for the lyke with his eldyngge iiiij^d."

The word elding though well nigh obsolete may still be occasionally heard. It is now employed to indicate small sticks used for lighting fires. In 1574 the manor court of Bottesford ordered that every cottager should provide four loads of turves called "eldyngge" before the feast of Saint Andrew under pain of vj^s viij^d. We have a proverb which says of something utterly worthless that it is "neither good for hedge-stake nor elding." The word is still used in Scotland.²

¹ Cess means in the dialect of Lindsey an assessment or local tax. *Notes and Queries* A 12 Series, vol. p. xj, 454. Atkinson, *Cleveland Gloss.* sub.

² See Scott, *Black Dwarf* chap. IX. voce.

“Of John Elsam for plowinge vpp the high waye iiiij^d.”

18 Elizabeth “of Richard Keehyng for takinge gvest¹ shepe in to this lordship contraire to payne vj^d.” “Of Robert Broxholme for his wall lyinge downe ij^d.” “Of John Harvie for his cove lyinge out in the night ij^d.” We fear that this fine was not inflicted out of any regard for the animal’s comfort but because if it were not shut up at night there was danger of its getting into the corn-field.

19 Elizabeth “of William Barnard because he disclosed the counsale of the Jurie to Robert Stainton xx^d”

“Of William Whytelam for takinge his towle of the corne of the neighbors excessyvelie ij^s.”

The above is the solitary fact that has come down to us relating to the village miller. Whether

“He was a jangler, and a goliardeis”

or a steady and sedate man we shall never know. That like Chaucer’s companion on the Canterbury journey,

“Well coude he stelen come, and tollen thries”

was the opinion of his neighbours who sat in judgment on him. Modern experience leads one to believe that the charge of taking excessive toll has often been made unjustly, on the other hand frauds of this sort are proverbially difficult to discover.

20 Elizabeth. Like other local bodies the Hibbaldstow manor court was careful to maintain its dignity. William Scupholme was fined x^s because “he did appeare at this court and did refuse to doo his services dewe, but departed, the courte syttinge, without lycence, in dispyte of the courte.”

¹ Giste, as it is now commonly spelt, means the taking in to graze of another person’s cattle. See Cowel, *Law Dict.* sub voce *Agist*. Du Fresne *Gloss. Med. Lat.* sub voce *Agistare*. This word is

sometimes spelt *joist*, thereby suggesting a false derivation. See Arthur Young, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lincoln*, 1799, p. 325.

WAS IRELAND EVER INVADED BY THE ROMANS?

By W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

The substance of this paper is a discussion which I had in 1881-2 with Dr. Pfitzner of Parchim (the author of "Geschichte der Römischen Kaiserlegionen von Augustus bis Hadrianus") in the columns of the *Manchester Guardian*.

Dr. Pfitzner controverted the generally received opinion that Agricola did *not* invade Ireland by asserting that Tacitus in his "Life of Agricola" (ch. 24) clearly spoke of it. The passage in Tacitus is this:—"In the fifth year of his conquests Agricola crossed in the first ship (*nave primâ transgressus*) and subdued in a series of victories tribes hitherto unknown. In that part of Britain which looks towards Ireland he posted some troops, hoping for fresh conquests rather than fearing attack, inasmuch as Ireland being between Britain and Spain, and conveniently situated for the seas round Gaul, might have been the means of connecting with great mutual benefit the most powerful parts of the Empire. Its extent is small when compared with Britain, but exceeds the islands of our seas. In soil and climate, in the disposition, temper and habits of its population, it differs but little from Britain. We know most of its harbours and approaches, and that through the intercourse of commerce. One of the petty kings of the nation, driven out by internal faction, had been received by Agricola, who detained him under the semblance of friendship until he could make use of him. I have often heard him say that a single legion with a few auxiliaries could conquer and occupy Ireland, and that it would have a salutary effect on Britain for the Roman arms to be seen everywhere, and for freedom, so to speak, to be banished from its sight."

Dr. Pfitzner's* contention was, that the sea which Agricola crossed in the first ship was St. George's Channel, and the "unknown tribes" he subdued were Irishmen. All depends upon the identity of the sea which Agricola crossed, and it is therefore necessary to examine his position at the time indicated. At the close of his fourth year's campaign he decided to secure by a chain of forts across Britain the portion of the island which he had subdued, and Tacitus tells us:—"The place for that purpose was where the waters of the Glota (Clyde) and Bodotria (Forth) driven up the country by the influx of two opposite seas are hindered from joining by a narrow neck of land which was then guarded by a chain of forts. On the south side of the isthmus the whole country was bridled by the Romans and evacuated by the enemy, who was driven, as it were into another island."

Agricola's base of operations for his fifth campaign (A.D. 82) was thus evidently the chain of forts between the Clyde and Forth, but, like his successors, he apparently found that the Irish made frequent incursions into Britain, and it was necessary before he advanced further to secure his rear from their attacks which if on one point successful, would probably cause the British tribes in his rear to revolt, and thus cut him off from Southern Britain. Hence his reason for guarding the western coast probably at intervals from Ayrshire to the south of Cumberland.

As Agricola had advanced gradually from Chester by land, on the western side of Britain, for the four previous years, examining personally as Tacitus says, all the firths and estuaries, it is clear that he had no fleet with him, which is further confirmed by his invasion of Anglesea, when his troops swam across the Menai Straits, confounding the Britons, "who expected the arrival of a fleet and a formal invasion by sea." This was in A.D., 78, and we hear nothing of a fleet in Tacitus during 79, 80, or 81. The fleet seems in fact to have been at its usual head-quarters on the south-east coast of England. But an invasion of Ireland would have required a fleet, and it was not until Agricola's sixth campaign in A.D., 83, on the *eastern* side of Scotland that Tacitus mentions the fleet, when he says "Agricola ordered his ships to sail across the gulf

(Bodotria, the Forth), and gain some knowledge of these new regions. The fleet *now acting for the first time in concert with the land forces*, proceeded in sight of the army." He then tells us that at the sight of the Roman fleet the Britons were struck with consternation convinced that every resource was cut off, since the sea, which had always been their shelter, was now open to the invaders.

It follows from this, that the Britons had seen nothing of Agricola's fleet in his fifth campaign, which could hardly have been the case had he embarked a large force on the Clyde or in Wigtonshire for the invasion of Ireland. But there still remains the fact that Agricola (though his fleet did not act with his army) crossed to somewhere in the "first ship." The accepted idea as to this, is, that Agricola crossed the Firth of Clyde in the first Roman ship (probably only a small vessel), that had ever performed such a voyage, the troops probably moving round by land, or crossing in small extemporised vessels into Bute and Argyllshire. He no doubt returned to his base line in the autumn.

Dr. Pfitzner laid stress on the fact that in Tacitus (as before quoted), "Agricola's campaign comes first, and after it comes the garrisoning of the British coasts which followed," but I pointed out that if we took his line of argument, I would also say, "Agricola's campaign comes first, and afterwards the statement, 'We know most of its (Ireland's) harbours and approaches, and that through the intercourse of commerce, not by invasion mind.'" Again, would Tacitus have spoken *in this same chapter* of this commercial knowledge of Ireland, have told us of its soil and climate, described its inhabitants and their disposition, and told us that one of their kings was in Agricola's camp before the campaign of A.D. 82 began, if the Irish were the "unknown nations" to be subsequently invaded? But the wild land of Argyllshire, which (except the decline of population) remained much the same all through the Middle Ages and almost to the present time, would well justify the use of the term "unknown tribes" or "nations."

Had Agricola invaded Ireland (even only to be defeated), Tacitus could scarcely have any motive for suppressing an account of the campaign. Had he successfully effected

such an invasion (which would have required an effort second only to the invasion of Britain, even if made from Port Patrick to Larne or Donaghadee), would it not have been the great topic of the day in Rome, have engaged the attention of the Senate, conferred a new title on the Emperor, and been recorded in bronze and marble in many places? And if he had failed in such an attempt, would not Domitian have been the first to have him disgraced and probably executed? But we hear of none of these things. Inscriptions and historians are alike silent. No Roman *temporary* camps even, which would certainly have been formed, if troops had been sent over, are found in Ireland.

The words of Tacitus, that he "had often heard Agricola say that a single legion with a few auxiliaries could conquer and occupy Ireland," is inferentially a direct negative to the idea of invasion. Dr. Pfizner thinks that the *Legio Secunda Adjutrix*, which was over in Britain for a short time, was demanded by Agricola for the purpose of this invasion, but it was probably back again on the continent before A.D. 82. It evidently came over to Britain at the commencement of Vespasian's reign, or about A.D. 71, to help Petilius Cerealis to crush the Brigantes. (See my "Roman Forces in Britain," *Archæol. Journal*, xli, 248).

Everything tends to show that no military occupation of Ireland by Rome took place. Commercial transactions, though brisk during the first half of the Roman sway in Britain, may materially have been reduced during the latter half of that period, owing to the predatory incursions of the Irish. Nearly everything found in Ireland of the Roman age is of late date, is portable, and is of value, just what a piratical band would seize and make off with. Isolated coins of the Higher Empire have been met with here and there, no doubt accidentally lost by traders, &c. and an inscribed medicine stamp (of the usual class) found in the possession of a policeman in the county of Tipperary, is also of this age. But of the Lower Empire I may mention a hoard of 1500 silver coins ranging from Constantius II, A.D. 337, to Constantine III, A.D. 407, with several silver ingots (two of them inscribed), and a quantity of other bullion found near Coleraine in 1854, and another hoard (also of silver) found on Fairhead near the Giants'

Causeway in 1831. Near the entrance to the caves at New Grange (co. Meath) a gold ring set with a stone, a gold chain, two armillae, and a fibula, all of gold; coins of Valentinian and of Theodosius (of gold), a silver coin of Geta, and two much defaced small brass coins have been found.

It will be noticed that all of these finds have been made in the north-east of Ireland, where that island approaches nearest to England, and whence incursions could be made with the greater impunity, and this makes it all the more singular that no trace of Roman habitation or of hoards of spoil like the above has been found in the Isle of Man. The latter would almost seem to have been neutral ground.

CHURCH NOTES, CHIEFLY IN BERKS, WILTS AND OXFORD, WITH A FEW IN SOMERSET AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

(Continued from page 193).

GOOSEY, BERKS.—A small chapel, with nave and chancel. The nave carries a wooden belfry of modern date, but probably after the general pattern of an older one. The west window is plain Decorated, but the tracery has been cut away. The south door is Perpendicular. In the south wall is a late Norman loop. The roof is modern, but there remain one or two good corbels. There are some good open seats. The chancel has been so much altered and repaired that its original date can scarcely be pronounced upon. There is a piscina and a locker, and over the altar table are some wretchedly-painted designs, royal badges and emblems of the crucifixion, some of the trumpery that escaped the besom of the Reformation.

GORING, OXON.—A very curious structure. A tower, nave, north aisle, chancel, and north porch. The tower is Norman, with a circular turret stair at the north-west angle and a peculiar appendage on the north side. The lower stage is vaulted and ribbed, with openings each way; that to the west having led into the numery, and now, with the southern opening, blocked up. The upper stage is Perpendicular and rises above the turret, which remains of its original height with the usual Norman termination in a cone of stone.

The nave is Norman, narrow and gloomy, constructed originally without aisles and apparently without windows below the clerestory, as is still the case on the south side. On the north an aisle has been added, and to suit this the lower stage of the wall has been removed, and a row of early pointed arches, resting on massive piers, has taken its place. The clerestory has been partially bricked-up, but the whole is an excellent example of early underpinning. The aisle, as at present seen, is Decorated, with an original porch and window. A building connected with the numery has at one time occupied the place of a south aisle, but does not appear to have communicated with the nave. The chancel is Norman, but has been shortened at the east end, rough cast, ceiled, and otherwise mutilated. Font very plain, large, and placed against the west pier of the north aisle. This is probably the most curious church in the Vale of Berks, and unfortunately it is in a filthy condition. The east end of the aisle is used as a coal hole, and a handsome brass thus disfigured. The church does not seem to need substantial repairs, but wants the care of a resident incumbent.

GREENFORD MAGNA, MIDDX.—A small and not very curious church with some Decorated and Perpendicular parts. Here is a mural monu-

ment of parchment to James and Ann Terry, children of the Rector, Edward Terry, who travelled in the East, and published an account of his travels in 1655.

EAST HAGBOURNE, BERKS.—A large handsome church with Perpendicular tower. Nave, early Decorated, as is the arch into the tower. On the north side the arches are drop and the piers octagonal, and more ornate than those of the south side, where the piers are cylindrical and rather rude. Clerestory windows perpendicular, excepting a small Decorated one towards the west end of the north side. The roof is good and has some singular emblems carved upon its cornice. The south aisle is Perpendicular, the north Decorated. There are two chapels, productions of aisles eastwards, by the sides of the chancel. They are of the date of the aisles. The chancel arch is early Decorated. The chancel has a clerestory. Its windows are early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular. There is an early Decorated piscina.

HAMPSTEAD NORRIS, BERKS.—Tower late Perpendicular and the north and south sides are, as at Bath Abbey Church, shorter than the others. Nave early English or Decorated with a modern chancel arch. The two eastern south windows have niches in their eastern jambs. The north and south doors are Norman; the former has a band of billet moulding for a drip. Chancel early English, with a singular piscina. On the north side a trefoiled loop. The stone pulpit has a concealed base. There is a locker in the wall inside, and close west of the north door and near it an ornament resembling a cross patée fichée is carved on the wall.

HANHAM, GLOUCESTER.—An old and very curious chapel attached to the Manor House, once the seat of the Cresswell family. It has a tower, nave, south aisle, chancel and porch. Tower Perpendicular. The style of the nave doubtful. The arches into the aisle seem Decorated as is probably the north door, which has a rude exterior canopy, in low relief, with crockets and a finial. In the north-west is what may be a Norman loop. The chancel is much disfigured, the north side looks Norman, but the principal part of the structure seems Decorated with later additions. The arch into the nave is good and probably Perpendicular. The aisle has a curious decorated finial let into the outside of its east wall. Here also is a curious Norman column with a fluted shaft, with a bowl in the capital for holy water. It is now detached, but was probably affixed to the wall. The north porch is either decorated or early Perpendicular. The font is good moderately plain Norman; it has a square block bowl upon a short cylindrical stem.

WEST HANNAY, BERKS.—The Tower opens into the nave and forms a sort of north transept. It is very early English and has some curious windows and a good door. The higher stage seems early Perpendicular. The nave is decorated with south arches, of which one opens into the transept. Its pattern resembles that of the tower arch at Steventon. On the north side the west pier is Norman, and very large. The north door is good Norman with cable shafts. The chancel arch is early English, with excellent brackets late in the style. Chancel, late Perpendicular. A hagioscope into the south transept. South aisle decorated with many flat-topped windows. There is a good timber roof. The parapet is decorated. Over the south door is a singular canopy. South transept decorated with good arches into the nave and aisle. At the south end is a piscina with a shelf, at the north end a locker.

The wood stairs remain. The north porch is excellent early English with a particularly good doorway. The font is Norman, conical, with a peculiar and bold ornament composed of vertical bands of roses.

HASWELL, BERKS.—A fine church, with tower, nave, aisles, transepts, chancel and south porch. The tower is early English, early in the style. In size and general proportions it resembles the still earlier tower of Fingest, Oxon. Its plan is slightly oblong, longest from north to south. There is a projecting turret on the north side. The nave is Transition, pointed Norman passing into early English. Both aisles and porch are Decorated. North aisle has a very early Decorated window, resembling the east windows of Basildon and North Moreton. The south transept is very early English, and plain. The north transept is smaller, but both terminate in buttresses similar to those at Newnham Murren. The Chancel is excellent early Decorated, as are its north and south windows. The north door is original, with a flat segmental arch and heavy mouldings. There is a double piscina, early English, with two good stalls under a square head formed by the string upon which the windows rest. The east window is very singular. It is of five lights, cinquefoiled in the sides, and trefoiled in the central light. Over the centre is a circle quatrefoiled. The mullions of the central light are carried up straight through the head. The case of the window is certainly Decorated. The tracery is either a Perpendicular insertion or a very singular combination of Decorated and Perpendicular features. The font is a rude cone.

HATFORD, BERKS.—The nave has an early English south door, and a good Norman north door, which has recently been scraped. In one of the capitals is a singular head. The west window is early Decorated. The Norman arch into the chancel is a horse-shoe, owing probably to a settlement. There is a wooden belfry. The chancel has a Norman south door and some other Norman parts. There is a curious effigy within an early Decorated recess in the north wall.

EAST HENDRED, BERKS.—A spacious church, with tower, nave, aisles, transepts, chancel, south chapel and south porch. The tower pretty good Perpendicular. The corbels of the west windows are heads, and from their mouths proceed vine foliage, carved in relief upon the adjacent wall. The nave arches have cylindrical piers, of somewhat Norman aspect. Tower arch is Perpendicular. North aisle good but plain Decorated. South aisle also Decorated but of rude execution. Both are very narrow and probably on Norman lines. The north transept is Decorated, with a good north window and a curious recess or shrine in the east wall. The south transept, also Decorated, contains a good piscina, and a flat segmental recess, probably for a tomb. The windows are insertions. The chancel seems Decorated, with Perpendicular windows. It has an original piscina with a shelf. The roof above the altar is panelled, with armorial bearings. The chapel opens into the south side of the chancel by two late Perpendicular arches. The porch is Perpendicular. The font is plain octagon. There are a few brasses and some older slabs bearing figures of crosses in trick.

WEST HENDRED, BERKS.—Tower, nave, north and south aisles, chancel and south porch. The lower part of the tower is Decorated, with a good west window. The upper windows are Perpendicular. The arches of the nave and into the chancel are plain Decorated with octangular piers

and delicate impost mouldings. The north aisle is Perpendicular with flat-topped windows. The south aisle and porch are late Perpendicular with pointed windows. The chancel is Decorated. The four buttresses about the eastern angles are early in the style. The east windows good Decorated, both lights are cinquefoiled, which is unusual in that style. South door plain but good Decorated. On the north side is a good example of a Decorated loop. There is the base of a cross in the churchyard, south side.

HENLEY, OXON.—A large church, in good repair. Tower late Perpendicular, with small angular turrets, as at Wallingford. The vestry and several of the windows are good Perpendicular, but the walls and most of the windows are Decorated. A part of the nave is early English.

HITCHAM, BUCKS.—Tower of brick, rough cast, but the west window looks older. The nave is of flint. The north door late Norman, as is the chancel arch. The windows are early English and Decorated, with an interior string, raised and carried over the door as at Langley Marsh. There is a curious early English circle in the wall. The church is of coursed flint, well executed. Outside the south door of the chapel are traces of early English piers and mouldings. The font is either Decorated or Perpendicular.

EAST ILSLEY, BERKS.—Tower, nave, south aisle, chancel, and north porch. The tower is Perpendicular. The nave probably early English. The three arches into the south aisle are obtuse pointed, with heavy cylindrical piers, very early English. The north door is excellent Decorated with a rich internal band of the ball-flower moulding. The chancel is a very curious example of transition from early English to Decorated, inclining to the former. The windows are long and narrow; above the east window is a circular opening. Some of the windows are trefoiled, and have a Decorated aspect, one is cinquefoiled, and one has the dogtooth ornament in its drip. The porch is Perpendicular. The font has a good octangular bowl, with a Norman arcade in relief on each face, and a conical stem and base. There are some good open seats, and upon some are carved the arms of Hildesley, or Ilsley, "two bars, in chief three roundels," derived probably from those of Ifungerford.

WEST ILSLEY, BERKS.—A small dilapidated church, with a wooden bell gable. The nave is Perpendicular, with a north porch of brick. The chancel seems Perpendicular, but is much obscured.

IPSDEN, OXON.—Tower, nave, north aisle, chancel, and south porch. The tower is a low timber belfry, of late date, raised on posts within the north-west angle of the nave. The nave, on the north side, is late Norman, with a narrow obtusely pointed window in a flat segmental recess quite plain. The two arches into the aisle are good examples of transition from early English to Decorated. South door Norman with Decorated additions. South windows late Perpendicular, probably inserted when the south aisle was destroyed. The north aisle has a Norman west end and loop: the east end, with the roof, is Perpendicular. The chancel is a well marked example of early English, early in the style. South door Norman. Side windows and arch into nave are early English, with shafts of Purbeck marble, pointed arches, Norman capitals, and resting upon a Norman string. The east window is a Perpendicular insertion. Font cylindrical, Norman, very plain. There remain in the chancel a few glazed tiles and a couple of brasses. On

one of the tiles is an eagle displayed, and the corbel of one of the south Perpendicular window bears, what appears to be Ermine, two bars, impaling a bend.

KEYNSHAM, SOMERSET.—A large, handsome, church, in bad repair. Tower, nave, aisles, chancel, and south porch. Tower late Perpendicular of large size. Details inelegant, but general proportions good. It is constructed of Bath stone with occasional courses of lias, and the latter have decayed. The tower has slightly settled from its foundation. North aisle Perpendicular. South aisle Decorated, with a ball flower moulding beneath the parapet. Both aisles are well executed and correspond. Octagonal turrets rise at the north-west angle of the one, and the south-west angle of the other. The chancel is early English, with various Perpendicular additions. The Bridges family, ancestors of the Dukes of Chandos, lie in the chancel.

KINGSTON LISLE, BERKS.—A chapel, with a nave, the north doorway of which is late Norman with an original valve and some good iron work. The chancel is chiefly Decorated, with some traces of Norman work. The north porch is modern. The font is conical Norman, without steps or base. In a window in modern glass are the arms of the Lord Lisle.

LANGLEY BURRELL, WILTS.—A fine church, with an early Decorated tower, and a parapet with the wall-flower moulding. In the lower story, which is open to the nave, are some singular recesses. The nave, north aisle, south transept, and chancel are chiefly early Decorated, with occasional traces of early English and some good triple lancet windows with trefoil heads. There are two good sedilia and a piscina, with an excellent hagioscope, in form a spherical triangle, six-foiled. The south porch is good Perpendicular, with vaults, a good roof, an Eastern stoop, and an upper chamber. Outside is a good *dos-d'âne* coffin lid with two busts carved upon it, each beneath a trefoiled early Decorated canopy and near the breasts are vine leaves. There is a similar, but less ornate lid in Steventon Churchyard.

LETCOMBE REGIS, BERKS.—The lower stage of the tower is in substance Norman; the upper Perpendicular. The nave is chiefly either Decorated or Perpendicular. The arrangement of the mouldings of the two doors is peculiar, not being as usual, parallel. Something like this is the case in the west door of Davenham, Cheshire. Outside the north door, on the east side, is a stoop. The chancel is chiefly Perpendicular, with a Decorated south door. There is a piscina with a credence. The south porch is modern. The font is Norman, cylindrical, with a fluted moulding.

EAST LOCKINGE, BERKS.—Nave, chiefly Perpendicular with traces of Decorated work, and a good Norman south door. The chancel arch is good Decorated, resembling that into the south transept at Wantage. A north window of the chancel is flat-topped Decorated, and a second, flat-topped and cinque-foiled, is Perpendicular. The two arches into the south chapel are probably Decorated. There are two good stalls or recesses, one on the eastern face of each pier. The old cylindrical font is in the churchyard, displaced by a modern font in the Norman style. This chancel is in excellent repair and well kept. The arms of Fitzwarine, 'quarterly per fess indented' remain in glass in a window.

LYFORD, BERKS.—Nave, early Decorated, with four upper windows of

later date. It carries a wooden belfry. The chancel is of the date of the nave. The east window is a lancet, cut down. North and south windows the same, but perfect. There is a locker, and a piscina with a credence. There are two windows placed very peculiarly, on opposite sides, near the western end of the wall. Font octagonal. Good open sittings. A southern rood stair.

MAPLEDURHAM, OXON.—Mainly Perpendicular with brick additions. The font a heavy rude Norman cylinder with the cable moulding. A fine Blount altar tomb in the south aisle.

SOUTH MARSTON, BERKS.—A small and ill-kept church. Tower Perpendicular. North door of nave early Norman, round-headed, with a solid tympanum surrounded by a band of bead-moulding. South door plain Norman, with a singular bead under the impost. Chancel, early English, and has a piscina with shelf. South porch Perpendicular. Font probably Norman; a cone with a small base-moulding and a bead round the upper edge.

MILTON, BERKS.—Tower Decorated, with later addition, and an excellent original west window. Date of nave doubtful. Two south windows flat-topped Perpendicular. North aisle modern. Chancel late Perpendicular. South porch seems Decorated.

NORTH MORETON, BERKS.—A large church with many points of interest. Tower Perpendicular, but the window has a Decorated drip, and the arch into the nave is probably of that date. The tower battlement is effective. Nave Decorated; the windows excellent, as is the door. The arches into the aisle and chancel have Decorated drips, but may be pointed Norman. South aisle Decorated, with a good door. Chancel early Decorated. East window resembles Basildon and Warborough, and is a good example of early Decorated tracery. The north windows and one to the south are either wholly Decorated, or Perpendicular insertions into Decorated frames. The arches into the south chapel are early English. South chapel excellent early Decorated, but later than the chancel. East window full of geometrical tracery, with some good stained glass; and there is a smaller window and a door of the same date. The salient angle of the recess of this latter window contains a singularly beautiful piscina. Between this chapel and the aisle is a curious early English arch, with a bracket carved with rich foliage. The font is large, cylindrical, and probably Norman. This church is a good study for the transition from the early English into the Decorated style.

MOULSFORD, BERKS.—A bell gable of wood upon an early English wall, and a plain neat lancet window with a peculiar fluted moulding, with trefoiled heads. North door of nave Norman; south door nave Decorated. North aisle a small rude addition, probably Decorated. Chancel early Decorated. Font a rude octagonal bowl, resting on two steps, early English or Decorated.

NETTLEHED, OXON.—A miserable structure, ill kept, and in bad repair. Lower stage of tower early English; upper modern brick. Nave has a Decorated north window. Date of chancel not apparent. Font a plain Norman cylinder.

NEWINGTON, OXON.—A large handsome church, in good repair and cleanly kept. Tower, nave, north transept, and chancel. Tower good Decorated, with bold western buttresses; upper story and spire are plain. Nave, north door, round-headed, with Norman shaft and caps,

but early English mouldings. South door has a plain round-headed arch, with a rich drip. Four of the south windows are Decorated. North transept Decorated, chancel excellent Decorated; east window seems a Perpendicular insertion. On south side a beautiful Decorated cinque-foiled recess for a tomb, with very rich mouldings. At north-west angle of chancel are traces of early English work.

NEWNHAM MURREN, OXON.—A small, mean looking, but very curious old church. Tower a mere wooden belfry, rising on posts out of the nave. North door and wall, and probably the west wall of the church, with the greater part of the chancel, plain early Norman. The present east end of chancel and part of adjacent walls seem either late Norman or early English. Two of the chancel windows take the place of the old Norman cross. South aisle Decorated. A curious tunnel-shaped hagioscope in the south pier of the chancel arch, passing from the chancel to the south aisle. Probably of Norman date; if so, unusual. The font probably Norman.

NUFFIELD, OXON.—Though small and mutilated, this is a curious church. The tower stands at the west end of the north aisle. The lower story is early English, and it has a wooden belfry. The nave has a good but whitewashed roof, and there are some glazed tiles. South door blocked up. Some of the arches into the north aisle are early English. The chancel is Decorated, but its windows incline to the Perpendicular style. The font is Norman and slightly conical. Round its margin is an inscription rather obscured by whitewash, but of which the following may be made out:—

“*Sacro lotum vel munda grato tu vene sag muno plenale nte.*”

OARE, BERKS.—A small and poor edifice. The tower carrying a small spire rises out of the nave. It is of brick, modern and ugly. South and west doors of nave are late Perpendicular, as is the chancel. Font a rude cylinder, probably Norman.

PANGBOURNE, BERKS.—Tower of brick, and the whole church has been restored by churchwardens in wretched taste. It has a tower, nave, north aisle, chancel, and south porch.

ROTHERFIELD GREYS, OXON.—A small church, with a low timber belfry. Parts of the nave and the font are early English; in a north chapel, date 1605, is a sumptuous altar tomb to one of the Knollys family. In the aisle is a fine brass to the last Lord Grey of Rotherfield, in full armour, and beneath a canopy.

ROTHERFIELD PEPPARD, OXON.—A poor and small church. The arch with the chancel and the font are either late Norman or early English.

SATWELL, BERKS.—A thickly white-washed Norman chapel, perfectly plain and very small, with some Perpendicular additions and a modern font.

SHILLINGFORD, BERKS.—An early English tower and spire. The tower is slightly pyramidal in outline, and some curious lancet windows of great length. The nave has a Norman north door, with a good beak head moulding, but the rest of that side is late Perpendicular. South door late Norman with a chevron and toothed moulding. Chancel arch also late Norman. The structure generally is Decorated. In the church in the south-west is a low window. On the north a Perpendicular

window with a panelled recess. There is a locker and a double piscina.

SHRIVENHAM, BERKS.—A spacious, commodious, well-kept, but by no means handsome church. The tower, central, is open below but not vaulted. It rests on four massive Perpendicular piers. The upper part, also Perpendicular, presents nothing remarkable. It is battlemented and the belfry is the first story. The nave and chancel open into their aisles by a range of round-headed arches, springing from conical columns, with large disproportioned capitals. The general effect of this debased Roman style is bad. The roof is of the same date but in a rather better style. The aisles seem the length of both nave and chancel. They are spacious and lofty, and lighted by numerous flat-topped, debased, Perpendicular windows. The roofs are pretty good. There is a west porch of the date of the aisles, but in better style. The body of the church is handsomely paved and well kept. The font is either Norman or Decorated, probably the latter. It has a large octagonal bowl of Purbeck marble, with the round-headed arches in low relief, and quite plain, upon each face. The stem is cylindrical, and rests on three octangular steps, of which the upper is Purbeck. The stem is too slight, and has been strengthened by a number of wooden shafts placed round it. They are of the date of the modern church, but do not seem to have replaced older ones. If this be so, it would be well to remove them and strengthen the stem by a stout iron tube lined with copper. In the churchyard, east of the church, is a stone effigy, much defaced, with hair curling over the ears, and the head upon a lozenge-shaped cushion. The dress seems ecclesiastical.

SPARSHOLT, BERKS.—A very curious church, ill kept, and but little known. It is composed of a tower, nave, transepts, and chancel. Tower Decorated, and has a low spire of wood, covered with shingles. The nave has an excellent late Norman door. The corbels of its drip are peculiar. They resemble the head of a pick or pike, and look downwards. There are a few other examples in this district. The iron work seems original. The south door is blocked up. Its general design is similar, the details are different. The lower walls and the string are of the date of the doors; the windows are chiefly Decorated. The roof is excellent late Decorated with tracery in the spandrills of the principals; that next its east end has traces of some original painting. The arches into the chancel and transepts are probably Decorated. The north transept has been pulled down and its arch closed and pierced for a Decorated window. The south transept is early Decorated with excellent windows, shewing vesica piscis tracery, both trefoiled and quatrefoiled, with a singularly delicate drip stone. There is a good piscina with a shelf. This transept seems later than the chancel. The north porch is modern. The font rude Norman. The chancel is about equal to Cholsey or Farington, though later than either. It has a good panelled close parapet. The east window is modern. Three south and two north windows are Decorated, as is a good north door with original iron work. There are three level sedilia and a piscina. Two hagioscopes connected the chancel with the transepts. There is some good stained glass and some curious monuments. On the south side of the chancel is a Decorated recess, with an elaborate canopy and beneath it a cross-legged figure in chain mail, with two angels supporting its head. The figure rests on an altar tomb carved with quarterfoils, in each one escutcheon. There is a

trace of a second recess on this aisle, but in the north wall is also a recess but unoccupied, probably intended for the Holy Sepulchre. On the sill of the east window is laid temporarily a full length effigy, legs straight, in plate armour. The feet rest on a lion, and the head is enclosed in a steel cap, resting on a tilting helmet, with a coronet and plume by way of crest. The figure is of wood, probably sycamore and is hollow. Judging from the care bestowed upon it it is not unlikely to be converted into firewood. In another window lies a wooden eagle, part of the old reading desk. At the south end of the transept are two effigies in recesses with rich canopies, the cusps of the foil terminating in heads. Both figures are female, of wood and hollow, and their heads are supported by full length angels. At the feet of one are two dogs regardant, at the other a lion. Their altars are plain. Both figures appears to have been painted.

STANFORD-IN-THE-VALE, BERKS.—A tower, nave, north aisle, porches, and chancel. The two lower styles of the tower are early Decorated. There is an original loop with a corbel head over the drip. The upper stage is perpendicular. The nave has three drop arches into the aisle, and one into the chancel, either Decorated or Perpendicular. The northern clerestory, one of the south windows, and the roof are Perpendicular. Three south windows are Perpendicular, one being flat-topped, also one window is modern. The north aisle has a late early English west window, triple lancet, trefoiled. The two north windows are flat-topped, Decorated. There is a Perpendicular door to the rood stair, and a hagioscope. The north door seems Decorated. The south porch is late Perpendicular. There is a vestry taken out of the aisle. The chancel is excellent early Decorated. The north door lancet and good. One north and two south windows have vesica piscis tracery. The roof is original and good. There is a north locker, double, and a piscina with a shelf. This is within a sort of shrine, with a locker above, probably for a relic. The font is old, but is cased in modern wood.

STANFORD DINELEY, BERKS.—A low and poor tower of which the north and south faces seem early English, the rest Perpendicular. The nave is old, but small and damp. Two arches opening into the north aisle are round-headed, small, and heavy Norman. The rest, with the chancel arch, are pointed Norman. The north aisle has a Norman east-end and window, an early English west-end added window, and a Perpendicular north aisle and roof. The south aisle is early English, with a good door, the arch of which is broken by a boss, so as to resemble a rudimentary double door-way. At the east-end of the aisle is a circular light. The chancel and porch are modern. The font plain, conical Norman. There are three Crosses.

STEVINGTON, BERKS.—A large church, with a tower, nave, south aisle, chancel and south chapel. The tower stands at the south-west angle, and opens upon both aisle and nave. The style is early and somewhat formal Decorated. The arches resemble those at Wantage and east Locking. The nave is Decorated, but much mutilated. The chancel has a good Perpendicular east window with embattled transom and some original iron stanchions. There are two sedilia and a piscina, and a small south door with an internal label. The south aisle is excellent Decorated. The south chapel opens from both chancel and aisle. The font is Perpendicular and good. Some glazed tiles and a few brasses.

NORTH STOKE, OXON.—Tower, nave, north porch, chancel. Tower rebuilt in modern times from the lower stage. The base seems early Decorated. Nave early Decorated, with some excellent windows and good north and south doors. Chancel early English, very early in the style, and including the arch from the nave. There are shafts of Purbeck marble, a material used also for the abacus of the caps. The mouldings generally are very rich and effective. The south-east window is a low one. The north door resembles Englefield. This chancel has recently been taken down and carefully restored from the original pattern, and mostly with the original materials, greatly to the credit of the Rev. R. Twopenny, the incumbent, and the Fellows of St. John's Coll., Camb., the patrons. The font, well suited for imitation, seems early Decorated. There is a brass to a canon of Windsor, with St. George's cross upon his cloak.

SOUTH STOKE, OXON.—Tower Perpendicular. Nave and aisles early Decorated, save the eastern end of the latter, which are early English. The aisles are remarkably narrow. In the south aisle is a flat-topped Decorated window. The south door is good. There are some Perpendicular insertions. Chancel seems early English with Decorated additions. Arch from nave early English, verging on Decorated. On north side a lancet, looking late Norman. On south a very early Decorated window. South porch modern. Font seems Decorated. In each aisle is a good Decorated niche. The stone stair remains on the south side. There are a few glazed tiles and some late Perpendicular carved woodwork.

STRATFIELD MORTIMER, HANTS.—A fine church, but with a brick tower. Nave, south aisle, and chancel are good Perpendicular. There are two sepulchral brasses.

STRATTON ST. MARGARET'S, BERKS.—A mean looking but very curious church. Tower, nave, aisles, south porch, chancel. Tower Perpendicular and much decayed; nave good. On each side four arches, drop, with cylindrical piers and caps, with bands of dog tooth ornaments, as at Wantage. The north aisle is early Decorated, with good window tracery. In the north wall a rude but curious recess, with a septfoiled ogee canopy, with brackets, a finial, and above all, a head corbel carrying a pinnacle. There are also two lateral pinnacles. The principal arch moulding carries a part of the toothed ornament placed at long intervals. This is a remarkable example of the combination of the toothed ornament with decided Decorated mouldings. The south aisle resembles the north. It has a plain Norman door, and some singular windows. The south porch is late Perpendicular. The font a rude octagon, with a quarterfoil on each face.

SULHAMPTED BANISTER, BERKS.—A modern church in bad taste, on the lines of the old one. The font may be Decorated, but is plastered. There is an early grave-stone with a mutilated marginal inscription.

(To be continued.)

Original Document.

Communicated by Mr. J. C. L. STAHLSCHMIDT.

It is a well-known fact that the ground on the north side of Throgmorton Street, upon which the Hall of the Drapers' Company stands, was acquired by that Guild by purchase from the Crown in or about 1544, and that it had been previously the property of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, on whose attainder it had of course escheated to the King.

Stowe's graphic description of the Vicar-General's high-handed proceedings, enlarging his borders at his neighbours' expense, is also well known.

But the manner in which the land became Cromwell's property has, I think, never come to light. I have some recollection of seeing it stated, where I cannot now say, that it had been probably part of the possessions of the Austin Friars granted to Cromwell after the suppression.

This, however, is not the case. It was acquired by purchase, and the documents relating to the transaction are all enrolled in the Court of Hustings at Guildhall. They are three in number. 1st. The contract for sale, which is here printed. 2nd. The actual conveyance. 3rd. Power of Attorney to give seisin.

It would be interesting to know how far the transaction was a *bonâ fide* one, *i.e.*, whether the purchase money, £200, was the fair value of the property conveyed, or whether the prior and convent judged it wise to propitiate by a sale under market price. To my mind it seems likely.

The plan or "platt," as it is called in the deed, is the earliest I have seen.

Pfit tent in Husteng Londoñ die Lune px ante festum sancti Dunstani Archiepi Anno Regni Regis Henrici Octavi vicesimo sexto.

This Indenture made the xiiijth day of Maye in the xxvjth yere of the Reigne of or sov'aigne lorde kinge Henry the viijth Betwene Thomas Cromwell esquier Secretary to or said sov'aigne lorde on the one ptie And George Brouñ pynceyall of the order of the ffreers Augustynes w^t in the realme of Englonde & prio^r of the house of ffreers heremitt^e of the order of saunte Augustyne w^t in the Citie of Londoñ & the ffreers & Covent of the same house on the other ptie Witnesseth that the said prior ffreers & Covent by there hole & mutuall assent & consent of the hole Chapter for the some of CC li of goode & lafull money of Englonde vnto the said prio^r & Covent well & truly contented & paide by the said Thomas Cromwell the day of thensealing of these Indentures wherof the prio^r & Covent knolage theyñ selves truly & fully to be satisfied contented &

paide And the same Thomas Crumwell his heires & executo's therof to be clerely discharged & acquitted by this p'sent^l have bargayned & solde & by these p'sent^l clerely bargayneth & selleth to the said Thomas Crumwell & to his heires for ev' all those their Mesuages Curtlages & gardeyns landes & teit^l w^t thapp^rten^anc^l as they ar sett lying & being in the p'ishe of saint Peter of Bradstrete in the Citie of London adioyning to the saide house of Augustyne ffreers w^t all evidence dedes charters & mynument^l concerning the same Whiche mesuag^l Curtlages & teit^l lye & ar sett togeder in bredyth betwene the house or teit^l of the said prio^r & ffreers nowe in the tenure of one Robt Lys and the way leding from thausten ffreers gate aswell to the churche of the said Austen ffreers As towarde London waſt on the easte pte And the teit^l bylding^l & gardeyn now in the tenure of Antony Vyvald on the west pte And conteynith in Bredyth at the south end betwene the said teit^l of Lys & the said bylding^l of Vyvaldes Cv fote And at the north end betwene the said way & the said bylding^l & gardeyns of Antony Vyvaldes Cij fote And also lyeth & stretcheth & conteyneth in leight betwene the high streate called Bradstrete on the south pte vnto the teit^l & gardeyn of the said prio^r & Covent nowe in the¹ of Thomas Pawlett esquier on the North pte As it ys more apparatly dilated in a platt indented herevnto annexed. To have & to holde all the said Mesuag^l or gardeyns Curtlages dedes charters & mynument^l & all other the p'misses w^t thapp^rten^anc^l to the said Thomas Crumwell & to his heires to the only vse of the said Thomas Crumwell and his heires forev' And the said prio^r & Covent for theym & their successo's coven^ante & graunt to & w^t the said Thomas Crumwell his heires & executo's by these p'sent^l that they the said prio^r & Covent and their successo's shall onthisside the feaste of the Nativitie of sainte John Baptist next coming after the date herof make or cause to be made to the said Thomas Crumwell & to his heires or to such psones As the said Thomas Crumwell shall name & appoynt & to their heires to the only vse of the said Thomas Crumwell & of his heires and assignes forev'. A goode suer sufficient laufull & indefecyble estate or estates in fe symple of & in all the said Mesuag^l Curtlages gardeyns & all other the p'misses w^t their app^rten^anc^l be yt by fyne feoffement Recov'e Release w^t warrauntic againste all men otherwise at the costes and charges in the lawe of the said Thomas Crumwell his heires or assignes Discharged of all former bargaynes and sales leases willes former titles interest^l & right^l statutes nich^aunt & of the staple Judgement^l Recognisaunc^l execu^ons issues ffynes & ameyament^l form^l condi^ons Rent^l fees Annuites & of the Arrerages of the same & of all oder inembraunces whatsoever they be the chief rent^l going oute of the p'mises & fromhensforth to be due to the chief lorde or lordes of the fee or fees of the p'misses only excepted. To have & to holde all the said mesuages & gardeyns & all other the p'misses w^t thapp^rten^anc^l to the said Thomas Crumwell & to his heires or to the said suche psones as the said Thomas Crumwell shall name & appoynte & to their heires to thuse of the said Thomas Crumwell & of his heires forev' And also the said prio^r & Covent for theym and their successo's coven^ante & graunte to & w^t the said Thomas Crumwell his heires & executo's that they the said prio^r & Covent and their successo's shall onthisside the said feaste of the Nativite of sainte John Baptist deliv' or cause to be deliv'ed to the

¹ "Tenure" *om utcl.*

said Thomas Crumwell or to his heires or assignes all suche evidence dedes charters writing℥ escript℥ & mynument℥ as the said prior & Covent or any of theym or any other psonē or psones to there vse or knolage & by there deliv'e nowe have in his or there keeping concerning the pmisses the whiche the said prior & Covent or any of theym may reasonably come by And furder more the said priors freers & Covent coven^{ante} & g^{ante} by thise p^{sent}℥ for theym & there successo's to & w^t the said Thomas Crumwell his heires & executo's, that they the said prior freers and Covent nor there successo's nor any other psonē or psones for theym or in there name by there Insitacōn peurem^t or assent shall fromhensforth dos or suffer to be done any thing or thing℥ Acte or Act℥ whiche may or shall disturbe vex inquiet or troble the said Thomas Crumwell his heires or assignes or any other psonē or psones having clayming or p^{tending} vnto the said Mesuage¹ & other the pmisses or any peell thereof to thuse of the said Thomas Crumwell & of his heires and assignes, but that the said prior freers & Covent & there successo's At all tymes hereaft' when the said prior or his successo's priors of the said house shalbe therevnto required by the said Thomas Crumwell his heires or assignes shall knolage & cause to do suffer to be done suffred & knolaged all & ev'y suche thing & thing℥ Acte & Actes As shalbe ferther devised by the lerned counsell of the said Thomas Crumwell his heires & assignes for ther assuraunce and sure makinge of & in the pmisses & ev'y peell thereof to theym & to there heires forev' more Discharged in maner & fo'me as ys aforesaid To all whiche coven^{ant}℥ g^{antes} & agrent℥ afore rehersed & on the behalf of the said prior & freers and Covent and there successo's to be well and truly done p^{fo}med and fulfilled the said prior freers & Covent byndeth theym selves & there successo's by thise p^{sent}℥ to the said Thomas Crumwell & his executo's in the some of M^l li sterling

Into Witnesse wherof to the one pte of this Indenture remayning to & w^t the said prior freers & Covent, the said Thomas Crumwell hath setto his seale & subscribed his name And to the other pte of the same Indenture remayning to & w^t the said Thomas Crumwell the said prior freers & Covent have aswell setto there cōen seale. As also have ev'y of the same freers subscribed his name. Dated in their chapt' house the day & yere abovesaid.

Recognit fuit hoc scriptū Indentat decimo octavo die Maij Anno regni Regis Henrici octavi vicesimo sexto p infiranōiat' Georgiū Brouñ pvincialem coram Johē Champeys civi℥ Londoñ Aldro et Johē Baker eiusdem Civi℥ recordator.

The Royal Archaological Institute of Great Britain.

CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1886.

RECEIPTS.

To Balance at Bank on 1st January, 1886 (as per last account)	40 7 7
„ Petty Cash on hand	2 17 9
„ Subscriptions	43 5 1
„ 279 Annual Subscriptions of £1 Is. each, and one of 10s. 6d. received during the year	
„ 11 Subscriptions paid in advance in 1885	293 9 6
„ 55 „ „ in arrear at 31st December, 1886, amounting to £68 5s.	
345 Total annual subscribers at 31st December, 1886	
Arrears at 31st December, 1885, paid in 1886	30 9 6
Subscriptions for 1887, paid in advance	2 2 0
„ Entrance Fees	326 0 6
„ Life Compositions	42 0 0
„ Sale of Publications, &c.	39 18 0
„ Balance of Chester Meeting	75 16 9
„ Balance at Bank, including profit from Chester Meeting, £37 3s. 11d.	37 3 11
„ Less Cheques for 1886, expenses drawn in 1887	89 12 8
	109 19 0
	17 6 4
	4581 10 10

EXPENDITURE.

By Publishing Account—	
Engraving, &c., for Journal	71 6 11
Pollard, W. & Co., Printing Journal	127 15 0
Hartshorne, A., Editing	50 0 0
	249 1 11
„ House Expenses—	
Rent of Apartments	113 8 0
Secretary's Salary	80 0 0
Bywater, best of drawers for prints, &c.	18 17 10
Stationery and Books	7 4 6
Accountant's Fee	3 3 0
Income Tax	1 13 4
Cheque Stamp and Bank Charge on draft	4 6
	221 11 2
„ Petty Cash Account—	
Office Expenses, Attendant, Insurance, Gas, &c.	49 3 3
Stamps and Delivery of Journal	34 4 2
Stationery, Books, and Office Sundries	13 18 10
Carriage of Parcels	2 15 0
Cab and 'Bns Hire	9 8
	109 10 11
„ Petty Cash on hand	7 6 1
	4581 10 10

I hereby certify that I have prepared the above Account of Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1886, and that the same agrees with the Cash and Bankers' Books of the Institute. I have also examined the various payments with the vouchers and find the same to be in order.

WM. A. KIRBY,

Public Accountant.

8, New Broad Street, E.C., 25th March, 1887.

Audited and found correct,

M. W. TAYLOR

J. C. S. STAHLSCHEIDT } *Honorary Auditors.*

Presented to the Annual Meeting of the Institute at Salisbury,
August 4th, 1887.

(Signed)

PERCY, *Chairman.*

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

April 21, 1887.

The Rev. Precentor VENABLES in the Chair.

Mr. W. THOMPSON WATKIN communicated a paper on "Roman Inscriptions found in Britain in 1886." This is Mr. Watkin's eleventh annual list and his fourteenth supplement to the *Corpus Inscriptinum Latinarum*. This paper is printed at p. 117.

Mr. J. PARK HARRISON read a paper on the discoveries of pre-Norman Churches of unusual interest which have been made during the last few years under circumstances tending to show that numerous stone edifices of an early date exist in different parts of the country without any outward marks or suspicion of their age. He adduced as instances Deerhurst Church, converted several centuries ago into a manorial farmhouse; Minster in Sheppey; and Iver in Bucks where the residences of the early work were entirely concealed under the plastering of the walls. Mr. Harrison pointed out the great importance of urging the parochial clergy, as well as local archaeologists and possessors of manorial buildings, to make a careful examination of all old stone edifices when under restoration or repair in their neighbourhood. The examples already known show that the so-called Saxon Style, presumably an imitation in stone of wooden buildings, which is common in certain districts, belongs to the period following the Edict of Canute, who ordered that the wooden churches burnt by his father or himself should be re-built in stone. Mr. Harrison agreed with those archaeologists who believed that an English Romanesque style prevailed in other parts of the country, and that it was founded on Roman and Romano-British architectural remains. Had this style been better known it would have been impossible for the date of such a building as that at Bradford-upon-Avon to have remained so long in dispute.

The CHAIRMAN, in thanking Mr. Harrison for bringing such an interesting subject to the notice of the Institute, confirmed what he had said about the different styles of church architecture existing before the Conquest. With regard to the Church of Bradford-upon-Avon, Mr. Venables regarded it as a most valuable example of a small church, and he considered it as undoubtedly a building of the ninth century founded by Aldhelm. Mr. Venables suggested that the Institute should tabulate and classify all the Anglo-Saxon remains in England.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. PARK HARRISON.—A series of prints illustrating his paper.

Mr. Harrison also laid before the meeting a celt of Chinese Jade cut into facets, and said to have been found in Nicaragua. This fact appeared to support the theory that contact existed between China and Central America probably from the drifting of Junks across the Pacific Ocean. Mr. HILTON, who exhibited some specimens of jade from his own cabinet, said that any new facts connected with the subject were interesting; hitherto no jade in its natural state had been found in America. It came from China, New Zealand and Siberia.

May 5, 1887.

The Right Hon. EARL PERCY F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

Mr. W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN read a paper on "Babylonian Sun-God, a Study in Comparative Mythology."

The Rev. Precentor VENABLES communicated the following Notes on a recent discovery in Lincoln:—

"In the course of the formation of a house-sewer on the premises of Mr. Edmonds at Stannton House, Lincoln, situated on the eastern side of the high road, a short distance outside the North Gateway of the Roman City, known as the 'Newport Arch,' last February, the Roman road was cut through, and a very fine section was developed. For a sketch of the section, as well as for a sketch plan indicating its position in reference to the Roman wall and gate together with the arrangement of the city generally, I am indebted to Mr. Allis, the discoverer and preserver of the portico of the Basilica in the north-western quarter, who was employed upon the work.¹ From the section it will be seen that the upper and under sides of the road are curved, the rise in the centre amounting to about 5 ft. The width of the road is 28 ft., and its thickness 4 ft. 3 in. Its surface was about 2 ft. 3 in. below the present ground level. The road was formed of a concrete of about the thickness of modern granite roads, consisting of gravel and lime run together into mass resting on a bed of clay.

"During the progress of the work a small coin of debased silver was discovered, of the Empress Herennia Etruscilla the wife of the Emperor Decius. It bears on the obverse the head of the Empress with the legend HER. ETRUSCILLA AVG., and on the reverse a standing figure of Victory with the legend VICTORIA AVG. The face of the Empress is very well preserved and the features—certainly of no great beauty—are perfectly distinct. The hair is arranged in a somewhat unusual fashion; with a long plait at the top of the head reaching from a small diadem in front to the back of the neck. Mr. John Evans, describes the hair of the Empress Galeria Valeria, the daughter of Diocletian and wife of Galerius, on a coin of considerable rarity found at Belgrade some years ago, as being arranged in the same 'peculiar manner.'² In this coin, however, the ear is partially concealed by the hair, while in that of Herennia, it is entirely bare.

"The Empress Herennia Etruscilla was the wife of the Emperor Trajanus Decius, who, originally a Pannonian soldier, rose to high command, and having been entrusted by the Emperor Philip the Arabian with

¹ These sketches were exhibited at the meeting.

² "Numismatic Chronicle," vol. vi, Third Series, p. 279.

the task of quelling the mutiny among the troops in Mœsia after the revolt of Marinus at the end of 249 A.D., was by them raised to the purple, and defeated Philip near Verona. The short reign of Decius, lasting less than two years, is chiefly remarkable for the first general persecution against the Christians, in which Fabian of Rome, Babylas of Antioch, Alexander of Jerusalem, and other leading ecclesiastics suffered martyrdom, and Cyprian, Origen, Gregory Thaumatergus, and others were banished and otherwise maltreated. Decius himself lost his life together with his son and the flower of his army in an engagement with the Goths towards the close of 251 A.D., being entangled and cut to pieces in a morass at Abricium on the Mœsian frontier. As Herennia Etruscilla was nothing more than an officer's wife, except for the brief period of her husband's reign of thirty months, it is not surprising that nothing is recorded of her. She is only known to us from her coins, and from a single inscription discovered at Carseoli. This inscription runs HERENNIAE. CVPRESSENIAE. ETRUSCILLAE. AVG. CONJUGI. D.N. DECI. AVG. MATRI. AVGG. N.N. ET CASTRORVM. S.P.Q. She had a son by Decius, called after her mother Herennius Etruscus, who perished with his father."

Notes of thanks were passed to Mr. Boscawen and to Precentor Venables.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By MR. BOSCAWEN.—Diagrams in illustration of his paper.

By PRECENTOR VENABLES.—Sketch plan and section illustrating his Notes.

THE REV. GREVILLE J. CHESTER exhibited a remarkable seal, which Professor Sayce pronounces without any hesitation to be a monument of Hittite workmanship, found near Tarsus; and a unique bronze knife, discovered amidst the ruins of Medinet-Habou at Thebes. The seal is made of hematite and is quadrangular in form, and bears an intaglio engraving at the bottom and on each of the four sides above it, which apparently represent scenes in the life of a king. The bronze knife has a handle in the form of *Set*, the ass-headed Typhon of the Egyptians. The figure, in addition to ass's ears is horned. Professor R. Lanzone, of Turin, regards it as being one of the knives used to make the first incision in the dead body previous to the process of embalming. A paper on the seal by Professor Sayce will appear in a subsequent *Journal*.

MR. CHESTER also exhibited a large collection of ancient textile fabrics discovered at Echmin, in Upper Egypt. Most of them, from the presence of the Cross and other Christian emblems, are doubtless of the Christian epoch and many are fragments of ecclesiastical vestments, perhaps of the eighth and tenth centuries, but others may be of earlier and even Roman date. Some of the designs are of singular beauty and intricacy, and the original colours have been marvellously preserved. Amongst the specimens are some beautiful pieces of silk, and a piece of *worsted work*, which (if the central ornament be not intended for a Cross), may be Roman, as it is of the same fabric with a carpet of entirely classical design lately given by Mr. Chester to the British Museum. This last specimen represents a Cupid and a girl in a boat of Egyptian character, within a border formed of garlands of leaves and flowers, a Cupid's head being in a medallion at each corner. This design recalls those found on many Roman tessellated pavements.

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VALENTIA SEGELLAUNORUM.

By EDWARD A FREEMAN, D.C.L.

Is it doing wrong to an ancient city to feel a little disappointed at finding that it is more ancient than for a moment one was tempted to think? Valentia on the Rhone is a city whose memories spread over many ages, from the time when the tyrant Constantine was there besieged by the Goth Sarus to the days when, if not the city, yet at least its district, bestowed a ducal title, first on Caesar Borgia, and then on Diana of Poitiers. In such company we feel that the British tyrant, even if he did a misdeed or so, was a good deal more respectable than some that lived many ages later. In passing along the Rhone cities, which stand out so conspicuously in the history of the fifth century, we are perhaps specially drawn to that century and to one or two centuries before and after it. We should like to believe that the name of Valentia was due, like the British province so called, to Valentinian, stout guardian of Gaul and Rome, when Julian had ceased to muse by the Seine and to do battle by the Rhine. But alas, a city which appears by its still abiding name in Ptolemy and in Pliny could not by any means have taken that name from an Emperor of the fourth century; Valentia is in truth Latin for the Greek *Roma*, and some said that it was the secret and unuttered name of the city by the Tiber. Valentia of the Segellauni may thus be, not merely a colony, but a younger namesake of the elder Valentia of the Ramnes. Its name speaks its

Roman origin more distinctly than the names of either of its fellows in the history of those few eventful years which its name first suggests, than Arelate on one side of it and Vienna Allobrogum on the other. But as a city for the historical inquirer to spell out, it cannot be compared with either. At Arles or Vienne it seems as if a life might be spent in working out the endless remains of so many ages; the existing interest of Valence gathers mainly round a single building far later than the days of any tyrants in the technical sense. The church of Valence, in which Saint Apollinaris has displaced the protomartyr Stephen, is at least as instructive a study as Saint Trophimus; were Saint Trophimus without his cloister, we should be inclined to give the Valentian minster the higher place of the two. But then Saint Trophimus has his cloister, and Arles keeps a crowd of other objects beside Saint Trophimus. Here at Valence we have no walls, no theatre, no amphitheatre, no Imperial palace; we have only Saint Apollinaris and a house or two, one to be sure of extraordinary splendour, and whatever else of antiquity we may make out in the museum.

Valentia, in the fifth and sixth centuries, was emphatically a city to be besieged. Twice within a very few years, in 408 and 413, was a tyrant, an Emperor, that is, setting himself up against the acknowledged Augustus, besieged within its walls by a Gothic leader, in the second case by a Gothic king, each acting as the officer of the acknowledged Augustus. In the one case the Imperial champion was baffled; in the second he gained his point. Both events are connected with greater events, the first with the separation of Britain from the Empire, the second with the settlement of the Burgundians in Gaul. In the first, Constantine, Emperor because of his name only, had passed from Britain into Gaul, and held this corner of Gaul while Vandals, Alans, and Suevians were harrying at pleasure in the rest. Against him, in the name of Honorius, came the Goth Sarus, and besieged him for seven days. Sarus had slain one general of the tyrant in fair battle; he had slain another by treachery; but now two others, Edobich the Frank and Gerontius the Briton, frightened him away, and Constantine still for a moment kept Valentia and so much of Gaul as was still

Roman. Presently, when Constantine was gone, with his son Constans, and Gerontius, first his general and then his rival, another tyrant, Jovinus, and Sebastian his brother, were raised to the Empire at Mainz, buying no doubt Burgundian help by grants of Roman soil to Burgundian settlers. The new colonists did not come anywhere near Valentia till long after; but here, in the first foundation of a Teutonic kingdom in Gaul (other than the Frankish power in its own corner) we have the beginning of that Burgundian realm of which Valentia was to be a flourishing city. One annalist, he whom we know as Prosper Tiro, speaks of it as "nobilissima Galliarum urbs," when he tells us how Jovinus and Sebastian were here besieged by a more famous Goth than Sarus, by the slayer of Sarus, Ataulf himself. Zôsimos, in recording the former siege, had spoken of the strength of the city; but the Gothic power was yet stronger; the city was taken by storm; "effringitur" is the strong word; Jovinus and Sebastian were led as prisoners to Narbo by the victorious Goth, to be there slain by Roman hands and to have their heads sent as trophies to Ravenna. A hundred and sixty-one years later comes the third siege, the siege of the sixth century, when the Roman Cæsar and the Burgundian king had alike passed away from Valentia, when the Lombard, new come, in Italy, was pressing also into Gaul, and when the city, assaulted by Lombard Zaban, was delivered by Frankish Mummolus, Frankish at least in allegiance, if haply Roman by descent. Thus much is recorded by Gregory of Tours; but he has little else to tell us, and, in the intermediate age Sidonius has as little. The people of Valentia, like those of a crowd of other places, are bound to be thankful to Bishop Patiens of Lyons (Ep. vi. 12), and that is all that the singer of Auvergne has to tell us about them, either in verse or in prose. This is a little disappointing; monuments and later history are alike unkindly silent about a city whose momentary fame seems to give it a right to as good a place in either as its fellows. When Zôsimos and the annalists speak as they do of Valentia in the days of Constantine and Jovinus, we feel defrauded that there are no walls such as those of Arles, no gates such as those even of Nîmes, to bring us nearer to the siege of Sarus and the siege of Ataulf.

Of those days we might fairly look for monuments ; so we might of those earlier days when the first of many Valentian councils was held in the consulship of two Augusti, the second Valentinian—whose name it is so hard not to connect with the city—and the first Theodosius. We would fain have, as at Aix, the baptistery of which traces have been found hard by the church in whose predecessor the fathers doubtless met. It might be unreasonable to look for anything specially to remind us of the days of King Gunthramn, though those days too were made memorable at Valentia by a council as well as by a siege. We should be better pleased still if we could find anything to remind us of a more famous council held here in 855 in the reign of the Emperor Lothar. Here indeed we have a chance. This council was held in the church of Saint John, and the church of Saint John, otherwise destroyed, still keeps a fragment of a Romanesque tower ; but it might be dangerous to carry it back so far as the ninth century. Pleased most of all should we be, if we had some trace of the assembly which chose Lewis to succeed his father Boso on the throne of the Middle Kingdom. But for our middle kings—some call them of Arles—we go to Vienna Allobrogum. At Valentia therefore, if we wish to connect recorded history with existing monuments of undoubted date, we must take a leap over some ages, and in the last years of the eleventh century we come to a memorable building which is at once connected with the name of a memorable man. At Valence, as in so many other places in Gaul, we are on the track of the preacher of the first crusade. The Valentian Saint Apollinaris—the name carries us to Ravenna,—like the Tolosan Saint Sernin, was one of the churches hallowed by Urban the Second. By his authority too, in the last year of the same century, a year so memorable in England, yet another council was held at Valence, a council removed from Autun, a council of which Hugh of Flavigny, he who has such odd things to tell us about our own land at the same time, has preserved a record. At Valence we have time to devote ourselves to a single object, and we must dwell at some length on the building which now forms the chief attraction of the city, the cathedral church which Urban hallowed.

At Valence church and city stand well above the great river. There is, as usual, a *haute ville*, a *basse ville*, and a *bourg*, the *basse ville* in this case lying between the bridge spanning the Rhone, and the hill on which Saint Apollinaris stands. The walls have vanished; they have largely given way to military buildings, part of which has won for itself a place in history as the prison of Pius the Sixth. But, as usual, the main lines are left, and it is easy to distinguish old Valentia from the modern suburbs which have grown up around it. And we see that Valentia on its height would have been hard work for Sarus to storm, especially in the teeth of two relieving generals of high renown in their day. But, as Valence now stands, the great church is the one main object in every view, in a way in which it is not at Arles or even at Vienne. Yet Saint Apollinaris has nothing very great to show in the way of outline; the central cupola, unpierced as it is, is hardly seen, and the tall western tower is modern. The old one, the books tell us, was taken down as dangerous in 1838 and was rebuilt in 1861. Mr. Petit had the advantage of seeing Valence between those two years, and he has preserved a drawing of the church as it then stood. He says truly that "the removal of the tower gives, roughly indeed, a design for a good and simple Romanesque front, such as may possibly have existed before the tower was built." So it looks in his drawing; but at present the front is hidden by a porch, forming the lowest stage of the new tower, very rich work certainly, but of which we cannot tell whether it reproduces anything that stood there before or not. Still some western tower and some central cupola are clearly the right thing at Valence. At this point the Arvernian style has invaded the Burgundian shore; in many things Saint Apollinaris reminds us more of Issoire and Nôtre Dame du Port than of anything that we have seen in the Imperial land. The high bay is not there; the east end has not the full Arvernian complexity; but the great apse, with its surrounding aisle and three projecting chapels, is more like what we were once used to in Auvergne than anything that we have been lately studying in Provence. In Mr. Petit's time the aisle could not be seen inside; "if arches ever opened into it, they are now stopped up."

The choir, we read, was “maladroitement rémaniée” in 1730, and the state of things that Mr. Petit saw was doubtless the result. Here for once “restoration” has done some good; eight columns now stand free round the high altar, supporting their narrow stilted arches; we see, as Mr. Petit did, the clerestory windows above them, and we see, what he did not see, the aisle windows behind them. All this is thoroughly Arvernian; but inside we almost miss the high bay, and the view into the transepts suggests a curious thought. Mr. Petit notices the singular external cornice of the nave, with small arches alternately round and straight-sided. He remarks that arches of this last shape are to be found at Barton-on-Umber, and “in the old church of Lorsch in Germany.” He adds: “These I take to be mere fancies of the builder, no way tending to the formation or development of a style; whether they be marks of antiquity, as denoting a period when the architect was less closely bound to the observance of certain general rules, is another question.” Now these straight-sided arches certainly are a feature of Primitive Romanesque, as is shown by their appearance at Barton and at Lorsch—not in the church but in the Carolingian gateway; but it is no less true that they are handed on from the late Roman style, as in the baptistery at Poitiers, and they are handed on to the Arvernian Romanesque. Looking down these transepts at Valence, we expect to see such arches at the north and south ends, just as we see them at Saint Nectaire and Nôtre Dame du Port. But it is curious again that this same kind of arch shows itself once again in the Tolosan towers, as the characteristic feature of a much later style, just as we now and then find it in thirteenth century work in England. That is to say, here at Valence it is a mark of antiquity, and yet, as Mr. Petit says, it in “no way tends to the formation or development of a style,” as it seems to fit in equally with so many styles.

In these transepts the barrel vault, round, as in Auvergne, not pointed, as so often in Provence, rests on square pilasters. In the nave it rests on tall shafts forming part of the compound piers of the nave. These, with their fine Corinthian capitals, are wonderfully tall and slender. If at Saint Sernin triforium and clerestory are

rolled into one, here at Valence both have vanished altogether. The nave is like a German *Hallenkirche*; tall pillars, arches, roof, and nothing more. And it is wonderful what lightness and loftiness can be gained in this form of pure Romanesque. It is the barrel-vault that does it; a Gothic church following the same arrangement can hardly fail to look low, even if it be positively high, because the spring of the vaulting necessarily comes so much lower. At the end of seven bays comes a *narthex*, a feature again Arvernian and not Provençal. A coupled window looks out over a lower arch, and here in this lower story the pointed vault comes in.

This church of Valence is undoubtedly, in its internal architecture, one of the most remarkable and satisfactory among the Romanesque churches of the Rhoneland. None better shows the capacities of the style, what it can do on a scale a little smaller than the mighty pile of Saint Sermin. It undoubtedly shows more of design and finish than Saint Trophimus or than the elder church at Aix. We know not whether Valence would scorn to be compared with Saint Paul Trois-Châteaux, but really the church there, much smaller than Valence, has also, in its lofty nave, a good deal of the same spirit, though it would be hard to find any likeness in detail between the two. Saint Apollinaris of Valence, if not one of the wonders of art like Saint Sermin, must rank high among buildings of its own class, and, as a church largely Arvernian on the Imperial side of the Rhone, it has a special interest. Nor is it the only ecclesiastical building in its own precinct. That precinct has naturally been found rich in Roman remains, and we must remember that Valence once had its baptistery. The city and its suburbs also contained more than one church of some dignity beside that which held the bishopstool. The secondary church, strictly so speaking, seems to have been the collegiate church of Saint Peter *en Bourg*, whose name speaks for its position to the north-west of Saint Apollinaris. Its description sets it before us as having once been a splendid basilica. There was also the abbey of Saint Rufus, the church of Saint John Baptist, scene of the council of Lothar's day, and others of some importance. But all, save one scrap of Saint John, have vanished for antiquarian purposes, more

commonly, it should be noticed, by being rebuilt than by being destroyed or desecrated. Valence too has a history of another kind; if it was a bishopric, it was also a city in the municipal sense, and it was not the seat of any temporal prince. We have Counts of Toulouse, but we have no Counts of Valence or of Vienne; the Counts, Dolphins, Dukes, are all of the *Viennois* and the *Valentinois*, princes of the district to which the city gives its name, but not princes of the city itself. The history of the land seems the record of a kind of a triangular duel between bishops, counts, and citizens; more dignified arbitrators, popes, kings, and Emperors, step in ever and anon, and at last city and county share the fate of so many other cities and counties of the Imperial land; they drift into the common whirlpool of Parisian aggrandizement. Yet there is a certain interest in tracing out any case in which Cæsar so much as claimed the things that were Cæsar's. In 1157 we find Frederick Barbarossa following the policy of exalting the bishops, as some check on the tendency of the lay princes to fall away from their allegiance. The Bishop of Valence not only receives thirteen castles from the Emperor, but he is invested with royal rights in the city of Valence, and adds the title of Count of Valentinois to his episcopal style. The Emperor makes at the same time large grants to the neighbouring bishopric of Die. From this time the episcopal counts are at constant feud with the lay counts of the house of Poitiers, who are said to be an illegitimate branch of the ducal stock of Aquitaine. In 1347 kings are turned about; Charles the Fourth—one smiles at coupling him with Frederick; but both were crowned in Saint Trophimus—forbids the Bishop to bear the title of Count to the prejudice of the sixth Aimar of Poitiers, and forbids him also to call himself Vicar-General of the Empire in the Kingdom of Arles. Meanwhile in 1229 we hear of the city, like other cities of the Middle Kingdom, setting itself up as a commonwealth against its episcopal lord, and in 1345 the citizens call in a somewhat dangerous helper, Humbert, the last independent dauphin of the Viennois. In the next century, in 1419, first the district, then the city, follows the precedent of the neighbouring *dauphiny* and its

capital. The last count of the house of Poitiers leaves his county to the Dauphin, the Dauphin being now Charles, son of the French king, afterwards Charles the Seventh. It is to be noticed that the devise of the dauphiny to the French prince was confirmed by Imperial grant; it is not clear that the devise of the Valentinois was. Presently the city of Valence commends itself to the Dauphin Lewis, presently famous as the eleventh king of that name. Thus both city and county vanish from the list of European states, and Valence has to console itself with the fame of its legal University. Some pages of its text-books must, one would think, have reminded its students that the prince who put forth the Institutes and the Code had still a successor, and one who had not withdrawn his claims on his Gaulish kingdom.

We complain again that we find at Valence no living witnesses of these times, any more than of the days of Constantine and of Lothar. An episcopal castle, a civic palace, would be the proper memorials of such a story; but of military architecture, save of the most modern and unprofitable kind, Valence has nothing to show. Of civil architecture it has one specimen of astonishing richness, but of a style so late that it must have been built after Valence had lost its last trace of independence. This is the house called the *Maison des Têtes*, not far from Saint Apollinaris, only just outside the *Place des Cleres*, the place that keeps up the memory of the tortures of Mandrin. The style is the latest French Gothic, the sculpture turning into *Renaissance*. But it is with houses just as with churches; French architectural details may be transplanted into these lands, but not the outline and spirit of a French building. There is no domestic work at Rouen or Bourges or Poitiers richer in detail than this at Valence; but here we have no outline; there are no turrets, no gables; all is as flat as it might be in Italy. But the mere detail is wonderful; it is a house of heads indeed. Among the heads are a Roman Emperor and a French King, even the first French Lord of Valence, as if to mark from whose allegiance the city had fallen away, and under whose dominion it had come.

The *Maison des Têtes* shows the inroads of the new

style only in its sculpture. Hard by Saint Apollinaris stands a singular square building, of which we ask for a moment whether it be not a strangely well preserved relic of so called "classic" times. It is not often that we pay so much honour to any work of the revived Italian. Perhaps in this case it is only because we are wildly searching for something to carry off in our memories besides Saint Apollinaris and the House of Heads. For the building, known as the *Pendentif*, turns out to be of the year 1548, a kind of mausoleum of a family bearing the name of Mistral. How came anybody to take the name of a wind which in Provence at least is not greatly liked? But the Valentines are perhaps like the old Hyperboreans; they have got to the back of the Mistral.

We go at last to the Museum. Here are inscriptions which may go some way to help a local inquirer to put together a history of Roman Valentia, but which do not make up to the traveller for the absence of any relics of Valentia above ground. The interesting thing is the *taurobolium*, one of the most striking witnesses, not only to the worship of Eastern gods in Western lands, but to the attraction which various forms of Eastern teaching had in the days of the early Empire for minds which were seeking for something more than either received religion or received philosophy could give them. There is something to set us a-thinking in Rome is the strange Mithraic building below the basilica of Saint Clement; there is something to set us a-thinking at Valence in this monument of what one would think must have been a very unpleasant form of ritual, but which men seem to have felt to have been somehow better for their souls than the orthodox worship of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. But the teaching is a general one; it touches the history of mankind, not the particular history of Valence. The *taurobolium* might as well have been found anywhere else; it has not the same kind of interest as the Celtic deity whose name, or the name of whose temple Gregory of Tours has preserved on the top of the Puy de Dôme.

Let no one then pass by Valence; but let him go to it as to a place of one or two objects, not as, what it ought to be, a historic city, to be studied on a level with Arles

and Vienne. In this last character Valence is certainly disappointing; but if any one wants to see a fine piece of South-Gaulish Romanesque with some peculiarities of its own, he will assuredly do well to stop and give his mind—perhaps all the more because he will be less disturbed than elsewhere by rival claims—to the church of Saint Apollinaris, its circling apses, its lofty pillars, the forms with which we have become familiar in Auvergne translated to the other side of the boundary stream, but not without modifying the details according to the artistic traditions of the land in which they found themselves.

THE ROMAN VILLA AT CHEDWORTH, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.¹

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

The Roman Villa at Chedworth, or rather in Chedworth woods, was discovered in 1864, and subsequently excavated under the direction of the late James Farrer, Esq., honorary member of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

The villa stands on land belonging to the Earl of Eldon, to whom archaeologists owe a debt of gratitude for its continued careful preservation, and for the facilities afforded for study by the museum, there established, to receive the antiquities found on the site. It was described, and much of its detail noticed, by the Rev. Prebendary Scarth in a Paper published in the *Journal* of the British Archaeological Association of 1869.

Since the date of its discovery, twenty-three years ago, the accumulation of facts relating to Romano-British antiquities, and the extension of the means for comparing these antiquities with continental examples of the Roman period, has rendered it possible to make an attempt, however imperfect, to assign to their various uses, the different parts of the building whose plan is here shown, and to form a reasonable conjecture regarding the comparative age and dispositions of its several portions.²

The villa lies in a wooded nook of the valley of the Colne, at seven miles distance from Cirencester, and rather more than two miles from the point where the great Roman way, the Fosseway, crosses the valley. In this respect it resembles other important villas which are not all situated close to the main roads.

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, July 7th, 1887.

² I take this opportunity of acknowledging the assistance rendered me by

Messrs. Jacobs and Master of Cirencester in determining the larger measurements of the site.

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The establishment is composed of a court or garden No. I, roughly 148 ft. by 82 ft., surrounded on three sides by ranges of buildings, completed on the fourth side by a long gallery or corridor, No. IV (Crypta) whose western wall is destroyed, and, having near its centre a passage way through to the court. Whether this corridor had rooms on its eastern side or not, it is impossible to say.¹ The little modern lodge and museum are built in front of it.

From the building at the northern end of the court, a long wing extends eastwards with an indication of what may have been a crypta, or crypto-porticus in front of it. A corresponding wing probably ran in the same direction from the southern building. The ruined chambers at its eastern end seem to show such an extension. Perhaps this wing, with part of the northern one, together with rooms lining the wall of the western corridor, sufficed for the accommodation of the slaves employed on the estate as farm labourers or artisans, and would have contained all the necessary stables, cart sheds, workshops, &c. The walls of the villa's enclosure are traceable on its north and west sides; and in the woods at a distance of 170 yds. from the north-west corner, are the remains of a structure, never, I believe, thoroughly explored, generally called a temple, but which may with more probability be regarded as a tomb-house.

In a general survey of the site, a lime kiln, built from the materials of the ruined walls, and buried in the steep hill side some 50 feet behind the little court No. XXVI, in the northern building, must not be omitted. It has doubtless been an active agent in the destruction of the villa's remains.

Proceeding now to a more detailed examination, attention must first be directed to the long range of rooms forming the western side of the court or garden. In it may perhaps be perceived the germ of what the villa afterwards grew to be.

¹ Long closed corridors, partly sunk in the ground as this is, were used as store rooms for provisions of various kinds, contained in large jars. For an example see J. B. L. G. Seroux d'Agincourt. "Recueil de Fragmens de Sculpture

Antique &c.," Pl. xix, p. 45, where a long crypta found near the Villa Borghese, Rome, is shown filled with jars sunk in its floor of sand. This corridor was probably subterranean.

This *corps de logis*, complete in itself, is entirely detached from other buildings at its northern end, and whatever additions it may have afterwards received at its southern end, the appearance of the foundations might lead to the conclusion that it was equally detached here. The eastern face of the building is covered by a porticus, No. II, whose columns probably stood on the low existing wall which served as a continuous base for them. This porticus was floored with coarse mosaic for part of its length (none now remains), and from it short flights of steps ascended to the two groups of chambers of the western building, whose floors, owing to the rapid slope on which the house is built, are from 2 ft. 3 in. to 2 ft. 11 in. higher towards the porticus than on the opposite side, where they are on the ground level.

The above mentioned body of rooms with the porticus in front, in all likelihood represents the original house, most, if not all the other buildings, being additions. Nor can this supposition be considered an unreasonable one, as Romano-British habitations of the smaller class may be found of very similar plan. At a later period the northern and southern buildings were added, the whole being joined by the eastern corridor No. IV, following the lines of the original court yard of the early house.

Perhaps, at a later period still, the northern wing was added, as it does not correspond exactly in its direction with the northern buildings from which it springs.

At the southern end of the western porticus No. II, will be seen a doorway at *a*. From this point to *b* in the southern building there was probably an enclosed passage. At *b* appears to have been a doorway, which must have been reached by a flight of steps, as there is a direct descent here in the floor of the passage of 5 ft. 6 in. Of these steps however no traces remain.

The little room projecting into the court No. V, supposing that there was an entrance here, would doubtless be the lodge for the slave whose duty it was to guard that entrance. Such is the usual arrangement in a Roman house.

The chambers Nos. VI, VII, in the southern building are so much sunk in the ground as to suggest the idea,

that over some of them, especially over Nos. VI, VII, and farther eastward, there must have been another story; in which case they were lighted from the passage No. III. The eastern half of this passage therefore could scarcely have been roofed, but was open to the sky, its northern wall being merely a retaining wall to the garden, and its floor sunk below the garden level.¹

There is no communication between this passage and the Crypta No. IV.

Returning now to the western porticus No. II, we shall find a flight of five shallow steps conducting to the apartments of the southern half of the western building. These give entrance to a passage leading to room No. XI, the most perfect of those still remaining, and with its mosaic pavement in great part intact.

I venture to think we shall not be very far wrong in naming this the *Triclinium* or dining room. Its dimensions are 19 ft. 3 in. by 29 ft. 3 in.

The proportions of this apartment are roughly those usually accorded to Roman *Triclinia*. At a distance of 11 ft. 2 in. from the southern end, a pier, 2 ft. broad on the face, projects slightly from the wall on either side, and a very decided division at the line marked by these piers is shown in the patterns of the mosaic floor, whose tessellation is perfectly continuous from end to end of the room. The design of the division of the floor southward of the piers, is geometric, with two panels of scrollwork. The northern division and the largest, is evidently the composition on which most care has been bestowed. It contains groups of figures of Fauns and Bacchantes. The probability is therefore, that the southern end of the room was destined for the table and its couches, leaving the northern end with its richer floor in full view as the guests reclined round the table. The open space would also afford room for the service.

The dimensions and arrangement of the couches in the summer dining room of the house of Sallust at Pompeii, exhibit an example of the manner in which the southern

¹ Chamber No. VI, though presumably in the servants' quarters, could not have been a mere store-room. When discovered there existed on the wall in its S. W. angle a large fragment of plaster showing

a white ground with a dark red line upon it, forming the angle of a painted panel. In this room also, more coins were found than were yielded by any other part of the site.

division of the room, above described, would be furnished. These couches with the table (covering a space 13 ft. 6 in. by 10 ft. 6 in.) are in masonry, but in Britain, as in Pompeii also, in many of the houses, they would be of metal or wood, though of the same dimensions as the couches in masonry here spoken of.

They would cover the less important mosaics of the floor, the table possibly standing nearly upon the central square of those mosaics, and space being left on either side for the necessary service. The couches, when not in use would be placed back against the wall, and would not materially hide the floor mosaics.¹

Beneath this room and extending to room No. XIII is a hypocaust. The flues communicating with it are clearly seen in both rooms. The furnace heating it is at *c* under the south wall of the room, and at *d* is an opening into it which does not look like a furnace, but may be some arrangement for cleaning this large heating chamber.

That most important adjunct to the dining room, the kitchen, must now be looked for. Could it have been in the space marked No. X?

At this point a consideration of the plans of houses in Pompeii will be of service, although the inferences to be drawn from such plans must be used with caution, due allowance being made for the differences between city and country houses.

The kitchen is very variously placed in Pompeian houses. In some of the best it is in direct contact with the dining-room. In one instance, in the house of Holconius Rufus, there is a large opening in the dining-room wall close to the kitchen door, and in one small house an opening in the wall between the two rooms, through which the dinner could be served directly into the dining-room.²

¹ Rooms answering very much in their general proportions, and having projecting piers in much the same position as in this room at Chedworth, may be found at the important villas of Withington, Gloucestershire, a mile or two from Chedworth, at Bignor, in Sussex, at Pitney in Somersetshire, at Brading, in the Isle of Wight. For general proportions, but without projecting piers, the floor discovered at Stonesfield in Oxfordshire, should be included in this list.

The designs too, of the floors of the rooms cited, are remarkable as showing a different purpose in the use of each division of the room; unmistakeably so in the Pitney and Withington villas.

² See J. Overbeck, "Pompeii," edit. 1884. House of the Tragic Poet. House of Holconius Rufus. House of Sircus. House of Melager. House of the Dioscuri. House of the Surgeon. House Fig. 119, p. 272.

Again, in houses in Pompeii of sufficient importance to contain bath rooms, the kitchen is in close proximity to these rooms, and the furnace of the hot bath is situated in it, clearly for the sake of convenient storage of fuel and for an ample supply of hot water when required.¹

Looking at these facts, and assuming that No. X. is the dining-room, we might fairly conjecture that the kitchen would not be far off. The ruined corner marked No. X. would afford ample space for this chamber, space sufficient for all the needs of the household. It contains, as in Pompeian houses above cited, the furnace of a hypocaust, and is situated close to the dining-room. We might even suppose a communication between it and the dining-room by means of a hatch in the wall at the south-western angle of that apartment, but of this there is no sign.

Unfortunately, this ruined angle of the building does not seem ever to have been explored, or if it was, proved too fragmentary to be thought worth careful examination.

Mr. Farrer, in a short paper describing his discovery of the villa, published in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (vol. vi. pt. ii., 1865-66, p. 279), says, "behind room I." (presumably that to which I have given the name of dining-room)—"a small recess, measuring 4 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 5 in., contained fragments of two small stone statues, the sandalled feet of which were attached to the pedestal."

Possibly the position of this group may be fixed at the end of the passage No. XII. at *e*. The measurements given refer most likely to some enclosure of the pedestal on which the figures stood, as they do not represent the width of the passage.

If I am correct in placing these statues in this spot (and from Mr. Farrer's description there seems no other place to which they could be assigned), there can be little doubt that here was the shrine of the *Lares* and *Penates*. The position is a likely one. In the Pompeian houses the *Lararium* is often placed in the most frequented part of the house, forming a conspicuous object in the Atrium.

¹ See J. Overbeck. "Pompeii," edit 1884. House of the Centenary. House of M. Caesius Blandus. House of the

Labyrinth. House of Popidius Secundus. The villa Suburbana called, of Diomed.

A small altar preserved in the museum, and cut smooth at the back, might well have stood on a pedestal before the effigies of the *Penates*, and was doubtless intended to support the vessel containing incense offered to the guardian deities; or it might, placed in a niche of the wall here, have held the lamp kept burning before the figures of the *Lares* on certain festivals.¹

As an illustration of the arrangement of the images of the gods with their accompanying altar, reference may be made to the discovery at Ancaster (Causennæ) in Lincolnshire, in 1831, of a shrine to the *Deæ Matres*, in which the small statues of these goddesses were placed on a broad stone pedestal, a dwarf column with a diminutive altar upon it, being set in front of them. The whole group of objects is said to have been found in its original position.²

Passing onward, but little can be said of the next three chambers, Nos. XIII., XIV., XV. They *may* have had tessellated floors, but if so, these have long ago disappeared beneath a growth of soft green turf. Possibly all three rooms were bedchambers (*cubicula nocturna*), No. XIII. being devoted to the master of the house and used as a winter sleeping room, from the fact of its being warmed by flues from a hypocaust beneath it. The entire northern end of the western building is occupied by the bathing establishment. Nothing can be clearer or more complete (except in one particular, the hot water supply to the hot bath), than the arrangements here displayed for the usual processes of the Roman bath.

No. XVI. is the undressing room (*tepidarium, apodyterium*), where towels, strigils, and the bottles filled with unguents were kept. The temperature in this room was raised to a gentle heat by flues from the hypocaust beneath, whose furnace was at *f* outside the building.

No. XVII. is the hot air room (*sudatorium*), whose walls, like those of the hot bath room No. XVIII. adjoining, were jacketted with flue pipes covered with painted plaster, from which a very considerable body of heat must have been radiated. This latter chamber, No. XVIII

¹ For the form of incense vessels found in Britain see *Journal, British Archaeol. Assoc.*, xxvii, p. 430; "Archæologia," vol. xxvi, (1836), p. 368.

² See C. Roach Smith, "Collectanea Antiqua," vol. v (1861), Pl. xvi, 119; "Archæological Journal," xii (1870), p. 1.

(the *caldarium*) has a semi-circular recess containing the hot bath. Beneath both these chambers runs a hypocaust whose furnace was in chamber No. XIX, next to which is a walled space, probably the wood store. Unfortunately, nothing now remains of the cauldrons over the furnace. Their massive supports may still be seen. A good deal of modern repairing has been needed here.

No XX is the cold bath room (*frigidarium*), with the plunge bath at its northern end, the drain from which may be seen passing under the end of the porticus to the garden. The doorway from this room to the hot air room (*sudatorium*) has received ancient alterations making it narrower. It never had a door, but was probably covered by the sort of padded curtain so constantly seen over church doors in Italy to this day. All the bath rooms had mosaic floors, of which more or less remain.

We now come to the most interesting portion of the villa, exhibiting marked traces of alteration from its original design.

A glance at the plans will show a porticus, No. XXI, two bases of the columns of whose arcade, or colonnade, are *in situ*. It widens at its eastern half into a fine hall, No. XXII, 59 ft. 9 in. long by 23 ft. 1 in. wide, access to which is obtained from without by a large doorway opening to the Crypta, or Crypto porticus, of the northern wing. In front of the garden porticus, which was originally paved with coarse mosaic, is an unpaved walk ending in a tank, probably constructed to receive the rain water from the extensive roofs.

Whether the hall No. XXII (also paved with coarse mosaic, of which however not a trace remains) had a southern wall, or whether the line of columns extended from end to end of this front, it is impossible to say. The step on which the columns stood is intact from the western end of the porticus to about the centre of the tank.

The alterations in this part of the villa will next attract attention.

At some period, the original rooms of the western half of this northern building were swept away, leaving only the ruined chamber, ending in an apse, No. XXIII. The

little existing court, No. XXVI., was then constructed, measuring 21 ft. 0 in. by 26 ft. 6 in. with tanks at its northern end, and two chambers, No. XXVII. with semi-circular recesses containing tanks, together with a furnace room, No. XXVIII, were added to it on its western side. The floor of both court and chambers was at the same time raised 3 ft. 7 in. or 3 ft. 10 in. above the level of the porticus, No. XXI, and hall, No. XXII, access to the court being given by a flight of steps from the porticus at its south-east angle.

A further alteration was made by the construction of room No. XXIV, the one with the channelled hypocaust, and semi-octagonal end. That this room is an addition, there can be no doubt, for its floor now blocks up entirely the furnace opening of the hypocaust of chamber No. XXV. The opening was at the point *g*, and has been completely built up. Returning to the little court, a small doorway will be found at *h* in its eastern wall. This doorway leading from the hall No. XXII, is entirely blocked by the solid filling in of the floor of the court, access to which it may be remembered, is by the large flight of steps at the south-east corner.

A break in the same wall which contains this little doorway will be noticed at *i*, the wall continuing onward, but not quite in the same line, the continuation being built on the ruined foundation of the apse of chamber XXIII. This break may represent a doorway from the court to back parts of the building.

The furnace opening to the hypocaust of No. XXIII (for this chamber was warmed without a doubt), may have been originally at *i*, or possibly opposite to it. If at the former place, it would furnish additional proof that chamber XXIII was in existence before the little court was built. When uncovered, the hypocaust of this chamber was found denuded of its pilæ, with the exception of a fragment or two, having probably been ruined and rendered useless when the alteration was made to which I have alluded, and when room No. XXIV was built to supply its place.

The question now arises for what purpose were these alterations made. The tanks in the little court and its appendages could not have been baths, the villa

being amply provided for already in this respect. Perhaps a reference to ancient and widely extended industries may throw some light on this subject.

Cloth making in Roman times was one of the most widely spread of these industries, largely practised in Northern Gaul, and possibly in a lesser degree in Britain. Connected with this manufacture were the subordinate trades of fulling and dyeing. To what extent cloth making (a flourishing trade in the Middle Ages) may have been carried on in the western parts of Britain during the period of Roman rule, it is impossible to say ; but both soil and water supply in the district in which Chedworth is situated, would lend themselves to both the processes of fulling and dyeing, which were important trades in Roman times.¹

We may therefore possibly see before us a Romano-British fulling establishment and dye works, of diminutive proportions, it is true, but whose remains are of sufficiently marked character to reveal their purpose if care and patience is taken to examine them.

For purposes of comparison I must again refer to Pompeii, where the fullers' shops are of frequent occurrence. If we study the plan of the largest fulling establishment there, it will be found that fulling consists, in the main, of three processes, viz. : 1, Cleaning, for which treading places were required, in which the clothes could be worked by men's feet in vats containing fullers' earth diluted with other scouring materials ; 2, Washing, for which tanks for rinsing and steeping purposes would be needed ; and 3, Drying and Carding, where several spaces of ample proportions would be a necessity, and where the different articles could be spread over frames to bleach them by means of the fumes of burning sulphur. Now at Chedworth, the treading places formed of masonry in the Pompeian examples are not to be seen, but the sepulchral monument of a Gallo-Roman fuller discovered at Sens, in France, will show why.¹ They appear to have been made of wood (as this monument indicates) as

¹ According to Prof. Buckman, F.G.S., the hills round the villa contain fullers' earth. See *Journal of British Archaeol.*

Assoc. "Proceedings of Cirencester Congress, 1869," vol. xxv, p. 402.

frequently as of stone, in the shape of large tubs with high hand rests on each side.

We may therefore conclude that the treading places here were of the former material, and that the little court (No. XXVI) would afford sufficient space for the workmen employed in the establishment, the tubs being ranged round the walls, and the men protected by a penthouse roof from the weather. Possibly, even, the whole court might have been covered by a roof.

As to the second process, rinsing and steeping, there is no difficulty. There are the tanks in the court, the two smaller (each 4 ft. 8 in. by 4 ft. 1 in.) for the smaller articles, the large centre one (12 ft. 5 in. square) for the larger pieces.

Then for the third requisite, an extensive covered space, the hall No. XXII, would afford ample room for drying purposes, and as our damper climate might render desirable quicker methods of desiccation, the heated chamber No. XXIV could be made available. It should be noted that the floor of the little court and the entire surface of the tanks there, the bottom alone excepted, are thickly covered with the usual pink cement, whose colouring matter is pounded tile, so constantly employed in Roman work where impermeability to moisture is required.

It is now necessary to return to the little rooms west of the court, communicating with it by a narrow doorway. At first sight these might well be taken for hot baths, but the fact that *both* recesses contain tanks, and that one at least is heated by a furnace *directly* beneath it, (an arrangement not usually found in baths in Britain), militate against this view, as well as the ample provision for hot water bathing made elsewhere.

In the furnace room behind rooms XXVII are massive substructures of masonry, and a long trench at the foot of the wall, indicating a large furnace, and ample space for the cauldrons above it for the supply of boiling water. Both the semi-circular recesses are jacketted with flue tiles, and every way is taken to raise the temperature of

¹ For this monument see C. Roach Smith, "Collectanea Antiqua," vol. v. pl. xx.

their contents to the highest point attainable by the Roman method of heating.

The heating apparatus would not be required in the processes of fulling; there is no trace of the application of heat in the Pompeian fulleries. I am therefore led to the conjecture that the art of dyeing, as well as that of fulling, was practised at Chedworth, the semi-circular tanks above mentioned being the dye vats, probably supplemented by various tubs and troughs of more perishable materials long ago lost and destroyed.

There is one practical objection to the above theory which should be stated. It is not possible to say, positively, whether the liquid dye in these tanks, supposing them to be dye vats, could be raised to boiling point by the means employed for heating them. That the fluid could be brought to a high temperature is certain, and it is true that some dyes do not require the water to be boiling, but may be infused in it at what is called hand heat, *i.e.* water at a temperature in which a *dyer's* hand can be immersed.

The tanks are large enough to dye long pieces of cloth, technically termed "piece goods," which could be floated and stirred in the dye. Their exact depth is not now ascertainable. At present they show roughly a depth of 2 ft. but with a wall across each recess, it might have been increased to 3 ft. or even 4 ft. The tanks in the court would equally serve dyer's, or fuller's requirements.

Behind the northern building, running down the steep and wooded bank, and pointing in the direction of the furnace room No. XXVIII, is a stone conduit, probably laid to bring water from some long lost reservoir in the hill side to the cauldron in that room, and also for the service of the tanks in the fuller's court. The supply to these tanks came through a hole in the wall above the small western one, and the drain for emptying them is situated in the north-east corner of the large square tank. All the tanks communicate by means of pipes one with another.

Of the rooms situated in this part of the villa in existence before the alterations, only chamber No. XXIII now remains. Its dimensions are 25 ft. 2 in. by 20 ft. 3 in. Originally perhaps it was the finest in the villa. The

apse, with its semi-dome, constructed in masonry, and richly adorned with painting, possibly even with mosaic, must have had a fine effect. The rest of the room, in all probability, had a panelled ceiling of wood. We may see in this apartment a room answering in some respects, to the modern drawing-room where the choicest treasures of art possessed by the owner might be displayed, and also where the archives of the family would be kept.

Returning for a moment to the subject of the water supply of the villa, I must not omit to speak of the little edifice nooked into the hill-side at the north-western angle of its inclosure walls.

In all likelihood the semi-circular end had a roof, the semi-dome of the apse being of the usual construction. From the external piers to those which mark the entrance to the apse, the walls were probably dwarf walls, as high as, or a little higher than, they now stand, *i.e.*, 4 ft. 6 in. The whole south side is open, only a stone step a few inches high joining the two external piers.

This building, like other portions of the villa, has been subjected to various modifications. Originally, it appears, a floor extended over the whole space, 2 ft. 9 in. lower than the present grass grown one.

A little triangular basin behind the left hand pier on entering, received the waters of a spring which flowed through holes in the wall behind the pier, and falling over the front of the basin escaped by means not now traceable. At some subsequent period, the whole floor was raised to its present level, and the octagonal basin still existing, but still dating from Roman times, was formed in the made ground, with the old floor for its pavement. The existing conduit from the left hand side of the apse carried into the octagonal basin the diverted water, which escaped by a similar pipe on the opposite side. At the same time, the then useless little triangular basin was buried in the new floor.¹

The octagonal basin is capable of containing 1100 gallons, but at present it takes twenty-four hours to fill.

¹ As to the state of the existing octagonal basin when found, and other details respecting the building which contains it, see a letter from Mr. Farrer to the Rev. Prebendary Scarth in *Journal of British*

Archæol. Assoc. vol. 260, p. 251.

The information as to the existence of the lower floor was obtained from the foreman of the excavations, who himself worked on the spot.

The spring must therefore have been much more copious than at present, if it was the only supply for the villa even at an early date.

What could have been the purpose of this little building? Perhaps the discovery made in excavating it will afford a clue.

An altar was found, Mr. Farrer says, "in the corner of the circular chamber, and at a lower level than the drain" (the conduit of the spring). It would seem as if it had been overthrown and buried when the alterations I have spoken of were made. This altar is now deposited in the museum. It is about 2 ft. high, is not inscribed, and is perfect on both faces, which proves that it never stood against a wall. It has a very small square focus half an inch deep, large enough, perhaps, to receive a tiny libation.

The discovery was an interesting one. It might be taken as an indication that the little building was a *Nymphæum*, a shrine, dedicated with its altar, by the grateful master of the villa to the kindly Spirit of the spring rising in that spot, who, with ready hand, poured the fresh waters from her brimming urn for his solace and for the benefit of his household.

The supposition is no unlikely one, for altars and dedications to the Nymphs are known in Britain, and their images, uncouth enough it is true, may be seen carved on a stone which once adorned a fountain in the station of Bremenium, beyond the Wall of Hadrian.¹

Perhaps the apse with its brightly painted walls (faint traces of stucco coloured red still remain) formed a place for quiet conversation or reflection, for the delightful silence, then only broken by the plash of the water as it fell from its little basin and fled away across the floor, and the green shade of the overhanging woods, still incline the body to rest, and the mind to meditation.

Of the remaining portion of the building, the long northern wing, but little can be said. The lower stone of a quern of larger size than usual, found in room XXXV, may indicate the chamber where the corn, needed for the household, was ground, and the extensive, but much

¹ See "Lapidarium Septentrionale," No. 584, p. 305, pt. iii. For altar dedicated to the Nymphs and fountains found near Chester, see C. Roach Smith.

"Collectanea Antiqua," vol. vi., 1868, pl. viii. Instances of dedications to the Nymphs, in Britain, might be multiplied.

ruined hypocaust of peculiar construction, in the end room No. XXXVIII may possibly show where it was baked into bread.

Beyond these feeble indications, the uses of this range of rooms cannot even be guessed. The crypta or crypto porticus in front of this wing does not appear to have had any tessellated pavement. Its absence might warrant the assignment of the chambers behind it to the rougher purposes of the household.

Much more might be added to the foregoing account of this interesting villa, as to its mosaics, its architectural details, and the various objects of interest found within its walls and preserved in the little museum on its site, but this would lead too far and in other directions.

My aim in this notice, has been simply to indicate, as far as the evidence afforded by the ruined walls allowed, the possible uses of the different divisions of the edifice, and the alterations which from time to time had been made in its structure since it was first raised by the Roman colonist, or romanised Celtic chief, among the Gloucestershire hills, in the wooded recess of the valley of the Colne, near to its little river.

ON THE PREMONSTRATENSIAN ABBEY OF ST. MARY
AT ALNWICK, NORTHUMBERLAND.

By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A.

I propose in the following paper to describe the result of excavations made on the site of Alnwick abbey by the noble owner, the Duke of Northumberland, against the visit of the Royal Archaeological Institute during the Newcastle meeting of 1884.

Before the commencement of the excavations, nothing was left to mark the site of the abbey but the gatehouse; and in place of the mounds and hollows and fragments of walls so often to be found where extensive buildings have once stood, a perfectly level green field lay between the gatehouse and the river Alne, where the abbey of Alnwick had formerly stood. A more hopeless site for excavations could hardly be met with, but trial trenches soon laid bare foundations of walls, and by following these up in a scientific manner, the entire ground plan of the abbey was gradually disclosed. Unfortunately the destruction of the buildings after the suppression had been so complete, that nearly everywhere the walls had been removed down to the very foundations; and in the church and claustral buildings, in the few places where the walls had not been utterly destroyed, only two or three courses of ashlar remained. Despite these drawbacks, a ground plan presenting many very singular features has been recovered, and although the excavations have been filled in again—for there was nothing worthy of being left uncovered—the Duke has caused the lines of the walls, etc., to be permanently marked out on the surface of the ground by an ingenious application of concrete.

Alnwick abbey was founded in 1147 by Eustace Fitz John, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, for canons regular of the Premonstratensian Order—usually called

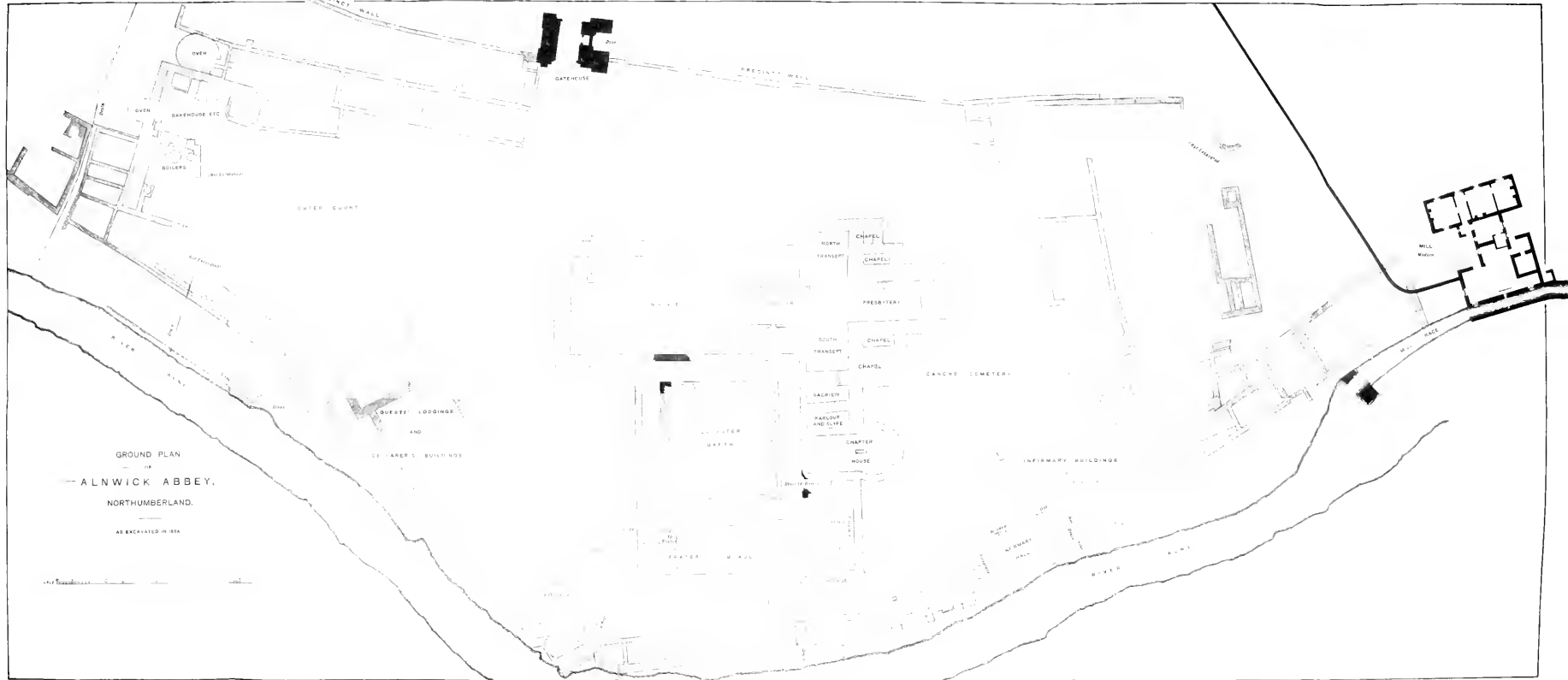
white canons, from the colour of their habit. It was colonized—after the manner of white canons and white monks alike—from the mother house of the Order in England, the abbey of Newhouse in Lincolnshire. It was suppressed in 1535, when its annual value was under £200, but was refounded by the king in the following year. This was, however, only a brief respite, for it was surrendered to the king on December 22nd, 1539, by the abbot and thirteen canons, and finally suppressed.

Of the history of the abbey between its foundation and fall, but little is known, and I have not succeeded in finding anything of importance to add to what is already in print.

The site of the abbey is roughly semicircular in plan; a boundary wall forming the diameter (in which is set the gatehouse), and the river Alne the circumference. The abbey church stood in the centre of this area, with the cloister and surrounding buildings extending southwards to the river. On the east lay the infirmary and on the west the outer court.

The church appears to have been about 220 feet long. It was cruciform in plan, consisting of a nave and aisles of eight bays; north and south transepts, with two eastern chapels to each; and a presbytery of four bays. The whole of the walls east of the nave had been removed down to the foundations, and it was quite impossible to learn from these anything except the block plan. It will be noticed that the transept-chapels immediately adjoining the presbytery are twice the length of the outer chapels, and they possibly opened into the presbytery by arches. A short distance from the east wall of the latter was the foundation of a cross wall, which probably marks the site of the reredos of the high altar.

Of the nave enough was found to make the arrangements pretty clear. The two easternmost bays formed the conventual choir, and retained the parallel walls on which the canons' stalls stood, returned as usual at the west end. These walls were a little over two feet apart, the intervening space being paved. The width in the clear between the stalls was about 13 feet. In the choir were found the remains of a huge slab, once inlaid with a brass.



The plinths of some of the nave arcade bases were found *in situ*, chiefly on the north side. In plan they consisted of a square 5 feet $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, set diamond-wise, from the angles of which projected an engaged octagonal shaft. The whole plinth measured 7 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches from north to south. Nothing was found to shew the plan of the piers themselves. The south arcade exhibited some slight variations in plan and section, and its western respond seemed to be of a different date.

In the westernmost bay of the north arcade was found a square base about four feet square. Under its western edge was a lead pipe which was traced north and south across the whole width of the church. (See plan.)

At the west end of the north aisle a few feet of the base-mold of the front remained *in situ*, apparently of early-Decorated date. In the north wall is a singular projection, which, joined with an apparent break in the line, seems to point to an extension westward when a rebuilding of the nave took place.

The church appears to have had a central tower, though apparently one of no great size.

With the exception of some of the pier bases, the foundation walls of the stalls, and the fragment of the west front, the only portion of the church where a few courses of ashlar remained, was part of the south wall of the nave south aisle. This was four feet thick, and fortunately retained the base of the east jamb of the western of the two doors opening from the cloister into the church.

The cloister itself was 90 feet square. The surrounding alleys were 11 feet 9 inches wide, and paved with flagstones, some of which we found *in situ*.¹ The wall enclosing the garth was divided into four bays on each side by buttresses, and had an additional diagonal buttress in each corner. Some portions of the original arcading that stood on this wall were found during the excavations. They consisted of beautifully wrought twin capitals and bases, the former richly carved with characteristic early English foliage. This arcade was an open one and unglazed.

¹ The church was paved with similar flagging.

The buildings round the cloister court present some features of great interest.

On the east side, next the south transept were two rectangular chambers $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet and $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide respectively, and about 27 feet long, with a dividing wall about 5 feet thick. The one next the transept was probably the sacristy. In its floor was found a long piece of lead piping, extending east and west. The other room was doubtless the *auditorium* or regular parlour, where conversation was allowed. It perhaps had a door in its east wall so that it also formed a slype from the cloister to the cemetery, which lay to the east. These chambers were unfortunately only traceable by their foundations.

To the south of these two rooms was the *capitulum* or chapter house. In plan this building is perfectly unique. It consists of a rectangular western portion or vestibule about 30 feet 6 inches long and 21 feet 7 inches wide, opening on the east into a circular portion 26 feet 10 inches in diameter; the whole being about 50 feet long. This extraordinary chapter house cannot be later than the early-English period, and is probably earlier, for William de Vescei, son of the founder, who died in 1184 was buried *ante ostium capituli nostri juxta sponsam suam*.¹ Search was made for the graves of William de Vescei and his wife before the chapter house door, though without effect; but a stone coffin containing bones and without a lid was laid bare in the centre of the round part of the chapter house.

It is difficult to see what was the arrangement of this oddly shaped chapter house. The change from the square to the round part is sharply effected, and there were no traces whatever of responds or jambs of any kind. A trench cut along the medial line disclosed no remains of pillars, so that the roof, however it was managed, was in one span. It would be interesting to know if the circuit of the eastern half was completed; I think it was not, and that the walls followed the lines of the ground plan.

Immediately to the south of the chapter house was a door opening from the cloister, one jamb of which we found *in situ*. The sill was raised a step above the

¹ Chronica de Alnewyk.

cloister pavement, and the door was clearly that of the stairs that led up to the *dormitorium* or dorter, which occupied the first floor of this eastern range of buildings. These stairs were for communication with the dorter during the day. They occupied the north end of a building extending from the chapter house to the river. The principal part of this building was a spacious apartment 32 ft. long and 14 ft. wide with a projecting fireplace on its east side. This was the *calefactorium* or warming-house and contained the only fire at which the canons, by leave of a superior, could come and warm themselves. It was entered from the cloister on the west. South of the warming-house is a narrow passage approached by an equally narrow passage or slype from the cloister. It had a descent of four steps at its western end and led to a group of buildings of rather complex plan, amongst which the *infirmitorium*, or abode of sick and infirm canons, must be looked for. Immediately within this passage was a door leading to a chamber on the south side, parallel to which another one of almost the same size has been built, into which we found no traces of the entrance. The first chamber has a door on the west opening into an apartment about 19 feet long and 13½ feet wide. At its south-east angle is a solid mass of masonry, pierced by a vertical shaft (1 foot 10 inches by 1 foot 6 inches), which probably descended from a garderobe in a chamber overhead. There is nothing to shew the destination of these three chambers.

The narrow passage already mentioned led to an irregularly shaped vestibule at the north-west corner of a large vaulted apartment, 22 feet wide and 66 feet long, divided into two alleys by a central row of three columns. This apartment has, towards the river, with which it is parallel, a series of buttresses of varying width and projection. It had apparently no outer doorways and I am unable to suggest its use. The first floor I suspect in some way formed the *domus necessaria*, which always opened out of the dorter. To the east of and abutting on this chamber was a large hall, 48 feet long and 22 feet wide. It had two wide windows on the north, a fireplace on the west, and a door in the south-west corner which led into a small porch or vestibule, constructed in,

and contemporary with, the vaulted hall on the west. This vestibule, however, does not communicate with the latter in any way, but is open on the south towards the river. Along the north wall of the hall was a molded base-mold of unusually fine character, and of the same section as that found in the west wall of the church. It is unfortunate that with the exception of the south-west door, no other opening should have been found into this chamber, which was clearly the infirmary hall. It must have had a door or doors on the east communicating with some of the chambers shewn on the plan, amongst which were the kitchen, buttery, etc. The maze of walls and foundations extending from the hall to the mill is so confused that as I had not the opportunity of examining them before they were covered up, I shall not venture to express any opinion as to their use or date.

In a monastery of normal arrangement the whole of the first floor of the range on the east side of the cloister formed the dorter. It is difficult to say if this was so at Alnwick, owing to our ignorance of the form of the oddly planned chapter house. I am inclined to think that the dorter here only extended from the chapter house to the river, but there would of course be a gallery or bridge across the west end of the chapter house itself along which the canons might pass to the room or rooms over the parlour and sacristy—perhaps the muniment room, treasury and library—and so down the usual night-stairs into the church to say matins at midnight. The western chamber above-mentioned possibly had over it the abbot's room, with a garderobe in the south-east corner. At the south end of the dorter and opening out of it eastwards was probably the *domus necessaria*.

On the south side of the cloister and parallel with the church were found the foundations of the sub-structure of the *refectorium* or frater, which here, as in other canons' houses, was on the first floor. At the east end of this range was a narrow slype leading from the cloister to the buildings by the river; and towards the west end a small square chamber marked the site of the stairs up to the frater. The rest of the substructure was used as cellarage. The south wall was considerably thickened for strength along its whole length at some time subsequent to its erection.

The *Chronica de Alnewyke* relates that—

“Ad instantiam Walteri de Hepescotes abbatis de Alnewyk peritissimi patris ac famae vernantis Religionis nobilis Advocatus noster Henricus quintus Dominus de Percy Anno Domini 1376 in die assumptionis beate Mariæ in Refectorio nostro comminavit eum 13 militibus quorum hec sunt nomina (names given) et multi alii Nobiles patriæ, impleto claustro parochianis nostris, et Communibus patriæ, Computati fuerunt in Claustro comedentes utriusque ætatis ad illam refectionem 1020 viri, in Refectorio vero 120, ad secundam Refectionem in Refectorio 86.”¹

I have met with no other instance of the cloisters being temporarily converted into a dining hall.

Alnwiek abbey differs in one important point from most monastic houses, in that there is no range of buildings on the west side of the cloister. This part of a monastery, except in the case of a few isolated instances like Westminster, and Gloucester, is always occupied by the cellarage and lodgings for guests under the cellarer's charge, and hence known as the *cellarium*. A diligent search however, failed to bring to light any traces of a western range here, and it is probably represented by the large block of buildings a short distance to the west on the river bank. On the east of these buildings and southwest of the frater are some only partly explored walls which must have belonged to the abbey kitchen, which would here be conveniently placed so as to serve both the great guest hall and the canons' frater. There was probably a bridge from it to the frater.

West of the guests' lodgings and extending round three sides of a square up to the great gatehouse, the excavations disclosed a singular looking collection of chambers, ovens, fireplaces, etc., of which it is difficult to fix the precise age. I am inclined to believe that they are the remains of the stables, bakehouse, brewhouse and other buildings usually placed in the outer court of a monastery, but it is possible that they are of much later origin. Wallis, in his *Natural History and Antiquities of Northumberland*,² published in 1769, says that the site

¹ Harl. MS. 692, f. 212.

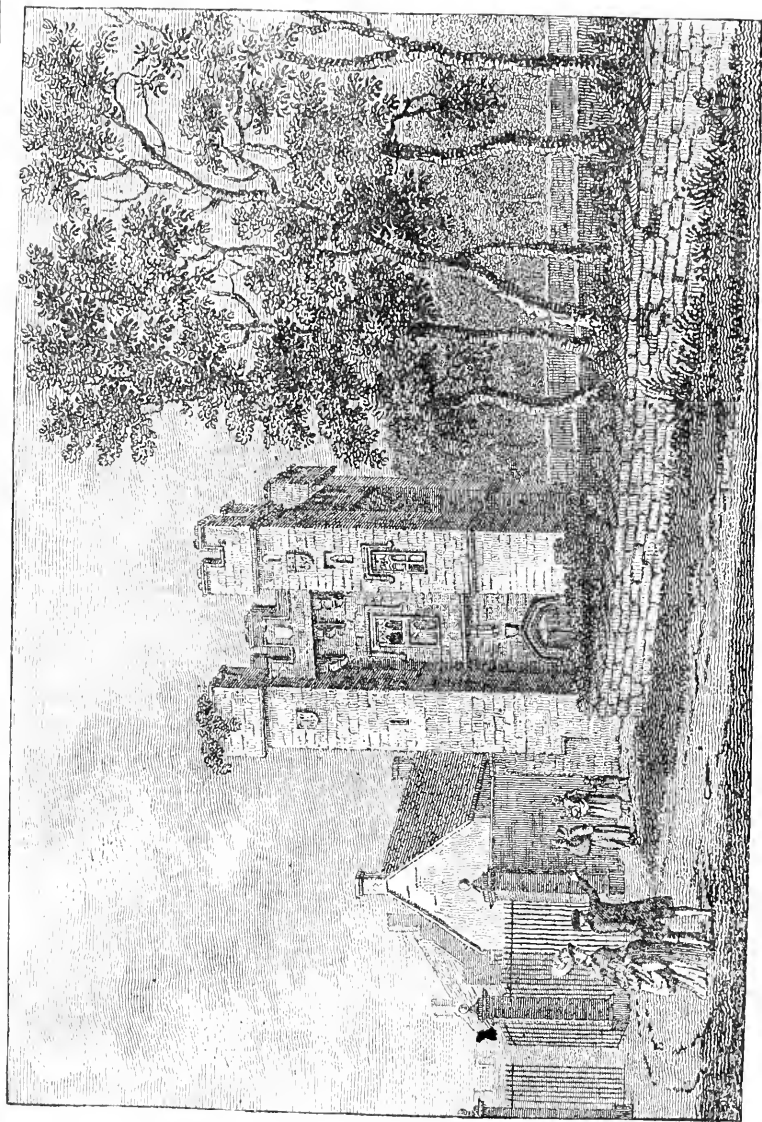
² Vol. ii, 388.

of the abbey “ was granted, 4 *Edward VI*, to *Ralph Sadler* and *Laur. Wymington*. It was afterwards sold, with the demesnes about it, to Sir *Francis Brandling*, Knt., of whose father it was purchased with the same lands by Mr. *Doubleday*, father of *Thomas Doubleday*, Esq., the present possessor, whose seat is built out of the ruins of it, which stood in his orchard, south of his pleasure garden. The only remains of this religious pile, is the court wall to the east, through which is the entrance, of very curious architecture, with a modern—built turret at the south end, beyond which is a building seemingly of a later erection, not corresponding with the grandeur of monastic structures, answering better the use it is now put to, viz., a stable, than any other. Adjoining to it, is an antient and strong tower, with four turrets, two at each end.”

Grose in his *Antiquities of England and Wales*,¹ gives a view “ which represents the eastern aspect of the gatehouse of the Monastery, and the gates of Mr. Doubleday’s house.” It “ was drawn anno 1773.” This view is reproduced in facsimile on the accompanying plate. It shews distinctly that Mr. Doubleday’s house, which has been pulled down since and all traces of it removed, was within the monastic precinct, to the south-west of the abbey gate, the east face of which is shewn. As the intermediate area has not been explored nothing certain can be said on the point as to whether the ovens, etc., were portion of the Doubleday mansion, but their appearance certainly seemed to me to indicate a greater antiquity than that of about a century and a half. Grose quotes Wallis’s account of the abbey and adds—“ The Tower here spoken of by Mr. Wallis, was the antient Gatehouse of the Monastery, the strong latticed gate of which is still remaining.”

Of the east wall of the precinct, with its ancient gateway as described by Wallis, no traces now remain, and it is difficult to say which of the buildings shewn on the plan was that then used as a stable, as this part of the site was not fully explored. The north wall of the precinct has been traced for a considerable distance on either side of the great or main gatehouse, which stood in the centre of

¹ London, 1775. Vol. iii.



Alwick Alley.—View of the Gatehouse and Mr. Donalldy's house, taken in 1774.
(Reproduced from Grose's *Antiquities of England and Wales*, III.)

its line. It should be noticed that the gatehouse projected clear of the wall, and had not, as was more usual, its front flush with (or close to) the latter. This arrangement permitted another departure from the normal planning of a gatehouse, viz. that instead of the front having the usual two entrances, a larger for horses and carts, and a smaller for foot passengers, side by side, the larger arch only is set in the main front, while the smaller door is placed on the east side.

The north front of the gatehouse is flanked by two square battlemented turrets, and divided midway by a molded string course. The entrance door is segmental headed with continuous moldings, and had above the apex of the arch a small image which has now quite perished. On each side at the springing level is a small square panel, but nothing is left to show what was sculptured therein. Over the door in the upper stage is a large and much decayed canopied niche, now vacant. Above is a projecting embattled parapet with seven machicolations. On one of the dexter battlements is a shield charged with a cross patonce or fleury, and on the sinister side a shield bearing a cross. The flanking turrets are devoid of ornament, the only relieving feature being a small trefoiled ogee-headed loop on the face of each. The whole front is characterized by extreme plainness.

On the east side, owing to the peculiar oblong plan of the flanking turrets from east to west, the wall between is as it were very deeply recessed. The lower stage has a low doorway, 5 feet 9 inches wide, with a four-centred arch, the label of which terminates on each side in a large angel holding a plain shield. On the apex of the arch is a mutilated angel holding a shield of Percy and Lucy quarterly. Above this is a very good canopied niche, now vacant. The upper stage, projects slightly over the lower, and has in the centre a good two-light Perpendicular window with a transom and square head. The label ends in angels holding plain shields. Above are four machicolations, the intermediate corbels of which carry a projecting parapet; on the central battlement is carved a large shield of Percy and Lucy quarterly. The north turret is plain in the lower stage; the upper stage which projects somewhat on all sides, has a good two-light square-headed

window, with two trefoiled ogee-headed loops above, separated by the Percy and Lucy quartered shield. The south turret has the same shield in the upper part, and lower down a loop similar to those described. This front is admirably shewn in the accompanying cut.

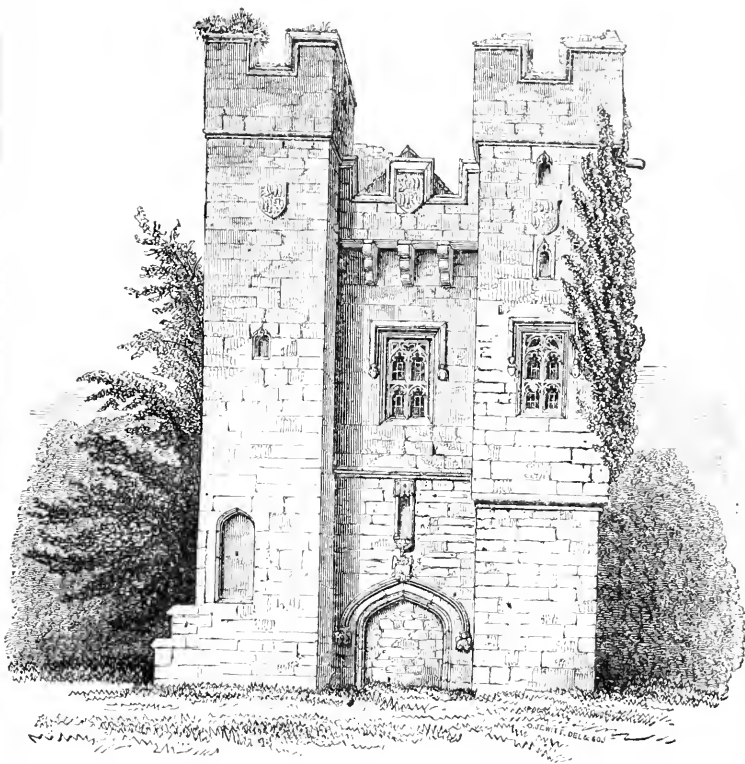
The south or inner front of the gatehouse has, in the lower stage, a segmental headed door with very few moldings. Over this is a square panel once filled with sculpture, now all decayed. Above is a square-headed perpendicular window, which has, unfortunately, lost its tracery. Over this window is a niche containing a figure apparently of a bishop, but the whole has nearly perished. The parapet has shields on the battlements as on the north side, and similarly charged. The west turret has an original four centred doorway at the base, and above a small two light window, square headed and with a transom; over this again is a loop. The east turret has an original door a little way up with two loops above at different heights. This front is here illustrated.

The west side is quite plain, with the exception of several loops and a corbelled-out garderobe. The passage of the gatehouse has a plain waggon vault of suspiciously modern appearance.

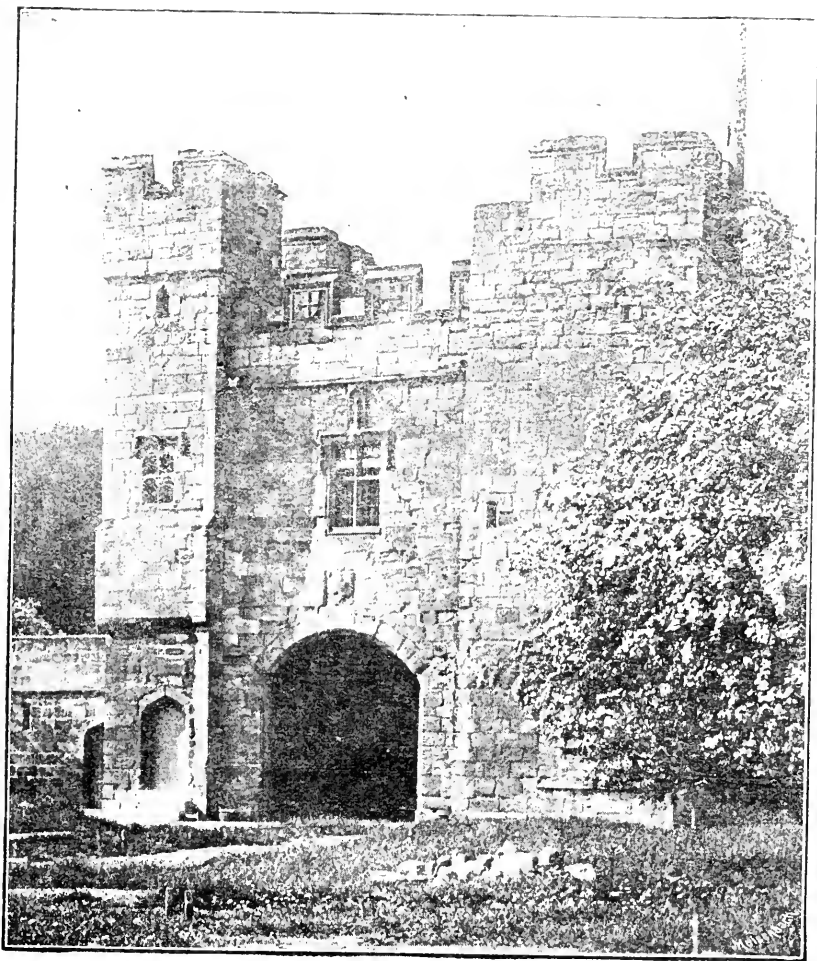
The thanks of the Society, and of those who, like myself, are interested in the study of monastic architecture and arrangement, are especially due to the Duke of Northumberland for so liberally undertaking the excavation of the site of Alnwick abbey in the manner in which he did at the suggestion of Earl Percy.

Thanks are also due to Mr. George Reavell, the able clerk of the works at Alnwick, under whose superintendence the excavations were carried on by the aid of only occasional directions from me, and the accompanying ground plan measured and drawn out.

¹ From Hartshorne's 'Feudal and Military History of Northumberland.'



Alnwick Abbey.—East side of the Gatehouse, 1538.



Alnwick Abbey.—South front of the Gatehouse, 187.

ON A HITTITE CYLINDER AND SEAL BELONGING
TO THE REV. GREVILLE J. CHESTER.

By PROF. SAYCE.

Among the objects procured by Mr. Chester last winter in Northern Syria are two which are of especial interest. One is a small hæmatite cylinder,¹ somewhat worn, which belongs to the type now known as Hittite or Asianic. Its representatives are found in the neighbourhood of Aleppo and in Asia Minor, more particularly Kappadokia, though examples of the class seem also to have come from Cyprus. In his "Recherches sur la Glyptique Orientale," pt. ii, (1886), M. Menant has devoted a chapter (pp. 92-122) to this newly-determined class of ancient monuments. The art they exhibit is modelled on that of the early Babylonian cylinders; but it differs from the latter in several respects. The dress of the figures is different: they wear conical caps and, not unfrequently, boots with upturned ends, while the dress is often that of the figure on the bilingual boss of Tarchondêmos, consisting of a fringed cloak which descends below the knee or to the ankle of one leg, but leaves the other leg bare. The Hittite cylinders are also covered with small figures, among which heads of men and animals, composite creatures like sphinxes or bird-headed men, and a pattern resembling that of a twisted rope, are especially common. But their most characteristic ornamentation consists of figures of animals arranged heraldically face to face, and more rarely back to back, often with some object like a column between them. This heraldic ornamentation, which can be traced back to Babylonia, made its way through Asia Minor to Greece, where the lions of Mykênæ offer a familiar example of it.

¹ Found at Tartûs (Antaradus).

Mr. Chester's cylinder offers all the peculiarities of the Hittite class. Its surface is thickly engraved with figures, among which we find a human head placed between two seated gryphons arranged heraldically. Below the latter is the rope pattern which separates the gryphons from two heraldically arranged lions, which sit facing one another with the forepart of a goat between them. I may observe that lions and goats or gazelles, are particularly plentiful in Hittite or Asianic art. In a line with the lions are two seated gazelles also arranged heraldically, but with nothing between them. Above them is the representation of a god with a worshipper before him, who is being led into the presence of the deity by a priest. The priest is clad in a long robe with a fringe at the bottom, which bears no resemblance to the flounced dress of the priests depicted on Babylonian cylinders, while the worshipper wears a short cloak of the kind I described above. The god is seated on a chair with a back like that of all the chairs represented upon these Hittite cylinders; he has a conical cap on his head, and a cup in the hand, out of which water is issuing. Above are faint traces of the crescent moon.

Besides this cylinder Mr. Chester has obtained a large hematite seal¹ of an unique and splendid character; nothing like it has ever before been brought to the notice of European scholars. It is here illustrated. The five sides of the seal are engraved with interesting examples of Hittite art. On the underside (1, in the illustration), a broad border of the rope pattern forms a square frame, within which two deities, male and female, are represented. The goddess is seated on the left hand with "the pigtail" descending from the back of the head which characterises Hittite female figures. She holds a square object in the hand, towards which the god is advancing. He wears the snow-shoe with upturned end, and holds in one hand a trident. Between the two deities is an object which I cannot identify.

If we turn the seal partly round, so as to bring its sides into view, and start from the side immediately above the heads of the figures on the underside, we find a series of four representations engraved on all four sides.

¹ Found near TARBUS.



2



3



1



4



5

HITTITE SEAL.

IN THE POSSESSION OF THE REV. J. GREVILLE CHESTER.

On the first side (2) the positions of the god and goddess are reversed. The goddess is still on the left; but she is standing, and we can now see that she is clad in a robe which reaches to the feet, that she wears boots with upturned ends, and has the face of a bird. Below one of her hands is the curious object which intervenes between the two figures on the underside of the seal. The god is seated; he holds the six-forked thunderbolt in his hand, like the Babylonian Rimmon, and above his head is the winged solar disk, that favourite device of Hittite art. Between the two deities is an altar of the usual Hittite shape. Above it is a trident, on either side of which are two symbols placed one above the other. The upper one is a triangle which is found in several Hittite inscriptions; the lower one looks something like a scarf tied in a bow, and is new to me.

On the second face of the seal (3) we have a seated deity with a conical cap, snow-shoes and a goat in the hand. The goat similarly symbolises one of the deities at Boghaz Keui, and accompanies the figure of Ζεύς Ἀστυς on a coin of Laodikeia in Phrygia. In front of the god, on the left, stands a worshipper holding two spears in the hand. Between the two figures are the characters already described representing a triangle and a "bow." The latter may be a modification of the character denoting the waist and legs of a man which denotes the name of one of the deities at Boghaz Keui, and is also found in the Hittite inscription formerly existing at Aleppo.

On the third face (4) the god is again depicted as sitting on the right. His conical cap is provided in front with a horn or ribbon like the cap of the god at Ibreez. He holds a hare suspended from the hand, and a bird is engraved immediately above it. But the hare and the bird occur among the Hittite hieroglyphics as well as upon Hittite seals. On a Kappadokian hæmatite cylinder, for example, in my possession, the hare is represented in front of a seated god who holds a goat in his hand. On the left side of the third face of Mr. Chester's seal is an altar, piled with offerings, and above the character which I have compared with a "bow."

On the fourth and last face (5) the god appears seated on the left, with a trident in the hand, on the top of which is

a bird. Before him stands a worshipper with conical cap, "pigtail," and snow-shoes. In one hand are two spears; the other hand is uplifted in token of adoration.

The handle of the seal is very remarkable, and Mr. Chester may be congratulated on securing so interesting and unique a specimen of "Hittite" art.

P.S.—The symbol I have called a "bow" is shown to be the knot of a girdle by the Hittite sculptures of Eyuk given in Chipier and Perrot, "Histoire de l'Art," iv, plates 331, 332. It is found also on a seal with Hittite hieroglyphics recently discovered at Yuzghat in Kapadokia and also on a Hittite seal from Aiden, now in the Louvre.

BRITAIN A PROVINCE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE AS
TREATED IN THE HISTORY OF ROME BY THEODOR
MOMMSEN.¹

“The provinces, from Cæsar to Dioclesian.” Part I., chap. V.

By the REV. PREBENDARY H. M. SCARTH, M.A.

This subject, from the pen of an authority so well-known and so eminent as the great German historian, must be of special interest to every English student, and claims particular attention from those who have directed their studies to the Roman remains in Britain, and to its history in the Roman period. It may therefore fitly occupy the attention of any learned body, and deserves very careful consideration from every antiquary, so that no apology is needed in bringing it before this meeting.

The learned writer begins by considering the cause of Cæsar's first landing in the island, and observes that “the bloody feud between the Prince Cassivellaunus and the princely house of Camulodunum (Colchester), had been the immediate cause of the Roman invasion; to reinstate this house Cæsar had landed, and the object was for the moment obtained.” This, however, is not the only or the chief cause alleged by Cæsar himself, who states that it was in consequence of the aid which Britain had afforded to the Gauls in their contests against the Roman power “quod omnibus fere Gallicis bellis hostibus nostris inde subministrata auxilia intelligebat” (B. G. Lib. iv. 20.) The point next touched upon is the event in the Reign of Augustus, when King Dubnovellaunus came as a refugee to Rome, and sought the protection of Augustus, as recorded in the Monumentum Ancyranum (see also Strabo v. 5, 3, and Tac. Ann. ii. 24), and “one of the princes of the same house came to Caius Cæsar.” These princes held rule in Essex, the country of the Trinobantes, and

¹ Read in the Historical Section at the Salisbury Meeting, August 5th, 1887.

Professor Mommsen regards these relations with Rome, as arising out of the guarantee of that principality given by Julius Cæsar (B. G. V. 20.)

The expedition to Britain in the time of Claudius (he observes) was a necessary part of the heritage left by Cæsar.

When the Monarchy had been consolidated in the days of Augustus, "all Rome expected that the Britannic expedition would take place," allusions to this may be seen in the classic poets of the Augustan age. But Augustus postponed the attempts, and it was not carried out in his time nor in that of his successor, but in the time of the Emperor Claudius. Mommsen enters fully into the probable circumstances of the delay, but he does not throw more light on the subject than can readily be gleaned from the expressions in Tacitus.

The conquest of the South and West of Britain previous to the coming of Claudius is very briefly dwelt upon, and no mention is made of Vespasian, who commanded the Second Legion, yet it is stated by Tacitus that no less than thirty encounters took place with the Britons, and the troops, under the command of Aulus Plantius, amounted to about 40,000.

A statement is made (p. 178) that Camulodunum, after the capture of the British City so named, was destined to be the capital of the province, when a colony of veterans was brought thither, but this is a mere supposition. There were towns of equal importance which sprung up about the same time.

Glevum or Gloster, was a colony which must have been planted not many years after, at the conclusion of the war with Caractacus. These "coloniæ" are on the opposite sides of Britain and nearly parallel, and within these limits were several important cities, such as Silchester (Calleva), which is shewn by the walls to have been of considerable extent. Recent excavations have opened out the entire forum, and shew the arrangements of all the public buildings. Houses within the limit of the city wall have also had their foundations laid bare, and the line of the streets and roads clearly ascertained. Cirencester (Corinium) is another city of importance, the walls being a mile-and-a-half in circuit. Here pavements

of extraordinary beauty have been laid open, and are still preserved.

Of these cities *Aquæ Solis*, or Bath, is the only one mentioned by Mommsen, the area of which (a mile) is less than the two just mentioned. *Verulamium* and *Londinium* are of course mentioned in reference to the revolt under *Boadicea*. The name of this heroine is written *Boudicca*, which seems to have been the true reading. A name somewhat similar appears in a stone of Roman date, preserved in the Museum at Aix les Bains, in Savoy, which leads to the supposition that it was a common female name among the Celts.¹

Professor Mommsen remarks upon the early working of the British mines for lead. "Immediately after the Claudian Conquest began the profitable working of the British mines, particularly of the production of lead mines; there are British leaden bars from the sixth year after the Claudian invasion." It seems not at all improbable that these mines were in actual work when the Romans landed, and were only put by them under tribute. Along the whole line of the Mendip hills there exist a series of ancient or *pre-Roman camps* in the district of these mines, and although Roman camps and a Roman road are also remaining, and a great variety of Roman articles have been uncovered at the workings, yet it seems probable that as tin was worked in Cornwall in *pre-Roman times*, so lead was worked in other parts of Britain, but not to the same extent as under Roman rule. There are instances of British camps adapted to Roman use. There can, however, be little doubt that in the words of the Professor, "The stream of Roman merchants and artizans poured itself over the field newly opened up; and if *Camulodunum* received Roman colonists, Roman townships, which soon obtained formally urban organiza-

¹ The name usually written as *Boadicea* is probably *Bodicea*. It occurs in a Roman Inscription found in Africa. (*Corp. In. Lat.* Vol. viii, No. 2877). Also *Bodiceus*, on an inscription to a man of a cohort of *Brittones* in Pannonia (Vol. iii, No. 3256).

Boudicas, or *Boudica*, occurs in a Roman Inscription found in Spain (II, No. 455), and the name *Budic*, according to Professor Rys, was not an unusual one formerly in Brittany.

Bodvæ, or *Ubodvæ*, occurs on a dedication preserved in the Museum at Aix-les-Bains, in Savoy.

The first letters are difficult to read, but it seems to be

DEÆ VBODVÆ
AVG
SERVILLA TEREN
TIA
S. L. M.

tion, were formed elsewhere in the south of the island, as a mere result of the freedom of traffic and of immigration."

Judging from the remains of Roman villas, from the extent and number of the towns, from the vestiges of ancient roads, and from remains of embankments against the encroachments of the sea—the south and west of Britain enjoyed security and repose in Roman times; but such was not the case with Wales and Northern Britain. The Silures and the Ordovices, in Wales, and the Brigantes in the north (Yorkshire), were not easily to be brought under Roman rule. Mona, or Anglesea, adjacent to Wales, was (as described by Professor Mommsen) the *true focus* of national and religious resistance.

What Britain had been to Gaul in Cæsar's subjection of that province, that Mona and Ibernia (or IVERNIA) became to Britain. As the Roman arms advanced, they afforded a refuge to those who sought independence. Mona was after much effort brought under Roman dominion, and so was Wales, but Ibernia (Ireland) remained untouched, a refuge for all who cared for Celtic freedom.

We owe the probable rise of one of the largest Romano-British cities to the long war waged against the Silures and Ordovices.

Uriconium (Wroxeter), once a city *three miles in circuit*, now reduced to a small village on the bank of the river Severn, near the point where the river Tern flows into it, manifests by its extent, and the remains found wherever its site has been excavated, the importance and the prosperity of the town. The mountain called the Wrekin, two miles distant, preserved the remains of an important British stronghold, which had preceded the Roman town, and may still have existed as a British settlement in Roman times. Professor Mommsen rightly designates the site of *Uriconium*, "the English Pompeii."

Excavations made there some twenty-five years ago, and recorded by Mr. Wright in his "Historical Account,"¹ and in the volumes of the *Archæological Journal*, amply justify the term, but the same interest which has unearthed the Forum at Silchester, and the same persevering spirit of enquiry, was

¹ See *Uriconium, or the Ancient Roman City*, by Thos. Wright, M.A., &c., &c.

wanting at Wroxeter; the greater part of the superficial area remains unexplored, but what has been laid bare seems to correspond with the plan and arrangement of buildings found at Silchester.

Professor Mommsen supposes this city to have originated in the camp of the fourteenth Legion. His words are, "Under the successor of Plautius, the camp of the fourteenth Legion was laid out at the confluence of the Tern with the Severn, at Uriconium (Wroxeter), not far from Shrewsbury, presumably about the same time that the camp of Isea (Caerleon) for the second, and to the North, Deva (Chester) for the twentieth Legion. These three camps shut off the region of Wales towards the south, north, and west, and protected thus the pacified land against the mountains which remained free." The only proof that Uriconium was occupied by the fourteenth Legion is the slender fact of a monumental stone to a soldier of that Legion being found there. This is very slight evidence, yet it may, nevertheless, be admitted as very probable, and rests much upon the same basis as a conjecture made by the late Dr. Guest, that London owes its rise to a camp of Aulus Plautius, the general of the Emperor Claudius. The extension of the city of Uriconium probably effaced the traces of the first Roman camp, as none at present appear; or the station may have been abandoned on the formation of camps at Caerleon and Chester. The fortifications of Uriconium are very irregular, and what remain appear to have been done at a late period.

It is interesting to an English student of Roman Britain, to ascertain the opinion of a learned German respecting the much controverted passage of Tacitus (*Ann.* xii, 31), (*P. Ostorius*) . . . *Cuncta Castris ad . . . ntonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat.* (Some MSS. read *castris autoam*), and some, I believe, *Antonam*, and this has been supposed to be the river *Nen*, in Northamptonshire, or the river *Aron* in Warwickshire, or the *Bristol Aron*, or the *Aron* in Hampshire, so widely do all authorities differ; but it is certainly a new idea to assign it to the Tern!

The Tern is supposed to be the *Tren* of the Welsh Bard Llywarc Hen, and to have given name to a city that stood on its bank and which was destroyed, as pictured

by the Welsh Poet, and Dr. Guest in his paper on "The English Conquest of the Severn Valley" regards the valley of the Tern, which was well populated and had a stronghold called "Bury Walls," near Hawkstone, as the country invaded by Ceawlin in later times. The only camp I know of in the course of that river (beyond Uriconium, which Ceawlin is supposed to have sacked), is the strong camp near Hawkstone, which seems of Roman construction, and is placed midway between the Tern and the Roden. Having spent some years of my life in that part of Shropshire, and devoted some attention to its camps and earthworks, I do not think that the *two* camps at Wroxeter and Bury Walls quite satisfy the description of Tacitus.

The account of Caractacus, and the noble defence of his Country, as well as his undaunted bearing before the Emperor Claudius when led captive in the triumphal procession at Rome, is hardly treated by Mommsen with the energy which it deserves; he seems to have expended more effort upon the details of the revolt under Boadicea. He pictures faithfully the injustice of the government of Nero, and the misconduct of the veterans of Camulodunum.

"Roman ministers who trafficked in money, drove the Britanic communities one after another, to bankruptcy," and opportunity of revolt was taken while the Roman Governor Paullinus was absent in Mona, and "his attack on the most sacred seat of the national religion exasperated men's minds, and helped to pave the way to insurrection. The old vehement Celtic faith, which had given the Romans so much trouble, burst forth once more, for the last time, in a mighty flame."

The Professor observes in a note that "a worse narrative than that of Tacitus concerning this war (Ann. xiv, 31—39) is hardly to be found even in the most unmilitary of all authors The important facts mentioned in the life of Agricola (31) are wanting in the main narrative, especially the storming of the camp.

"That Paullinus coming from Mona should think not of saving the Romans in the south-east, but of uniting his troops is intelligible, but not why, if he wished to

sacrifice Londinium, he should march thither on that account."

In examining the position of the Roman forces at the time of the outbreak, it seems most probable that Paulinus, returning from Mona, desired to concentrate his forces at Uriconium, to unite there the Legion stationed at Isca (Caer Leon) with that stationed at Deva (Chester).

The second Legion did not obey the call. He was left, therefore, to begin his march with 10,000 men, composed of two Legions, stationed at Deva and Uriconium, the fourteenth and twentieth being incomplete. The Roman road across the island points direct to London. There is no direct Roman road to Camolodunum (Colchester). The route taken by Paullinus must have been the marching road by which he had passed to Uriconium. This, on his return, would bring him straight to Verulamium, thence to Londinium, both of which were important points, but not capable of easy defence with the force at his command, nor could he afford to weaken that force by leaving garrisons there. From Londinium he passed to the chief seat of rebellion, along the marching road from Londinium to Camulodunum. The country here is much more suitable for the operations of a small body of men than the open plain. There is a ridge of high land along which the Roman road now passes. It was on the side of this ridge that the battle was fought, and the ground selected with much care by the Roman general. It was the selection of the ground which decided the victory.

The exact site of the battle has not yet been ascertained for want of careful investigation ; but it might probably, by further examination, be discovered.

In the earlier period of Roman Conquest the marching roads of the Legions must have followed, for the most part, the old British trackways, which were chiefly determined by the features of the district.

The country, at present, being cleared of forest and much better drained, we cannot but wonder at the skill that planned and executed the Roman lines of military road. If an accurate plan of all the Roman roads which can be traced could be laid down, it would help us greatly in determining the exact position of places

mentioned in the *Itinera*. Hitherto this has only been done piecemeal.

We must now pass on to consider a statement which, I think, shews but a superficial acquaintance with the subject treated of, and this is the assertion that “the *complete absence of Roman traces in the interior of Wales*, and the Celtic nationality maintaining itself there up to the present day, tell in favour of this view,” viz., that the Welsh retained much of their national independence by reason of their contiguity to Ireland.

That a race of mountaineers inhabiting a poor country are subjugated with more difficulty than a rich and fertile land, is very true; but when we look to Wales, we find a Roman road from *Isca Silurum* following the sea coast of South Wales till it comes to *Muridunum* (*Caermarthen*), and thence passing on direct to *St. David's Head* (*Prom. Octapitarum*). From *Muridunum* a Roman road passes all along the western portion, not far from the sea, to *Conovium* (*Caerehun*), on the *Conway*, and another passes through that station from *Segontium* (*Caer Segont*) (*Carnarvon*) to *Deva*.

On the east there is a well ascertained road from *Isca* to *Uriconium*, and another through *Bovium* (*Bangor*) to *Deva*. There are five roads passing into the interior, and one penetrating through it. It is only of late years that attention has been paid to their traces, and the stations have been examined, but there is no country which will reward the labour of investigation better than Wales, because the traces of the roads and stations have been less interfered with by agricultural improvements, and are there more distinctly shewn than elsewhere.

The members of the *Cambrian Archæological Society* would do well to enlighten learned foreigners on this subject, and also to shew what traces of Roman influence still remain in the Celtic language. A curious instance of defective information in respect to the language of England occurs at the conclusion of Professor *Mommsen's* article. He says that “in *Modern England*, apart from *Wales* and *Cumberland*, the old native language has disappeared,” thus supposing that the Celtic tongue still survives in *Cumberland* as well as in *Wales*! I am not aware that in the *Cumberland* mountains any trace of it

exists *as a spoken language*, though mountains and rivers retain their Celtic names. The original language, like the Old Cornish, has entirely died out. The Cumbrian dialect, like other dialects in England, has its peculiarities, but it is essentially English.

I do not know upon what authority the Professor places the camp of the Ninth Legion at *Lincoln*—the Roman colony of *Lindum*. That it was an important point of Roman occupation cannot be doubted, and ran parallel with *Deva* (Chester), securing the eastern side of the island, as *Deva* the western, and marking a further advance of Roman power in the island; but there is very little proof that it was occupied by the Ninth Legion. Two memorials of this Legion have been found at Lincoln and one at Leicester, and we trace it further north at Aldborough and at York; and again with Agricola in his campaign against the Caledonii, but it seems doubtful if Lindum was its location.

The campaigns of Agricola, and the part which he accomplished in Britain are only briefly sketched in the history of the Roman province of Britain, but the interesting question as to *why* the Roman government did not wholly subdue the Caledonii is debated at length. "In a military point of view the occupation was capable of being carried out, as Agricola had conceived it, beyond doubt without material difficulty. But the consideration might turn the scale, that the Romanizing of the regions still free would have to encounter great difficulty on account of *diversity of race*. The Celts, in England proper, belonged throughout to those on the continent; national name, faith, language were common to both . . . the natives of Ireland and Scotland belonged to another stock, and spoke another language . . . the Caledonians and the Iverni, with whom the Romans hardly came into contact, are described as barbarians of the wildest type."

The reason why conquest was not pushed beyond the boundary of the Tay, seems to have been that the country and the people were not accounted worth the effort.

In a note, is a quotation given from Appian (proem. 5), in which it is stated that "the imperial finance-official

under Pius, remarks that the Romans had occupied the best part of the British Islands."

The researches of our northern antiquaries on the line of the wall, and the district between the wall of Hadrian and the earthwork of Antoninus Pius, have enabled the German historian to speak very circumstantially on these points, and his observations will be read with much interest. It would be too long to enter upon a critique of this part of his treatise, or his observations on the wars in Britain in the second and third centuries.

He remarks that, "Under Hadrian a severe disaster occurred in the north, and to all appearance a sudden attack on the camp of Eburacum, and the annihilation of the Legion (the Ninth) stationed there, the same which had fought so unsuccessfully in the war with Boadicea. Probably this was occasioned, *not by a hostile inroad*, but by the revolt of the northern tribes that passed as subjects of the Empire, especially the Brigantes." To this he ascribes the probable reason that the "wall," or continuous line of defensive works between Newcastle and Carlisle, is fortified on *both sides*, presenting a front to the south as well as the north, and was evidently intended to keep in check the imperfectly subjugated population of the north of Britain, dwelling to the south of the wall, as well as those on the north of it.

A mystery has always hung over the disappearance of the Ninth Legion after the year A.D. 108, and it is generally believed to have been incorporated into the Sixth, if not wholly annihilated. Allusions are made to a rising in Britain in the time of the Emperor Antoninus Pius (138—161), who is stated² (Pausanias VIII, 43-4) to have deprived the Brigantes of a great portion of their land, because they had begun to over-run the territory of the Genuni, tributaries of the Romans. By the name Genuni is probably meant the Gadeni, a tribe bordering on the wall of Hadrian to the north, and between the rampart of Hadrian and that of Antoninus Pius. The

¹ M. Aurel. *Antoninus* succeeded to the Empire 161. (Britain's Conquest).

The seat of war seems to have been between the two walls. The Caledonii broke through the first. (Glasgow and Edinburgh).

Disturbances under Commodus. Barbarians broke through the barrier and attacked the Romans.

² See note p. 188. Mommsen, *H. R. Prov.* 1.

name of the Selgovæ, another adjoining tribe, still survives in the Solway Firth.

The value of the great northern barriers is fully recognized by Professor Mommsen, for, while he regrets the paucity of historical information, he gathers sufficient to confirm the assertion that, "although in the region lying between the two walls of Antoninus Pius and Hadrian," the Roman system never gained a firm footing; yet, at least, the wall of Hadrian seems to have rendered the *service for which it was intended*, and the foreign civilization seems to have developed in security behind it. In the time of Diocletian we find the district between the two walls evacuated, but the Hadrianic wall occupied still as before, and the rest of the Roman army in cantonments between it and the head quarters at Eboracum (York), to ward off the predatory expeditions of the Caledonii, or, as they are now usually called, the Picti (tattooed), and the Scoti streaming in from Ivernia."

In treating of the campaign of Severus against the Caledonii, Professor Mommsen, in a note, questions the assertion of Dio Cassius (lxxvi, 13), that the Romans lost 50,000 men in the expedition, or that Severus had the design of bringing the whole north under the Roman power; he regards it incompatible with the building of the wall and the elaborate fortifications at each of the "pre-tentura." It seems certain that Severus fully intended to revenge the wrongs suffered by the Roman captives and allies at the hands of the northern people, and dealt out his threatenings with no sparing hand, but (he observes) had lasting occupation of Caledonia been intended, the policy of Rome would never have allowed his sons to form so hasty a treaty with the enemy after the death of the Emperor A.D. 211.

The Professor estimates the army of occupation in Britain, in the days of Trajan and Hadrian, at about 30,000 soldiers. "Three legions must have been indispensable, as no attempt was made to shift them," and to these must be added the auxiliaries.

In the time of the Emperors mentioned, *sic* alæ and *twenty-one* cohorts were stationed in Britain besides the Legionary soldiers. "Britain (he observes) was from the outset a field of command of the first rank; inferior to

the two Rhemish commands and to the Syrian, perhaps in rank but not in importance, and towards the end of the second century probably the most highly esteemed of all the Governorships."

The division between the upper and lower provinces of Britain is a point not quite agreed upon by students of Roman-British history. Mommsen considers that the Emperor Severus divided the governorship, and that the two legions of Isca Silurum and Deva were placed under the Legate of the *upper province*, and the troops at the walls and the main body of the auxiliaries under the Legate of the lower province.

For this division his authority is Dion Cassius (iv, 23),¹ The *upper province* was, therefore, the district of Wales, and the country bordering the Severn—the *lower*—was the southern, eastern, and northern portion of the island.

The internal development of Britain, under the Romans, is a matter of much interest, and has been fairly and impartially handled, but it appears defective, and much more might be gathered up if a better examination of sites occupied in Roman times could be undertaken. He observes that "the internal condition of Britain must, in spite of the general faults of the Imperial Government, have been, when compared with other regions, not unfavourable. If the people in the north knew only hunting and pasturing, and the inhabitants there were always ready for feud and rapine, the south developed itself in an undisturbed state of peace, especially by means of agriculture, cattle rearing, and working of mines.

The Gallic orators of Diocletian's time praise the wealth of the fertile island, and often the Rhine Legions received their corn from Britain. The network of roads (he observes) was uncommonly developed, except in Wales; but I have already observed that in this idea he is mistaken, as traces remain in most accessible parts of Wales. He regards the financial cost of maintaining the army in Britain to have been greater than the revenue derived from it, but that the military strength of the

¹ Dion Cassius, Lib., iv., s. 23, speaks of the second Augustan Legion as wintering in *Upper* Britain, and of the

Sixth Legion, called *Victrix*, as in *Lower* Britain; and the Twentieth, *Valeriana* *Victrix*, in *Upper* Britain.

Empire was much benefited. "The balance of proportion between taxation and levy must have had its application to the island, and the British troops were reckoned alongside of the Illyrian as the flower of the Roman army at the very beginning. Seven cohorts were raised from the natives, and were constantly increased onward to the time of Hadrian There was an earnest and brave spirit in the people; they bore willingly the taxes and the levy, but not the arrogance and brutality of the officials."

With respect to mental culture, and advancement in learning and social cultivation, as well as progress in arts, such as building and the Ceramic art, there can be little doubt—enough of the latter remain to our time from which we can infer the progress—though, alas, too much has perished!

Mommsen observes that, "If Agricola exerted himself to transplant municipal emulation in the embellishment of native cities by buildings and monuments in Britain, and induce the Islanders to adorn their markets, to erect temples, and palaces, he was only partially successful," but the recent discoveries made in Bath, the excavations made at Wroxeter and at Silchester, the remains that have been exposed at Cirencester, Lincoln, Caerleon, and other cities of importance, put a very different face on this matter. Could systematic investigations be made in those portions of the sites of Roman cities which to a great extent remain untouched, much truer information as to their former condition and civilization might be acquired.

We must be thankful that so learned a scholar, and a hand so competent, should have been found to treat of the early history of our Island, and if the information provided is but imperfect, and the means of obtaining more is encompassed with difficulty, still the result is very valuable. It certainly suggests that *more may be done*, but it classifies and well arranges what is known, and points out to those who come after the way to more perfect knowledge.

We can at this present day, however, compare Britain as a Roman province with Britain as an empire. We can see the work of development that 1700 years has brought about. If Roman colonies, then planted in

Britain, became the first step towards England's greatness, we see how successive changes have ripened it into a great empire, founding colonies in every portion of the habitable world, and daily extending a power and influence far beyond any exercised by Imperial Rome.

We see above all the *différence of principle* by means of which power and influence have been extended, and can look forward to a still greater extension of those principles of liberty and justice, on which any permanent empire must be based.

THE ARCHITECT OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

By the REV. J. A. BENNETT, B.A., F.S.A.

It is a common subject of regret that, while we have in every part of the kingdom works of art in stone second to none in the world, the names of the men who created them are lost. In the following paper I hope to be able to show that in Master Elias de Derham we recover the name of one these great men of old, one of the masters in the school which created for us our own distinctive Early English style. I shall certainly be able to show that socially he was a man of considerable eminence among the personages of the time, and artistically a leading authority among the great builders of the early part of the thirteenth century. The difficulty is to apportion to him his own part in the great works of the period, and my object in bringing forward his name in this paper is a hope that others who have far more knowledge and more opportunities of investigation than I possess, will have their attention drawn to it and add, out of their abundant stores, to the somewhat scanty memoir that I am able to offer.

The earliest date at which I have met with the name of Elias de Derham is in Rot. Chartarum I. p. 147, April 6, 6 John (1205), where he is described as one of the King's clerks, and Rector of Meauton.

In another of January 2, 1206, he is described as one of the Executors of the will of Archbishop Hubert Walter, and, he is ordered to pay over certain monies which had belonged to Savaric, the late Bishop of Bath. In 1206, April 4 (7 John), another writ in connection with this office of Executor of the Archbishop is addressed to him (Rot. Litt. Pat. p. 61). In the same year (Rot. Litt. Claus.) four writs are addressed to him, viz., on July 22,

¹ Read in the Architectural Section, at the Salisbury Meeting, August 5th, 1887.

23, 29, and August 13, as a royal officer; those of July 29, and August 13, speak of him as one of the custodians of the vacant Archbishopric, as also one of September 16, 1207. In July, 1207, he is with the king at Charterhouse in Somerset, where, in company with Bishop Joceline and others, he attests a charter of Philip de Lucy. (Rot. Litt. Pat., p. 82). I have also been told on good authority that he was the architect for the repairs of King John's palace at Westminster in the year 1209, but I have not as yet been able to verify the statement.

Elias de Derham has hitherto appeared as a royal official, and in personal attendance upon the king. The next entries show that later on he had attached himself to the opposite party. On May 4, in his 14th year (1212), the king gives him a safe conduct into England until June 24, under oath that no harm shall come to the King or realm by him or his companions.

The next mention of his name on Nov. 13, in the same year, shows that he had again left England. This fact comes out in an early will of Hugh de Wells, Bishop of Lincoln, a copy of which is among the muniments of Wells Cathedral. It was made by Bishop Hugh while he was living in exile with the other Bishops who had been driven out by the tyranny of John, at St. Martin's de Garenne, on St. Brice's Day, November 13, in the Bishop's third year, *i.e.* in A.D., 1212. In it Bishop Hugh appoints Master Elias de Derham to be co-executor together with his own brother Joceline, Bishop of Bath, and his name appears among the attesting witnesses of the will immediately after the name of Bishop Joceline, and in company with Peter de Cicester, afterwards Dean of Wells, and others.

This close relationship between the brother Bishops and Elias de Derham continued after their return from the exile. A charter, almost certainly of a later date than the return, is attested by him with the additional words "seneschal of Bishop Joceline." His name also occurs several times as a witness in Wells Charters at this date. (Wells Cathedral MSS. pp. 20, 23, 187.) He was taken into favour again by the king, possibly as early as in July, 1213. The document, however, upon which

this suggestion is founded, may bear another construction. (Rot. Litt. Claus. I p. 146.) But if his return to the King's service was not quite so early as 1213, it had clearly taken place by June in 1215. Two documents given at Runnymede on June 19 and June 21 in that year, leave no doubt upon the subject. (Rot. Litt. Pat., pp. 144, 180.^b) Between 1215 and 1220 I have not met with his name at all, but with the latter year he appears again, and now no longer as a royal clerk but as an architect, and that upon a work of great importance, the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury. The authority for this is Matthew Paris, who adds to his account of the translation of St. Thomas in A.D., 1220, (Hist. Min. II. page 241, Rolls Ed.) the statement that the shrine whither the body was removed, was the work of the incomparable artificers, Walter de Colchester, Sacrist of St. Albans, and Elias de Derham, Canon of Salisbury. The translation was the great event of the time. It had been in preparation for at least two years. Nothing that wealth and enthusiasm could suggest to make it a magnificent spectacle and enduring glory was spared; and if, as we should naturally expect, the first men of the day were employed upon the shrine, this would place Elias de Derham in the highest rank. We know that such was the position of Walter, of whom Walsingham says that he had never seen nor expected to see his equal, and here Matthew Paris treats Elias de Derham as his equal.

Other notices of about the same date which bring out both the high social position and the artistic eminence of Elias de Derham, are found in connection with Salisbury.

His name occurs no less than eleven times in the Osmund Register of Salisbury, as one of the Canons of the Cathedral, and upon one occasion the Bishop entrusts him with a certain charge, because he alone is faithful. Besides this the late Prebendary Jones says that there are "positive statements in the Book of Evidences among the Bishop's muniments, that he was the builder of the original house in the close called 'Aula Plumbea' or 'Leden-hall.' The document is entitled 'Scriptura de domibus de Leden-hall per Elias de Derham sumptuose constructis,' *i.e.*, a deed concerning the house called Leden-hall built at great expense by Elias de Derham."

Then as to the Cathedral, Leland gives a passage from an old Matyrology of Salisbury which speaks of Elias de Derham as 'rector,'¹ of the new fabric of the Church of Salisbury from its first foundation for twenty-five years.¹ To this Prebendary Jones adds, in his History of the Diocese, that by a sort of dim tradition he is believed by some to have been the first designer of the Cathedral.² He does not venture to give a decided opinion upon the subject nor to decide the exact meaning of the word 'rector,' but with such evidence as that which we have now before us, and more to follow, of his architectural powers, there seems every reason to take the word 'rector' in its usual sense, as meaning the chief person concerned, and not merely as the equivalent of 'magister operationum,' 'clerk of the works'; and to believe that the tradition which names Elias de Derham as the architect, is founded on the fact that he was the architect of this glorious building. It seems to me also that the fact that he was employed in some architectural capacity during the same years at Salisbury, Canterbury, Winchester, and that he accompanied Bp. Poore to Durham in the midst of it all (as we shall presently find he did) is quite inconsistent with the position of a mere Clerk of the Works, the reason for whose employment at all is that he should be in daily superintendence of the work of some particular building.

One more document belonging to this period is a Mandate of 1225 from King Henry III., to deliver to Master de Derham 13 large and straight grown oaks for the works at Salisbury Cathedral.³

For my next piece of evidence I am indebted to a paper by Mr. Smirke upon the King's Hall at Winchester, which was read before this Society and printed in the Winchester volume of 1845.

In that paper Mr. Smirke has shown by extracts from the Close Rolls and Liberate Rolls, that a great deal of

¹ "Elias de Berham (or Derham) Canonicus Sarum qui a primâ fundatione Rector fuit nove fabricæ ecclesiæ Sarum quinque et viginti annos." Leland Itin.

² Diocesan History of Salisbury p. 100.

³ Rot. Litt. Claus. vol. ii. p. 91. Mandatum est H. de Neville quod habere

faciat magistro Elie de Dereham xiii quereus longas et rectas in parvo parco domini regis de Odiham de dono domini regis ad verbas faciendas ad operationem ecclesiæ Sarum. At Clarendon Dec. 30. Anno 10, H III.

work was going on at the Hall about the years 1230-1235, and that the architect employed was this Elias de Derham. He was then in close connection with the King, and indeed seems to have been in much the same relationship to that "eminent patron and student of architecture," as William of Wykeham was to King Edward III and his successors.

There is another passage which probably, I think, refers to this Elias in Gervase's *Acta Pontificum*. (Rolls Series, page 413). In the year 1239 the Archbishop of Canterbury personally, and in the presence of Master Elias de Durham, chose the site for the great church he was about to build at Canterbury. Why should the name of Elias de Durham be given in this connection, and only his, if it were not the Archbishop had called him in as the best authority upon the matter in hand? The name in Latin is indeed de *Durham*, not de *Derham*, but Durham and Derham are so much alike to the ear that the mistake might readily occur.¹

Such is the direct evidence; it is a much more difficult task if we pass on from these documentary records and try to trace out the handiwork of Elias de Derham in some of the buildings of the period where we might naturally expect to find them. This needs professional knowledge, skill, and acumen, to which I can make no claim. Besides such difficulties as arise from the changes and repairs of 650 years, there are allowances to be made for the variations to be expected in any great man's works. There may be a general likeness, and one general type to be recognised throughout them all, but I should suppose that there will very seldom be actual identity of detail in any two works of a master mind. He neither copies other men nor yet himself. But to decide how closely he will keep to any one pattern, or how quickly the forms will change under his hands, or what allowances should be made for personal and local influences, is a task far beyond my powers and opportunities of observation.

I do not therefore attempt to enter at all fully into this branch of the subject, but only quote a few observations of

¹ Anno 1239 ipse (Edmund Archieps.) elegit locum in quo Ecclesia Magne præsentis magistro Elia de Dunolmea quantitatis ædificabitur.

our recognised authorities which bear upon the point. We have found by documentary evidence that Elias de Derham was connected with Wells, Winchester, and Salisbury. The contemporary works at Wells, are the West Front of the Cathedral, parts of the Bishop's Palace, and some fragments of the Manor House at Wooky, all attributed to Bishop Joceline, the patron of Elias de Derham. But Mr. Smirke has noticed that there is much similarity between the King's Hall at Winchester, and those parts of Wells Palace, which are attributed to Bishop Joceline. The heads and the mullions of some of the windows in the Hall (he says) have a good deal of resemblance to those of one of the principal apartments in the Palace at Wells. We know that Elias de Derham was connected with both places, and distinctly as its architect with one of them.

The late Prebendary Jones tells us that Bishop Poore, founder of Salisbury Cathedral, on his translation to Durham took with him his friend Elias de Derham, and adds that there is a wonderful similitude between many portions of the Chapel of the Nine Altars there, and Salisbury Cathedral. This likeness may very possibly be due to this visit of Elias de Derham, for though Bishop Poore died before the work was actually commenced at Durham, he had made great preparations in materials and money for it, and we should naturally expect that he would have also prepared the plans, in conjunction with the architectural friend he had brought from Salisbury. The actual architect, when the work did begin under Bishop Poore's successor, Bishop Nicholas de Farnham was Richard de Farinham, as I am informed by Canon Greenwell. The similarity of name seems to suggest relationship between the architect and his employer.

There is no such direct statement that I am aware of that Elias de Derham was ever at Lincoln, but probability is in favour of the idea, when we remember his connection with Bishop Hugh, and architectural evidence tends to corroborate it.

Mr. Irvine informs me that Sir Gilbert Scott found mouldings somewhat similar to the characteristic mouldings of Wells Cathedral in the South Transept at Lincoln, which he attributes to Bishop Hugh de Wells. Mr. Parker

also has pointed out that the vertical arrangement of crockets behind the detached marble shafts of the pillars at Lincoln, is a remarkable and uncommon feature which seems to have been in use for a very few years, and he adds that it occurs nowhere else except only in the west front of Wells Cathedral. He thinks that a close friendship between the Bishops of Lincoln and Bath may account for this, not knowing that they were brothers, and that the architect Elias de Derham was connected with both of them. (Parker's Rickman, p. 159, Note.) There was, I am told, a similar arrangement in the West Porches of St. Alban's, now destroyed. Besides these three I cannot hear of any other example of this peculiar arrangement. One more quotation may be made from Mr. Parker. Speaking of the circular window at Lincoln, he says, there is a window exactly similar to this at Laon, probably of the date A.D. 1220. (Parker's Rickman, p. 160, Note). May not this be a reminiscence of the exile of the Bishop and the architect Elias de Derham?

As to the birthplace and home of Master Elias de Derham, I venture to think that it is a mistake to suppose it is Durham, as suggested in the Salisbury Guide Book. Either Norfolk with its Dereham (for so the architect's name is spelt once or twice) or Gloucestershire with its Dyrham has a better claim to the honor.

There is something to be said on either side. On behalf of Gloucestershire, it may be said that the Manor of Dyrham is contiguous to Pucklechurch, which has always belonged to the Church in Somerset, and is close to the border of the diocese. From the year A.D. 1185 great works were going on in Somerset, at Glastonbury, and probably too at Wells, so that a young man of artistic tastes might well be drawn from so short a distance to these centres of architectural activity, and there find his education as an architect, to be carried on yet further during his years of exile with the Bishops. The fact too that several members of the same family were connected with the Wells Cathedral body tends to show that the family home was not very far away. As we have seen, Elias himself was the Bishop's seneschal. A Master Walter de Derham attests a Wells charter in A.D. 1235. A John de Derham is a Wells canon in A.D. 1243, and in A.D. 1245

a R. de Derham resigns a benefice in the diocese in favour of a John de Derham.

On the other hand Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury of whose will Elias de Derham was an executor, was a native of Dereham in Norfolk; and Matthew Paris says that Bishop Poore planned his Cathedral at Salisbury with the advice of noble artists brought from a distance, "Consilio nobilium artificium quos a remotis convocaverat!" (Chron. Mag., vi, 495).

As a family name de Derham is quite common both in the East and in the West.

A last testimony to the eminence of Elias de Derham in the eyes of his contemporaries is the record of his death among the few men of no rank or title whose death seemed to Matthew Paris worthy of record in the pages of history, A.D. 1245. "Ipso quoque tempore obiit Magister Elias de Derham canonicus Saresbiriensis cujus redditibus vacantibus manus rapaces injecit magister Martinus ad opus papæ." (Matt. Paris Chron. Mag. Roll. Ed., p. 418.)

Is it possible that we even yet have his portrait? The idea is suggested by an article of Mr. Irvine's in vol. xix, p. 15 of the Som. Archæol. Society's Proceedings, about Wells Cathedral.—

"Over what was the *great entrance* in one of the intersecting arches on the east side of the staircase buttress is a secular figure, sitting on a cushioned throne, dressed in simple costume and having no tonsure. This is the only figure which can undoubtedly be said to be coeval with the erection of the West Front, and carved by the hands of those who executed the rest of its foliage, every pane of which is of different design. Retired among which this one figure was placed in a position where it had escaped notice until the present restoration, when from its character and position it became evident that it was intended to commemorate a person in some special way connected with the erection of the structure."

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE.

- Rot. Chartarum I. p. 147. J.d.g. &c. Sciatis nos intuitu Domini concessisse et presenti scripto confirmasse Deo et ecclesie Beate Marie de Meauton ad petitionem Magistri Elye de Derham clerici nostri, rectoris ejusdem ecclesie, quod omnes tenentes predictae ecclesie de Meauton liberi sint et quieti in perpetuum de sectis schirarum et hundredorum et de auxiliis vicomitis et omnium ballivorum et Ministerum suorum et de omnibus aliis que ad vicecomitem vel ballivos vel ministros suos pertinent. Quare volumus &c.
T. W. com. Sarr'. Saher de Quency, &c.
Apud Sutton vi die Aprilis Anno 6^o.
- Rot. Litt. Claus. I. p. 42^b. Rex Magistro Elye de Derham, Alex. de Brancester et Johanni de Briwes. Mandamus vobis quod faciatis habere Johanni Cum in custodiam foreste de Mauling' sicut habuit tempore H. domini Cant. Arch.
T. me ipso apud Roff. 22 die Julii Anno 7^o.
- P. 43^a. Rex Johanni de Brus, Magistro Elye. de Derham et Alex. de Brancester. Mandamus vobis quod faciatis habere Rogero de la Dune Constabulo turris London, saisinam terre que fuit Radulphi Rokeshve in Hewes cum pertinentiis, quia dedimus ei custodiam terre ejusdem.
T. G. fil Petri. apud Windesor 23 die Julii, Anno 7^o.
- 44^b. Rex Magistro Elye de Derham et sociis suis custodibus Archiepiscopatus Cant. Salutem. Sciatis quod dedimus Magistro Benedicto de Rames clerico nostro custodiam terre et heredis Rad. Leyr' in Wymeledon, &c.
T. me ipso apud Micheldevor 29 die Julii Anno 7^o.
- 46^b. Preceptum Reginaldo de Cornhill pro Jacobo de Salvagio et Magistro Elya de Derham scilicet quod eis habere faciet omnia catalla de Wardis quas Arch. Cant. habuit in balliva sua die qua obiit 13 Aug. A^o. 7^o.
61. Rex Jacobo Salvagio et Magistro E de Derham &c. executoribus testamenti domini H. Cant: Arch: Mandamus vobis quod omni occasione et dilatione postpositis faciatis habere domino P. Winton per Manu' W. Archid: Tanton, et W. de Cornhill, e libras quas predictus H. quondam Cant: Arch: habuit die qua obiit de pecunia S. quondam Bath: Episcopi pro e libris quas prefatus P Wint. Eps. habere fecit de prestito per plegium suum eidem S. Bath: Epo. habere faciatis H. Archid. Well. et W. Archid. de Tanton, custodibus Episcopatus Bath: ad quietanda debita predicti Episcopi.
T. me ipso apud Clarendon 2 die Januar. Anno 7^o.
92. Rex. Bar. &c. Comput. Magistro E de Derham et sociis suis exors. Ea que liberaverunt R de Cornhill per preceptum nostrum de fine que nobiscum fecerunt pro eodem Arch:
T. me ipso apud Herpet. 16 die Sept. Anno 9^o.
per Ric. de Marisco.

146. Rex. W., thesaurario, G et R Camerariis &c. Liberate de thesaurario nostro Willelmo de Waleides senescallo Robt. fil. Walteri centum marcas ad opus ejusdem Roberti prodampnis ei illatis. T. ut supra. Eustachius de Vesay habet litteras de centum libris Magistro Elye de Derham vel Johanni de Fereby liberandis ad opus Eustachii pro dampnis ei illatis. Apud Wynton, 21 Julij, Anno 15^o.
- Rot. Litt. Pat. 1201, 1216, p. 61. Rex. Jacobo Salvae: et Magro Elye de Derham salt. Mandamus vobis quod liberetis Reginaldo de Cornhill mille et centum marcas de fine quem fecistis pro debitis domini H. quondam Archiepi. Cant. Et in hujus rei testimonium has litteras patentes vobis mittimus.
T. me ipso apud Dovre 4 die Aprilis, Anno 7^o.
- p. 92. Anno Joh^s 14^o. Rex omnibus. Sciatis quod recepimus in saluum conductum nostrum magistrum Elyam de Derham et suos qui cum eo venerint in veniendo ad nos in Anglia, et in morando, et in revertendo usque ad festum S Johannis, Bapt. June 24th, Anno r.n. 14^o. prestito sacramento quod per ipsum vel suos malum nobis vel regno nostro non eveniet, &c.
T. me ipso apud Lameth, 4 die Maii Anno 14^o.
- p. 144. Rex. W. de Wrotlam salt. Mandamus vobis quod de catallis mercatorum Flandriensium ubienmque inventa fuerint in Anglia tant: arestetis, unde restitui possint Willelmo Hervic catalla sua que Flandrensens ei abstulerunt in potestate nostra
. liberetis dilecto nostro Magistro Elye de Derham ut per manum ipsius prefato Willelmo catalla sua restituantur. Tociens enim Comitissam Flandrensem pro eo rogavimus cum nobis super hoc fecerit, quod oportet quod ad hoc manum districtionis apponamus.
Apud Runemed, 21 June, Anno 17^o.
- p. 180^b. A list of persons to whom letters patent had been sent to cause inquiry to be made into grievances connected with the forests. Item Magistro Elye de Derham, quatuor cartas.
et eidem duodecim brevia scilicet de Roteland, baronibus de quinque portubus, Berkesire, Stafforsire, Sussex, Devon, Norhamton, Surreya, Suhanton, Salop, Westmeriland, Buckingeham.
T. me ipso apud Runimed, 19 June Anno 17^o.
- p. 78^b. Arnulphi de Derham has letters of protection with others, going with Stephen Ridel over sea.
Jan. Anno 9^o.
57. Master Gaufrid de Derham with others similarly.
Dec. 18, a^o 7^o.
82. Carta Philippi de Lucy quam fecit domino regi de mille marcis quas debet domino regi liberata in camera domini regis apud chartuse die Lune prox. anti festum S. Jacobi Apli Anno regni domini regi, 9^o. Scilicet Magistro Ricardo de Marisco tunc clerico de camera, coram domino J Bathon epo, domino W de Gray cancellario suo, H Archid Well. Mgro Michaele Belet, Mgro Elya de Dierham et multis aliis. (Charterhouse, Somerset) July.
- Item apud Oxon die Mercurii in festo S. Marie Magdalene liberate magistro (Elye) de Derham, sex carte.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON THE ROMAN FORCES IN
BRITAIN.

By W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

As a continuation of my paper on "The Roman Forces in Britain," which embodied the names and titles of the corps stationed in our island, it seems fit that an analysis should be made of the various nationalities represented, and the points noticed where the concentration of force appeared to the Romans to be most necessary, and this I now propose to do.

Of the legions themselves it is difficult to fix, with any degree of certainty, the nationality of the troops composing them. We have instances of officers belonging to them who were natives of all parts of the empire, *e.g.*—at Chester we have two different officers who were natives of Com-magene in Syria, and another who was a Bavarian. We have two instances of a *vevillatio* being named with the nationality. One is at Lowther, (Westmoreland), where a *vevillatio* of Germans is named which Dr. Hübner thinks is that of the eighth Legion; the other is at Manchester, where we meet with a *vevillatio* of *Raeti* and *Norici*. This may be the same as the *vevillatio Raetorum Gaesati* named in the inscription found a few years since at Jedburgh.

But when we come to the auxiliary forces, although their officers were Italians, or in many instances of a totally different race to the men they commanded, there can be little doubt from the evidence of tombstones, &c., that the various *corps* were themselves composed of men of the same nationality as the title borne by their *corps*, and we find that Belgic Gaul, and the Iberian Peninsula, seem to have been about the two largest contributors. From the first named province we can identify two *alae*, twenty cohorts, three *numeri*, and three *cunei* (including Frisians

and Batavians), whilst from Spain and Portugal three *alae*, seven cohorts, and a *numerus* occur. From France proper we find traces of three *alae*, and four cohorts; from Germany of one *ala* and three cohorts; from Hungary one *ala*, another body of horse (*equites*) and three cohorts; from Poland one *ala* at least (besides probably the *Equites Cataphractarii*). Of Austrians there are named three cohorts and two bodies of horse, all from Dalmatia, but although we are told by historians that a large number of troops from the present Moravia and Bohemia were sent over to Britain, there are no traces of them. From the present Roumania we have one cohort, the first of the Dacians, from the Roumelian province of Turkey one *ala* and two cohorts (of Thracians); from Turkey in Asia one cohort, from the banks of the Euphrates (the *Hami*), two *numeri*, and apparently three other bodies of horse (*equites*). Switzerland sent us two cohorts, one of *Raeti* and another of *Alpini*, and North Africa a *numerus* of Moors. There are also numerous *alae* and cohorts, &c., of which the nationality is not named, or if named (like the *Cohors I Cornoviorum*), the geographical position of the tribe cannot be ascertained at the present day.

As nothing bearing a date later than the reign of Antoninus Pius has been found on the line of the Scotch Wall it is almost certain that it could not have been held later than the reign of his next but one successor, Commodus, when the well-known insurrection related by historians broke out. Until that time it would be the limit of the Roman empire, and be strongly garrisoned, as was also from the reign of Hadrian, the southern wall, and numerous stations near it, both to the north and south, especially those on the Cumberland coast. After the restoration of the wall of Hadrian, by Severus, it appears again to have been strongly garrisoned, with all of the before-mentioned forts until about the time of Constantine, for mile stones of Diocletian, of Constantine, and of his family have been found on its line. But after this the western half of the wall, probably from the result of frequent attack by the Picts, seems to have been abandoned, though the forts on the Cumberland coast were still strongly garrisoned, as was also the eastern half of the wall. On this latter when the *Notitia* was compiled (circa A.D. 400) there were

between Wallsend and the Cumberland boundary, in eleven stations, three *alae* and eight cohorts, whilst along the Cumberland seaboard there appear to have been one *ala*, four cohorts, and a *numerus*. These were evidently placed there with the intention of repelling Irish marauders. There was probably a second and internal line of defence here, but the *Notitia* does not specify it.

The next portion of Britain honoured with the attentions of a strong garrison was the country of the Brigantes, chiefly the north Yorkshire part of their territory, though the whole of that county, with the greatest moiety of both Durham and Westmoreland, as well as Lancashire, were included; and this military occupation apparently continued until the time of the *Notitia*. Besides the head quarters of the legion of York, we find in Brigantian territory, as late as the time of the *Notitia*, one *ala*, three other bodies of horse (*equites*), two cohorts, eleven *numeri*, and a *cuneus*. The southern boundary of this tribe which reached from sea to sea, there can be little or no doubt was the line of the Mersey and Humber, these rivers also forming the boundary between Britannia Superior and Britannia Inferior, (see *Roman Cheshire*, p. 13). South of this line, or in the province of *Britannia Superior*, the country, except in the case of the Commodian insurrection and similar outbreaks, seems to have been in a state of peaceful quiescence from the time of the subjugation of the Ordovices, and the Isle of Anglesea by Agricola. Before the time of the *Notitia* the two legions which had kept guard, one at the northern and the other at the southern extremities of Wales, had been withdrawn, the twentieth from Chester to the continent—where it took part in the battle of Pollentia, and the second from Caerleon to Richborough (Kent), to assist in the defence of the Saxon shore. Even the auxiliary forces which were in Wales (and these were few in number, though we do not yet know the complete list) seem to have been withdrawn some time previously, and the inscriptions found, erected by them, are of early date. The auxiliaries which have left inscriptions in Wales are: the *Ala Vettonum*, at the Caer near Brecon, the first cohort of the *Sunnici* at Caernarvon, the first cohort of the *Nervii* at Caer Gai, the second cohort of the *Astures* at Llanio, and the first cohort of a people

whose name commenced with C (probably the *Celtiberi*) at Caer Sws.

As it was with Wales, so with the midland, western, and southern counties of England. The stations were more or less converted into large towns or municipalities, with the exception of the *mansiones*, *mutationes*, or posting stations. The same may be said of the eastern counties until about the time of Carausius, when the frequent incursions of the Saxon pirates necessitated the erection of strong *castra*, and the disposition of a large force at intervals along the coast, from north Norfolk (near the Wash) southwards past Dover and round to the present Portsmouth. With the exception of the last named place and another station at Felixstowe in Essex (probably abandoned on account of the ravages of the sea), these stations were still held when the *Notitia* was compiled, and they were garrisoned by one legion (the second), one cohort (of the *Velasii*, i.e. *Bactasii*), two bodies of horse (*equites*), four *numeri*, and one other body of troops who are simply named *Milites Tungricani* or Tungrian soldiers. In the earlier part of the Roman dominion Dover and Lyme (in Kent) had been the head-quarters of the British fleet, consequently an altar and tiles have been found at these stations naming the *Classiarii Britannici* or British marines.

The discoveries which have taken place since the issue of my paper in vol. xli. have been few as far as they bear on the distribution of the various corps. They are as follows :

Ala I. Asturum.—An inscription found at South Shields names this corps.

Cohors Cornoviorum.—An inscription recently found at Ilkley names a female who was a Cornovian citizen *Civis Cornovia*.

Cohors I. Nerviorum.—The tombstone of a member of this cohort has been found at Caer Gai near Bala. It is the first trace of the cohort found in Britain.

Ala Petriana.—An inscription found in Cliburn Church (near Kirkby Thore) names this *ala*.

Vexillatio Raetorum Gaesatorum.—At Jedburgh there has been found an inscription naming this force. *Racti Gaesati* are also named in a large inscription found at Risingham, and at the same station two altars

bear the abbreviation VEXIL. G. R., which I take to mean *Vexillatio Gaesatorum Raetorum*.

The *Gaesati* took their name from using a *gæsa* or light spear.

Numerus Vigilum—In addition to my previous remarks on this force, I may add that a *centuria* of *Vigiles* are named in an inscription at Chester.

I have some slight further information regarding an *Ala Pannoniorum*, probably the first, which we know was in Britain, but until I get more distinct corroboration I refrain from publishing it.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF SOME CELTIC AND ROMAN
ANTIQUITIES WITHIN THE N.E. PART OF THE
COUNTY OF DORSET BETWEEN BOCKLEY DYKE, N.,
AND THE RIVER STOUR, S. ; FROM BLANDFORD TO
WIMBORNE.¹

By DR. WAKE SMART.

Bockley or Bockerley Dyke, our northern boundary, is also a boundary between the counties of Wilts and Dorset, and I propose taking it first in review. It is an earthwork of high antiquity. In approaching Woodyates by the Western Turnpike from Salisbury, it strikes the eye stretching about three miles across a sweep of open Down; and on approaching nearer we cannot fail of being struck with its imposing size, its bold and angular course: but perhaps to get the best general view, it is necessary to take one's stand on the top of Blagden hill, over which it passes in its way from South East to South West. It begins in the brakes and plantations of Blagden hill, adjoining the Boveridge Woods. In its commencement it appears simply as a double bank and ditch of inconsiderable size, but increasing in breadth and depth for about a mile before it reaches the top of Blagden hill, from which point it suddenly assumes the grand proportions which it retains until it has passed the Down and entered the enclosures of Woodyates; from which point it soon begins to decrease, continues onward for about a mile to West Woodyates, and for some distance is almost lost in the arable land where it appears to terminate. This part of its course was without doubt formerly within the Woods of Cranborne Chase. Its whole length is from four to five miles. The dyke makes four wide angles in crossing the Down, taking this oblique path to facilitate apparently the ascent and

¹ Read in the Antiquarian Section at the Salisbury Meeting, August 3rd, 1857.

descent of the hilly ground it meets. There are four gaps through it, made, one might suppose, at later periods for the convenience and intercourse of the adjacent villages. The most Westward of these gaps, three of which are above 100 yards in length, requires more notice than the others, as the theory has been suggested that from the first the dyke was here left in an unfinished state, for the purpose of affording an easier ingress to the outlying flocks and herds, on the alarm of an invading enemy.¹ Adjoining this interspace there is a spur or additional work of the same character, extending about 60 yards from North to South, joining the dyke, and ending abruptly in what was formerly a wood, but is now arable land. This short work seems to be of the same date as the dyke; but may be of later construction. The ditch here is on the West side. Throughout its middle course the dyke varies but little in dimension. On the South side there is no fosse, and the vallum rises from 20 to 30 feet; on the North side the vallum is very precipitous, falling 40 or 50 feet or more into a broad and deep fosse. The Western Turnpike road traverses the dyke about three-quarters of a mile from Woodyates; and at the same place the Via Iceniana, Ackling dyke, or Roman road from Old Sarum to Dorchester crosses it. These two roads, ancient and modern, make some confusion in their united passage through it; but the Roman road may be soon traced from its emergence into the arable land, and runs nearly parallel with and near the Turnpike road to Woodyates Inn, which stands on its line. Here we will leave the Roman road for the present.

I will address myself to the question which naturally arises as to the origin of this earthwork, and *in limine* wish to be understood as being utterly opposed to the Belgic theory of its construction, which I believe is generally accepted, but was not the opinion of my friend, Mr. Warne. This theory seems to me to be founded on a misconception of historical statement, for which I presume to say that the learned Dr. Stukeley is primarily responsible; but other writers since his day have followed his lead and perpetuated his error. There is no basis of proof, as I conceive, for the statement that the Belgæ ever peopled Dorset. If

¹ Mr. Warne's *Ancient Dorset*, p. 9.

we turn to Ptolemy, writing in the second century of our æra, we find him making a clear distinction between *Δουροτίγες* and *Βεργαί*; the latter inhabiting part of Hants with *Θυεντα*, (Winchester) for their capital; the former, with their capital *Δουριον*, inhabiting Dorset. This tribe was undoubtedly of an ancient Celtic stock, and must be held distinct from the Belgæ, who were a people of a latter immigration. These are said by Camden to have extended from Hants into Wiltshire and the Northern parts of Somerset; be it so or not, they are not said to have extended over Dorset, and I do not believe they did. But Stukeley, unfortunately, took it for granted, and actually parcelled out our County as he supposed it fell, by successive portions of conquest, under the victorious arms of the Belgæ, from the South of Dorset to the North of Wiltshire.¹ So far, then, I agree with Mr. Warne that Bockley dyke is not a Belgic work; but I confess to much hesitation in accepting the ingenious theory of my lamented friend when he states his “deliberate opinion that this mighty rampart owes its rise to the alarm of Cæsar’s invasion of Britain.”² I do not think that the evidence warrants this conclusion. There is a striking resemblance in this work to the Wansdyke, and we can hardly believe that the Wansdyke was raised under the same apprehension of impending danger. If it be so, we are compelled to assign to both these works a date not earlier than the latter part of the last century before our æra, but I apprehend that archaeologists will generally agree that their antiquity is by several centuries of an earlier age. I quite agree with my friend that Bockley dyke was the work of the Celtic Durotrigian tribes; as the Wansdyke was of the earliest Celtic tribes who peopled Wiltshire. As regards the cause that may have induced the Durotriges to raise this earthwork, I must refer to a paper in the Proceedings of the Dorset Field club,³ in which I have entered more at length on that question than I can again at present. In concluding these remarks on Bockley dyke, I think we may with much plausibility assume that it was

¹ *Itinerarium Curiosum*, p. 188, 2nd Edit., 1776. Stukeley. Stonehenge, p. 1. ib. *Anc. Dorset* p. 313. *On certain ditches in Dorset called Belgic*. C.W.

² *Ancient Dorset*, p. 10.

³ A letter to the Rev. W. Barnes, B.D. on his Paper, entitled, “A Study on the Bockley or Bockerly Dyke and others in Dorset (Proceed: Field Club, vol. v., p. 41), by Dr. Wake Smart, ib., vol. vi.

originally a territorial boundary, and at the same time a defensive work, though not in the military sense of a fortification, but was primarily constructed as a protective barrier for the herds and flocks which belonged to the Durotriges, against predatory incursions and forays of neighbouring tribes; and for keeping the cattle securely within their own bounds.

A few more words on the etymology of the name may be permitted. I have no faith in a Celtic derivative, though such has been proposed, I believe; the name, in my humble opinion, is simply Anglo-Saxon, originally applied to the land through which the dyke runs, and by natural transference to the dyke itself. In the Teutonic language, *Bok*, *Bocca*, is the equivalent to *Buck*, *Bucks*, the male fallow-deer. The place-name, *Buckingham*, was anciently written *Bokenham*; and in the well-known surname, *Buckley*, we have the name, *Bockley*, formerly of this pasture or feeding-ground of herds of fallow-deer—*Bok-leag*, pure Anglo-Saxon. This tract of land was from an unknown period down to later ages, part and parcel of that extensive forest-land stretching into Wilts and Dorset, of which a large part became first known in mediæval time as Cranborne Chase.¹ In these native woods, Fallow-deer and other “beasts of venery” were preserved and fed by the early Saxons and their successors for the purpose of recreation and sport. By them I suppose that the name, *Bockley*, was given to this feeding-ground, probably much resorted to by these wild animals.

I should hardly do justice to this locality in omitting the notice of a fine British trackway which belongs more to Wilts than Dorset, yet has some claim upon us, as it runs for about a mile nearly parallel with Bockley dyke after they have entered the Woodyates enclosures. This British *viu*, formed by two well-marked banks and an intervening ditch, comes from the North East in the direction of the river Avon, at ten miles distance, near the village of Odstock. It runs thence in a somewhat

¹ The earliest notice of Bockley I have met with, is contained in a Perambulation between the lands of the Abbot of Glastonbury at Damerham, Wilts, and those of the Abbot of Tewkesbury at Boveridge, Cranborne, Dorset: 31, Hen. 3., 1246. In *Monasticon. Anglie*. 1. 57,

after recounting several points of boundary, it is continued “per Longitudinem illius vie [the road to Sarum] usque ad marginem fossatum de Blakedounesdlich.” —*Ex registro Glastoniensis Cenobii eventis* “*Scretum Abbatibus*” in *Bibliotheca Belli*: MS. Wood 1.)

irregular course over Odstock, Charlton and Homington Downs, and by Vernditch Chase, where it is crossed by the Roman road, and may be traced thence to a field in Middle Chase Farm where it seems to end, about half-a-mile apart from the Bockley terminus. This *via* is known as *Grimsditch*, a name savouring of Scandinavian mythology. I have been unable to trace this *via* or boundary further towards its final destination, wherever that may be.

We leave Bockley and ascend the hill to the Eastward, which soon attains its highest point of elevation in Panbarrow [Penbury] above the village of Pentridge. This highest point is under 450 feet above the sea-level; but the position gives it a very extensive and beautiful prospect, its horizon bounded by the Isle of Wight, the Hampshire coast, the Purbeck hills, and the South coast of Dorset round to the Ridgeway above Weymouth. Thence the eye may follow the Bulbarrow range, and the Wiltshire hills. To the geological student it is also an object of much interest in relation to the Chalk and Tertiary formations, but we are more concerned with its archaeological relation to this district. Here may be traced the outwork of a Celtic Camp, or Hill Fort, consisting of a single vallum and ditch of inconsiderable strength, carried in a circular form from a very steep and partly artificial mount on the North around the West side; not so well marked on the South and hardly traceable on the East, but here the declivity of the ground makes it a strong position without the need of much assistance from art. The diameter of the area is about 150 yards. It is unquestionably a very ancient work, and has probably been used from the earliest times as a beacon, or signal station, in connection with many similar posts communicating with the sea-coast and the interior.¹ The evidence of ancient and early occupation both within and around the Camp is very strong. I have found a large number of worked flints on the surface, some of a very rude and others of a more artistic style of fabrication, as arrowheads, celts, knives, and other implements of anomalous and abortive forms. Several noteworthy specimens I have picked up from the camp itself, but more from the fields around.

¹ The last time was on the celebration of the Queen's Jubilee, June, 21st.

On the rise of the hill on the East there is some cultivated land, which I remember unbroken and known as Boveridge Down, where, over a space of several acres there are decided indications of Romano-British settlement. I have found there after the plough at various times, fragments of pottery from the coarse British to the highly glazed Samian, oolitic shale and tile for roofing, an imperfect green-stone celt, an iron socketed spear-head, large nails, and various débris, as horses' teeth, other animal bones, and a portion of human bone; fossil shells and petrified wood which must have been brought from Weymouth Bay, shewing a connexion with the sea-coast. I have not been successful in finding any foundations *in situ*, still I have no doubt of a settlement here of some duration, and I should be inclined to assign it to the latter troublous years of the third century, occupied perhaps as a camping ground by Allectus during his short usurpation of the Imperial Power. I have found myself a coin of Allectus and one of Victorinus here, and have had one of Maximianus brought me. It is rather striking that I have rarely found a worked flint on this land. There are indications of other Romano-British locations, but none of this extent, on the adjoining Downs. From the highest point, Penbury, and looking Westwards, at one and a-half miles' distance, we may observe two low banks running a parallel course from the South West, and losing themselves in the fields near Pentridge Church, but were perhaps originally continued half-a-mile further to the lower part of Bockley Down. These form a part of what Sir R. C. Hoare denominated a *cursus*, consisting of two parallel banks and ditches, which enclose a space of 70 or 80 yards in width, and may be traced for about three miles across the Downs to the earthworks on the elevated land in the South West, to which Sir R. C. Hoare assigned the name of Vindogladia, the Roman Station of Antoninus' Iter XV. At one point of its course, the *cursus* is crossed by the Roman road or Ackling Dyke, affording a decisive proof of the higher antiquity of the Celtic lines.

We will now return to Woodyates Inn, where we left the Roman road. For the next three-quarters of a mile it must be taken on trust, for it is hidden from sight by the

Turnpike road which has been carried along the *dorsum*; but at the XI. milestone, where the open Down succeeds the enclosures, the Roman road parts company with its companion and at a sharp angle runs on in an independent direction and straight course to Badbury Rings, at the distance of about ten miles South. The widening space formed by the ancient road and the Turnpike, incloses a large tract of the Down, which is studded with Celtic Tumuli in great variety, and overlooking all from Handley hill is a very fine specimen of the oblong, perhaps chambered Barrow, of unknown antiquity. With the exception of this one, all the rest, which are of the Bronze Age, were opened by that indefatigable explorer, Sir R. C. Hoare, or his companion and friend Mr. Cunnington; and most of their discoveries are now deposited in the Devizes Museum. These Barrows were remarkable in producing more artistic relics, as, ornaments of amber and glass, and trinkets with jet and gold, also bronze daggers, in a larger proportionate number than fall to the lot of barrow-diggers in the Southern parts of Dorset. In this respect these tumuli assimilate more to the Wiltshire Barrows about Stonehenge: whence the inference might be drawn, that the tribes living on our Woodyates Downs were in more direct intercourse with the commercial Belgæ, than was the case with the other Duretrigian tribes living further South. It cannot, however, be denied that valuable relics have been occasionally found in the Southern Barrows. It has been often mentioned as a proof of the relatively higher antiquity of these Tumuli to the Roman road, that with scant veneration, the Roman engineers carried their line, cutting off a segment of one or two of these circular enclosures, formerly called Druid barrows, but which are perhaps in reality of later date than the high conoid mounds. This interesting Celtic Cemetery receives due notice in *Ancient Wilts*, with an engraved plan in which each Tumulus is numbered with reference to its contents.¹ Near this spot the Roman road passes one of those quadrangular

¹ See also *Ancient Dorset*, p. 5. An extract from Aubrey's MSS. (*Memoranda Brit.*) supplies his conjecture that this was the scene of Boadicea's fight with the Romans, agreeing, as he says, with the

description given by Tacitus of it. In the *Celtic Tumuli of Dorset* Mr. Warne reproduces this engraving from *Ancient Wilts*, &c.

earthworks, with low bank and ditch, which are not uncommon on our Downs. This is of small size, 25 by 15 yards. We are as yet ignorant of the origin of these small enclosures; the probability is, they were used as cattle pens by the Romano-British, or later people.

The *via Iceniana*, or Aekling Dyke, in its course across this Down, presents for the most part a fine example of Roman road-making. It is a raised causeway with a rounded back and sloping sides, to throw off the rain and melted snow. The substratum is chalk with a thick covering of broken flints; and in a certain section I have noticed a superficial layer of yellow gravel, such as may be dug on Pentridge hill. The road must have been a work of much time and labour, enforced labour, no doubt with very little regard paid to "the groans of the Britons." It is much regretted that modern road-mending has done a good deal of mischief in places by pillaging the store of flints, but there are still remaining portions that have not suffered yet from the human despoiler, or from the wear and tear of Time.

After a straight course of three miles across the open Down, it reaches some elevated land, now under cultivation, formerly known as Gussage Cow Down, rendered conspicuous by an extensive series of earthworks, on which Sir R. C. Hoare bestowed the name of Vindogladia. They extend along the brow of the hill for a mile at least from East to West. It is very interesting to read Sir Richard's observations on this spot in his *Ancient Wilts* vol. 2, but they will be best understood by referring to his engraved plan of the work.¹ He says that if the history of these earthworks was not mysterious to his eyes, he had seen none of such surpassing magnitude or interest. Cultivation continued from that time until the present has done great and irreparable mischief as is usual. Sir Richard thus writes:—"How often have I reviewed with fresh delight this truly interesting ground which elucidates so strongly the manners of the primitive Britons; and with what sincere regret, on revisiting the spot in the Autumn of 1817, did I notice the encroachments of the plough on this memorable and, till lately, well preserved monument of antiquity." [*Ancient Wilts*, vol. 2.] What

¹ Reproduced in Mr. Warne's *Ancient Dorset*.

would the worthy Baronet say now, after 70 more years of continuous agrarian spoliation !

This spot being at the distance of about 16 miles from Old Sarum, and as the station in Antonine's *Iter XV.* next in sequence to *Sorbiodunum*, had not been satisfactorily identified, either with Wimborne by Camden, or with Gussage All Saints by Stukeley, no wonder that the proximity of this spot to the line of the Roman road, with the abundant indications of Romano-British settlement found here, induced the worthy Baronet to fix upon this as the true station ; which soon obtained the consensus of the archaeological world. The chief site of Roman occupation is found at the Eastern end of the work, at the distance of some 300 yards from the *Via* : and here, if anywhere, the station must be placed ; the other earthworks are decidedly of an earlier date and Celtic character. On its West side, the site is approached by several British trackways ascending the hill in close contiguity, which have doubtlessly given the spot the name of "Seven ditches ;" a cross section would give that number of banks with their intervening ditches. From time immemorial the peasantry of the district have known it by that name. It is curious now to read what Aubrey has written in his usual vague style of this place.¹ "The seven ditches between Woodyates and Blandford in the County of Dorset I cannot find any account of them ; the rode from Salisbury to Blandford goes through them, &c." It will hardly be believed that this vague statement by Aubrey has given rise to the theory that there are *seven ditches in Dorset marking the successive stages of the Belgic conquest from South to North!* For instance, see Warton's *History of Kildington*, 1783,² followed by later writers. This is not archaeology, — it is fiction !

But we will still follow the *Via Iceniana* running on almost without a break to Badbury Rings, six-and-a-half miles farther in its way to *Durnovaria*. Within a quarter of a mile of the camp, the Roman road appears to divide into two branches, one proceeding to the West side of the camp, the other to the East side of it. The former goes on

¹ Aubrey's MSS. *Monumenta Britannica* in Biblio. Bodl. quoted by Mr. Warne in *Ancient Dorset* : p. 311.

² "On certain ditches in Dorset called Belgic," by Mr. Warne in *Ancient Dorset*, p. 311.

in a well-known line across the river Stour, in the way to Dorchester, about 20 miles beyond, and it is this branch which is noted in Antonine's Itinerary. The latter, we now know, goes on to Poole Bay at Hamworthy, where Mr. Warne places *Morionio* of the Ravenmote. For a long while this branch was known only as far as Cogdean from Hamworthy across Lytchet Heath; but in the year 1847-1848, its line was traced out from Lake Mill, one mile West of Wimborne, across the water meadows, the river Stour, and through the Park of Kingston Lacy, to Badbury.¹ There have been strange mistakes made in reference to this branch. In the old Maps of Dorset, notably Taylor's, 1765, a branch is shewn given off at a point near Wichampton Common, and continued thence across the Stour and the meadows to Cogdean. This is purely conjectural, and I regret to find that the late Rev. J. H. Austen has described a line in this direction from Cogdean to Bradford, or Broadford Down, which is near Wichampton Common.² I have been over this ground carefully, and can safely assert that there are no reliable traces of a Roman road there. Mr. Austen seems to have had no knowledge of the Eastern branch of the *Via Iceniana* at Badbury, or he could not have made such a mistake. This Eastern branch has opened up a question of the greatest interest in connexion with a discovery made during the last year, of the decided traces of a Roman road leading from Ashmore, on the border of Wilts, through a part of Gunville Parish and Eastbury Park, Tarrant Hinton, and Launceston villages, from which point Mr. Mansel-Pleydell, the respected President of the Dorset Field Club, has traced its course by Tarrant Monkton, Rawston, Hogstock, Abbeycroft Down, and Hemsworth to a point near Badbury camp, where the Eastern branch joins the *Via Iceniana*. We have thus obtained a continuous line of Roman road from Poole Bay, by Badbury, to the boundary line between Wilts and Dorset at Ashmore, and we have reason to expect and hope that further traces may be found in South Wilts,

¹ See "The Vicinal way from Badbury to Morionium on Poole Bay."—*Ancient Dorset*, p. 180.

² See *Journal of the Archaeological Institute*, vol. 4, 1867,—A paper by the

Rev. J. H. Austen, M.A., F.G.S., read by him at the Congress Meeting at Dorchester in July, 1865, entitled, "Notes on some Vestiges of Roman occupation in Dorset."

carried, perhaps, to a junction with that known line which runs from Old Sarum, through this part of Wilts to Wells and Uphill on the Bristol Channel, connecting the mining district of Mendip with the Sea coast of Hants and the Isle of Wight.¹ Our line may thus be hereafter found to extend between the Bristol Channel and Poole Bay, affording another commercial outlet for the produce of the lead mines of Mendip, and the artistic productions of Purbeck. It would also be in communication with *Aquæ Solis* (Bath), if not directly, yet through the Fosseway which it would cross near Shepton Mallet.²

A few words now on Badbury itself:—Without doubt it has ever been a strategic point of great importance. The *via Iceniana* runs in a straight line to it from *Sorbiodunum*. It stands in a commanding position; it was unquestionably a Celtic *Oppidum*, subsequently occupied by the Romans, and perhaps enlarged and strengthened by them; noteworthy indications of their presence have been turned up within the area of the Camp, from Aubrey's time to ours; its position is in the fork between two important lines of Roman road; taking all the facts into consideration I have presumed to offer a dissentient opinion from Sir R. C. Hoare, for it would appear very strange if a fortress of so much importance were utterly ignored in Antonine's Itinerary, and yet we must be of this opinion, if Sir Richard was right in locating the Station *Vindogladia* on Gussage Cow Down. I will not, however, enter at greater length into this question now, but content myself with referring to a paper in the proceedings of the Dorset Field Club.³

The Rev. J. Austen in the paper before referred to, was desirous of shewing that Sir Richard Hoare erred in placing *Vindogladia* on Gussage Cow Down, and attempts to award a claim of superior pretension to Broadford (or Bradford) lane end, through which the *Via Icen.* passes in its way to Badbury, at the distance of about a mile from it. To

¹ The Dorset line has been traced about 700 yards into Wilts. It is supposed to run through the vale of Wardour, but we have, as yet, no evidence of its course.

² At the 1st Meeting of the Dorset Field Club at Dorchester, on June 10, 1887, the President read a brief notice of

this Roman road from Badbury, which he will give at greater length further on in the session.

³ *Some observations on Her XI of the Itinerary of Antoninus; on Vindogladia; and a plea for Badbury*; by Dr. Wake Smart. Proceedings of the Dorset Field Club, p. 122. Vol. iv. 1883.

prove his case he brings four branch roads from distant parts and different directions to a common point of junction with the *Via Icen*: at Bradford. No one I think can read his paper without seeing that these branch roads are all more or less hypothetical, that not one of them is traced to a junction; and in fact that the evidence adduced to prove the existence of a station at Bradford simply amounts to a negation. No traces of Roman occupation have ever been found, so far as we know, at Bradford. We must be of the opinion that Mr. Austen's theory failed in the attack on Sir Richard's position, although we may still have some doubt of its impregnability.

I must do Mr. Austen the justice of saying that he, in this paper, gave the first intimation of a Roman road in the North West part of Dorset. He says, "it comes up Donhead Hollow on the North side of the Wiltshire Hills, from the vale of Wardour. . . . After passing Phelps' Cottage turnpike-gate it follows its independent course in a southerly direction; crosses Woodley Down, . . . and passing through the Wiltshire copses enters Dorsetshire; crosses the recently cultivated Ashmore fields, enters again the Chasewoods, and may be traced about a mile further; its direction, passing near Bartonfield, the supposed Tarentum, is towards Bradford. And tracing back its direction northward it will be seen to be towards Bath." This is valuable testimony, but Mr. Austen had manifestly no evidence of further traces either to Badbury, or to his conjectural station at Bradford.

In the same paper Mr. Austen gives very interesting details of his exploration of a Romano-British settlement on Woodcotes Common, in the parish of Handley. This has been thoroughly worked out, with great skill and success, by General Pitt-Rivers, who fully confirms the opinion of Mr. Austen of this having been the site of Romano-British occupation. The General discovered large quantities of pottery; iron, bronze and bone relics, coins, &c., which are deposited in his Museum at Farnham, with an admirable model of the ground in which they were discovered.

In the year 1831 the foundations of a Roman villa, with several rooms, were accidentally discovered on Hensworth farm in Wichhampton parish. This spot is

near the Roman road which, we now know exists between Ashmore and Badbury. The site of this villa was not systematically excavated, and after exciting a good deal of curiosity, with much inconvenience to the tenant, after some while was covered up and buried. I saw one of the pavements which had the figure of the Dolphin, surrounded by an ornamental border, all in coloured tesserae.

In 1845 the site of another Roman villa was discovered in Barton field, in the parish of Tarrant Hinton. The débris extended over several acres, and the late Mr. Shipp, of Blandford, to whom the exploration was due, unearthed the remains of a mosaic pavement, with painted stucco, Roman ware, iron nails, bones, &c., and three coins of the Lower Empire. The site of this villa is about half-a-mile South of the Roman road from Badbury.¹

On Eastbury Down, which adjoins the enclosures of Tarrant Hinton on the North, there are extensive indications of ancient settlement, probably Romano-British, which have not yet yielded up their secret to antiquarian research. This site skirts the Roman road from Badbury which runs through Eastbury Park into the fields of Tarrant Hinton. Several fine specimens of the Long Barrow are prominent objects in this neighbourhood, on the Downs of Pimperne, Gunville, Chettle, and Blandford, all of which remain intact.

On Blandford Race-Down there is an extensive series of earthworks, second only to those on Gussage Down, which denote the existence of an important Celtic settlement. And this is confirmed by other evidence. At Tarrant Monkton, a village near at hand, the plough turned up a number of Celtic ornaments and weapons, which are now in Mr. Durdin's Museum. There were six bronze torques, two armlets, bronze celts and swords, fibulae, iron spear-heads, celts, and arrow heads of flints,

¹ See Volume of the Second Congress of the British Archaeological Association at Winchester, 1846, *British Tarrant or Roman Tarentum*, by William Shipp. Also see 3d edit. of Hutchins' History of Dorset, vol. iv. In respect to the small stream which rises near the site and flows through several villages to its con-

fluence with the Stour at Tarrant Crawford, it has been imagined that, in the name of Tarrant may be heard an echo of *Tarentum* in Italy; but we know that vocal sounds are apt to be misleading, especially when they take a *syllabic form*.

glass beads, and worked pieces of Kimmeridge shale.¹ Mr. Warne records the discovery on Launceston Down, which is not far off, of a large number of cists dug in the chalk, of shallow depth, containing bones and ashes, and covered with a layer of flints. This he terms the Celtic "Sepulchralia," there having been no raised mound to mark the interments.² There are many tumuli of the usual kind on Blandford Race-Down, some of which have been explored by Mr. Warne, and others by Messrs. Shipp and Austen.³

On the South side of this Down, above the village of Langton, is a very remarkable earthwork or camp, called Buzbury. It is more elliptical than circular, and consists mainly of one vallum and fosse which overlap at one end of the camp. But I must refer to Mr. Warne's description for an accurate account of it.⁴ It seems to be connected by trackways with the adjacent Downs and settlements. The name alone is curious, and if any dependence may be placed in our etymological derivatives, they would at once suggest the idea of this having been a depôt, refuge, or emporium, of the cattle of the district. *Boys, Bos, Buz,* = meat and eating, (Boylase, Cornu: Brit: Vocab.) *Buwys* = kine, bullock, (Welch). *Bous,* = *Boz* = ox. (Gr. and Lat.) Cæsar writes—"Pecorum magnus numerus. . . . interiores lacte et carne vivunt." (De B. G. lib. v.). I will now bring this rambling excursion to a close by taking the road from Wimborne to Cranbourne, and jotting down a few notes by the way.

Soon after passing Horton Inn we notice a fine tumulus or two by the roadside, and at the farm one mile on, we traverse, unconsciously perhaps, a circular Celtic earthwork or oppidum, of which a segment only remains, hidden by trees and farm buildings; the vallum high and broad; in other parts of its circuit obliterated by cultivation and the turnpike road, but it may be traced, shewing the area to be of very considerable diameter. This was, I

¹ See Hutchins' Dorset 3d edit: Vol. 3. p. 576—Pl.

² *The Celtic Tumuli of Dorset*, by C. Warne, F.S.A., p. 57.

³ *ib.*—see Pl. figures of Urns. A very remarkable tumulus at Badbury was explored by Mr. Austen. The interments

consisting of urns, skeletons, and cists, were enclosed by a wall of large sandstones unincemented. No weapons or ornaments. See *Journ. Arch. Institute*. Vol 3. Austen: also Warne's *Celtic Tum.*

⁴ *Ancient Dorset*, p. 13, plan. p. 31.

apprehend, the site of dwellings. A little farther on, we see on our left hand Knolton church, a picturesque ivy-mantled ruin, which stands within the area of another smaller Celtic circular earthwork, that remains to this day perfect and inviolate with its coating of greensward. In the same field, more to the West, there are distinct traces of two other smaller circles, which have not received the same protection as their neighbour. These earthworks are too remarkable to be lightly passed by, for the thought naturally arises that in them we probably contemplate memorials of the religious, civil, and social customs of our ancestors living in a primæval age.¹ Here there is a very large tumulus, unhappily planted, and several more of large size may be seen in Lord Shaftesbury's Park. One cannot but be struck also with a group of very old yews, which are in perfect keeping with the other ancient remains.

Approaching Cranborne we perceive at the distance of half-a-mile South East the ancient Castle, an earthwork which, so far as we know, never aspired to the dignity of a more imposing structure. It covers about $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of a ridge of elevated ground, of which the extreme end has been rounded off by escarpment, and with another mound superimposed, forms a lofty keep commanding the country around. The East side is defended by a very strong vallum with a deep and broad ditch thrown in a semi-circular form around an area of small dimensions, to which the approach is from the South West, made by filling up the ditch and rounding off the ends of the vallum on both sides of the entrance, so forming mounds of which the one on the East side is the higher. There is a small swampy spot on the North, just outside the area, which is called the well. It is an interesting earthwork without a trace of building on any part. I have been accustomed to regard it as the ground-work of a Saxon Castle, notably bearing considerable resemblance to that of Loughton-en-le-Morthem in Yorkshire, which is undeniably Saxon, and is called Edwin's Hall.² But my friend, the late Rev. W. Barnes, took a different view, and saw in

¹ See *Ancient Dorset*, p. 101. with Pl.

² In the *Journal of Brit. Archaeol. Assn.*, 1884, p. 101. The late Mr. Daniel H. Haigh, of Leeds, notices this as "a

high circular mound standing between the extremities of a crescent shaped rampart of earth." See also *Journal of B. A. A.*, 1874, Sept.

the Keep a "crug y gorsedd," a mount of assembly of the neighbouring British tribes, for deliberating on questions of public or private concern.¹ I am loth to differ in opinion from so eminent an authority, and fully admitting that the same place may have served successive peoples, each for a purpose and use of its own, I have still much hesitation in believing this to have been such a place of Celtic assembly. It is rather curious that we have at a mile distant, in the St. Giles's Plantation, a "Creech Hill," which might be thought to favour this theory in the name itself. It is a large barrow-like mound on which lies a very large block of sandstone in a shallow cavity or pit which it seems to have made for itself, and I never contemplate that ponderous mass without wondering how it came there, whether by natural or human agency. In character, in name, and by position it would answer every requirement of the "crug y gorsedd" theory; and perhaps we ought not to dissociate it from the adjacent tumuli, the imperishable monuments of a past age and people.

The Crane stream wends its way through a vale below Cranborne, known as the Tything of Holwell. At the distance of one mile and a half I have had the knowledge for many years of a spot not generally known, where I have discovered indubitable evidence of Roman building and habitation. In the road-side bank I have traced two distinct lines of red brick tessere, cubes of about an inch square, in lengths of seven and eight feet. I expected to find an extension of these floors in the meadow on the other side, but was disappointed, and came to the conclusion that the rooms were destroyed when the parish road was made. I have found on digging, fragments of Roman ware from the figured Samian to the ordinary black ware, and other kinds less common. I have also found several minor articles of bronze, and a small brass coin of the Constantines. This spot is in contiguity with a pond in which rises a never-failing spring of the purest water, which flows into the neighbouring stream. I have indulged in the speculation of this having been in Roman times a spring consecrated to some forgotten "Dea

¹ "Cranborne, the so called Castle," by the Revd. W. Barnes, B.D.—Proceedings of the Dorset Field Club, vol. iv., p. 134. 1883.

Fontis," and celebrated for its healing property; a reputation which it may have retained during the Saxon era, and thus becoming a Holy Well, whose special virtues have been long forgotten, whilst the name is still remembered in the Holwell of a later age.

In the year 1875 a curious discovery was made at the village of Horton, in the source of a small stream which, after running a few miles, flows into the Crane in the Heath district. The discovery consisted chiefly in a few Roman vases and many coins of various dates, embedded in the gravel of the spring-head. It gave rise to much speculation, which is recorded in the *Journal of the British Arch. Assoc.* vol. xxxi, p. 60, in a paper entitled, *The Ancient Worship of Springs*. The relics are deposited in the Dorset Museum.¹

¹ But this discovery was entirely eclipsed by one of much greater magnitude that occurred in the following year in Northumberland, near to the Station *Proculia* on the Roman Wall. The precise spot is the spring that feeds a rivulet which flows into the south Tyne. The spring and its receptacle were first noticed by Horsley in his "*Britannia Romana*," 1732. Excavations made in October, 1876, were rewarded by an abundant harvest of antiquities: coins, altar, statues, Roman ware, glass, brooches, rings, beads, dice, and other objects; tusks of wild bear, horns of deer, and bones of sheep and oxen. The very large number of Roman coins,

amounting to more than thirteen thousand, ranging from Augustus to Gratian, were all of them examined and tabulated by C. Reach Smith, F.S.A. It cannot be reasonably supposed that this large mass of coins had been deposited as votive offerings, but rather on the occurrence of some panic or alarm of invasion. Still we may well imagine that in peaceful days some of the coins and other objects of value were deposited as ex-voto offerings to the Nymph or Goddess who presided over this spring and its sacarium.—See *Archæologia Eliana*, 1876-77.—Papers read by John Clayton, Esq.

CHURCH NOTES, CHIEFLY IN BERKS, WILTS AND
OXFORD, WITH A FEW IN SOMERSET AND
GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

(Continued from page 303.)

SUTTON BINGER, WILTS.—Tower Perpendicular, with a good west door and window, and above the latter a canopied niche. The parapet is panelled and embattled. The four angle pinnacles are mean, but in each centre is a large open work pinnacle. The north wall, the door, and a window of the nave are Perpendicular, but the rest has been completely modernized. The south aisle is a peculiar variety of Decorated. The east window is of three lights, sept-foiled, and in the head vesica piscis tracery, much flattened. Each space is foliated with twelve foils. The label is good, the recess moulded, and adorned with a band of ball flowers, set a little further apart than usual. The lower part of the central light is occupied by a niche for an image, and at its back is a singular representation of a Decorated window. The two south windows are early Decorated. The west window is of the same date, but peculiar. In its head is the vesica piscis, but not flattened, and the exterior label is part of a heavy string, on the under side of which are large ball flowers and other ornaments set at very long intervals. At this west end between the aisle and the tower is a large gargoyle, representing a three quarter length of a bear, muzzled, but with his mouth open. The chancel is mostly modern. It appears to have been Decorated, and has an excellent arch from the nave. The south porch is of stone, probably Perpendicular. The entrance has a pointed barrel vault, with transverse ribs.

SUTTON COURTNEY, BERKS.—A large and very curious church. Tower late Norman. Its lower stage has flat low buttresses, like those of Newnham Murren, with round-headed windows. The next stage has no buttresses and pointed transition windows. Above it is a corbel table, that probably carried the original Norman parapet. This has been replaced by a Decorated upper stage. The nave has four arches on each side. On the north they are Decorated. The arches are drop, piers octagonal, caps and mouldings all alike. On the south side the three eastern arches correspond to those on the north. The remaining arch is different and very curious. The pier is early English, very light, with a bell cap. The arch is pointed Norman, with crenelle and chevron moulding, bold and good, and just above the pier is a single ball flower of Decorated date. The arch seems to have been underpinned and the pier inserted. The ball flower seems a still later insertion. The whole

is a good example of the mixing up of different styles. The north and south aisles are Decorated with good Perpendicular additions; in the latter a chantry is still screened off. The chancel is early Decorated; the east window is peculiar, and may be later. On the north side some altar tombs have been thrust into a good Decorated sepulchre. The south porch is Perpendicular, of brick, with an upper chamber, in which is a small library. There is a good Perpendicular rood-loft screen, of wood, unusually perfect, with a stair on the north side. The font is a cylinder, with a band of intersecting circles, probably late Norman. Some traces of painting are seen on the chancel walls. West of the church is an old house with an early English round headed doorway. In the churchyard is a Perpendicular altar tomb.

SWINDON, WILTS.—This church is grievously disfigured—tower, nave, chancel, aisles and porch. Tower seems Decorated. Nave has a good chancel arch, springing from corbel heads of Edward III. and his Queen. There are four arches on each side, probably Decorated. The south aisle and probably the south porch are late Perpendicular. North door peculiar; north porch modern. A spring gushes forth west of the church, not far off.

SWYNCOMBE, OXON.—No tower. The nave has a Norman north door, and near it an early English loop. Of the south windows one is Decorated and one early English. The chancel arch is Norman. The south porch has an upper chamber, within which is the bell. The chancel has a Norman half round apse. The windows are insertions, but curious. That on the south seems recent, and is flat-topped, but has a decided Decorated drip, exactly resembling that of a south window at Cowley.

TOCKENHAM, WILTS.—A small church. The nave has a wooden belfry. The walls seem early English, with Perpendicular additions. The chancel may be Decorated, but with much Perpendicular work. There is a low south window. South porch modern. Font resembles Christian Malford, but is inferior to it. Outside the nave, just west of the south door, is a curious niche, carved in one stone, and built into the wall. Its hollow is fluted above into a sort of rude semi-dome, and it contains a draped figure in relief, resting upon a staff or trunk of a shrub, round which is twined a serpent. It has a Roman look.

UFFINGTON, BERKS.—Very little known, but a very good example of the early English style. It has a tower, nave, chancel, transepts, chapels and porches. The tower is central, at the cross, square below, and resting on four massive piers. When clear of the roof the angles are removed, and the tower rises as an octagonal lanthorn. The lower stage is not vaulted, and the lanthorn has some inferior windows, and is in other respects ill finished. It seems of later date than the base of the tower, but the design and proportions are good. The three west windows of the nave are long and narrow, as though for lancets, but they are flat-topped. The north and south windows are long and narrow, and composed each of two lights. The recesses are flanked by early English shafts with bell-caps, but topped by a flat impost, instead of an arch, which appears original, as the exterior drip stones are flat and have early English or Decorated corbels. Moreover, judging from the pitch mark of the old roof upon the tower, there could have been no room for a pointed arch. The present roof, put on in 1678, cuts all the windows of the nave, and some of them lower than would have been the case with the

earlier roof, but does not detract materially from their appearance. It is probable that the funds ran short, and the flat impost was adopted from economy. The nave windows are very peculiar. There are two doors. The north is good; the south, opening into the great porch, is peculiarly beautiful, and remarkable also for the rich iron work of its valve. The chancel seems to have been completed as designed. The east window is a triple lancet, highly enriched. On the north side are six lancet windows, very long and narrow, with splendid jambs and flanking shafts within. The two central windows are not pierced, probably to allow of an intended exterior vestry. On the south side the lancet arch next the altar rail is a rich piscina, and there are also three stone stalls. The south window occupies the place of two ordinary windows. Its recess is original, but the tracery is early Decorated with the vesica piscis, and probably an insertion. There is a south door with an exterior canopy, and within is a stoop. The windows rest upon an interior string course, and pilasters supported on carved brackets rise against the walls and were intended to support the ribs and fan tracery of a vault. This, however, was never added, and it may be doubted whether the walls would have stood the thrust. The transepts are alike in general proportions, and each terminates in a triple window. In the north transept the east side is occupied by two chapels or oratories opening from it, each lighted by a long, irregular, triple window. The south transept has a single chapel only, the place of the other being occupied by a door, which stands within a shallow porch or canopy, a fine piece of composition, with but little ornament, and admirably suited, as here, to a side entrance, or to the principal entrance of a chapel. The south porch is vaulted and groined, with an upper chamber. The exterior pinnacles are gone. The general aspect of this church is plain, and the exterior is rough-cast. The windows rest on an exterior string, and a second string runs at their springing levels. Below the lower string are a number of recessed circles, three at each gable end, and others placed somewhat irregularly along the outer walls. Each is pierced with five holes, and appears to have carried a cross of metal, now removed. This church is a proof of how little a well-proportioned church is dependent upon ornament for its effect, for nothing can be more complete than its general appearance, and, excepting upon the chancel and south porch, there is scarcely any ornament. The font is not remarkable. There are no monuments, and in the nave and transepts no pews. The building is in pretty good order, and fairly kept.

UPTON CHALVEY, BUCKS.—This church is Norman, excepting the porch and the upper stage of the tower. The tower is central, between the nave and chancel. The nave has a blocked-up Norman window in the west gable, and two on either side, small and plain. The north door is enriched Norman. The south door is concealed by a modern brick porch. East of this porch is a closed Norman doorway, and east again of that are traces of an arch in the wall, and upon the north side opposite to this are traces of a corresponding arch. The west and two north windows are Perpendicular. The chancel has two Norman pilasters on each side. The east window is Perpendicular, but above it is a Norman loop.

WANTAGE, BERKS.—A large and handsome church, composed of a tower, nave, aisles, transepts, chancel and chapels. The tower is at the cross, open below, resting on four plain but very good Decorated piers,

with good vaultings. The nave is early English; some of the southern arches have the dog-tooth ornament. The northern piers are plainer, and perhaps a little later. The clerestory, roof, and aisles are Perpendicular. The north transept is Decorated, with traces of early English work. Appended to it is a Decorated east aisle and a late Perpendicular north chapel. The south transept is early Decorated, perhaps a little earlier than the tower. The arch into the south aisle resembles that of Steventon. The east aisle seems Perpendicular, as are the roofs of both transepts, and the whole of the south chapel. The chancel is chiefly Perpendicular; in it is some good wood carving. The font is singular; it is early English, and of large size. The bowl is a plain decagon, covered inside and out with lead, probably a modern casing. The stem is also a decagon, with a three-quarter engaged shaft on each facet; the ornament is the dog-tooth. The principal monument is that of a knight of the Fitz Warine family and his lady. The figures life size, of alabaster, on a rich altar tomb, with a much broken canopy. The knight has the arms of Fitz Warine on his surcoat, and the Garter on his left leg. He was probably Falk, Baron Fitz Warine, who died 1373.

WARBOROUGH, OXON.—A small and plain church constructed of a rock bed of the chalk marle, alternating with flint, in squares. The tower is very late, resembling those of Henley, Wallingford and Dorchester. It is dated 1666. The nave is Decorated, but the windows are Perpendicular insertions, segmental, of good design and execution. The north door is plain; the south good early Decorated. The arch into the south transept is Decorated, and the transept contains a good Decorated window, a recess, and a piscina. The chancel deserves particular attention as an example of the fitting together of work of two dates. The east and south walls are Decorated, the north side and north-east angle with the contained windows are Perpendicular. The door is pointed Norman, and the east windows with Norman ornaments, has Decorated tracery. The eastern face of the wall has been rebuilt in the Decorated style, and a decidedly Decorated drip stone added to the Norman door, forming a part of the regular string. The font resembles that of Dorchester, but is of inferior work. The bowl is cylindrical, of lead, adorned with a band of saints in relief, seated under arches, some round headed, others formed by inclined lintels, as in Saxon work. The stem is of Perpendicular or Decorated date, an octagon, and much enriched. The south porch, of timber, is old. There is the shaft of a fine cross in the church-yard.

WHITCHURCH, OXON.—A tolerably large church, much disfigured, but kept clean and neat. The west end of the nave carries a timber belfry. The nave is Norman, and in that style there remains a plain south door and a north and south window. The chancel arch is modern, but two small windows above it are purely Norman. Much of the north wall has been broken down to suit a modern aisle, and most of the south windows are Decorated or Perpendicular insertions. One of the former, of one light, is sept-foiled. The south doorway is fitted with a late Perpendicular frame, opening into a porch of the same date, used as a vestry. The chancel is either Decorated or Perpendicular, with additions. The north and south windows are early and late Perpendicular.

LITTLE WITTENHAM, BERKS.—The tower is late Perpendicular; the nave probably Decorated with Perpendicular additions. The chancel is

Decorated, and the east window a curious compound of that and the succeeding style. The Dunch chapel, south of the chancel, is very debased Perpendicular. In the chancel is a Perpendicular altar tomb, and there are some brasses.

LONG WITENHAM, BERKS.—The church of the Rev. J. C. Clutterbuck, who has paid much attention to the architecture, agriculture, and geology of the district. It is composed of a tower, nave, aisles, south transept, chancel, and south porch. The tower is too small for the church, and rather too tall for its other dimensions. The old battlements have been replaced by flat stones, giving a mean aspect to the whole. The style is late Perpendicular. Of the nave the north aisle is Decorated, the south aisle rather earlier. It has four arches with cylindrical piers, with early English bases and flowered caps, roughly carved, but in good taste. The chancel arch is good plain Norman. The aisles are Decorated, early in the style. In the north aisle is a peculiar window of three lights, trefoiled, with three quatrefoils in the head. It is Decorated, but ugly, and though old, not unlike a modern insertion. The south transept is small, and evidently intended for a private chapel. It is early Decorated with an original flat-topped window, and another pointed, of three lights, with a circle in the head. In the south wall is a singular piscina, having a small figure in armour laid as its cill. The chancel seems early Decorated. It is much mutilated. The porch is Decorated, of wood, and tolerably perfect. It is the oldest porch in this part of the county. The font is large, of cast lead, with an ornamented band of effigies of Bishops under a pointed arcade, and above are prints of foliage and tracery, applied by the founder somewhat carelessly. The style seems early English. This leaden bowl stands upon a small stone cylinder in the north aisle, with a step on the west side. Until recently the whole was concealed in bricks and mortar, enclosed in a wooden case of the date of 1632.

This church reflects great credit upon the Vicar, who, indeed, boasts an hereditary claim to the study of ecclesiastical architecture, being the son of the historian of Hertfordshire. It is much to be desired that some of the neighbouring rectors and church-wardens would profit by the example here afforded.

WOOLSTON, BERKS.—A small church in bad repair, composed of a nave, south transept, and chancel. The nave has a pointed loop on the north and south sides, a pointed arch into the chancel, with a billeted drip, all late Norman. The south door, now blocked up, is in the same style. The north door is round-headed, with a billeted drip, and a band of chevron moulding with corbel heads, as at Faringdon. South transept early Decorated, with piscina and wooden shelf. The chancel, in the same style, has a good piscina, with a carved bracket. Part of the roof is original. The east end of the chancel and west end of the nave are modern. The font has a cylindrical bowl of cast lead, upon a plain stone cylinder with a scalloped base. The prints upon the lead resemble 'cancelli,' or lattice work, with some rude representations of windows, with early Decorated tracery.

YATTENDON, BERKS.—Of one date; in the late Perpendicular style, rudely executed. The font seems Decorated. Part of the wood screen remains, and the shell of the stone staircase to the left is seen on the north side.

The Church Notes, now brought to a conclusion, present a faithful picture of the condition of the ecclesiastical structures in the Vale of Berks, and other parts of the course of the Great Western Railway, as they stood at the time of the commencement of the Oxford movement, introduced to the public by the celebrated Oxford Tracts. It is not too much to say that the buildings were mostly out of repair, uncared for, dirty and damp, the seats too often old and rotten, the monuments neglected, and the architectural features, often exceedingly curious, unstudied and unknown.

To some extent the condition of the churches was an indication of the conduct of the clergy. There was a good deal of non-residence, or of half residence, many of the cures being served from Oxford by men who came over for special duties, and knew and cared little for the spiritual or temporal welfare of the flocks.

There is the less reason for disguising this state of things that they stand in strong contrast with that which now obtains. The influence of Oxford has permeated and leavened the whole mass. The clergy are resident, active, awake to the duty of visiting the sick and advising the sound. The parsonages are in good order, the churchyards well kept, and the churches in excellent repair, dry and warmed, and usually well attended.

Ecclesiastical architecture has been much studied. Rickman's excellent volume has been the parent of many publications. A new, and in most respects a better instructed race of architects has crowded the profession. A few churches have been rebuilt, many have been enlarged, some have been restored, and with a desire to preserve as far as possible what is good in the past. Many new churches, in new districts, have been constructed, and it may with safety be asserted that the Church of England in these districts—and it may be in all others—never stood in so healthy and flourishing a condition as at this time, when its very existence as a State Church is so rudely and unjustly assailed.

Original Document.

FROM A VOLUME OF "BREVIARIA REGIA" ISSUED DURING
THE EPISCOPATE OF JOHN BOKINGHAM,
BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

Communicated by the Rev. A. R. MADDISON, F.S.A.

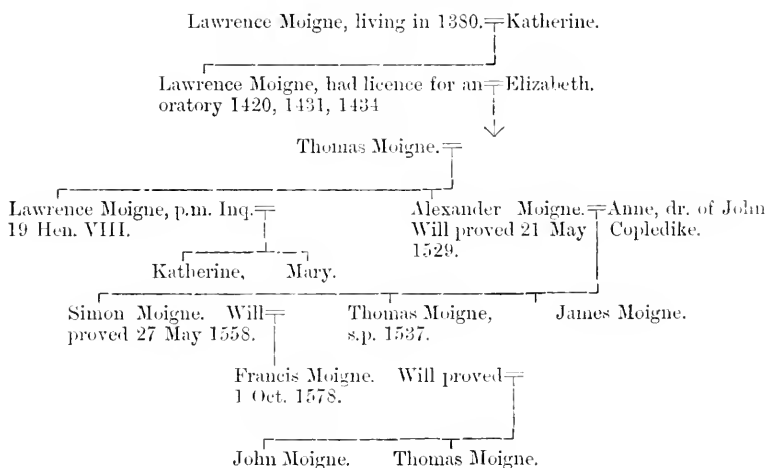
Ricardus dei gratia rex Angliæ et franciæ et dominus hiberniæ venerabili in Christo patri Johanni eadem gratia Episcopo Lincoln. Salutem. Sciatis quod cum Abbas de Revesby in Curia nostra coram dilectis et fidelibus Willielmo de Skypwyth et Rogero de Kirketon Justiciariis nostris de Communi Banco apud Wragby die mercurii proximo ante festum dominicæ in medio quadragesimæ proximæ prestitum recuperasset presentationem suam versus Laurentium Moigne de Thetiltorpe et Katerinam uxorem ejus, Willielmum Augevyn de Sancto Botulpho, Goldsmyth, et Elizabetham uxorem ejus, et Robertum Arden, clericum, ad ecclesiam omnium sanctorum de Thetiltorpe vacantem, et ad suam donationem spectantem, ac vobis mandavimus quod non obstante reclamatione prædictorum Laurentii Katerinæ Willielmi Elizabethæ et Roberti ad presentationem prædicti abbatis ad ecclesiam prædictam idoneam personam prædicti abbatis vos tamen ad presentationem prædicti abbatis ad ecclesiam prædictam idoneam personam non admisistis nec admittere curastis prout ex quadam querela ipsius abbatis accepimus, et ideo vobis mandamus sicut alias vobis mandavimus firmiæ (sic) injungendo quod non obstante reclamatione prædictorum Laurentii Katerinæ Willielmi Elizabethæ et Roberti ad presentationem prædicti Abbatis ad ecclesiam prædictam idoneam personam admittatis.

T. R. Bealknap Apud Westm. xiiiij die Aprilis Anno Regni nostri tercio.

The Moigne and Augevine families were of great antiquity in Lincolnshire, though their pedigrees are given most scantily in the Heraldic Visitations. The Laurence Moigne, who figures in the above Brief, was in all probability the father of another Laurence Moigne, who, with his wife Elizabeth, had a licence for an oratory in his house at Theddlethorpe, granted by Bishop Fleming, 14th June, 1420. It was renewed to the same by Bishop Gray in 1431 and 1434. In 1444 Thomas Moigne of Clew was High Sheriff. The P.M. Inq. of Laurence Moigne was held 16th December, 19th Hen. VIII. He was seized of the manors of Kelstern and Waithe and other estates. His father was a Thomas Moigne. He left two daughters Mary and Katherine. His brother, Alexander Moigne of Sixhills, inherited the manor of Waithe, and according to his will, dated

4th May, 1528, proved 21st May, 1529, left three sons, Thomas, Simon, and James Moigne. There is reason to believe that Thomas was executed for high treason in the Lincolnshire rising of 1536, and was identical with the Thomas Moigne mentioned by Froude in the vol. iii of his history, p. 211. Simon Moigne was of Willingham and by his will, dated 1557 and proved 27th May, 1558, he left his estates to his son, Francis Moigne. He was of Cadeby, and by his will, dated 11th August, 1578 proved 1st October, 1578, left his estates in Waitle and elsewhere to his sons John and Thomas Moigne. After this the family seem to have passed away.

Conjectural Pedigree.



Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

June 2nd, 1887.

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

MR. GOMME read a paper on "The Evidence of a Free Village Community at Aston and Cote, in Oxfordshire." After pointing out that Mr. Seebohm's book on the subject had almost revolutionized opinions as to the development of the village community in England, Mr. Gomme said that the manor of Aston and Cote was one example of a free community not living under the dominion of a lord, and not having any contact with Roman life in Britain. First, there was the independent assembly of the community, the Sixteens, which met in the open air and exercised all the jurisdiction of an ordinary manorial court. Then there was the curious survival of the primitive holding of sixteen hides or sixty-four yard-lands, each yard-land being occupied by strips in the common field chosen periodically by lot; then there was the bull, belonging not to the lord as at Hitchin, but to the community. Mr. Gomme traced out the decay of the old system at Aston and Cote, and concluded that if this community afforded an example of a late survival of the free village community it was fair to assume that it was not the only one, and that, therefore, Mr. Seebohm's theory of the origin of the English village community in serfdom under a lord dating from Roman influences was not true of all districts.

THE REV. GREVILLE J. CHESTER read a paper by Professor Sayce on "A Hittite Cylinder, and Seal;" This was exhibited at a previous meeting. See p. 310. Professor Sayce's paper is printed at p. 347.

MR. E. PEACOCK sent a paper on "The Court Rolls of the Manor of Hibbaldslow." This is printed at p. 278.

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Gomme, Professor Sayce, and Mr. Peacock.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the REV. GREVILLE J. CHESTER -- A Hittite cylinder.

MR. CHESTER also laid before the meeting a collection of Italian medals bearing the head of Christ.

On one was the following inscription:—

EGO SVM VIA VERITAS ET VITA.

On another—

IHS XPC SALVATOR MVNDI.

On the obverse—

TV ES
CHRISTVS
FILIVS DEI VI
VI QVI INHVNC
MVNDI VE
NI STL.

One Silver Medal with head of Christ and Our Lady in profile facing each other, had the following inscription :—

IESVS MARIA ROMA.

On the obverse is a representation of the Crucifixion, with figures of Our Lady and St. John on either side of the Cross, and St. Mary Magdalen at the foot.

There were also two medals with Hebrew inscriptions.

The attention of the meeting was called by MR. CHESTER to the destruction now going on of the walls of Antioch, and he suggested that the Institute should bring the matter under the notice of the British Ambassador at Constantinople.

July 7th, 1887.

R. P. PULLAN, Esq., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

MR. HARTSHORNE sent the following resolution, which was brought before the meeting by the Chairman and carried : “ That the members of the Royal Archæological Institute have heard with astonishment and with the deepest regret that, in order to completely prepare Westminster Abbey for the late Jubilee function, the officials of the Office of Works should have thought it necessary to stain and varnish so famous a relic as the Coronation Chair of the kings of England, made by order of Edward I, to enshrine the “ Stone of Destiny,” the “ fatal stone ” of Scone : and, with the certain knowledge of the grievous mischief which has on former occasions been done to the ancient monuments, furniture, and fittings of the Abbey, the members of the Institute desire now to protest in the strongest possible way against the continuance of a practice which from time to time takes the Abbey and its precious contents out of the hands of their proper custodians, and consigns them to the tender mercies of untutored and irresponsible direction.”

PROFESSOR BUNNELL LEWIS read a paper on Roman antiquities in Touraine and the Central Pyrenees, which he described under the following heads : (1) Oculist's stamp, found at Tours, with four inscriptions on the sides. The name of the doctor was Proculus. “ Euodes ad Voce ” is an unusual phrase ; it seems to mean a fragrant ointment for ulceration. (2) Rock-crystal found at Azay-le-Rideau, and belonging to the Marquis de Biencourt. The subject engraved, Diana Tauropolos, is rare in ancient gems. It occurs on a coin of Anazarbus in Cilicia, and on a sarcophagus in the Louvre. (3) Pile de Cinq Mars—more correctly St. Mars—is near the Loire, eighteen kilomètres below Tours. Its design is uncertain ; perhaps it was intended to mark a boundary, or it may have been erected in honour of Mereury, the guardian of travellers.

(4) The Aqueduct of Luynes in the same neighbourhood is small, but picturesque. It supplied a Roman fort, probably one of those to which Lucan refers,

Instabiles Turonas circumscita castra coercent.

(5) At Luchon many inscriptions or votive altars have been preserved; they contain names of local deities which are supposed to have some affinity with the Basque language. Considerable remains of the Roman *thermæ* have been discovered, showing that Luchon was frequented by visitors in ancient as well as modern times. (6) At Tibiran the collection of the Baron d'Agos contains many antiquities found in the neighbourhood, amongst them altars to *Fagus* (beech), whence *Agos* is derived, also several statuettes of Mercury. (7) At Valcabrère the church of SS. Just and Pasteur is remarkable for many fragments of Gallo-Roman sculpture used as building materials. (8) At St. Bertrand de Comminges the cathedral is the chief object of interest (eleventh and fourteenth centuries); but there are Roman inscriptions at two gates, and substructures of an amphitheatre, and traces of an aqueduct in the *faubourg*.

A vote of thanks was passed to Professor Lewis, whose paper will appear in a future *Journal*.

Mr. G. E. Fox read a paper on "The Roman Villa at Chedworth, Gloucestershire." A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Fox, whose paper is printed at p. 322.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By PROFESSOR LEWIS.—Photographs, maps, coins, and gems in illustration of his paper.

By Mr. Fox.—Plans and drawings illustrative of his paper.

ANNUAL MEETING AT SALISBURY,

August 2 to August 9, 1887.

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Tuesday, August 2.

The Mayor of Salisbury (F. Griffin, Esq.), and the members of the Corporation assembled at noon in the Council House, and received Lieut.-General A. H. Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers, President of the meeting, the noble President of the Institute, and the following Presidents and Vice-Presidents of sections and members of the Council:—The Bishop of Salisbury (President of the Antiquarian Section), the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, the Dean of Salisbury (President of the Historical Section), the Rev. Canon Sir T. H. B. Baker, Bart., Mr. T. H. Baylis, q.c., Mr. J. E. Nightingale, the Hon. Mr. Justice Pinhey, the Rev. F. Spurrell, Mr. J. F. Swayne, the Rev. Precentor Venables (President of the Architectural Section), Mr. Chancellor Ferguson, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, Mr. C. E. Ponting, Mr. R. P. Pullan, Mr. H. Hutchings, Mr. A. Hartshorne, Mr.

J. Hilton, the Rev. J. Greville Chester, Professor E. C. Clarke, Mr. J. Brown, q.c., Mr. J. Park Harrison, Mr. E. Green, the Rev. W. S. Calverley, Mr. J. L. Fythe, the Rev. Dr. Cox, Mr. R. E. E. Warburton, the Rev. R. G. Buckston, the Rev. Canon Creighton, Dr. Collingwood Bruce, the Rev. C. R. Manning, the Very Rev. J. Hirst, General Meredith Read, and many other members of the Institute, and vice-presidents of the meeting.

The MAYOR OF SALISBURY commenced the proceedings by reading the following address:—"My Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—On behalf of the Corporation and my fellow citizens, I have much pleasure in bidding you a cordial and hearty welcome to our ancient city of Salisbury. We rejoice that this—the second visit of the members of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, after a lapse of thirty-eight years—has fallen on more happy times than did your former visit to this city in 1819. On that occasion, under the presidency of the late lamented scholar and statesman, Sidney Herbert, the members of this Institute met here, at a time when the country, and Salisbury in particular, was suffering from a fearful visitation of epidemic cholera. But, thank God, your present visit occurs during a year of unprecedented thanksgiving and rejoicing for the fifty happy and glorious years' reign of our Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, in which, I trust, our ancient and loyal city has taken a prominent part. It would ill become me in the presence of so many learned and distinguished archaeologists to enlarge on the subject of your visit. It has often been asserted that few, if any counties in England can vie with Wiltshire in the variety and interest of its ancient remains, evincing the successive ages of Celtic, Roman, Saxon, and Norman occupations. Our city and immediate neighbourhood affords a rich field for architectural and archaeological study. Old Sarum—our parent city—holds no mean place in our National Antiquities. That masterpiece of Gothic architecture, Salisbury Cathedral, with its steeple pointing heavenward, is the just pride of our city. Our downs and plains teem with memorials—notably Stonehenge, of a far distant epoch—mute mysteries—reared by a race that has passed away and left no record behind. To the archaeologist our thanks are due for reviving our interest in, and the preservation of, these ancient landmarks whose origin baffles all research and conjecture. In conclusion, we desire to express the hope that your visit to our city may be pleasant, enjoyable, and instructive, and that you may be blessed with good health, and fine weather which is such a necessary factor for the proper enjoyment of the many and varied excursions arranged for you by the committee."

The BISHOP OF SALISBURY, as President of the Wiltshire Archaeological Society, then read the following address on behalf of that body:—"It gives me the greatest pleasure to receive your Lordship, the President, and the other members of the Archaeological Institute in a double capacity. I welcome you to this city as sixty-eighth Bishop of Salisbury and as sixty-second Bishop of New Sarum. I welcome you also as President of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society. I am glad that your visit has come at a time when I have been long enough in residence here to appreciate, to some extent, the wealth of interest in the land and the city over which it is my lot to preside. It is impossible for a Bishop of Salisbury whether he looks down upon the

Cathedral and city from the heights of Old Sarum—a city founded as one orderly, peaceful whole by the master mind of Richard Poore—or looks up to the spire from that house in which his predecessors have lived in almost uninterrupted succession since the year 1220, or perceives the still needle point of that same spire from the plain on which repose the isolated sanctuary of Stonehenge, or drives along the green wooded valleys on which the little villages, with ancient churches and monasteries cluster along the sparkling streams like jewels upon a silver thread, it is impossible for him, I say, whether at rest or on his journey, to forget the debt which he owes to the past and to those who, like yourselves, have linked the present and past together and made them a living whole. The cultured home-like aspect of our scenery, which strikes visitors from across the Atlantic as making it a garden in comparison to their own harder featured soil, is due greatly to the spirit of reverence and of sympathetic treatment of our old buildings and their associations, which is a fruit of the good work done by your society and its kindred brotherhood. The quick kindling interest, the pride, the emulation which makes parish vie with parish, (rich and poor alike joining) in the interior adornment, and the reverent festal use of their churches are living fruits of the same spirit—without which a Bishop's labours would be far less bright than, thank God, they are at the present day. There are but few of our parish churches which do not form a worthy settling and gathering place for the solemn offices of the Church and especially for that rite of Confirmation for which I have reason so often to visit them. Therefore, my Lord and gentlemen, I thank you as Bishop again and again. As President of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society I have a yet more decided and special reason for welcoming you here. Your last meeting in this city was in the year 1849. On that occasion the veteran John Britton, then about seventy-eight years old, editor and in great part writer of the “*Beauties of England and Wales*,” and of the “*Architectural and Cathedral Antiquities of Great Britain*,” but especially connected with this county, put forth a circular of some importance. It showed cause why the Wiltshire Topographical Society should have been transferred into a larger and more popular institution, after the example of other local societies which had been stirred into existence by the visits of your institute. The plan was not taken up at once, but on October 12th, 1853, the important Society which I now have the honour to represent was brought into actual being at an inaugural meeting at Devizes. The foundation of its library and museum was laid by the purchase of Mr. Britton's collection of books, drawings, &c., which are deposited at Devizes. The Marquis of Lansdowne was named Patron, and the first President was Mr. Poulett Scrope, who, in his very interesting first address, insisted on the duty of the new Society to complete the work which Sir Richard Colt Hoare and his assistants had left unfinished. Of the 29 hundreds of the County of Wilts he told us “15 have been described under the title of Sir Richard Hoare's *Modern Wiltshire*. But they are, speaking generally, neither the most extensive nor the most important.” He then went on to describe those parts of North Wilts which have been, so to say, neglected. To you then, in some measure, is due the foundation of that Society whose twenty-two or twenty-three volumes since published are such a treasure to the future historian of the county. 1

regret to say that I must still say "the future historian." How it is so, I do not venture to say in the regretted absence of the first secretaries, the Rev. A. C. Smith and Mr. Lukes, and of Canon Jackson, and others who have laboured so assiduously at illustrating our antiquities. Perhaps they may have done better in gathering materials piecemeal rather than in attempting, prematurely, a book which ought to be a final collection, as far as anything human can be final. We have since your visit learnt, I think, something more of the true meaning and scope of antiquarian pursuits. We are less, perhaps, of speculators, and less also of mediævalists. We go further behind into the roots of things. We examine with as much care, in the person of General Pitt-Rivers, as shown by the admirable volume now lying upon the table, the isolated civilization of the little Roman-British villages, as we should a great and magnificent monument. We are as careful, under the guidance of Mr. Nightingale, to register and to treasure the pieces of plate presented to our Churches in the Georgian Era as we do those rare pieces of the pre-reformation times. We have, therefore, perhaps, gained something in method. I trust that before your next visit we shall be able, not only to present you with twenty volumes or so of our magazine, but with a smaller number of a history worthy of this great county.

EARL PERCY said that on behalf of the Institute, of which he had the honor to be president, he had to express their most cordial thanks to them for the cordial expressions of welcome which had proceeded both from the Corporation and from the local society, and he could assure them that there were few places which that Institute could visit with greater pleasure than the city and neighbourhood in which they stood at the present moment. The Mayor was kind enough to mention one or two exceptional circumstances which marked the first occasion when that Institute met at Salisbury, but he thought he omitted one fact which the members of the Institute could not forget, viz., that that meeting took place shortly after the first inauguration of that Institute as a separate society. The Institute was no doubt then started with the most sanguine hopes of success, long life, and prosperity, but the future was always uncertain, and it was a source of great gratification to the Institute to return there this jubilee year after so many years of successful existence to witness the hearty reception which they had received there that day and the kindly remembrance of their former visit. With regard to what had so kindly fallen from the Bishop he was sure it would be a gratification to the members of the Institute to feel that to their last meeting was in some degree due the inauguration of the society over which the Bishop so ably and fitly presided. For his own part he thought they must all feel that however enjoyable to themselves these annual meetings were, one of their principal objects must be to promote and to strengthen the exertions of those who lived in the localities which they visited; and he was sure of this, that the high position which the Wiltshire Archaeological Society occupied was a sign that the efforts of the Royal Archaeological Institute had not been unavailing in promoting the study of the antiquities of Wiltshire as of other parts of the country. Wiltshire, they all knew, stood in a peculiar position, as had already been very fitly said. Its remains were unique, and he had heard—let them remember that he was a stranger and was not speaking of his own knowledge but upon vague, and, he

trusted, false report—but he had heard that in times past those remains had suffered perhaps somewhat from not having guardians who took the intelligent interest which the present generation was able to do in them. He heard only the other day—he trusted it was a story in every sense of the word—a story of a proprietor of one of the best known ancient memorials in this country—he would not mention his name—who, taking visitors to see it one day, found a party of tourists there before him, and this party of tourists—he (Lord Percy) hoped not knowing whom they were addressing—sent a very polite message requesting him, if possible, to let them have the loan of a hammer. Now, he trusted that that was a myth or, at any rate, if not altogether a myth, it was a tale whose only possible foundation dated back to a period very far distant. But he was certain that Wiltshire must stand in a very exceptional position indeed if there was not ample room for the exertions of all antiquaries, local and general, in inciting the inhabitants of the country to general respect for the memorials of the past that exist among them and taking all vigilant care of them themselves. He heartily thanked them in the name of the Institute for the very kind reception which had been given.

The Mayor having vacated the chair, it was now occupied by Lieut.-General PITT-RIVERS, who delivered his inaugural address. This is printed at p. 261.

In proposing a vote of thanks to General Pitt-Rivers, Lord PERCY attested to the high value of the address they had listened to. They had not, as was often the practice on occasions of this kind, been taken generally over a great expanse of archaeological ground, resting at no particular point, but had heard one subject most ably treated.

In addition to the usual programmes of the meeting, which were given to each ticket-holder, MR. NIGHTINGALE was kind enough to prepare for their use a handbook of the places to be visited during the week.

At 2 p.m. the members assembled at the Cathedral, and proceeded to the Chapter-House where Precentor VENABLES gave an address on "The History and Architecture of the Cathedral," illustrating his remarks by the drawings of it, used by Professor Willis on the occasion of the former visit of the Institute to Salisbury in 1849, together with sections of Amiens, for comparison. The Precentor began his remarks by paying a graceful tribute to the genius of Professor Willis, and expressed his regret that his admirable dissertation on Salisbury cathedral had never been given to the world. In briefly sketching now the architectural history of this graceful and harmonious building, the Precentor said he should place Salisbury cathedral as an architectural composition, more especially as seen from the outside, as the most perfectly designed building in the world. It was often said, and with some degree of truth, that Salisbury was one of the least interesting of English cathedrals. The reason for that was very plain, it was the continuous development of one idea and one design from east to west, from the Lady chapel where it was begun to the west end where it was finished. But there was one exception, the tower and spire,—the chief glory and beauty of the cathedral,—did not form part of the original design, they belonged to another century; thus, with these exceptions, the cathedral presented none of those architectural problems which were so interesting and

occasionally perplexing at such places as Canterbury, Lincoln, Lichfield, and elsewhere. This lack of "architectural history" was brought about by the circumstance that the foundations of the cathedral were laid in 1220 upon an entirely new site, and, as Professor Willis had observed, on a spot where no religious establishment had previously existed. Precentor Venables proceeded to tell the interesting story of the abandonment of the cathedral of Bishop Osmond and Bishop Roger at Old Sarum, and expressed the hope that the foundations of the ancient building might some day be investigated. On Michaelmas-day, 1225, Stephen Langton came to consecrate what was already built of the church, which was probably only the Lady chapel, but that was enough for the services to be carried on in. In 1226 the bodies of Bishop Jocelyn, Bishop Osmond, and Bishop Roger were removed from the old cathedral and placed in the new one. The cathedral was said to have been forty years in building, but it must have been more than that. Precentor Venables passed on to speak of the Decorated tower and spire, saying that it was pleasing to find that a Wiltshire man, Richard de Farley, was the contriver of that which was the great glory of the cathedral. He was an excellent architect, but not a good engineer. Soon after the erection of the spire pillars and arches on all sides began to give way, but flying buttresses, struts, strainers, relieving arches, &c., were erected to stay the impending evil. Money was wanted for these unexpected works, and in mediæval times one of the most certain ways of obtaining means was to get a local saint. In 1387 steps were therefore taken to get Saint Osmond canonised. He was already popularly adored, but it was not until 1456 that he was actually canonised. The Precentor then spoke of the sufferings of the cathedral during the Civil Wars, the sad havoc which was wrought by Wyatt at the end of the last century, when the detached campanile was destroyed, the monuments recklessly "re-arranged," and much of the beautiful thirteenth century grisaille glass, with which the windows were filled, wickedly beaten to pieces and cast into the city ditch. With reference to this particular destruction, the following letter, unearthed by the researches of the Historical MSS. Commissioners throws a lurid light upon "restoration" in 1788. It was written by John Berry, glazier, of Salisbury, to Mr. Lloyd, of Conduit-street, London:—"Sir,—This day I have sent you a Box full of old Stained and Painted Glass as you desired me to due wich I hope will sute your Purpos it his the best that I can get at Present. But I expet to Beatt to Peccais a great deale verey sune as it his of now use to we and we Due it for the lead if you want eney more of the same sorts you may have what thear his, if it will pay for taking out, as it is a Deal of Truble to what Beating it to Peccais his you will send me a line as sune as Possobl for we are goain to move ore glasing shop to a Nother Plase and thin we hope to save a greatt Deale more of the like sort which I ham your most Omble Servnt John Berry." Precentor Venables then contrasted the condition of the Chapter-House with its neglected conditions in 1849, and led the party through the cathedral, pointing out some of the mischief that had been wrought by Wyatt to the utter dislocation of the historical value of such objects as tombs, canopies, arcades, &c. In the south-east transept was the cheering sight of much remains of the old stained glass lately brought together, fragmentary indeed, but of high interest and value.

From the cathedral the members proceeded to the Hospital of St. Nicholas, a picturesque building, founded by Ela, countess of Salisbury in 1227, and partly eleemosynary and partly as a church in commemoration of her husband, William Longespée. The REV. G. H. MOBERLEY, the Master, offered some observations upon this foundation, somewhat questioning the date and origin of the foundation. Here the principal interest centred in the plan which appeared to have originally consisted of two chapels side by side, with naves divided by an arcade, the nave being partitioned off for the inmates of the two sexes. A precisely similar arrangement was seen at St. Mary's Hospital in Chichester, visited by the Institute during the Lewes meeting in 1883. It appeared, from the discussion and close inspection which followed, that the original arrangement at Salisbury was not found to answer, and one side of the nave fell into disuse, a new block of buildings being erected in the beginning of the sixteenth century. From hence the party proceeded to Harnham Bridge, with a chapel attached to it on St. John's island. Here were evidences of work of the latter part of the thirteenth century, tending to shew that those remains were part of Bishop Bingham's benefactions of that period.

The palace was visited at 5 o'clock when the party was taken in hand by the bishop, who, in the kindest possible way, first conducted the members round the outside of this picturesque and irregular group of buildings. The bishop's description was from time to time supplemented by Mr. Ponting and Mr. Micklethwaite, and the exhibition of a large plan, thoughtfully provided, enabled the visitors to thoroughly realize the architectural history of the quaint and rambling structure. Within the palace a thirteenth century vaulted sub-structure, lately opened out, and recalling recollections of its noble prototype in the palace at Wells, was first seen, and subsequently the principal rooms, and the interesting series of portraits of former Chancellors of the Order of the Garter, a dignity now held by the Bishops of Oxford, in the beautifully proportioned and decorated gallery. In the chapel the bishop read an account of an act of consecration, August 28, 1662, and was disposed to think that this established its non-use, previous to that date for sacred purposes. A short discussion ensued upon this point, and it certainly appeared from the wording of the deed that the "room," then consecrated, had not at any time previously been used for secular purposes, and could hardly have been an earlier chapel re-dedicated.

At 8 p.m. the BISHOP of SALISBURY opened the Antiquarian Section with a paper on "The Episcopal Seals of the See of Salisbury," which will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

On the proposal of General PITT-RIVERS, a cordial vote of thanks was passed to the president of the section.

MR. J. H. MOULE then read a "Description of the *Vetus Registrum Sarisberienense*."

On the motion of the CHAIRMAN, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Moule, and the meeting broke up.

Wednesday, August 3rd,

At 10 a.m. a large party left Salisbury in carriages for Old Sarum. Arrived at these great earthworks, the members were taken in hand by General Pitt-Rivers, who read the following paper :

“The time admitting only of the very briefest description, it is, of course, impossible to go far into the history of this ancient fortress. All I can do is to point out to the visitors, who are not already acquainted with the place, what to observe, and those who wish to continue the subject will find an excellent account of it by Mr. G. T. Clark, in the thirty-second volume of the *Journal* of the Archaeological Institute, and, also in Mr. E. T. Steven’s *Stonehenge Excursion*.

“The fact of its having originally been a British earthwork is proved by the six Roman roads leading up to it, traces of which may still be seen, and, as the work from its shape is certainly not Roman, it must necessarily be pre-Roman and British. The three roads, which led to the eastern entrance, were from Winchester, Silchester, and Badbury. A fourth is believed to have run north to the Roman station of Cunetio, near Marlborough; a fifth went to Bath, and a sixth to Ilchester. It was, probably, originally the stronghold and place of refuge of an independent tribe of Britons, to which the inhabitants of the surrounding district retired when attacked by a neighbouring tribe. It occupies a knoll of the chalk hill, and, like most British earthworks, its outline conforms to the line of the hill. The reason it is nearly round is because the hill was round. It has two principal lines of defence—an outer line with a deep ditch and rampart on the inside, and a smaller rampart on the outside of it—and which has two entrances, one on the east and one on the west. The inner line, consisting of a ditch with one rampart on the inside, has only one entrance on the east. It is believed that the outer line of defence only was British, and that the inner line or keep was added in the eighth or ninth century to make a fortified residence for the lord of the place. This, however, has not been proved, as it might be, by excavations in the ramparts. Besides this, there are radiating lines of entrenchment between the central keep and the outer defence made for the purpose of protecting part of the outer ward should the enemy break in through the outer line. This appears to me to be a Norman method of defence, as a similar arrangement is seen in the so called Cæsar’s camp at Folkestone, which I excavated and proved to be of Norman construction. The Normans found the mounds of earth here, and built on them a line of wall on the inner rampart, the remains of which are seen at the entrance, and another on the rampart of the outer line of defence; a fragment of which, 25 feet long, 12 feet high, and 10 feet thick may be seen on the north-west side, but Mr. Roach Smith is of opinion that this fragment is Roman. The Normans also added earthen barbicans to cover the eastern and western entrances to the outer line, each having a separate ditch of its own detached from the main ditch of the place. The marks of a large well can be seen in the keep, and Leland says, “there are other wells which, I think, would be worth finding and examining.” There was a suburb outside the fortification on the south side. Few relics of any period have been found in Old Sarum, and the place has been very much neglected by archaeologists.

“In studying ancient fortifications it is always desirable to keep in view the distinctly different purposes which an earthen rampart served in ancient and modern times. In modern times the rampart is intended to give cover to the defender from the cannon of the enemy, and to be able to do that it must be of a certain thickness that the shot may not pass through it, and in consequence of this thickness of the rampart, the

defenders standing behind it are unable to see down into the ditch in front of them. The line of the rampart has, therefore, to be arranged so that the ditch in front of each part may be seen into by some other part, and it is this *flanking defence*, as it is called, that has given rise to the different system of modern fortification. But in ancient fortifications the wall, or stockade of wood, not being required to be of very great thickness, the defenders, standing behind it and looking over it, or through loop-holes in it, were able to see down into the ditch in front of them. Flanking defence was, therefore, not necessary to the same extent: parts, which, in a modern fortification, are called dead ground, or ground in which an enemy could lie concealed, would not be dead ground in an ancient fortification, and a simple straight line of ditch and rampart was all that was required. The use of an earthen rampart in ancient fortification was to give command to the defenders, to increase the force of their missiles by gravitation, and to place the stockade, or wall that was built on the top of it, beyond the reach of the enemy's battering rams. The object of a modern rampart is to give cover, not command; the object of an ancient rampart was to give command not cover. If this is kept constantly in view, the lines of ancient British entrenchment will be better understood. It will be found that almost invariably the height of the rampart in each part of a work was greater where the ground outside was flatter, and where command had to be obtained by artificial mounds. Where the ground sloped down from the rampart it was not so high, and in places where the natural slope of the ground afforded sufficient command without an earthen rampart, it was dispensed with altogether, especially in the less important works. But at Old Sarum, these principles of fortification, which are so usually observed in all British works, as at Whichbury for example, on the other side of Salisbury, do not apply. Although the ground is much weaker on the east than on the west side, the ditch and rampart are of the same size all round, and this leads me to think that the fortification may have been modernised in more recent times. Alfred, in 871, ordered Leofric, of Wiltunshire, to make another ditch at Old Sarum to be defended by palisades, and this alteration may have consisted in deepening the old ditch. It is even possible that the present ditch may have been altered at the time when the barbicans were added to cover the openings in Norman times. The father of Cnut is said to have burnt the place in 1003; Cnut, himself, died here in 1036. The Bishopric of Sarum was established here in 1075; William the Conqueror was here in 1086, and held a review of 60,000 men who swore allegiance to him. The cathedral of Old Sarum was consecrated in 1092; William Rufus was here in 1096. There was a mint in Old Sarum, as proved by the coins struck in the place. On the coins of Ethelred II. the name of the place was written *SEARLE*, on those of Cnut *SAEBER SER* or *SERE*; on those of William I. and II. *SERE*, *SEBER*, or *SERRI*, which were evidently corruptions of the Saxon name *Searbyrig*, which latter was the Saxon version of the Roman *SORBIODUNUM*, and this, in its turn, a corruption of the Celtic name ending in *dan* or *damun*, "a fortified hill." On a coin of Stephen, however, it first appears in the modern form of *SALIS*, and on the coins of Henry II. *SAL* or *SALER*. In the course of time the soldiers and the clergy living together in so small a place, fell out, the clergy annoyed the soldiers by constantly singing

psalms, and the soldiers, no doubt, annoyed the clergy by their bad language, so that in 1256 the clergy departed and established the new cathedral in modern Salisbury. During the long drought of 1834, the outline of the old cathedral, which had been destroyed, was discovered beneath the grass which had turned brown over the spot in the north-west quarter, and it was excavated by Mr. Hatcher and Mr. Fisher. It was found to be a plain cross 270 feet long by 150 feet broad. There were double aisles to the nave, choir, and transept. The cloisters were also discovered to the north of the choir. A subterranean passage cut in the chalk was also found near this spot leading towards the ditch. It was 7 feet broad and 7 to 10 feet high, and of Norman construction.

“Old Sarum first returned members to Parliament in 1295, and was disfranchised in 1832. It was a model constituency and a model seat; there was no corruption because there was no one to corrupt: there was little or no jobbery because the member had no one to job for but himself and his patron, which is nothing compared to the jobbery that has taken place since larger numbers have been admitted into the plot. He was not obliged to talk nonsense that he did not believe in to please his constituents, for he had only two constituents who had leases assigned to them, just before an election, to enable them to vote on the understanding that they were to relinquish them immediately the election was over. The member for Old Sarum was free to devote his whole energies to the good of his country, and it is not surprising that with these advantages it should have produced a statesman of the calibre of the elder Pitt.”

Great Dumford Church was next visited, and described by MR. G. H. GORDON. The evidences of a late Norman building were shown by the north and south doorways and the font. Here were considerable remains of fifteenth century seating, a good Jacobean pulpit, with cushion and hangings of 1657,—recalling “The Velvet Cushion” of romance,—and a Jacobean lectern with a copy of Jewel’s apology chained to it. This learned divine was Bishop of Salisbury from 1562 to his death in 1571. The presence of a little window, somewhat low down on the north side of the chancel, gave the opportunity for the introduction of a well-worn archaeological discussion.

Amesbury was the next point reached. After luncheon the church was visited. Precentor Venables undertook the description. It was not altogether a congenial subject, for the church had suffered from a disastrous “restoration” of some years ago, such as we would fain hope would not be possible in Wiltshire at the present day. The harshness, rigidity, and bareness of the interior of Amesbury church would, however, be enormously relieved by the re-setting up of the chancel screen, which had been turned out by the “restorer,” whose name shall in mercy be here withheld. It fortunately happens that, instead of having been cut up into “black oak” Wardour-street Gothic sideboards, this fine piece of church furniture has been sheltered by an esteemed inhabitant of Amesbury, whose name may be thankfully here recorded. Mr. Edwards authorized Mr. Micklethwaite to say that he was quite ready to put the screen back to its old place in the church. With regard to this aisleless Norman church, Precentor Venables pointed out that it served originally both for the Benedictine nunnery of Amesbury as well as for parochial uses. On the north side of the nave were shown the

evidences of Norman work, and traces of the conventual buildings which sheltered so many notable females. Here was great havoc at the Dissolution, but there still remains much fine early English work in the choir and transepts. Mr. Micklethwaite gave his reasons for thinking that there was originally a Saxon church here, and called attention to a pierced stone built into a wall in a yard on the north side of the chancel, and showed that it was a displaced window of pre-Norman date, and probably a relic of the first monastic foundation on this spot. It is a small round-headed loop, rather wider below than above, and has served as the mid-wall slab of a double splayed window.

Passing the great earth-works of Vespasian's camp, the party arrived at Stonehenge at 3.30. Here GENERAL PITT-RIVERS opened the discussion by clearly setting forth the various theories that had been brought forward as to the age and meaning of this wonderful monument. He then passed on to touch on the subject of the preservation of ancient monuments. He ought not himself, he remarked, to say much about the preservation of monuments because he had a particular function to perform, as inspector of ancient monuments. It was his particular work to carry out the Act as it was, and to get as many people as he could to put their monuments under the Act; it was of course entirely voluntary. Considerably more than half of those who owned the scheduled monuments had put them under the Act, which was more than one had reason to expect at first. But he might say this much, that he knew no reason why Sir Edmund Antrobus should not be willing to do what was reasonable, and archaeologists should be able to agree among themselves what they wanted. If one wanted one thing and another something else, the owner of the monument in question had very good reason for saying "the best thing I can do is to do nothing which has, in fact, been what I have done hitherto." He thought the practical course would be for the Archaeological Institute and the Wiltshire Institute to appoint committees to confer with the British Association, and that those three committees might really arrive at some definite proposal. In that case he did not see why they should suppose that Sir Edmund would refuse what he was asked to do, provided they did not interfere with his proper rights.¹

General Pitt-Rivers was followed by the REV. E. DUKE, who, speaking from his long and intimate acquaintance with Stonehenge, pointed out to what a close extent the numerous adjacent mounds were connected with the great circle, and showed the important bearing which the contents of the surrounding barrows had on the question of the age of Stonehenge. Mr. Duke said that all the barrows within a radius of a mile-and-a-half of Stonehenge were, in the opinion of Sir R. C. Hoare, pre-Roman or Celtic, and such barrows—there are more than three hundred of them—seemed to him to have been placed with a view to the great monument being visible from their summits. Mr. Duke called attention to a quantity of the chippings of the igneous stones of Stonehenge, having been found in one or two of the barrows on the west side; thus showing that the circle was older than the barrows. Mr. Duke concluded by giving a derivation, based upon etymology, of the word *Sarsen*.

¹ At the annual meeting of the Wilts. Archaeological Society, held on August 4 th, a resolution was passed appointing a

committee to confer with the above-mentioned societies for the purpose in question.

MR. A. EVANS spoke at some length, arguing as to the date of Stonehenge from the finding of an amber necklace in a neighbouring barrow, and proving this relic to be coeval with certain Greek vases of known date, gave the circle an approximate age of B.C. 450.

Dr. Cox supported the view of Mr. Fergusson, in his *Rude Stone Monuments*, namely that Stonehenge is a memorial at once sepulchral and military, set up by a great company of victorious troops about A.D. 450.

THE REV. PREBENDARY SCARTH spoke of the manifest deterioration of the monument within the last twenty years, and this was generally thought to be the case, though, certainly, one, shrewd observer, speaking from a long acquaintance with it, thought nothing had varied at Stonehenge so much as the opinions upon it. It was hardly to be expected that the Solar Theory had yet been wiped out, and the antiquaries heard with as much gravity as they could command how the sun still rises on the longest day over the "Friar's Heel." One fact should be recorded, namely, that the name of *Drauid* was not once mentioned during the whole of the visit.

The party then drove to Lake House where the members were received at tea with charming hospitality by Mr. Duke and his family, at his picturesque Jacobean house, standing in a formal garden with tall yew hedges, "clipped by law and tantalized with skill." Mr. Duke gave a short disquisition on a collection of antiquities which he exhibited. These included an amber necklace—or rather the parts of one—found in a tumulus in the neighbourhood. The amber had evidently undergone a change, and, as Mr. Duke thought, by fire. The cord, for stringing the amber, did not go straight through all the pieces, but in the case of most of them the hole took a semi-circular direction. The collection included some metal crucifixes found at Old Sarum, some heraldic shields beautifully worked in human hair, and an interesting set of crucibles found in St. Thomas's Church, Salisbury, in a niche within the wall of a small room over the north porch of the church. The late Rev. E. Duke in his "Halle of John Halle" thought that they belonged to a priest choral of Salisbury in the reign of Edward VI, who was an alchemist, and that they were used by him in making the Elixir Vitæ. Attention was also called to an alabaster tablet fixed to the wall above the door, inside the house. It represents the head of St. John Baptist in the charger, with standing figures of St. Peter, St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Margaret, and St. Katherine. It is a very fine example of this curious group, the full meaning of which has yet to be discovered.

After a cordial vote of thanks had been offered to Mr. Duke by PRECENTOR VENABLES on behalf of the Institute, the carriages were regained; Salisbury was reached at 7 p.m.; and thus a most successful day was brought to an end.

The Historical Section opened at 8.30 p.m. at the Council House, when the DEAN OF SALISBURY occupied the chair as President, and gave his opening address. In the course of his remarks the Dean passed in general review the labours of the deans, canons, and other members of the cathedral bodies in the historical and archaeological world during the latter half of the present century.

On the motion of LORD PERCY, a cordial vote of thanks was passed to the president of the section.

The REV. C. H. MAYO then read a paper on "Dorset Bibliography."

This brought about an interesting discussion. The Bishop of Salisbury asked how Hutchins worked, how he gathered together his material, and how in forty years he managed to gather together that work which dealt with a county which apparently had very little literature before. It seemed to have been collected only a few years after printing began in the county. With regard to Mr. Mayo himself, he presumed that most of those present were acquainted with his work. Mr. Mayo had been of great service to the county by what he had done, at the Bishop of Salisbury's request in drawing up an admirable paper with regard to ancient church antiquities, giving the heads, in twelve chapters, of what rural deans and the clergy ought to observe in regard to their antiquities and parochial records.

THE REV. SIR TALBOT BAKER called attention to the way in which Coker proceeded in drawing up his history, namely, by going from the mouth of a river to its source, and then to other parts of the county; and the Dean desired to know whether there were any great collections of seventeenth century documents in Dorsetshire.

MR. MAYO said he believed there were not any great collections in Dorsetshire, but there was one in the British Museum, and he had taken from that a great many of the facts he had mentioned. With regard to the question of the Bishop as to how Hutchings scoured his materials, he believed that would be found in the preface to Hutchings' first edition. He thought there were very few printed records at that time which Hutchings could consult. His information was drawn from his antiquarian friends in Dorsetshire and out of it. Hutchings stated that the Bishop of Salisbury for the time being enabled him to make researches amongst the episcopal records, and there were also in the county some persons who acted very liberally towards him, and raised a subscription which enabled him to go away and to carry on his researches in the Chapter-house and elsewhere.

MR. PORE pointed out that the first edition of Hutchins's History was published in 1774; he, therefore, was able to make use of Cox's History and Coker's Survey, which were issued respectively in 1730 and 1732.

After some remarks from PREBENDARY SCARTH as to the great expense of a county history, and the desirableness of such a work being taken in hand, a vote of thanks to Mr. Mayo was proposed by the Dean of Salisbury.¹

The Antiquarian Section now re-opened, the Bishop of Salisbury taking the chair.

THE REV. SIR TALBOT BAKER read a paper by Dr. Wake Smart on "Celtic and Roman Antiquities in the district bounded by Bockerley Dyke and the river Stour."

A vote of thanks to the author brought the meeting to an end.

¹ It may here be mentioned that at the annual meeting of the Wilts Archaeological Society held on August 4th, the Bishop of Salisbury proposed a resolution, which was unanimously adopted,

that a committee be formed to take steps to draw up a method and scheme for the collection of materials for the completion of a history of the county.

Thursday, August 4.

At 10 a.m. the general annual meeting of the members of the Institute was held in the Council House, Earl Percy in the chair.

MR. GOSSELIN read the balance sheet for the past year (printed at p. 307). He then read the following

“REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR, 1886-7

“In bringing before the members of the Institute the Annual Report, the Council beg to state that an arrangement has been made with the committee of the “Egypt Exploration Fund” by allowing them the use of the rooms of the Institute at the annual payment of £20. This does not interfere with the business of the Institute, the committee having other rooms in the building for storing their own material property. The object of the Exploration Fund being strictly of an archaeological character, it is hoped that mutual advantage in other respects will be brought into existence.

“The members will be glad to hear that a third annual exhibition of Egyptian antiquities was held in the room of this Institute under the direction of the committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund. From the number of visitors that attended, the Council have much pleasure in reporting that an increased interest is taken by the public in this branch of archaeology.

“The last annual general meeting having authorised the Council to adopt some means for obtaining an increase to the list of members, the subject was carefully considered at several Council meetings, and some papers have been printed for use by which it is hoped that many gentlemen and ladies may be induced to become members. The existing members can render some help by suggesting to the Council the names of persons who might be invited to join the Institute.

“On the 18th of November last the Secretary, as representative of the Institute, attended a deputation to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of London to join with the committee of the Society for Protection of Ancient Buildings in presenting a petition respecting the preservation of the ancient buildings in Staple’s Inn.

“The Council are pleased to report that the Inn has been bought by the Prudential Assurance Company, and that part of it, namely the hall, has been let to the Institute of Actuaries for a long period. The preservation, therefore, of this ancient group of buildings is probably secured.

“The Council have also had under their consideration the present state of Glastonbury Abbey. In consequence of a paper read by Mr. H. SHEPPARD DALE before the Institute on the 3rd March, the Council requested Mr. Dale to draw up a report, which was subsequently approved of by the governing body. It is confidently hoped that the interesting ruins of this Abbey will in future be preserved from the damage which the overgrowth of ivy and other vegetation had threatened.

“The Council hearing that the Corporation of Bury St. Edmunds intended to part with the old gateway of St. Saviour’s Hospital, and fearing that, in the event of a sale, this venerable building would be destroyed urged the Town Council of Bury to keep the ruins in their own possession. The members will be pleased to hear that a satisfactory arrangement has been made for the future preservation of this monument.

“The maltreatment of the Coronation Chair by the Office of Works, and those employed by them is now notorious. The Society of Antiquaries took the matter up so promptly and energetically that little remained for other Societies, except to approve of what they did. The subject was mentioned at our meeting of July 7th, and a resolution was proposed by Mr. Hartshorne and passed, condemning the disfigurement of the chair, and expressing a hope that when in future Westminster Abbey had to be got ready for a State Ceremony, it may not be taken from its proper guardians and handed over to ignorant and irresponsible direction.

“In the month of May Mr. Pullan was deputed by the President and Council to represent the Institute on the occasion of the unveiling of the west front of the Cathedral of Florence. He was kindly received by the Marchese Torregiani, the Syndic, and, by his obliging kindness, Mr. Pullan was present at the opening ceremony. The design for the façade was the result of three competitions.

“The first took place in 1862, but this having been unsatisfactory, and a second in 1865 also failing, a third was undertaken in 1867, resulting in the choice of a design by de Fabris. The work, however, was not commenced until 1876, and on the death of the architect in 1883 it was completed by Signor del Moro. On the whole the design and its execution are most creditable to all concerned, and the cost was most moderate, amounting to less than £40,000. This is chiefly owing to the enthusiasm of the workmen, who, in their zeal for the accomplishment of their cathedral were content to work for less than their ordinary wages. It would take up too much space to describe the architectural features in detail. It will be sufficient to state that the new work is quite in keeping with the older part of the structure, and archæologically correct. There are three grand portals with Mosaic pictures, in the tympana a rose window, over that is the centre, and above a series of figures of the Apostles in rich niches. These are on rather too large a scale to match the figures in Giotto's Tower. The walls are veneered with marble of various colours; white predominates, and the contrast between that and the yellow tone of the adjoining tower is at present too striking, but this defect will be remedied when the building is mellowed by age. Taking the façade altogether, it is by far the finest piece of modern Gothic architecture hitherto accomplished in Italy; and it is, as regards the design and execution of the sculpture and Mosaics, a triumph of Italian art.

“The Council report that the British School of Archæology at Athens was opened in November last. Mr. F. C. Penrose was appointed the first director, and he will be followed by Mr. Ernest Gardner, lately employed by the Egypt Exploration Fund.

“The following address was forwarded to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen on the occasion of her Jubilee.

“*The humble address of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,*

“We, the President, Vice-President, Council, and Members of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland venture to approach your Majesty in this Jubilee year with the heartfelt expressions of our respectful yet joyful congratulations that God has in His wisdom conferred the blessing of the continuance of the life of your Majesty, and through it for the welfare of not only your Majesty's subjects but the world at large, and pray that your life may long be preserved in the

enjoyment of health and strength to enable you to discharge the laborious duties of your high position. We recognise in your Majesty the honor and benefit conferred on this Institute as one of its Patrons (together with H. R. H. the Prince of Wales), and trust that the Institute has tended to maintain the venerable institutions by its archeological pursuits which are associated with your Majesty's family in the long succession of sovereigns from which your Majesty is descended.' ”

“Owing to the untiring exertions of Mr. E. C. Hulme, a member of the Council, the re-arrangement and cataloguing of our library is nearly completed. The warmest thanks of the Council and members are due to him for this voluntary and assiduous labour undertaken for the benefit of the Institute.

“The Council have the pleasure of informing the members that during the past year the following Societies have agreed to an exchange of publications :—

“1. Universitetets Samling af Nordiske Oldsager.

“2. The Clifton Antiquarian Club.

“3. Société Archæologique du Midi.

“4. Société Archæologique de Bordeaux.

“5. British and American Archeological Society of Rome.

“6. Konigl Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitets Akademien of Sweden.

“The Council have to deplore the death of some of their oldest members :—

“Mr. Charles Tucker, formerly an Honorary Secretary in conjunction with Mr. Albert Way, and to whom the Institute was deeply indebted in former years for the arrangement of the museums and the classification of their contents at the meetings. Unfortunately illness in later years prevented his taking that active part in our proceedings, which had been of so much advantage to us.

“The Rev. J. Bathurst Deane was Rector of Great St. Helen's, and one of the oldest members of the Institute. Long ago he made himself a name as a writer on archæological matters.

“Other Societies had a higher claim upon the Earl of Enniskillen than had the Institute, but as a fellow worker with the late Sir Philip de Malpas Gray Egerton, and as a member of the Institute almost from its commencement, his loss cannot fail to excite regret.

“Among the other members that have been removed from us by death are :—The Earl Amherst, Mr. R. Temple Frere, Capt. Hamond, Mr. G. Hawkins, the Rev. E. King, Mr. J. H. Mathews, the Rev. E. Payne, Mr. S. I. Tucker, *Somerset Herald*, and Mr. J. L. Walker.

“The members of the Governing Body to retire by rotation are as follows :—Vice-president, the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Carlisle; and the following members of the Council—H. Hutchings, Esq., the Rev. H. J. Bigge, Major-General Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers, the Hon. H. A. Dillon, E. Peacock, Esq., and R. S. Ferguson, Esq.

“The Council recommend the appointment of the Rev. Sir T. H. B. Baker, Bart., as vice-president, and the election of H. Hutchings, Esq., the Rev. H. J. Bigge, Major-General Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers, the Hon. H. A. Dillon, E. Peacock, Esq., R. S. Ferguson, Esq., Alderman Stuart Knill, Mr Justice Pinhey and the retiring auditor M. W. Taylor, Esq., to the vacant places on the Council. They would further recommend the appointment of H. Jones, Esq., as junior honorary auditor.

“ They would further recommend the appointment of the retiring vice-president, the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, and M. H. Bloxam, Esq., under *Rule* 16, to be honorary vice-presidents.”

The adoption of the Report was moved by the REV. PREBENDARY SCARTH, seconded by Mr. E. GREEN, and carried unanimously.

With regard to the financial position of the Institute, MR. HILTON said that it was desirable to increase the number of subscribing members of the Institute, and the old difficulty still existed of many members being in arrear with their yearly payments. In other respects, the Society's finances were on the way to improvement. In answer to a question by Mr. Gostenhofer, Mr. Hilton said that the question of funding life compositions had not been lost sight of by the Council.

The adoption of the Balance Sheet was moved by the REV. DR. COX, seconded by PROFESSOR CLARK, and carried unanimously.

With regard to arrears in subscriptions, the following resolution was proposed by MR. T. H. BAYLIS :—“ That the names of members whose subscriptions are in arrear for twelve months be posted in the meeting-room of the Institute in London, and that notice of this resolution be issued with the circular applying for subscriptions.” This was seconded by MR. MICKLETHWAITE, and after a discussion in which the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, the noble President, the Rev. Dr. Cox, and the Rev. J. Greville Chester took part, the resolution was carried unanimously.

MR. PULLAN called attention to the destruction of ancient monuments now going on in Rome, and, with the view of strengthening Signor Bacelli's hands, proposed the following resolution :—“ That the President, Council, and Members of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland wish to express their sympathy with Signor Bacelli in his praiseworthy efforts to preserve the most ancient edifices of Rome from obliteration and destruction.”

This was seconded by PROFESSOR CLARK, and after some observations from the Rev. Father Hirst and the noble President, the resolution was carried unanimously.

With regard to the place of meeting in 1888, MR. GOSSELIN reported that he had received an invitation from Leamington. Precentor Venables advocated this as an excellent railway centre, and well provided with accommodation.

The REV. J. GREVILLE CHESTER suggested Coventry; he also thought that Dublin was a desirable place of meeting; in this the Rev. Father Hirst agreed, but he was afraid that at the present time we should be coldly received.

MR. R. S. FERGUSON intimated that in 1889 the Institute would be invited to hold a second meeting in Edinburgh.

MR. MOTTRAM spoke at length upon the prospects of a meeting in Norwich. The Castle had been disused as a prison, and had been bought by the Corporation; it would be put at once into a proper state, and would form an admirable centre of operations. The REV. C. R. MANNING said the Institute would be welcome when they came to Norwich.

After some further discussion, on the motion of the REV. C. R. MANNING, seconded by the Rev. PREBENDARY SCARTH, the matter was referred to the Council in London.

The following new members were elected :—The Bishop of Salisbury,

proposed by Earl Percy; Mr. A. J. Evans, proposed by Mr. Hartshorne; Colonel Harold Malet, proposed by Mr. Micklethwaite; Dr. J. Wickham Legg, M.D., proposed by Mr. St. John Hope, seconded by Mr. Gosselin; the Rev. A. Johnson, proposed by Mr. H. Jones, seconded by Mr. Hartshorne; Mr. T. Ryley, proposed by Mr. Jones, seconded by Mr. Gosselin. A vote of thanks to the noble Chairman brought the meeting to an end.

At 11 o'clock the Rev. PRECENTOR VENABLES opened the Architectural Section, and delivered his address, which is printed at page 211.

A vote of thanks having been passed to Precentor Venables, a visit was paid to the fine Perpendicular church of St. Thomas, where Mr. A. Wood read a paper. Here the roofs retain much of their original painting, and over the chancel arch is a fresco of the Doom.

The Poultry Cross was then inspected and described by ARCHDEACON LEAR. From hence the party proceeded to the Halle of John Halle, restored by A. W. Pugin, and now in use as a china shop. The antiquaries then visited Audley House, a mansion dating from the second half of the fifteenth century. This has lately been acquired for the uses of a Church House, and has lately been considerably "restored" for that purpose. Some of the original fittings are not now *in situ*, and others have been introduced from elsewhere. Among these a rich fireplace from Longford Castle seemed to be the work of John Thorpe.

At 2 o'clock a large party went in carriages to Britford Church. A short paper having been read by the Rev. A. P. MORRES, Mr. HARTSHORNE called attention to a diminutive effigy of the early part of the fourteenth century, in Purbeck marble, representing a man in a gown, holding a covered cup in his right hand and wearing a maniple. This was described as the figure of a butler, and quite unique.

Mr. MICKLETHWAITE said that the two curious "Saxon" arches are certainly *in situ*. The church to which they belonged had a nave of the same size as the present one, two "rudimentary" transepts, into which these arches opened, and a small chancel, or sanctuary, to the east where the tower now is. The type of plan is found at Dover, Deerhurst, Worth, and other places. The early transepts at Britford were probably pulled down and their arches built up when the church was enlarged eastwards by the addition of the present transept and chancel. The buildings now outside the arches are modern. The northern arch is especially valuable as a rare example of enriched masonry of earlier date than the Conquest, still in position. Mr. Micklethwaite thought the date to be not earlier than the ninth century, and probably not much later, and Mr. ARTHUR EVANS and Mr. PARK HARRISON thought that this date was the most likely.

With regard more particularly to the Roman tiles used in the arch on the south side, and the theory that both arches were Roman *in situ*, it was evident that at Britford, as at Brixworth, the tiles were not used *more Romano*.

The journey was continued through Lord Radnor's park, and past the front of Longford Castle—the well-known production of John Thorpe, and one of the three triangular buildings in England¹—to Downton Church. Here the description was undertaken by the Rev. A. D. HILL, who read

¹ The other examples are, the tower of the Lodge at Rushton, Northamptonshire. the Church of All Saints, Maldon, and

an excellent paper. In the Decorated chancel a fine low-side window, attracted some attention, and Dr. Cox gave his reasons for believing that such windows were for the use of an attendant to ring the sanctus bell through them, when there was no sanctus bell gable. After some observations by Mr. PULLAN, the members proceeded to the Moot House, where they were most kindly received at tea in the gardens of his charming old house, by Mr. E. P. Squarey. Subsequently General Pitt-Rivers conducted the party to the remarkable earth works hard by, known as the Moot.

Traversing banks and ditches, of which the features were pointed out from time to time by the President of the Meeting, the large party finally arrived at the remarkable series of seven terraces or platforms comprised within an oval area, and distinguished as "The Moot Hill." In the course of his observations on this spot, GENERAL PITT-RIVERS, who illustrated his remarks by plans of earthworks of a like nature at Reigate, Chipping Norton, Cap Grinez, and Château de Villars, said that, on the high authority of Mr. Clark, the place was pre-Saxon, late Belgic. For his own part he hardly thought so. It appeared to him that its form was that of the Saxon period. The spot where they were now was on the edge of a horse-shoe shaped keep. Outside was a ditch and outside the grand ditch a half moon shaped ditch—a demi-lune. He did not see any necessity to connect this earthwork with any campaign. It was probably the residence of a feudal chief. He imagined that this moot was made after the fortifications were abandoned, at a time when they were no longer required, and that they cut the bank into terraces and made a palaver place of it.

Mr. SQUAREY added some remarks in which he coincided with the conclusions that General Pitt-Rivers had arrived at. The REV. A. D. HILL made some further observations, and LORD PERCY having offered to Mr. Squarey the thanks of the Institute for his kind welcome and hospitality, the carriages were regained. Driving by special permission through Trafalgar Park and past the house, Salisbury was again reached at 6.15.

At 8.30 a conversazione was given by the MAYOR OF SALISBURY and DR. BLACKMORE, in the famous Blackmore Museum. In the course of the evening DR. BLACKMORE gave a general explanation of the contents of the collection, and, Lord Percy having expressed to Dr. Blackmore and the Mayor how much gratification the Institute had experienced at their reception in such a place, this agreeable reunion came to an end.

Friday, August 5.

At 9.15 the members went by special train to Bradford-on-Avon. The great tithe barn was first inspected under the guidance of Mr. C. S. Adye. Some discussion took place as to the date of this building, which, however, appears to be rather before the middle of the fourteenth century. But Mr. PARK HARRISON was disposed to take the walls back to Norman times. The plan is of the usual kind, namely, a nave, with aisles formed by the frame-work of the roof being supported from the ground by rows of massive timber posts. The finest example of this kind of construction in England is the great barn at Harmondsworth, Middlesex. This building is of about the same date as the Bradford example. It is in fine condition,

and of the great internal length of 192 feet, twenty-two feet longer than the Bradford barn.¹

The picturesque bridge over the Avon, with its chapel partly corbelled out upon one of its piers, the whole being apparently early fifteenth century work were next seen.² The roadway of the bridge, originally only pack-horse width, was widened about 1645, when the upper portion of the chapel with its stone coved roof was evidently built on its conversion for secular uses.

The party then walked through the town to Kingston House, or "The Duke's House," where they were received by Mr. H. Moulton. After some of the rooms on the lower floor had been looked at, the visitors descended the terraces into the garden, where Mr. F. Shum read a paper upon this well-known building. It had been restored with the most rigorous exactness by the late Mr. Moulton, and had all the appearance of a new building, and consequently lacked much of the charm which the unrestored houses of the period possess. From the characteristics of the architectural details it seemed probable that Kingston House is a work of John Thorpe.

The next point in the day's proceedings was the little Saxon church of St. Laurence, "the most ancient material church in Britain," discovered, and rescued by the late Canon Jones. MR. E. CHISHOLM BATTEN read an interesting paper on the spot, and it was agreed on all sides that its erection was due to Bishop Aldhelm. So the words of William of Malmesbury, in 1122, "est ad hunc diem in eo loco ecclesiola quam ad nomen beatissimi Laurentii (Aldhelmus) fecisse predicatur," are happily still applicable. It is a monument of which Wiltshire men may well be proud.

The parish church was now visited. In this spacious building there was not much of special interest beyond a large panelled recess in stonework in the north aisle, facing the south door. In the centre of the recess, which is nearly semi-circular in plan, is a chase cut in the form of a plain cross. It appeared that this was for the reception of a cross of some special character; there were, indeed, indications at the bottom of the recess of a stone shelf on which offerings were made, or lights burned. In a window of the south aisle were some excellent German roundels of the school and time of Aldegraver. An effigy of a man in mail, and a surecote, about 1295, and of a woman in the same costume as Aveline at Westminster, attracted some attention.

After luncheon at the Town Hall the party went in carriages to South Wraxall Manor House. This was described in a general way by Mr. E. GREEN, and MR. C. E. PONTING subsequently read a good paper upon it. It is a picturesque and straggling Perpendicular manor house of the Long family, enlarged in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and much heavy and some fine, Renaissance work, added or inserted later. Its inconvenience as a dwelling house has caused its abandonment, as was the

¹ It may be useful to record here the following names of other places where large barns may be seen:—*Devonshire*, Torquay; *Dorsetshire*, Abbotsbury, Cerne Abbas; *Gloucestershire*, Boxwell, Frocester, Postlip; *Kent*, Boxley, Cuxton, Mail-stone; *Middlesex*, Headstone, near Harrow; *Norfolk*, Bramcastor; *Oxford-*

shire, Adderbury; *Somerset*, Doulting, Glastonbury, Wells, Woodspring Abbey; *Sussex*, Hurstmonceaux; *Wiltshire*, Cherhill, and Place House.

² The much-restored building on the bridge at Wakefield is another and a finer instance of the bridge chapel.

case at Haddon, for the same reasons. It is a capital example of a late mediæval house, and the fortunate owner of this interesting building very wisely does all that and no more than is necessary to keep it in proper repair.

Great Chalfield Manor House was reached at 3.30. It would be difficult to find finer or more picturesque remains of a late fifteenth century manor house than these. Unfortunately little beyond the front of the house is now standing. The range of farm buildings to the west comprises a pigeon-house—the proper accessory of a manor house—worked into the design of the gatehouse with very good effect; but so much has been pulled down that the interest of the complete group has been greatly marred. The little church with its pretty bell gable over the west front fortunately remains.

The Rev. E. KINGSTON read a paper giving a history of the manor, and by the thoughtful kindness of Mr. G. P. Fuller, tea and light refreshments were offered to the members before leaving. Driving to Trowbridge, a special train took the party from thence to Salisbury, which was reached at 6.25.

At 8 p.m. the Architectural Section met in the Council House, the Rev. Precentor Venables in the chair. Mr. C. E. PONTING read a paper on “Edington Church.”

The Rev. J. A. BENNETT followed with a paper on “The Architect of Salisbury Cathedral.” This is printed at page 265.

A paper by Mr. J. A. GOTCH on “Longford Castle and Longleat” was then read, and the meeting came to an end.

In the Historical Section the Rev. PREBENDARY SCARTE read a paper on “Britain a Province of the Roman Empire.” This is printed at page 351.

The Rev. J. HIRST read a paper, “Thoughts on the past influence of Reigning Women,” and the meeting concluded.

Saturday, August 6.

At 10 a.m. the members left Salisbury for Tisbury. Here carriages were in readiness for the continuance of the journey to Old Wardour. Arrived at the Castle the party were taken in hand by Precentor Venables, who gave a brief outline of the history of the place. It was apparent that there was nothing here older than the extreme end of the fourteenth century; at which period, indeed, the castle was built by John, Lord Lovel. The most noticeable architectural features were the remarkable (for Perpendicular work) windows of the kitchen; and the chief historical event appeared to be the gallant defence of Blanche, Lady Arundell, against the Parliamentary forces in 1643. The members now drove on to Wardour where they were received with much kindness by Lord and Lady Arundell. Some welcome light refreshments were offered to the visitors, and among the many objects of art and interest that were seen, the great Gerard Dow, the portrait of the heroic Blanche, Lady Arundell, and, not least, the famous Westminster Chasuble should be mentioned. The thanks of the Institute having been offered to Lord Arundell by Precentor Venables, the party visited Tisbury Church. After some remarks by the Vicar, Mr. F. G. HUTCHINSON, Mr. MICKLETHWAITE pointed out a few of the most curious features in the church, including

the remains of the chancel in the south transept, of which one of the two bone shoots has been destroyed, and the other put into the way of destruction by the recent building of the vestry and organ chamber. The north transept has some singular and beautiful remains of its arrangement as a chapel, and the modern chancel fittings are made up of fragments of old screens and other furniture, which have been cut to pieces for the purpose. This once noble church has suffered horribly from the "restorers," but still much remains, and the wish was generally expressed that it might be better taken care of, and especially that the central tower, with the fine thirteenth century arches on which it stands, now said to be threatened, might be allowed to stay.

A few of the members drove on to see Place House, where are the remains of a fifteenth century manor house and a great barn, said to be 220 feet long; the rest went by special train to Wilton. After luncheon at the Pembroke Arms Hotel, the members walked to Wilton church, where the Rev. Canon Olivier read a paper describing the numerous and well known objects of art which are here preserved. Mr. Pullan and Professor Clark spoke concerning the Italian churches, which served in part as models for Wilton church when it was built by the late Lord Herbert between 1841 and 1845, and, on the invitation of the noble owner, Wilton House was then seen with its noble collection of treasures, its classical sculptures, Vandykes, and other art triumphs. Tea was served with much hospitality in the garden, and the Rev. Sir Talbot Baker having expressed to Lord Pembroke the gratification which the members of the Institute had experienced from his kindness, the carriages were regained. Bemerton Church, the peaceful shrine of saintly George Herbert, was visited on the way home, and Salisbury was again reached at 6 o'clock.

The Historical Section met at 8 p.m., the Dean of Salisbury in the chair. The Rev. Dr. Cox read a paper on "Lichfield Minster and City in the fifteenth century." Mr. J. S. Udall read a paper on "Dorset Seventeenth Century Tokens," and the meeting terminated.

On Sunday the members of the Institute attended the services at the Cathedral. The Right Rev. the Bishop of Salisbury preached in the morning from Genesis i, 27, 28. The Rev. Canon Creighton preached in the afternoon.

Monday, August 8.

At 9.15 a special train conveyed the members to Codford. The party were received by the rector, the Rev. R. Z. Walker, who described the much restored church. A recumbent effigy in mail, said to represent Sir Alexander Gifford, had not been overlooked by the "restorers," and consequently presented an appearance which recalled the process from which the effigies in the Temple Church, and those at Elford in Staffordshire suffered so much in the earlier days of "restoration." The adjoining manor house of Boyton, built by a Lambert in 1618, was then seen under the obliging guidance of General Blair Reid, and its remarkable secret places inspected.

From here the party went to Scratchbury Camp, an extensive British earthwork overlooking Warminster, and including forty acres within its area. The Rev. Prebendary Scarth gave an excellent description of this great monument. Proceeding to Warminster, the members had lunch

at the Bath Arms, and then continued the journey to Heytesbury Church. On this collegiate church a good paper was read by the Vicar, the Rev. J. SWAYNE. Though the building had been a good deal "restored" there were still many features of interest, chief among which may be mentioned the east window—a large single lancet without, arranged as a triplet with six Purbeck shafts within. Here was one of the burying places of the once powerful family of Hungerford, who did much towards the building of the church in the early part of the fifteenth century. Knook church was the next stopping place, and here the re-use of Saxon materials was detected. Mr. MICKLETHWAITE called attention to the western cap of the South door, and to certain lines cut on the face of the stone out of which it is formed. The lines are quadrant with four *railli*, and Mr. Micklethwaite shewed that they have been the western half of a vertical sundial upon which the day has been divided into eight parts instead of twelve, and the "day mark," which shewed the change from morning to full day, is placed between the first and second *railli*. The dial was upon the upper half of a large square stone, and there may have been an inscription below it. But in early Norman times the dial stone was cut in two and the cap of the doorway was carved on one half of it. The making of the cap has destroyed the inscription, if ever there was one, and the half of the dial now appears turned upon its side. It was, therefore, certainly earlier than the building of the Norman chapel when it was used up as old material. How much earlier it is not easy to say.

Proceeding to Heytesbury, the party was received at tea by Lord Heytesbury, and in addition to the inspection of the important gallery of pictures collected by the late Lord Heytesbury, the visitors were gratified by the sight of several Hungerford charters, appertaining to Heytesbury hospital. The Rev. A. PORTER called attention to a collection of encaustic tiles, removed from the church at the time of the "restoration," and which, from the special attention he has paid to the subject, aided by heraldic quarters, he was able to show had been made at Droitwich about 1120. With many thanks to Lord Heytesbury for his kind reception, the members then drove to Heytesbury Station and took the train to Salisbury, which was again reached at 6.40.

At 8.30 the general concluding meeting took place in the Court House, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite in the chair. After speaking of the unavoidable absence of the President, the CHAIRMAN made some general observations as to the extremely instructive and enjoyable meeting that had been held, he then called upon Mr. PULLAN to propose the following resolution:—"That the Institute desires to award its best thanks to the Right Worshipful the Mayor, and the Corporation of Salisbury for their kind and welcome reception." This was seconded by Mr. E. C. HULME.

The Rev. PREBENDARY SCARTH proposed:—"That this meeting desires to express its grateful recognition of the reception of the Royal Archaeological Institute by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Salisbury, President of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, and its thanks for the instructive paper read by his Lordship." This was seconded by Mr. J. HILTON.

The Rev. Dr. Cox proposed the following resolution:—"That the Royal Archaeological Institute hereby expresses its hearty thanks to the Very Rev. the Dean and the Chapter of Salisbury for the exceptional

facilities given to the members of the meeting for the inspection of the cathedral, and to the Dean for his opening address as President of the Historical Section." This was seconded by Mr. H. HUTCHINGS.

Mr. T. H. BAYLIS proposed:—"That the warmest thanks of all the members are due to Lieut.-General Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers for having most kindly presided over the meeting at Salisbury; for his address on one of the earliest and most expansive branches of archæology, and for his invitation to his house at Rushmore, surrounded by numerous excavations made under his direction and serving to illustrate his address." This was seconded by the Rev. J. HIRST.

PROFESSOR CLARK proposed:—"That the thanks of the Royal Archæological Institute be communicated to the readers of papers, to those who have taken part in the discussions, and to those who have explained the objects of interest during the excursions." This was seconded by Mr. J. BROOKING ROWE.

The Rev. Sir TALBOT BAKER proposed that the best thanks of the President, Council, and Members of the Royal Archæological Institute are due to the Right Worshipful the Mayor of Salisbury, the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Arundell of Wardour, the Lord Heytesbury, Sir T. P. Grove, M.P., the Rev. E. Duke, G. P. Fuller, Esq., M.P., E. P. Squarcy, Esq., General Blair Reid, and to the clergy and others for their hospitable receptions and for the instructive information afforded to the members of the meeting." This was seconded by Mr. JUSTICE PINHEY.

The CHAIRMAN proposed:—"That the best thanks of the Royal Archæological Institute are due to the Rev. Canon Sir Talbot Baker, Bart., W. M. Hammick, Esq., and to the local committee for their successful arrangements connected with the meeting.

All the above resolutions were carried with the utmost cordiality, and thus this very successful meeting came to an end.

Tuesday, August 9th.—By the kind invitation of General Pitt-Rivers, the members went this day to Rushmore. Leaving Salisbury at half-past nine, the first stop was made at Bokerley Dyke, where some observations were offered by Mr. SQUAREY. Proceeding on the journey through Cranborne Chase, the party was met by General Pitt-Rivers and numerous friends hard by a group of barrows. Farnham was finally reached, and here the remarkable collection of antiquities from the Romano-British villages of Woodcutts and Rotherley Wood, admirably arranged in the village museum, were closely inspected. The chief objects were most obligingly described by General Pitt-Rivers to relays of visitors. The antiquities were made the more interesting by plans of the excavations and pits in which they had been found, and the interest of the whole was much enhanced by the large and varied collection of implements of agriculture, and for domestic use both ancient and modern from all parts of the world.

The members were subsequently received with great hospitality at luncheon at Rushmore by General Pitt-Rivers. LORD PERCY having expressed, on behalf of the Institute, how much pleasure the members had experienced from their visit, the party proceeded shortly after on foot to Rotherley Wood, and the site of the excavations in this Romano-British village was inspected. From Rotherley the members drove to Ferne, where they were received at tea by Sir Thomas Grove. Driving from here to Tisbury station, Salisbury was reached at eight o'clock.

EXCURSION IN BRITTANY.

At the conclusion of the Salisbury meeting a few members of the Institute and some of the Wiltshire Society, went from Southampton to Cherbourg, and arrived at Coutance on Friday morning, August 12th. The following notes from the pen of a highly esteemed member of the Institute, which appeared in the *Athenæum* for August 20th and Sept. 3rd, give so faithful and succinct an account of this interesting excursion, that no apology is necessary in here reproducing it.

“Immediately after the Salisbury meeting a few members of the Royal Archaeological Institute, joined by some members of the Wiltshire Society, crossed over from Southampton to Cherbourg, and arrived at Coutance early on Friday, the 12th. The day was devoted to inspecting the cathedral and churches of that ancient see, and there was singular appropriateness in the cathedral being visited immediately after its contemporary at Salisbury. The two show how architects in the same age worked out the same idea with characteristic varieties. If the early date of 1206 is correctly given by the French, it shows that thirteenth century architecture developed more rapidly in France than in England. In St. Nicolas a specimen of early fourteenth century was studied, and in St. Pierre of fifteenth century Gothic architecture, the latter with Renaissance additions of a most interesting character, especially in the octagonal dome. These two churches should not be neglected by visitors, who are frequently too much absorbed in the glories of the great cathedral to inspect these two remarkable monuments, which lie both within a stone's throw. The party slept at Pontorson, and, before starting by road on the following morning for Mont St. Michel, had time to visit the little known parish church, originally a fine Norman building, with Gothic additions. The date given is 1010, and there are some interesting stone sculptures in connection with a confraternity of the Holy Ghost known to have existed here in 1270. Travellers should carefully observe the Norman south door-way of this church, in the tympanum of which is the rudely carved figure of a man standing with his hands resting on his hips, while a large, long-beaked bird is pecking at his throat. The same figure of the man seems to be introduced in the capitals of the shafts. Close to the hotel going towards the station a very old forge, with curious timber roof, can be seen still at work. At Mont St. Michel the party found the six French missionaries recently turned out by the Republican Government, officiating in the old parish church below. So numerous are the pilgrims that the monks have had to erect an altar under a wooden canopy in the open air, from which they address sometimes 1,200 worshippers. The buildings above are entirely in the hands of lay officials, and no religious service whatever takes place within the abbey walls. If the Government restoration continues at the present pace the result will be ghastly. It will be enough to mention the tiling of the lean-to roof of the cloister, which has been covered with glazed tiles. Halfway up the roof runs a hideous horizontal orange and blue band. It is needless to add that the Norman work is throughout disfigured by the pointing of the mortar joints projecting beyond the surface of the stone, an almost universal failing in France. On Monday the archaeologists started for Vannes and the megalithic remains of Brittany.

“On arriving at Vannes on Monday, August 15th, the members were met by Admiral Tremlett, who, having spent every summer for the last fifteen years in examining the megalithic remains of the country, was well qualified to act as their guide for the rest of their tour. The party first attended by invitation the marvellous museum contained in the château of the Count de Limur, who, as a mineralogist, ranks in France second only to M. Damur. Here, among other things, they were able to study numerous specimens of jade, jadeite, and fibrolite from all parts of the world, collected for the purpose of illustrating the hatchet heads which have been found, generally broken into fragments as a sign of grief or to denote the departure of a warrior, carefully buried beneath tumuli, dolmens, and menhirs. The Count de Limul himself discovered a vein of jade some nine years ago at Roquedas (‘rock of Eddar,’ the Druidess), a few miles from Vannes, and only four years ago he discovered fibrolite in Brittany. In confronting the various jade implements found in prehistoric tombs with specimens of jade broken off recently from a rock in the same country, the count insisted strongly on the identity of these two materials, though it must be admitted M. Damur is of the opposite opinion. Moreover, there still remain magnificent specimens of Oriental jade, together with chlormelanite, amber, and callais, which must either have been obtained by the aboriginal inhabitants of the country by barter from some sea-faring folk, or have been brought with them in prehistoric times in their migration from their eastern home. The party next proceeded to the museum of the Société Polymathique of Vannes, which for its collection of prehistoric remains from megalithic monuments stands unrivalled in the world. Even the Blackmore Museum at Salisbury has nothing to compare with so many enormous and beautifully worked hatchet heads made out of a variety of precious materials.

“Tuesday was devoted to a long carriage excursion in order to visit an ancient castle and church on the long and narrow peninsula of Rhuis. The castle of Suscinio (‘no care here’), the original seat of the English branch of the Richmond family, built in 1250, and restored in 1420, and surrounded by a sea-water moat, presents a very fine appearance, from its well-preserved machicolations crowning the skirting, and its six round towers. The old abbey church of St. Gildas, where Britain’s doleful historian lies buried, has a fine choir and north transept of the twelfth century; but all architecture in Brittany must be set down as at least a hundred years after the date of the same style in England.

“On Wednesday the party went by steamer to Locmariaquer and to some of the islands of the Morbihan. A visit was paid to the stupendous menhir at Locmariaquer, 63ft. long and 30ft. in circumference, now lying on the ground in three fragments, which it would cost, as the French Government is considering, about £1,000 to set up again in their original position. Various dolmens and Roman remains were then inspected before the boats steamed away to visit the curious wave-like, shepherd crook, and hatched-head sculptures in the underground monument of Gavriluis, the finest known, and the large stone circle of the Ile aux Moines, the greatest known, composed of thirty-six stone menhirs from 6ft. to 10ft. high, the whole circle having a diameter of 320 English feet.

“On Thursday the Vannes Museum was again visited, in order to

inspect further its unique jade ring, about nine inches in diameter, and the fine golden torques and bracelets. In the afternoon the members had to be divided among the hotels of Carnac and Plouharnel, where on their arrival they had some hours left to visit the megalithic remains of the two centres. There is nothing in the world to equal the weird impression produced by the appearance of the long intervals along the three miles of wild moorland that lies between these two places.

“The whole of Friday and Saturday was devoted to driving to every stone monument of importance in the neighbourhood, and a great number of tomb dolmens were inspected, and also, by the kind permission of M. le Vicomte, the only remaining tumulus still unexplored which adjoins his baronial château. As to the meaning of these long lines of stones, so different from anything seen elsewhere, the impression gathered was that each stone block had been set up as a funeral monument. It is rare that an axe, vase, bones, or ashes are not found at their feet. The Romans seemed to have used them for the same purpose for secondary interment. The alternative theory would be that the three rectangular and the many circular enclosures of standing stones—here called *cromlechs*, as the covered tombs are called dolmens—were built as primitive places of worship or tribal gatherings, while the long and deep lines of stones, often only a yard apart, which led up to and ended in them, formed a solemn approach that may have recalled to mind the shady groves under which their fathers had worshipped or foregathered on the high lands of far-off Phœnicia or Syria. The valuable and interesting pre-historic museums of Carnac and Plouharnel were freely opened and explained by their respective originators and arrangers, Admiral Tremlett and M. Gaillard.

“Sunday was spent in Quimper, and on Monday, the 22nd, the party were most hospitably entertained by M. du Châtellier, whose château contains the richest collection in Finisterre of prehistoric remains—all discovered in early excavations by his celebrated father, a pioneer in the work, or afterwards by himself—and the richest collection in France of gold Celtic ornaments. In the grounds were to be seen various monuments of Celtic and Roman times, brought from other sites and re-erected for preservation.

“It must be mentioned that all the menhirs, dolmens, and circles visited were composed of granite, some apparently of the same stone now found in the neighbourhood, and some of a finer kind—perhaps originally erratic blocks brought by natural causes. As to the finely chiselled sculptures on what now seems a hardened surface, it must be remarked that this granite stone when first taken from the quarry is very soft, and Admiral Tremlett himself proved the possibility of marking it without a metal implement, by making one of the usual cup-marks with a piece of chert in about twenty minutes. It must be added that the programme originally drawn up was strictly adhered to, and the whole excursion proved a great success.”

It remains only to say that the English antiquaries were received in Brittany with the utmost friendliness and *empressement*; and, need it be added, with the most charming French courtesy! At the déjeuner given at Lochmariaquer, on August 17th, by the Société Polymathique du Morbihan, Mr. J. Brown well expressed the feelings of the members on returning thanks on their behalf for the friendly reception the Institute had received. And, whilst indicating his admiration for the great things

that had been done by Frenchmen in the fields of geology, archaeology and anthropology, Mr. Brown took occasion to allude to the noble rivalry that happily existed between the men of science in France and England. A more personal wish was expressed, which will doubtless find a clear echo in the hearts of English Antiquaries, namely, that the Institute might look forward to the pleasure of some day seeing and welcoming members of the Morbihan Society at one of the Annual Meetings of the Institute, and of showing them some of our antiquities and returning their kind attentions.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE LIBRARY, being a classified collection of the chief contents of the GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE from 1751 to 1868. Edited by George Lawrence Gomme, F.S.A. *Romano-British Remains*. Part II. London: Elliot Stock, 1887.

At page 102 of this volume we inserted a notice of the first part of the section of the Gentleman's Magazine Library which treats of Romano-British Remains, and which covers a period in the history of this country of which there is no time less known or more interesting. It is, therefore, with much pleasure we hail the appearance of the second and final part of the work that relates to this subject.

In the first part Mr. Gomme treated of the Roman Remains found in the several counties of England arranged in Alphabetical Order extending down to Somerset, and in the present part he takes up the subject with Staffordshire, and continues it down to Yorkshire. However careful an editor may be, it is scarcely to be expected that in a work of this nature some items should not be overlooked. These, and they are surprisingly few, Mr. Gomme has gathered up and printed in a like order, as an addendum to his English County Section.

He then, in a similar order, treats of the Local Discoveries in Wales and in Scotland—the Roman occupation of these countries extended not far beyond the border, and hence the discoveries of remains have been but few, at least but few were communicated to Sylvanus Urban.

Having concluded his collection of notes and communications on "Local Discoveries," the Editor introduces a chapter of much interest on Roman Roads and Stations. It is based on the Iters of Antoninus, and contains contributions from some of our most eminent scholars and antiquaries in correction of mistaken theories and conclusions in respect to the routes pursued, and the identity of the sites of the stations on these routes. Some of these communications are of special interest. A chapter follows entitled, "Historical Notes," which is of much value. In it is given a detailed account of the two Campaigns made by Julius Caesar in the years 55 and 54 B.C., for the conquest of Britain.

A critical examination of Caesar's Commentaries, which is almost the only record we possess of his invasions, or the condition of the country at the time, shews that his narrative is very incoherent and unsatisfactory. Caesar, like other unlucky generals since his time, in his official dispatches, from which the Commentaries were afterwards compiled, endeavoured to conceal his misfortunes and losses, representing his defeats as successes. Reading, however, a little between the lines, it is evident that he was

greatly surprised at the valour, the strength and the resources of the Britons, and that on his second invasion, notwithstanding the great exertions he made in preparing for it, his well disciplined army was repulsed, and was, from the bravery of the British levies, and the power of the elements, within an ace of being annihilated. He chose to represent that the Britons had been reduced to subjection, had given hostages for their future obedience and to pay a tribute. He seems, however, to have been glad to get away, leaving the British shores at night, and we hear no more of the hostages, the tribute, or of the Romans themselves for nearly a century.

Much light is thrown upon the Commentaries by the correspondence of Cicero, whose brother, Quintus, accompanied Cæsar's army to Britain and kept up a correspondence with Cicero, who was to have written a Poem on Cæsar's Conquest, but the poem never appeared. Dr. Robson in his remarks on the subject, by means of this correspondence, has been enabled to establish many dates in which the Commentaries are grievously deficient.

This is followed by a somewhat lengthened discussion on the Samian ware, so extensively used by the Romans—treating of its character, composition, and places of manufacture. In this Mr. Birch, Mr. Chaffers, and other experts in Ceramic art take part, and several lists of Potters' Marks from pieces in their collections are introduced. It is greatly to be desired that a complete alphabetical list of the names of Samian Potters, examples of whose wares have been found in England, should be formed, stating the places at which pieces of their respective works have been discovered. In conclusion is added the Editor's valuable notes on items in the volume, and a table of addenda.

The work maintains throughout its serviceable character. It is an obvious advantage to have the discussions on numerous subjects in the old magazines—some of them extended over several volumes—brought together under the eye at once, and Mr. Elliot Stock is to be congratulated on devising this useful series, and on the success which has attended its issue. The next volume will be that on "Literary Curiosities and Notes."

THE ARCHITECTURAL DESIGNS OF W. BURGESS. DETAILS OF STONE-WORK.—BATSFORD, 52, HIGH HOLBORN, LONDON.

We called attention on a former occasion to the Architectural Designs of Mr. Burgess (*Journal*, v. xl, p. 473), and the present volume forms a kind of continuation of that work. It contains a capital series of illustrations selected from the drawings made for the Memorial Church, Constantinople, Cork Cathedral, School of Art, Bombay, Hartford College, Conn., and Knightshayes, North Devon. These are excellent examples of the manner in which architectural drawings should be made, as well as of the more important matter how stone-work should be put together in a dignified monumental way. The practical student of Gothic may learn much from them and we sincerely hope that Mr. Pullan may be induced to carry out his plan of publishing further volumes of Burgess's designs for wood-work and metal work.

Archaeological Intelligence.

ANCIENT SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS.—By W. Brindley and W. S. Weatherley.—There is certainly no more hopeless aggregation of ugliness than may be seen in the great cemeteries near London or any other large English city. We shudder with horror when we think not of the graves—for graves are apt to excite the finer feelings—but of the monstrous monuments which cover them. And when we contemplate the lines of marble deformities and the walks of aggressive stony vulgarities at such places as Kensal Green or Highgate our spirits fairly sink within us as the thought arises “what a dreadful legacy to posterity;” and we contrast them with the simple picture of modest and sufficient memorials in many a quiet old country churchyard. But something is at last being done to mitigate this evil, and we gladly call attention to the forthcoming appearance of a work, which, from its admirable character, we are convinced will do a great deal towards improving the taste in cemetery monuments, and, it may be hoped, go some way towards obliterating the wily advertisers who pester people on the occasion of any death in the family with lithographed expressions of sympathy and crude prints of marble urns and other pagan “trappings and the suits of woe.” We are far from being so sanguine as to think that this book will at once leaven the whole of the New Road, for instance, and effect a total overthrow of all the “works of art” in that quarter; indeed, such a sudden change is in some regards not altogether desirable; for many artistic enigmas are there which have stood so long that their removal would not only create a blank in a prospect not remarkable for its variety, but also deprive us of the service of numerous objects which may soon act as public scarecrows and warnings, and may on this account remain to assist the taste. And it will probably be years before the influence of the work in question trickles into the yards of country stone masons, and sinks into the minds of these men; for the minds of monument masons are almost as difficult of new impressions as the granite, many of them work so tastelessly upon.

We notice in the prospectus which has reached us, that the drawings of Ancient Sepulchral Monuments have been made for the most part to a uniform scale of an inch to the foot, with, in many instances, details one quarter of the real size. These latter features should be a great boon, for although it is true that the country monument mason may, generally speaking, get as much for himself any moment from ancient monuments in his own parish church, it is also true that he never does so endeavour to purify his work. So the authors wisely recognise that proper drawings of details must actually be put into the hands of the monument mason of the usual type that suffices the public, even if the original examples from which they are taken are only a few yards off. A great deal of this apathy on the part of workmen, arises from special causes, social and commercial, which we need not go into now.

We may state that the book in question will give between 600 and 700 examples of ancient sepulchral memorials, ranging from Obelisks and Monuments, to Headstones and Incised Slabs. To these will be added a series of examples of heraldry, a most desirable adjunct to such a book, for what antiquary has not paled at the sight of modern heraldry and its charges, both sculptured and depicted! It remains for us to add that the drawings are all from the admirable hand of Mr. Weatherley, and no more need, therefore, be said on this head. The work is now being issued; price, to Subscribers, £3 3s., Non Subscribers, £4 4s. Application should be made to the Authors, 20, Cockspur Street, Pall Mall, London, W.

LINCOLNSHIRE NOTES and QUERIES, a quarterly Journal devoted to the Antiquities, Parochial Records, Family History, Traditions, Folk-lore, Quaint Customs, &c., of the county. Edited by E. L. Grange, M.A., LL.M., and the Rev. J. Clare Hudson, M.A. Price 1s. 6d. a quarter. Annual subscriptions, 5s. — The more the truth of the adage, "When found make a note of," is realized by antiquaries the sooner will special Notes and Queries be established for every county in England. Yorkshire, Cheshire, "The Seed Plot of Gentility," Gloucestershire, Northamptonshire, "The Heralds Garden," were early in the field, and we now specially welcome Notes and Queries for the great county of Lincoln. The editorial notice sets forth very well the scope and aim of this new magazine, and we can hardly doubt that it will receive ample support in Lindsey, Kesteven, and Holland, for what intelligent Lincolnshire man is not interested in his Diocesan and County Records, his Churchwardens' Accounts, his Manorial Rolls, his Churches, Churchyards, County Celebrities, and County Literature, and as much of the Ancient Speech which has not been swamped by the seven standards! A man need neither be an antiquary, or try to be one, in order to take interest in the preservation of such things as these. They are part of the common property of the nation, and it is as much the privilege as the duty of every Lincolnshire man to preserve and hand down all he possibly can in his own county to his successors. It is to assist him in this duty that Lincolnshire Notes and Queries has been established. The stores of antiquarian treasures in Lincolnshire are as great as in any other county—greater than in many, and it may be hoped that through the medium of this new publication many a long-closed volume may be re-opened, many a document extended and again made available for use, and many a precious fragment saved ere it be borne away by the ever-rolling stream of time. All communications should be addressed to the editor, care of the Rev. J. Clare Hudson, Thornton Vicarage, Horn-castle.

THE BOOK OF SUNDIALS.—Edited by H. K. F. Gatty and E. Lloyd. This is a new edition, in preparation, of a picturesque work on a picturesque subject which appeared some years ago, from the accomplished pen of the late Mrs. Alfred Gatty. It is greatly enlarged as to the number of examples, as well as in the descriptions of dials of Greek, Roman, Saxon, and other early forms. The work will be published by Messrs. G. Bell and Son, 4, York Street, Covent Garden, to whom subscriptions (10s. 6d.) may be sent.

INDEX.

A.

- André, Mr. J. L., his proposed work on South of England Cast Iron Work, 213.
- Ankerhold, at Dengeo, Herts, Mr. Micklethwaite's memoir on, 26, read, 85.
- Ancient Sepulchral Monuments, by W. Brindley, and W. S. Weatherley, 437.
- ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTELLIGENCE :—Proposed completion of Rothwell Market House, 209 ; Titchmarsh Castle, 210 ; Westmoreland County Notes, by Mr. Bellasis, 211 ; Devonshire Parishes, by Mr. Worthy, 212 ; Somerset Record Society, *ib.* ; History of the Wilmer family, by Mr. Foster, 213 ; South of England Cast Iron work, by Mr. André, *ib.* ; Great Seals of England, by Messrs. Wyon, *ib.* ; Ancient Sepulchral Monuments, by W. Brindley, and W. S. Weatherley, 437 ; Lincolnshire Notes and Queries, 438 ; the Book of Sundials, *ib.*
- Archæological Institute ; Resolution passed concerning destruction of Antiquities in Asia Minor, 84 ; do. do., concerning Glastonbury Abbey, 204 ; do. do., concerning Coronation Chair, 406. Report of Meeting, at Salisbury, 107 ; Excursion in Brittany, 431.
- Asia Minor, Rev. J. Hirst reports destruction of Antiquities in, 83.

B.

- Badart, Mr. E., exhibits Amphora, 81.
- Baker, Mr. A., his memoir on Architecture and Archæology, read, 84.
- Balance Sheet for 1886, 397.
- Bellasis, Mr. E., his proposed Church Notes of Westmoreland, 211.

- Bennett, Rev. J. A., his memoir on the Architect of Salisbury Cathedral, 365.
- Bent, Mr. T., his memoir on Homeric Parallels from Modern Greek Life, read, 85.
- BERKSHIRE :—Church Notes in, 13, 185, 291, 397, Lieut.-Col. Cooper King's History of, noticed, 87.
- Brindley, Mr. W., and W. S. Weatherley, his Ancient Sepulchral Monuments 437.
- BUCKINGHAMSHIRE :—Church Notes in, 13, 185, 291, 397.
- Burges, W., Architectural Designs of, noticed, 136.
- Blythborough Church, Mr. A. Hartshorne's, memoir on, 1, read, 203 ; drawings of exhibited, 204.
- Books, modern method of illustrating, noticed, 92.
- Boscawen, Mr. W. St. Chad, his memoir on Babylonian Sun God, read, 309, exhibits diagrams, 310.
- Bristol, Historic towns, Edited by E. A. Freeman and W. Hunt, noticed, 94.
- Browne, Rev. G. F., his memoir on Early Sculptured Stones of Cheshire, 116.

C.

- Cast Iron work in the South of England, Mr. André's proposed work on, 213.
- Celtic and Roman Antiquities, Dr. Wake Smart's memoir on, 380.
- CHESHIRE :—Mr. Shrubsole's memoir on age of City Walls of, 15 ; Rev. G. F. Browne's memoirs of Early Sculptured Stones of, 116.
- Chester, Rev. Greville J., exhibits Hittite Seal, bronze knife, and ancient textile fabrics from Egypt, 319 ; memoir on his Hittite Seal by Prof. Sayce, 317, read, 495, exhibits Italian Medals, *ib.*

Church Notes in Bucks, Wilts, Oxford.
 See. 43, 185, 294, 397.
 Cooper King, Lt.-Col., his History of
 Berks, noticed 87.
 Coronation Chair, Mr. Hartshorne's Reso-
 lution concerning, 406.
 Culverhouses, Mr. Ferguson's memoir on,
 105.
 CUMBERLAND :—Municipal Records of
 City of Carlisle noticed, 98.

D.

Dale, Mr. H. S., his memoir on Glaston-
 bury read, 204; exhibits etchings, *ib.*
 Daphne, Mr. Petrie's memoir on the
 Finding of, 30, read, 81.
 DEVONSHIRE :—Mr. C. Worthy's parishes
 of, 212.
 DOCUMENTS, ORIGINAL :—Lay Subsidy
 of 1411, 56; concerning Thomas
 Cromwell, Earl of Essex, 304; Royal
 Brief, concerning Lawrence Moigne
 and others, 403.

E.

Egypt, Mr. Petrie's memoir on Finding
 of Daphne, 30, read, 84; Rev.
 Greville J. Chester exhibits ancient
 textile fabrics from, 310.
 Esdaile, Mr. G., his memoir on Roman
 Occupation of Britain, 51.

F.

Ferguson, Mr. R. S. (and Mr. W. Nanson),
 his Municipal Records of the City
 of Carlisle, noticed, 98; his memoir
 on Culverhouses, 105.
 Ferguson, Sir S., his Ogham Inscriptions
 in Ireland, Wales, and Scotland,
 noticed, 96.
 Fitz-Patrick, Dr., his remarks on Mr.
 Bent's Homeric Parallels, 81.
 Foster, Mr. C. W., his history of the
 Wilmer family, 213.
 Fox, Mr. G. E., his memoir on Roman
 villa at Chedworth, 322, read, 407;
 exhibits plans, *ib.*
 FRANCE :—Admiral Tremlett exhibits
 plans of prehistoric remains in
 Brittany, 86; Mr. Freeman's
 memoir on Toulouse and Narbonne,
 129; Mr. Petit's (the late) memoir
 on Church of St. Radegonde, near
 Tours, 177; Prof. B. Lewis's memoir
 on Antiquities of Saintes, 1st part,
 164, 2nd do., 215; Mr. Freeman's
 memoir on Valentia Segellannorum,
 311; Excursion of the Institute in
 Brittany, 131.

Freeman, Mr. E. A., his memoir on
 Toulouse and Narbonne, 129; on
 Valentia Segellannorum, 311.
 Free Village Communities at Aston and
 Cote, Oxfordshire, Mr. G. L. Gomme's
 memoir on, read, 405.

G.

Gatty, the late Mrs. A., new edition of
 her Book of Sundials, 438.
 GLOUCESTERSHIRE :—Church Notes in,
 43, 185, 294, 397. Mr. G. E. Fox's
 memoir on Roman Villa at Ched-
 worth, 322, read, 107.
 Gomme, Mr. G. L., his Gentleman's
 Magazine Library, Romano-British
 Remains, Part I, noticed, 102; his
 memoir on evidences of a Free Vil-
 lage community at Aston and Cote, in
 Oxfordshire, read, 405, 407.
 Great Seals of England, Messrs. Wyon's
 work on, 213.

H.

Harrison, Mr. J. P., his memoir on pre-
 Norman Churches, read 308; ex-
 hibits jade celt, 309.
 Hartshorne, Mr. A., his memoir on Blyth-
 borough church, Suffolk, 1, read 203;
 exhibits drawings, *ib.*; proposes re-
 solution concerning Coronation Chair,
 106.
 HERTFORDSHIRE :—Mr. Micklethwaite's
 memoir on Ankerhold at Bengoe, 26,
 read, 85.
 Hilton, Mr. J., exhibits examples of jade,
 309, his remarks thereon, *ib.*
 Hirst, Rev. J., reports destruction of
 Antiquities in Asia Minor, 83.
 Hittite Cylinder and Seal, belonging to
 Rev. Greville J. Chester, Prof.
 Sayce's memoir on, 347.
 Hope, Mr. W. H. St. J., proposes resolu-
 tion concerning destruction of Anti-
 quities in Asia Minor, 84; his memoir
 on Premonstratensian Abbey of St.
 Mary, Alnwick, 337.
 Hunt, Rev. W. (and E. A. Freeman), his
 historic towns, Bristol, noticed, 94.

I.

IRELAND :—Ogham Inscriptions in, by Sir
 S. Ferguson, noticed, 96; Mr. Wat-
 kin's memoir, "Was Ireland ever in-
 vaded by the Romans?" 29.

K.

- Keyser, Mr. C. E., proposes resolution concerning Glastonbury Abbey, 201.
King, Lieut. Col. Cooper, his History of Berkshire noticed, 87.

L.

- Lewis, Prof. B., his memoir on Antiquities of Saintes, 1st part, 161; 2nd ditto, 215; his memoir on Roman Antiquities in Touraine and the Central Pyrenees, read, 106, exhibits photographs, coins, &c., 106.
Lincoln Minster, Rev. Precentor Venables' memoir on discovery of foundations of Eastern terminations of, as erected by St. Hugh, 191.
LINCOLNSHIRE:—Mr. E. Peacock's memoir on Court Rolls of Manor of Hibbaldstow, 278; Precentor Venables' notes on discovery of Roman remains in Lincoln, 309, Notes and Queries of, 438.

M.

- Micklethwaite, Mr. J. T., his memoir on Ankerhold at Bengoe, Herts., 26, read 85.
Morgan, Mr. T., his Romano-British Mosaic Pavements noticed, 205.
Maddison, Rev. A. R., communicates original document, 403.

N.

- Nanson, Mr. W.—See Ferguson, Mr. R. S.
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE:—Proposed completion of Rothwell Market House, 209; Titchmarsh Castle, 210.
NORTHUMBERLAND:—Mr. W. H. St. J. Hope's memoir on Abbey of St. Mary, Alnwick, 337.

O.

- Ogham Inscriptions, in Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, by Sir S. Ferguson, noticed, 96.
OXFORDSHIRE:—Church Notes in, 13, 185, 294, 397; Mr. Gomme's memoir on Free Village communities at Aston and Cote, read, 105.

P.

- Peacock, Mr. E., his memoir on the Court Rolls of the Manor of Hibbaldstow, 278, read, 105.

Petit, the late Rev. J. L., his memoir on Church of St. Radegonde, near Tours, 157.

Petrie, Mr. W. M. F., his memoir on the finding of Diphnae, 39, read 81, exhibits antiquities, *ib.*

Pinhey, Mr. Justice, his remarks on Mr. Bent's memoir on Homeric Parallels, 85.

Pitt-Rivers, Lieut.-General Lane Fox, his Inaugural Address to the Annual Meeting of the Institute at Salisbury, 261.

Poynton, Rev. F. J., his memoranda of Kelston, noticed, 93.

PUBLICATIONS, ARCHEOLOGICAL:—Notices of:—Popular County Histories, Berkshire, by Lieut.-Col. Cooper King, 87; Modern Method of Illustrating Books, 92; Memoranda Historical and Genealogical relating to the Parish of Kelston, Somerset, by the Rev. F. J. Poynton, 93; Historic Towns, Bristol, edited by W. Hunt, 94; Ogham Inscriptions in Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, by Sir J. Ferguson, 96; Some Municipal Records of the City of Carlisle, edited by R. S. Ferguson, and W. Nanson, 98; the Gentleman's Magazine Library, Romano-British Remains, Part I, edited by G. L. Gomme, 102; Part II., 135. Some Historical Notices of the O'Meagher-of Kerrin, by J. C. O'Meagher, 103; Romano-British Mosaic Pavements, by T. Morgan, 205; the Architectural Designs of W. Burges, 436.

R.

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES:—Mr. G. Esdaile's memoir on Roman occupation of Britain, 51; Mr. G. L. Gomme's Gentleman's Magazine Library, Romano-British remains, Part I., noticed, 102; Part II., *ib.*, 435.—Mr. W. T. Watkin's memoir on Roman inscription discovered in Britain in 1886, 117; Mr. T. Morgan's Romano-British pavements, noticed, 205; Mr. W. T. Watkin's memoir, "Was Ireland ever invaded by the Romans?" 289; Precentor Venables' notes on discovery of Roman remains in Lincoln, 309; Mr. G. E. Fox's memoir on Roman Villa at Chedworth, 322; Prebendary Scarth's memoir on Britain a province of the Roman Empire, 351; Mr. W. T. Watkin's supplementary notes on Roman forces in Britain, 375; Dr. Wake Smart's memoir on Celtic and Roman antiquities, 380.

S.

- Salisbury, report of meeting of the Institute at, 407.
- Sayce, Prof., his memoir on Hittite cylinder and seal, 347, read, 405.
- Searth, Rev. Prebendary, his memoir on Britain a province of the Roman Empire, 351.
- SCOTLAND:—Sir S. Ferguson's work on Ogham's inscriptions in, noticed, 96.
- Shirbsole, Mr. W. W., his memoir on age of city walls of Chester, 15.
- Smart, Dr. Wake, his memoir on Celtic and Roman antiquities, 380.
- SOMERSET:—Church Notes in, 43, 185, 294, 397; Mr. Dale's memoir on Glastonbury Abbey, read, 204, resolution concerning it, passed, *ib*; Record Society of 212.
- Stahlschmidt, Mr. J. C. L., communicates original document of 1411, 56; Rev. J. F. Poynton's memoranda of Kelston, noticed, 93.
- SUFFOLK.—Mr. Hartshorne's memoir on Blythborough Church, 1, read, 203.

T.

- Tremlett, Admiral, exhibits plans of pre-historic remains in Brittany, 86.

V.

- Venables, Rev. Precentor, his memoir on discovery of foundations of Eastern

termination of Lincoln Minster, as erected by St. Hugh, 194; read, 203; exhibits plans, *ib*; his Opening Address to the Architectural Section at the Salisbury meeting, 244; communicates notes on recent discovery of Roman remains at Lincoln, 309; exhibits plan, &c., 310.

W.

- WALES:—Sir S. Ferguson's work on Ogham inscriptions in, noticed, 96.
- Watkin, Mr. W. T., his memoir on Roman inscriptions discovered in Britain in 1886, 117: 308; on Invasion of Ireland by the Romans, 289; Supplementary note on Roman forces in Britain, 375.
- WESTMORELAND:—Mr. Bellasis' Church notes of, 211.
- Wilmer, Family History of, by Mr. Foster, 213.
- WILTSHIRE:—Church Notes in 43, 185, 294, 397; Precentor Venables' Opening Address to the Architectural Section at the Salisbury Meeting, 244; Lieut.-General Pitt-Rivers' Inaugural Address at do., 261; Rev. J. A. Bennett's memoir on Architect of Salisbury Cathedral, 365; Report of Salisbury Meeting, 407.
- Worthy, Mr. C., his Devonshire Parishes, 212.
- Wyon, Messrs. A. B. and A., their Work on Great Seals of England, 213.

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